

# "FIGHT APARTHEID ON EVERY FRONT"

—Dr. NAICKER

## Call To Struggle In 1962



Dr. G. M. Naicker.

DURBAN.

THE victories achieved in 1961 must strengthen the people's resolve to galvanise their struggle against racial discrimination and launch further attacks against apartheid in all spheres, said Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the S.A. Indian Congress, in a Christmas and New Year message to South Africa.

Dr. Naicker pointed to several victories gained by the people over the past year. He said:

- The protagonists of apartheid have escaped by a hair's breadth the imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions by the United Nations and faced the bitter wrath of the world in the UN forum;

- S.A. was unable to withstand the torrent of justified reprimand of the Commonwealth powers and had to withdraw, resulting in greater isolation of the Nationalist minority;

- The people of SWA were reassured of their independence and freedom against racial apartheid in the not too distant future;

- Our chief, Albert J. Lutuli, went abroad to Oslo as our messenger of freedom and peace aspirations to receive the 1960 Nobel Peace Award;

- On the sporting side the all-white Soccer Association in S.A. was suspended from membership of the International Football Federation.

### FURTHER ATTACKS

"All these victories must strengthen our resolve to galvanise our struggle against racial discrimination and launch further attacks against apartheid in all spheres," Dr. Naicker said.

"Our community is burdened with poverty of a great magnitude.

We must demand of the so-called defenders of Western civilisation and Christian brotherhood a sharing in the economic riches of this country so that peace and goodwill become a reality.

"Let us hope that in 1962 we will see an end to the artificial barriers that make man fear man, and in its place an assembly, a National Convention, where we can express our thoughts and desires with clarity and without fear," Dr. Naicker concluded.

## ALAN PATON SPEAKS IN SWAZILAND

MBABANE.

"The West exploited many countries in Africa by means of the slave trade and cheap labour", said Mr. Alan Paton who was a guest speaker at St. Christopher High School, Umtata Mission, Swaziland, on the prize giving day recently.

Parents, Government officials and members of the National Council were present, as well as other people who came from all over the territory to hear Mr. Paton give his first public speech in Swaziland.

"There is a great future for Swaziland and Africa as a whole so you boys have a chance to do the best for your country", said Mr. Paton.

Speaking after Rev. A. Martin, Archdeacon of Swaziland, had declared the meeting open. Mr. P. H. Coxan, the principal, said: "The boys have been taking their work seriously, co-operatively and with good spirit. This can be proved by the work around here which has been done by the boys themselves".

Later Mrs. Paton gave out the prizes.



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## "UMKONTO WE SIZWE"



This is the notice of "UMKONTO WE SIZWE" that was posted on Johannesburg walls and poles to coincide with the bomb explosions that shook government buildings on December 16 and 17.

Time bomb explosions hit the Rand again on the morning of December 21 when power pylons were damaged near Edenburg Hospital, on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

## GOVT. ATTACK ON C.P.C. CONTINUES

THE Government's relentless assault on the leadership of the Coloured People's Congress continued. Last week—

● Councillor George Peake was fined R40 (or 20 days) for resisting arrest. He also appeared in court on a charge of incitement. After evidence had been heard, the case was adjourned to January 24.

● Mr. Toile Barden appeared in court charged with attending a gathering in violation of a five-year ban imposed on him by the Minister of Justice. No evidence was heard and the case was adjourned to January.

● Detectives of the Special Branch chose 2 o'clock last Friday (Continued on page 2)

## African Freedom Conference In February 1962

DAR ES SALAAM. TANGANYIKA'S Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, has taken the initiative in the formation of a new grouping of African states whose main purpose will be to help in the freedom struggles of those of its members not yet independent.

The new organisation has as its core the bodies already in PAFMECA. It has been strengthened by the inclusion of two countries already independent, Ethiopia and the Somali Republic. There are also representatives from Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, and from South and South West Africa.

In a statement issued by the group it was announced that the first conference would be

held in Addis Ababa, starting on February 2: "We re-affirm our belief in the unity of Africa. Once the people of our Continent are freed from the shackles of colonialism and the machinations of power politics, we have faith that the unity of Africa will follow through our own efforts and resolutions. We take this opportunity (Tanganyika's Independence Celebrations) to condemn without reservation the policies of the Government of South Africa, the Portuguese Government and the white dominated governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Federation.

"In particular we must state that the blind folly of the Southern Rhodesian Government in banning the National Democratic Party has been both a shock and a reminder to Africa", the statement said.

## Raids And Arrests After Bomb Explosions

SPECIAL BRANCH raids and arrests followed the recent series of bomb incidents in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

In Port Elizabeth, Mr. Harold Strachan was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act as well as malicious injury to property. He was refused bail and remanded to January 4.

In Johannesburg Mr. Reggie Vandeyar, a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was detained by the police. He is to be charged, it is understood, with illegal possession of a firearm, and is being held without bail for 12 days.

In Durban the homes of many members of the Congress Alliance were raided last week. At the home of Mr. C. Nalovu, Secretary of the Kwa Mashu Residents' Association, the police carefully examined two

small tins containing a black substance. Believing that they had found some explosive material, the police puzzled over the contents of the tins until eventually it dawned on them that it was only stove polish.

### Charges Dropped

Arrest and imprisonment on charges that are later withdrawn is becoming a common feature of Nationalist/police action against their opponents in South Africa.

In Johannesburg alone over a dozen of those arrested before the end-of-May demonstrations this year, many of whom were kept in jail for the full twelve-day period of the new No Bail Act, were finally told after frequent remands that the charges against them had been dropped.

Among those who received this

treatment were Miss Ruth Mawson, of the Federation of S.A. Women, Mr. Tom Nkobi, former National Organizer of the now-banned African National Congress, and Mrs. Mariel David, one of those in the forefront of the struggle in Alexandra Township against removals and the imposition of the permit system on women as well as men.

More recently Mrs. Martha Mathlaku, who was detained for a whole weekend because a leaflet of the banned African National Congress was found in her handbag, had a charge under the Unlawful Organisations Act withdrawn against her.

Mr. Walter Sisulu, Mrs. Lillian Ngoyi and Mr. Alfred Nzo, who were arrested at a party in November for allegedly contravening their gatherings ban, were informed last week that the charges against them had been dropped—and they too had spent three days in jail after their arrest.

Mr. Sisulu is also being persecuted for not being in possession (Continued on page 2)



## NEW AGE LETTER BOX

### COLOURED PEOPLE MUST NOT BE BLUFFED

Are the Coloured people to continue being bluffed by the Prime Minister's promises of higher authority? How many of his promises have been made and carried out? I appeal to the Coloured supporters of the Government to realise that time is running out and people are tired of hearing about "states within states" and that all they require is one man one vote!

The Coloured people and people of South Africa generally are not interested in Bantustans, Colouredlands or Indianlands, all they want is that racial groups should live together peacefully. They cannot expect a peaceful South Africa where there will be about five or more different racial governments.

May I also remind the members of the Coloured Affairs Committee not to forget that what Chief Lutuli stands for is the true picture of what is happening here, and that Mr. Louw stands for just the opposite. Remember that whoever stands for freedom of the people

does so not to fill his stomach or his pocket but for true democracy. Do the C.A.C. believe in a united nations of South Africa or in one multi-racial government which I maintain will solve the colour problem of our country? Let us all therefore say: "Down with stooges! Forward to a new South Africa for all!"

