

# ANC WILL BE AT GHANA CONFERENCE

## Official Sponsor of African Freedom Talks Next Month



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JOHANNESBURG.

THE African National Congress is one of the official

sponsors of the All-African People's Conference to be held in Accra, Ghana's capital, this December, and it will be represented there by at least one delegate.

The Accra conference will discuss African struggles against colonialism and for self-government, racialism and discriminatory laws; plans for the re-grouping of independent African states and the possibility of forming a Federation of free African states.

**ACTIVE INTEREST**

From its earliest years the African National Congress has taken an (Continued on page 2)

Mr. Ezekiel ("Zeke") Mphahlele, formerly "Drum" fiction editor who now lives in Nigeria is billed to speak on "The African's struggle for Freedom in South Africa." Former treason trialist Alfred Hutchinson, who has left South Africa, may also be at the conference.

The ANC has been invited to send five official delegates. All countries taking part have been asked to include at least one woman in their delegations.

**PREPARATIONS**

In all 36 African political parties and organisations are sponsoring the Accra conference and a preparatory committee is already at work in Accra preparing for it.

About 600 delegates from political, nationalist, trade union, youth, women's, co-operative and other organisations will attend the conference.

Unlike the conference in Ghana in April of this year, this one is composed not of government delegates, but of representatives of political movements pledged to win their people's aspirations of self-government and independence.

Africa's political movements at

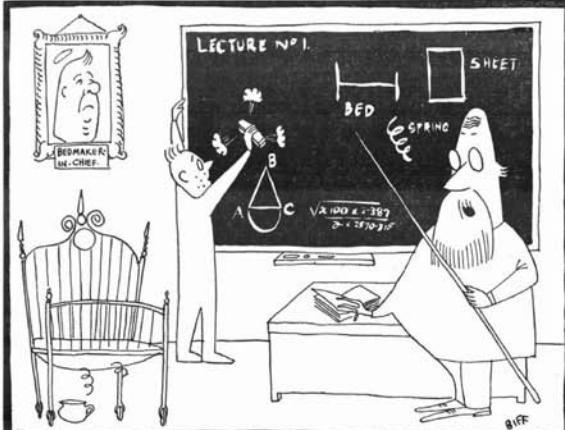
From a Special Correspondent.

NEW YORK.

THE State Department, the Ford Foundation and the new African-American Institute in Washington have decided to back the Nationalists. The man behind this recent decision is Edwia Mungger, an American geographer, who has spent some time in South Africa, mainly in Stellenbosch, where he had close contact with S.A.B.R.A.

Mr. Mungger sent back to the States regular confidential reports in

(Continued on page 8)



"And now, gentlemen, that concludes bed-making! Next lecture we'll study picks and shovels, sweeping and house cleaning!"

# Bosses' Secret Plan To End Strikes, Boycotts

## Detailed Discussion of Congress Campaigns

JOHANNESBURG.

"THE Federated Chamber of industries is concerned with industrial development in this country and views with concern the periodical organised demonstrations on the part of Non-Europeans, which point to an increasing degree of unrest and tension throughout the Union," says a confidential memorandum prepared for the Federation by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries.

The memorandum was submitted to the Federation on condition that its circulation was limited to the constituent organisations of the Chamber of Industries and was not sent to the Cabinet or any Government department.

Nevertheless, a copy of this memorandum has come into the hands of New Age, and we publish a summary of its findings because we believe it is in the public interest to do so.

**SOCIAL CHANGES**

Analysing the social changes which have taken place in South Africa as a result of industrial development and the urbanisation of the African, the memorandum says:

"It would be idle to think that the emergent Native worker will not in the course of his progression reveal, as did the industrial workers of Western Europe, desires for further economic advancement and for improved living conditions, coupled with aspirations for political and social emancipation to be attained preferably by peaceful means but if need be by strikes, violence or other revolutionary means."

The same remarks apply also to the Indian and Coloured workers, says the memorandum, because "these economic and political aspirations are not 'race' aspirations

(Continued on page 6)

**ANC Stands By Alliance With COD —**

**Feature Article by Oliver Tambo — page 5**

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Josias Madzunya, wild man of the Africanist group, came to the Transvaal Congress conference guarded by a group of armed, blanketed "Russians." But none of his conference-smashing tactics worked, neither the arms, nor the threats nor Madzunya's repeated calls for "point of order" or "point of privilege, Mr. Chairman!" (See story on page 4.)

# NEW AGE LETTER BOX

## WOMEN'S PASSES A PROVOCATION

In my opinion the assurance we have been given that African women are not compelled to take out reference books does not actually suggest that this vicious measure is being scrapped.

Although there may be a lull in the large-scale distribution of passes as a result of the strong protest put up by African women, the assurance does not impress me because African women will not be able to take up employment without registering with the pass office for as long as the legislation remains on the Statute Book.

An extension of pass laws to African women is an unprecedented provocation in the history of mankind, and I am inclined to say the net result of this measure is demoralisation because of the experience shows that the alarming increase of thugbery among Africans is a direct outcome of the pass laws.

SIPO POPO KA KOTI  
Meadowlands, Tvl.

## Raid On Alexandra Meeting

Shortly after a meeting called by the Alexandra Branch of the ANC had opened on Sunday October 12 a fleet of police trucks, vans and flying squad cars arrived and Mr. van Zyl, the local captain of police, com-

manded the arrest of all the leaders who were ready to address the meeting.

Four leaders were arrested on allegations of organising the meeting without permission of the local authority.

Mr. van Zyl gave the crowd 5 minutes to disperse. Hundreds of African women in colourful regalia were among those who had come to protest against permit raids, passes for women, increased poll tax, and the Peri-Urban Health Board. The people, although disgruntled, dispersed. There were no incidents.

Alexandra, Tvl. S. ZONKOSI

## Royal Blood

If wishes were horses beggars would swiftly fly to shake hands with you, who in the 20th century roused the minds of the majority of people whose brains and bodies have been overshadowed by a dreamless slumber.

New Age stimulates the spirit of inter-racial co-operation among young and old, encourages freedom and calls for the unity of Africans. It is indeed a powerful weapon wherever it is read and supported. Socially and educationally one will gain by reading it, because it is royal blood, spirit of the African life.

The worst form of parsimony is to neglect to provide oneself with New Age. Long live New Age!

M. HAROLD RAMAKATANE  
Daveyton, Benoni, Tvl.

## NAT. GOVT. MAKES ITS OWN BOOMERANGS

THIS week we wish to compliment two areas which do not normally receive bouquets from us. They are Durban and Basutoland.

Our Durban readers have contributed over £50 to our coffers in the last week. A considerable portion of this amount came from factory workers. This is even more heartening since it indicates that the man at the lathe is determined to see that the newspaper which serves as his mouthpiece continues to do so in spite of all the pressure that the Government brings to bear. As long as the workers throughout South Africa refuse to be intimidated and fight back they will always have a ready ally in New Age, no matter how hard the going. So to all those factory workers and others in Durban, a very big thank you.

Remarkable how the sales of New Age have done a spurt in Basutoland in the last few months. No ballyhoo. No wild promises. First some solid hard work and then suddenly New Age started to sell in its hundreds throughout Basutoland. From reports which we receive, this is only the beginning. Soon our paper will be read in every little crag in the mighty mountains of this protectorate.

The Government are providing us with more and more readers and agents almost every month through their callous deportations. Instead of intimidating the deportees, they are creating a hard core of fighters more than ever determined to fight for their freedom. They are using the money and more to show the way to all the people in that territory.

We appeal to all those deported from the Union to

Basutoland, and from the towns to the reserves, to follow this example and let New Age be sold in thousands wherever you have settled.

And to all of you who are preparing now to go hula-hooping down to the sea, please don't forget that we have offices open in Durban, P.E. and Cape Town. So spare us some of those hundreds of pounds you will be taking down there with you.

## LAST WEEK'S DONATIONS

Cape Town: S.K. £5, Typist 5s, H.B. 5s, Architect £1, N.M. £1, P.M.F. £10 10s, T.S. £10, Bliz 10s, H.T. 10s, J.K. £1, F.S. £1, Tailor £1, R.K. 5s, B.P. £1, S.R. £1, Mica £1, Robot £1, Bertie 10s, J.Z. £3 10s, Sacred River £5, Snaps £2 10s, Chem £1 1s, Harry £1, Ally Sisters £1, Wyndoc £5, B.H. 5s, Kem. £1, Anon 10s, M.W. 10s, I.C. £2, M.G. £1, Runt £5, Egg £1, Doc. £1, Alec 10s, Bly 5s, N and J £3, Bernard and Ruth 5s.

