

AFRO-ASIANS WILL VOTE AGAINST S.A.

Assurances Given To United Front

United Front Leaders In London—



Mr. Oliver Tambo.



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo.



Mr. J. Kozonguizi.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNITED FRONT ABROAD HAS RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM GHANA, NIGERIA, INDIA, CEYLON AND MALAYA THAT SHOULD REPUBLICAN SOUTH AFRICA FORMALLY APPLY FOR CONTINUED COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP THEY WILL RESOLUTELY OPPOSE THE APPLICATION UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA AGREES TO ABANDON ITS RACIAL POLICIES.

In their view, South Africa's racial policies have so inflamed opinion in their countries as to make it impossible for their Governments to refrain from taking a firm stand at the Commonwealth conference.

Further, South Africa, though a Commonwealth member to its now, has in practice conducted her Commonwealth relations in a manner that was plainly discriminatory towards the non-white member countries.

Finally, the fact that the referendum on the republic was confined to White voters, was no evidence that the majority of South Africa's peoples favoured a republic based, as it is, on white supremacy and apartheid.

MACMILLAN'S ADVICE
Mr. Macmillan, sensing the direction of government opinion in the Afro-Asian countries and realising that there was now no certainty that Mr. Nehru and Tunku Abdul Rahman will remain silent at the Prime Ministers' Conference, has advised Dr. Verwoerd to consider postponing South Africa's application for

Commonwealth membership until at least after the republic is formally proclaimed on May 31.

In Mr. Macmillan's calculations, such a postponement may not only avoid a most acrimonious debate among the Prime Ministers, but may even force the Nationalist Government to postpone the proclamation of their republic itself.

For Britain, the purpose of this Commonwealth Premiers' Conference is a simple one: to give Mr. Macmillan some international standing and support when he meets the new American President next month. Hence, there is little British (Continued on page 8)

—And Their Enemy



Dr. Verwoerd.

Ex-PAC, Liberals Withdraw, But

MARITZBURG CONFERENCE WILL CONTINUE AS PLANNED

THE All-African Conference scheduled for March 25 and 26 is not only going on, despite the withdrawal of some of the sponsors, but is catching on like wildfire among the people. The conference promises to be most representative of the towns and rural areas and to gather mass backing in at least one province, Natal, in whose capital, Pietermaritzburg, the conference will open 16 days from now.

Though last week-end four sponsors on the African Leaders' Continuation Committee resigned, the remaining sponsors are determined that their withdrawal will not rock the boat and the conference arrangements will proceed with greater earnestness than ever.

The resignation of four sponsors marked an unholy alliance between the former PAC leaders and the Liberals.

The men who quit are J. Molefe, Jordan Ngubane, B. Bhanga (the latter two both of the Liberal Party) and Congress Mbata of the Race Relations Institute.

Both the line-up and the reasons for their resignation are interesting. The former PAC men have been preparing to back out since the consultation of the Transvaal men with Cape ex-PAC circles.

REASONS

Last week-end they gave their official reasons. A statement signed by Molefe, Molete, Tshelhana, Fazize, Makwetu, Hlatshwayo and Msosa says:

"We will not be party to any discussion relating to the calling of any multi-racial conference whatsoever.

NEW AGE

Vol. 7, No. 21. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper 6d.
SOUTHERN EDITION Thursday, March 9, 1961 5c.

SEVEN ALLEGED PAC MEN ARRESTED IN CAPE TOWN

CAPE TOWN.

NEW AGE learns that 29 Africans were detained for questioning in police raids in Langa and Nyanga Locations last week-end. Seven men appeared in court on Monday on a charge of taking part in the activities of a banned organisation, namely the PAC.

The raids were made as part of police measures to prevent any demonstrations this month, the anniversary of the shootings at Lanza and Sharpsville last year.

According to information received by **New Age**, some of the men were arrested in a swoop on an alleged illegal meeting in Langa on Saturday night. The others were arrested in raids at 2 a.m. on Sunday morning.

All police leave in the Peninsula has been cancelled until the end of March, and all members of the force are on standby.

In anticipation of possible "unpleasantnesses," reinforcements have been rushed to Cape Town from other centres. A number of armoured cars and Saracens were parked last week-end in the vicinity of the King David Club, near the D. F. Malan airport and within easy striking distance of the African townships in the Cape Flats.

While most people in the townships are in a state of confusion about what is going on, attempts are still being made to call the people out on strike. The atmosphere is tense and anything could happen.

LUMUMBA'S LAST LETTER — Page 7

We genuinely seek a basis of unity among the African people into a compact whole ready for an assault on White domination.

"Africans alone can solve the problems besetting South Africa. We alone can achieve freedom and independence. We therefore cannot be party to any conference based on preparation for a futile barren imbudo."

The ex-PAC men's statement says that though the Pietermaritzburg conference started as a means of seeking unity among the African people, it has now shifted ground to preparations for a multi-racial convention and to prepare a new constitution for South Africa. The PAC insists that its formula is "unity in positive action on the basis of African nationalism."

This statement was issued as coming from "African Nationalists."

The Liberals' reason for leaving the conference in the lurch is that without the participation of the former PAC men African unity at Pietermaritzburg cannot encompass a sufficient range of African opinion. The Liberal sponsors tried unsuccessfully to have the conference postponed indefinitely and when they could not muster majority support, they withdrew altogether.

The sponsors getting out are also said to be inhibited by threats of mass action from the Cape this month and don't want to get involved.

THESE REMAIN

The sponsors still foursquare behind the conference are Chief Lutuli, Prof. Matthews, the Rev. Mabhane, the Rev. Rajulli, the Rev. Tantsi, Govan Mbeki, Julius Mali (Johannesburg Liberal Party orga-

(Continued on page 3)

NEW AGE LETTER BOX

MR. DUNCAN REPLIES

'New Age' of 2nd March carries a long and arrogant editorial attacking 'Contact' and myself as editor.

There are two main lines of attack.

The first criticism is of our line on the Congo. All that I wish to say in the restricted space of your letter columns on this complicated subject is that we are for Congolese nationalism and for the United Nations as the hope of the world, particularly of the uncommitted nations. We are against the way in which the USSR is trying to get a foothold in Africa, and in which it has tried to use the murder of Mr. Lumumba to cynically whip up feeling against the opponents of the USSR.

Secondly you criticize us for not having supported the Maritzburg conference. "Nowhere in 'Contact' have we so far found any attempt to support the aims of the Maritzburg conference," you say.

Yet we published an editorial on 17th December welcoming the Orlando conference, its predecessor. We said "we wish the meeting well." And on 31st December we reported this conference, giving it nearly a whole page. Surely this cannot be construed as editorial hostility.

You blame us for giving Mr. Molete space, and for reporting his views on the conference. We did so because we believe Mr. Molete and the movement which he represents to be important, and of interest to our readers.

If 'Contact' were not to give space to Mr. Molete and his friends their deeds—some of them of great historical importance—would go entirely unreported. We remember the absurd manner in which 'New Age' reported the Cape Town disturbances of 1960, almost without mentioning the Pan African Congress.

You criticize us for anti-communism, as if that were something to be ashamed of. 'Contact' is proud to be anti-communist. It is a democratic paper, and is opposed to all forms of totalitarianism, such as communism and fascism and apartheid.

There is another great reason why 'Contact' is anti-communist, and that is because 'Contact' is against colonialism and imperialism. And communist Russia, with semi-fascist Portugal, is one of the

only powers that resolutely refuses to give freedom to its colonies.

It is often forgotten that there are seven Asian republics ruled as colonies by the Whites of the Soviet Union, and also that after World War II the Red Army conquered ten European countries. None of these nations have ever been given the chance of holding elections which mean anything. It is known that there are considerable national movements in each and every such area, but nationalists are called chauvinists and are done away with.

You address three theoretical challenges to 'Contact' and ask for replies. Here they are:

1. 'Contact' wants the Maritzburg conference to succeed.

2. 'Contact' is against Black chauvinism and for co-operation between all people.

3. 'Contact' is not prepared to co-operate with the Nationalist government in anything, not even in working the Suppression of Communism Act. This should have been obvious from the fact that the editor went to prison last year rather than give the police the names of certain communists.

PATRICK DUNCAN

Cape Town.

P.S. Since writing the above I have learned that Mr. Jordan Neuhaim, vice-president of the Liberal Party, has withdrawn from the continuation committee of the Maritzburg conference. I cannot therefore as a member of the party any longer reply to the first question in the terms I have used above. P.D.