Z. S. XAMLASHE  
Langa, C.P.

### A Message From Motcambique

We are the Benguni of Soshangani, and our home village is Shayimithin. Our capital is Dabuku, Laurence Marques. We are united with the people of Natal by a piece of land, and we also have land in the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

We are sure of freedom through the people in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

The Portuguese make us pull down heavy trees and shout at the people like animals. They throw the Natives to be eaten by the sea animals, but they don't do that to the Whites.

We Bengunis are sure of freedom, and when we speak of freedom we think of our great leader Muzila—King of the Benguni Shanzani—father of Nguni!

Our freedom is 'Bayate, Bayate!' The Benguni of Soshangani

### The Meaning Of Non-Violence

Non-violence, passive resistance, passivism, conjure up images of a person standing by with a holy look on his face while a soldier runs a bayonet through his sister. Actually the aim of non-violence is to prevent this situation from arising—to check the use of destructive force by persons who possess it.

All violence is a by-product of cowering an individual, a rival or the oppressed into the acceptance of the stronger one's terms. Non-violence is an appeal to the good within one's adversary.

T. KLOPPENBURG.  
Durban.

## B.C.P. MUST CHANGE THEIR TACTICS

In 1960 the major political parties in Basutoland entered the elections with determination to use the new Coven Constitution to bring about the independence of Basutoland.

Of all the parties which took part in the elections, the Basutoland Congress Party emerged victorious. Nevertheless, when the elected members of the B.C.P. went to the National Council with their elected majority of 32 members they found 48 Government nominees who were expected to vote against those who nominated them. This immediately converted the elected majority into a minority.

The B.C.P. leadership were nevertheless expected to make the best use of the votes in the House. But can the role that they play today be regarded as a good and correct one?

## U.P. Compromise Is Unacceptable

The Chairman of the Witwatersrand General Council of the United Party and M.P. Mr. S. J. Maseko has placed before the people of South Africa his Party's blueprint.

Mr. Maseko explains brilliant strategy when he states that he does not want violent and prejudiced reaction. The United Party plan to solve our race problem through their so-called "ordered advance" will never go down with the vast majority of this land—namely, the Non-Whites.

The race-policy of the U.P., one understands, will lead eventually to a racially-mixed Parliament, but the power will be retained in the hands of the White group "for the foreseeable future." This is merely an attempt to forestall the race and dampen the demands for full and unequivocal franchise for all human beings of this land.

The new framework of Africa's march towards freedom and independence, time has run out for compromises and ephemeral solutions and nothing short of "one man one vote" will now be acceptable to the Non-Whites of South Africa.

IMTIAZ AHMED.  
Johannesburg.

## We Are Silenced By Guns

The Nationalist policy of Bantustans supposedly for a secure and prosperous future for the white man of the Republic, is a show-piece for the world of their mentality and their rough-house politics. One has only to consider the fact that although the so-called "law-abiding Bantus" are quiet, nevertheless in their minds is concealed the fact that the entire country belongs to them as well but that at present they cannot speak because they are silenced by guns.

A narrow and prosperous future for the white man of this country will be found only in a real democratic Republic that is not selfish to other groups, and it is only through policies such as those of the Progressive Party and the Congress of Democrats with Chief Lutuli as the paramount apostle, that such a future can be assured. It is doubtful, though, whether these Bantus with their grantlike stand will ever yield to such policies as these policies are too advanced for their political maturity.

Never in the history of mankind has the voice of the minority ever remained supreme for ever over the majority.

WILSON B. NGCAYIYA.  
Orlando West.

## We, The People

They say when the Government announced that the foot-and-mouth epidemic had been controlled they thought Eric Louw was being "gagged". Last week Mr. Louw opened his mouth as usual: and put his foot into it as usual. This time Louw's target was of course Chief Lutuli.

The Chief Louw's vilipendations against the man who had been so vicious in his attack on South Africa and Louw quite cleverly discovered that Lutuli had also attacked other political schools of thought in the Republic!

The outside world has its own opinions on Louw. Verwoerd regards him with the prime paternalism of an elderly school-marm over her favourite dance. I have my own—at the age of 70, it is a bit too much to expect Louw to display any diplomacy!

South African judges and Magistrates are in a class of their own. I remember the classical judgement of the judge who ruled that a White farmer who forced:

- Faced African labourers to work for the most inhuman conditions;
- Ill-treated them—by assaulting them regularly and imposing lashes for trivial offences;

Failed to provide shelter for them, and fed them on food fit for pigs was not "cruel". He was merely being "harsh".

Well, last week a lesser light in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court raised a quivering judicial finger and wagged it at Freedom Fighter, Regina Stoffle, social worker and mother of four saying "You are an agitator. In Russia they would have shot you dead. You are lucky you are living in

### By The Man In The Street

South Africa, democratic South Africa where we don't shoot people!

Oh yeah? "Democratic South Africa. Where we don't shoot people?" You mean Mr. Magistrate, except at Sharpeville, Langa, Cato Manor, Bulhoek, Nguzulu Hill, Nindilindi Hill, Klapperkop etc.

(Regina is now out on bail pending her appeal against the three-month sentence imposed on her for squatting and interfering with the police.)

## GOVT. ATTACK ON C.P.C.

(Continued from page 1)

morning to serve an order on Mr. Reg. September ordering him to resign from a number of organisations before December 30.

Mr. September, referring to the bans which have been placed on him and other C.P.C. leaders, says: "By doing so you do not improve your followers with your 'kradigdhid' but you also hope to impress upon the Non-European people the futility of opposing the policies of your government. Finally you hope to clear the way for the implementation of your policy against the Coloured people by striking at your most ardent opponents first."

**NOT RECOGNISED**  
"At the outset let me say that our people cannot recognise your appointment as truly representative of this country. You have only perturbed one fifth of the population of our country to form the electorate and we have been excluded. How then can you expect us to accept your policy?"

"The Afrikaner people, from which you spring, have a proud history of fighting for their right to recognition in this country. How then can you expect the Coloured people to meekly accept legislation like the Group Areas, job reservation, apartheid, to mention but a few?"

"How can we be expected to remain silent when our children have no chance in life, when we are being strangled as a community. We should you expect us to be content with second-class citizenship through the agency of the Coloured Affairs Department and the Union Council for Coloured Affairs?"

"We have seen enough of your policy and methods of implementation amongst the African people. We can do no more clearly than it is leading the country to disaster."

**BREEDING HATRED**  
"We have no hatred for the Afrikaner people—half of the Coloured community spring from them; our language, religion, customs remain very largely the same. But your policy, trying as it does to establish Afrikaner domination, is breeding hatred between our people. You have forgotten what it is like to be treated as a minor group in your own country, but do not forget that other minorities also resent and challenge such treatment."

"We love our children just as others do, and we must be expected to fight for their future security."

We, as a community, must be expected to recognise that right in all others be they Afrikaner, African, Gentile or Jew. That is why we believe that peace and security can only be guaranteed in our land when all people are treated as citizens.

"This struggle will go on. Bannings will never stop it."



Mr. R. September.

## RAIDS AND ARRESTS

(Continued from page 1)  
of a pass. After a R30 fine recently at the Bantu Commissioner's Court in Fordsburg, he was stopped again last week and the preliminary document in his pocket removed. It appears that he is to be charged again for not having a pass, despite this document.