## LAST WEEK'S DONATIONS

Johannesburg: Issy £2, Paul and Adelaide £2 2s, Newclare Friend 10s 6d, Sock 5s, B and M £10, L.L. £25, Issy W, Becker Street 5s, Two friends £20, Vic 5s, Eddie £1, Collections £3, J. £15, Old faithful £25, Bicycle £1 10s, Opticon £1 1s, Judith's (Paar) £1, £2 2s, Harry £3, Issy £10.

Durban: P and M £2, Kay £1, K.N. £1, Anon £1, S.G. £1, Mrs. N. B. £5, M.J. £2 5s, Tin workers £4, Textile Union 3, High school students £3, I.N. £3, Anon £4, Leather workers £2, Busset workers £2 15s, Anon £13, Inder £1, R.G. 13s, R. Singh 2 10s.

Post Elizabeth: Hardy Annual £15, Friend £1.  
Total: £39 18s.

## ANC will be at Ghana

(Continued from page 1)  
active interest in pan-African conferences and co-operation.

As far back as 1925 the national conference of Congress discussed a motion introduced by Mr. V. Skota, a former secretary-general, which called for a continent-wide anticolonial movement.

In 1945 the ANC sent delegates to the fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester. Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta were prominent at this conference.

At this fifth Pan-African conference, as at the earlier ones in which the prime mover was the veteran Negro historian W. E. B. Du Bois, Africa's political movements were not yet firmly rooted in Africa, let alone on the brink of overthrowing colonial rule and achieving independence.

Shortly after the Defiance Campaign in 1952 the African National Congress took the initiative of contacting other political movements on the continent and urging a new Pan-African conference.

A regional conference of territories south of the equator was timed for December 1953 in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, but numbers of delegates were stopped from entering Northern Rhodesia (a delegate from Southern Rhodesia was declared a prohibited immigrant in his twin-sister country in the newly formed Federation) so the conference planned for nineteen countries from east, central and Southern Africa, and with only Northern Rhodesians being able to attend.

The year before Professor Matheke in Ghana on his way from the United States to discuss the idea of a pan-African conference with Dr. Nkrumah. Many of the technical obstacles were cleared when Ghana became independent. The question of the venue for the conference was solved.

## TWO CONFERENCES

At the beginning of this year the Convention People's Party of Ghana announced two pan-African conferences. The first, on a government level and therefore limited to the independent African states, took place in April in Ghana. The second, of leading political movements throughout the continent, from Tunisia and Morocco in the north; Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, the Sudan, Nigeria and Southern Rhodesia; Liberia, Senegal, Guinea, the Gambia, Sierra Leone and Somalia, Ghana and South Africa, will take place in Accra, Ghana from December 5 to 12.

## EDITORIAL

# THE RIGHT TO WORK— FOR EUROPEANS ONLY

THE Minister of Labour, Senator J. de Klerk, repeated last week his determination to apply job reservation because "the work was fully convinced the time had come to deal boldly with the problem of inter-racial competition in the industrial field."

The economic leadership of the country must remain in the hands of the White races, he said. "This was in the interests of both the Whites and Non-Whites."

Senator de Klerk, like his late brother-in-law Mr. Strijdom, doesn't try to hide his true intentions. The Nat Government stands for White baasskap, he says, and to make sure the White man stays baas, the Non-White will be prevented by law from rising above the level of certain forms of labour.

So there are to be no more Non-White traffic cops (whether or not Cape Town is prepared to have them), and in every sphere of labour the doors of advancement are to be slammed in the face of Non-Whites. Next industry on the list for investigation by the Industrial Tribunal is the building industry. Africans are already prohibited from doing building work in competition with Whites; now Coloured and Indian builders are also threatened with the loss of their livelihood.

Mr. de Klerk says it is not his intention to apply job reservation so as to cause dislocation in industry. Yet the Chamber of Industry has declared job reservation can cause nothing but dislocation in industry, which depends on a free supply of labour and the elimination of all restrictions which interfere with that supply.

In fact, in the memorandum by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries from which we quote extensively in this issue of New Age, a plea is made for the dilution of skilled jobs in industry as one of the most important contributions to the economic development of the country, and also as a means of ending Non-White strikes and boycotts from which industry has suffered in the past.

It is time the country realised job reservation is perhaps the greatest single threat to the well-being of all sections of the South African people which the Nationalist Government has yet produced. It is nonsense to pretend, as De Klerk does, that it is "in the interests of both the Whites and Non-Whites." Its only consequence can be the economic strangulation of the country and the restriction of opportunities of employment for both White and Non-White workers.

At the same time there should be equally little doubt that if there is to be mass unemployment, suffering and dislocation, the Government's intention is to let the Non-Whites must bear the brunt of it. The time has come for all Non-White workers to realise that their only salvation is organisation and the adoption of a militant policy. The Government has proclaimed itself their enemy. It is only in building the strength of their trade union and political organisations that the Non-White workers will find any security for the future.

Similar actions are performed by ostriches who shove their heads in the sand when they want to hide.

## UP MY ALLEY

HAVING survived the bombardment of rockets, guided missiles, damp squibs and fallen stars on the night of November 5 we finally got around to asking whether all this was really necessary.

Here we have been celebrating the execution of a Gen for treason. He tried to blow up the British House of Parliament some time ago. So every year on the Fifth of November we celebrate his execution by firing off crackers and burning him in effigy.

It all appears most morbid to us. Fancy celebrating a man's execution on its anniversary each year.

Thank you, no. I'm all for more pleaser celebrations like November 7.

I bet there are thousands of Nats looking forward to annually burning 91 guys.

★

THEN there is the U.S. rocket expert who arrived at work with a black eye. He said he'd got it from a guided missile.

★

SO the Stellenbosch students have decided to do without

black labour. If there is a better example of apartheid driving anybody completely crazy, we have still to get it.

What we need now is for the farmers to free all their slave labour and get into the do-it-yourself mood, too. Right down to the sjamboks and hosesplies.

★

RIGHT in the middle of the showing of the film Die Godelose Stad in a town upcountry, members of the audience realised that it was not allowed to be shown to other members of the audience, coloured.

So they upped and demanded the removal of the nie-blanke crowd.

The pic, I heard, deals with the wrong-doings of white youth in Johannesburg and covers everything from dagga-smoking to knifings.

Perhaps this time it was that ye censors were scared that us darkies would be evily influenced by seeing such goings on, but more that the seamier side of our life should be hidden from us.

Do you like bananas? So do I. The Banana Council has found a use for these fruit not

By ALEX  
LA GUMA



needed by us. They say that the very small and inferior ones which are no good to the market are used for the feeding of cattle and African labourers. Waste not, want not.

★

THE recent Nationalist conferences in O.F.S. and Transvaal have shown determination to solve the problems of our country. As a delegate, I am told, said:

"We'll find out what's wrong with this country even if we have to hold a post mortem."

## 248 Women "Lawyers" In Court

# POLICE CHIEF GRILEN PASS DEMONSTRATION

JOHANNESBURG.

**A** POLICE colonel remained rooted in the witness box for hours whilst 248 women fired questions at him. "Did you see me, what dress was I wearing that day?" Or in more severe tones: "Your police carried sticks and batons when they came to arrest us; did they think they were coming to kill snakes?"

Before the court are a group of 248 women, and one man who makes the 249th accused, charged with forming an illegal procession. The accused women who come mainly from Sophiatown, were one of the batches arrested on the first day of the women's anti-pass protest here.

The court room is rickled out with the accused who fill the whole well of the court and overflow into the European side of the public gallery.

### LIKE A CLASS ROOM

There is a class-room atmosphere about the court. The women, with the exception of four, are defending themselves. A sea of hands rises from all directions as the women indicate to the bench that they have got this and that to say.

Then at some stages the babies who are in court with their mothers begin to cry, throwing the whole court into confusion.

On the first day of the hearing the court hit many snags. The prosecutor proposed an amendment to the charge giving more names of the streets along which the women are alleged to have made the procession or alternatively blocked traffic. Many objections to this amendment were made by the women. "We were waiting on the pavement; since when does traffic go along pavements?"

