

27 ON MURDER CHARGE

Zulus Fight Govt's Betterment Scheme

From George Mbeki
DURBAN.
IN a packed and hushed court at Nonongoma (Zululand) last week, Walter Kanyebe, an employee of the Ouztu Tribal Authority, admitted under cross-examination that 27 tribesmen of the Thokazi area in

the district of Nonongoma had openly and unanimously rejected the so-called Betterment Scheme when it was introduced in their area.

He was appearing as a Crown witness at a preparatory examination into the alleged murder of Mthelzeni Dhlamini and Ntseleni Ntuli, at which 27 tribesmen are appearing.

The trial is a sequel to the events of November 28 last year when the two tribesmen were killed and several huts burnt down in protest against Bantu Authorities and the Betterment Scheme.

BITTERLY OPPOSED

From as early as 1958 the tribesmen of Thokazi have been bitterly opposed to the introduction of the Betterment Scheme in their area. Many amongst them have been convicted for having disobeyed an order by the BAD Commissioner to accept sites under the scheme. Fines up to £20 each have been imposed on some tribesmen. Some have been deported.

Since 1958, those people who have not taken up new sites have not been allowed to cultivate their fields. As a result the people are starving.

The tribesmen have held numerous consultations with the Paramount Chief whose attitude is that he can do nothing in the matter as this is a Government measure. Appeals to the BAD Commissioner have also failed.

Frustrated and bitter the people reacted by cutting down fences and burning huts belonging to those

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Terror In Pondoland Continues

From M. P. Naicker
DURBAN.
FURTHER evidence of the terror tactics being adopted by pro-Government chiefs, aided and abetted by the police and the army in strife-torn Pondoland, has been received by New Age during the past week.

Two chiefs of Monti Location, Bizana, according to one report, went to the kraal of a Mrs. Mashonani Makhloyi, and demanded information of the whereabouts of her sons. Mr. Makhloyi, it is reported, is a detainee. When she replied that she did not know, our informant alleges that she was severely beaten by the chiefs, who were accompanied by the police.

Our informant states that she was left with open wounds on her head and that a typewriter, a grinding mill (used for crushing mealies) and

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NEW AGE

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Owing to the thousands of bus users who have taken to the trains, apartheid is a thing of the past at the New Brighton railway station. Africans are using both white and non-white entrances under the guidance of railway police.

"Your Home Must Be Destroyed"

TRANSKEI COUPLE, WITH 6 CHILDREN, BANISHED

PORT ELIZABETH.
USING the tyrannical powers given him under the Emergency Regulations, Chief Kaiser Matanzima has ordered the destruction of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Abel Ntwana in the Emxe location, Cala area.

The Ntwanas have been given 30 days in which to remove their family, their livestock and moveable property to the Banzi location, in the Qanala area, where Matanzima has established his headquarters.

When there, the family must report weekly to Chief Zwelibanzi and will not be permitted to move out of his location.

IN ABSENCE

The order was served in the absence of both Mr. Ntwana and Mrs. Ntwana. Mr. Ntwana has been absent from his home for some months. The police are known to be ready to serve a banishment order on him as soon as he puts in an appearance.

Mrs. Ntwana is in prison, serving a three months sentence for failing to pay a £20 fine imposed on her by Matanzima's hush-court for cutting thatching grass without permission. The sentence was imposed on the same day the removal order was served at her home.

These removal orders are regarded as being far worse than banishment under the Native Administration Act, as they place the families concerned at the mercy of power-drunk chiefs whose bands of thugs do not stop at any form of violence and terror in their efforts

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Busmen Prosecuted, Police Invade SACTU Meeting, but —

P.E. WORKERS OUT TO WIN

From Govan Mbeki

PORT ELIZABETH.

UNIFORMED police invaded the meeting of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions at the Moslem Institute on Sunday afternoon. They had been called by the Special Branch who had reported that they were being driven out of the meeting.

After the chairman, Mr. Vuyisile Mini, explained that he had ordered the Special Branch to remove from their seats to make room for women, the police left and the meeting continued with the Special Branch men slandering along the wall just like hundreds of other men in the audience.

The meeting, which drew a crowd of more than 3,000, was called to report on developments in the bus dispute. The meeting resolved to give all support to the determined struggle of the workers to organize into trade unions to fight for a living wage and decent working conditions.

PLEDGE

Towards this end the workers pledged to use all available and recognised means employed by workers throughout the democratic

world to protect workers' rights.