The Government seems to be determined to use every possible prickle against the people's movement.

## Kimberley "Honour Lutuli" Meeting

KIMBERLEY.  
About 800 people attended one of the biggest meetings since the end of the state of emergency last year to honour Chief Lutuli on the award of his Nobel Prize. The meeting lasted for four hours while a number of speakers dealt with the rise of Chief to his present status.

About 40 police from all over the North-Western Cape patrolled outside the hall, while Special Branch men inside took tape-recordings of the speeches.

## NEW AGE IN THE NEW YEAR

THE year 1962 shows all the signs of being a momentous year for the freedom struggle in South Africa. It may be a year of great change, it may not. But whatever happens, it will bring with it struggle and sacrifice, trials and tribulations.

And, as is always the case in a struggle, there will be a polarisation of forces. Some will fall away, some will leave the country, but new vital forces will join the remaining solid core.

Perhaps never more than in the coming months will the need for New Age be felt. As independent, outspoken, accurate portrayal of events will be essential and no other newspaper is able to provide all these ingredients.

Let our supporters resolve that in the coming year they will work harder for New Age than they have ever before. Let them resolve that they will sell the paper regularly each week, that they will collect subscribers, donations, advertisements, send in news reports from every corner of South Africa so that in 1962 we will grow into a bigger and better newspaper. AND REMEMBER THAT YOU ARE INCLUDED IN THIS RESOLUTION!!

## SEND NOW!

Last week's donations:  
Cash Tows:  
More market R. 30, J & H R 10,  
Deborah B. R10, Zeké,  
Rebecca R5.60, Mr. Z. R1.65,  
Nes R2, Teh R10, K. P. R10,  
Diamond R25.

Total R 66.05

## Mandela's Call To African Students

DURBAN.

THE African students' conference which was held here last week received a message from the National Action Council, signed by Mr. Nelson Mandela, wishing the conference and Students' Association success.

The struggle for democratic changes will call for tremendous organisation and hard work, said Mr. Mandela. "It will call for maximum unity among African youth and sinking of personal differences and petty squabbles. Unity will mean a strong organisation and a more vigorous programme of action. This is the principal and most urgent task before your conference, and it must be tackled earnestly and seriously."

In view of the fact that the African student suffers disabilities peculiar to his group, as is manifested in the academic field by the system of Bantu Education, conference decided that the Association shall be composed of African students, according to a statement issued by the National Secretary, Mr. T. Mbeki.

## Death Of Mr. P. Helesi

GRAHAMSTOWN.

The funeral took place in Grahamstown recently of Mr. Pikiso "Mabovu" Helesi, the most popular Lily Whites R.F.C. player and one of the first A.N.C. volunteers who defied the unjust laws in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. Over 1,500 people of all races attended.

Mr. Helesi, who was only 36 was fatally stabbed by a group of men while on his way home from his place of employment. He leaves a widow and three children under the age of 12.

## LUMUMBA STATUE UNVEILED



This statue to Patrice Lumumba, murdered Congo Premier, was recently unveiled at Leipzig, in the German Democratic Republic, with the participation of African students at the Karl Marx University there.

# AFRICANS REJECT CALL TO BOYCOTT INDIAN SHOPS

Anonymous Leaflets Issued in Evaton

From Our Reporter

JOHANNESBURG

A CRUDE, unsigned poison pamphlet issued at Evaton Location has called on African residents to boycott Indian shops. The pamphlet makes a vicious attack on the Indians in the township.

It was first believed to be the work of the now banned Pan African Congress which has a stronghold in Evaton. But a statement made by a leading ex-official of the former PAC denied any knowledge of the pamphlet or the boycott. "Beware of Indians and Coloureds," the leaflet read. "They have black servants whom they treat as badly as Whites do. Here at Evaton, we have built a village wherein we live with races like Coloureds and Indians. These nations have never suffered like us. . . ."

"When these nations feel we are doing something progressive they shift to our side. But there is only one thing that they have always been on the lookout for: OUR MONEY. Unaware of it, we have built them businesses with our own sweat and blood. . . ."

"Beware of blood-sucking bugs are in the hunt for African blood."

I spent an entire day interviewing businessmen, political leaders and residents of Evaton, both Indian

and African, to attempt to trace the source and effect of this iniquitous pamphlet.

## Mischievous

It is the brain-child of a few selfish and frustrated businessmen who did not even have the courage to own up to it.

"Mischievous," said high-shot businessman Mr. Boy Mpolokeng, "We have been living with the Indians for years and in good comradeship. I find it a waste of time to even comment on something which has not even the courage of its convictions."

There are Indian traders both inside and on the fringe of Evaton Location.

Mr. Moss Kekana, chairman of the African Chamber of Commerce of Evaton, made this statement:

"I believe in the unity of the African people economically and not to engage ourselves in a useless boycott of Indian businesses. An economic boycott of this nature is irresponsible. Our struggle is for a full consolidated front against the real enemy."

## Indian View

"This is a blot on the harmony of race relations," said Mr. Suleiman Nathie, one of the leading Indian businessmen. "We have been in Evaton since 1888. In this time the problems of the people have always been ours. The African people of Evaton know who their true friends are. . . . This boycott is an insult but we will not return abuse for abuse. It is only unfortunate that it had to happen."

## "We Won't Move . . . To Hell With Group Areas"

# ADVISORY BOARD SLAPS BENONI HEAD MANAGER

JOHANNESBURG

A STRONGLY WORDED, unanimous vote of no confidence has been passed by the Benoni and Watville Advisory Boards in the manager of the Non-European Affairs Department, Dr. J. E. Mathewson.

This is the latest development in the year-old fight of the Watville residents against the removal of their 28 year-old township.

"Amid cries of 'We won't Move' and 'To Hell with the Group Areas', a lively meeting of some 500 residents at Liberty Bioscope recently instructed the Advisory Board to inform the N.E.A.D. of its lack of confidence in the manager."

Then the eight member chamber met and passed the motion of no confidence to be forwarded to the Benoni City Council.

"Like Groceries"

The meeting, which was called by the Advisory Board, the Indian Liaison Committee and the Coloured Vigilance Society, made quite clear the people's opposition to being "moved around like parcels of groceries," as one speaker put it.

Dr. Mathewson, members of the Advisory Board told the meeting, had informed that he had received a letter from the office of the B.A.D directing that the township was to be moved. When he was

challenged to produce the letter he first declined to do so. Later the letter was cylostylised and distributed among members of the Advisory Board. But the letter appeared to be a reply to a plea from the Council to have the township of Watville removed and replaced by one for Indians.

Prior to this, many residents had been told that they must move as the Government's Group Areas Act had made Watville an Indian area. They were told that various members of the Indian Community had already bought property there.

This allegation was, however, flatly denied by members of the Indian community through the Transval branch of the Indian Congress.

## Raids, Arrests

Later on, the authorities tried different tactics. First they started arresting people in raids for lodger's permits which they, in the first place and without reason, refused to issue. Once again the Advisory Board stepped in. As a result of their protests the raids for lodger's permits were stopped.

Now the authorities have embarked on another stunt. They are refusing to renew or transfer sites. Whenever a resident requests a transfer of his site (which has always been granted in the past), the Council instead offers to buy his

stand . . . and then demolishes the house, thus forcing the resident to move.