Some women said that they did not know the names of the street mentioned and they could not agree to the amendment. The magistrate went into great pains, explaining that no evidence was before him yet and those questions should be

reserved till the time of cross-examination.

### PLEADED NOT GUILTY

The charge was finally put and each of the 248 women, speaking in Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, English or Afrikaans, pleaded not guilty. When the prosecutor came to number 249 a bass voice also pleaded not guilty. The process took a quarter of an hour.

A little girl of about four who is in court with her mother was apparently listening to all this and took it up. "He na molato" (I am not guilty), she sang.

The first witness, Colonel Pienaar, was called to give evidence. He was continuously interrupted as long as he drew "oaka, oaka" (he's lying, he's lying) came from the women. The magistrate waved his hand and told the women to be quiet. Their chance to ask questions would come later. If they continued to interrupt the witness, drastic steps would be taken against them. "You can say so inwardly but don't speak out now," explained one of the interpreters.

As soon as the prosecutor sat down many of the women were on their feet ready to ask questions. But they were made to ask one at a time, starting from accused number one.

The women denied that they were given enough time to disperse. In fact, as they were dispersing, the police surrounded them and placed them under arrest, they said.

The colonel insisted that he had given them ample warning and he had also spoken to their leader, Mrs. Maggie Resha, telling her to order the procession to disperse.

The mention of the name of Mrs. Resha (who is not one of the 248 accused) but is charged separately with leading a procession and escaping from custody) provoked fresh questions from the women.

Accused No. 26 stood up and asked: "Did you ever see Maggie Resha leading processions before?"

Colonel Pienaar: "No!"

Accused 26: "Then who told you that she was our leader? Would you deny it if I told you that we are her leaders, not she of us?"

One woman asked the colonel why the police came armed. Did they expect the women to fight back? Can women fight with men?

Colonel Pienaar said they expected anything. "Women can fight like tigers." There was laughter in the public gallery.

The case has been remanded to this week.



**DURBAN:** Mrs. Alexandrina Ngobese, Secretary of the Two Sticks Branch of the ANC Women's League, was buried last week to the accompaniment of liberation songs and religious hymns. She died of a heart attack soon after she had returned home after visiting homes in her area urging women to join an anti-pass demonstration in support of the recent Johannesburg demonstrations.

Our photo shows the funeral procession, consisting of Indian and African friends of the late Mrs. Ngobese, on its way to the cemetery, led by volunteers of the Women's League and her Church.

People who attended the funeral contributed over £15 in tickets and sixpence to the ANC funds in her memory.

## Hundreds Hear Lutuli At C.O.D. Meeting

JOHANNESBURG.

"MAN is strong enough to go to the moon. Surely we in South Africa can meet the challenge to evolve a system to that all can live in harmony together," said Chief Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, addressing the Congress of Democratic public meeting here last week.

The meeting was crowded to the doors.

Chief Lutuli said apartheid rule was the antithesis of democracy. Civilisation was the heritage of many cultures. The march back to tribalism was sidetracking the democratic road. The Nationalists told the Africans "Develop along your own lines" but in practice this development meant along the lines of the N.A.D.

The democratic society was a realisable vision.

There was a growing number of people who accepted that South Africa was a multi-racial community. "We are all here and must

find a way to live together." The more apartheid was intensified the more opposition grew.

It had been suggested that because South Africa was not a homogeneous community the Africans could not share in democracy. "This is a challenge to us to set a pattern."

### AFAPARTHEID CHRISTIAN

The Rev. H. Leach looking pointedly in the direction of the special Branch detectives, said: "I was born in South Africa and have lived here for 51 years. That is information for those who wish to complete a dossier."

"A society which denies to man his true worth is in opposition to God. You cannot be a Christian and believe in apartheid. The Africans of this land must have a say in the kind of society in which we must live."

United action by all who believe in a multi-racial society—the Congress movement, the Liberals and Labour Party, Black Sash movement and the Churches—could become a formidable force against a fascist dictatorship, said Mr. Jan Hoogenyck, chairman of the Congress of Democrats.

## JOUBURG FORCING WOMEN TO TAKE PASS BOOKS

JOHANNESBURG.

Women's pass books are being issued from several points in Johannesburg, at the Government pass office in Market Street, outside which a number of mass demonstrations that it is now the Department took place, and at the suburban police stations at Booysens and Yeoville. The Booysens team is short-handed to produce permits to show they are entitled to be in the urban area. Council officials will apparently urge women to take out pass books which incorporate the permit.

It is expected that police raids for permits are to be intensified against women.

## BLACK SASH CAMPAIGN TO HALT PASSES FOR WOMEN

JOHANNESBURG.

**THE** Black Sash movement has come out strongly against passes for women and calls on the Government to stop the issue of these books immediately.

The Black Sash has asked the Minister of Native Affairs to receive a deputation against passes for women.

At the end of the month the Black Sash will also hold an all-day demonstration against passes for women on the City Hall steps. An application to hold this demonstration has been made to the Council.

The Black Sash emphasises in an official statement on passes that it is not yet obli-

gatory for African women to carry passes.

The extension of the pass system to women will carry with it not only heavy disabilities suffered by men but will result in an unprecedented disruption of family life.

There are fundamental differences between identity cards for Europeans and reference books for African women, says the Black Sash. The holders of identity cards are not subject to summary arrest if they cannot produce them on demand and the holders of identity cards are not required to supply information which enables the State to exercise constant control over their every movement.

## 129 Women Convicted Under Criminal Laws Amendment Act

JOHANNESBURG.

**THE** first batch of women to be tried following the anti-pass protests here were found guilty last week of contravening a traffic by-law and, under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, with having broken a law by way of protest against the pass laws.

The women were sentenced to one month in jail, with the alternative of £3 fine. The magistrate warned that in future cases like these, sentences would be more severe; to punish the accused and serve as a deterrent to others.

An appeal has been noted by all the women.

Earlier an NAD official Mr. Liebenberg was cross-examined by M. J. Slovo on the issue of passes to women.

He admitted that the taking of passes was not compulsory for women yet.

Addressing the court, Adv. Slovo said: "The citizens of Johannesburg are quite entitled to demonstrate against a law. Before they can be found guilty under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act there must be a clear indication that people who break the law did so in order to protest."

## LIBERAL PARTY CALLS FOR REPEAL OF PASS LAWS

JOHANNESBURG.

**THE** Liberal Party's Transvaal annual conference last week-end called for the repeal of all pass laws, protested at the surrender of the Johannesburg City Council to Verwoerdism, decided unanimously to contest the forthcoming Provincial Council elections, and referred to discussion in the branches throughout the party the franchise policy of the party "with particular reference to details of the transition stage from the present all-white franchise to a universal adult franchise."

### FRANCHISE POLICY

The debates on the franchise policy and the republic were long and contentious. A Pretoria delegate said speakers of the party adopt the franchise policy to the audience they are addressing: When speaking to Africans they favour full franchise, but when speaking to Europeans they speak of a qualified franchise. The Liberal Party had not thrashed out this question and little constructive thinking had

been done on how to get a universal franchise.

The party's official policy stated that the matter will be decided when the party is in power; in other words, the party was saying "Put us in power, then we will decide our policy."

Mr. Patrick Duncan, of Cape Town, felt the matter should be clarified but not this year. Cape Town was coming round to the view of the Transvaal but the matter will be deferred one year longer.

The conference platform did not seem keen on the resolution for a wide discussion of this issue but the delegates' vote carried it.

### REPUBLIC

On the republic there was an even greater assortment of views. One delegate said the question of monarchism or republicanism was minor for individual preference not for the party to discuss. Mr. E. Roux threw a cracker into the conference debate with the semi-serious statement: "Let the Afri-

kander have his republic: He feels he has not yet achieved what he wants." But he then added that the Liberal Party should be in favour of an independent democratic republic of South Africa.

Yet another delegate moved: "A democratic republic is desirable inside or outside the Commonwealth" and finally the resolution adopted affirmed the party handbook policy for consultation of all adult South Africans regardless of race on the republic issue and against the draft NA republic of the early forties.

### AFRICAN WAGES

Senator Ballinger, speaking on African wages, urged the Liberal Party to do more to co-operate with African trade unions. Another delegate said an immediate £1 a day for workers could disrupt the economy. It was necessary to lay down a minimum wage for farm, mine and other labour.

The conference was opened by Chief Lutuli, who said the women's anti-pass protests would be intensified.



