

# 'WE WILL NOT ACCEPT REPUBLIC'

## NON - WHITES REJECT REFERENDUM RESULT

### NEW AGE

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VERWOERD has won his referendum and now considers the way open to establish his Broederbond fascist republic.

But his victory is a hollow victory. This was no genuine referendum, but a poll of Europeans only.

THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WERE NOT CONSULTED ABOUT THE REPUBLIC AND WILL NOT ACCEPT IT. NOR WILL THE PEOPLE OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

Speaking at a meeting of the Coloured People's Congress in the Cape Town City Hall last Sunday, prominent African leader Mr. Zolile Mahindi undoubtedly expressed the feelings of all democrats, Black and White, when he said:

"We do not recognise this republic. Some people, like me, are republicans at heart.

"But we do not want a Fascist republic. We want a democratic people's republic."

His declaration was greeted with stormy applause from the large audience, which later passed a resolution stating: "We reject the decision taken by the white people to establish a republic. If any decision is made concerning the future of South Africa, it should be made by all the people, Black and White. We call on the people to answer Nationalist unity with the unity of all freedom-lovers in this country."

(See article on page 2)

### HUNDREDS ATTEND SACTU CONFERENCE

THE fifth annual conference of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions held in Johannesburg last week-end was a great success.

200 delegates attended the Saturday closed session and 800 came to the rally at the Trades Hall.

In his address the banned President, Leon Levy, said today great numbers of workers in South Africa, organised and unorganised, regard SACTU as their own home. Mr. Levy warned the Government on behalf of SACTU that the Government's efforts to destroy the trade union movement will be met with the gravest repercussions.

"If they pursue their evil aims they will bring upon themselves ten times the unrest that exists at the present moment."

As a result of the SACTU attack on the cheap labour policy the demand for a national minimum wage has become recognised in employer and Government circles. Pressure has forced them to make wage concessions.

The President called upon the conference to re-affirm fraternal ties with other workers in the continent and convey their gratitude to the trade unions in Africa that took the initiative in forming the All-African Trade Union Federation.

The secretariat report showed

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**Prof. Matthews' Evidence in the Treason Trial**

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Pondo tribesmen on horseback ride in to a mass meeting to discuss the next step in the campaign against Bantu Authorities.

## PONDO MASS MEETING

## THIS WEEK

Story and pictures from Joe Gqabi

### BIZANA.

AS we go to press the biggest ever gathering of Pondo tribesmen is due to assemble at the air-strip, Bizana, near the centre of recent disturbances in Eastern Pondoland, to hear the report of the Government's 3-man Commission of Inquiry.

Last Friday a huge meeting of Pondos met at Ndhlovu Hill, the scene of the recent police shootings and the traditional meeting place of the Pondos. A resolution was adopted calling on the tribesmen not to till their lands on Tuesday, but to attend the meeting called by the authorities.

The Commission of Inquiry was set up early in the year to enquire

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Pondoland: The people pray before hearing their speakers at the meeting.

# The Reverend and the Fight for Free

By Or Political Correspondent  
THE Nationalists have won the referendum with a majority of 74,580 votes in favour of a republic. In a 9 per cent poll of the Whites, 59,458 people voted YES, 775,878 voted NO. There were 7,436 spoiled papers. This meant that the YES votes totalled 52.05 of the total votes cast, while the NO votes totalled 47.49 per cent.

**“CLEAR VICTORY”**  
There can no longer be any argument about which party counted the greater number of votes. This was a one man, one vote election as far as the Whites were concerned. The Nationalists had foregone the huge advantage they normally enjoy in a general election as a result of the delimitation and the weighting of votes in favour of the country areas.

In this referendum the Nationalists won by a clear majority in the straight fight against the combined opposition.

It is as well that this fact should be allowed to sink home amongst all sections of the population.

There is no room for illusions about the state of politics in South Africa today. It is no use people looking for excuses for the opposition defeat. It is no use saying the result would have been different if the issue at stake had not been a republic. Nor is it any use blaming events in the Congo, UNO, the international boycott or any other international phenomenon for the opposition defeat.

**“ISSUE AT STAKE”**  
The issue at stake in the referendum was not the republic, the Congo or anything else. It was apartheid. With few exceptions, the electorate voted on party lines.

We must accept the fact that in the year 1960, the year of Sharpe-

ville and the state of emergency, the year in which one African state after another is achieving its independence, Verwoerd has won a majority of all the votes cast.

True his majority is not very large—only 4.56 per cent of the 74,580 votes cast. But at least this time his majority is plain for all to see.

When the Nationalists came to power, in 1948, they were clearly a minority party even amongst the Whites, and the 1953 and 1958 elections still left it doubtful whether they could command a majority of all the votes cast.

But the overall trend has been clear since 1948—the Nat grip on the electorate has been growing steadily stronger. Partly by attracting some of their opponents—the Africans and, for all practical purposes, the Coloureds; partly by winning over some supporters previously excluded from the ballot—the Whites of South West Africa and the teen-agers—the Nationalist Party has now placed itself in an unassailable position as far as the ballot box is concerned.

At the next election its majority will be even bigger, for the rate of growth of the African community is greater than that amongst other sections of the White population.

### “NAT POLLS UNLIFT”

Of course, not all Africans voted for the republic; in fact, considering the relative sizes of the population groups, it is obvious that more Africans voted against the republic than English-speaking voters for it—a fact which has caused the “Burger” to shake its head in sorrow and express mystification as to why the renegees voted as they did.

Yet the fact remains that despite all the shocks to which it has been

subjected in recent years, Nationalist Afrikaanderdom has stuck together and come out of its ordeal spiritually stronger than ever.

The mass slaughter at Sharpeville, the state of emergency and the detention of thousands of people under the emergency regulations, the attempt on Verwoerd's life, the worldwide hostilities to apartheid, Macmillan's speech, the United States' "regret", the UNO resolution, the international boycott, the deteriorating economic situation, the warning from the Congo—all have left the Nationalist Afrikaner apparently unmovable.

He believes in White Supremacy above all else, and he believes that Verwoerd road is the only way to the future.

The first rumblings of uneasiness after the March events were quickly silenced. The misgivings of a Sauer or a Rupert were more than balanced by the officially backed worldwide support of Van der Merwe and the other die-hard of the Nationalist Party.

### “GAMBLE CAME OFF”

The call to fight for the republic, which many at the time considered a blind gamble, can now be seen to be a politically astute move to heal the rifts in the Nationalist ranks.

It was a gamble, it came off, and Verwoerd consolidated his position as leader of the Nationalist Party. Truly, it will seem to many, God must be on his side.

### “NAT ARROGANCE”

The outcome of the referendum may have solved the internal crisis of the Nationalist Party. But it has solved none of the burning problems which beset the country. If anything, it has intensified them.

The unbalance in our political, social and economic set-up is as grave as before; but the willingness of the Nationalist Government to do anything about it will be greatly diminished.

“So long as we can rely on the vote to back us up,” the Verwoerd men will argue, “we can go ahead with our policies. The opposition will never be able to vote us out of power, and as for the 11 million non-voters, well, we can leave them to the police force and the army.”

There can be little doubt that this type of thinking will be encouraged in the Nationalist Party as a result of the referendum. No matter what the strife and the turmoil, no matter how much violence and bloodshed the Nationalist policies may inflict upon the country, the Nationalist leaders will not turn back. Pass laws, Bantu authorities, group areas—all the hideous apparatus of apartheid will be clamped down on us as never before. As justification for the heartbreak and misery they may leave in their wake, they will merely point to the referendum result and say: “Well, that is the way the people want it. They have given us a mandate for it.”

### “FACE THE FACTS”

The first duty of anti-Nationalists in the crisis which confronts them as a result of the referendum is to face the facts. Under present conditions they must realise that the Nationalists will never be voted out of office; that the Parliamentary opposition, as has become a permanent opposition, doomed to perpetual futility.

What, then, must be done? Do we have an explicit apartheid?

Obviously not. The answer is to step up the people's opposition to apartheid, to raise it to a new and higher level, to build the strength of the people's organisations until they are in a position effectively to challenge the whole apartheid set-up in this country.