The Advisory Board has found out that the meagre sums of £100 to £200 paid out to residents come from the funds raised by the African section of the population and they are up in arms against it.

"This is atrocious", a leading Board member told New Age. "If the City Council is so anxious to buy people's sites they must use their own money, not ours". A note of protest has been sent to the City Council.

Watville township has some 20,000 residents, mostly African, accommodated in nearly 5,000 houses.

## The Aim

The aim of the authorities is to move these people to Hollfontein, 14 miles out of Benoni, where Duxton now stands. The township would then be given to the Indians and the Indians would be moved out of their area to accommodate the Coloureds.

"We see in these devilish plans," said a leading member of the Transval Indian Congress, the promotion of a great deal of race-hate and the disruption of the harmony which has existed in Benoni since the days of Kruger. The people do not want to move. They have made their homes here and have lived here for many years. . . . why must they be moved?"

## THIS IS HOW APARTHEID BENEFITS THE WHITES

# AFRICAN LAWYERS TO BE CONFINED TO THE TOWNSHIPS

JOHANNESBURG

THE Government, under the machinery of the Group Areas Act, is trying to force African lawyers to establish practices that are not only all-African but are also restricted to the people who live in one particular township.

This became clear recently when 13 lawyers, articulated clerks and advocates presented a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council following the receipt by two of them of notices to vacate their offices. If they are forced to take offices in the townships, the Europeans and Indians who consult them at present will no longer be able to do so; neither will those Africans who live in other townships, because they require permission to enter a township other than their own.

IF THIS GOVERNMENT MEASURE IS CARRIED OUT BY THE CITY COUNCIL, THE RESULT WILL BE THAT WHITE LAWYERS, WHO ARE FREELY ACCESS-

SIBLE, WILL GET MORE BUSINESS FROM ALL RACES.

The memorandum points out that by the rules of the Magistrates' Court, a lawyer must have an office within three miles of the courthouse, as otherwise papers will not be served on him. This would force the African lawyers to share their fees with lawyers within the prescribed area who would have to receive their papers for them.

The new ruling will violate the fundamental right of all to free and unrestricted access to the courts, and would ultimately share their fees with lawyers in order to appear in foreign courts of the land, and restrict them to tribal tribunals to be set up with the installation of Bantu Councils in the towns, says the memorandum.

The lawyers who have so far received "quit" notices are Messrs. S. A. Sikakane and B. A. Dhlamini. It is believed that Mr. Dhlamini is planning a personal appeal to the Minister of the Interior, but this course of action is not supported by the rest of those affected.

JANUARY

IN the former Belgian Congo, the seat of the Lumumba Government is moved to Stanleyville. Kuvuvuvu sends a message of recognition and support to Vice-Premier Guinga, Premier Lumumba, under arrest, is held with ropes and transported to Elizabethville.

Pondoland enters second month of state of emergency. Mass arrests of Pondos by army and police, detainees placed in lorries and taken to unknown destination.

At congress of Basutoland Congress Party in Maseru, disclosure is made of an alleged plot to assassinate U.C.P. leader Ntsu Mokhele.

U.S. breaks diplomatic relations with Congo, following Congo's reduction of U.S. Embassy staff to 11.

Dag Hammarskjöld visits S. Africa for talks with Verwoerd. Returns to meet Congress leaders.

End of Belgian war's strike, called in protest against austerity laws (following loss of Congo).

Port Elizabeth workers stand solidly behind bus boycott despite scabbing by some drivers. Leaflets distributed by underground ANC.

Treason trial continues with Crown demanding guilty verdict for specified accused.

Reports of Commissioners on Sharpeville and Langa incidents show that shooting and loss of life could have been avoided had police standing orders been carried out to the letter.

Seizure of Portuguese liner Santa Maria by Captain Galvao highlights United Front between Portuguese and African freedom fighters.

Death of Elias Moretsele, former treason trialist and Transvaal President of the A.N.C.

Mass arrests and intimidation by black-cashed chiefs' bodyguards used in attempt to break Basutoland's first general workers' strike in Maseru.

FEBRUARY

ANGOLA freedom fighters go over to direct action with well-planned attacks on jails housing political prisoners.

PATRICE LUMUMBA, CONGO PREMIER, MURDERED BY TSHOMBE - MOBUTU - KASA-VUBU CLIQUE WITH CONNIVANCE OF U.N. UNDER DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD. WIDESPREAD ANTI-IMPERIALIST DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT AFRICA.

South African United Front abroad conducts intensive campaign to get South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth. United Front office opened in Dar es Salaam.

African boys lashed for pass offences in Johannesburg.

Pro-Government gangs run amok in the Transkei as reign of terror is intensified.

Pondo leader Anderson Khumani Ganyile escapes from exile at Frenchdale to Basutoland.

Port Elizabeth bus strike ends in resounding victory for the workers. Management agrees to enter into negotiations for new wage agreement.

Call issued for holding of Coloured Convention.

MARCH

GEORGE Peake wins Cape Town municipal election con-

DEMOCRATS' DIARY FOR 1961

test on ticket with Mrs. Z. Gool and Mr. H. E. Parker.

Two killed and many wounded at Glen Grey in another clash between Government's Home Guards and the people.

Ex-PAC. Liberals withdraw from African Leaders' Conference Continuation Committee but Maritzburg conference continues as planned and is attended by 1,500 delegates from all over the country. Call issued for Government to convene a National Convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race to draw up a new non-racial constitution for South Africa, failing which demonstrations will be held on the eve of the declaration of the Republic on May 31. Members of the Continuation Committee arrested on charge of carrying on the activities of an unlawful organisation.

Government's ban on A.N.C. and P.A.C. renewed for another year.

Marathon four-year-old treason trial ends with all accused declared NOT GUILTY.

All South African Congress of Trade Union meetings banned for three months from March 31 but SACTU beats the ban by holding emergency conference on March 30.

Third All African People's Conference held in Cairo and attended by delegates from 69 organisations and political parties in 37 countries. New call issued for action against South Africa.

Cape Town furniture workers on strike. Pondo leaders win appeal against prison sentence for attending an illegal meeting, but are immediately re-arrested outside Maritzburg jail. Habeas corpus action fails.

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South African United Front abroad conducts intensive campaign to get South Africa expelled from the Commonwealth. United Front office opened in Dar es Salaam.

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AFTER SEVERE TROUNCING BY AFRO-ASIAN STATES, VERWOERD WITH-DRAWS FROM COMMON-WEALTH PREMIERS' CON-FERENCE AND ANNOUNCES SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC WILL NOT BELONG TO COM-MONWEALTH.

16 arrested in Cape Town demonstration on Sharpeville anniversary.

Government's ban on A.N.C. and P.A.C. renewed for another year.

Marathon four-year-old treason trial ends with all accused declared NOT GUILTY.

All South African Congress of Trade Union meetings banned for three months from March 31 but SACTU beats the ban by holding emergency conference on March 30.

Third All African People's Conference held in Cairo and attended by delegates from 69 organisations and political parties in 37 countries. New call issued for action against South Africa.

Cape Town furniture workers on strike. Pondo leaders win appeal against prison sentence for attending an illegal meeting, but are immediately re-arrested outside Maritzburg jail. Habeas corpus action fails.

Death of Elias Moretsele, former treason trialist and Transvaal President of the A.N.C.

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support for Maritzburg conference call.