The meeting resolved to embark on an uncompromising struggle to defeat the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which was described as a fascist law to entangle the African workers.

The meeting registered appreciation of the untiring efforts of the workers to resolve the bus dispute amicably in spite of the hostile attitude adopted by the representatives of capital. Further the meeting condemned the deplorable role of the seats and called on them to discontinue their betrayal.

CONGO

The meeting called on the workers of the world to stop the imperialist activities in the Congo so that the working people of the Congo can establish stable conditions to work for the creation of plenty for themselves from the wealth of their country.

The meeting called on democratic people throughout the world to fight for the release of Premier Lumumba, the popular leader of the people of the Congo.

Mr. Mnyanda, the Advisory Board and Native Labour Board member, said that if the bus management had at first called on experienced people's leaders to medi-

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Hundreds of women from the Port Elizabeth townships gathered at the KwaFord Administration offices to hear the latest developments in the bus dispute. They are seen here sitting on the lawn in front of the offices.

NEW AGE LETTER BOX

LIBERAL PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

In the January 5 issue of New Age Mr. C. Ndlovu, Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union, is reported as saying: "Some persons who are members of this organisation (Fofatusa) together with certain members of the Liberal Party have been whitening our union during recent weeks. They have been endeavouring with little success to divide our members by getting them to join a separate union."

It is regrettable that anyone holding as responsible a position as Mr. Ndlovu does should so irresponsibly make so inaccurate a statement.

It is even more regrettable that neither Mr. Ndlovu nor New Age took the trouble to refer their allegations to the Liberal Party in Durban before so incautiously rushing into print.

Even a cursory examination of the facts would have shown both Mr. Ndlovu and New Age that the Liberal Party has no connection with Fofatusa.

It would also have revealed that some ex-members of SACTU came to the Liberal Party in Durban because they had been fired from their jobs and wanted monies they believed were owing to them. The disclosure by these people of their past affiliations was made well after negotiations to obtain their notice pay had begun.

But they had never been led to believe that the Liberal Party had a trade union. It was also made very clear (and is always made clear) that membership of the Liberal Party does not preclude membership of SACTU.

This constitutes "white-anting" the phrase has acquired a new meaning very recently.

Mr. Ndlovu talks of a "separate union". The Liberal Party knows of no separate union in Natal.

WORCESTER LEADERS REFUSE TO MOVE

Two prominent leaders of the outlawed ANC, Messrs K. Tolle (former branch secretary) and J. Buss (ex-Treasurer) have been advised by the Local Area Commissioner, Mr. Hill, that they and their families could be offered plots at Palmietriet Reserve, Humansdorp district.

Both men would be required to pay 10/- per annum local tax, and could work in the nearby sugar fields. They would have to build their own houses.

This "advice," said Mr. Hill, comes from the Chief Bantu Commissioner Eastern Cape, Kingwilliamstown.

Readers will recall that both men were endorsed on Worcester immediately after the state of emergency was lifted. Neither has been working since then.

They have both flatly refused to go to this new "home." Mr. Tolle said:

"If we allow the authorities to move us from pillar to post, then all the opponents of the Nationalists will be dumped in the trust farms to rot there for the rest of their lives."

In the light of these facts and the fact that no attempt was made to consult the Liberal Party on this matter before publication, there is a great temptation to suppose that this was a deliberate attempt by Mr. Ndlovu and New Age to worsen Liberal-Congress relationships.

Statements of this kind create division where there should be unity, confusion where there should be clarity, hostility where there should be amity.

MIKE MAJARA
Secretary, Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party of S.A.

Many Thanks For New Age

Many thanks for the issues of New Age you have been sending me each week. I find it unbearable to miss even a single copy. Your paper is truly a political guide to African success in the freedom struggle.

Your paper not only builds African nationalism but is a guide to other peoples who would like to see us not inferior in all spheres of life.

Men like Dr. Nkrumah, Ntse Mokhele and Chief Lutuli are most admired by me.

MIKE MAJARA
Basutoland.

Still Fighting For Freedom

Since I left East London in 1957, struggling for African freedom, I was unwillingly escorted to my homeland Idutywa during the day boycott. I am still fighting for African freedom from bondage.

The idea that we Africans do not want the Whites in this continent is a falsehood. We only want equality in every sphere of life.

I am very sorry to say the unjust laws have been accepted by some of our people such as chiefs and sub-chiefs.

