

CAN DE GAULLE AVOID CIVIL WAR?

FRANCE faces civil war. Less than two years after General de Gaulle assumed power and promised the French people an era of peace and the complete elimination of strife, the French army is divided into two bitterly hostile groups ready to do battle with one another. And behind these two sections of the Army are two sections of the civilian population also mustering their forces for a possibly crucial and bitter struggle.

It is ironic that the very people who brought de Gaulle to power are now his most bitter opponents. Nearly two years ago it was the colons in Algeria, backed by important sections of the Army, most of Big Business and a host of fascist groups in France itself, that paved the way for the General's accession to power.

At that time the Centre, the Liberals and the Socialists capitulated completely to de Gaulle, declaring that he was the only man who could save France from a civil war. Inside France itself the Communists were the only substantial group that came out in opposition to him.

Since then much turbulent war has flowed under the bridge. The Algerian colons and a considerable portion of the French Army in Algeria have virtually declared war on de Gaulle in a desperate attempt to force him to abandon his Algerian policy. And in France itself the fascist elements are supporting the colons, as are a large number of France's leading capitalists.

COMIC?

In an article which appeared in the New Statesman recently, before the latest crisis in Algeria came to the surface, Paul Johnson reported from Paris:

"One of the most comic (sic) spectacles in France today is to observe the old Petainiste businessmen, who clamoured for de Gaulle's head in 1940, and for his re-incarnation in 1958, working themselves back into their 1940 mood."

The resignation from the French Government of the "old-style Conservative" Finance Minister Pinay earlier this year should hasten this process, Johnson adds.

On the other hand, the Communists towards the end of last year changed their line of complete opposition to de Gaulle on all fronts to limited and qualified support for the General's new Algerian policy.

Thus the character of the de Gaulle Government has altered considerably over the last eighteen months. Whereas formerly its main backing came from the extreme Right, now it is maintained in the face of an attack from the Right by a Centre-Left grouping.

What has brought this remarkable change about?

LIBERATION ARMY

The main factor has undoubtedly been the relentless struggle for freedom of the Moslem people of Algeria, led by the Algerian Liberation Army.

Of all the promises de Gaulle made when he came to power, the one that gained for him the greatest support was that he would swiftly bring the Algerian war to an end. The French people were bitterly sick of the war, which was draining France's finances, causing great loss of life, and lowering the name of France in the eyes of the world.

de Gaulle's approach to Algeria at the time was to pursue a policy of "pacification" whereby the Algerian freedom fighters would be forced to sue for peace on his terms. At the same time he gave signs that he would not necessarily continue with the same hopeless policies towards Algeria as his predecessors.

As it became increasingly clear that far from being "pacified" the Algerian people were flocking in

ever greater numbers to their Liberation Army, and that the Liberation Army was improving as a military force, so de Gaulle demonstrated that he was more and more thinking in terms of a political rather than a purely military settlement of the problem.

The first significant sign was the granting of the vote to the Moslems in Algeria when de Gaulle held the referendum on his new Constitution. True enough, the fact that the French Army controlled the holding of the referendum in Algeria made a complete farce of it, but nevertheless, this was at least in principle a small step in the right direction.

Then, to forestall yet another humiliating vote against France at UNO, de Gaulle announced towards the end of last year that the French Government would recognise the right of the people of Al-

WORLD STAGE
By SPECTATOR

geria to self-determination. He offered the Algerian liberation fighters the "peace of the brave" to be followed by four years in which normal public life would be restored, after which all the people of Algeria would have the right to self-determination.

This declaration was hedged with so many qualifications as to be almost worthless as a practical suggestion, but its great importance lay in the fact that again it was an acknowledgment of the principle that the Algerian people had the right to self-determination.

TOO MUCH

It was this that proved too much for the ultras in Algeria. A renewed wave of plotting began, by the same people, but this time directed at sabotaging their former hero, de Gaulle.

Three weeks ago de Gaulle found it necessary to recall to Paris one of the arch-plotters who had helped to bring the de Gaulle regime into being—General Massu.

As the London New Statesman pointed out at the time:

"De Gaulle's position vis a vis the army and the 'ultras' has in fact worsened so much that he can no longer avoid a showdown. Moreover, the mere disciplining of Massu will not solve the problem, for Massu undoubtedly represents the views of the majority of the army."