The focus of attention now shifts temporarily from the Parliamentary to the extra-Parliamentary sphere.

## EDITORIAL PASSES FOR WOMEN POSTPONED

THE Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. de Wet Nel, has announced that the date on which the carrying of reference books by African women will become compulsory has been postponed.

The original date fixed by the Minister was December 1. But, he says, he was so impressed with the “conscientious” behaviour of the Africans during the referendum campaign that he has decided to treat them with “the utmost reasonableness” and postpone Reference Book Day to “a later date which will coincide more or less with the date on which the possession of identity cards will be made compulsory for White persons.”

In the past Mr. Nel has always insisted that passes for African women were in their own interest, and he had a hundred and one reasons why they should be imposed on them as soon as possible. His latest statement has at least this virtue—it is an admission that a reference book is a burdensome restriction, a chain and a fetter; and he is trying to win some credit amongst the Africans by posing as the kind-hearted uncle who is rewarding good behaviour by delaying the evil day as long as possible.

Mr. Nel's mealy-mouthed double talk will deceive nobody. Passes for African women have been postponed for one reason only, and that is because Mr. Nel realises he is going to have Big Trouble on his hands as soon as they become compulsory.

When the African women protest, as they undoubtedly will, he wants to be able to turn round to them and say: “But what are you making a fuss about? European women also have to carry passes.”

No African woman is going to fall for that one. European women may have to carry identity cards, but there is the world of difference between an identity card and a reference book.

● The Urban Areas Act and the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act do not apply to European women.

● An African woman can be arrested on the spot for non-production of her reference book; the European woman is given seven days to do so.

● A European woman can't be endorsed out of town, separated from her husband and children and sent packing to the reserves; but an African woman becomes subject to all the horrors of the pass laws as soon as she has to carry a reference book.

If Mr. Nel had really wanted to express his gratitude towards the African people, why didn't he announce that he had decided to abolish passes for women altogether? Where is this new deal he and Verwoerd are always talking about?

No, Mr. Nel's clever, clever stult will fail. The fight against passes for women will continue until the pass laws are totally abolished. The African people want freedom, not brands.

Verwoerd's referendum victory is not final. There can be no solution to the problems of the country which is not based on the consent of all our people; and that consent can only be given after free consultation on the basis of equal rights for all.

### “FREEDOM CHARTER”

Let us remind ourselves of the words of the Freedom Charter: “that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; “that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality.”

“that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; “that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.”

We must pose these noble ideals against the immoral selfishness of the Nationalists, their ruthless tyranny, their government in the interests of a tiny section of our population.

### “TIME TO FIGHT”

But it is no longer enough to have a just cause and expect others to fight for it. The responsibility must now be faced squarely by

every anti-Nationalist: “What am I going to do about it?”

Verwoerd's referendum fraud must be exposed and challenged. This was not the voice of the people. This was only the voice of the White Supremacists.

It is time to let the people speak. If that has been done in the past is not enough, more must be done in future to win the freedom for which we all aspire.

The voters have had their chance and they have failed. Now it is for the voteless to take a hand.

Those who adopted the Freedom Charter pledged, “black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.”

### “MASS STRUGGLE”

The referendum has shown that not enough people have taken that pledge. The millions of the oppressed must be united and organised to fight for freedom. The campaign must be carried into every corner of the land. Mass struggle is the only road to national liberation.

Let us remember: ONLY 850,000 PEOPLE VOTED “YES” IN THIS REFERENDUM, BUT THERE ARE 15,000,000 PEOPLE IN THE LAND.

“THE FEARCE OF ‘EUROPEANS ONLY.’ GOVERNMENT MUST END. THE MAJORITY MUST RULE.”

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CONGO

IN the short space of five weeks since the first anti-emergency issue, New Age has demonstrated once again that it has a unique role to play in South Africa.

It is the only paper in the country which takes a firm and uncompromising stand on the issue of colonialism and imperialism.

Take the crisis in the Congo, for example. This has been a subject of burning importance to every South African. There are many people who say the Nationalists won the referendum because of the reaction amongst a section of the white population to the events in the Congo since the country won its “independence.”

New Age has been the only newspaper in South Africa to stand four-square behind the Lumumba Government and to every South African what is happening in the Congo.

Without exception, all other newspapers have been playing the imperialist game, including some who pretend to fight for African people and independence for the African people against other countries of the continent, but whose blind anti-Communist forces then into the imperialist camp.

If it were not for New Age, there would not have been a single voice in South Africa raised in protest against the imperialist attempt to reconquer the Congo through the

back door. From the Nats downwards. In other papers and parties have damned Lumumba as the agent of the devil or Moscow. Only New Age has stood firm and, irrespective of his domestic policies, insisted on his right to be regarded as the legal Prime Minister of his country.

In the same way, at the time of the Suez crisis, it was only New Age that supported Nasser. In other papers and the imperialists from Egypt to the Suez Canal.

You, in turn, by supporting New Age, are playing an indispensable part in the continent-wide struggle against imperialism.

### “SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY”

Last Week's Donations:

Johannesburg: Friends £20, Collections £50, Monthly £25, Intellectual £3, Friend £2, Parkview £2, £10.

Port Elizabeth: 56d, N.A. 5s, G.M. £2, Meds £11.16, Friend 2s.

Durban: Nad £2, A.N. £2.2, Emanuel £2.10, Ship £2, Gays £1, P.K. 7.6d., Premier £1, I.K. £1.

Cape Town: Ally sisters £1, Harry £1, Cheque £1, N.M. £1, Sacred £1, D.H.M. 10s, Mica £1, Egn £1, Wyndoe £5, Dot £2, Ken £1.10, M.G. £1.1, Pots and Pans £2.10, Ship £2, Gays £1, P.K. 7.6d., Premier £1, I.K. £1.

Grand Total: £163 4s. 6d.

# Kenya Leaders Condemn Referendum Farce

## Fighting Talk at Jan Smuts Airport

JOHANNESBURG. TWO of Kenya's Non-White Cabinet Ministers who passed through Jan Smuts airport here on their return from Nigeria's Independence Celebrations told New Age that it was high time the Commonwealth nations took a united stand against the policies of the South African Government.

They were Mr. Ronald Ngala, Minister of Labour, Social Security and Adult Education, and Mr. Choonilal Madan, Minister without Portfolio.

Kenya's own membership of the Commonwealth could depend on the nature of the other member countries, they said.

"One of the countries that has embarrassed us is South Africa, through its brutal treatment of the African people."

In Africa itself Kenya would like to form a common front with other

African states to press on harder with the boycott of South African goods.

The Kenyans were met at the airport by a delegation from the Congress movement, among them former detainees Maulvi Cachalia, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Mr. M. Thandray, Mr. G. H. Pahad and Mr. J. B. Marks, veteran leader of the now banned African National Congress.

### REFERENDUM

Their arrival in this city coincided with the Verwoerd victory in the republican referendum. The referendum was ultimately because of the Africans, "the future rulers of this country, could not participate in the voting," said Mr. Ngala sharply.

And Mr. Madan added: "Even if the Nationalists have won there is no reason to lose hope. In any country where the human rights of

a section are assailed, such people cannot but get the sympathy and practical support of other countries."

Both Ministers were outspoken in their criticism of South Africa's apartheid policies. "The sense of superiority and minority domination must be broken," they said. Mr. Ngala added: "The white people of South Africa cannot hope for security or stability until the form of government is determined by the people—Africans and other Non-Whites included."

### IN KENYA

Mr. Ngala then turned to discuss Kenya. He said:

"The South African press has given a distorted picture of Kenya. What is happening is that the Africans are struggling against colonialism and imperialism so as to attain their independence in their country. It is well known to the British Govt. and the Kenya Govt. that there is no emergency and no Mau Mau in Kenya today. Along with the other African nationalists we still pursue our fight for independence."

Mr. Ngala added: "I am looking forward to us setting a date for our independence next year when we hold our general elections in February."