The ANC was founded in 1912 not to shed blood in the struggle for freedom but under the auspices of God.

M. Z. NTLOKONDALA
Westonaria.

Pamphlet Welcomed

I heartily welcome the publication of Lionel Forman's history booklet, "Black and White in the History of South Africa."

It is history which badly needs to be read by all who value the truth. It is a story of the facts of white settlement in South Africa.

We are so used to the kind of "history" which we get on every side, from the press and from the pulpit, from eminent scholars and from school teachers, that we tend to believe that the "Kaffir Wars" were in the main, the responsibility of savage barbarians.

Lionel Forman has got the facts straight. We see that it was the ransacking of the white settler's barnyard, out to plunder and pillage, that led to the frontier conflicts and eventual crushing of the black population.

We are unfortunate beyond words that Lionel Forman is no more here to complete his work on the history of the African struggles and to do battle with his pen.

B. KREEL
Johannesburg

"Self-Government"

On November 10, 1960 the Chief at Kooxiantfontein sent a Special Branch man to arrest Mr. Niklas Petesi. The Chief said to Mr. Petesi, "You are one of the African Congress people," and Niklas said, "I am an African; this is my country."

The Chief also sent some of his men to seize Mr. Petesi's ox.

This is what is called self-government at this village, and we are appealing to all the Bakolobeng tribe to take notice. The village is already a police state.

READER
Lichtenberg.

African States Must Intervene in Congo

The heads of the African States must take speedy action to punish the Congo sell-outs—Mobutu, Tshombe and Kasavubu—who have evidently been employed by the enemy to depose by force means Patrice Lumumba, without any mandate from the people, Parliament or Cabinet ministers.

To wait for the UNO foreigners to settle this affair, or to let the sick part of the body to heal itself, is not natural. After all, it is not UNO but we Africans who must inherit the Congo as a natural heir if those sell-outs cause the Congo people to kill one another to a finish.

The heads of the African states must not allow this to become a precedent for deposing a man who was elected Prime Minister by the people in broad daylight. If the heads of the African states do not take drastic steps to stop this nonsense, then the enemy will be encouraged to employ sell-outs throughout the whole continent of Africa to do the same thing until all Cabinet Ministers and Presidents are like Tshombe, Mobutu and Kasavubu.

The lie that Patrice Lumumba does not want freedom but communism is spread to discourage the freedom struggle. If communism is a new disease, there are always new doctors and new medicines for new diseases.

AFRICAN WOMAN
Queenstown.

BBC Broadcasts

May I be permitted to correct C. Pritchard and E. Morkel on their letter "Oversea Broadcasts about Pondoland?" The BBC did mention Pondoland a number of times in their news broadcasts, and also on December 1 after the 10 o'clock news broadcast a talk by Miss Margaret Roberts of the Fabian Society which painted a very clear picture of the reasons for the Pondoland situation.

MARY HAMILTON (Miss)
London.

Victory For Basotho Boycotters

The two-week old boycott of Fraser's stores has been met with the re-instatement of four workers who had been sacked without notice or reason. The boycott has been at Mofushoek and then spread to Mafeteng.

According to officials of the General Workers' Union who negotiated with the management, Fraser's have also agreed to raise wages and accord better treatment to the workers in future.

The powerful Fraser concern at first decided to make a major issue of the dispute and was planning to organise traders on a territorial basis with a view to defeating the boycott. The company backed down, however, when public support for the boycott began to spread.

MAFETENG.

EDITORIAL

AID PONDO DETAINEES

THE Minister of Justice told the House of Assembly last week that 4,769 Africans, two Europeans and two members of other races had been taken into custody during the recent disturbances in Pondoland.

Of this number 2,067 Africans, the two Europeans and the two members of other races had been brought to trial. No details are given of the charges which were brought against them, but the majority were probably tax and pass defaulters—it will be remembered that the Pondos decided not to pay taxes until their grievances had been redressed.

These means that 2,702 Africans have been detained without trial in Pondoland, and the likelihood is that the remaining 2,067 are still in detention, in spite of the fact that no charges have been preferred against them. There were many cases in last year's general state of emergency where people who were acquitted in the courts were simply rearrested and detained under the emergency regulations. There is no reason to suppose the same pattern has not been followed in Pondoland.