(Mr. Duncan is, of course, entitled to his views on the Soviet Union and Communism, even though they bear no resemblance to the true facts. All that 'New Age' is pleading for is that these prejudices of his should not be allowed to hamper the creation of maximum unity between all sections of anti-Nationalists to defeat apartheid, nor to harm the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, as they undoubtedly have done in the past. The postscript to Mr. Duncan's letter indicates that once again African unity has been sabotaged, once again with Mr. Duncan's approval. Under the circumstances we see no reason to withdraw a single word of the criticism we directed against 'Contact' last week.—Ed.)

Protests at Murder of Lumumba

The false, traitorous, White mercenary-seeking paid stooge Thombe, the corrupt and despised Kasavubu-Mobutu clique, backed by the United States and Belgium, stand in the dock of world opinion, accused of the greatest crime against the freedom-loving peoples of Africa—the murder of the Congolese hero, Patrice Lumumba.

These criminals, who dealt a blow against Congolese freedom, must remember that they cannot and will not be allowed to cheat justice. They cannot betray the interests of the Congolese people for the benefit of foreign exploiters, whose hirelings they are. Their hands are foul and sordid. The sacred blood of Patrice Lumumba and his comrades calls for justice.

MALEK RASOOL

Johannesburg.

Lumumba's name is written amongst the heroic African liberators who were brutally murdered because of their love and loyalty to their people. All freedom fighters of Africa must now unite to free their continent from the hands of the imperialists. Lumumba's blood will bring freedom to Africa.

S. P. MOKHOSI
Leribe.

Keep Them Short

In recent weeks, especially since the murder of Lumumba, New Age has been inundated with letters from correspondents. We ask our readers to be patient; we will try to place them all in due course, even if in very much shortened form. To make things easier for our editorial staff, we ask readers please to keep their letters as short as possible.

Dag went to the Congo to help Lumumba but he was a wolf in sheep's clothing and showed himself a supporter of colonialism. He must answer for the murder of Lumumba as much as Thombe, the stooge of the Belgians. Lumumba is dead, but his spirit is as alive as ever and it is only a matter of time before his vision comes to fruition.

DOUGLAS SPARKS

Johannesburg.

We mourn the death of the first African Prime Minister of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba. He fought to the bitter end for a united Congo, working hard to form a single nation out of the diverse indigenous peoples of the Congo. The Congo freedom struggle is the heart of the African freedom struggle. Victory for Congo independence opens the way to victory for all Africa.

E. B. MKABILE
Springs.

What happened to Mr. Lumumba clearly shows us that the West, through Hammarskjöld, stands for the perpetuation of the oppression of the masses. They want to continue to exploit, suck and rob the Africans of their land and wealth. They are there to suppress any people's uprising against colonialism.

To Hammarskjöld we say: We cannot pardon you. You must resign to Thombe, Kasavubu and Mobutu. We say: You have brought shame to all freedom-fighters of Africa. We shall never rest so long as you are still breathing. To Lumumba we say: Sleep in peace. You died for what was right. You are our hero, our martyr.

ISAAC MOGASE
Alexandra.

EDITORIAL

WE WANT SOUTH AFRICA KICKED OUT!

"DURING the last months I have seized every available occasion to talk with representatives of the Coloured and Black peoples of South Africa. As a result, I am convinced that the vast majority wish to stay within the British Commonwealth of Nations."—Archbishop de Blank of Cape Town, March 1, 1961.

"The vast majority of the voteless population groups desire to remain in the Commonwealth."—Sir de Villiers Graaff, March 2, 1961.

Similar pronouncements have been made by a number of bishops of various churches, by Mr. Lawrence, of the Progressive Party, and other pundits. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town has also joined the chorus clamouring for South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth.

For these politicians and prelates to express their own opinion or that of their organisations on this question is one thing.

BUT FOR THEM TO CLAIM THAT THEY SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF NON-WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS IS SHEER IMPERTINENCE.

The leading organisations of the African, Coloured and Indian people have expressed themselves in unmistakable terms on the issue—they have demanded that South Africa be kicked out of the Commonwealth. This goes for the ANC, PAC, Indian and Coloured Congress, and the S.A. United Front abroad.

These are organisations which CAN claim to speak for the overwhelming majority of the Non-White people of South Africa, and for a sizeable number of Europeans as well.

In the words of a United Front statement recently issued in London: "We want the complete isolation of South Africa because we believe, and the members of our organisation in South Africa believe, that only by isolating South Africa will it ever be possible to compel the Government of Dr. Verwoerd to change its policies or to compel a change of government. This is the peaceful way—the only peaceful way—to bring such a change about. When they meet in March the Commonwealth Prime Ministers must declare clearly and decisively that the application of South Africa to re-enter the Commonwealth as a republic will be rejected."

How dare the Archbishop, Sir de Villiers Graaff and the others ignore this united expression of opinion? Whom have they consulted that they are so easily "satisfied" to the contrary?

If Sir de Villiers Graaff, Mr. Lawrence and the Archbishop, for reasons of protecting the imperialists' material and spiritual investments in Africa, choose to line up behind the Verwoerd regime in trying to keep South Africa in the Commonwealth, so much the worse for them.

They will only have succeeded in antagonising the vast majority of the Non-White people, and convincing them that the United and Progressive Parties and the Churches have once again betrayed their interests.

And if anyone questions OUR right to speak in the name of the people on this matter, we need only repeat the reply of Oliver Tambo to a similar question at a press conference in London: Hold a referendum in which ALL the people can vote and we will soon see who is correct!

Nyanga — Place of Persecution

Never in my life have I seen a place of persecution like Nyanga location. When I returned from jail after the state of emergency in 1960, I found myself in another jail.

The houses are surrounded by dirt and filth, overflowing dustbins and flies, and the smelly lavatories. Each lavatory is used by two or three families.

The life is hard at Nyanga. Every now and then a Nylon van goes round and round for passes and liquor. This van waits at the entrance to the location, stopping people coming from work, while inside the buses policemen also search for liquor. The Nylon follows the bus to the terminus where all parcels are opened and searched.

There are three kinds of houses at Nyanga. (1) Pondokkies, (2) Emergency houses, (3) Brick houses.

Pondokkies are built of old corrugated iron and slats and the rent is R2 a month. Pondokkies are not good, but according to the City Council they are. And the people have to buy their own material to build them.

The emergency houses are built by the Council. For one room the rent is R1.63 a month; two rooms R3.35, and three rooms R4.88. These houses are built of corrugated iron and have no ceiling or floors. On hot days they are like ovens and on cold days like ice. On windy days the dust is intolerable.

The rent for brick houses is R7.50 a month for a dining room, 2 bedrooms and kitchen. There are no doors, except the front and back doors, no floors and no ceiling, bathrooms, pantry. The lavatory is outside.

D. TAMANA
Nyanga West, C.T.

24th BIRTHDAY OF THE PROGRESSIVE PRESS

LAST week we should have celebrated a very important event in the history of the South African liberation struggle: the 24th birthday of the progressive press.

It was in February 1937 that the first issue of what was then called "The Guardian" appeared. It has been followed by several newspapers then—

Clarion, the People's World, Advance and now New Age. Each of these newspapers in its turn has been by the progressive movement, and publicised its every campaign. In fact New Age was one of the original accused in the Treason Trial and continues to be harassed by the Government in many different ways.

We feel sure that our readers would like to say "happy birthday, progressive press, and may you live to

see many more birthdays." The only appropriate birthday present to send is cash—we need this all the time to continue the fight.

POST YOUR PRESENT RIGHT AWAY! IT MAY BE A WEEK LATE, BUT BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

Last Week's Donations:

Cape Town: Dance tickets R4, C.M.A. R2, Anonymous 25c, Diamond R25.

Johannesburg: Minnie Colls, R26, Minnie Colls, R8, John R30, M. R20, Fel. R150, DR R10, Sock R20, WE R20, Art. R50, Alec R10, M. R20, Izzy R20, Kap R4, R20, Mar. R10, S.O. 50, Lieb R6.30, Eli R20, Doc R10, Man R50, Mary & Bennie R2.

GRAND TOTAL: R651.25.

MARITZBURG CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

niser and Transvaal executive member, Duma Nokwe and Mr. Shoppe.

Mr. Paul Mosaka has also resigned but for reasons of pressure of work only. Mr. Mosaka told New Age on Monday that his resignation had nothing to do with the PAC-Liberal Party stand. The so-called African Nationalist stood in a multi-racial country was unrealistic, he commented.