### KENYATTA

Referring to Jomo Kenyatta, Mr. Ngala said: "There have been rumours here that Kenyatta is a drunkard and incapable of leading. I would like to refute this very strongly as a person who visited Kenyatta four weeks ago in his place of restriction, I find him still the old shrewd politician. There is no question of his getting any type of liquor and he has no money."

"The Africans are pressing for his immediate release and we would like to see him stand in the general elections and returned unopposed to take up the leadership of the country."

## CONGRESS LEADERS MEET KENYA MINISTERS



THEY BOTH KNOW JOMO KENYATTA: J. B. Marks, veteran African leader in the Union, knew Jomo Kenyatta in Europe in the 'thirties. Ronald Ngala, Kenya's Minister of Labour, travelled to see Kenyatta in his place of exile four weeks ago. "We want his immediate release," said Ngala, "and his return to take up the leadership of Kenya."



TWO OF AFRICA'S INDIAN POLITICAL LEADERS: From South Africa: Maulvi Cachalia, of the South African Indian Congress. From Kenya: Mr. Choonilal Madan, Minister without Portfolio.

# Hundreds Attend SACTU Conference

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there were 45 affiliated unions with 52,583 paid up membership.

Dealing with international solidarity, SACTU appealed to workers' organisations throughout the world.

A tribute was paid to the Trinidad workers for their refusal to unload South African ships and the governments of Malaysia and Ghana for their official boycott of South Africa.

The SACTU attitude to FOFAFUSA is that it is fatal for a membership of workers to band themselves together on purely racial lines. This is a denial of the principle of workers' unity and only helps the employers and the Government to apply apartheid.

### STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The main speaker at the rally, Mr. A. Sibeko of Cape Town,

stressed that the economic struggle was inter-woven with the struggle for freedom. Other speakers were Messrs Gaitsewe and Kikwan, of the Transvaal and the Cape respectively.

The 800 workers at the rally pledged themselves to organise all unorganised workers into trade unions and build SACTU into a mighty organisation to fight all oppressive legislation, direct against the workers and oppressed people, to intensify the £1 a day campaign, to fight for the recognition of African trade unions, to organise and build a united trade union movement to fight the industrial colour bar until freedom is won.

Mr. Leon Levy was re-elected SACTU President.

# Police Harass CPC Volunteers

CAPE TOWN.

Volunteers who helped with the organisation of the CPC meeting in the City Hall last Monday were harassed by the police.

Two Africans who were handing out leaflets and posting up stickers advertising the meeting were arrested in Stellenbosch and detained for 48 hours. Afterwards they were brought before the magistrate's court and each was fined £2 for defacing property.

A Coloured youth was picked up by the police outside the Wynberg railway station and taken to the police station. He was released shortly afterwards.

New Age learns that a man came up to this youth outside the station and asked for a leaflet. After looking at it he said: "Are you people still looking for trouble? Don't you know we've got a republic now?" He then entered the station and presently a railway policeman approached the youth for a leaflet.

Later a pick-up van drew up and the youth was taken to the police station. The police handed his leaflets back when they released him saying: "You can go on handing out your rubbish."

# CPC Meeting Calls For Unity

## "ONLY ANSWER TO APARTHEID"

CAPE TOWN.

THE S.A. Coloured People's Congress held its first meeting after the state of emergency in the City Hall last Sunday and a large and enthusiastic crowd applauded the ex-detainees who addressed it.

The meeting called for:  
 ● Lifting of the ban on the ANC and PAC.  
 ● Unity between all democratic forces against apartheid.  
 ● Rejection of Verwoerd's minority republic.

"It does not matter what diplomatic changes take place in the ruling circles of the country. What does matter is the unity of the oppressed," said Mr. Tofie Bardien, one of the speakers. "The unity of the oppressed is the greatest blow that can be given to white supremacy."

During the war the Nationalists had supported Nazism. Now they have a Nazi government. But the Nationalist Government would end up like Hitler did, Mr. Bardien said.

"Police intimidation will increase and many will fall by the wayside. The struggle for full democratic rights will not be deterred," he said. Mr. Reg September, General Secretary of the CPC, warned the Coloured people against asking for increased oppression with the hope that it would bring about quicker unity.

"If we ask for more oppression for the Coloured people, we are asking for more oppression for the Africans. The African people are fighting a bitter struggle. They do not want sympathy—they want support," said Mr. September.

### SHOWN WORTH

The Coloured people were not lacking in courage, he said. They had shown their worth on the battlefields and in past political struggles. What was lacking was organisation. He called on them to join the CPC.

The audience kept up prolonged applause when Mr. Barney Desai said that the Nationalists should hold open elections for a president and that the freedom-loving people would nominate Chief Lutuli.

Mr. Desai said that the United

Party was equally responsible for the banning of the ANC and the PAC.

### LIFT BAN

"We demand the lifting of the ban on these organisations," Mr. Desai said. "The African people have a right to organise and struggle behind their Congresses."

Mr. Desai also attacked "political toddlers" in the progressive movement for making a practice of attacking Communists.

"We welcome anybody no matter what his political ideology, as long as he supports our struggle," Mr. Desai said. "The Communists have an honourable record."

### BUFFER

"The Coloured people must not allow themselves to be used as a buffer between the white supremacists and the Africans. We reject the so-called new deal. The only new deal we want is one for all the people in this country, and that is an end to apartheid and racial oppression."

### RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions adopted by the meeting demanded the lifting of the bans on the ANC and PAC, and called

upon the United Nations to take economic action against South Africa.

"We reject the decision taken by the white people to establish a republic," said another resolution. "If any decision is made concerning the future of South Africa, it should be made by all the people, black and white. We call on the oppressed people to answer Nationalist unity with the unity of all freedom-lovers of this country."

Mr. A. J. Storm of the Congress of Democrats said that his organisation was pledged to take part in the struggle headed by the Congress organisations.

"The referendum has come and gone, but what is left is the fight for those things in which we believe. We are not impressed with the shoddy, tattered republic which Verwoerd holds up to the world. White supremacy has no future. We will fight for a future in which all South Africans can walk with their heads high. We shall never surrender."

Mr. J. Alwyn, of Worcester, and Mr. Z. Malindi also spoke. Mr. A. la Guma was in the chair.

# There can be No Neutrality towards Imperialism THE CHOICE BEFORE AFRICA

"NEUTRALISM IS IMMORAL." declared the late John Foster Dulles, who was U.S. Secretary of State at the time. This was a few years ago, when the spirit of neutralism was beginning to spread rapidly. Were he alive today, Dulles would no doubt be shocked to the core at the present composition of UNO which he would regard as a veritable pit of immorality.

For with the entry of 14 African states and Cyprus into that body this year, the number of states there who belong neither to the Western or Eastern blocs far exceeds the total number of members of those two blocs combined. There can be no doubt that one of the most important political developments over the past few years has been the growth of a huge body of "uncommitted" or "neutral" nations. When UNO was established after the war there were quite a number of these which were called neutral, such as Sweden, Finland, Ireland and so on. But in fact on all major issues of foreign policy, these countries invariably supported the United States. Time and again the Communist bloc would be in a tiny minority.

The big development since then has been the tremendous anti-colonial upsurge which has swept Asia, Africa and Latin America, bringing into being a vast number of newly freed nations who have broken away from their imperialist masters.

The people of these countries decided from their own experience that the "Free World" was not so free. They also appreciated the fact that the socialist countries had always backed their independence struggles, whereas the countries in the NATO bloc, which consisted mainly of colony-owning countries, had stood by their imperial rulers in trying to stem the tide of liberation.

Nevertheless, the leadership of the national independence struggles in most cases was drawn from middle class elements who were not prepared to follow up their national revolution with a social revolution in which the workers and peasants expropriated the means of production and set up socialist governments, as happened in China.

**MANY MEANINGS**

So there emerged a great group of nations, first in Asia, then in Africa, and now in Latin America, who had bitter memories of rule by Western masters and who felt deeply on the subject of colonialism, but who at the same time were not prepared to go the whole hog and join the socialist bloc of nations.