Cuba invaded by U.S.-backed rebels, but invasion army smashed by Castro's forces within a few days. Big-est diplomatic defeat for America since Kennedy administration came to power.

SOVIET UNION SHOOT'S FIRST MAN INTO SPACE—YURI GAGARIN, WHO CIR-CLES THE WORLD IN 80 MIN-UTES BEFORE RETURNING SAFELY TO EARTH. Described by Sir Bernard Lovell, head of the Jodrell Bank Observatory in Eng-land, as "the greatest scientific achievement in history of man."

Friendship University in Mos-cow renamed Lumumba Univer-sity "in memory of the outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement of Africa."

French generals' revolt in Al-geria fails to oust de Gaulle.

BRITISH troops flown to Ka-wait allegedly to prevent take-over by Iraqi forces.

"A champion of the African and a true friend of the oppressed people of the world"—these were the words used by President Nikuramah when he praised Premier Khrushchov at a luncheon in Mos-cow.

Growing unemployment in main centres as economic slump hits South Africa.

"Stop the murder in Angola"—one arrested after Congress protest to Portuguese consul in Johannes-burg.

United Nations Commission on South West Africa visits Africa, but after being refused permission by Britain to enter Bechuanaland, flies timely home again.

DESPITE GOVERNMENT BAN, HISTORIC COLOURED CONVENTION HELD AT MAL-MESBURY — CALLS FOR VOTES FOR ALL AND AN END TO THE COLOUR BAR.

National Action Council launches non-co-operation campaign. "Smash Bantu Authorities" is main slogan.

Rent jailings and evictions rouse anger in townships in Durban and Johannesburg.

Emergency rule as Southern Rhodesia goes to the polls in refer-endum on new constitution.

In Tunisia, France launches vi-cious attack on unarmed demon-strators and goes on to capture port of Bizerta.

Reg. September and Alex la Gu-ma first of a series of C.P.C. lead-ers to be banned—mass protest meeting on Grand Parade.

Death of Jimmy la Guma, for-mer President of C.P.C. and peo-ple's leader since '20's.

Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for soli-darity with the South African Workers opened in Accra.

Zanzibar rocked by riots as Na-tionalist Party, backed by Zan-zibar and Pemba People's Party, wins sweeping election victory.

First Legislative Council meets in Bechuanaland.

Trials of members of African Leaders Conference Continuation Committee opens in Johannesburg.

Former treason trialist and journalist Robert Reha appointed A.N.C. ambassador in Africa.

57 appear at Port Elizabeth murder inquiry following the death of Major Kijhevi.

Women's Day celebrated with mass meetings in many centres.

Over half a million Chinese give President Nkrumah a rousing wel-come when he arrives in Peking on a goodwill visit to People's China.

Soviet Union announces 20-year plan to make living standards highest in the world.

Major Gherman Titov, Soviet cosmonaut, becomes second man to circle the earth.

Strike at King George T.B. Hospital in Durban following the culling of 12 nurses by the White warden.

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Smashing victory for Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland election. 100 per cent poll in some constituencies.

Berlin crisis erupts as Mr. Khrushchov demands a peace treaty for Germany.

More reports of atrocities by chiefs and their bodyguards in the Transkei.

Eleven acquitted on charge of convening or addressing a meeting of the banned Coloured Conven-tion in Cape Town.

Ex-Sergeant Arlow, the man re-ported to have killed 13 and ar-rested over 100,000 Africans during his career as a policeman, reported released on parole after serving only 15 months of his 3-year sen-tence for defeating the ends of justice.

U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld killed on flight to Ndola for talks with Tshombe to settle Congo crisis.

Cape Provincial convention re-iterates demand for a sovereign National Convention.

Communist Party is formed in Basutoland.

Jomo Kenyatta tours Tanganyika and is hailed by thousands there.

Transkei emergency is one year old and there is no sign that the Government intends to lift it.

Court demand for the production of Anderson Ganyile is re-fused, but later upheld on appeal. The Minister must give reasons by January 18.

Bomb explosions rock Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg as a new secret organisation "Umkonto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation) announces its existence and programme to carry on the struggle for freedom "by new methods." It gives support to the people's liberatory political organisations and declares willingness to accept political guidance from them.

Widespread raids on leading political figures in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth following the bombings.

Portugal moves more troops into Mozambique to prevent anti-Portuguese freedom struggle.

Another refugee S. African leader, Mr. John Iholeng, is lured to S.A. from Basutoland and arrested in Kimberley. People are angered by the failure of Britain to protect exiles in her territory.

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INDIA LIBERATES GOA FROM PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM.

UNDERGROUND LEADER



Nelson Mandela, main speaker at the Maritzburg conference, secretary of the National Action Council which launched the May 29 strike, now leading the freedom struggle from underground.

DECEMBER

ALL over South Africa peo-ple hold mass meetings to honour Chief Lutuli who goes to Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. "There can be no peace without freedom," he tells the world. He is welcomed back to S.A. by thousands of jubilant followers.

Tanganyika has achieved inde-pendence. Long live Free Tanganyika!

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FIRST MAN IN SPACE



Yuri Gagarin, Soviet cosmonaut with the charming smile, circled the world in 80 minutes.

Swaziland Progressive Party conference demands one man one vote.

KENYA PEOPLE'S LEADER JOMO KENYATTA FREED AFTER 7 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT AND TWO YEARS' EXILE IN A REMOTE PART OF HIS COUNTRY.

37 schoolboys appear on arson charge in Bloemfontein following attempt to burn down D.R.C. church at the end of May.

conference calls for a boycott of Asiatic Affairs Department.

People of Brazil resist military attempt to take over government.

People's Progressive Party led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan wins elections in British Guiana.

25 heads of neutralist states meet at Belgrade conference, brand imperialism and colonialism as main enemy of peace.

SACTU rallies unemployed workers in Durban and Johannes-burg. Minister refuses to meet multi-racial delegation, SACTU chairman Leon Levy arrested.

PONDO LEADER ANDERSON KHUMANI GANYILE SMUGGLES NOTE FROM KOKSTAD ALLEGING HE WAS KIDNAPPED BY S.A. POLICE IN BASUTOLAND ON AUGUST 26.

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"Our task is to agitate and mobilise the South African people to compel the Government to call a National Convention . . . There is no doubt the idea of a National Convention can be made irresistible".

# WHAT IS A CONVENTION?

"All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government."—Declaration of American Independence, 4th July, 1776.

**THIS fundamental truth expressed many centuries ago remains as good as ever to the present day.**

We believe that it is the inalienable right of the people of South Africa, irrespective of colour or creed, as of any other people, to have freedom to develop to the fullest possible manner all the material resources of the country and to enjoy the fruits of their labour and all good things of life.

If any government then denies the people these rights and in their stead viciously oppresses them, as is the case in South Africa, the people have a sacred duty to alter the position and work for its destruction and its replacement by a democratic non-racial government.

## Belongs To All

We claim that South Africa is not and never was a possession of a white minority but belongs to all its citizens, black and white, and that, therefore no Government has any right to usurp the authority of the people.

It was clearly with this spirit and because of this conviction that at the Maritzburg conference 1,500 delegates representing the African people from all walks of life unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the Government to convene a national convention representative of all the people of South Africa irrespective of colour or creed. The convention they demanded was not just a great assembly of our multi-racial society to discuss their wishes, but a body capable of adopting a legally binding constitution.