The Africanists are now doomed to dismal failure. Even "The World" has thrown them overboard. It is now trying to divide the Congress with talk of a new grouping within the ANC, the "Nationalist." But said the new secretary of the Transvaal ANC: "No one knows who these 'Nationalists' are. There is no such group."

# NEW MOVES TO SPLIT THE A.N.C.

**JOHANNESBURG.** AN ox gives one final kick when it dies, says an old proverb. But the Africanists made jerks belittling a small frog when they were routed and thrown out of the African National Congress at the Orlando Transvaal A.N.C. provincial conference.

This pathetic spectacle was dressed up and played into a sensation by a section of the press. A "big-scale" split in the A.N.C. was alleged and Nationalist newspapers like "Die Transvaler" acclaimed the emergence of this group and openly welcomed it.

But the Africanists are not a force at all in South African politics today. The new organisation which

pelled from Congress after his sabotage of the "stay-at-home" campaign, was put up as the presidential candidate by the Africanists. Both he and P. Leballo, also expelled, forced their way into the conference.

Their tactics failed and the Africanists "folded up" quietly.

### WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

Significantly "The World" newspaper which had served as their platform all along, appears to have turned a complete somersault, and is now denouncing the Africanists.

"The Africanists have dug their graves and buried themselves politically," says "The World's" political commentator "B.L."

And a front page article by the paper's editor says:

"Africanists are disturbers and hecklers of the worst kind. Their following is small and the new organisation they say they have formed seems doomed to a short life. It has nothing in common with the A.N.C. or African nationalism."

"The World" said indeed have contempt for the memory of its readers. THREE DAYS EARLIER its report of the Congress conference said:

"The A.N.C. ceased to be either 'African' or 'National' at the weekend. That is the outcome of the A.N. Special Conference."

Some change of editorial policy, that, in a matter of three days!

### ANTI-WHITE

Mr. Pofaloko Leballo has reached another dead-end in his political career. His group has lots to face even among its most enthusiastic supporters.

They say they are now forming it deemed to dismal failure like other similar splinter groups before them.

### LOST GROUND

Prior to the Orlando conference the Africanists had been losing ground even in the few branches they had dominated.

In Orlando East the Africanist-dominated executive was kicked out of office by the members and a fresh election was held which resulted in the defeat of the Africanists. Similarly in the Mofolo branch, Mr. R. Sobukwe, a lecturer at the Witwatersrand University who is said to be the "brains" of the Africanists, was ousted from the chairmanship of the branch.

The only other branch which the Africanists controlled is one of the seven A.N.C. branches in Alexandra Township, led by Mr. J. Madzunya.

In spite of their noisy propaganda campaign in newspapers like "The World", the Africanists stood absolutely no chance of gaining control of the A.N.C. and they knew it. Their tactic was to organise thugs to intimidate the delegates and possibly seize the conference machinery by force. Madzunya, although ex-

### CO-OPERATION

For "The World" is still riding full tilt against what it calls "the ill-fated phase of the African National Congress."

It conveniently overlooks that the A.N.C. policy of co-operation with other racial groups has its roots far back as 1946, long before the adoption of the Freedom Charter, when the Xuma-Dadoo pact was signed by the then presidents of the African National Congress.

"The World" claims for the Nationalists that it managed to capture five seats on the Transvaal provincial executive elected at the recent Orlando conference. It does not name these five. It puts forward

what it says is the viewpoint of the Nationalists again without saying who their leaders or spokesmen are.

The Liberal journal "Contact" in its last issue also interviewed a Nationalist spokesman without giving his name.

### WHO ARE THEY?

"Who are the Nationalists?" New Age asked the newly elected secretary of the Transvaal A.N.C., Mr. James Hadebe.

"I'm puzzled," he said. "We are all puzzled. None of the 11 members of the Provincial executive knows. We're all asking one another and it has become the joke of the week in the office. As far as we are concerned there are no Nationalists. There is no division among us of any kind. We are all A.N.C. members and belong to no grouping at all within the A.N.C. We all owe loyalty to the Congress and what it stands for."

Somebody in need of a new stick to try to beat the A.N.C. has con-

jured this new division out of the air, but like most hooeymen it has no substance in fact. This is the old trick, slightly disguised, to try to split the A.N.C. and win it from its policy of co-operating with its fellow Congresses.



Delegated Mrs. J. Matie said the Africanists are like signposts. They point a way but never move.



AN AFRICANIST TAKES TO HIS HEELS Mr. Rosette Ntsha went to the conference to try to cause trouble during the proceedings. He elbowed his way through the main door and tried to hold his ground though ordered to leave. But in no time he took to his heels as a crowd of women approached.

## BID TO FORM "AFRICANS ONLY" TRADE UNION BODY

**JOHANNESBURG.** A PRO-APARTHEID African Trade Union Co-ordinating body is to be formed. Its sponsors do not want European, Coloured and Indian workers to participate in its activities or even join it.

The prime mover is Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of African women, who previously supported the disavowal of the South African Trades and Labour Council and the for-

During the campaign for a national minimum wage of £1 a day, Mrs. Mvubelo called upon African women garment workers not to support the campaign.

Another supporter of the new pro-apartheid African co-ordinating body is Mr. J. Nyauze, Secretary of the African Baking Workers' Union, whose press statements urged workers to ignore the "Stay at Home" call on April 14, and the campaign for £1 a day.

The only support that this new Federation has been able to muster is that of six organisations, two of which are well known to be rade unions in name only, and one other trade union which transformed itself into a Benefit Society for fear of the Native Labour Settlers' Divestment Act in 1953.

S.A.C.T.U. is strongly opposed to this new body and has directed all its affiliated unions and local committees throughout South Africa to make known the reactionary ideas behind these splitting manoeuvres.

It also warns workers that if they allow this new body to be formed, their struggle for higher wages and a better life will be doomed to failure.



THE Vigilance Committee won its first major victory in its campaign to shake up the Municipal Workers' Association when all 16 of the Committee's candidates were elected on to the General Council at elections held earlier this month. Four other candidates whom the committee supported were also elected.

## Major Victory For Municipal Workers

**CAPE TOWN.** The Arch-priest, the Venerable Joe Walter Mbina, of the African Orthodox Church, will leave his present parish at Nyanga for a new post in Queenstown on December 9. Rev. S. P. Sikwebe will succeed him.

A farewell celebration will be held at the Nyanga D.R.C. school on Sunday November 30 at 2 p.m.

## PRIEST LEAVING NYANGA

## Liberals, Youth Congress Want Treason Trial Ended

**JOHANNESBURG.** The Liberal Party and the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress have expressed their dismay at the announcement by the Attorney-General of the Transvaal that he intends to draw up a fresh indictment in the treason trial.

"The accused have already been deprived of their normal livelihoods for a period of nearly two years," said the Liberal Party statement.

"The need was felt for an organisation through which the A.N.C. and other Non-European bodies could make contact with those Whites who were prepared to join the Non-Europeans in their fight for freedom and democracy."

In the absence of an organised body of European opinion openly and publicly proclaiming its opposition to the Government's racist policies and supporting the Non-European cause, the political conflict was developing a dangerously Black versus White complexion.

Such a situation no doubt united the present Government, but it did not suit the A.N.C. nor the move-

ment for liberation, and had to be avoided.

It was to a packed meeting of Europeans in 1952 that leaders of the A.N.C. and the South African Indian Congress appealed for an organisation that would take its stand alongside the three main Non-European organisations in their resistance to Nationalist tyranny.

Others, employing the columns of "Contact," the Liberal Party organ and the "Indian Opinion" have joined the chorus, though they quite naturally failed to stoop to the level of the "World".

In isolated cases public speakers have attacked the alliance of the A.N.C. with the Congress of Democrats not on the ground of control of the one by the other, but because the C.O.D. is "an extreme leftist organ" and "does not honour Western civilisation or Christian values".

It is true that other aspects of the 1949 Programme have not been carried out. These are certainly less hazardous than "mass action" and are no doubt more attractive to those who cannot but have regard to considerations of risk and safety. In fact it is significant that a large percentage of the brave and courageous men who are busy carrying out a programme of action against C.O.D. have had little contact with the campaigns conducted by the A.N.C. since 1949, their source of information about such campaigns being what they read in newspapers and books. One cannot help feeling that had they accorded the 1949 Programme a status in any degree higher than a suitable topic for discussion at academic meetings of Political Clubs or Literary and Debating Societies, they would have been in the field of political strife, the C.O.D. has stood, not with the Nationalists, but with the A.N.C. as a friend and ally, and not a dictator and controller; and that it hardly merits being placed in the position of an enemy of the oppressed people.