Their foreign policies in fact reflected in the main their domestic policies, namely, they usually set themselves socialist goals, but in fact allowed their economies to be tied to those of imperialist countries and enabled capitalism to flourish.

**FOUR CLEAR POINTS**

ALTHOUGH the subject of neutralism and the role of UNO remains extremely complex, there are a few major points which can be safely stated.

FIRST, the growth of neutralism has in the main exercised a major influence in favour of world peace. The growth of a large number of neutral nations has meant states whose memories of imperialism are fresh and bitter, has resulted in the breaking down of

favour of the West, while Guinea is neutral in favour of the East.

## UNO'S STRUCTURE

A FACTOR which has emerged very clearly this year is that the structure of UNO itself does not properly reflect the new relationships of forces in the world.

The Security Council, for example, consists of 7 members, of whom 3 of the permanent members are the U.S., Britain and France. Similarly, the UN administration is heavily weighted in favour of the NATO countries. (Being situated in New York, the UN headquarters were subjected to MacCarthy's witchhunt which compelled the sacking of a number of persons who could not be relied upon to toe the American line).

The recent Congo event shows this up most vividly. Whereas the high command of the UN troops there consistently followed a policy that favoured pro-West and anti-Lumumba forces, the African troops themselves plunged for Lumumba.

## AID—FROM WHOM?

THE whole question of neutralism has all along been closely connected to the problem of aid to the underdeveloped countries. Years of colonial rule had left the former colonies impoverished

the monopoly which the Western countries formerly had of determining the future of all the peoples of the world (with the exception of those in the communist countries).

These newly-freed countries demand an end to the armaments race not only because they see the horrible prospect of the destruction of all humanity in a third world war, but also because they themselves urgently need the funds being wasted on armaments for the building up of their own economies.

SECONDLY, although these countries for a long time can remain neutral on some of the issues which divide the East and the West, on a number of issues they must take a positive stand.

There can be no neutrality on such questions as racialism, or imperialism. And it is not enough for the neutral countries to oppose imperialism in general terms; they must jealously guard themselves against the appearance of a new economic form of imperialism such as the Americans have practised in Latin America for so long.

Similarly, the neutral countries must take positive steps to help maintain world peace. They must prevent the construction of war bases on their territory, the explosion of nuclear weapons on their continents, and the extraction of war materials from their soils.

THIRDLY, as far as Africa is concerned, it is quite clear that neutralism has played on the whole a positive role. It has enabled the masses of the peoples of the various African states to unite in defence of their national independence. It has further enabled various groupings throughout the continent to come together in the struggle for pan-African liberation.

BUT the specific course of the struggle for national liberation in Africa against the background of Africa's special conditions and history, has given rise to theories of African exceptionalism. This has led to some extent to a NEGATIVE side being given to African neutralism—the growth of an attitude which says: "A plague is on both your houses. Africa is a special continent which must have nothing to do with any other, which will develop entirely along its own lines and which can learn nothing from any other continent."

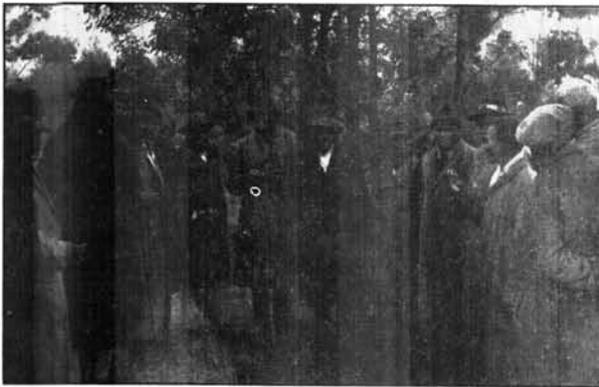
On the other hand, there has been the growth of the approach which that of the President of Guinea, Sekou Touré, who is a neutral in the sense that he does not wish his country to be tied to any bloc means of military treaties. But at the same time his attitude towards the world outside Africa is a positive one.

Africa who develops in the light of its own conditions, he declares, but at the same time the people of Africa are part of a world community. Africa will take much from the rest of the world, the independence struggles of Asia, for example, have inspired the freedom fighters in Africa.

THE system that provides the highest standard of living and the greatest cultural opportunities for all its people is the one that must inevitably triumph in this great battle.

THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA ARE

Continued in next column



A quick meeting of the Pondoland National Committee is held just before the mass meeting.

Continued from previous column suffered from imperialism and which are successfully accomplishing the task of building up a prosperous country in the shortest possible time.

We will judge East and West by what they do for the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, says Sekou Touré. We do not say that East and West are both automatically to be distrusted and on a par.



Mr. Mthethurizwe Ganyile, one of the Pondo leaders, addresses the meeting.

The questions to be asked are:

● What have the members of each bloc done for Africa? Was it the capitalist or the communist countries that enslaved Africa? Was it the capitalist or the communist countries that were themselves enslaved by other powers and had to fight for their own freedom from imperialism?

● Was it the capitalist or the communist countries who have had to face the same problems that face the underdeveloped territories of Africa today, and especially the problem of constructing a national economy?

● Which system, capitalist or socialist, offers the best means of transforming the country into a prosperous one, building up the country's own economy and retaining the country's independence?

● And today, is it the capitalists or the communists who offer aid at low or no interest rates and without any strings attached?

● Is it the East or the West that wants to have military bases in Africa, and is it a capitalist or a socialist country that explodes atom bombs on African soil? And who supplies arms to the French in Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola and our own S.A. Government?

ACCORDING TO SOMEONE LIKE SEKOU TOURE, THEN INDEPENDENCE DOES NOT MEAN ALOOFNESS. On the contrary, it means that the free states of Africa must judge who are their allies and who their enemies, who have always attacked imperialism, and who are the imperialists themselves.

FINALLY, there are certain basic things that all countries sooner or later will have to face up to, problems such as whether to organise their economies and social relations along capitalist or socialist lines. Given conditions of peace the world will be able to decide by judging the two systems at work.

Continued in next column

## RAILWAY WORKERS SEND CHARTER TO THE GOVT.

JOHANNESBURG.

ABOUT 110,000 African Railway workers have sent a Railway Workers' Charter of Rights to the Cabinet.

The Charter, "which would put clearly the demands which they felt would lead to a satisfactory life for them", was also sent to the Ministers of Labour & Railways, S.A.R. General Managers and all System Managers.

The African Railway workers want: £1 a day.

● A 40-hour week.

● Three weeks' annual leave.

● The best medical attention.

● They also demand that there be no more bad treatment and assaults of Railway workers and that complaints for accidents should be quickly attended to.

In addition to their Charter, the workers have set out a number of cases of wrongful dismissal, delays in payment of sick pay, assaults by white Railway workers on African workers, deduction of pay or loss of pay as a method of punishment,

and underpayments in cost of living allowances.

The Railway Workers' Charter states that the railway & harbours of South Africa were built and kept running by these workers who get very low wages, are very badly treated and whose lives and the lives of their wives and children are valued at nothing.

Their other demands are expressed under the following headings:

● The workers shall have the right to organise.

● The Union shall have the right to fight for the workers.

● The right to strike.

● The right to associate with other unions.

"All Railway workers shall enjoy the rights laid down in this Charter without any discrimination on skill, qualification, age, sex, race, colour, nationality, language, political opinion, or religious belief. These rights we pledge to fight for until they are won", states the Charter.

Continued in next column

# PONDO MASS MEETING

(Continued from page 1) into the disturbances and unrest in Eastern Pondoland.

Preparations are afoot for tribesmen to travel to the Bizana meeting on foot, bicycles, horseback and lorries. They are expected to assemble at an appointed spot in town from where they will stage a peaceful demonstration by marching in a procession through the main street of the town, past the Bantu Commissioner's office and then to the airstrip.

The procession will be led by a tribesman carrying a white flag to denote the peaceful intention of the demonstration.

