

SPONSORS OF THE MARITZBURG CONFERENCE



Mr. Duma Nokwe.



Chief Lutuli.



Prof. Z. K. Matthews.



Rev. Z. R. Mshabane.



Mr. Govan Mbeki.

WORLD BACKING FOR ALL-AFRICAN TALKS

And Growing Enthusiasm Throughout South Africa

JOHANNESBURG.

MESSAGES FROM NUMBERS OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN GOVERNMENTS ARE EXPECTED FOR THE PIETERMARITZBURG ALL-AFRICAN CONFERENCE TO BE HELD ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, MARCH 25 AND 26.

Support is flowing in for the conference. From the Reef alone 250 delegates are expected; and 90 representatives of Africans in small Transvaal country towns.

Delegates will come from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Beaufort West, Bloemhof, Brandfort, Lydenburg, Kokstad, Matatielo and Mabisakraal, to name only some areas.

Even the Transkei will have its delegates there, despite the state of emergency blanketing this Reserve.

Anglican, Lutheran and other churchmen have signified support in the last week. The Alexandra branch of the Ministers' Interdenominational Federation asked for a spokesman of the Continuation Committee to explain the aims of the conference and then enthusiastically endorsed the idea, and appointed their representative to attend its sessions.

PAC WITHDRAWAL
Asked what would be the effect of the withdrawal of the former PAC and two of the Liberal Party sponsors, one of the Continuation Committee members said emphatically: NIL. Signs are that the conference will be even more successful than was at first anticipated.

But he added that the withdrawal of these sponsors had caused anger in many African circles.

The feeling seemed to be that whatever differences there might be on the form of African unity and future action, these should have been thrashed out at this conference: this is its purpose, after all. Sponsors withdrawing now gave the



Mr. Julius Mali, member of the Liberal Party Transvaal Executive and Transvaal organizer of the Liberal Party.

impression they were sabotaging the conference.

One man said: To dissociate from the conference even before the effort for unity is made is to undermine the chances of unity. Some expressed the hope that those withdrawing would still change their minds.

AIM THE SAME

The conference has not departed one jot from its original aims, said Mr. Duma Nokwe, a member of the Continuation Committee. The conference aims were carefully defined in a resolution: to consolidate African unity, and with a united African voice to devise ways and means of demanding a National Convention for a new constitution.

The African unity to be forged at Pietermaritzburg is to build a force for African action. This is what the conference will decide.

NATAL VIEW

Similar views were expressed by Mr. George Mbele, former provincial organizer of the banned ANC

and a member of the Natal branch of the Continuation Committee. "The paramount aim of the conference is to bring together all possible shades of opinion among the African people for the purpose of making a single united demand for a truly democratic South Africa.

"It is essentially a conference of the African people as a whole and not of certain groups among them, be they political or otherwise. Differences in outlook as to what the conference should do are of secondary importance to the idea of meeting. The proper place to air these differences is at the conference itself."

Mr. Mbele said the conference was winning widespread support in Natal, and he was particularly impressed with the response from the rural areas. Delegates were expected from as far afield as Harding, Ikopo, Bergville, Mapumulo and Nongoma in Zululand.

A number of delegates from the rural areas were preparing to journey to Maritzburg on foot as their solution to the transport problem.

NEW AGE

Vol. 7, No. 22. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper 6d.
SOUTHERN EDITION Thursday, March 16, 1961 5c.

If Papwa Is Turned Down . . .

SACTU CALLS FOR CADDIES' STRIKE

If there is race discrimination at the South African Golf Championships at East London and any golfer is refused because he is not white, the Port Elizabeth branch of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) calls on all caddies to refuse to caddy for a week everywhere in South Africa and asks all sportsmen to boycott the championships.

Bitter Conflict At London Conference

NON-WHITE PREMIERS ATTACK APARTHEID

From Our Correspondent

LONDON. AT THE TIME OF GOING TO PRESS, THE QUESTION WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE KICKED OUT OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS STILL IN THE MELTING POT.

Latest press report is that President Nkrumah has decided that if South Africa does not leave or reform, there is no place for Ghana in the Commonwealth.

He is believed to have reached this decision after consultations with Prime Minister Nehru, of India, who is said to have promised support for Nkrumah's stand.

A terrific fog of war is going on behind the scenes, with Macmillan using every lure and stratagem to prevent the Commonwealth breaking up.

The Ghana-India stand is due to

● Strong pressure from the United Front, who reminded the Premiers that they had received certain assurances (reported in New Age last week).

● Urgent direct representations from Chief Minister Nyerere, of Tanganyika, who stated, in response to United Front representations, that if South Africa remained in the Commonwealth, Tanganyika would not apply for membership when independent.

● Disgust with the British tactics of horse-trading international recognition of China for South Africa's admission to the Commonwealth.

● Annoyance with the evident ganging-up of the White Commonwealth States and the attempts of the Commonwealth Relations Office, through inspired press reports, to create the impression that the issue of South Africa's membership had already been settled.

baker, of Canada, will not now counterpose his Bill of Rights plan against South Africa's expulsion.

The views of Premier Balewa, of Nigeria, are uncertain, but he will face a crisis in Nigeria should he fail to adopt a strong anti-South African stand.

Britain is now bringing crude pressure to bear on the Afro-Asian premiers to win at least a postponement of a decision on South Africa's membership.

Latest reports suggest that Mr. Macmillan is now pushing for a package deal embodying 1. formal Commonwealth condemnation of apartheid and a call for revision of South Africa's racial policy; and 2. continued South African membership of the Commonwealth.

But Macmillan might strike an unexpected snag here: Verwoerd might not be prepared to accept continued membership on these humiliating terms.

I understand that Premier Diefen-



AFRICA NEEDS CAPITAL FOR DEVELOPMENT

Your article on Patrick Duncan in the issue of December 22 really goes a bit far.

How can you suggest that it is wrong for a man or a nation to save money? But saved money is capital. That is exactly what Russia is using to assist in building the Assuan Dam. Russia is pouring capital into all sorts of countries and thank goodness for it.

Up to 1908 the Belgians niggered and tortured in the Congo but after that they did not do so. This type of change of heart is exactly what we want in the local Nats. No one has yet shown that it is immoral to make a profit.

Now presuming that I am wrong—then please explain in your columns how an African tribe would exploit a mineral deposit without some capital and know-how from abroad. The Congolese could not be expected to get the copper out of the ground and to the markets unassisted. Nor would the Northern Rhodesian Africans get the splendid conditions which exist on the islands without vast capital from abroad. One machine there which I saw costs £200,000.

The rich Union of S.A. is desperately in need of foreign capital and that shortage may be the factor which will bring down the Nats but cause immense misery to the rest of us. It will, of course, be worth it—for a time when capital would again flow in.

Russian capitalists and technicians are doing a good job in India and Egypt—they may yet do so in the Congo but they will bring capital from the Soviet Union to do the job.

There is probably very little difference between Belgian and Russian capitalism in 1961.

You give no definition of the word imperialist but it goes down well with the ignorant. The Basuto nation hope and pray every day that they remain under imperialist Britain and do not fall under the ruthless democracy of the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner got UHURU in 1910 and from that very moment set out to oppress everyone within reach at the same time as creating IMPERIALISTS. So it all makes nonsense.

Tom Mboya has seen the light of capital and now says that he wants all the Indian and European capital that Kenya can get. But they can't get it. It is not a kindness to hand over unlightedness to Africans to demagogues with no capital and that is what is happening in the Congo but let's hope that Russia will save that country with both capital and technical assistance.

My two points are—

● Why is it wrong to save money? and

● How do bush-bond savages exploit minerals deep in the earth?

Glad that New Age can keep going as its errors are only small ones.

H. S. COAKER

Ladybrand.

Our Reply

(New Age is not the first to hold that it is immoral for a man to make a profit by exploiting the labour of the workers. That is why New Age is opposed to capitalism, and also to imperial-

ism, which is the domination, political or economic, of one country by another for the benefit primarily of the capitalist class of the imperialist country.)

We fully agree with Mr. Coaker that the underdeveloped countries of the world can do with outside capital for their future development, but there is a fundamental difference between the way that capital is raised and supplied to the West. Russia is a socialist country, and there are therefore no Russian capitalists and no Russian capitalism. There is Russian capital, or as Mr. Coaker calls it, saved money, but it belongs to the Russian people as a whole and not to private individuals or corporations and is supplied to other countries mainly in the form of state loans repayable over 12 years at the rate of 2.5 per cent—and with no strings attached. Western capital (Belgian, British, French or United States) usually takes the form of private investment, as a result of which the resources of the colonial country pass into the ownership of private individuals or corporations in the imperialist country.