For the first time the Government has now been informed that the masses of the people in that a national convention must be convened with sovereign powers to determine and decide on a new non-racial constitution for South Africa in any way the majority of the delegates decide.

All important political bodies in the country have made their views known on this issue. Letters to the Government supporting this demand have been written not only by political bodies but also by religious organisations. The matter has been discussed in Parliament. Newspapers and important industrialists have made their comments. **THE NATIONAL CONVENTION HAS NOT YET BEEN CALLED. IT STILL REMAINS THE BASIC TASK BEFORE THE NATION TODAY. THE MISTAKEN IDEA THAT THE DEMAND FOR THE CONVEN-**

**TION ENDED WITH THE MAY DEMONSTRATIONS MUST BE COMPLETELY ERADICATED IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE.**

The demand was made with all seriousness, it was not a stunt. It represented a new awakening and the mood of our times. Such demands have been made elsewhere and the people in various parts of the world have always chosen the appropriate time when they feel quite confident that they have sufficient forces which can properly mobilised compel those in authority to accede to the demands of the people.

## What Is It?

What then is the National Convention? It is necessary to clear up this question because it may be that to many people it may mean

By **WALTER SISULU**

different things. For instance, to some people the Rhodesian "Indaba", the Coloured convention, the Natal convention or other similar important conferences or multi-racial gatherings may be regarded as a national convention. Yet this is not what we have in mind.

A National Convention or Constituent Assembly in the real strict sense of the word means the summoning of accredited delegates of the nation with sovereign powers to discuss and adopt a new constitution or to effect fundamental changes in the existing constitution.

The assembly or convention must derive its authority from the people. History is full of examples of a national convention or constituent assembly. To quote but a few:— France, U.S.A., Ireland, U.S.S.R., South Africa etc.

A convention or constituent assembly may either be legal or illegal. It is illegal when the people decide themselves to convene such a convention and take over the powers of a Government. That happens when there is a revolution. But it is perfectly legal when a Government calls a constituent assembly or a National Convention, as was the case for instance in South Africa in 1909.

Our task at the present moment is to agitate and mobilise the South African people to use every possible legitimate political pressure to compel the Government to call the convention. There can be no doubt that as the situation is today, both internationally and nationally, the idea of a national convention can be made irresistible.

## Vital Issue

There are some people who maintain that the Africans and the rest of the Non-European people are not very much concerned with political rights and that a demand for a national convention can, therefore, have no appeal to them. They are more concerned with high wages, abolition of passes, business rights, better educational facilities, land, housing and employment.

Of course, people want all these things. What does political power mean if it does not mean guaranteeing these things to the people, if it does not mean the end of Bantu authorities, job reservation, group areas, Bantu Education, land to the landless and a share in the wealth of the country?

If those who preach the idea of a national convention do not link the demand for a convention with all these local and national issues which daily agitate the minds of our people they will be failing sadly in their most important task. But those who think that the oppressed people of S.A. only want adjustments here and there on these matters, are not only making a gross mistake but very much underestimate the intelligence of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Why should our people be less concerned with political rights than the people in the rest of Africa? It is not true that in East and Central Africa, for instance, the most popular slogans are "UHURU" and "KWACA," which mean "IN OUR CASE INKULULEKO".

The three million people in the reserves were told by the Government that the system of Bantu Authorities was their freedom; but because in fact it went directly against their aspirations and interests, because it meant further restrictions and increased taxation, the people resented it and demanded freedom to make the laws.

How can we expect less understanding in the urban areas, when the Government continues to say that the Africans will permanently be foreigners in the urban areas?

It can hardly be expected that the Indians and Coloureds require a wise man from the East to tell them that their removal under the Group Areas, the creation of a special type of education for them and the creation of the Coloured and Indian areas are in fact in their interests.

## The End...

Those who do not see things this way must be made to understand that it is the cardinal point of our struggle. Only when the assertion for national political freedom against the minority rule or against a system of Government which is incompatible with democratic ideals becomes effective can our problems be solved. Only in this way can we ensure the removal of the disabilities of the Africans and other oppressed nationalities.

The main question which should agitate the minds of everybody must be: "What means must we employ to bring about the convocation of a national convention?" This, of course, can be brought about by many different methods. The most important is, however, to mobilise the entire population in every corner of the land and make each and everyone see the perspective clearly and work for it. That is the only guarantee we have. Only in this way can we come back from our shooting practice." Thereafter he returned to his blitong hunt.

Unknown to everybody this statement came from a government minister aged itself 13 years ago, when it

came into power, to impose Apartheid or Bantustan and not to negotiate with any of the oppressed people except on their terms. The people's leaders—African, Coloured, Indian and European—have now given formal notice to the Government that they not only reject these terms, but demand the immediate convocation of a National Convention or constituent assembly. This struggle must now be placed in the forefront of all our national endeavours.

The freedom struggle and all democrats must shoulder the great responsibility of preparing the ground for the convening of this inevitable national convention. This demand has been made with all seriousness by all the groups that have clamoured for it.

We should be quite clear on one thing and that is that the government has not only proclaimed the idea of Apartheid or separate development but is also going ahead with its programme using all its machinery and force. The people are resisting in different areas in spite of bloody repression.

We on the other hand are saying: "Call together the people of South Africa—let them decide." We should, however, know that no Government has ever surrendered its political powers just because of resolutions or decla-



Mr. Walter Sisulu

rations, but that only the people have the power to compel the Government to accede to their demands. A national programme of action to make the demand effective must be properly worked out by all groups collectively or individually.

# UP MY ALLEY

THERE was uproar in Pam-poen-ender-die-bos the other day. Cause of aforesaid hullabaloo (geweld) was a Christmas cracker which some skulker had put into Oom van der Mieliebalar's festive pudding.

The resulting bang blew the Oom's face right into his flagon of witzig standing nearby, and Tante Grietje's melkert bespattered her voortrekker kappie, thereby adding sacrilege to treason. Oom van der Mieliebalar naturally cut out a smoke signal for the local SB boys and they immediately cordoned off all roads in and out of Pam-poen-ender-die-bos.

Hooftonstabe Klopperman, chief of the PODB law enforcers, was summoned from his holiday in the local game reservation and came back grumbling that he had just been on the point of nailing a black kudu which he intended turning into biltong, and Oom van der Mieliebalar deserved all he got for celebrating such an un-Pam-poen-ender-die-bos occasion as Christmas.

Anyway, what the Hooftonstabe did was make an announcement to the effect that, "Everything is under control, jong. I will deal with those white agitators when I come back from my shooting practice." Thereafter he returned to his blitong hunt.

Unknown to everybody this statement came from a government minister aged itself 13 years ago, when it

self who had for a long time been contemplating doing something about the PODB House of Parliament for passing that disturbing Immorality Act.

The Pam-poen-ender-die-bos Daily Mail carried an editorial saying that setting off Christmas crackers was all very well, but at least the setter-offers need not have been so amateurish about it. They expected a better job next Christmas. While the Daglike Skotland cried that the PODB Republik was in danger, and called for the confiscation of all Christmas crackers in future.

However, the SB boys, disguised in father Christmas outfits, went around wishing all and sundry the compliments of the season and handed out banning orders left and right.

Of course, the only one who was indignant about the whole business was Colonel Paperbootham (Kaffir wars, Rid), who muttered into his moustache that turning Christmas into Guy Fawkes could lead to a serious dislocation in the holiday excursions, and whoever heard of anybody eating plum-duff on the 5th of November?