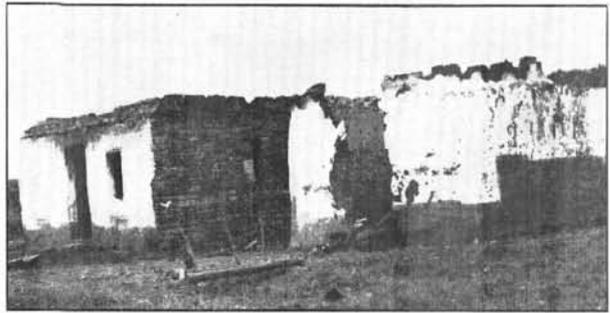
Speakers at Friday's meeting urged the tribesmen to be calm and not to be provoked either by the police or Bantu Authority Chiefs.

## LETTER TO MAGISTRATE

The Pondos have sent a letter to the local Magistrate expressing their concern and alarm at the presence of a strong force of police in the area and have appealed to the Magistrate to guarantee their safety by not sending a single police soldier to the meeting at the airstrip on Tuesday.

The letter states that the presence of the police has caused great fear and suspicion in the minds of the Pondos as they could find no justification "for the galvanisation and concentration of the police in our area."

"We deplore and deprecate this uncalled for show of strength. We want to make it quite clear that



Burnt out kraal of Chief Maje Madikizela, one of the more prominent of the Bantu Authority chiefs.

should an unfavourable situation crop up, the Government will have to shoulder the blame.

"Our policy is that of peace and friendship among races. We are not interested in the colour of a man's skin," adds the letter.

The letter concludes by reminding the Magistrate that the Pondos do not want "refugees" to be present at the meeting.

The Pondos support their letter

by claiming that ever since the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry there has been comparatively little unrest in the area as they have been waiting patiently and hopefully for the findings of the Inquiry.

## GAINING GROUND

The revolt against Bantu Authorities is steadily gaining ground throughout the length and breadth of this rugged and mountainous

territory. Many locations are forming "Inthaba" Mountain Committees whose delegates are reporting to the central committee in Bizana. The boycott of payment of taxes and cattle dipping fees is still on and many new locations are joining in. Whatever the report of the Commission of Inquiry, one thing stands out clearly and that is that the Pondos will accept nothing short of freedom from Bantu Authorities.

## LIONEL FORMAN ANNIVERSARY BOOKLET

MR. Lionel Forman, former editor of New Age, died in Cape Town at the early age of 31 after an open-heart operation on October 19, 1959. In commemoration of his life and work, New Age is producing an anniversary booklet entitled "Black and White in South African history," which is a collection of essays written by Mr. Forman shortly before he died on the theme of the relationships between Black and White in South Africa from the time of Van Riebeeck onwards.



Lionel Forman.

"We are told, in our history books and by many of our politicians," says the editor's note to the booklet, "that the white man's mission in South Africa was a civilising one, that he rescued the indigenous inhabitants from barbarism, strife, disease and ignorance and showered on them the blessings of the Western way of life."

Lionel Forman shows that the truth is very different. Van Riebeeck may have come to establish a refreshment station to supply the ships of the Dutch East India Company on their way to India; but he also set in motion a process which has continued to the present day—the theft of the land, property and freedom of the indigenous peoples, the establishment by force of the "baaskap" of the White man over the Black man, the creation of a system of society in which power, profit and privilege were reserved for Europeans only, while the Non-Europeans were reserved the role of hewer of wood and drawer of water for evermore.

"And yet not for evermore. For Lionel also shows that throughout our history our peoples have bravely resisted oppression and fought strenuously for their rights and freedom."

The booklet, which is attractively illustrated, contains a preface by Ray Alexander and a biographical sketch of Lionel Forman. Copies will be available at all New Age offices next week.

## ARENSTEIN BAN AN ATTACK ON THE PONDOS

BIZANA.

The huge meeting of Pondo tribesmen at Bizana in a special resolution condemned the Government for banning Mr. R. L. Arenstein and confining him to the magistracy area of Durban thus depriving the Pondos of their rightful legal representative.

They regard this as a direct attack on their resistance against Government policy in the area.

A deputation of one man from each location was appointed to make representations to the local Native Commissioner in Bizana and Lukusiki, to request them, to get in touch immediately with the

Minister of Justice and members of the Commission of Inquiry with a request that Mr. Arenstein be allowed to appear in court to defend tribesmen who are facing various charges.

The banning of Mr. Arenstein was also to be raised at Tuesday's meeting before the Commission started giving its report.

One tribesman interviewed by New Age said: "The Government first killed some of us at Nguzwa Hill, then they refused permission for one of our legal representatives, Mr. M. D. Naidoo, to appear on our behalf, now they have banned Mr. Arenstein. When will they stop?"

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# TREASON TRIAL

**LAST** week, after Professor Z. K. Matthews had concluded his evidence, the defence announced that their case was closed. The treason trial was then adjourned to November 7, when the Crown will begin its argument on the thousands of documents and hundreds of speeches put in, as well as the evidence of the witnesses.

In his evidence last week, Prof. Matthews said that although he only became a member of the African National Congress in 1940, he had known the African National Congress when he was a boy. The first Mr. Sol. Plaatje, a close relative of his and an official of the ANC, used to go to ANC meetings with him. He understood the aims of the ANC to be, firstly, to weld the different African tribes into one whole; to defend the existing rights of the African people and to struggle for the development of the African people economically, socially and politically.

### BECAME ACTIVE

Prof. Matthews said that he became active in politics in 1941. In 1942 he became a member of the Native Representative Council. From 1949 to 1955 he was the president of the African National Congress (Cape). From 1954 to 1958 he was a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

He said he was the chairman of the committee which drafted the "African Claims" which became the policy of the ANC. The policy, according to Prof. Matthews, was inspired by the Atlantic Charter, which among other things supported self-determination for dependent countries.

Prof. Matthews was also chairman of the Congress committee that drafted the Programme of Action of 1949. He said that this Programme of Action was brought into being because at the time, and with the coming into power of the Nationalist Party with its policy of apartheid, the Africans were going to lose even the meagre rights they had. The adoption of this programme of Action in 1949, Prof. Matthews said, did not change the structure of the African National Congress.

### NON-VIOLENCE

He said that the methods of struggle adopted by the ANC were peaceful and non-violent, and that there was never a thought of using violence. The question of using violence was never voiced at the meetings or conferences of the African National Congress as far as he knew.

Replying to a question which Congress believed in non-violence, Prof. Matthews said that there were a variety of reasons for coming to the Christian outlook among members of Congress, and said that methods of violence would not solve our problems, taking into account the moral-ethical aspects of the country. A violent revolution would leave an aftermath of bitterness.

### NOTHING SECRET

On the question of police attending Congress meetings, Prof. Matthews said that police used to attend ANC meetings and that nothing was kept secret from the police. "The only information which we kept away from the police was that which we keep away from non-members of the organisation." He said the presence of the police at ANC meetings was a matter for the Congress members. "Our attitude towards the African members of the Special Branch was that they were engaged in a form of espionage which was a betrayal. We felt that this was not the only duty which an African could perform."

Mr. Keightley: His this policy of non-violence been criticised?—No,

not in the African National Congress. But other organisations have criticised it saying that the adoption of this policy means that Congress is working with the Government.

### DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

Professor Matthews said that the Defiance Campaign made many people aware of the conditions prevailing in the country. It increased the membership of the ANC and made the African people politically conscious. It had an effect on the Government, hence the passing of the Public Safety Act. The White citizens of the country became more aware of the conditions of the African people than they were before the Defiance Campaign. Overseas the Defiance Campaign attracted a lot of attention.

Asked why the ANC often asked its members to be ready to sacrifice, to the point of being prepared to die, Professor Matthews said that the ANC had in mind that force might be used by the Government against its followers.

"We warned our members that there might be suffering, even death. We had in mind instances where the police would go to a peaceful meeting and ask the people to disperse in five minutes. Before the time expired the police shot at the people and some people then attacked the police."

He cited the Bulhoek incident in which Africans who had refused to move were shot and some killed by the Government forces.

Mr. Justice Rumpff: As far as African opinion is concerned, was it accepted that people had been shot when there was no necessity to shoot?—That is the view, My Lord. In these incidents Africans are the sufferers and we had no reason to believe that these incidents would not recur because the authorities are looking at these things only from the point of view of law and order. They do not go into the basic factors.