It is safe to give the assurance that the present leaders of the A.N.C. will leave it to the Nationalist Government and those who sympathise with it either to attack and victimise any of the Congresses or take steps in the form of propaganda or otherwise, to weaken and undermine the liberatory front.

**INFERIORITY COMPLEX**

Whether the men and women who came together as the C.O.D. did or did not honour Western civilisation or Christian values would have been difficult to say, assuming the question was relevant. The Nationalist Government has already claimed that it is protecting Western civilisation and is acting in the name of Christianity. The present leader of the Nationalist Party, Dr. Verwoerd, claims that God chose him as Prime Minister, and God is supposed to have done this in spite of the sorry tale of misery and disaster which forms part of the record of Dr. Verwoerd's administration of the Department of Native Affairs.

One may well ask, what would have been the fate of "Western" civilisation if England had withdrawn from the last war when Russia joined the Allies against Germany? Or if America had stayed out of the war because Communist Russia was in it?

**WHO CONTROLS WHOM?**

Let us examine the other objection to the alliance of the Congresses, namely that the Congress of Democrats controls the A.N.C. Can it be said that there is anything which, but for its association or alliance with the C.O.D., the A.N.C. would have done or refrained from doing? It surely cannot be suggested that the A.N.C. would not have

conducted a militant struggle against oppression.

The main feature of the 1949 annual conference of the A.N.C. was its adoption of a Programme of Action, not a programme of inaction, and in taking this decision the A.N.C. was not influenced or

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Watch for the Event of the Year  
**NEW AGE XMAS DANCE**

A row of "Russians" stood behind Mr. Madzunya at the conference, sticks peeping out of some of their blankets. There were seats for them but they'd been brought for action, so stood about waiting for it. Their chance never came.

## BOSSSES' SECRET PLAN

(Continued from page 1)  
but aspirations common to all human beings.

### APRIL 14th

Reviewing past boycotts and strikes organised by the Congress movement, the Chamber drew particular attention to the April 14 pre-election demonstration this year.

"It is true that, in the end, the protest fizzled out into an almost complete fiasco and the organisers, as a consequence, officially called it off after the first day," says the memorandum. "Nevertheless, it must also be placed on record that in isolated and sporadic instances some organisations were very seriously affected and that absenteeism continued even after the 'protest' was officially called off by the organisers.

"It is perhaps more important to analyse the reason for the apparent failure of the protest. The Chamber would ascribe this to the following factors:

(1) The part played by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries in convening meetings and organising all sections of industry and commerce, civic administration welfare workers and householders together with representatives of the Departments of Native Affairs, Labour, Police, Commerce and Industries, Justice and the S.A.R. and H.

(2) The liaison established by employers, on the advice of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries and other employer organisations, between themselves and their Non-European workers.

"These employer/employee committees have done a great deal to develop responsible Native opinion. Where this liaison existed the employers were able, on the one hand, to explain the abortive nature of the proposed action to the workers and, on the other hand, to indicate that employers would take a serious view of any disruption caused by workers who stayed away from work.

### POLICE ACTION

(3) The prompt, effective and responsible intervention by the South African police in areas where they were required, and by showing that they were present in all areas during the three days of 'protest'.

(4) The understanding and contact maintained by the Departments of Native Affairs, of Labour, of Commerce and Industry and of Justice, as well as various local authorities, with the employer associations before and after the dates mentioned above.

(5) The restraint shown by all sections of the South African Press in not giving sensational publicity to the proposed protest.

(6) The responsible statements made by leading European citizens.

(7) The responsible part played by some leading Natives, by publicly condemning the protest." (Presumably a reference to the strike-breaking efforts of Mr. M. J. Co. Ed.) "It must be pointed out that efforts of these responsible Natives cannot be passed over too lightly as they constituted the only efforts of the Non-European organisers of the strike."

The memorandum says there was also division in the ranks of the strike, and "most Non-Europeans probably realise that the £1-per-day demand is, under present circumstances, unrealistic."

"The Chamber, however, does not believe that these two attempts in the past (June 26, 1957, and April 14, 1958) were the last, and the so-called strike, and even less does the Chamber feel assured that the results will always be a failure, but the Chamber would like to point out at this juncture that a free supply of suitable labour would assist in acting as a deterrent to strike action."

### BOYCOTTS

In addition to strikes, the Chamber has also been carried by the question of boycotts.

"Instances have been reported in the press and have otherwise come to the notice of this Chamber where the Native and other Non-European communities have organised boycotts against the products of

particular companies, mainly for allegedly political reasons. There is evidence to show that such companies have felt the effect of these boycotts in their sales and in their general turnover. It is also evident that the Non-European community is learning that its purchasing power can be used as a weapon in its general political struggle.

"It is a development which this Chamber cannot ignore, or discuss lightly, because with the restricted internal market in which the Non-European community is organised exclusion of south African manufactured products from a section of the market is of serious consequence to those industries concerned. More particularly is it so in the case of those industries which produce consumer goods for the use of the Non-European communities."

The memorandum quotes cases where businesses "have been threatened with—indeed have become—victims of—boycotts organised by and among the Non-European community on the grounds that companies have discriminated against Natives, in these cases particularly Natives, from the better remunerated jobs. It is evident that the Non-European community would use their purchasing power as a weapon to gain advancement for themselves in the economic sphere."

The strike of Indian workers in Durban is mentioned. The company concerned has to replace the available African labour and recruited more Africans to take the place of the Indian strikers.

The company is immediately confronted with a joint deputisation from the African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (a European organisation) and the South African Liberal Party. The deputisation urged the company immediately to enter into negotiations with the Textile Workers' Industrial Union of South Africa for a settlement of the strike and was further urged not to replace the Indian workers out on strike with Native workers.

"Shortly after the interview—the company received a letter from the Natal Provincial Secretary of the African National Congress accusing the company of employing Native workers at lower than normal rates of pay in order to break the strike. The letter threatened that unless this practice was immediately ended a boycott against the firm's products would be organised. It is relevant to mention here that the company's products include blankets for the Native market, so that a boycott of these products would have been of serious consequence to the company."

"This particular occurrence is mentioned in some detail in this memorandum in order to (a) direct attention to co-operation and solidarity between Non-European organisations and between such organisations and certain European workers at lower than normal rates of pay in order to break the strike, and (b) to draw attention to the intervention of Non-European political organisations in a workers' strike, and (c) to draw attention to the use of the boycott of products as a weapon to achieve settlement of an industrial dispute."

### RESTRICTIVE LAWS

The memorandum mentions that there are solid political and economic reasons for the dissatisfaction of the Non-European community and says that further restrictive legislation by the Government to curb strikes and boycotts would provide no solution to the problem.

"There is a distinct danger that any legislation to outlaw such boycotts would be viewed in a poor light in overseas countries, particularly those in which South Africa already has a bad press. . . . It might even lead to a boycott of South Africa against South African exports with consequences more harmful to South Africa's economy than might be achieved by local boycotts."

"Since the boycotts appear to (Continued in next column)

# STOP NUCLEAR TESTS FOR ALL TIME

## Soviet Proposal To Crucial Big Three Conference

REPRESENTATIVES of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain are now meeting in Geneva in order to find agreement on the immediate halting of nuclear tests.

This is probably the most impor-

## World Stage

by  
*Spectator*

tant conference since the Eisenhower-Eisenhower-Bulgarian summit meeting several years ago, and spokesmen of all the participating powers have stressed its importance. Surprisingly, however, the Soviet Union has considered the meeting hardly worth reporting.

What is the background to the conference?

The Soviet government proposed on December 11, last year, that the great powers should all agree immediately to stop all nuclear tests. This was at a time when the other powers had completed far more tests than the Soviet Union has.

On March 31 the Soviet Union gave the example by announcing that she was stopping her own tests, and declaring that if the other states would do the same she would not resume them.

But the United States has not at any time found itself able to

(Continued from previous column) have arisen from a feeling among the Non-European people of dissatisfaction against certain legislation, it is feared that a law outlawing boycotts would only be construed by them as being hostile. It may transpire that if such legislation is successfully implemented more drastic or more dangerous means may be employed in the expression of opposition or discontentment.