"These may be summed up as follows: the de Gaulle policy is unworkable; we cannot fight a war against Algerian rebels in order to ensure Algerian self-determination at the end of it; the army will never leave Algeria, and if de Gaulle cannot understand that, he must go."

Now the showdown has come. Many thousands of French Algerians (called the 'insurgents' to distinguish them from the Algerian 'rebels') lodged themselves behind massive barricades in the major towns of Algeria, saying that they would never accept Algeria's right to self-determination.

Fighting broke out in which a number of people were killed, and the French troops in Algeria were ordered to take firm measures against the insurgents. This they at first refused to do (for most of the army commanders were party to the anti-de Gaulle plot), and the crisis became severe.

WHICH WAY?

At the time of writing it is not yet clear how the crisis will resolve itself. de Gaulle has recognised that if he capitulates to the Algerian ultras now, he will be forever at their mercy, and this loss of prestige he cannot afford. Their actions have angered him not only because they are to him gross acts of personal disloyalty, but because he realises that their policy of continued repression in Algeria is doomed to disaster and could bring ruin to France.

De Gaulle has spoken firmly to the army commanders in Algeria, and the first signs are that they will climb down to some extent. Just how far they will retreat remains to be seen—they certainly are in a spot, what with the Algerian rebels pressing them from the one side, the insurgents from another and de Gaulle from a third.

De Gaulle rode to power on the back of a tiger. It now remains to be seen whether at the end of the ride the smile will be on his face, or on that of the tiger.

Morolong Arrested Again

KIMBERLEY.
Mr. Joseph Morolong and two others have been arrested on a charge of attending an illegal meeting.

Bail has been refused. They were due to appear in court on February 3.

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ABOVE: The banner Macmillan didn't see, because it was confiscated by Special Branch men who snatched it from Congress demonstrators outside Jan Smuts airport (BELOW LEFT). In the picture (BELOW, RIGHT) the uniformed constable has seized a Congress poster, and the Special Branch man leans into the crowd to grab another.



MACMILLAN VISITS A POLICE STATE—AND KNOWS IT

POLICE were deployed as for a military operation while British Prime Minister Macmillan was rushed through South Africa last week and this.

In all centres every available man, uniformed and Special Branch, was posted to keep his eyes skinned for any Congress demonstrator approaching within hundreds of yards of any spot Macmillan was due to visit. The sight of a white calico banner or a sheet or cardboard was like a red rag to the Special Branch bulls.

When Macmillan arrived in South Africa, all cars carrying Non-Europeans were stopped outside Jan Smuts airport and refused entry. One car that managed to get through the main gate was later stopped by Special Branch police who said: "If you're looking for trouble you'll get it." The group was escorted away from the airport entrance.

A group of Indian women who attempted to hold up posters as Mr. Macmillan emerged had them forcibly seized and a tussle ensued as the official car was waiting to leave. Special Branch men then lined up in front of the women.

Congress demonstrators then lined the road leading to Pretoria, where Macmillan was to stay. As they tried to unfurl their banner detectives snatched it from them.

JOHANNESBURG
When Macmillan visited Johannesburg, he was constrained to ask the Mayor: "Why are there so many police about?" And the Mayor's disclosure of this to the press provoked Mr. Eric Louw to another of his fatuous outbursts.

At the Press conference held on the day of Macmillan's arrival, the State Information Office refused New Age admission. "At this late stage," said the official letter, "... not possible to include your representative in the limited number of journalists invited."

Mr. P. Meiring, State Information Director, was even more explicit in a telephone refusal of an invitation. There was no room, he said firmly. Provision had been made for 64 journalists and the place had been filled long ago.

Yet at the press conference there were 80 pressmen, and of these about 10 were admitted at the last

minute, WITHOUT invitation cards.
Macmillan adroitly dodged the questions thrown at him, and was heard to remark as he left the room: "Well, I seem to have passed that ordeal without a blot on my honour."

DURBAN

In Durban Mr. Macmillan's arrival was greeted by ANC volunteers carrying placards which read: "Mac Meet Lutuli," "Vote Against Apartheid at U.N.," "Free Central African Leaders," and "Boycott Apartheid Functions."