The Liberal Party for some strange reason seems bent to block this first major gathering of the African people since before the emergency but will have a tough time trying to justify its peculiar association with the former PAC men who are dead set against united multi-racial battles to overthrow oppression, but, it is suspected, also nervous of the Pietermaritzburg conference for the role it is likely to play in showing popular African rejection of their extreme nationalist policies.

The statement of the former PAC men distorts the aims of the Pietermaritzburg conference, which are, first, to build African unity; second, to demand a new constitution framed at a national convention representative of all South Africans.

500 At Swaziland

Meeting

JOHANNESBURG.

More than 500 people attended a public meeting held by the Swaziland Progressive Party in Bromersdorp recently.

Opening the meeting, the chairman asked the audience to rise in silent prayer in honour of Mr. Patrick Lumumba.

At the end of the meeting a resolution was passed deploring the cold-blooded murder of Lumumba and placing the responsibility for his death four-square on the shoulders of Thombe, the greatest stooge sell-out Africa has ever produced.

The meeting unanimously recognised Mr. Gizenga, the former deputy Prime Minister of the Congo, as the legitimate successor to Lumumba.

Another resolution denounced the rand-cent coinage and called for a petition to the British Government to "request the removal of the un-called-for coinage system."

Speakers were Mr. J. Nquku, leader of the party; Dr. A. P. Zanzi, secretary; and Mr. D. Dlamini, leader of the party's youth league.



Speakers at the meeting which was held in Pietermaritzburg last week to mourn the death of Patrick Lumumba. Over 600 people attended and resolutions were passed demanding the sacking of Dag Hammarskjöld and the arrest and trial of the Mobutu-Kasavubu-Thombe clique. A resolution demanding that the Liberal Party make its attitude clear on the statements of Patrick Duncan vilifying Lumumba was also adopted unanimously.



Alberton Africans living in Tokoza Township and working in the industrial township of Alredo have been walking six miles a day for the past two weeks in a boycott of the Alberton municipal buses. The boycott started after the introduction of higher decimal fares which added an extra halfpenny to the old fare of 4d.

No Place To Call Home

Nathan Molooa

Arrested Again

MASERU. MR. Nathan Molooa, former executive member of the Cape Western Committee of the ANC, has been arrested in Quithing under the Prohibition of Immigration Act.

He had been endorsed out of Cape Town under the Urban Areas Act in 1958 and he went to stay with his people in Basutoland. He was arrested and sent back to the Union.

After being refused entry to one town after another, Mr. Molooa was eventually allowed to seek work in Kaysna, where he remained until the outbreak of the emergency in March 1960, when he was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment. His crime was that he read extracts from the Cape Times dealing with events at the beginning of the emergency to a group of Africans in Kaysna.

He served his period of imprisonment in the George prison, and on release was again endorsed out—this time from Kaysna. Finding it impossible to enter any urban area in the Union, he returned to Basutoland.

Now he has been arrested again. If he is sent back to the Union by the Basutoland authorities, where can he go?

His wife, Irene and one of his children are in Cape Town—he once again trying to save enough money to join him wherever he may be. His other two children were sent to him in Basutoland just over two months ago.

"Apartheid Is Legalised Theft"

AN INTERVIEW WITH SARA LIDMAN

From J. J. Hadebe

Dar es Salaam, Feb. 28. YESTERDAY evening, I went up to the New Africa Hotel, one of the leading hotels in Dar, to interview Mrs. Sara Lidman, who recently arrived here from Johannesburg, after the collapse of the immorally case against her and Peter "Phony" Nkomo.

We sat and chatted over a beer and cold drink on the hotel frontage, and later went in to dine together, amidst other hotel residents, mostly Europeans, but really Tanganyikans, of different colours.

There was nothing funny, odd or unusual to anyone, about this spectacle—which could easily have caused an uproar in the highly civilised and christianised circles in S.A. Everybody around here went about his or her own business, as if nothing was happening—as it ought to be.

After dinner, we settled down to discuss her observations and impressions about South Africa.

APARTHEID

Answering my question about apartheid, she had this to say, amongst other points:

"The apartheid system is a form of legalised theft. When two workers, an African and a European do exactly the same sort of work, the European gets twice or thrice the salary of his fellow-worker—that is sheer robbery.

"The non-pigmented chap may be innocent and well-meaning in himself—the system makes him a thief. The African women's motherliness is stolen from their own children and given to the non-pigmented women's children. There are thousands of African mothers who hardly know their babies because all their time and attention has to be spent in the service of European families.

"The pleasure of home life is stolen from the thousands of Africans who must spend their few hours of work in backyard shacks or in the mine compounds. The human right of a decent education is denied to most Africans—that is perhaps the most diabolical form of theft that the apartheid

system is exerting.

"The apartheid laws can claim no universal recognition or respect. They are so unfair and cruel that the very word law has become a mockery. The law that should be the very foundation of a civilised community—what can be more disastrous for a nation than a contemptible law? The apartheid legislation asks for anarchy."

Replying to my question about racial attitudes among people, she said:

"One of the things that strikes a foreigner in South Africa is the rudeness with which the Africans are treated by the non-pigmented in everyday life. Even as paying customers in shops, they are often insulted. Very many of the non-pigmented seem to get a fit of bad temper as soon as they see an African. With rough and subtle means they make him understand that they are annoyed at having to breathe the same air, and really there ought to be a separate SUN in the sky strictly FOR EUROPEANS ONLY."

"Or else they take up a broad-minded attitude of constant forgiving. Well the natives can't help being born black . . . that's what I keep telling everybody . . ."

MISUFGED

"If a foreigner asks a non-pigmented nationalist why the Africans are not allowed to have trade unions or why those who wish to go abroad cannot get passports or why other inevitable questions, he always gets a mouthful of the white man's sufferings; how terrible it is to be mistreated by the whole world. 'Nobody understands our racial problems, we are sold and betrayed by the western world although we are the only people on this continent to defend the great ideas of western civilisation.'"

"To make people work like slaves and deprive them of the most fundamental human rights in South Africa called 'domestic affairs' or the 'solution to our racial problems' is wrong."

About the African's life generally Sara had this to say: "In spite of all the frustra-

An Exile's Tragedy

JOHANNESBURG.

Mr. David Moloo, one of the leaders of the Zeerust Baphuruts people's struggle against passes for women and Bantu Authorities, and now one of South Africa's exiles, rushed to the bedside of an dying wife in Johannesburg last week, only to find that he was two hours too late. Mr. Molooa broke down and wept.

Mrs. Elizabeth Molooa was taken critically ill a week ago, and lay unconscious in the Coronation Hospital with a stroke.

Mr. Molooa first heard of his wife's illness last Wednesday afternoon at his place of exile at Eshowe, Zululand, when an African policeman called him to see the Magistrate. There he was given a special seven-day permit to visit his wife.

The Molooas have an 11-year-old daughter Salome.

PONDO LEADERS

APPEAL

JOHANNESBURG.

THE appeal set to jail for Pondo leaders at an unlawful meeting was argued in the Appeal Court at Bloemfontein last week.

The five leaders now in prison awaiting their appeal because the Crown returned their bail are Messrs H. Mbofola, S. Mafini, Solomon Madikizela, T. Tshangela and M. Tshangasa.

It was argued in their appeal that they did not have a fair trial.

Mr. J. Slovic, one of the five men, said the court had convicted on the evidence of a single witness, but the magistrate had hampered the defence in its cross-examination of this witness. The magistrate had refused to allow the defence to question the witness on what he had said at the meeting which the five accused are alleged to have addressed illegally.

The witness had said in evidence that he was a supporter of the government and liked Bantu Authorities. But at the meeting he had spoken against tribal authorities. (The refusal to allow the defence to cross-examine the witness was a fatal irregularity because the defence might have been able to show that the witness was an accomplice, or an agent-provocateur, a spy or an informer, and therefore an unreliable witness.)

It was also argued that the sentence was excessive. The Appeal Court reserved judgement.

"Famous For His Green Spotted Bow-Tie"

WILLIAMS TRIES TO SOFT-SOAP AFRICA

NOBODY can complain that the new U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, is not flexible.

During his recent tour through Africa, he showed that he was in fact so flexible that he could tie himself up into the most elaborate knots.

Part of the trouble is that Soapy knows next to nothing about Africa. When Kennedy was elected President he rightly decided that Africa was an important place on the world scene, and merited the appointment of a specialist in his Cabinet. He had at his disposal a number of persons who had shown a lifelong interest in Africa, but who also would have been immensely popular in Africa if chosen for the job.