### DISHONEST TO CONCEAL

Prof. Matthews explained that on the one hand you have the ANC with its policy of non-violence trying to struggle for freedom; on the other hand you had the possibility of the Government dealing with the people in a harsh manner. It was therefore necessary for the

people to be told about these things and to be prepared to carry on the struggle.

"No government goes about giving gifts to people because they happen to be around. A government does something because there is pressure either from the people who have put it into power or from outside."

"The struggle for emancipation has always involved sacrifice. You sacrifice time, money, there is arrest and death. It would be dishonest to conceal these things from our followers."

### CROSS-EXAMINATION

Mr. G. Hoexter (for the Crown) cross-examined Professor Matthews for two days.

Mr. Hoexter: I put it to you that by the Congress of the People you wanted to establish the African National Congress as the most progressive political organisation in the country?

Prof. Matthews: Congress was long established. We did not seek to establish the African National Congress through the Congress of the People. The ANC had existed for 40 years.

Mr. Hoexter: You wanted to entrench it?

Prof. Matthews: I don't know what you mean by that.

Mr. Hoexter: To enhance its prestige?

Prof. Matthews: That the ANC had considerable prestige by that time. Replying to a question by Mr. Hoexter on the Defiance Campaign, Prof. Matthews said that the campaign was not in his opinion dangerous to the security and stability of the State. There was no possibility of the campaign overthrowing the State nor was that its aim.

A portion of Mr. Mandela's document "No Easy Walk to Freedom" was read which suggested that if the Defiance Campaign had reached the third stage it would have been dangerous for the security and stability of the State, and Prof. Matthews replied that those were the views of an enthusiastic writer.

Mr. Hoexter: Assuming that the Defiance Campaign had reached the third stage, would you suggest that—don't you think that would affect the stability of the State?

Prof. Matthews: It would not be the extent that this campaign as we

knew it was not a campaign of general lawlessness. Even if there were mass arrests, from our own point of view the people would have remained disciplined. Only recently there have been mass arrests on a scale that was larger than during the Defiance Campaign and the tranquillity of the country has not been interrupted. The whole basis of our state is to influence the Government and the Defiance Campaign was simply another way by which we hoped to influence the Government.

Mr. Hoexter: Professor, do you agree that had the Defiance Campaign reached the third stage there would have been chaos in this country?

Prof. Matthews: No. No responsible government would allow such a stage to be reached.

Mr. Hoexter: Do you agree that the Defiance Campaign was an attempt to impose the Congress policy on the country?

Prof. Matthews: To get certain laws changed, the laws that were being defied.

Prof. Matthews said that the only thing that could affect the safety of the State was a rebellion, not what for instance, was happening in Pondoland today. That had not affected the safety of the State.

Mr. Hoexter: Assuming you have a deliberate breach of the laws in the country, would that not affect the stability of the State?—No.

Mr. Hoexter: I put it to you that one of the main objects of the Defiance Campaign was to prepare the people for future campaigns?—Yes.

Mr. Hoexter, after reading a paragraph of an article in a Youth League bulletin, said: You would agree that the Defiance Campaign was a mental preparation for revolution?

Prof. Matthews: You can't put tags on my answer.

### THREE LECTURES NOT CONGRESS VIEW

Prof. Matthews was cross-examined at length about the three lectures, "The World We Live In," "The Country We Live In" and "Change is Needed."

Mr. Hoexter: I want to put it to you that what is contained in these lectures is consistent with the view of the ANC?

Prof. Matthews: I dispute that. What is contained in these lectures is not consistent with the view of the ANC. There may be sentences, paragraphs or words there which ANC members agree with. The authors of these lectures themselves do not pretend to be giving the Congress point of view. They say these are suggestions.

Mr. Hoexter: Did it strike Congress leaders at any time that these lectures do not represent the Congress point of view?

Prof. Matthews: Well, I would not speak for other leaders but speaking for myself these lectures do not represent the Congress view, they are suggestions by a group who would not refuse the distribution of these lectures. If this group wanted to use this as policy, they would have to bring the matter to the conference of the ANC.

Mr. Hoexter: These lectures were to be used for the guidance of the voluntary workers, were they?—Not exclusively. They would be used as part of the material to be used.

Mr. Hoexter: I put it to you that that was not to be of cardinal importance for the guidance of the people for the Congress of the People?

Prof. Matthews: What do you mean by cardinal importance?

Mr. Hoexter: It was important to educate the volunteers, was it not?—Yes, but I don't understand what you mean by cardinal importance.

Mr. Hoexter: Were the volunteers not regarded as the top brigade?

Prof. Matthews: What do you mean by top brigade? The leaders are not regarded as the top brigade.

Mr. Hoexter: That is the language of Congress.

Prof. Matthews: It's an individual who used that language, that is not the Congress language.



In addition to his colourful academic background with an M.A. degree at Yale University, U.S.A., and post-graduate course at the London School of Economics, Professor Matthews has served on a number of educational commissions. He did research in Bechuanaland in 1936 and was appointed by the United Kingdom Secretary of State and Colonies as a member of a commission on education in East Africa. From 1946 to 1949 he was a member of the Union Advisory Committee to the United States of America as visiting Professor for the academic year 1952-1953. Later, that year he was invited by the World Council of Churches to attend its conference but could not do so because the Union Government refused to extend his passport. In 1954 he was invited by the University of Chicago and in 1959 and 1960 he was invited to visit the United States of America but again could not go because the Government refused to give him a passport.

Mr. Hoexter read a passage from the lecture on the theory of labour value and asked the witness if that was the view of the ANC. The witness replied that he had never attended a Congress conference where the theory of labour value was discussed.

Professor Matthews said that the ANC was not working to gain one minor concession after another. "We are not working for the year 2000, we want freedom in our lifetime." Dealing with the Removal of the Western Areas, Prof. Matthews said that the use of the word "waterloo" was figurative of the campaign against the removal of the people of the Western Areas of Johannesburg.

Mr. Hoexter: I put it to you, that the ANC by the campaign against the removal of the Western Areas wanted to foster a mental attitude of non-co-operation with the Government?

Prof. Matthews: Not to move voluntarily. The ANC advised the people not to move voluntarily and when force was used that the people should move.

Mr. Hoexter: Professor, you did not understand my formulation.

Prof. Matthews: That is my answer to your question. I am not I am confined to your formulation? I am here to answer questions.

Mr. Hoexter: The view of the ANC was that the removal should be resisted regardless of force and violence?

Prof. Matthews: That would not be so because the people would be engaged in passive resistance and force would be from the Government side.

Asked about a speech made at a meeting at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on June 27, 1954, Professor Matthews said: "The point I want to make is that when speeches are made by the people, one must place himself in the position of the people who were faced with the removal. They could not make well-reasoned, calm speeches as if they were made to a board of directors. We must not read these speeches so literally. What the speakers wanted to do was to arouse the people not to move."

# UP MY ALLEY

DE Republik. Ja-nee.

According to the local English morning bath Namaqualand voted as follows:

NO . . . . . 2,053

YES . . . . . 4,633.

The electoral officer, no doubt, can figure that out. But perhaps it can serve as a mascot for a mixed-up country where 3 million white people can run around polling booths wearing blinkers while 11 million non-whites who, by the way, also happen to live here, are ignored.

The majority of whites might have said 'Ja! to Verwoerd's Republic, but the wind in the air that the results from the places where people don't vote by making crosses on paper are still to come in.

● It will be a resounding NEE!

★

HERR Doktor will no doubt tell the world that his Will-Republik has come by the will of God. However, a gentleman who calls himself "King of the World" and considers himself a prophet, too, wrote to us, saying: "The republic is the will of the logic and God made the logic."

King Pharaoh made sklen crook laws and God dealt with him and his spirit left off the body and his spirit shall feel the heat of hell with other sklen crooks likewise."

● Do you believe in prophecy? ★

I SAW world-class tennis star Althea Gibson on the screen the other night. Not in a newspaper, but in the main picture playing the part of a Coloured servant. It is nothing unusual for Hollywood to continually give Negro actors inferior parts.