Thanks to the security precautions, the arrival was lifeless and colourless. Teenagers who witnessed the arrival of Tommy Steele and Johnny Ray at the same airport said "this was a dead show compared with the rousing welcome given to the jazz singers."

At Clairwood, the Indian suburb, a large crowd gathered on the roadside and strictly observed the call of the Clairwood branch of the Natal Indian Congress to give Macmillan a silent welcome. Here too the crowds were interspersed with Congressmen and women bearing placards.

Later in the afternoon leading members of the Natal Indian Congress and African National Congress met visiting pressmen and made known their feelings on conditions in South Africa.

CAPE TOWN

Strong security precautions were again observed in Cape Town where Macmillan arrived on Monday afternoon to be met by Prime

LIBERAL PARTY BACKS ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

Right-Wing Resignations in Cape Town

CAPE TOWN.
A NUMBER of prominent members of the Liberal Party here have resigned in recent weeks following disagreements on basic policy.

Among those who have resigned have been Mr. Walter Stanford M.P.; Mr. J. T. R. Gibson, who unsuccessfully opposed Ray Alexander and Len Lee-Ward in the 1954 Parliamentary by-elections; Mr. M. G. Ashworth, former treasurer of the Party in Cape Town, and Mrs. Ashworth; Mr. John Duncan (brother of Patrick Duncan) and his wife Pam; Mr. Douglas Duncan, one of the directors of Juta's; and Mr. R. S. Baker, of Rustica Press. A number of others are understood to be considering their membership in the light of recent developments.

There have been two main causes for the resignations:

1. The Liberal Party's policy of universal suffrage;
2. The Party's recent declaration of support for the economic boycott and the activities overseas of Mr. Patrick van Rensburg.

INTERNAL CONFLICT

The dispute in the party highlights a conflict which has racked the Liberal Party ever since its formation. To whom must the Party look for support to bring it into power—to the Whites, who have the vote, or the Non-White majority who are voteless? Where must the Party play its most important role, in the Parliamentary or extra-Parliamentary sphere?

When the Party was first formed, it adopted a policy of qualified franchise for all on a common roll, but was subjected to steady criticism on this point from the Congresses and other Non-White organisations and individuals. In 1954, the Party abandoned the qualified franchise and adopted the policy of universal suffrage which is still in force at the present moment.

There is no doubt that this constituted a focus of disagreement in the Party. On the one hand it won for the Party whatever support it enjoys among a section of the Non-Whites; on the other hand, it distressed a section of its right-wing European membership who felt that on this policy the Party had no hope of winning support from the European voters. One of those who left the Party at this stage was Mr. Donald Molteno Q.C. Others resigned from Party committees but retained their Party membership.

The Liberal Party's universal suffrage policy was still criticised by the Congresses and others on the ground that no time limit was set. Did the Party stand for universal suffrage now or in 100 years time? Would the question of when universal suffrage was introduced depend upon the White electorate or would it be thrown open to a decision by all South Africans as soon as the Party came to power?

In an attempt to clarify this point, the more progressive element in the Liberal Party last year attempted to get the Party to adopt a policy of universal suffrage "Now." The attempt did not succeed, but it left the right-wing feeling more uncertain of their position in the Party than ever before.

NEW FACTORS

The recent spate of resignations has been precipitated by two factors:
1. The birth of the "multi-

racial" Progressive Party, which appears to have a Parliamentary future (the Liberal Party will lose all representation in Parliament at the end of this session when the African representatives are expelled in terms of the Bantu Self-Government Act).

2. The economic boycott policy, which is the most controversial campaign issue with which the Party has ever been associated. Many Liberal Party right-wingers have been extremely embarrassed by the work for the boycott done by Mr. Patrick van Rensburg in London and have been shaken by the flood of criticism from both Government and Opposition parties and their press. The allegation is also made that the National Committee adopted the economic boycott decision without adequate consultation inside the Party beforehand.

The dispute inside the Party has also led to the abandonment of the intention to put up a candidate in the Rondebosch by-election for the Provincial Council. The Cape committee was split 50-50 on the election issue. A larger meeting attended by representatives from all

the branches was also evenly split, and it was felt that the Party could not face the rigours of an election when its membership was so uncertain of itself. The candidate was to have been Mrs. E. Stott, a member of the Party's National Committee.