Whereas Dulles had regarded neutralism as being an enemy of the U.S., and whereas the Eisenhower Administration flatly refused to tolerate a neutralist regime in Laos, Kennedy decided that it was after all possible to do a deal with the neutralists.

Thus in Laos his Ambassador persuaded the local King to call for a round-table conference sponsored by neighbouring territories to settle the crisis.

A number of neutralist countries were approached to assist in a scheme whereby a government consisting of an anti-Communist alliance of right-wing and neutralist forces in Laos could be set up.

Unfortunately for him, the response was not as he had hoped; America's erstwhile friends in SEATO were alarmed at this toeing with the neutralists, and the neutralists themselves, such as the leaders of Cambodia, refused to go along with the scheme whereby the left-wing forces in Laos would be sold down the river.

Similarly in Africa, if the Americans associate themselves with African nationalism, they must hit out against their European partners in NATO.

The U.S. Democratic Party might well succeed in fooling a lot of the American voters a lot of the time, e.g. in persuading the North that it wants an extension of rights for the Negroes and the South that it will maintain white supremacy. But it will not be so easy to fool the people of Africa and Europe.

Similarly, Mr. Williams' vote-catching techniques might be very effective in Detroit, but will not have the same results in Africa.

It is not that the Africans object to his hearty manner. What they suspect is his genuineness. "A man of high education and intelligence, (Williams) often appeared to debate himself in his search for votes, denying his background, roughening his speech, and adopting gimmicks such as his now famous green bow tie with white dots." (Times).

When a man like Khrushchov conducts himself in a direct and hearty fashion, people do not wonder about his sincerity, for they know that he was a working man and not a millionaire. When millionaire Williams, on the other hand, acts as though he were a working man, then he is bound to be suspect.

In any event, U.S. foreign policy in Africa will be decided on deeds rather than words. If the U.S. were to:

- help topple the Verwoerd Government;
● refuse to supply arms to the French and Portuguese colonialists;
● back the democratic forces in the Congo;
● remove its military bases from North Africa;
● stop interfering in the internal politics of African organisations; and
● provide aid without strings, then it would win all the friends in Africa it could possibly want.

INSTEAD OF THIS, ALL WE GET IS—SOAPY WILLIAMS.

Where they do differ to some extent from Dulles is that they are somewhat better attuned to the realities of the world situation. They are not quite of the Dulles, Verwoerd granite-wall type—they are prepared to make small concessions to public demand here and there in order to avoid the humiliating climb-downs necessitated by the tough, rigid line pursued by one step in the dying day of the Eisenhower Administration it appeared that the U.S. might intervene directly with troops in the Congo and in Laos. Rockefeller actually called upon the U.S. to take over the Congo by armed force.

Kennedy, while continuing to pursue an inflexible policy towards Cuba, decided not to rush in as clumsily as Rockefeller suggested.

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Thus in Laos his Ambassador persuaded the local King to call for a round-table conference sponsored by neighbouring territories to settle the crisis.

A number of neutralist countries were approached to assist in a scheme whereby a government consisting of an anti-Communist alliance of right-wing and neutralist forces in Laos could be set up.

Unfortunately for him, the response was not as he had hoped; America's erstwhile friends in SEATO were alarmed at this toeing with the neutralists, and the neutralists themselves, such as the leaders of Cambodia, refused to go along with the scheme whereby the left-wing forces in Laos would be sold down the river.

Similarly in Africa, if the Americans associate themselves with African nationalism, they must hit out against their European partners in NATO.

The U.S. Democratic Party might well succeed in fooling a lot of the American voters a lot of the time, e.g. in persuading the North that it wants an extension of rights for the Negroes and the South that it will maintain white supremacy. But it will not be so easy to fool the people of Africa and Europe.

Similarly, Mr. Williams' vote-catching techniques might be very effective in Detroit, but will not have the same results in Africa.

It is not that the Africans object to his hearty manner. What they suspect is his genuineness. "A man of high education and intelligence, (Williams) often appeared to debate himself in his search for votes, denying his background, roughening his speech, and adopting gimmicks such as his now famous green bow tie with white dots." (Times).

When a man like Khrushchov conducts himself in a direct and hearty fashion, people do not wonder about his sincerity, for they know that he was a working man and not a millionaire. When millionaire Williams, on the other hand, acts as though he were a working man, then he is bound to be suspect.

In any event, U.S. foreign policy in Africa will be decided on deeds rather than words. If the U.S. were to:

- help topple the Verwoerd Government;
● refuse to supply arms to the French and Portuguese colonialists;
● back the democratic forces in the Congo;
● remove its military bases from North Africa;
● stop interfering in the internal politics of African organisations; and
● provide aid without strings, then it would win all the friends in Africa it could possibly want.

INSTEAD OF THIS, ALL WE GET IS—SOAPY WILLIAMS.

WORLD STAGE By Spectator



Professor Z. K. Matthews, at the microphone, officially opening the Natal Indian Congress conference in Maritzburg last week-end. Others on the platform are, from left to right, Dr. A. H. Sader (Chairman, Natal Indian Congress), Dr. M. M. Motala (Chairman, Pietermaritzburg NIC), N. T. Nalaker and Dr. G. M. Nalaker (General Secretary and President respectively of the NIC), Eric Singh (NIC), D. Lipman (COD) and Dr. M. N. Padayachee (Vice-President, NIC).

Indian Backing For National Convention Enthusiastic Conference of N.I.C.

From Mandala Nkosi PIETERMARITZBURG. "IN carrying on with our work, let us do so in the spirit of the great man who said: 'We will not falter. We will not fail. We will reach the earth-works if we live, and if we fall we will leave our spirit in those who follow, and they will not turn back. All is ready, Bugler, blow the charge.'"

In South Africa, Professor Matthews supported the call for a National Convention, saying: "... In spite of arrests and detentions, deportations and banings, political vituperations and other forms of abuse, the cry for a new National Convention to draw up a new constitution for a new South Africa is being heard more frequently in different quarters, among groups with varying political views. This cry is not a cheap political debating point but arises out of the hunger of millions of ordinary South Africans for a political structure in which they will all have a stake and of which they can be justly proud."

Protest at Colour Bars in Bechuanaland

Palapye, Bechuanaland. THE first ever open-air meeting held by a political party in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was organised by the Bechuanaland People's Party at Malhalapye last month. Resolutions accepted by the crowd of over 100 people—

● deplored the existence of the colour bar in hotels, bars, trade, trains, shops and other walks of life in Bechuanaland;
● pledged to rally around the BPP for the purpose of eliminating the evil practices;
● empowered the BPP to take any action they deemed fit against employers who victimised workers for mixing with whites in bars and hotels.

2 Killed, Many Wounded in Yet Another Bloody Clash Over Bantu Authorities

From Govt Mbeki PORT ELIZABETH. THERE HAS BEEN ANOTHER BLOODY CLASH BETWEEN HOME GUARDS AND THE PEOPLE—THIS TIME IN THE GLEN GREY DISTRICT.

At Bilyate, a portion of Mbinzani, supporters of Bantu Authorities waylaid a young man who belongs to the section opposing Bantu Authorities and killed him on the spot.

Shortly thereafter the opponents of the Bantu Authorities organised themselves into a group and a clash occurred between the two sides. As fled, they left one dead on the field of battle while a number were wounded.

Following this hundreds of men and youths have been rounded up in the police raids that have now become more common than in the urban locations.

RAIDING PARTIES Last week the police and army raiding parties combed the following locations: Twantsana, Jabatshu, Machibi, Mbinzani, Mpotulo, Botlwa and Kundulu. All these locations fall in Matanzani's little kingdom of Emaga Tembuland where home guards have been spreading arson and violence.

The raids start as early as 2.30 am and continue the whole day into the following night. One man gave New Age a vivid description of what takes place.

"What scares most people from being caught in the net, is their superior knowledge of the local

geography," he said. "We slip through in between the closing ranks of the raiding parties. But if they should see one trying to escape they do not hesitate to shoot."

The man said that for weeks now they had not slept indoors.

BRUTALITY From all the areas where the army and the police are conducting their raids come urgent appeals for something to be done to curb the brutal treatment to which thousands of men are subjected during the searches and at the screening depots.

Everywhere the cry goes up: "You must report the way the police are treating the men and children are beaten up, and the way the police break into huts in the dead of night."