● A personality like Miss Gibson should stick to tennis. It's much more dignified in spite of the wide screen and Technicolor.

MY spy in the new paratroop training centre somewhere in South Africa sent me this dispatch:

The platoon was ready for a practice jump from a plane five thousand feet over an African location. As the boys jumped one by one, the sergeant yelled suddenly: "Van der Merwe you're not wearing your !!!!! parachute!"

● Said Van der Merwe: "Ach, mein Sarge! Do it matter? It's mos only a practice jump."

ALEX LA GUMA.

## ASIA Tense Struggle In Indonesia



President Sukarno.

A TENSE struggle is being fought out in Indonesia between forces of the Left and the Right. Right-wing elements have received hard knocks in recent months, with President Sukarno having banned the Masjumi Party (which was connected with the rebellions in the past few years by local

army leaders against the central Government) and the Socialist (in name only) Party.

Right-wing Army officers have counter-attacked, however, and have banned Communist meetings in several areas and interrogated Communist leaders.

President Sukarno watches the position cautiously, but when he does throw his weight into the struggle, he inclines to favour the Left.

There are now only 3 major political groups in the country—the Nationalists, the Moslems and the Communists. According to Sukarno, these 3 parties represent the basis of Indonesian development—Nationalist, Moslem and Socialist.

● The delegation which accompanied President Sukarno on his recent visit to UNO was accordingly made up of three elements—Nationalists, Moslems and Communists.

## AFRICA Angola Free In Two Years Says Independence Movement

ANGOLA (Portuguese West Africa) will be liberated within two years. This is the confident claim of the Union of the Peoples of Angola, a six-year-old organisation that has been in the forefront of the struggle for independence of the colony from ruthless Portuguese dictatorship.

The UPC, which operates illegally inside Angola, has set up headquarters in Leopoldville, which is a mere five-hour drive from the Angola border with the Congo.

The UPC, which claims a membership of 50,000, plans to set up a freedom radio in the Congo based at Angola. Thousands of Angolans seek refuge in the Congo each month from the vicious Portuguese tyranny which last month was responsible for the execution of 12 UPC members. Despite the terror, the underground movement in Angola, which is supported by a number of courageous anti-Salazar Portuguese men and women, carries on.

In an attempt to terrorise the people, the Portuguese authorities have carried out massive napalm (jelled petrol) bombing demonstrations.

According to the London Sunday Times correspondent in Leopoldville, the Portuguese admit the napalm demonstrations, but

### EUROPE

## Harry Belafonte Would Like To Spend Years In Russia

Twenty-eight years ago the great American singer Paul Robeson went to the Soviet Union and declared that there for the first time in his life as a Negro, felt really free.

Last month another great U.S. Negro singer, Harry Belafonte, went to the Soviet Union for the first time, and he too had nothing but praise for the country.

"The life of the people is so varied and rich and their hospitality so boundless that one wants to stay weeks and months and years among them," he declared. "This trip was a great pleasure to me."

## More African Leaders Back Lumumba

SUPPORT for Patrice Lumumba as the lawful Premier of the Congo continues to roll in from all parts of Africa.

Guinea's President Sekou Toure declared recently:

"I support Mr. Lumumba without reservation because he is the democratically elected representative of the people."

He added that he was certain that the Afro-Asian group would succeed "in saving the integrity of the people of the Congo, and also its territorial integrity."

In Cairo too representatives of parties in 8 African countries—Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, the Camerons and Ruanda-Urundi—declared in a joint statement that if African independent states have to choose between the survival of UNO and the sovereignty of the Congo, then the latter would have to prevail.

## African Students Too

EULL support for Congo Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and his Government was declared recently by organisations representing Africans in Britain and France.

In a joint statement, the Committee of African Organisations and the Federation of African Students in France, said: "We are determined to preserve the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Congolese Republic at all cost."

The Committee of African Organisations proposes to launch a "united action fund" for Congo and to assume responsibility for telling European people the truth about the Congo situation.

The first step in this campaign was a rally in Trafalgar Square, London, organised jointly with the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

### RHOESIAN

At a Press conference in London Mr. M. M. Chona, vice-president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, declared that, if Congo was to achieve independence, Patrice Lumumba must stay Prime Minister.

Mr. Chona, who attended the recent conference of African States in Leopoldville, said all the delegates there backed Mr. Lumumba, who is "popular with the youth and intellectuals as well as with the masses."

At an earlier meeting of the Movement for Colonial Freedom Mr. Chona stated that as yet the Russians had done nothing which anyone could condemn.

### AMERICA

JACOB ARBENZ, President of the democratic reform Government of Guatemala ousted by a U.S.-backed invasion in 1954, declares that

# HEROIC CUBA NOT BE ANOTHER GUATEMALA

### HAVANA.

"THE story of Cuba will not be repeated in Cuba," Jacob Arbenz, ex-president of Guatemala, declared in a recent interview here.

"Since 1954," Arbenz explained, "when the popular democratic Republic of Guatemala was overthrown by the United Fruit Company and the U.S. State Department—the world has changed considerably, and THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, LEARNING FROM THE MISTAKES OF GUATEMALA, HAS DEVELOPED CERTAIN FEATURES AND CHARACTERISTICS WHICH MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM TO INVADE CUBA NOW AND OVERTHROW THIS GLORIOUS PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION."

"In the FIRST place," he said, "the Cuban revolution completely dissolved the old army of the latifundists and the dictators, and created instead a new revolutionary, popular army based on the Rebel Fighters. This was one of the big mistakes of Guatemala, which failed to do this, so that when the invasion came, the old army leaders betrayed the people and sold themselves into the service of the U.S. embassy."

"SECOND," continued Arbenz, "the old police force in Cuba was disbanded and a new revolutionary police force based on the workers and peasants was created."

"THIRD," the whole Cuban nation is being armed to defend the revolution. All over Cuba you can see the workers, peasants and

students joining the militia, drilling and receiving arms."

This was not done soon enough in Guatemala, and when the invasion came Arbenz gave the order to issue arms to the people, but this order was sabotaged by the old army officers.

### ECONOMIC MEASURES

Other features of the Cuban Revolution, according to Arbenz, are:

- The Agrarian Reform, which has given the land to the peasants.
- Industrialisation, which will make the country economically independent and prosperous.
- The nationalisation of important basic industries, which up to now have been under the control of U.S. imperialists, "who were sabotaging the economic development of the country and creating a perilous danger for the Cuban revolution."

● The development of friendly diplomatic and commercial relations with all countries, especially the socialist lands. "U.S. imperialism has always kept Latin America as a backyard reserve, preventing free exchange with the rest of the world, and forbidding relations with the socialist countries." Guatemala had no relations with the Soviet Union; but the new trade agreements with People's China, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are of immense benefit to the Cuban people, supplying to Cuba new industrial plants in return for Cuban sugar.

### SOLIDARITY

"Even more than this trade, the generous and spontaneous offer of assistance on the part of the Soviet Union in case of aggression against Cuba, is a supreme example of solidarity . . .

"The First Congress of Latin American Youth, which took place recently in Havana, was a glowing expression of the solidarity of all the peoples of Latin America with the Cuban revolution" and "undoubtedly will result in the speeding up of the revolutionary process in all the other Latin American countries."

"A most important feature of the Cuban revolution," continued Arbenz, "is that it has smashed the theory of 'geographic fatalism' once and for all." According to this theory, the small and weak countries of Latin America, situated so close to the all-powerful U.S., could never dream of achieving their real liberation from North American imperialism.

### FATALISM UPSET

Cuba has destroyed this incorrect theory, and has shown that "a people with inspired leadership, with unbreakable unity, with a firm determination to struggle and to achieve victory, and with the support of a powerful international solidarity (especially the backing of the Soviet Union) can achieve victory over the mighty giant of U.S. imperialism," even though Cuba, only a tiny island of only six million people just 90 miles off the coast of Florida.