NO PROFITS

Russia is at present building more than 300 industrial enterprises and other projects in 14 Afro-Asian states and has advanced credits for this purpose to the extent of more than 9,000 million roubles. Yet Russia does not own, nor does any individual Russian own shares in any mine, factory or other enterprise in any of these countries and no Russian is able to draw any profits from any investment either in his own country or in any foreign country. The profit motive for foreign aid is thus completely eliminated.

Compare this with the situation in Tshombe's province of Katanga, where the wealth of the country is sucked off by private Belgian, British and American capitalists. The copper profits from the Katanga mines go into the pockets of foreign shareholders in the Western countries, and not into the pockets of the African workers, who slave for a pittance in the interests of foreign capitalists.

BELONGS TO AFRICA

It is to preserve this fact that the Belgian capitalists, aided by their British, French and American colleagues, are fighting so hard to keep Katanga for the West. And it is because of this shameful exploitation by Western capitalism that the liberatory movements of Africa have decided to get rid of imperialism once and for all so that the wealth of their continent can be restored to its rightful owners, the African people.

As for "bush-bond savages," Mr. Coaker should remember that the African people were mining and smelting metals in Africa long before the White man put in an appearance. Furthermore, we know that the liberatory movements of the world were first united after the first world war, and China, Cuba, Guinea, Egypt and many other of the countries which won their independence after the second world war have shown that they can get along much faster without the imperialists' capital than they got on before with it.—Ed.)

More Condemnes On Lumumba's Death

South African workers mourn the death of Mr. Lumumba, together with the workers and true fighters of the Congo. They consider Mr. Lumumba to have been a great and glorious fighter for freedom, whose courage will never be forgotten and whose spirit will inspire fighters for freedom wherever they may be.

S.A. CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
Johannesburg.

They have brought them into the dust of death.

Oh, the hands which have murdered them!

Africa shall be free!
The world is mourning the death of three sons of the soil.
MURIEL NALA
Johannesburg.

When this young man became Prime Minister of the Congo he asked UNO to come to his aid and restore order and peace. Dag, why did you let us down like this? Your men should have guarded Mr. Lumumba. You were wrong to allow Kasavubu to hand Mr. Lumumba over to Tshombe and the Belgians to be killed with his supporters. May God be with Mr. Lumumba's family.

J. DYUBENI
Oranjestad, Cape Town.

Let them eat, drink and enjoy what they have done. But the fruits of Africa they will never see, because of what they have done to our beloved Patrice Lumumba.

ABEL MOLOKOANE

If the Tshombe and Kasavubus think that they can stop us from getting self-government they have misled themselves because we will have other leaders in time to come. We hope that Dr. Nkumah, Mr. Khrushchov and Mao Tse Tung will help Gizenza to bring the murderers of Premier Lumumba to justice.

READER
Maseru, Basutoland.

The Bechaanaland People's Party are very much grieved to learn of the murder of the legal Prime Minister of the Congo, Mr. Patrice Lumumba. We mourn his unnatural death and we blame the United Nations Secretary General because he failed to disarm the Belagans.

Africa has lost one of her greatest sons. Gold, copper, diamonds did not count in his life. The freedom and independence of his people came first. We know that capitalism, imperialism and colonialism supplied the hands for the black gloves which left their fingerprints on Lumumba's body.

MOTSAMAI MPHO
Secretary General,
Palapye.

Away with Imperialism. Rest in peace, Mr. Lumumba.

ISHMAEL TLEBERRE

Last Week's Donations:

Johannesburg:
L.L. R30, Bucket R1, Lorna 95c.

Cape Town:
Jumble R1.75, Sacred River R2, H & O R10, T R10, Cheque R2, H R2, Dora R4, C.B. (per D) R4, Anonymous R7.90.

Grand Total: R93.50
This so-called "grand total" is just not good enough. Send your donation today!

EDITORIAL

Black Chauvinism vs. The Freedom Charter

GIVING their reasons for withdrawing from the Maritzburg conference, the leaders of the former PAC say:

"We will not be party to any discussion relating to the calling of any multi-racial conference whatsoever . . . Africans alone can solve the problems besetting South Africa. We alone can achieve freedom and independence."

There speaks the voice of extreme Black chauvinism. These leaders are not merely anti-White; they are anti-anybody who is not an African.

What their statement means is that they are not prepared even to discuss politics with anybody who is not an African. They think they can win freedom on their own and dictate their terms to all other sections of the population.

Nor can they escape criticism of their policy, as they have tried to do in the past, by saying, like "Soapy" Williams, that an African is anybody living in Africa. They have categorically stated that they are not interested in attending any multi-racial conferences, even though all the non-Africans present are African non-Africans.

The policy of these leaders of the ex-PAC is one which can only inflame race hatred in South Africa, and make the struggle of the African people, not easier, but more difficult. Instead of trying to win allies for their cause among all sections of the people, thus weakening and isolating their enemy, the white supremacists, the PAC thinks it can "go it alone," and does not seem to care whether it antagonises everybody else in the process.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHERS?

This is the road to ever-deepening race conflict in South Africa. For every two Africans in South Africa, there is one non-African (total population 15 million-odd, of whom approximately 10 million are Africans, 3 million Whites, 1½ million Coloureds and ½ million Asians).

YET THE LEADERS OF THE FORMER PAC WANT TO DENY ONE THIRD OF OUR POPULATION ANY SAY IN DETERMINING THE DESTINIES OF THE COUNTRY. "Africans alone can solve the problems besetting South Africa. We alone can achieve freedom and independence."

Compare this racial arrogance with the mature policy of the Congress movement, based on the Freedom Charter, which recognises that all sections must share in building the new South Africa on the basis of equal rights for all. The Congress policy leads to race harmony and co-operation, as opposed to the strife, suspicion and hostility which must follow in the wake of the PAC adventurism.

The reasons given by those Liberals who have also withdrawn from the Maritzburg conference don't make sense. They say that without the ex-PAC leaders the conference will not be sufficiently representative. But with them, on the basis of their present policy, the conference can never decide to enter into discussions with, say, the Liberal Party itself, or any other section of non-Africans. How do these Liberals reconcile this with their party's policy of non-racialism? Yet they seem to prefer to string along with the PAC rather than join with the rest of the African leaders who between them undoubtedly represent the bulk of the African people.

A JOB TO BE DONE

Well, if the PAC and these Liberals want to isolate themselves from the main stream of the democratic movement, so much the worse for them. The Maritzburg conference, which aims at a new democratic constitution for South Africa will continue full speed ahead. The signs are favourable. Everywhere the Africans are preparing for the conference. The Indians are backing it. Among the Coloureds there is a new stirring, and a willingness to work with the Africans such as we have seldom seen before.

THE OPPORTUNITY EXISTS OF BUILDING THE MOST FORMIDABLE UNITED FRONT AGAINST APARTHEID THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER SEEN.

We can only express the hope that when the time comes to act, the leaders of the former PAC and the Liberals will find it possible to join with all others in any campaign against the Nationalist Government decided upon by the Maritzburg conference, and so help bring nearer the day when democracy dawns in South Africa.

Death Of Elias Moretsele

A Great Freedom Fighter Passes

WHEN the treason trial resumed on Monday, only 28 places in the dock were filled and the eyes of the African, Indian, White and Coloured leaders of the Congress movement moved continually to the corner where their much-loved colleague Elias Phakane Moretsele no longer sat.

For on Friday afternoon, March 10, only a few hours after he had come from the trial, 'Resie', as he was affectionately known far and wide, collapsed and died in his African restaurant.

One of his closest colleagues in the African National Congress for close on four decades spoke to Elias Moretsele only half an hour before his collapse.

"He sounded gloomy, despondent about the trial," J. B. Marks told New Age. "Thirty minutes later there was a dramatic message from the restaurant that he was dead."

FOUR YEARS OF THE TRIAL HAD PROVED TOO MUCH FOR HIM.

Moretsele died as he had lived—in harness for the freedom movement.

There is no African political campaign of the last 43 years with which he was not closely associated—more than that, in the lead.

IN MOURNING

Born in Sekukhuleni in 1897, 'Resie' never lost his love for his first country home and his people—the Bapedi of Sekukhuleni. There will be sorrowful mourning for him among the Bapedi in the north east Transvaal and all along the Reef where many of his people now live and work, for President Moretsele of the African National Congress was the centre of the Bapedi people of the town. To him they came for advice and help on

Protest at Group Areas Plans

CAPE TOWN.

A meeting of over 100 people residents of the Black River-Park Estate district of Rondebosch, on Monday night protested against proposals to declare their area white under the Group Areas Act.

A committee of ten was elected to submit a memorandum to the Group Areas Board objecting to the Group Areas Act and demanding equal treatment for all people.

Death of Mrs. Siqwana

CAPE TOWN.