"In the ultimate it must be conceded that 'boycotting' is a fairly common way of using the economic circles to alter the policy of producers or wholesalers and that there are also historical precedents halting the export of goods from South Africa by Europeans against Europeans and by Europeans against Non-Europeans."

### POSITIVE MEASURES

The Chamber says there are already far too many restrictive and negative laws on the Statute Book, and positive measures are called for to overcome the problems discussed in its memorandum.

Positive proposals made by the Chamber include "the raising of wage levels of Native workers by permitting the dilution of skilled labour"; better and cheaper transport facilities; the reduction of house rents and the adjustment of the sub-economy, means test on housing rental rating is based from the figure of £15 to a figure which bears a more realistic relation to the cost of living; improved amenities in the township; the continuation of the methods of consultation which proved so effective in halting the April 14 demonstration; and the revision of the laws relating to the recruitment and movement of labour.

declare that it is in favour of the ending of all tests for all time, nor has Britain.

"CLEAN" TESTS  
At first the Americans pooh-poohed the idea that the halting of nuclear tests was a matter of urgency. They said that their tests were "clean" and could not harm anyone.

Secondly, they said, it was impossible to come to an agreement to stop the tests because it would be impossible for scientists to keep check on whether or not the agreement was being honoured.

Each of these arguments were proved to be as infamous as the unanimous verdicts of conferences in which the official scientific representatives of the U.S. and Britain participated. It is impossible to conceive that Dulles did not know that what he said was a lie at the time he said it.

### NEW SABOTAGE

Now—having been forced to go to the conference by the weight of public opinion—Dulles and Mac-



Khrushchev: "Let's have a different kind of race."

Millan are trying a different method of sabotage.

The Soviet Union has called for a halt to all tests. So, say Dulles and MacMillan. We can agree only to suspend tests.

Even their own press has pointed out that this would mean no more than an interruption of tests for a short period, which is probably technically convenient for them.

In addition the U.S. and Britain have tried to play down the importance of the conference. The Soviet Union proposed that it be a conference of foreign ministers.

But the U.S. and Britain would agree only to send subordinates.

"Too bad," commented the London News Chronicle (Oct 31, 1958). "Just one more propaganda point scored by Moscow."

Nevertheless, in spite of all the attempts to minimise the conference, it is likely that the west will be forced to make important concessions and that the meeting will function as a step forward.

Even the half-hearted Dulles-MacMillan proposal, upon which they have so far refused to improve, may be better than nothing. They propose to stop tests for one year, a period capable of being further renewed "subject to satisfactory functioning of the control system and satisfactory progress in other measures of disarmament."

### NOT BINDING

This is clearly designed to leave the way open for the west to announce at any time it chooses that there is not "satisfactory progress" and it does not therefore really amount to a binding agreement at all. Nevertheless it does mean that the west will be placing itself in an indefensible position as far as public opinion is concerned if it does attempt to resume tests.

On the other hand, of course, it

is possible that the Soviet Union will find itself unable to agree to a formulation of this type, which, while tying her own hands, will leave the west free to do as it pleases.

For it is clear that the Soviet government, by its resumption of tests and emphasis on its right to explode as many bombs as the west does, until there is agreement, is determined to show that its eagerness for a halt to nuclear explosions is based on her desire for peace and not on any feeling of weakness.

Not least among the factors exerting pressure on the U.S. and British delegations was an appeal to the conference to find a means of stopping the tests for all time from some of the most distinguished people in the field of science, politics and culture in the west.

Among them are Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Tryon, former secretary-general of the United Nations, world-famous scientists Albert Schweitzer and Lord (Bertrand) Russell, Pastor Martin Niemoeller, renowned for his defiance of Hitler, and Canon John Collins, preacher of St. Paul's Church, London.

It was organised by the American National Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Another appeal has been sent to the Prime Minister and the American and Soviet Ambassadors in

London. It says that failure at Geneva to agree on suspension of tests would be a disaster.

Among the signatories are Baroness Barbara Wootton, Dame Peggy Ashcroft; Mr. R. W. Bringham (general secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants); Mr. Bob Edwards, M.P. (secretary of the Chemical Workers' Union); Mr. John Horner (secretary of the Fire Brigades Union).

### SCIENTISTS

The scientist signatories include Lord Russell, Lord Boyd-Orr, Sir Julian Huxley (formerly director-general of Unesco), Sir Ben Speiser (formerly secretary of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research) and Prof. G. Pontecorvo (professor of physics, Glasgow University).

Church personalities to sign the appeal are the bishops of Stafford, Manchester, Llandaff, Plymouth and Hulme, the Rev. Trevor Hudleston and Dr. Donald Soper.

Other signatories to the appeal, organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, are Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, Sir Richard Acland and sculptor Henry Moore.

Yet a third "appeal," in the form of a letter to The Times last week, is signed by 16 women famous in their own right or as wives of famous men. It calls on the British representatives to go to Geneva "ready to agree to an immediate ending of tests for ever."

The letter says: "Almost every day a cloud of cold ash upwards poisoning the air we breathe and the food we eat. This is because we failed to respond directly to the suspension of tests by the Russians, and because they failed to wait for our own appointed terms."

## AFTER FOUR YEARS OF WAR

## DE GAULLE PLANS FAKE ELECTION IN ALGERIA

THIS MONTH MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALGERIA.

For four years the people of that country, unarmed or equipped with the most primitive weapons, have fought the whole might of France and have at last compelled the French government to recognise their leaders and to call upon them to negotiate for peace.

This, in the words of the London Observer (Nov. 2) is a "fantastic achievement."

"The success was all the more shattering as the European settlers, one-tenth of the total population, had persuaded themselves that the fellahs were feeble and childlike. Instead the hungry and often illiterate bands proved to be not only formidable fighters but remarkable organisers."

Today the Algerian government-in-exile in Cairo is reported to have an annual budget of 250 million dollars, and it handles a nation-wide supply and demand system on a scale which has few parallels in the history of guerrilla warfare.

## HUGE DEATH TOLL

At a press conference last week de Gaulle announced that in the four years fighting 77,000 Algerian Liberation Army fighters had lost their lives. (He claimed that 7,200 French dead were the total on the other side.)

There are half-a-million French troops in Algeria.

Nevertheless, in spite of the convincing proof that the Alge-

rian people have given that they are NOT a part of France and do not wish to be, General de Gaulle is determined to push through his plan to hold elections in Algeria as a "constituent part of France" on the 30th of this month. Sixty-six deputies will be "elected" from Algeria to the French Assembly.

Known supporters of the Algerian liberation movement, who are all branded by de Gaulle as "persons engaged in terrorist activities" are specifically banned from participation in the elections, and the Algerian government-in-exile has already announced that it will not recognise the results.



## U.S. Dictatorship in Pakistan

THE tyrannical clamp-down on all expression of democratic opinion which has followed the taking of power by the new U.S.-sponsored Pakistan dictatorship last month is a clear indication that the United States feared that a revolution on the Iraq pattern was brewing and that the old and corrupt regime would not be strong enough to withstand it.

For the first time in 11 years Pakistan was due to hold a general election in February of next year. The new dictatorship acted quickly to prevent even the beginning of an election campaign for fear of the forces that might emerge in the course of the heightened political activity.

The spontaneous mass meetings throughout the country which acclaimed the Iraq revolution and protested against the Anglo-American invasion of Lebanon and Jordan served as a grim warning to President Iskander Mirza, that he might well go the way of Iraq's ruler. He encouraged army chief Ayub Khan to join with him in establishing a two-man dictatorship. Two weeks later Ayub Khan made it a one-man dictatorship.

Among those jailed by the new government are Mr. F. D. Mansur, the general secretary of the Communist Party, the editors of several democratic newspapers, and trade union leaders.

But the coup has made the U.S. more unpopular than ever. Even by London Times notes (Oct. 15) that "sincere" Pakistan democrats are pained and disillusioned by what seems to them over-hasty approval for the new regime in the West."

The new government is still extremely vulnerable as the result of its isolation in which it finds itself off the main group of countries, the Shah of Persia has proposed a possible confederation of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and Afghanistan. But this would probably create such immense opposition within Pakistan that it would make the government's problems worse.

## SHAHS PLAN

As a counter to the influence of the Asia-Africa group of countries, the Shah of Persia has proposed a possible confederation of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and Afghanistan. But this would probably create such immense opposition within Pakistan that it would make the government's problems worse.

(Continued from previous column) or make me act against my consciences.