Arbenz recalled how the U.S. imperialists threw the baby of "communism" at Guatemala, just as they are doing now with Cuba in order to overthrow the government that was trying to carry out a mild programme of Agrarian Reform. At that time, Guatemala did not have any trade relations, nor even diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. At the meeting of the Organisation of American States in Caracas in

1954, the representative of Guatemala said he was voting against the anti-communist declaration.

"Guatemala recognized this declaration as being against the best interests of the people of Latin America," he continued. "Also, the government of Guatemala could see that the principle of anti-communism was always being used by U.S. imperialism as an instrument of oppression against the people of the theocratic, undeveloped and exploited nations."

### FAMILY AND FRUIT

Arbenz recalled how the Guatemalan ambassador to Washington kept trying to prevent relations between the two countries from deteriorating—a useless task. Henry Cabot Lodge was intimately connected through family ties with the United Fruit Co. John Foster Dulles was on the board of directors of United Fruit Co. The Guatemalan ambassador and Eisenhower directed to someone to deal with who would be unbiased.

Eisenhower referred him to Walter Bedell Smith, Under-secretary of State. The Guatemalan ambassador spoke to Smith very frankly, but with no result. Later, Arbenz recalled, he saw in an Associated Press dispatch that the same Smith had been named to the board of directors of United Fruit Co.

In conclusion, Arbenz expressed the appreciation of the people of Latin America for the solidarity of the common people of the Guatemala people said:

"The day is not far off when the people of America, completely free, will be able to express their thanks for the solidarity of the American people—especially the Cuban people—with the slogan that is now becoming general throughout Latin America—PATRIA O MUERTE!"



Whilst a multi-racial delegation met Durban's Native Commissioner, women representing almost every area in and around Durban demonstrated against the Pass Laws outside the office of the Commissioner. Carrying placards reading: "Chesterville says . . . Reject Passes!" "Clairwood says . . . Passes Mean Police Brutality!" etc., the women stood peacefully outside the offices in the presence of a number of armed policemen and five members of the Special Branch.

Members of the delegation, who included Miss Florence Mkhize, Secretary of the Women's Anti-Pass Committee, Mrs. Fatima Meer, of the Natal Indian Congress, and Mrs. Vera Ponnem of the Congress of Democrats, told New Age that the Native Commissioner gave them a sympathetic hearing and promised to take up their complaints with the Minister of Native Affairs. (See New Age last week for report of meeting and demonstration).

# COLOUR BAR SPORTS BODIES MUST GO, SAYS SASA

New, Non-Racial Olympic Association Proposed

JOHANNESBURG. SPORTSMEN FIGHTING THE COLOUR BAR MAY SET UP AN OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT RACIAL ONE.

Also planned is a campaign calling on sportsmen to withhold support from any form of racial sport, whether White or Non-White.

Transvaal sportsmen met informally here last week to plan the next steps to end the sport colour bar.

From the secretary of the South African Sports Association, Mr. Dennis Brutus, they heard an account of an interview with the

President of the S.A. Olympic Association, Mr. Reg Honey.

### HONEY'S PLAN

Mr. Honey has undertaken to address a conference of SASA in Johannesburg next year to put forward a formula for solving the colour problem in sport. He recognises that Non-Whites are entitled to be considered for representative teams, he told SASA, and will suggest how they can take their place in South African sport.

Seeing that Mr. Honey and his Association are likely to produce some form of compromise, all the national sporting bodies must be quite clear on their demands and prepared to put forward alternative proposals.

SASA is firm that if Non-Whites cannot win recognition in the existing sporting bodies, they might have to demand their expulsion from the international bodies and replacement by non-racial organisations.

### NEXT STEP

SASA is also planning the next step to get the Olympic Games executive to act against South African racialism.

It will probably circulate to the International Olympic Committee a strong resolution asking for the expulsion of South Africa if it fails to obey the Olympic Charter.

SASA IS CONFIDENT THAT THE CASE OF NON-RACIAL SPORT CAN BE WON NEXT YEAR.

Mr. Honey claims that the IOC executive was sympathetic to the present South African representatives but he recognises that the outcome could well be in favour of the non-racial bodies when the full minutes of the executive are placed before the IOC Congress at Athens in 1961.

Mr. Honey admitted that the South African press had misrepresented the findings of the IOC Executive. The executive had not suggested that the non-racial groups should be more co-operative, but that it was necessary for both sides

to co-operate in remedying the present irregular position.

### GET TOUGH

An official of SASA told New Age:

"SASA, together with all the other non-racial sporting bodies, has consistently fought for the re-

# SCOREBOARD BY RECORDER

One of the poorest annual championships in the history of the S.A. Weightlifting Federation was staged in Coronationville last week.

Only three provinces—Transvaal, Boland and Western Province—competed. This was partly due to differences in school holidays in the provinces.

The poor support was a big disappointment to the host centre who had done everything to make the three-day show a success.

With most of the star lifters absent, the lifting totals were lower than usual.

Weightlifting Elections: The headquarters of the Federation have shifted to Boland for the coming year and these officials were elected at the A.G.M.:

President, Arthur Jacobs; Secretary, Miss Millicent Abels; Treasurer, D. R. Becker; International Correspondent, D. A. Brutus. The Presidents of the provincial unions are automatic Vice-Presidents.

### Sportsflashes

\* The news that the Soccer Federation is deferring integration until July next year is a big disappointment. Progress is much too slow already. We expect soccer to set the pace for other sports.

\* Transvaalers are worried about the strong racial feeling at a recent Coloured-African soccer clash. A nasty incident was narrowly avoided. The sooner we

# DR. DADOO REINSTATED AS CRICKET PATRON

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo was reinstated as Patron of the Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union on September 15, 1960.

It will be recalled that the Indian Congress last year launched a campaign against the proposed visit of Frank Worrell's West Indies team on the grounds that it would encourage the Government's apartheid policy. The visit eventually had to be dropped because of the massive opposition to it all over the country.

For most people, the fact that the Verwoerd Govt. had given its blessing to such a tour, was enough for them to understand clearly that it was against the interests of the non-white people throughout the country.

A small section, however, of the higher officials of the Indian Cricket Union were resentful and too narrow-minded to understand properly the significance of this popular revolution against any form of apartheid, and spoke out "keeping politics out of sport". To show their resentment, and

in the face of popular opinion, they depared Dr. Dadoo from the panel of patrons and in his place appointed Mr. Frank Worrell, the captain of the ill-fated team.

Now the position has been reviewed again and Dr. Dadoo takes his rightful place as a patron of this leading body of Non-European sportsmen.

# SPORTS VICTORY IN SIGHT

JOHANNESBURG.

THE fight against the colour bar in South African sport continues and victory will be gained in the foreseeable future, said Mr. D. A. Brutus in his annual report to the South African Amateur Weightlifting and Body-Building Federation on October 1.

"It is safe to say that there will never again be a South African Olympic team composed only of White South Africans selected on colour and not merit."

Mr. Brutus said the appearance of representatives of the South African Sports Association before the executive of the International Olympic Committee in Rome would have beneficial results. The task of winning international recognition for our sportsmen would be carried on by the member countries of the I.O.C. now that they were in possession of the facts.

### IMPROVEMENT

The report noted a steady improvement in our weightlifters. "There is no doubt that men like Precious Mackenzie and Johnny Geddidit deserved consideration when the South African Olympic team was selected . . ."

"The President of the S.A. Olympic Association, Mr. Reg Honey, is shortly to be challenged on the discrimination which excluded non-whites from the Olympic trials."

Mr. Brutus warned that sportsmen should at all times be on guard against the attempts at disruption and confusion undertaken by the all-white sporting bodies in an effort to halt the fight of our non-racial bodies for recognitions, including the all-white weightlifting union.

# AGENTS WANTED

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# ARNOLD'S XMAS HAMPERS

Agents please note that our closing date for this year is November 1st. This means that you have only two weeks in which to pay in. Don't delay. See that your customers do not super Xmas

All Kinds of Photographic Work undertaken by **ELI WEINBERG** Photographer 11, Plantation Road, Gardens, Johannesburg Phone: 45-4103

# Telma Soups are Tastiest

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