Thus nearly 5,000 people have been and may still be in detention in Pondoland, goodness knows at what cost to their families and the communities of which they are a part. The life of the people of Pondoland has been shattered by Bantu Authorities and the emergency, yet the Governor General can state glibly in his speech from the throne that "order has been restored" and the BAD Minister de Wet Nel can make the idiotic pronouncement in the House of Assembly last week that there is no country in the world where the masses enjoy more rights than in South Africa!

The fact is that in Pondoland there is a state of terror and the people have no rights at all. Most of the detainees have no access to the courts or even their own families. Outside the jails the police and the military have a free hand, and the world is prevented from learning the truth about what is going on.

The South African people must demand that the state of emergency be ended forthwith in Pondoland. If order has indeed been restored, as the Governor-General claims, there is no need for emergency powers. If order is to be preserved in the future, Bantu Authorities must be scrapped.

In the meantime, the country must rally to the help of the detainees and their families. If a State of Emergency Relief Fund could operate in the last emergency, it can operate again for the Pondos, or a new fund can be launched for the purpose. Visits to detainees by relatives and friends must be arranged. Financial support must be offered to the victims both inside and outside the jails.

South Africa must stop behaving as though Pondoland were on another continent. The heart of our own people lies bleeding there. We must all do our utmost to render first aid.

IN DEFENCE OF ISRAEL

It is with alarm and disappointment that I read certain passages in the letter signed "Pallo" in your issue of January 12.

"Pallo" states that in 1956 the Israeli army was not disarmed by UN troops after Suez, and was the first to exceed the limits of the West in the Middle East.

This statement reveals a deplorable ignorance of the facts. The Israeli army was the first army to suffer from Dulles' brinkmanship at that time, being ordered to retreat from the Sinai Peninsula by the UN immediately after having conquered it.

The same trend is revealed in a pamphlet published by the TIYC and distributed among scholars of the Indian High School in their recent determined battle against the Group Areas Act. The scholars were urged to fight the proposed move to Lenasia as the "Egyptian students" had fought "British French-Jewish imperialism."

Israel was born of a truly heroic struggle for national liberation against British oil-inspired imperialism. Since 1948 at UN she has sponsored a number of motions calling for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the world body, voted for Moroccan

independence (an action that backfired against her with Morocco's joining the Arab League) and in the last two votes on anti-apartheid resolutions voted against the present South African regime.

Nasser's political alliances have all turned out to be nothing more than marriages of convenience. When it suits him, he has shown himself just as ready to go along with Britain as with Russia. When the changes for which we are fighting come about in South Africa, we shall see whether it is Israel or the UAR who is first to offer aid to a new South African people's democracy.

Israel is the only neutral country in the world, outside Scandinavia, with a truly socialist government. She practices no racial discrimination and there is complete political freedom, with the Communist Party represented in Parliament, while in Cairo it is represented chiefly among the ranks of untried political prisoners.

JEWISH DEMOCRAT
Germiston.

S.A. UNITED FRONT STRIKES HEAVY BLOWS

Anti-Apartheid Drive Gains New Momentum

LONDON.

ONE week after the South African United Front at a press conference here announced the launching of a campaign to get the African states to halt the flow of labour to the South African mines as a protest against apartheid, Mr. Julius Nyerere's Government in Tanganyika has taken action to implement it.

THE AGREEMENT WHICH ENABLED THE WITWATERSRAND NATIVE LABOUR ASSOCIATION TO RECRUIT 10,000 TO 12,000 LABOURERS A YEAR IN TANGANYIKA FOR THE RAND MINES HAS BEEN CANCELLED.

Tanganyika supplies about 25 per cent of the total labour force of the mines. But although about 50 per cent of the labour force on the mines now comes from outside South Africa's borders.

ALL THE AFRICAN STATES FOLLOW TANGANYIKA'S LEAD.

Another Transkei Chief Shot

PORT ELIZABETH.

ACTING Chief Zachariah Jokazi was shot in the thigh when an attempt on his life was made during the night of January 11. He is receiving treatment at the Sir Henry Elliot Hospital at Umtata.

This unsuccessful attempt on the Chief's life follows a number of assassinations which have occurred in the Ngqeleni area, Tloko District, over a considerable period of time. The unrest among the tribesmen in this area is directly traceable to the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act.

The amaXesibe, who rejected Bantu Authorities, allege that Chief Mbandana, of the neighbouring amabele tribe, was given a large slice of their territory as a reward for accepting the Act. Their grazing lands were considerably reduced as a result.