But the last word was said by the Foreign Minister who sent out a special message from his ostrich farm: These things never happened at all, so there's no cause for alarm, man.

ALEX LA GUMA.

# THE SOVIET UNION AND ALBANIA

## What Is The Quarrel All About ?

**T**HE QUARREL BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND ALBANIA HAS RAISED ALL SORTS OF SPECULATION ABOUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.

The fact that the quarrel has been brought out into the open (by Soviet Premier Khrushchov at the recent 22nd CPSU Congress) has caused some commentators to say that the differences must be extremely deep-rooted. Others make the point that the only inference which should be drawn from the publicity given to the dispute is that the socialist countries now feel themselves to be sufficiently strong to air their controversies in open debate.

We in South Africa are in a particularly difficult position to make an independent assessment of the situation because the information which we receive through our Press is so meagre. In order to give our readers some material to chew over, we print the comments of a number of people who have been able to view the dispute either from inside or else from close-up.

### Moscow Report

In a report from Moscow U.S. newsmen John Pittman makes the following points:

"Soviet speakers at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union link the struggle against the Stalin 'cult' and the 'anti-party group' with the measures of the third party programme and the new rules to extend democracy in the party and the country.

"In denouncing the activities of V. M. Molotov, Georgi Malenkov, Lazar M. Kaganovich and Kliment Voroshilov, the delegates re-emphasize how violations of socialist legality and democracy seriously harmed the party and the country. This review in effect undermines any and all residual opposition to sweeping changes in party procedures projected in the new party rules and to new plans for turning more state functions over to the people.

"In their totality, these new rules and plans represent some entirely new not only for the Soviet Union, but an unprecedented act in world history. It is said that they represent the limitation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its conversion into rule by the whole people.

"It is said here that never before in history has a ruling class relinquished its power and voluntarily shared it with all strata of the population.

### Example for Others

"At the same time, by denouncing leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour for a ruling class position of the 20th Congress and continuing the practices of the Stalin cult, the Soviet Communists are setting by both example and precedent to all other Communist and Workers' parties that any party which tolerates such practices is jeopardizing its own position, discrediting socialism, and endangering the interests of its

country, and that such a party is unworthy of the name of a scientific socialist party.

"That the lesson is being taken to heart is evident not only in the speeches of the Soviet delegates, but also in the statements of delegates of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and of the African parties attending the Congress as guests.

### WORLD STAGE BY SPECTATOR

"A number of fraternal delegations have refrained from discussing the Albanian leaders' practices, and China's delegation head, Premier Chou En-lai, has expressed the view that public exposure of these practices might confuse friends and comfort enemies of the international working class movement. But a majority of the fraternal delegations regard condemnation of the cult in Albania as an international duty."

### Chinese Press

Meanwhile the Chinese Press (which continues to carry friendly reports of construction in the Soviet Union and which does not carry the slightest hint of a campaign to make the Chinese people hostile to the Soviet Union) has indicated which of the 'fraternal parties' back the Albanian leadership.

The Chinese themselves have given great prominence to recent activities in Albania and have stressed that they fully support the "correct" leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party. At the same time they have printed a number of articles containing extremely strong attacks upon the Tito regime in Yugoslavia, which they call tools of imperialism and from whose policies they declare all socialists can learn by "negative example".

When the Soviet Union and Albania were taking steps to withdraw their respective ambassadors, the Chinese Press prominently displayed messages from numerous communist parties in different parts of the world—mainly in Asia—greeting the Albanian Labour (Communist) Party on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary.

These messages came from the communist parties of China, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand and Belgium. (The Belgian party has, however, strongly criticized the Albanian leadership.) The parties of Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand and Burma all emphasized in their messages that they felt that the Albanian leaders, in following "correct" policies, fighting for peace and socialism under the slogan "a sick-axe in the one hand and a rifle in the other." The Australian party also said that the Albanian party was proceeding on an unshakable foundation, while the New Zealand party, in conveying its warmest greetings, stated that all problems could be solved on the basis of socialist principles.

### American View

The editors of the independent

left-wing American magazine "Monthly Review" state in the December issue that the issue between the Soviet and the Chinese leaders is not made any easier by the fact that in its public aspect it has "revolved around so improbable an issue as the internal regime in Albania" fall of Mr. K's remarks at the 22nd Congress on the subject of Albania were concentrated on the continuation of the cult of the personality in that country, which, he added, Albanian leaders Shehu and Hoxha were reluctant to end because in doing so they would in effect have to give up key posts in the party and Government.

"Monthly Review" says that both the Russians and the Chinese agree that a third world war was not inevitable—where they differ is on what is the best course to follow: minimize the threat of World War III.

For the Chinese, says the "Monthly Review", the imperialist cult of the personality is a dangerous reactionary mass. To compromise with it is futile or worse; to assist any of its members is to give aid and comfort to an enemy to be restrained before it is whet its aggressive appetites. The other side of the coin is that since imperialism is much weaker than it thinks it is and that it seems to be, it can be defeated by an unremitting policy of militant struggle. This is the way to avoid war, not to provoke it.

For the Russians on the other hand, the non-socialist world is full of divisions and contradictions which can be intensified and exploited. Aid to non-socialist countries may be eminently justified, compromises are essential, tactical retreats often wise.

The way to defeat imperialism is to avoid head-on struggle while demonstrating in practice the superiority of socialism. Any other course would needlessly jeopardize the great achievements of socialist construction during the past forty years.

### French Leader

Finally we quote the views of veteran French communist, M. Thorez, who reported back to his Party:

"The Albanian leaders came out against and are continuing to come out against the line of the 20th Congress and the policy the Soviet Government is pursuing when it proposes disarmament and urges a policy of peaceful co-existence. They openly violated solidarity with the other countries of the socialist camp when they refused to subscribe to the bids for a denuclearised, missile-free zone in the Balkans which were made by the Rumanian and Bulgarian governments. They have inflated the personality cult to the utmost and used the methods of leadership analogous to those for which Stalin was justly reproved."

Thorez then said that the Chinese comrades were wrong when they reproached Comrade Khrushchov for his criticism of the Albanian comrades at the 22nd Congress, which they claimed was a deviation from the 81-Party Statement.

This reproach was unjust, Thorez said. The Soviet comrades exhausted every means contained in this statement to adjust the differences between the parties. It was no longer possible to put off open criticism.

# UHUHU

## What A Good Thing It Is

Notes and Comments by the Rev. TREVOR BUSH, who was in Dar

es Salaam when Tanganyika became independent on December 9.

★ All the offices of the African parties will be moved to the TANU Buildings, a fine new edifice in Lumumba Street, off Uhuru Street, after you have passed along Independence Avenue.

★ Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. is here to represent Kennedy and lend £3 million. . . . It is difficult to move about without bumping into Americans.

★ A Tanganyikan friend, who was most interested in South Africa, thought that it was a pity that Verwoerd was not invited to Uhuru to see for himself what a good thing it is!

★ What poverty there is. It is the old story: shops are full of imported goods which will be manufactured here—e.g. butter from Denmark is retained at the same price as the local product: tinned milk is from Holland (a U.S. firm); there is no processing of the biggest crop, sisal, in the schools there are exactly five Tanganyikan graduates and I gather that the country boasts one indigenous engineer!