MINORITY

A member of the National Committee of the Liberal Party, in an interview with New Age, emphasised that these differences of opinion were confined to the Cape, and it was only a minority of the Cape members who were affected.

There was no question of the Cape as a whole not carrying out national policies. The majority of Cape members, together with Liberal Party members in the other provinces, were in full support of the economic boycott and would do their utmost to implement it. The Cape dispute will be ventilated at the provincial conference of the Liberal Party to be held in Cape Town this week-end. It is expected that the conference will discuss the basic policies at issue in preparation for the national conference of the Party which is due to be held in Cape Town later in the year.

Hero's Welcome For Ben Baartman

Return to Exile This Week

CAPE TOWN.
BEN Baartman, who returned to exile in Northern Zululand this week, was given a hero's welcome by the people of Barbarossa Street, Paarl, when he paid a visit to the family of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng.

Although he arrived unexpectedly he was given a thunderous Afrikaans salute by scores of jubilant people outside Mrs. Mafekeng's home. Mr. Baartman and others from Worcester were the guests of Mrs. Mafekeng's sister-in-law, Rhoda.

Going from house to house visiting friends, Mr. Baartman was surrounded by people of all ages, African and Coloured, who plied him with questions, particularly about his four children whom he will leave in Worcester when he returns to Ngwavuma.

MRS. MAFEKENG'S LETTER

In a letter to Mr. Baartman, Mrs. Mafekeng, who is now in Basutoland, writes: "Your wife's death and the lonely children should not remove your faith you have, though you are still under banishment. Your children do not belong to you alone, but to the African nation as a whole."

"As a volunteer, hold firm. 'I know what it is to leave your children alone at home—it is like a hen with chickens which are only safe while still under her wings, where not even the dangerous hawk can frighten them—I also identify myself with the many people who wish that the Government withdraws the banishment order against you, so that you may join your children as you have murdered no one.'"

POLICE AT MEETING

About 500 people gathered in Worcester's Freedom Square on January 24 when the ANC there called a meeting in honour of Mr. Baartman. The atmosphere became tense when a riot van full of heavily armed police arrived on the scene, but the speakers appealed to the audience to remain calm.

The people were, however, angered by the news that Mr. Baartman would have to return to his place of exile. Speakers at the meeting also dealt with the economic boycott, Bantu

Authorities and the boycott of the Union festival. Five minutes silence was observed for the miners trapped in the Coalbrook mine.

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This demonstrator posted himself outside the Baragwanath Hospital.

TREASON TRIAL

"MURDER" SPEECH

RECORDED ON TAPE

From Robert Resha
TIME is 10 a.m. There is an air of uneasiness surrounding the Court. The accused are concerned about the Coalbrook tragedy where 440 miners have been trapped underground; also by the riot in Durban's Cato Manor. More than half of the accused are still reading the morning newspaper where these incidents are reported.

"Silence in court," shouts the tall, smiling-faced court orderly, and in come the three scarlet-robed judges led by the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Rumpff. The anxiety grows. There is a visible change in the Special Court. Apart from the witness box has been dispensed with. The "Non-Europeans Only" side of the witness box is no more. Next to the witness box, there is a tape-recording machine and a microphone. There are two loudspeakers, one behind the judges and the other in front of the 30 accused.

"The show is on," murmurs one of the accused. All the accused lean forward to catch the first words of the comper. Advocate G. Hoexter (for the Crown) told the court that the Crown proposed to play back on the tape-recording machine certain statements taken by police officers. This was done to give the Court the atmosphere at these meetings. After an expert witness on electronic and sound machines, Dr.

J. Lochner, had given evidence, the first witness was called. Det.-Sgt. Swanepoel of Durban played back tape-recorded speeches made at a conference of the Congress of the People held in Pietermaritzburg on December 5, 1954.

Sgt. Swanepoel said that the conference was held at the Ridge Cinema. He was in the projecting room. The people in the conference did not know he was there. He took a tape-recording of the speeches made.

NKOSI SIKELELE AFRIKA

The microphone opened with the singing of "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika." This took the accused by surprise. Accused Nkampani touched his head as if to take off his hat; accused Tshunungwa jerked forward to stand up but realised in time where he was. Before the accused knew what was happening the microphone was switched off.