MURDER CHARGE Five people have been arrested on an allegation of the murder of the late Octavius Ngude, Chairman of the School Board and Bantu Authorities supporter, who was shot dead at a wedding party on September 17 last year.

TORTURE A number of well-known Chiefs in Tembuland and other parts of the Transkei have long deserted their homes. Chief Yengwa, who narrowly escaped death last year, has been living at Umata. Recently he is reported to have shifted to Ciciar, but after rumours of a threat to his

life he had to leave again. In the Engcobo district the preparatory examination of the men who are alleged to have murdered Spalding Matyile and William Mzimba continues.

The accused are disclaiming the statements they make while they were being interrogated by the police. They state that they made the confessions as a result of torture.

Mr. Deane had signed a statement calling on Coloured workers not to support the African demonstrations against the pass laws which led to the state of emergency in 1960.

Mr. Peake now replaces Mr. Deane on the City Council. In an interview with New Age, Cliff Peake, an executive member of the Coloured People's Congress, said: "My election to the City Council is a victory over reaction. It is a resounding slap in the face of the so-called leaders of the Coloured people who in March 1960 sought to drive a wedge between African and Coloured workers."

FRIGHTENED MEN "The ballot box has told Mr. Deane and his men that when they exhorted us to stab the Africans in the back, they were behaving like frightened men without the support of the people."

The result of the election has also



Clr. George Peake.

ELECTION VICTORY FOR GEORGE PEAKE

CAPE TOWN. THE victory of the Gool-Parker-Peake ticket in the Ward VI municipal elections meant the rejection by the voters of the anti-African stand taken by the defeated candidate, Mr. E. Deane, during the events of March last year, Councillor Peake told New Age.

Mr. Deane had signed a statement calling on Coloured workers not to support the African demonstrations against the pass laws which led to the state of emergency in 1960.

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The result of the election has also

RESULTS Clr. Peake stood on a joint ticket with Councillors Z. Gool and H. E. Parker against Mr. Deane and Mr. H. Khondker.

The results were: Mrs. Z. Gool 2,501; Mr. H. E. Parker 1,744; Mr. G. Peake 1,548; Mr. E. A. Deane 993; Mr. H. Khondker 970.

Govt. Trying To Starve Tribesmen Into Submission

TENSION GROWING IN ZULULAND

From George Mbele DURBAN.

TENSION is mounting in Thogazi, in the district of Nongomso, south of the Paramount Chief, the Zulus, Cyprian Bekizulu, as a result of continued harassment by the Government of the tribe, which has almost unanimously rejected Bantu Authorities.

The people's best fields have been expropriated and given away to others who have accepted Bantu Authorities. Tribesmen who are opposed to the Government's scheme for the area, denied the right to cultivate their lands, are starving.

One woman in a pathetic letter to New Age says: "We are starving... We have not cultivated our land for three years now... I have four children and they are naked... My husband was deported in 1960... I just do not know what to do now."

Another tribesman interviewed by New Age said: "I was recently fined £20 for ploughing my land. A short while after that was fined £2 15s. for cutting down fences that were put up around our land by BAD officials."

For two years now this tribesman has not been allowed to cultivate his land. He is the father of six children and is expected to pay £2 15s. poll tax annually.

Mrs. Zulu, whose husband was deported in 1959 for opposing Bantu Authorities, states in a letter received in Durban last week: "... One child is ill... I cannot send her to a doctor as I have no money... I have been told by the authorities that I must move to a new residential area... My husband being banished, who will build the new house for me?"

This is the plight in which those opposed to Bantu Authorities find themselves.

EVICTIONS Not content with starving the people in order to get them to accept the Government's diabolic Bantustan system, Botswana's S.M. the BAD in December last year served notice on all anti-Bantu Authorities tribesmen that they would have to move from their present sites to newly defined residential locations.

Four huts were razed to the ground on the expiry date of the notice but the angry reaction of the people in the area stopped any further destruction.

The threat of eviction still hangs over the heads of the people, but tribesmen who attended last week's SACTU conference in Durban were emphatic that they will fight back if they are forced to move.

They Led Busmen To Victory



Three of the busmen's leaders in Port Elizabeth: left to right, Mr. C. D. Hollo, chairman of the executive; Mr. S. Marwanga, chairman of the works committee; and Mr. J. M. Mshay, secretary.

S.A. Courtesy LERIBE.

A Mosotho who decided to move from the Transval to Basutoland sent his building materials and furniture by rail. The goods were described by the railway authorities as follows: "Een trek. Kaffer trek."

TREASON TRIAL

CROWN CASE GOVERNED BY DEFENCE, SAYS MAISELS

"If non-co-operation, non-collaboration and passive resistance are treasonable acts then we are guilty of treason," said Mr. I. A. Maisels, Q.C., leader of the Defence team, when he opened the Defence argument in the treason trial in Pretoria on Monday. But this was not our law.

He said that the Crown case as it had emerged in the argument was "very far removed indeed from the original case."

Mr. Maisels said the Crown case now was that the ANC wanted to overthrow the State by violence taking the form of "contingent retaliation."

Mr. Maisels said the Defence would submit that the case now argued was not covered by the indictment at all. Originally the Crown said the case was unconstitutional action including violence, now the Crown said it was unconstitutional action leading to violence. "This doesn't mean the same," Mr. Maisels submitted.

Crown Case Ends

On the personal position of accused Nelson Mandela, a Johannesburg attorney, Mr. G. Hoexter (for the Crown) submitted that the evidence of the accused showed that he was aware of and fully supported the African National Congress attitude towards the Liberation Movement in South Africa as well as in the rest of Africa. He demanded the destruction of the present state and the substitution thereof of a form of state differing radically and fundamentally from the present state.

The accused knew that the ANC wanted a form of state known as a "People's Democracy" and that it would certainly be a state based on the Freedom Charter and possibly a Communist State such as the Soviet Union or the People's Democracy of China or Hungary.

The accused supported the view of the ANC that the new state desired by them was to be achieved by extra-parliamentary, unconstitutional and illegal action, including the use of violence and the overthrow of the state by violence. The accused strongly believed in mass action as a method of political struggle, and the requisite that social forces in this country should be mobilised and conditioned for the tasks of a militant mass movement which was the only guarantee of ultimate victory. He regarded the masses as an effective instrument for coercing the Government by illegal means and impelling the stability and security of the state, and he had in mind that violence was a likely result of mass action.

Defiance Campaign

Dealing with the Defiance Campaign, Mr. Hoexter submitted that the accused had full knowledge of the nature and scope and the purpose of the campaign, that fact that he fully supported it was indicated by the fact that he played a leading role in it. The accused was a member of the National Action Committee set up to conduct the Defiance Campaign and he was the National Volunteer-in-Chief and was therefore in charge of the volunteers. Further, the accused knew that the Defiance Campaign was extremely dangerous to the stability of the state, and he had a hostile intent.

Mr. J. De Vos QC, leader of the Crown team, argued on Mandela's knowledge of Communism. He said the accused applied and propagated the Communist analysis of the present state in the Union and the Communist methods to replace the existing state in South Africa and aimed at the establishment of a Communist state in the Union. The accused KNEW THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE WOULD INVOLVE VIOLENCE.

Evidence Belies Denials

The Crown further submitted that the accused personally saw the Freedom Charter as a step towards socialism and a classless society and supported it as such. In so far as the accused denied being a convinced Communist, the Crown submitted that the evidence "betrays his denials."

Mr. de Vos went on to say that the accused conceded that the state desired by the ANC would be a state where the exploitation of man by man would be abolished. Dealing with the "Murder, Murder" speech of Robert Resha, Mr. Hoexter said the accused's evidence on this speech was inconclusive.

Mr. Justice Bekker: What do you mean by that?

Mr. de Vos: It is difficult to ascertain the reply of the accused.

Mr. Justice Rumpf questioned Mr. de Vos on the knowledge of the ANC of Communist violence and wanted to know what violence was expected if the state, as the Crown alleged, did not capitulate or surrender to the demands of the ANC. In reply Mr. de Vos said that the Communists didn't say what violence was expected.

Mr. de Vos disagreed with the accused's interpretation of the phrase "day of reckoning" and the word "clash" which appear in the document "No easy walk to freedom." The accused said in evidence

that these meant "sharpened opposition and sharpened antagonism." Mr. de Vos submitted that these words meant physical clash.

Mr. Justice Bekker: What is the difference if a person says, "In our struggle we know that the Government is going to use violence but you must retaliate?"