One encouraging development on the eve of Uhuru was the announcement that Belgium's Rubens stocks at Dar es Salaam are to be nationalised. May

this be the first of many moves to recover undervalued property for the people of the country.

★ Last night I joined the 80,000 people at the stadium for Uhuru. No signs of drunkenness, no incidents . . . just a great crowd of intensely happy people. We saw a military tattoo, police dogs performing a P.T. display, a parade of army cadets and a mock ambush. Then at 11.55 the colours of the King's African Rifles were handed over to the Tanganyikan Army and the Duke of Edinburgh lowered the Union Jack and raised the new national flag.

What a roar went up from those happy people, myself included! The National Anthem is our "Nkosi Sikelele" sung in Swahili. For a moment I was intensely sad and thought of the outcasts of South Africa who may have to wait a long time for their own Uhuru. Then came £3,000 worth of glorious fireworks (beyonds of modern aircraft, and the captains and kings duly departed).

Not a white face could be seen where I was sitting and I was accepted by those around me. In fact I was slapped on the back and my hand was shaken many times . . . the same treatment as other people were receiving!

### After Goa

# Is West Irian Next?

**N**OW that the Goan problem has been solved, there is hope that another long-standing issue of a similar nature—that of West Irian (New Guinea)—will soon be resolved.

The last remnant of the former Dutch East Indies, West Irian was retained by Holland when the rest of Indonesia won independence at the end of their War of Independence in 1949, and is still administered as a Dutch colony today. Since 1949 Indonesia has consistently demanded that the Dutch give up their colony but they have not done so.

Indonesia's stand on the question was clearly formulated by President Sukarno in Los Angeles in April of this year:

### Will be Restored

"One very important part of our foreign policy is concerned with the struggle to restore West Irian to the Republic.

"I tell you this, clearly and explicitly: West Irian is Indonesian territory; and eventually it will be restored to its motherland. It is Indonesian territory by virtue of history, social

organisation, economy and every other test which may be applied.

"At the present time, West Irian—which constitutes one-fifth of our national territory—is still labouring under colonialism. But mark my words, Insha Allah, it will not continue.

"Furthermore, say clearly that it is in the interest of the world that it should not long continue. Colonialism in West Irian constitutes a cancer in Asia. It must be ended. The 98 million people of Indonesia are determined that it will be ended.

"That is why, in the interests of ending this cancer, we are facing force with force, threat with threat, action with action, and will continue to do so until our brothers in West Irian are reunited with us in freedom. . . ."

### Negotiation?

Now President Sukarno has ordered the Army to prepare to liberate the territory, but a peaceful solution is still not ruled out if Holland is prepared to negotiate.

The territory is mountainous and much of it is unexplored. Population is approximately 800,000; coffee, cocoa and bananas are the chief products.

# Police Intimidation At Kimberley Workers' Conference

A FEATURE of the 2nd annual conference of the Northern Cape General Workers' Union held at Green Point, Kimberley, on December 9 and 10 was the unprecedented intimidation and show of force on the part of the police.

At one time during the proceedings there were no fewer than 18 police cars and vans outside the hall. Inside at least 10 police and detectives were recording all speeches on tape recorders.

## CHANGE OF VENUE

Added to this, when the organisers had arrived at the hall originally hired for the conference which was due to start at 2 p.m., on December 9, they had been told that the hall was no longer available.

The caretaker, who was obviously frightened, said that he had received a telephone call from the Manager of Non-European Affairs warning him that the police would take a serious view of his permission for the conference to be held. Eventually another hall was obtained, so that the conference started at 8 p.m.

The crowd, estimated at about 400, was lively, and enthusiastically cheered speaker after speaker, occasionally breaking into spirited singing and dancing.

Delegates from almost all towns and villages in the Northern Cape were present plus almost all individual unions. Also encouraging was the presence of a large number of domestic workers who took a

lively part in the proceedings. All speakers emphasised the need for organisation of workers and the role of the workers in the national struggle. Also prominent in the discussions were the pass laws, high rents and low wages.

## New Brighton and Zakele Reject Beer Halls

PORT ELIZABETH

A ten strong deputation representing residents of both New Brighton and Zakele presented a memorandum to the Mayor of Port Elizabeth rejecting the proposed establishment of beer-halls in the African townships.

The memo stated that there should be no liquor licences granted in the townships. Liquor should be sold in licensed premises in town. There was alarm and disgust at the new policy announced by the Municipality to provide social amenities for New Brighton and Zakele out of profits from liquor sales. In fact this means that the Municipality will encourage people to drink so as to obtain funds for the proposed social amenities, stated the memorandum.

The deputation spent more than an hour in the Council chambers. A group of about 40 men and women waited outside in the Mayor's gardens for their return and sang the national anthem with the clenched fist salute before dispersing.

## Another African Community To Be Moved

THE beginning of 1962 will see a community of about 200 Africans in Farnersfield, Grahamstown, leaving behind the graves of their forefathers, families; the small school that had educated most of their children, their church and the security built up over a century of peaceful, undisturbed existence.

The community has been declared "squatters" on the Methodist holding where they have been settled since 1820. They can only remain if the Methodist church, which owns the piece of land at Farnersfield, is prepared to pay squatters' fees for every adult male living there.

The church cannot afford to pay the fees which have accumulated into a huge sum of money owing to "squatters", and current fees would amount to about £200 a year, much more than the tenants are now paying.

## COMPENSATION

So these families will travel to a Government reserve called Mimosa Park 15 miles south of Kinrossville, town, taking all their possessions with them. They will be compensated by the Government for the loss of their homes. Every family will be given one morsel at Mimosa Park, and the rest of the land will be ploughed commercially.

But the African people of Farnersfield are not certain about the benefits of moving. They point out that many of their children are working in Grahamstown and they doubt whether the position will be the same when they have moved far away from the town.

The first reaction of the people to the removal order was refusal, but now they are quietly resentful.

The land will be sold by auction by the Methodist Church. And after the people of Farnersfield are gone it will seem as though one of the oldest and quietest communities in South Africa had never existed.



A view of the 2nd conference of the Northern Cape General Workers' Union, with the combined working committee on the platform.

## THREAT TO UITENHAGE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

PORT ELIZABETH

WHEN the Uitenhage Vigilance Committee called a meeting at the Location Municipal hall recently to discuss damage to street windows, the water supply system and other public utilities, speakers from the floor said that they were disappointed at being called to talk about such trivialities when the location manager, who had a big staff, could have attended to them.

One of these speakers, Mr. T. Charlman, said that the people had more important grievances. The people could not tolerate the dawn raids by the police and municipal authorities for passes, poll tax and lodger's permits. Neither could the people accept that the location manager was working in their interest when residents were being evicted and arrested for rent arrears at a time when there was a high unemployment rate. The municipality was out to make profits through the high rents and so-called economic rents.

The chairman told the meeting that he had been warned by the location manager to conduct an orderly meeting and not the kind that abused the administration. He also said that the Manager had indicated that he was eager to replace

the Vigilance Committee with ward committees appointed by himself.

The Location Manager, the chairman of the B.A.D. and Advisory Board members had been invited to the meeting but none of them turned up. The chairman announced that another meeting would be held within a week to discuss the people's grievances, and the officials would again be invited.

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2nd. Hamper: No. 1698.

Name: Robert Ndlovu.

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