Recent attempts by Mbandana to persuade a few men of the amaXesibe to use their influence with their fellow tribesmen to get them to accept Bantu Authorities have further inflamed feelings.

VIKA'S EXAMPLE, PRODUCTION ON THE RAND MINES COULD BE CRIPPLED.

VISIT TO AFRICA

A United Front delegation, headed by Mr. Oliver Tambo, is to visit Africa soon to further the campaign to get South Africa kicked out of the Commonwealth. Dr. Nkrumah, Premier of Ghana, and Sir Abubakar Balewa, Premier of Nigeria, have already agreed to see the delegation, which will probably also visit other territories.

Another United Front delegation composed of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. Vusuzi Make and Mr. Tenayson Makwane, is leaving for Asia this week. In India they will be received by Premier Nehru and will have an opportunity of addressing both Houses of Parliament. In Colombo, Ceylon, they will see Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike. The delegation will also visit Malaysia and Pakistan, where, besides seeing the Premiers and M.P.s, they will address public meetings in the principal cities.

A third delegation is leaving soon for the United Nations, travelling by way of Ottawa, where they hope to see Canadian Prime Minister Mr. Diefenbaker.

OTHER TARGETS

Other United Front targets announced last week are:

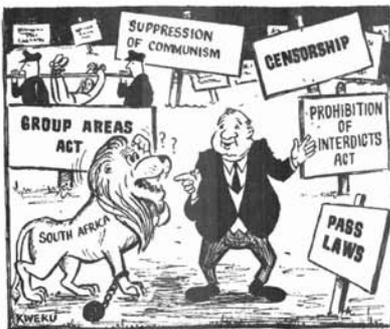
- A new, international consumers' boycott campaign to be launched in 1961, perhaps with trade union co-operation to prevent the loading or shipping of South African goods.

- A campaign to get the African and Asian States to close their airfields to South African planes.

- A campaign to halt the flow of investments to South Africa. Foreign investors have been warned that support for the Verwoerd Government will be regarded as an unfriendly act, and the United

Front is unable to guarantee the safety of foreign investments in the explosive situation created by Dr. Verwoerd and his supporters.

"The South African situation has now ceased to be one that can be settled by gentle persuasion, a change of heart or by condemnation of apartheid, however strongly expressed," states the United Front. "It should now be seen for what it is: a serious threat to peace and security, calling for forceful and resolute measures as a matter of urgency."



"I have no hesitation in stating that nowhere else in the world do the masses have as many rights as they have in this country."
—BAD Minister de Wet Nel in Parliament last week.

Nat. Lecturer Hammered On Indian University Youth Reject Indoctrination Plan

From Phyllis Naidoo

DURBAN.

SPEAKER after speaker from the floor at a public meeting here last week condemned the Government's plan to establish a tribal college for Indians at Salisbury Island.

The occasion was a lecture organised by the newly formed Durban Study Group at which Dr. C. J. Jooste, Chairman of the Durban branch of the Nationalist Party and Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Natal, spoke on the reasons for establishing a separate university for Indians.

Stating that the idea of separate development had reached great heights among the "Bantu," Dr. Jooste said one had to note the tremendous opposition to the so-called homelands for the "Bantu" in Pondoland, Zeerust and Sakhuthuland.

The thirst for knowledge amongst the Indians necessitated the Indian university to give expression to Indian culture and way of life amongst other things," he said.

TEMPORARY

Questioned by a young Indian as to how White lecturers could impart Indian culture to the students at the new university, Dr. Jooste replied that this was only a temporary measure and once Indian teachers were "suitably trained" they would take over.

"But the Act does not provide for this change," challenged the youth.

Another young student questioned the motives of the Government "bearing in mind their previous record e.g. the Group Areas Act which is aimed at total economic annihilation."

Dr. Jooste replied that socio-economic problems could be studied at the university and the university would play a great part in the solution of Group Areas problems.

A number of students however said that the only solution to the Group Areas Act and such legislation was its removal from the Statute Book or a change of Government.

"Oh! No," said Dr. Jooste, "that will never be allowed."

INTEGRATION

After a number of members of the audience took part in the discussion, Mr. Dr. Naidoo, an Executive member of the NIC, summing up the discussion said that despite the idea of apartheid and backing the trend in South Africa was one of integration.

"To my mind the irony of the whole lecture was that Dr. Jooste was pleading that the Nationalists had no intention of indoctrination and yet he stood before a hundred Indian youth displaying his own thinking as a product of Nationalist indoctrination," he said.