The death occurred last Sunday of Mrs. Winifred Siqwana, aged 64, one of the best-known personalities in Langsa.

Mrs. Siqwana was prominent in the activities of the now banned African National Congress, and served for some time as chairman of the ANC Women's League in Langsa. During the beerhall riots in 1947 Mrs. Siqwana was one of those arrested and charged, but later acquitted. She was also National Vice-President of the National Council of African Women, and a well-known member of the Langsa Vigilance Association.

matters big and small and he never failed them. He was a friend of Chief Sekukhune himself, of headmen and commoners.

'Resie' was one of the early veterans of the African National Congress. He joined in 1917, before the end of the first world war, and his participation in African struggles is written in the stories of the 1922 struggle against the increased poll tax; the struggles of the 'twenties and 'thirties against the pass laws, notably the 1925 struggle of African women against having to carry passes.

Twenty-five years later, when the people of Sekukhuleni rose against passes for women and the Bantu Authorities system, 'Resie' was proved right again, and he stood shoulder to shoulder with the people of Sekukhuleni in their courageous opposition to NAD rule. By the 'fifties, when a new generation of African freedom fighters had flowed into the Congress movement, they found veteran fighter 'Resie' at their side, with them in the votes-for-all campaign, with them during the defiance campaign in the campaign against Bantu Education, among the 156 women from their beds in December 1956 when the treason trial started on its interminable and wearying path.

'Resie' rose to be Transvaal president of the African National Congress and was treasurer when it was banned. He shared in the taking of many historical decisions, presided over conferences and meetings—but



The late Elias Moretsele.

never lost "the common touch." In later years he was considerably older than most of his colleagues in the political movement but he was admired above all by the youth for his twinkling, often sarcastic humour.

'Resie's' restaurants, first in Anderson street, later in Pritchard street, were the rendezvous of all African political workers who would snatch a meal between meetings and exchange the time of day with the cheery proprietor behind the counter or in his little back room.

Now he is no longer there. With his going a great yawning gap is left in the freedom movement of our country. He leaves a wife, daughter and an aged mother living in Sekukhuleni.

THIS MR. WILLIAMS IS SOAPY

WHEN Mr. Sydney Williams, Canadian Negro journalist here on a "fact-finding" tour, first stepped off the plane on to South African soil, he must have wet a finger and held it up to find out which way the wind was blowing. For his views on this country and apartheid seem to change as he travels along.

Wearing his Homburg hat at the correct diplomatic angle, and unheeded along by white civil servants, this latest guest of the State Information Office is a fast-talker, and jumps around like wet soap.

First statements on the South African scene were in favour of apartheid. But confronted with them and apartheid seem to change as he travels along.

But he also said, "The Government has put up a bad case for apartheid. They are not only talking about it, but implementing it. It is for the African Native to be wise. Then I will judge who is right."

SINCERE

"I am a sincere man," he assured our reporter rather patronisingly. "You and I are brothers. Your grandfather and mine were slaves. So I am here to help."

At this stage Mr. Williams' white chauffeur told him it was time for his next appointment. Still full of assurances that he was here to help, he ended on the note: "My mission is to promote good relations between the Africans and the Government."

CHANGED HIS TUNE

In Durban Mr. Williams' tune changed again and he became particularly vehement in

his criticisms of the Tribal Colleges. At the opening of the Noyce College in Zululand, he told Bantu Education Minister Marce that "apartheid was designed to send Africans back to the jungle."

He even gave New Age a message to the people of South Africa:

"I wish first of all to identify myself with the struggle of the Non-White peoples of Africa. Your problems are many and complex. As you strive for freedom—for indeed yours is a type of slavery—be on your guard against extremists. Be assured you have friends abroad who are doing everything possible to remove the injustices which are meted out to you."

"NO DOGS"

Mr. Williams arrived in Cape Town on the Viscount from Durban and was met by two white officials. They carried his bags and propelled him into the section of the airport where a notice said: "Whites only. No dogs except on a leash."

Outside the airport, the two white escorts who acted like embarrassed bodyguards assigned to a visiting Prime Minister from a black state, tried to block off members of the Coloured People's Congress. But Mr. Williams managed to get in a handshake, said breezily: "I gotta see you boys. Ring me at the hotel."

"What hotel?" "Mount Nelson," one of the escorts growled as they practically lifted their protego into the big black car.

Mr. Williams' Cape Town fact-finding programme consisted of interviews with Dr.

Non-Whites Hostile To Rand-cent Coinage

THE introduction of decimal coinage has had a very hostile reception from the Non-White people in all parts of Southern Africa.

Not only are the people unfamiliar with and suspicious of the rand-cent coinage, but there is strong opposition to it as "Nationalist money."

In many of the African townships, people simply will not deal in rands and cents and insist on transactions being conducted in pounds, shillings and pence.

Many African workers and domestic servants have told their employers that they would prefer to be paid in sterling as the new coinage is not currency in the townships.

PENNY-PINCHING

In addition, there is widespread resentment of the way in which shops and traders, including government departments like the post office, have been penny-pinching from the poor.

An African worker at Hex Tex, Worcester, for instance, writes to New Age complaining that the post office there is not sticking to the conversion table as laid down by the

Government.

"We are crying because this new system is coming to displace our old rand as our poor living wages," he says. "What is happening is that prices are being increased instead of our miserable wages. That is why the Africans refuse to accept these new coins."

The rand-cent system has automatically been introduced in the protectorates, but has been received with a great deal of resentment.

Last week New Age reported that the Swaziland Progressive Party had passed a resolution for a petition to the British Government to "request the removal of the uncalled for coinage system."

This week our Basutoland correspondent reports that the location shops in Maseru are refusing to accept cents on the grounds that they are confusing their sales. There have been violent arguments between shopkeepers and their customers, and as a result some White shops have gained the business because they are prepared to accept cents.

This has still further inflamed opinion against the new money.

More Clashes In The Transkei

Ambushed Car Sprayed With Bullets

PORT ELIZABETH. A NUMBER of incidents have occurred recently in various parts of the Engobo district.

I. D. Du Plessis, meetings with members of the Coloured Affairs Department, and lunch with Mr. Golding. When the CPC near the exclusive Mount Nelson they were informed that Mr. Williams had gone off to meet the Stellenbosch professor.



"Now look brother, don't get me wrong. I want to promote good relations between the Africans and the Government in this country."

● A car driven by Sub-chief Murrara of Qulooq, Engobo district, of some of the relatives of the unpopular, Bantu Authority supporters were passengers, came up to an obstruction one night, Stones had been placed across the road to form a White block. As soon as the car stopped it was sprayed with bullets.

● In February the home of a Bantu Authority supporter was burnt down in the Mhlokeqati location and a number of sheep were driven away. The authorities chose to treat this as an ordinary case of stock theft. Shortly thereafter a number of men were arrested.

On Friday last week the case of these men was remanded to a later date.

On the night of the case, however, the homes of a number of Bantu Authority supporters were set alight. As the men came out of the blazing inferno they were attacked and beaten. One of them was speared to death.

SHOOTING MATCH

● Following on these incidents a posse of police from the Engobo and Gqaga police stations came to the location. A clash took place in which firearms were used, and there were injuries on both sides.

● Trouble has started in the neighbouring locations on the Idutywa side of the border. Men have refused to perform what the BAD Commissioners call "voluntary labour," but which is in reality forced labour. At certain intervals men are expected to go and destroy cactus and other noxious weeds.

On this occasion the men told the Chief to find paid labour, and when he threatened arrests he was told to go ahead. As the atmosphere is generally so tense in most parts of the Transkei, the Chiefs are being more discreet now, and so far there have been no reprisals.

Why Mac Deodorises Verwoerd

THE COMMON BRITISH WEALTH

ONE certainly must hand it to Macmillan. As a shrewd rigger of conferences he can have few equals in the world today, and yet he manages to cover his schemes with a veil of old English charm which would make it seem that the self-interest of his class is the thing furthest from his mind. A couple of years ago he managed to put across an image of himself to the British public as a sort of British superman. Now he has undertaken a more difficult assignment—the task of putting off Prime Minister Verwoerd across Africa—not such a bad old stick after all.

Only now South Africa has a government freely chosen by all its people will the question arise for final consideration: should South Africa belong to the Commonwealth or not? But in making that choice the people of South Africa are bound to examine the Commonwealth more critically, and in doing so they will remember the current scheming by the Commonwealth top-dogs to back Verwoerd. The situation is that should South Africa be excluded now from the Commonwealth, then the peoples of the future free South Africa might possibly decide to join the club—I put it no higher than that. But if Verwoerd and Co. are allowed to stay in, then a free South Africa will most certainly break with an institution which has hindered their freedom struggles.