Mr. de Vos: If the person who says that is a Communist, it is a question of tactics.

Accused Gert Sibande was the next to be dealt with by Mr. Hoexter. He said that Sibande felt very strongly about the removal of the Western Areas and was actively involved in the campaign against it. He supported the ANC policy that the new form of state would be achieved by extra-parliamentary, unconstitutional and illegal action, including the use of violence and that the people had to be prepared and conditioned for the overthrow of the state by violence. He participated in the defiance of certain laws. The Crown submitted that the accused had a hostile intent and adhered to the conspiracy.

Freedom Volunteer

On the personal position of accused Patrick Molaoa, Mr. Hoexter submitted that he was a Freedom Volunteer and took an active part in the Western Areas campaign. The accused saw this campaign not as an isolated act of resistance but as a facet of the broader liberatory struggle.

The accused knew that it was the policy of the ANC to establish a People's Democracy in South Africa and he addressed meetings in furtherance of the ANC policy. He supported the Freedom Charter and as a volunteer took an active part in the preparations for the Congress of the People. He attended the Congress of the People in Kip-ton in June, 1955.

Mr. Hoexter made the submission that the accused accepted that if the

oppressed people persisted in their liberation struggle a physical clash with the state, involving loss of life, was likely. He took the view that the Government was ready to draw the whole country in blood if there was a prospect of preserving white supremacy. He accepted that according to Congress policy they would not get freedom unless they were prepared to shed blood.

Imperialism

Mr. Hoexter made similar submissions in regard to the accused Elias Moretele. He submitted that Moretele regarded the imperialist powers to be under the influence of American leadership and ready to plunge the world into another bloodbath. Moretele said that the enslaved masses everywhere were very much indebted to the USSR and China, the new democracies, and India for the role they were playing in international politics. He accepted the need for a clear political ideology. He accepted that although their oppression was national in character, it had nonetheless an economic base. He knew that the ANC political democracy meant an empty form without the base of economic and industrial development, and that in particular Congress stood for far-reaching agrarian reforms involving the redistribution of land among the peasants.

Communism

Arguing on accused Moretele's knowledge of Communism, Mr. de Vos said that the Crown could not prove that the accused knew the doctrine of violence in Communism. But in his activities as a member of the conspiracy the accused was influenced by Communists.

Mr. Justice Kennedy wanted to know what finding the Crown was asking the Court to make on this point.

Mr. de Vos: This shows that a prominent president of the African National Congress in the campaign was influenced by Communists. He was moving, whether he knew it or not, towards Communism and becoming antagonistic to the present state.

Mr. Justice Kennedy: You mean he is pinkish?

Mr. de Vos: Not even that My Lord, but I cannot contend that he knew the Communist doctrine in terms of violence.

Mr. Justice Bekker, discussing a point on mass action which appeared in Moretele's Presidential Address, said that a Communist in this country might work in mass action but a person who was not a Communist, faced with the same situation, might also depend on mass action.

Pace Increased

After accused Moretele, the Crown team increased the pace in dealing with the remaining accused. On the personal position of P. Mathele, S. Tyki, P. Sekepe, J. Molefi, P. Nene, J. Nkadimene, Mrs. Lilian Noyi, L. Levy and L. Masha, the Crown submitted that it had proved the hostile intent and the adherence of these accused to the conspiracy.

Mr. J. C. van Niekerk QC, dealing with the position of J. Molefi, submitted that the documents in possession of this accused showed condemnation of capitalism, imperialism and fascism and praise of the Communists in the Soviet Union and China.

In support of his argument Mr. van Niekerk put in a journal entitled "Review of World Events."

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Why do you

put this here? You could just as well put the Outlook.

Mr. van Niekerk: I put in every document found in the possession of the accused.

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Is there any evidence about what this is?

Mr. van Niekerk: No evidence.

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Then it goes out.

Mr. van Niekerk: As Your Lordship pleases.

Dealing with another document, Mr. van Niekerk submitted that it showed support for the liberation movement. He quoted the sentence: "We believe that all vanguard fighters for freedom and led in the final analysis by the militant programme and actions of the African National Congress."

Mr. Justice Rumpf: What does this sentence mean, is it complete?

After checking Mr. van Niekerk informed the Court that that was how it was reported.

Mr. Justice Kennedy: As it stands, does it support your submission on the Liberation Movement?

Mr. van Niekerk: When they speak about liberation, they speak about fighters for freedom.

Mr. Justice Kennedy: As it stands does it make sense?

Mr. van Niekerk: As Your Lordship pleases.

On the personal position of accused Mrs. Lilian Noyi, Mr. van Niekerk referred to one of the documents which were submitted: "Verwoerd is not the boss. The devil must be kicked by another devil." Mr. van Niekerk submitted that this meant advocacy of violence.

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Where do you get that from?

Mr. van Niekerk: "The devil must be kicked by another devil. Verwoerd is not the boss."

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Do you think there are sentences missing between the first sentence and the second one? Do you think they follow each other as they are?

Mr. van Niekerk could not say what the real position was.

Dealing with another extract from a speech, "We Congress people will be sentenced by the judge but you will be sentenced by the people," Mr. Justice Bekker asked: "Do you say this is a threat to overthrow the state by violence?"

Mr. Justice Rumpf: Does it advocate an illegal action, meaning we are prepared to embark on an illegal action and we are prepared to be sentenced by a judge?

Mr. van Niekerk: Yes, illegal action, My Lord.

Co-Conspirators

At the end of its argument the Crown revised its list of co-conspirators, who have now been divided into three compartments. The first group consists of 26 people whom the Crown regards as the real co-conspirators. They are: L. Bernstein, A. Hutchinson, P. J. Mathele, S. Bunting, J. G. Mathele, H. G. Makgobu, S. Malope, J. Matloa, P. van Nite, N. Sejake, R. Slovo, H. Tshabalala, Rev. D. Thobane, M. Tshane, J. Makwe, Z. K. Matthews, V. Mini, T. Moyo, A. Noyiga, P. Q. Vundla, M. Mosele, R. Matji, Chief A. J. Lutuli, O. R. Tambo, W. Mkwayi and B. Yengwa.

The second group consists of people whom the Crown does not regard as co-conspirators, but the Crown will rely on what they said to be used against the accused. The Crown will not rely on the third group.

UPPER MALAYE

MORAL rearmament has come to town... In any case a movie picture made by these jokers is being advertised and will be screened at one of the local theatres... No doubt it will be shown at others in various parts of the homeland... And no doubt it will try to re-arm us darkly morally... "The Crown Experience" which is the name of this technicoloured twaddle will tell us to take love into our hearts and give up fighting those who keep on kicking us in the pants... meaning those mean ole exploiters and oppressors... The same apparently goes for them, too, and they are also expected to take love into their stony blood-pumps and stop being nasty... Of course nowhere in MIRA do you find any demands that the basis of all the ills of our system, the accumulation of profit, be jettisoned... So the exploited and the oppressors, the oppressed and the oppressors, are asked to continue as before, except that they do so with love in their hearts... And in the advertising blurb for this film which is going on the road in this country I notice that Dr. Nkomo will also be seen in technicolour... He is described as a South African... Recently, he was asked to give evidence. There was no mention of Uncle George Golding... Why not? He's a good actor.

I SEE that instead of appointing a Coloured consul to the Polynesian Islands, a member of the CAD was given the job of opening the grape festival in Paarl... He was last seen handing out guitars to winners of some farm labourers' competition... I suppose that in return he had to do



By ALEX LA GUMA

some public relations work for the dept, among the farm workers... Wonder whether the bass invited him to coffee afterwards.

800 at Kimberley Meeting

Addressing a gathering of more than 800 people in Kimberley yesterday, Mr. G. Naidoo said that the future of South Africa could not be built on moral justice. The people should unite and fight apartheid, he said.

ONLY NINE COUNTRIES REFUSED TO BACK UNO VOTE CONDEMNING COLONIALISM—AND THE U.S. WAS ONE OF THEM

counted.

Which were the countries that supported the anti-colonialist declaration? ALMOST THE WHOLE WORLD—the list is too long to write out in full.

Which were the countries that refused to vote for the resolution? The list is not long:

- The United States of America;
Britain;
France;
Greece;
Belgium;
Portugal;
Spain;

The Dominican Republic;
Australia;
South Africa.

The issue of calling for the complete abolition of colonialism was first raised in resolution form at the Assembly by Soviet Premier Khrushchov. Later the Afro-Asian countries drafted a slightly amended resolution which was eventually put before the Assembly for voting upon.