## OF MY OWN FREE WILL

That is true in this case. It is hardly necessary for me to add that nobody has forced me to do anything and that I am making this statement of my own free will, with a bright faith in my own future and in the future generally, being proud of the times in which I live and of the people who surround me. I firmly believe that I shall find the strength to redeem my good name increasing the confidence of my comrades.

(Signed) B. Pasternak, November 5, 1958.

# I HAVE NOT BEEN PERSECUTED!

## Pasternak Declares Full Text Of Letter To Pravda

The following is the full text of Mr. Boris Pasternak's letter to Pravda following his announcement that he had refused to accept the Nobel Prize awarded to him on the publication of his novel Dr. Zhivago:

I am asking the editorial offices of Pravda to publish my statement. I am compelled to do so by my respect for the truth.

Everything that has happened to me was a natural consequence of my actions, just as all my manifestations concerning the award of the Nobel prize to me have been free and voluntary. I accepted the award of the Nobel prize as a literary distinction. I rejoiced at it, and I expressed this in the telegram addressed to the secretary of the Swedish Academy. But I was wrong. Already I had reason to make such a mistake because I had

been nominated as candidate for it approximately five years ago, i.e., before my novel existed.

## MONSTROUS CONSEQUENCES

After the end of the week, when I saw the scope of the political campaign around my novel, I realised that this award was a political measure, which has now resulted in monstrous consequences, and on my own initiative, without being compelled by anybody, sent my voluntary refusal.

In my letter to Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev I said that it was tedious to Russia by my birth, life, and work, and that to leave and go into exile abroad was unthinkable for me. In this connection I had in mind, not only my ties of birth with the land and nature, but also of its people, its past, its glorious present and future.

Yet obstacles created by the novel through my own fault have become a wall between myself and this connection. I have never had the intention of causing harm to my State and my people. The editorial office of "Novy Mir" warned me that the novel might be understood by readers as a work directed against the October revolution and the foundations of the Soviet system. I did not realise this, and I now regret it.

Indeed, if one were to take into consideration the conclusions re-

sulting from a critical appraisal of the novel, it would appear that in my novel I allegedly maintain the following erroneous principles.

## CLUMSY ALEGATIONS

I am supposed to have alleged that any revolution is a historically illegal phenomenon, that the October revolution was such, and that it brought unhappiness to Russia and the downfall of the Russian intelligentsia.

It is clear to me that I cannot endorse such clumsy allegations. At the same time, my work, which was awarded the Nobel prize, gave cause to this regrettable interpretation, and that is the reason why I finally gave up the prize.

If the publication of the book had not been undertaken, as I had asked my publisher in Italy, I should perhaps have seen able to correct it, at least in part. Its publication in other countries was without my authority. But the book has been printed, and it is too late to discuss this.

During this stormy week I have not been persecuted. My life has not been endangered, nor has my freedom been imperiled. I wish to emphasise once again that all my actions have been entirely voluntary. People close to me know well that nothing on earth can prevent my being perfectly straightforward

(Continued in next column)

# NERGERIA WILL BE INDEPENDENT

NIGERIA, Britain's largest colony, is to become an independent state within the Commonwealth on October 1, 1960. This was announced at the end of a conference between Nigerian leaders and representatives of Britain last week.

When its 33 million people achieve their independence there will remain only 14 million in Britain's colonial empire.

Imperialism's technique of divide and rule has been applied in the constitution. When it drafted the country's first constitution in 1946 Britain split Nigeria into three regions—North, East and West. Advantage was taken of the existence of scores of languages to sponsor and encourage political rivalries.

The new constitution will retain these divisions and Nigeria will be a federation of the three regions.

The Eastern and Western regions already have a measure of self-government. Self-government will, in terms of the new plan, be extended to the Northern region in April of next year.

A federal general election will be held in the autumn of 1959. When the elected representatives meet in the first parliament, they will, according to the agreement, formally

ask Britain for independence, and this will be granted on October 1, 1960.

It is through its agents in the feudal Northern region, in which over half the Nigerian people live, that Britain hopes to continue to exercise control.

# ASWAN—MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH FOR EGYPT

THE building of the High Aswan Dam to harness the waters of the upper Nile is a matter of life and death for the future livelihood and independence of Egypt's people.

For fertile fields which will bring food and clothing to the hungry millions of the Middle East will replace endless miles of arid sands, electric power will replace the labour of the camel and the ox, and the possibility will arise of exploiting the abundant supplies of iron ore.

The dam will provide pure water to areas where there are now only insanitary villages—a tremendous step toward overcoming Egypt's endemic

diseases.

The original Aswan Dam project was to cost £470,000,000 and take 8 years to build.

The plan was suspended in 1956 when the U.S., Britain and the World Bank abruptly withdrew offers totalling £94 million. This comprised £5m. from Britain, £39m. from the U.S., and £70m. from the World Bank.

This British-U.S. offer had been hedged about with strings that President Nasser considered would place the economy of Egypt under U.S. control.

When Nasser rejected the conditions as insulting to Egypt's sovereignty, not only

were the loan negotiations suspended, but also £5 million of Anglo-U.S. credits were cancelled.

It was this attempt to use Egypt's desperate need in order to impose political worlding that finally determined Nasser to nationalise the Suez Canal, which in turn led to the aggression by Britain, France and Israel.

Moscow Radio saw the loan to the United Arab Republic would cover "expense connected with deliveries of machinery, equipment and other materials" from the U.S.S.R. of which an United Arab Republic was short."

Marshal Avar said afterwards: "The Soviet Union has

proved that she is the friend of the Arab people."

He said the United Arab Republic would welcome the new "great help."

"The realisation of this great project will reinforce our national economy still more and give our fighting people another great opportunity to increase agricultural and industrial production and will help to raise living standards," said the marshal.

The loan and the reaction to it should put an end to the continuous flow of reports in the western press, never well-founded, that relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union were becoming strained.



# U.S. STATE DEPT. BACKS THE NATIONALISTS

# SPORTLIGHT

by  
"DULEEP"



(Continued from page 1) which he stressed the need for Americans to get closer to the Nats. This strategy is based on the hope that in time the Americans would influence the Nats, to modify the cruder parts of their racial policies and so become a more presentable ally in the cold war.

Mr. Mungler's advice was welcomed and accepted. The Ford Foundation has declined to renew its substantial grant to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and it is believed that the grant may instead be given to S.A.B.A.

## NOT SO BAD

One of the Ford Foundation's

advisers on South African affairs is Dr. Frank Loewcher who, like Dr. Mungler, has written articles in American journals pointing out that Nationalist policy is not really as bad as liberals and others say it is.

Both Mr. Mungler and Dr. Loewcher are expected to return to the United States to continue their efforts to white-wash Government policy and to follow the line: "Don't let us be beaten by the Nats. They are doing their best, and, after all, they are friendly to American interests."

In Washington an organisation has been set up on a select (and keep an eye on) Africans who want to visit the United States. This is the

African-American Institute Inc. The chairman is Harold K. Hoshokishi who is also the chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Metal Corporation which is deeply interested in the Rhodesian Copper Mines. He found the money to start the Institute. Also on the executive committee of the Institute and chairman of its publications committee is Mr. Mungler, as well as Dana S. Creel, director of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (it runs to many millions of dollars) and L. K. Christie, president of the Liberia Mining Co.

This Institute publishes a small glossy monthly paper, "Africa Special Report". The articles are sympathetic to South Africa and are nicely angled to support the "right" men and movements in Rhodesia and East Africa. They are not tainted by the kind of outspoken liberalism that makes Eric Louw so sore.

## TRAVEL GRANTS

This African-American Institute plans to increase its efforts to win friends and influence people in South Africa. It has travel grants to offer "suitable" people for a visit to the U.S. and in finding such people it will consult responsible Nationalists like Prof. N. J. Olivier of S.A.B.A. and others. The first grants have been given to Dr. G. D. Scholtz of Die Transvaler and Rev. J. S. Gerike of Stellenbosch University. Professor Vernon McKay of Washington (formerly in the State Department and still in close touch with it) is another pillar of the Institute who visited the Union not long ago.

It will be recalled that Mr. Louw's first grant publicly was made by the Ford Foundation that if it continued to subsidise the Institute of Race Relations, he would have something to say to the Ford motor dealers in the Union and to all who buy cars from them.

## Racing at Milnerton

These are Damon's selections for Saturday:

Ralph Price Handicap: VOLTI-GEUR, Danger, Mimmetonka.