BACK TO THE SQUARE

The resounding shouts of "Afrika" that followed speech after speech reminded the accused of the pre-treason case days. Many started imagining the meetings they had addressed at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, at the Parade in Cape Town, at the "Freedom Square," Sophiatown, and at "Emlotheni," New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Some of the accused listened to themselves talking and heard their colleagues speak to the masses.

Cross-examined by Mr. S. Kentridge (for the defence) Sgt. Swanepoel said that this was a private meeting, that was why he had concealed himself. He also said that his presence was unknown to the people in the conference. Answering another question he said that he had no reason to think that the notes he took at meetings would be used in a criminal charge.

Mr. Kentridge: You never thought that the speeches made at these meetings would bring about a criminal charge?—Sometimes I doubted.

In the notes taken by Stg. Swanepoel at a meeting of a Vigilance Committee held to discuss the Group Areas Act there appears the number of Mr. Alan Paton's car.

Mr. Kentridge: Why did you take down the number of Mr. Alan Paton's car? Do you normally take down car numbers?

Sgt. Swanepoel: No. I don't know why I took this number. It must have been a particularly nice car.

Next came in Det.-Sgt. Vlok of Cape Town. He replayed speeches tape-recorded at a meeting in Cape Town on December 11, 1955. The accused were moved by the voice of "old man treason" Mtni. The old man was a favourite of the accused. At the time the accused were locked up in the Fort in Johannesburg, he was always surrounded by young men. All he had to do was to open his mouth and wisdom and experience would ooze out. This old man never hesitated to help the youth in their problems.

The third witness to play back speeches on the tape-recorder was Det.-Sgt. M. B. Diedrichs. He was to replay a speech which everyone had been waiting for. This was the meeting held at the Congress Hall, 37 West Street, Johannesburg, nine days before the 156 men and women were arrested at dawn on December 5, 1956 on a charge of high treason.

MURDER, MURDER, MURDER

The tape-recording machine went on "War has been declared. The leaflets of the African National Congress say that the time has come. What is the time that has come? It was six o'clock this morning, it was six o'clock tonight, it's going to be six o'clock tomorrow morning—what is the time that has come?"

The speech goes on to deal with what a volunteer is: "A volunteer is a person who is disciplined. This is the key of the volunteer—discipline.

"When you are disciplined and you are told by the organisation not to be violent, you must not be violent. If you are a true volunteer and you are called upon to be violent, you must be absolutely violent, you must, murder! murder! murder! That is all.

"Your leaders have told you that the Government of this country, amongst other things, is planning to arrest 200 leaders and is attacking every day leaders of the people. My directions to you are, if this Government in its madness does one day arrest 200 leaders—then, 200,000 Congress members must emerge from those who are remaining in this country. You can only do that my friends if you are going to kill your brothers."

The part of the last sentence with the word "kill" has been played time and again in Court in order to ascertain whether the word is "kill" or "tell." After it had been played many times Mr. Justice Kennedy was of the opinion that the word used was "tell." The interpreter plus some of the accused who have listened to the Sechwana translation say the interpreter uses the word "tell."

DESTROYED

A transcript of tape-recorded speeches taken at a meeting in 1954

BANNED!

JOHANNESBURG.

Eighty-eight publications have been banned from importation into the Union under the Customs Act in terms of a notice in the Government Gazette dated January 15, 1960.

Some of the titles are:

The African Communist, October 1959 issue;

Those Without Shadows, by Francoise Sagan;

Young Lonigan, by James T. Farrell;

The Best of Brigitte Bardot (a magazine);

A number of issues of the Ghana newspapers Daily Graphic, Ashanti Pioneer, Evening News, Ghana Times and Ghana World;

News Bulletin of the All-African People's Conference;

Catalogue of Newspapers and Magazines of the USSR for 1959, and other publications from the socialist countries.

Bertrand Russell
Beats the Ban

JOHANNESBURG.

BEATING the censor, the Rationalist Association of S.A. has printed an essay by the British philosopher Bertrand Russell "Why I am not a Christian," as a protest against the banning last year of a collection of Russell's essays with the same title. The Rationalist pamphlet contains the first essay in the collection, and was originally published in pamphlet form in 1927.