"We Solemnly Proclaim . . ." The resolution consists of the adoption of a declaration on colonialism which concludes as follows:

The General Assembly . . . solemnly proclaims the need of immediately and unconditionally putting an end to all colonialism in all its forms and manifestations . . . and for this purpose declares that—

1 The subordination of peoples to a foreign yoke and domination and their exploitation are a denial of fundamental human rights, contradict the UN Charter, and prevent the development of co-operation and the establishment of peace throughout the world.

2 All peoples have the right to self-determination; as a result of this right they freely establish their own political status and effect their own economic, social and cultural development.

3 Insufficient political, economic and social preparedness or preparedness in the field of education should never be used as a pretext for delay in the granting of independence.

4 Any armed actions or repressive measures of any nature whatsoever, directed against the dependent peoples, must be stopped so that they may be given the possibility of exercising their right to complete independence under conditions of peace and freedom, and the territorial integrity of their national territories must be respected.

5 In the trust and non-self-governing territories, as well as in all other territories which have not as yet received their independence, measures must be taken without delay to transfer all power to the people of these territories in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any conditions or stipulations whatsoever, and regardless of race, religion, colour of their skin, so that they may be given the possi-

bility of making use of their complete independence and freedom.

6 Any attempt directed towards partially or fully undermining the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the aims and principles of the UN Charter.

7 All states must strictly and unconditionally observe the articles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and this declaration, on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all states, respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and the territorial integrity of states.

The last letter of Patrice Lumumba

"I PREFER TO DIE WITH MY HEAD HIGH..."

The following text of the last letter written by Patrice Lumumba, murdered Prime Minister of the Congo, is taken from the *Tantian* weekly paper Africa-Action.

MY dear wife, I am writing these words to you, not knowing whether they will ever reach you, or whether I shall be alive when you read them.

Throughout my struggle for the independence of our country I have never doubted the victory of our sacred cause, to which I and my comrades have dedicated all our lives.

But the only thing which we wanted for our country is the right to a worthy life, to dignity without pretence, to independence without restrictions.

This was never the desire of the Belgian colonialists and their Western allies, who received, direct or indirect, open or concealed, support from some highly placed officials of the United Nations, the body upon which we placed all our hope when we appealed to it for help.

MAIN THING

They seduced some of our compatriots, bought others, and did everything to distort the truth and smear our independence.

What I can say is this—alive or dead, free or in jail—it is not a question of me personally. The main thing is the Congo, our unhappy people, whose independence is being trampled upon.

That is why they have shut us away in prison and why they keep us far away from the people. But my faith remains indestructible. I know and feel deep in my heart that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of their internal and external enemies, that they will rise up as one in order to win their dignity as a free land.

TO MY SONS

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, the free peoples and the peoples fighting for their freedom in all corners of the world will always be side by side with the millions of Congolese who will not give up the struggle while there is even one colonialist or colonialist mercenary in our country.

To my sons, whom I am leaving and whom, perhaps, I shall not see again, I want to say that the future of the Congo is



splendid and that I expect from them, as from every Congolese, the fulfilment of the sacred task of restoring our independence and our sovereignty. Without dignity there is no freedom, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men.

Cruelties, insults and torture can never force me to ask for mercy, because I prefer to die with head high, with indestructible faith and profound belief in the destiny of our country than to live in humility and renounce the principles which are sacred to me.

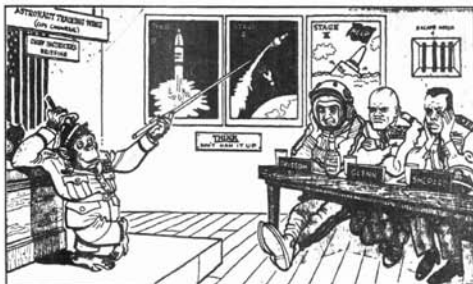
'OUR HISTORY'

The day will come when history will speak. But it will not be the history which will be taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations. It will be the history which will be taught in the countries which have won freedom from colonialism and the United Nations. Africa will write its own history and in both north and south it will be a history of glory and dignity.

Do not weep for me. I know that my tormented country will be able to defend its freedom and its independence. Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

PATRICE LUMUMBA.
Thysville Prison.

What drove the MONKEY



Emmwood—London Daily Mail

NUTS?

U.S. Racialists Persecute Negro Voters

U.S. racists continue to persecute Negro electors who took part in the Presidential election, and to impose economic boycotts against them, according to a New York report.

The magazine New America reported that in Fayette County, Tennessee, alone, 500 to 1,000 Negro families were unable to get food and clothing because of their boycott. As a result two Negro children lost their lives; one died of hunger and the other was sick and died because medical treatment was denied him.

The magazine said that a Negro farm labourer and his wife and six children were evicted from a farm where the father had toiled for 17 long years. Now he and his family had to live in a tent during the winter.

The white racists also resorted to other measures to oppress the Negro voters. One Negro clergyman was banned from riding on a bus. He was also warned that he would be killed if he dared to vote again. Negro tenants were denied the right to redeem their mortgages from a local bank.

P.E. Coloureds Back Convention Call

PORF ELIZABETH. A meeting attended by about 50 Coloured leaders drawn from practically all Coloured organisations in the Eastern Cape including the CPNU took place here over the week-end. Mr. Joe Daniels, the organising secretary, came from Cape Town to address them, and afterwards went on to Kimberley to set up a committee to work towards the all-Cape Coloured Conference.

The idea received enthusiastic support here. Some of the oldest men in the area said this was the most representative meeting of Coloureds in the history of the area. Sneakers at the meeting emphasised that they totally rejected apartheid. It was announced at the meeting that a message of greetings and support had come from the Africans. The committee, which consists of ministers of religion, doctors, teachers and trade unionists, has as its chairman Mr. H. Frasmus, while Dennis Brutus is the secretary.

Foul Blow For Boxers

The boxers of South Africa have been dealt a low blow. There was a chance that all boxers in S.A.—white and non-white—were going to get a fair deal. Instead, they have got a foul blow.

★ The World Boxing Association was threatening to expel S.A.'s all-white body for its colour bar policy.

★ The Ghana Boxing Association had raised the matter with the world body at Rome last year.

★ The matter was coming before the International Olympic Committee.

★ Frank Braun, president of the all-white body told their AGM, "The matter is urgent. We are going to be expelled from the world body if we don't make other arrangements with the Non-Whites."

But the new deal is not a fair deal.

BEHIND THEIR BACKS

Behind the backs of most boxers (the E.P. union is protesting because it was not in any way consulted) Frank Braun did a deal with Orrie of Cape Town and Cruise of Jo'burg.

★ THEY AGREED TO THROW THE FIGHT.

Crute, who has had experience of inferior affiliation in "Bantu" athletics should have known better. But he has fallen for another inferior deal.

All this, because of the bait of getting boys into the team to tour overseas later this year. And this is an illusion, as they will soon discover.

What could be more stupid than to make a deal as they did when the White body is under heavy attack for their colour bar? THESE MEN SHOULD BE DISQUALIFIED FROM CONTROLLING BOXING. IF THEY DON'T OBTAIN VOLUNTARILY, THEY MUST BE FLOORED.

Papwa Bunkered

News is expected soon on the following: Papwa's entry to the S.A. open golf tournament. If he is refused, there must be action.

★ All sportsmen should send telegrams of protest.

★ The "sportsmen" who refused him must be exposed.

★ Caddies throughout the country must refuse their services.

★ Overseas golf bodies must be asked to penalize S.A. golfers.

★ Louis Nelson must act more

PAMPHLETS

"The Pondo Revolt" by Ben Turok M.P.

"The Background to Violence in Pondoland and an Analysis of Bantu Authorities." Price 6d.

"Face the Future," with foreword by Chief Lutuli, and Freedom Charter in full. Analyses African Nationalism and the challenge to White South Africa. Price 1/6.

Freedom Charter, printed for South Africa, 3d each.

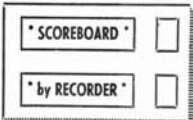
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"FIGHTING TALK"

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vigorously and be prepared to cooperate with S.A.S.A.—unless he thinks Papwa is his exclusive property.

The Week's Query

★ Reports from Natal table tennis make strange reading—they have just had their AGM. Are there really no African TT clubs in Natal? Are they being encouraged to join? Answer please, Mr. Bassa.