Owners' Handicap: TIME BOMB, Danger, Gentian.

Act Handicap: TIME TO SHINE, Danger, Astray.

Progress Seven: FAIR CIRCLE, Danger, Affair.

Progress Five: LAMPION, Danger, Antics.

Maiden Plate: CANNY SCOT, Danger, Kehren.

Lowville Plate: C STOUT FELLOW, Danger, Neposist.

Junior Plate: FRENCH DRAMA, Danger, H. E. Amos, selected.

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# TEACHERS FORM UNION-WIDE FEDERATION

**DISCUSSIONS AT CAPE TOWN.** Organisations which met in Johannesburg last week-end have resulted in the formation of the South African Federation of Teachers' Associations.

The new Federation claims a membership of approximately 5,000 Coloured and Indian teachers in the four provinces and South-West Africa, and a potential membership of 11,000.

## SALARIES

According to the Federation one of the first tasks to be undertaken will be that of salaries for Coloured teachers. The salaries of

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Buses from Dock Road at corner of Advertiser Street and from Lower Buitenkant Street (near Castle).

R. C. LOUW,  
SECRETARY.

## BICYCLE WANTED

Bicycle wanted for trade union organiser. Any offer to New Age, 6 Barrack St., Cape Town, phone 23788.

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European teachers were revised recently and it is hoped that the S.A.F.T.A. will represent the teachers at discussions with the educational authorities and the Public Service Commission in Johannesburg towards the end of this month.

Other function visualised by the Federation include negotiations with the authorities on the question of educational techniques with a view to getting the best possible results for pupils and teachers; compulsory education for all; a school-feeding aid similar matters.

Mr. Sal was elected president of the Federation at Mr. A. J. Jacobs secretary-treasurer. Dr. J. B. van der Ross, T.E.P.A., at the conference.

In an interview with New Age, Dr. R. E. van der Ross, who attended the Johannesburg conference, referred to the attitude of the Teachers' League of South Africa and the Union Movement as expressed through the newspaper "Sorb" last week.

## "SOUR GRAPES"

"A teacher's move to form a teachers' federation was made by the S.A.F.T.A. earlier but for some reason or other they failed," Dr. van der Ross said. "I think their attitude to the S.A.F.T.A. is one of sour grapes."

"Moreover they have their facts mixed, for the move to form the federation did not come from the Natal Indian Teachers' Society."

The T.L.S.A. took down their noses at the Transvaal organisations because they had previously split into Coloured and Indian groups. Dr. van der Ross said: "But now there is no split. Mr. Carr who was at that time involved was present at the conference and expressed his satisfaction with the moves to create a united teachers' body."

"If it is true (which we deny) that teachers' groups have not been militant, would not a federation, the co-operation of all teachers' organisations, help to remedy the situation?"

## T.L. FUNCTION

An opportunity to present teachers' unity in their dealings with the authorities was necessary. "We are incensed at because we are going to ask for increased salaries," Dr. van der Ross concluded. "But it is not the function of any trade union organisation to ask for improvements and salaries for its worker members?"

## PUBLIC MEETING

"Drop the Treason Trial"

EX-TREASON TRIALIST AND CONGRESS SPEAKERS AT ROBIN ROOPE, CITY HALL

THURSDAY, 20th NOVEMBER, at 1.15 p.m.

Also "SUPPORT THE J ANTI-PASS CAMP"

SPEAKER FROM THE ALL WELCOME

ALL WELCOME

Invited by Congress of Democrats.

## Two National Cricket Tournaments

Two national cricket tournaments are scheduled to take place over the Christmas and New Year holidays this season, namely that of the Coloureds at Cape Town, known as the Sir David Harris Cup Tournament, and the other at Johannesburg by the Bantus. The latter, however, has received a last-minute set-back by the non-affiliation of other centres apart from Transval, W.P. and Transkei, which may ultimately result in its cancellation, for the rules specify that no less than five centres must compete in a tournament. However, an extension of time has been granted to centres like E.P., G. G. and Eastern Transval, Border and Natal, but the response is not there, then the likelihood of the Bantu tournament taking place is rather remote.

Authoritative sources lay the blame for this non-affiliation on the numerous domestic squabbles that exist in most of the unions. It will indeed be a pity if this tournament does not take place, for the national selectors will obviously be watching all major tournaments, in view of the proposed tour by the West Indies. Amongst the Bantus, there is a wealth of talent which has not yet been given an opportunity to excel, and there is no better opportunity to catch the eye of the selectors than a national tourney. For, who knows, we may still find a few more Malambas and Langas.

On the other hand, the Sir David Harris tournament promises to be a first-rate affair. Western Province, as hosts, are leaving no stone unturned, and all affiliated unions have signalled their intention to participate, which no doubt will provide excellent cricket fare to fans.

Western Province, with nine of the players who toured East Africa, are favoured to retain the coveted trophy, but Transval and E.P. are making a determined bid to extend the 'champions', although their chances are remote. Nevertheless the "serious uncertainties of cricket" can make the strongest of sides lose, and a game is only lost when the last ball is delivered. All told, this tournament will be the finest in the history of Non-European cricket, with players trying to gain international recognition.

I say "international recognition", with the hope that national selectors will be here to see the performance of each and every cricketer. If the Board of Control has not yet decided to send the "Blue Triangles" to Cape Town, then the S.A. Coloureds Cricket Association should immediately demand their presence in Cape Town, with the proviso that they be present at all national tournaments, for the time has come when selections must be made on observation and not from figures and statistics. And, if the prospects are so far from being as bright as they are to-morrow with time and progress.

What about a match between the S.A. Coloureds vs. the S.A. Bantus in the course of this tour? If my original suggestions of the S.A. tourists vs. the Rest of S.A. or Combined W.P. vs. Combined W.P. does not take place in Cape Town?

## Soccer Venues

The S.A. Soccer Federation matches between the Coloureds, Africans and Indians have since their inception, taken place in Dur-

ban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, and there is no doubt that these centres have seen the best in Non-European soccer over the years. But the time has come when revenue considerations in these venues should be taken into consideration. With the exception of Durban, none of the other two venues have really proved a money-spinner, Johannesburg, in the last Indo-Coloured match, proved a dead loss, while Cape Town could just about muster half of Durban's total. This, we must realise, is not good business.

I stress this is not good business, because both Johannesburg and Cape Town can do better. Speaking of Cape Town, soccer has a very big following, bigger than in Durban, yet Cape Town cannot make the turnstiles click. The blame can be put down to not having a suitable and conveniently situated venue, while publicity for matches is also sadly lacking. Another important factor is that many unions do not cancel their fixtures for such big games. This has been the biggest stumbling block to bigger gates. But here again, blame can be attached to lethargy of administrators who do not realise the importance of these big matches.

How Johannesburg failed this year as a revenue-producing centre can be taken as a lesson. The Federation would do well to investigate the whole set-up fully.

## We Hear It Said . . .

● That for the S.A. Athletic Championships to be held in Durban in January, Natal, Western Province and Boland are certain to participate, and there is a strong possibility that Transval, E.P. and Griqualand West will also take part. The Cape centres are strongly favoured to sweep the board, especially in the cycling events, in which the Bolanders are head and shoulders above any other province.

● That the ever popular Mr. R. Kallie, of Ludsmyn, President of the S. Union, is convalescing in the King Edward Hospital, Durban, from a heart ailment. Here's wishing him a speedy recovery so that he can tackle the problem of the National Indian Tournament at Durban next season.

● That the West Indies team to tour South Africa will be more or less the same side that recently successfully toured U.S.A. That team comprised players of the calibre of Weekes, Valentine, Smith, Hall, Gautume and Roberts, and if they include Worrell, Walcott, Sobers and Ramadhin, then South Africa will really be given a cricket feast of the world's greatest Non-European players.

● That there is a strong possibility that in the near future Non-Whites from the West Indies, India, Pakistan and South Africa will play their own international series.

● That Mrs. W. Herbert of Cape Town has recently been appointed chief club organiser of all sporting centres under the control of the City Council housing estates. A fitting reward indeed, for she is a S.A. symphonic champion, besides excelling in other sports such as fencing, swimming, dancing, mountaineering and cycling.

● That the S.A. Soccer Federation is favourably considering holding the Federation series annually instead of bi-annually. Why not try an Inter-Provincial Non-Racial Tourney in alternate years, instead of matches which smell of racial stigma?

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