The arguments against a free South Africa being a member of the British Commonwealth are already strong. At the moment there can be no doubt that it is the British who call the Commonwealth tune. Although there are only 85 million whites in the Commonwealth countries as opposed to 90 million Africans and 440 million Asians, it is the white States that dominate the Commonwealth proceedings. The Commonwealth is supposed to be an important institution in world affairs, but in practice its function is to enhance the status of Britain in world politics. Britain continues to be one of the leading members of NATO although the bulk of people in the Commonwealth are strongly opposed to the NATO military set-up.

Similarly, the great majority of people in the Commonwealth would like to see South Africa kicked out. Whether it be Nigeria, Ghana, Ceylon or India, the popular protest is for S.A.'s exclusion. Yet the Prime Ministers of these countries appear too often to allow themselves to be swayed more by the blandishments of Macmillan than by the desires of their own people.

Geography All these factors suggest that the Commonwealth has been designed to further the interests of the British ruling groups and that it has to a large extent succeeded in doing so. After all what is there to unite all the peoples of the Commonwealth other than their previous bitter experiences at the hands of British imperialism? GEOGRAPHY WOULD DICTATE THE FORMATION OF REGIONAL ALLIANCES, WHICH IN THE LONG RUN WOULD BE ECONOMICALLY MORE PROFITABLE. In fact all that unites the States of the Commonwealth at the moment is the fact that in each country British capital still occupies a dominant position.

IT IS FOR THESE REASONS THAT THE FUTURE FREE SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT WELL DECIDE TO BELONG TO A COMMONWEALTH—BUT A COMMONWEALTH OF AFRICAN STATES, NOT THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

WORLD STAGE By SPECTATOR

Lords and Ladies

The pressures to have South Africa, as at present ruled, kicked out of the Commonwealth club are indeed most powerful. Our rulers are regarded as being amongst the most reactionary in the world, and so fashionable has it become to back the anti-apartheid movement that even the lords and ladies are speaking out against the abomination of white domination.

The disadvantages of having South Africa in the Commonwealth are so great and obvious that one is forced to ask: why is Macmillan so keen to keep S.A. in?

THE ANSWER IS, OF COURSE, INVESTMENTS. As far as the Tories are concerned investments come before people, and at the moment British capital investment in the Union runs to the tune of some R1,700 million.

The British feel that by keeping South Africa in the Commonwealth they will be in a better position to grab a watch over this vast sum of capital. And this provides the key to the whole Commonwealth set-up.

Now the argument put forward at the moment by those who wish to

see South Africa expelled is not based on the grounds that the Commonwealth is a bad institution. Both supporters and opponents of the Commonwealth set-up are campaigning for South Africa's exclusion and both agree that they do so because they wish to see the present whites-only government slumped in the face by all the nations of the world.

Chief Cypran Bhukuzulu, alias the great black elephant, his hangers-on, indunas, and his cousin, Chief Gaitsa Buthelezi, being addressed by the Colonel K. A. E. Smith—of Pondoland 'Tame' (?) and the local chief of Police at the opening of Ngyo Tribal College last week.



Chief Cypran Bhukuzulu, alias the great black elephant, his hangers-on, indunas, and his cousin, Chief Gaitsa Buthelezi, being addressed by the Colonel K. A. E. Smith—of Pondoland 'Tame' (?) and the local chief of Police at the opening of Ngyo Tribal College last week.

At Opening Of Zulu Tribal College

Great White Rhino Sent The Chiefs To Sleep

From Our Correspondent DURBAN.

AMIDST the usual tribal fare of self-praise, the seat of learning for the Zulu Nation, namely Ngyo Tribal College, was opened last Wednesday. New Age was there to record a day which has since been described by a visiting Negro leader as "an occasion on which education takes another step backwards."

Bantustan dignitaries attended in full force with their mat-beans and indunas (just about the only Zulu chief who was not invited was Chief Albert Lutuli).

The Bantu Affairs Department also attended in its usual large bowing-and-scrapping numbers. The Great White Rhino Mr. M. D. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Affairs; Mr. W. A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education; His Excellency The Hon. G. C. Nel, Minister of the Zulus; the Great Black Elephant, Chief Cypran Bhukuzulu, and members of the Diplomatic Corps were among those who graced the communal hall of the College.

A TRIFLE FLAT The Great White Rhino—Mr. de Wet Nel's favourite Zulu nickname (self styled of course)—made a not so impassioned speech. (Doubtless having to explain away several of the baffling mysteries of Pondoland during the current Parliamentary session has taken most of the wind out of him).

In pleading tones he said: "I on several occasions have been ridiculed in the Press for my staunch belief that on these sprawling peaceful plains of Zululand will sprout cities as highly developed as Durban and others . . . Today I have seen a dream come true: I have seen Ngyo University opened."

Trying to justify what has become a prickly subject, the Hon. Min. for Bantu Education, Mr. Maree, said that the reason why last year's Matric results had been so bad "was not because of any rot in the Bantu Education system." "Rather," he added, with the enlightening gaze of a pioneering Professor, "the changeover from the original education system to the new one resulted in the elevation of many good teachers to administrative posts such as Supervisors and Inspectors . . . that is why the results were not so good."

Unflatteringly and smoothly Mr. Maree tried to coax the audience into believing that the Matric results, really, and their failure were nothing compared to the extremely good J.C. results!

CHIEFS SLEEP Earlier on, the Hon. G. C. Nel, Minister of the Zulus, had been handing out bouquets to his bosses, de Wet Nel and Maree, by saying that the Zulus had a "good habit" of naming anyone who did anything good for them "Father." Then, dramatically he declared: "The Zulus and I agree that these two men are die Groot Vaders van die Bantoc."

The beaming de Wet Nel smiled broadly whilst some chiefs looked on vacantly.

However it is extremely doubtful if the stream of backveld wisdom that tumbled in an oratorical torrent from the lips of de Wet Nel and Co. made much of an impression on the 270 chiefs who attended. Practically half of them slept throughout the whole proceedings, and only came to life at the end of the official ceremony when the roistering, freezing and K.B. session started.

SEARCHED The police then proceeded to search Mr. Mpetsha, Mr. Phutego, who had gone into a nearby shop, was brought out and also searched. Two leaflets in connection with the Pietermaritzburg conference were taken from Mr. Mpetsha, and a notebook containing names of his laundry customers from Mr. Phutego. The police left, but while the two men went on waiting for the bus, two more vans and a police car arrived and they were ordered into the car.

"We were driven to our respective homes in Nvanga," Mr. Mpetsha said. "Three detectives were assigned to watch the houses while the rest returned to the Philippi police station with us. We were searched once more, right down to our socks."

Some time afterwards, Special Branch detective Sauerman and two African detectives arrived at the police station. Mr. Mpetsha and Mr. Phutego were then taken back to Nvanga by these detectives, and there their homes were searched. Nothing was taken, and they were driven back to the police station where their property was returned to them and they were released.

S.A. Represented At Moscow Conference

CAPE TOWN.

South Africa was represented at the world conference of Communist Parties which took place in Moscow last November. Mr. Brian Bunting told a gathering of students at the University of Cape Town last week.

He was lecturing on "Communism in Practice," one of a series of three lectures on Communism arranged by the UCT Students Council. Other lectures in the series were given by Dr. du Plessis, of the Dept. of Philosophy, and Prof. H. J. Simons.

This sign on the door of the public convenance at the Ngyo Tribal College in Xhosa, though Ngyo is said to be a "College built for the Zulus by the Zulus—for the Government."

CEMENT BOSSES ACCUSED OF INTIMIDATION

CAPE TOWN. THERE were sharp exchanges between workers' representatives and employers at a Wage Board sitting in Cape Town last week, when the employers were accused of intimidation and hampering workers in presenting their demands for improved wages.

The incident took place at investigations into the wages of workers in the cement industry.

Mrs. Liz Abrahams, who accused the cement producers of intimidating trade union organisers when they attempted to interview workers in their industry, was prevented from speaking any further on the matter when employers became hostile, but other trade unionists present pointed out that her remarks arose from the detention by police of an organiser after he had been refused permission by an employer of a cement factory to interview workers in connection with the Wage Board investigations. (See "Police Harass Trade Unionists" below).

A SOCIAL MATTER Professor Steenkamp, chairman of the Board, said that today the

Police Harass Trade Unionists

CAPE TOWN.

TWO trade union organisers were harassed by the police in Philippi for several hours last week. They are Mr. Mofat Phutego and Mr. Oscar Mpetsha who were visiting the area to interview cement workers in connection with Wage Board investigations into wages in the industry.

In an interview with New Age, Mr. Mpetsha said that he and Mr. Phutego approached the manager of a cement factory in Philippi and asked for permission to interview workers.

"The manager refused point blank," Mr. Mpetsha said. "He then got into his car and drove off."