Sports Flashes

★ Pro Soccer has come to the Cape. Good wishes from Scoreboard and the hope that it may help to settle the long-standing score feud. Carry on Messrs Banda, Brack & Co.

★ Some outstanding physiques were seen in the "Mr. New Brighton" contest in the Feathermarket



Duncan Pikoli, of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, who has signed Rugby League forms for Barrow in Furness (Lancashire). A clerk at the Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth, he is still waiting for a passport.

Hall, Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

★ The national bodies are seriously neglecting their duties to S.A.S.A. Last week's Council meeting had to be converted to an Executive meeting.

★ Provincial bodies please note!

If your national body is falling in its duty DEMAND AN EXPLANATION. S.A.S.A. HAS THE SUPPORT OF SPORTSMEN, WHY NOT OF SPORTS OFFICIALS?

BIG VICTORY FOR MOROKA SWALLOWS

JOHANNESBURG.

SPA Sporting Club, Northern Transvaal's best soccer team, suffered their worst defeat at the hands of Moroka Swallows, of Johannesburg, when they were beaten 7-2 in a rather dull and disappointing friendly match at the Alexandra Township Stadium last Sunday.

The match opened at a slow pace with Moroka Swallows on the offensive. It was not long before Ntsimbi, Moroka's outside right, opened the score after Difference Mbanya had given him a timely pass. This looked as if it was a tonic to the visitors who seemed to team up after that. The Spa forwards began to attack and for some minutes the ball remained in the Moroka's area.

But it was a brilliant movement by Moroka Swallows that led to another goal. Getting the ball on the defence their forwards slyly changed it to attack. Near the 25 yds. Mandla and Goodman of Swallows both rushed at the ball at the same time and this cost a goal. See fullback heading the ball into his own goals.

Playing his usual good game, D. Mbaya outmanoeuvred his opponents and sent in a full-blooded shot to make the score 3-0 in favour of Swallows at interval.

INJURY

Just before the interval, the Spa had to field another player as one of their men was injured. This seemed to affect the Spa. Their positional play became faulty, their movements rather clumsy. Even their good moves lacked finish. The task of facing the purposeful play of the Swallows fell on the educated boots and experience of R. Mbela. He was all over the field defending and attacking, but the job was too much for one person.

Swallows used the second half as a display of the dribbling code. The ball moved from one player to another and goals came freely. It was only in the ten-minute period before the last whistle that Spa began to show glimpses of the mettle they are made of. But it was far

too late to make up the lost ground. The match ended with the score: Moroka Swallows 7, Spa Sporting Club 2.

CURTAIN RAISER

The curtain raiser between Alexandra Blackpool and Matsete of Benoni brought the crowd to its feet. From the start both teams attacked as soon as they got the ball. Although the score is not a true reflection of this interesting game, Matsete's ball play proved to be superior to that of Blackpool, and they won the game by two goals to one.

P.E. Walks Again

PORT ELIZABETH.

From Govan Mbeki

About 80 per cent of the people in the townships walked to work on Monday morning when the trial of the busmen on a charge of illegal striking reopened at the Magistrate's Court here.

Some confusion was caused by the fact that the busmen were working as usual, and in fact the accused appeared in court after they had been on duty from five to nine. The case was adjourned to March 15.

Meanwhile relations between the bus company and the people have still not returned to normal. There is still a grave shortage of buses in the townships and the bus staff is working short time. People have to wait in long queues and tempers are frayed at times.

In addition the general manager of the bus company has annoyed the people by refusing to meet a deputation of residents, saying they should make their representations through the special sub-committee of the New Brighton Advisory Board.

"If this is the arrogant attitude the company is going to adopt towards a spokesman told New Age, 'the present position will be only the calm before another storm.'"

AFRO-ASIANS WILL VOTE AGAINST S.A.

(Continued from page 1)

interest in allowing the Conference to break up in sharp disunity over its membership.

ATTEMPT WILL FAIL.

But there is now every sign that Mr. Macmillan will fail in quashing the issue of South Africa.

It is not certain whether Dr. Verwoerd has accepted Britain's advice. What is, however, clear is that Dr. Verwoerd is in a particularly embarrassing and humiliating position. His avowed purpose in London is to win continued Commonwealth status.

Yet to secure this he will have to face, both in and outside the Conference, the most scathing criticism and widespread demonstrations of loyalty to White South Africa now has little hope of escaping the final blow of political isolation and condemnation.

UNITED FRONT PLEASED

Mr. Oliver Tambo, Dr. Y. Dadoo and other members of the United Front who toured Afro-Asian countries were deeply impressed by the favourable response to their representations. They were received by Mr. Nehru, Ceylon Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike, the deputy Prime Minister of Malaya, and senior Ministers of Ghana and Nigeria.

The open hostility to the regime of Dr. Verwoerd is an important factor in the political life of these countries, and the Afro-Asian Governments can therefore hardly fail to pursue policies which do not reflect the unanimous feelings of their peoples.

In Britain, the atmosphere surrounding the Prime Ministers' Conference is heavy with forebodings of a most serious crisis emerging over the question of South Africa. The Times reports that the "conference time is going to be no ordinary meeting." The Guardian similarly speaks of "critical times" for the Commonwealth and suggests that, in spite of valiant and tactful efforts to the contrary, South Africa's apartheid policies seem likely to dominate the Commonwealth Conference. "The Economist" referring to the "familiar dilemma involved in South Africa's membership" warns that "Britain's own policy will be under close scrutiny by the African Commonwealth."

Sensing the great dangers for Britain's last but waning asset in world economics and politics, the

less serious Tory press with characteristic crudeness have pronounced a campaign of sneer against the organisers of the movement against apartheid and for solidarity with South Africa's struggling Non-White peoples.

But not even this helps—at the Conservative Party's conference last week, young Tories sided South Africa and called for a "purification" of the Commonwealth by excluding South Africa from membership.

It is in this environment of growing expectation and crisis that South Africa House makes its pitiful contribution with expensive advertisements in the press about the morality of "separate development" and the "sacrifice of the white man in South Africa to help the advancement of the African.

BRITISH SOLIDARITY

The British popular movement of solidarity with South Africa's oppressed, organised under the banners of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and officially supported by Labour, Communist and Liberal Parties as well as the trade unions, is maintaining a 72-hour vigil at Lancaster House where the Prime Ministers meet. This will remind the Prime Ministers of the number of people killed at Sharpeville and the "sacrifice of the white man in South Africa to help the advancement of the African.

Already the widespread nature of the demonstrations against Dr. Verwoerd has compelled the police to ban all parades outside South Africa House at the Dorchester Hotel (where Dr. Verwoerd is staying). Nevertheless, whenever Dr. Verwoerd appears in public he faces a demonstration. Thousands upon thousands of people are determined to make it quite clear to him just how much South Africa's racial policies are hated abroad.

2 More PAC Convictions

JOHANNESBURG.

Of the ten PAC leaders being tried for running an illegal organisation three have now been sent to prison and one acquitted.

Six trials are still to follow. Last week Mrs. Ellen Mollapo was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, three months suspended.

Support For New Journalists' Body

CAPE TOWN.

The National Union of Journalists in Great Britain has informed the organising committee of the proposed National Union of South African Journalists that it will ask its next regional meeting to give support for the South African body.

The NUSAJ is at the moment in its inaugural stage and will be a non-racial union of journalists. A considerable number of journalists working on various South African newspapers including several dailies, have indicated their support for NUSAJ. The organising committee is planning to invite representatives of journalists from all centres where the new union will be formally established.

The present Society of Journalists is an all-white union.

Racing At Kenilworth

Following are Damon's selections for Saturday:

Forewell Stakes: BAYWOOD. Danger, Worthiness.

Wynberg Handicap (B): CAT CAR. Danger, Streamline.

Kenilworth Handicap (2nd): COUNTRY COUSIN. Danger, Santa Lucia.

Kenilworth Progress Stakes: CHERRY SLEIGH. Danger, Aloeland.

Wynberg Progress Stakes: CANON FLASH. Danger, The Plane.

Juvenile Stakes, 5 furlongs: FLOWER BOWL. Danger, Solima.

Juvenile Stakes, 7 furlongs: ARTIC VENTURE. Danger, Altnonly.

Owners' Plate: HEMMINGWAY. Danger, White Spring.

Stades: P.

Published by Roul Printing and Publishing Co. (Pty.) Ltd., 6 Barnack Street, Cape Town and printed by Printer Press (Pty.) Ltd., 514-516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000.