Printed in both official languages this pamphlet is the first on atheism or agnosticism ever to be printed in Afrikaans. "It represents the march of the Afrikaner towards modernism," commented a member of the Rationalist Association.

The pamphlet is being sold for 2/6d. and is available from Box 11221, Johannesburg.

The Government has powers under the Customs Act to ban the importation of literature deemed "indecent, obscene or otherwise objectionable," but has no such powers in respect of literature printed in South Africa. It is believed that a Bill granting the Government powers of internal censorship is to be introduced in Parliament this session.

Journalists Protest to
Erasmus

JOHANNESBURG.

The Council of the South African Society of Journalists has sent a letter to the Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, protesting against the Security Police interference with Mr. B. P. Bunting during his recent visit to Windhoek as "an attack on the freedom of the Press."

SABRA On The
Prowl Again

PORT ELIZABETH.

IN recent weeks a team of SABRA representatives has been touring the Eastern Cape. They spent most of their time in the Transkei, where they visited African attorneys, traders and chiefs.

They are reported to have discussed the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. Following the Nationalist Government line the SABRA representatives tried to convince the people they visited about the great opportunities offered to them by the establishment of Bantu Authorities.

Most of the attorneys refused to take part in the implementation of the Act in so far as they were required to act as legal advisors to the Chiefs. One even refused to meet the SABRA team. On the other hand George Matanzima has given up his practice to become a chief.

The team also contacted some traders and other professional men with a view to urging them to participate in Bantu Authorities. The main inducement trotted out for this group was the promise of a new industrial upsurge in which they

would play a key role as industrialists.

The team put suggestive questions across, and tried to allay the fears revealed by the answers by stressing the good intentions of the Afrikaners and the Nationalist Government—two terms which seemed synonymous to the team, as one person who attended these discussions told New Age.

Some of the people who were present at the interviews told New Age that they were suspicious of the motives of the SABRA team. One man said the Government used so many methods to spy on what the people were doing that he felt concerned about the interviews.

"For all I know," he said, "I should not be surprised to see the Special Branch coming to inquire about something, or the Native Commissioner asking other questions related to what took place at these interviews."

In Port Elizabeth the meeting with the representatives of SABRA was organised by the B.A.D. officials, and a number of Ministers of Religion took part.

UP MY ALLEY

A SUMMIT meeting is scheduled for this month, to take place in the mother city. But you're wrong if you think that we will be turning out the flags to welcome foreign ministers and diplomats for this get-together. It is being called by the CAD's Dr. I.D. for the top brass of the coon carnivals.

It looks as if die doktor is trying hard to warm up the cold war that is developing among Non-Whites over the Union festival, and this might be his first attempt to get some participation from us blacks, no matter what.

The authorities are anxious to make known the cultural and sporting progress of the Non-Europeans during the festival. Nothing is said about political and economic rights.

That is enough reason for us to stay away, but no doubt Dr. I.D. will find some poor say who will sing a liedtjie for the masters.

THE United Party, going headlong down the drain, is always anxious to show the white electorate that they are just as bad as the Nats. Voting with the Govern-

ment on the Job-Reservation-Through-The-Back-Door Bill was another example of that anxiety to demonstrate that they too believe in baasskap. And they need not explain their actions to the Non-Whites.

But the Coloured reps, G. S. P. le Roux and Bill Holland, crossed the floor to join the Nats on this issue too, and I'll eat my hat if they can convince any self-respect-

By ALEX
LA GUMA

ing Coloured person that this was done for the good and welfare of the community.



I ALSO hear that the green-eyed monster of jealousy has reared its ugly head after Mr. Mac was made Paramount Chief of Transvaal tribes. Herr Doktor Verwoerd is said to be growling that only he should be recognised as a Great White Father, and in future he will see to it that Makulubaas De Wet Nel is very careful whom he presents with a briefcase.



NO doubt prima ballerina Nadia Nerina deserved the tremendous ovation she received at her recent performance in London, before returning home to join the Royal Ballet, but a razzberry should go to the Company for leaving behind another distinguished South African dancer, Johar Mosaval.

It would not be Johar who would be embarrassed by South Africa's apartheid laws if they brought him along, but South Africa itself, and a good thing too.

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Collection Number: AG2887

Collection Name: Publications, New Age, 1954-1962

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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