"We left the factory premises and walked to a bus stop on the National Road. A few minutes later a police van drove up and also searched. I demanded to know what I was doing in the area and I answered that I had visited a factory to talk to the manager."

The workers were represented by Mrs. L. Abrahams, Messrs. A. Sibeko, B. January and C. Marney.



Members of the S.A. United Front meet Tanganyika's Chief Minister in connection with the expulsion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth. Left to right: Mr. J. J. Hadebe, Mr. Julius Nyerere and Mr. Gaur Radebe. (See story on page 1.)

For First Time In Trade Union History FARM WORKERS WILL ATTEND SACTU CONFERENCE

JOHANNESBURG.

FOR the first time in the history of the trade union movement in South Africa, African farm labourers will be represented by four delegates at the sixth annual conference of the South African Congress of Trade Unions to be held in Durban on April 1-2.

This coming conference of SACTU has evoked great enthusiasm and response from all the affiliated unions. A spokesman of SACTU said that it is hoped that this will be the biggest conference in the short history of the organisation.

About 100 delegates are expected from the Transvaal while other provinces promise to send large delegations. This shows the growing strength of SACTU. In 1955 when SACTU was formed, only 12 trade unions were affiliated; today it has a membership of 53 trade unions representing over 53,000 workers, of whom 40,000 are Africans.

The theme of the conference will be the implementation of the second phase of the E.A. Day Campaign, and a demand for the recognition of African trade unions.

Conference will also discuss the formation of the All African Trade Union Federation representative of all trade union organisations in Africa.

The Executive Report to the conference shows that SACTU has in the course of the year under review started organising workers in the metal, transport, agriculture and mining industries.

INTERNATIONAL PRIZE FOR BRIAN BUNTING

"Devoted his work to fight for democratic rights"

By Alex la Guma CAPE TOWN. NEWSPAPERMEN are traditionally hard-boiled, but this is not the case with Brian Bunting. When the news broke last week that he had been awarded the international prize for journalism by the International Organisation of Journalists, he blushed modestly and said: "It's not really for me. It's meant for New Age."

When the state of emergency was declared last year, Brian and his wife Sonia were among those who were detained for several months, during which time New Age was also banned.

On hearing the news of his award Brian said: "I am naturally honoured by this award, which I take it is based on the international recognition which has been won by the work of New Age and its predecessors over the past 24 years."

"New Age is not my work alone, but the collective effort of the whole progressive movement. I don't know the nature of the award, but I can state that if there is any question of money involved, the whole amount will be donated to New Age. I am sure that this would be in keeping with the wishes of the International Organisation."

Brian Bunting, aged 40, has been associated with the progressive movement for many years. Formerly a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1952. Elected to Parliament as an African representative that same year, he was deprived of his seat in Prague by Jiri Melner, secretary-general of the IOJ.

Mr. Melner said that Brian Bunting received the prize because he "devoted all his work to the fight for the democratic rights of the African population, against racial discrimination and for national liberation."

How Can They Tolerate Verwoerd?



India's NEHRU, Ghana's NKRUMAH, Nigeria's BALEWA

TRASON TRIAL

From Robert Resha
THE questioning of accused Mrs. Helen Joseph by the presiding Judge, Mr. Justice Rumpff, was directed on the lines which obliquely, if not directly, put the case as now argued by the Crown, argued Mr. I. A. Maiseis, QC, leader of the defence team, in the treason trial, Pretoria, last week.

And Mr. H. C. Nicholas, also for the defence, said:

"The Crown said it was going to prove its case—that the policy of the Organisation (African National Congress) was treasonable. It cannot prove its case by proving the policy of a number of individuals—no matter how many there are or how important they are."

Arguing the law on circumstantial evidence, Mr. S. Kentridge said that the Crown had not produced any direct evidence that the ANC had a policy to overthrow the State by violence.

"It is inconceivable, if it was ANC policy to overthrow the State by violence, that nobody could be found by the Crown to give direct evidence of that policy," said Mr. Kentridge.

Mr. A. P. O'Dowd, replying to the Crown's argument on Commission, said that Professor Andrew Murray, professor of Philosophy at Cape Town University and the Crown's expert witness, had been quite justified in saying in his evidence that it could be extremely dangerous to draw conclusions about a man's views on violent revolution from his views on other aspects of Communism.

Retaliation

Opening the defence argument, Mr. Maiseis said that it had been pointed out by Mrs. Helen Joseph, when she gave evidence, that the attitude of the Congress movement was that there would be no violence on their part, but that their action might provoke violence on the part of the Government and that the masses would retaliate. Mrs. Helen Joseph had denied there was any such intention.

Mr. Maiseis said that it was significant that the Crown did not take up this aspect with the defence witnesses. "It may be, or probably is, that Mrs. Joseph's answer to your Lordship may have been so satisfactory that the Crown did not take up this matter."

Replying to Mr. Justice Rumpff, Mr. Maiseis said that nothing could be inferred from the indictment. "The indictment speaks, you cannot infer."

He argued that the Crown had failed to do its work. In this case the concept had been that there will be violence by retaliation.

"The Crown is faced with the difficulties of the quality of the speakers they rely on, the quality of the totality of the speeches relied on. This violence by retaliation is the only way out of the difficulties. All we got as reply from Mr. Trengove was that they KNEW."

Peaceful Methods

Mr. Maiseis submitted that the accused wanted to bring about changes in this country by extra-parliamentary peaceful methods. The Crown said they wanted to do this by violence.

"We submit that the treason trial is a case where initially the Crown attempted to make the case which is set out in the indictment. The Crown thus admitted its failure to put the only case the defence had been asked to make, the case of introducing new allegations at this stage of the argument."

Mr. H. C. Nicholas came in immediately after Mr. Maiseis's Queen on the law of treason and conspiracy. "There is no evidence that a national conference of the African National Congress had decided on the adoption of a treasonable policy," he submitted.

Evidence on Treason by the Conspiracy, Says Defence

"The Crown had made it quite clear that this was an organisational conspiracy—that the African National Congress had pinned its colours to the mast. The Crown had said it was going to prove its case—that the policy of the African National Congress was treasonable. It must prove an organisational conspiracy. It cannot prove its case by proving the policy of a number of individuals—no matter how many there are or how important they are."

No Hostile Intent

Dealing with hostile intent, he explained that this was important in a case of treason. Defining treason, he said that it may be a hostile intent towards the State, to be antagonistic to the State and therefore an enemy of the State. Hostile intent was the hallmark of treason, the intention to assist a foreign enemy, the intention to coerce the government by force. Mr. Nicholas said that hostile intent was not the same as a feeling of hatred for a government. It will for a government was not hostile intent.

Mr. Nicholas went on to suggest that the intention should be manifested, it should be demonstrated by some action to prove the intention. He further argued that if people came together and conspired to overthrow the State and in pursuance of that they said make speeches at the City Hall steps, it was not a treasonable conspiracy until there was a hostile intent.

"We have made the submission before," Mr. Nicholas said, "that the definitions given here are generalisations. The definitions I have been quoted by the Crown refer to warlike acts."

"My submission," said Mr. Nicholas, "is that there is no authority to suggest that an act which does not manifest force is treasonable, certainly not in South Africa and not in the Roman Dutch Law." Mr. Justice Bekker: "To disturb the tranquility of State, as was the argument last time?"

Mr. Nicholas: "The only thing that can disturb the tranquility of the State is force. Your Lordship is using a metaphor. The State is not disturbed, the State is not coerced except by force."

On the question of conspiracy as a charge laid against the accused, Mr. Nicholas said that there was no evidence that the African National Congress had taken a decision to embark on treasonable acts to overthrow the State by violence. "What the Crown must allege and prove is that the accused entered into a contract, an agreement to overthrow the State by violence, and made it that they agreed to do the acts alleged by the Crown. We submit that it is the duty of the Crown to prove the exact conspiracy."

"We submit that this case is based on the policy of the ANC and therefore the Crown must prove that the policy of the ANC was accepted by the whole organisation. It cannot be said that members of the ANC gave consent to a treasonable policy."

"We submit that any decision taken outside the national conference of the ANC, which is the supreme body, is not a policy. An agreement by all the members of the ANC must be based on the knowledge of each and every member of the organisation. Our submission is that the Crown must show that there was a unanimous decision by members of the African National Congress at a national congress to adopt a treasonable policy and there is no material before the Court to show that there was such a decision."

Dealing with circumstantial evidence, Mr. Kentridge argued that the Crown had produced no direct evidence to show that the ANC had a policy to overthrow the State by violence. It relied on circumstantial evidence from which the inference of such a policy must necessarily be drawn.

No Criminal Acts

The burden of the proof, Mr. Kentridge contended, was increased where, as in this case, no criminal act was committed in pursuance of the conspiracy. The Court was asked to draw inferences of a treasonable policy from documents and speeches which did not in themselves constitute acts of violent overthrow of the State.

Mr. Kentridge said that in this case each accused was charged with more than one overt act of treason. Each overt act was alleged to have

been committed with a hostile intent.

In the first overt act, it was said that each of the accused did "wrongfully, unlawfully and with hostile intent, aforesaid conspire with each other, with the persons mentioned in the indictment and with other persons to the prosecutor unknown, to subvert and overthrow the State by violence, and make active preparations for the achievement of these objects."

In its indictment, the Crown said: "In pursuance and furtherance of the said conspiracy, more particularly as part of the active participation for the violent overthrow of the State, the accused with hostile intent aforesaid proceeded to certain meetings which were convened in pursuance of the said conspiracy, and for the purpose of furthering and carrying into effect the means set out with the knowledge that the said meetings had been convened for the aforementioned purpose, did then and there attend the said meetings and for each and every of the purpose of furthering and carrying into effect the means aforesaid."

Two Witness Rule

Mr. Kentridge said that to prove the treasonable conspiracy against each of the accused, two independent witnesses were required. The rule applied equally to cases in which circumstantial evidence was tendered, for the Court was invited to draw inferences of a treasonable conspiracy. Mr. Kentridge emphasised that the proof of a hostile intent, which did not need witnesses, was not material before the Court. The Court held that the charge was not one of using words with hostile intent, but that they were said to be spoken in furtherance of a specific conspiracy. Proof of adherence to that conspiracy might prove the hostile intent, but proof of the hostile intent did not prove adherence to the conspiracy. "This must be proved as part of the overt act of attending a meeting and making a speech—in fact it must be proved as pleaded."

Mr. Kentridge said that the double proof that was required was not the ringing of the bell, or voting for the Freedom Charter, or making a colourless speech at a meeting—there was no value in the double proof of such matters.

After Mr. Kentridge had addressed the Court, Mr. Justice Rumpff said that it was the desire of the Court at this stage to hear the reply of the Crown to the points of law raised by the defence so far. Mr. J. J. Trengove (for the Crown) asked for time to prepare the reply.

Communism

Mr. A. P. O'Dowd then followed Mr. Kentridge to address the Court on the Crown's argument on Communism. He began by pointing out that the Crown had relied on Communism only in so far as it was relevant to the Crown allegation of violence.

The Crown had succeeded, said Mr. O'Dowd, in showing that there was some Communist propaganda in some of the documents, but the Crown would have to show that this was the Communist doctrine of violent revolution and that it represented the views of active members of the Congress. The Crown had shown that the Communist doctrine of violent revolution. In order to reach that goal, the Crown would have to take certain steps. It would have to show that the documents relied on did contain Congress policy and that the documents were exclusively Communist. It would have to prove that the documents were Communist. The Crown accepted the whole of Communism

doctrine, that the Congress believed in and advocated violent revolution and that the active members had knowledge of the Communist doctrine of violent revolution.

Mr. O'Dowd submitted that any of these steps were missing, then the rest would be invalid and the Crown would have failed to prove these steps at all in relation to the documents relied on. None of the documents were exclusively Communist. The defence argued that it was quite possible for part of the Communist doctrine to be accepted and not the whole, and that the Congress did not accept the whole.

The Crown had not proved, Mr. O'Dowd submitted, that the Congress advocated a violent revolution and had failed to prove the required knowledge in respect of the individuals.

Murray's Evidence

Mr. O'Dowd referred to the evidence of Professor Murray in which he said that it would be dangerous to draw any conclusions concerning the views of any person on violent revolution from his views on other matters, and pointed out that that was what the Crown had been trying to do. From the views of the accused on imperialism, capitalism and fascism, the Crown had tried to infer their views on violence.

The defence submitted that Professor Murray was correct on this point and referred also to his contention that even his own writings could have given rise to unfounded suspicion. Mr. O'Dowd then asked the Court: "What conclusions could the Crown draw concerning a group of laymen, some of whom were barely literate?"

The defence submitted that the evidence on the former Communist Party of South Africa was incomplete and that no fair view of the policy could be obtained, particularly on the vital issues of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of violent revolution. All that emerged from the evidence was that the Communist Party had certain views on fascism, liberation and other matters. "It is clear that there had been a resemblance between those and ANC views. Nothing could be inferred from such a resemblance. The ANC might have taken from the Communist Party of South Africa or it might have been the other way round."

New Age

Dealing with the journals Advance, New Age, Liberation and Fighting Talk, the defence would submit a separate argument, Mr. O'Dowd said. They could not be assumed to express the policy of the Congresses. A separate argument would also be advanced on the Freedom Charter. On this the defence would rely on the evidence of Professor Murray that the Freedom Charter was consistent with bourgeois socialism.

Replying to Mr. Justice Rumpff, Mr. O'Dowd said that the defence did not think it was necessary to add anything to the evidence on other submissions made by the Crown on various aspects of Communism.

Fined For Wearing

ANC Badge

Lawrence Makatini, a 42-year-old seaman, was fined £50 and six months in the Durban Magistrate's Court recently for wearing a badge and beret of the banned African National Congress at a meeting of the Railway Workers' Union early in November last year.

Mr. Makatini had already been in jail for three months awaiting trial.

UP MY ALEX

I HEAR that Dr. Verwoerd is just a little bit browned off because visiting Britisher Cliff Richard got a bigger and sexier hand here than his boxer got in the rock-n-roll yodeller's home country. . . . Probably because his new theme song "Hi, neighbour, didn't make the hit parade." Of course he did get the traditional rock-n-roll acclaim. . . . Go, man, go. . . . Awfully stuffy folks, these Britishers.

BUT it was Mr Verwoerd, out on a shopping spree, who stole the show while examining some materials. . . . I don't know anything about colours, quoth she.

PERMITS to travel from province to province, permits to be in town, permits to enter locations, permits to rent a house, permits, permits, permits. . . . Now permits to play golf. . . . It has been well said that the traditional expression of this dear country of ours is, "Did you get a license?"

LATEST on US President John Kennedy's reading list are

works on guerrilla warfare by Mao Tse Tung and Cuba's Ernesto "Che" Guevara. . . . To advise other people on the right communism, of course. . . . But nich. . . . And movie boss Boris Morros' account of his career as a counter-



spy against the Reds was discovered in a library. . . . In the detective fiction section.

COME the republic the former Queen's Own Cape Town Highlanders, now renamed Cape Town Highlanders, is likely to be re-created. Henk's Own Borderlanders.

AFRICA

NORTHERN RHODESIA:

SIR ROY'S MEDDLING ANGERS AFRICANS

FROM OUR
LUSAKA CORRESPONDENT

THE graph of tension may shoot up steeply again this week throughout Northern Rhodesia if the Northern Rhodesia Governor, Sir Evelyn Home, does not resume Northern Rhodesia constitutional talks immediately, or if he does not announce the British Government's detailed proposals for the constitution.

The Governor is being watched closely by African nationalists for further evidence of interference in the talks by Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky.

Reliable sources here have sug-

KENNETH KAUNDA — the militant leader of the Northern Rhodesia United National Independence Party steps it out after the breakdown of the recent constitutional conference in London.

gested that Northern Rhodesia talks are being held up as a result of talks due to take place between the British Premier and Sir Roy.

Last week, the United National Independence Party sent a letter to the Governor asking him to resume talks immediately. Both UNIP, led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and the African National Con-

gress, led by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, have addressed public meetings at which they have called on the Government to resume talks.

FEDERATION KEY

Northern Rhodesia is the key territory to Federation. Her position is that if she gets a constitution which will give Africans control of the Legislative Council then the chances of Federation continuing in its present form will be virtually nil.

It would mean that of the four governments in central Africa, two of them would be against Federation. If that were so, Southern Rhodesia might as a result elect to contract out of the Federation.

It is for that reason Sir Roy is making a fuss. What Sir Roy fears is that the outline of the constitution given so far indicates that political control of Northern Rhodesia is bound to pass out of the reins of the United Federal Party.

Sir Roy has gone to London to attend the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference. It is known here that while he is there he will do his best to make the British Government change its mind and give him a "better" constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

Whether Sir Roy will succeed in this or not remains to be seen.

The British Government is aware that it needs only a slight alteration to the proposals in Welensky's favour to risk a great crisis from Africans here.

AFRICANS HERE ARE NOT HAPPY AT ALL WITH THE PROPOSALS. They expected a constitution which would have assured them a straight African majority in the Legislature. These proposals do not.

The proposals envisage a Legislature comprising 45 elected members, six officials and one or two nominated members. Of the elected members, 15 would be elected by higher roll voters (mainly European); 15 others by lower roll voters (predominantly African) and 15 "national," elected by lower roll and upper roll voters voting together. Candidates would need a stipulated

minimum qualifying percentage of votes from either roll to qualify.

This provision has brought great confidence to the Liberal Party led by Sir John Moffat, much to the annoyance of all other parties. The Liberal Party is numerically very weak indeed, and has as a result been accused of having the constitution "drawn in their favour."

● Of particular annoyance to Sir Roy is the fact that the Liberal Party is against Federation.



ONLY KENYATTA CAN UNITE KENYA AFRICANS

NOW that the Kenya elections are over, it is clearer than ever that Jomo Kenyatta, exiled leader of the African people in the Colony, is the only man who can lead a popular African-majority government there.

The elections produced no major surprises; the militant Kenya African National Union (KANU) emerged as the leading party, with the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) not far behind. Between them, these parties would be able to muster a majority in the Legislature, especially as they could get support from some of the Asian members. But on their own, each party would be in a minority.

Furthermore, the KANU is not itself united on a number of issues. General Secretary Tom Mboya trounced his opponents in his constituency but Oginga Odinga, Kenyatta's vice-president and the man who has clashed most openly with Mboya, scored an equally resounding victory in his constituency. Although by all accounts Mboya has earned the unpopu-

larity of a great number of his colleagues, there is no one else in KANU who could carry the whole party with him.

THE ONLY MAN, THEN, WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE TO UNITE BOTH KANU AND KADU AND THE VARIOUS FRACTIONS INSIDE KANU ITSELF IS JOMO KENYATTA.

But the Governor of Kenya stubbornly refuses to allow this respected leader of the African people to return to public life. All that he has promised to do is to allow him to be transferred from his present place of desert exile to a camp near Nairobi where African leaders may consult with him.

The KADU leaders have accepted this as an interim measure, but the majority of the KANU leaders say they are not prepared to compromise on their election promises, namely, to secure Kenyatta's release and to serve in the Government only if he is at its head. Mboya has hinted that he does not agree with this firm stand, but adds that he will accept the majority decision of his party.

A Letter to the London Times

Sir,—They are not worth much, the buildings of Vientiane, and the people who inhabit that shabby administrative centre had little to live for and less to die for. One hopes that Luang Prabang will have a better fate. This is one of the most beautiful towns in the world, with a royal palace the size of a very small country house, and almost every fourth building a temple—in one of them the footmark of Buddha; a town of bells and peace.

One cannot believe, now that the French have gone, that the people of Laos are much concerned with either of the warring parties; there is not the fervent common enthusiasm, which made the war in Vietnam a national war, and it is tragic to think that it is a western Power which has brought war back.

Wasn't Dien Bien Phu a sufficient lesson?

The dream of a neutral Laos was a good one, but it is idle to think that neutrality can fail to have a certain colouring when the neutral country lies on the borders of two conflicting systems. Would Sweden be more secure if Finland were maintained by American arms

and money as a neutral state with a western tiger? If full-scale war develops in Laos we shall have a heavy load on our conscience, even though the load may have been imposed by an ally and not by our own Government. For four winters in Vietnam I saw the unhappy witness of the disintegration caused by the intrigues of American undercover agencies in the cause of an unrealizable dream—the dream of a Third Force; nobody with any knowledge of Laos is likely to deny that Prime Souvanna's Government had been undermined by the aid given from the United States to right wing forces. At least the Russian aid at the beginning of this mad competition was given to the legal government of the country.

One is naturally reminded of the Spanish Civil War. America has taken on the role played then by Germany and Italy, and they are American weapons which have helped to destroy Vientiane; one can only hope that England will not play again the former ruffian's part by aiding, with her ambiguous diplomacy, the forces of the right. Can any sane person believe that a right wing government would ever be allowed to exist, contrary to the agreement of Geneva, on the borders of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam any more than that the United States will keep a government under communist influence?

Yours truly,
GRAHAM GREENE
C/o 15, Queen Street, W.1.

"REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE"

Congress of Democrats Invites all to a
Poster Demonstration
Tuesday, 21st March, 12.45 p.m.

MEET AT TOP OF ADDERLEY STREET

WHY WE CAPTURED THE SANTA MARIA

— The full message to the Portuguese people by HENRIQUE GALVAO

THE capture of the "Santa Maria" was not a romantic gesture. Still less was it the result of a plan merely intended to attract world attention to the dramatic situation of Portugal. The capture of a large and magnificent vessel, which lasted for eleven days, and the voyage across the Atlantic pursued by planes and ships of several nations, have a meaning for all of you.

We wanted to prove that the dictator Salazar was no invulnerable—and we succeeded. We struck him, and at his navy, and we made them ridiculous in the eyes of the whole free, Christian world.

Tomorrow, wherever and whenever we meet him face to face once more, we shall strike at him again. We would not be what we are, nor would we be your spokesmen, were we to limit ourselves merely to the domain of military action. We are in fact at war with the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships. We are not interested simply in overthrowing Salazar by itself. We pursue a revolutionary aim: the reconstruction of Portuguese society on new bases. Owing to various circumstances there has never before been held out to the Portuguese people a hope and a future corresponding to their aspirations. We intend to take that step, which is decisive for all of us.

We know that no one fights for vague promises and beautiful words. Talk about liberty, equality and fraternity solves nothing. For this reason we do not

intend to fall into the same error as that made by those who reiterate principles and are fearful of irritating the dictator, and who take refuge behind vague formulas. We want a revolution, profound, authentic, total and humane.

It will have as its starting point the destruction of an iniquitous social order, and it will be based on agrarian reform and urban reform.

Our watchword will be: land for those who till it and houses for those who dwell in them. We shall eliminate the great landed estates and speculation in building.

We shall implacably destroy the privileges of the Portuguese plutocracy which divides men from birth into rich and poor.

We are far away from Lisbon and the dictator but all of us are acting with unshakable conviction that we shall enter the city as victors and implant there the Portuguese revolution of the twentieth century, the revolution which will also open the doors of the overseas colonies to freedom, progress and independence.

These are the words I have to say to you at this moment when the first military action taken by the forces under my command has come to a victorious conclusion. We are the nucleus of the future liberation army of Portugal and Spain.

Thrilling Display Of Scientific Boxing

Nhlapo Defeats Kekana By T.K.O. In 11th Round

From Robert Resha
JOHANNESBURG.

CLOSE to 4,000 cheering and excited fans were treated to a thrilling display of scientific boxing at the Orlando Stadium last Saturday when Enoch "Schoolboy" Nhlapo retained his South Africa lightweight title on a t.k.o. in the 11th round over the dangerous, ever-improving Eddie "Croucher" Kekana.

Both boys entered the ring looking fit and ready to give the spectators their money's worth. Enoch Nhlapo, who should now be called "Professor" instead of "Schoolboy", was half a pound (132 lbs.) lighter than his challenger. His face was smooth and light as if he had been training under a shade all the time. Kekana was as usual looking rather shy and timid.

When the first gong went, there was no question of one sizing up the other. The boys put on the heat from the first round until Kekana was forced to retire as a result of a bad open cut below his left eye.

KEKANA ATTACKS

The first three rounds saw Kekana coming up to the champ and crafty Nhlapo was forced to fight back on the retreat. With a beautiful timing, Kekana sent lefts to the champ's head, now and again following with his right to the head. It became clear as early as the third round that this was not going to be an easy fight and the champion had to do something more spectacular if he was to retain his title. Kekana tried to act to Nhlapo's face and body but Nhlapo's defence was formidable.

In the fourth round, Nhlapo

started finding a target on Kekana's head with his terrific short right. He kept on landing that brain-shaking right on Kekana's lower jaw. Nothing, even the advice from the crowd, could make Kekana escape the occasional timed right to his jaw. Nhlapo took this round to his corner.

THE TIGER HITS OUT

In the following rounds, the tiger began to show its true colours. With short lefts and rights he slammed at Kekana and in many an instance it was only Kekana's fitness and beautiful footwork that enabled him to get out of trouble. Bobbing and weaving Kekana did not allow Nhlapo to dictate, and more often than not he returned the blows with the same determination.

With the fight half way, Nhlapo put on more fire. He chased Kekana all over the ring, but Kekana's sound footwork and durability saw him through that round.

Coming back from his corner Kekana met Nhlapo in the centre of the ring, and then we saw the best boxing displayed for some time. To toe, the boys' legs loosed. Nhlapo tried with his quick one-two to the head and body but found Kekana ready to reply with stiff, piston-like rights to the body and head. He eventually did the boys in this round that it was a great pity it was not the last, for thereafter Nhlapo took the upper hand.

THE END

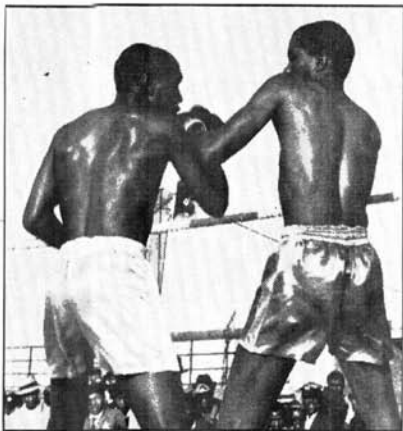
He hammered Kekana so hard that the round appeared to be longer than usual. Again it was Kekana's fitness that saw him through. He appeared groggy but the determination was there. Realising that his punches lacked the sting, he decided to keep Nhlapo away from him with beautiful right jabs and, moving swiftly around the ring, he managed to get out of trouble, but it was clear that the champion was

soon going to end the fight.

The fateful eleventh round came and Nhlapo attacked with a barrage of lefts and rights to the head and body. So many were they that I think Kekana lost count and seemed bewildered. A right cut Kekana badly below his left eye and the referee called it off, but it was obvious that even without that cut Kekana would have been knocked out.

DISAPPOINTING

The Tangief-Mitinku scrap was a dull and disappointing affair, Tangief retaining his bantamweight title without much trouble. One gained the impression that Mitinku was not well, otherwise it is difficult to understand why he fought so badly. On Saturday's showing he stands no chance against Dennis Adams whom he is supposed to meet in Rhodesia next month for the Empire title.



Enoch Nhlapo (left) blocks a right to the head from Kekana.

FAIR PLAY ON THE FAIRWAY?

TALKING point for the past week has been whether Papwa will be accepted for the S.A. "Open." It should never have been in doubt, for the "Open" is supposed to be OPEN to all golfers. But because Papwa is a non-white, he has had to wait for a "provisional" acceptance.

Now the Golf Union has passed the buck to the Government—Papwa needs two permits before he can play, and one must be signed by the Minister of the Interior. Since mixed play is against Government policy, it is unlikely that the Minister will oblige.

But if Papwa is excluded, then other S.A. golfers will have to face exclusion from overseas events—Papwa is a member of the BRITISH Professional Golfers' Association.

There is also the angle that if a non-white cannot play on a white course, then it is wrong to have non-white caddies. Already there is talk of the caddies all over the country going on strike for a week.

To Papwa and the other sportsmen we say "Good luck," to E. B. Pagnen and his S.A. Golf Union we say: "Watch out."

Another sporting break-through in Port Elizabeth: white and non-white tennis players are getting together for matches. A very good show. But we hope that this will also lead to great unity among non-white tennisists.

Here is Williamson's invitation team to play against a team captained by Athol Mackinnon (Springbok) shortly:

S. Hendricks, P. Smith, E. Majola, F. Abrahams, R. Simon, A. Adams, G. Hendricks, H. Ayoo, G. Connelly, N. Francis, E. De Kock, G. Potgieter, R. Doraswami, T. Hendricks.

Eaglets Society

Scoreboard welcomes the formation of the South African Eaglets Cricket Society, based on the Pakistan Eaglets Society and intended to promote good cricket.

Players will be allowed to join without any racial restriction; guest players will be invited from overseas, and tours will be undertaken. Thus we will be able to see great players in action both here and overseas.

There is one danger: just as the Board of Control tried to sidetrack

the angle of international recognition with the Worrell apartheid tour, so this Eaglets set-up may sidetrack us.

The officials of the Society must make it clear that they will not hold back from what should be our major object—THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DO THEIR SHARE IN OUR NATIONAL BODIES TOWARDS THIS AIM.

SASA Shorts

★ Notice has been received of a SASA Council meeting on March 21. This is the meeting that should have been held last month—there was no quorum.

The meeting will agree to release the summary of the Biennial General Meeting in Fortburg and also the record of the debate on the address by Reg. Howe. These will be available on request.

★ SASA officials will be travelling to Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Paarl.

The officials of the national bodies will be meeting them for discussions and planning. They will attend meetings of the Weightlifting Federation in Paarl and the S.A. Indian Football Association in Durban.

Cheers and Boos

CHEERS: The Fulham soccer tour has been

REMEMBER THE DEATH OF SHARPEVILLE AND LANGA

MEMORIAL MEETING

Grand Parade
Cape Town

SUNDAY 19th MARCH
at 3 p.m.

S.A. Coloured People's Congress

DEATH
MORSETSE.—The editor and the staff of New Age from our Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg offices extend sincere condolences to the wife and family of our dear friend "Retzie" who died suddenly last Friday. He will always be remembered by his fellow freedom fighters.

Published by Real Printing and Publishing Town and printed by Printer Press (Pty.) Ltd. is a member of the Anti-Burns of Christchurch Johannesburg, 101 Progress Buildings, 114 C. Durban; 601 London House, 118 Old Street, Port Elizabeth; 20 Court Chambers, 101, 102, Cape Town; Room 30, 1 Bazaar St., Pieter-

SCOREBOARD	
* by RECORDER *	

cancelled. SASA lodged a protest against the acceptance of racism by the team.

BOOS:

Messrs B. B. Singh of Natal INDIAN Swimming Association and H. Butshingi of S.A. BANTU Cricket, for their stubbornness in insisting on racial tags and racial bodies.

CHEERS:

For the four W.P. rugby players who have signed pro-forms: GOOLAM ABED ROOSLYNS, S. SCHROEDER (Rooslyns), LOUIS NEWMAN (Walmer) and MANIE TALIEP (Rangers).

Racing At Kenilworth

The following are Damon's selections for Saturday:

Cape of Good Hope Paddock Stakes:

1. COUNTRY COUSIN.
2. Lamorna.
3. Well Meant.

Wynberg Handicap B: INYALA, Danger, Northwind.

Kenilworth Handicap: DEBONICK, Danger, Ally.

Wynberg Progress Stakes: MIDDLE PARK, Danger, Sun Drama.

Kenilworth Progress Stakes: ATHENA, Danger, Hapier.

Wynberg Maiden Plate: MARICO, Danger, Kry Lewy.

Maturity Stakes: TROPIC ZONE, Danger, Royal Farrier.

Maiden Plate: MARIE CELESTE, Danger, Retkens Pass.

Unless otherwise stated B. Bunting, of 6 Durrock Street, Cape Town, is responsible for all political matter appearing in this issue.

1. Capital
2. Holdings,
3. from
4. 10 day
5. Govan
6. Her 8L
7. 6 Bar-
8. 70

1. Cape
2. Repu

This Book Tells Us Nothing About Sharpeville

MR. Bernard Sachs, in his "The Road to Sharpeville" has written a mixture of personal experience, reportage, biography and gossip which is difficult to classify. The title must have been an afterthought.

The book tells us nothing about Sharpeville or the events leading up to it.

The good features in the book are the interviews with such persons as Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Prof. H. P. van Wyk Louw and Sarah Gertrude Millin. But at the same time his selection of celebrities reveals his bias. He did not interview Chief A. J. Lutuli, Mr. Moses Kotane, Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naisiek or any other leaders of the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Mr. Sachs wishes strictly to remain as one of the Establishment. He was not always like that. There was a time (according to his writings) when he also fought for justice, freedom and the rights of man.

His description of the 1922 Rand Strike is written with sympathy and feeling and is one of the best pieces of the book.

Now he is so anxious not to offend those in power that he distorts the truth in order to flatter them. He gives the Nationalist Party the credit for industrial growth and the elimination of poor-whiteism.

If Mr. Sachs had made a study of South African economic history, he would have realised that the two world wars did more to

encourage secondary industry than all the customs and tariffs of the Pact Government. It was not the Nationalist Party, but industrial expansion that made possible migration of whites from the Plateland to the towns and did away with the sources of poor whiteism as it existed in the past.

What Mr. Sachs does not bring out is the enormous harm the Nationalists have done to the country by preaching race hatred and by resisting the changes that will bring to come.

Nowhere does he explain that racial repression is the cause of Sharpeville and that many more Sharpevilles will take place if the Nationalists are allowed to continue in office.

There are a number of errors, among them on pg. 99 when he says that Clement Kadlie appeared in 1927. Kadlie appeared on Labour platforms in 1918 and the ICU was formed in January 1919. On pg. 35 he says there are 20,000 Africans around Cape Town, whereas in fact there are close on 100,000. Pp. 100-104 are fiction not fact. Johannes Nkoloi was killed in Durban not Johannesburg, and the author's description of the events is therefore incorrect.

RAY ALEXANDER.

"The Road to Sharpeville" by Bernard Sachs. Published by The Dial Press, Johannesburg; Dennis Dobson Ltd., London; The Liberty Book Club, New York, 1961.