ALTERNATIVE FACILITIES

Meanwhile the University Education Committee, Natal, has issued an outline of the university training facilities which are available to all students who do not wish to study at the Durban Indian "university" or any other of the "tribal" colleges.

The Committee states it is in a position to assist those who have a complete Matriculation Certificate or a Senior Certificate to prepare for the degrees and diplomas of the University of London as external students.

The Committee has arranged for tuition facilities leading to the degrees of B.A. (General) and B.Sc. (Econ.), and negotiations are taking place to enable the Committee to provide tuition in B.Sc. (Social Science).

As the South African Matriculation is not recognised overseas, the Committee has also arranged tuition towards the entrance examinations, which is the London G.C.E.

HOW IT WILL WORK

The system of tuition available is as follows:
Two of Britain's leading tutorial colleges supply all tuition material

to a recognised South African tutorial college. Students enrol with this Johannesburg tutorial college, which marks scripts and gives general guidance to students.

In addition, the University Education Committee (Natal) in collaboration with the South African Committee for Higher Education will supplement their tuition by providing a third panel of tutors in Durban and Maitzberg drawn from the staff of the local university, Indian schools and other services.

These tutors will meet the students personally for one or two hours per week in each subject and assist them further with their work.

All these additional services to students will be financed by the University Education Committee (Natal), which is "a representative committee of business and professional men devoted to maintaining academic freedom in South Africa."

The only fees payable by the students will be to the Johannesburg tutorial college and will be £9 for the G.C.E. and £17 for the degree courses, payable in instalments of between £5 and £6 a month.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The S.A. Committee for Higher Education has advertised 20 tuition scholarships of £100 a year, tenable for five or six years, to non-white students who wish to prepare for the London degrees. Matriculants are requested to apply to the Principal, S.A.H.E., P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg.

Further information about these facilities, which are open to full and part-time students, is available from the office of the University Education Committee (Natal), Valbom Chambers, Victoria St., Durban.

John Itholeng disappears

KIMBERLEY.

Mr. John Itholeng, former chairman of the outlawsed ANC branch in Kimberley has disappeared from his home. Nobody knows where he is.

Mr. Itholeng was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment and six cuts for incitement and fined £100 or six months for burning his pass in March 1960.

An appeal against these sentences failed. He was on bail pending an appeal to the Chief Justice.

It is understood that the Chief Justice has refused leave to appeal and that a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Itholeng was issued on the day of his disappearance.



SPECIAL BRANCH DETECTIVES TAKE NOTES IN FLOCKS OF TWELVE THESE DAYS. One dozen detectives—one Indian, one Coloured and ten Africans—were all sent to the recent Congress movement meeting in Newclare to take down the speeches. They sat in a row on the grass like pupils in the classroom, and studiously bent their heads to their task.

The seizure of the ocean liner Santa Maria by Captain Galvao has highlighted the united front between

PORTUGUESE AND AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

IF it has achieved nothing else, the daring seizure of the ocean liner Santa Maria by the 65-strong group of Portuguese freedom fighters led by Captain Galvao has at least torn to shreds the curtain of silence with which the Portuguese dictator Salazar had shrouded his tyranny for so long.

More than 30 years ago Dr. Salazar installed himself as one of the first fascist dictators in Europe. In the years that followed it was the struggle against fascism in neighbouring Britain and central Europe that dominated the headlines, and Salazar was able to get away with his ruthless dictatorship in relative obscurity.

For 30 years Salazar has ruled with an iron hand. The only political activity allowed in Portugal has been that of the fascists—opponents of fascism have been subjected to constant and merciless attack. There has been no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press, no freedom of organisation or assembly. Parliament is virtually appointed by Salazar himself and is completely subject to his dictates. The most powerful force in Portugal is the secret police, which has been modelled on the Gestapo and SS of Hitlerite Germany. The slightest criticism of organisation results in torture, exile and death for its author. In the words of the London Times: "The Salazar regime has virtually outlawed politics even as a subject of conversation above a whisper."

Underground Movement

Yet despite the terror, the underground resistance to Salazar has always continued. After the triumph of fascism in Spain and central Europe, the democratic elements in Portugal were isolated and stunned for a while, and their disappointment was great at the failure of the Western powers after the defeat of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in the last world war to assist them in their efforts to instal a democratic regime in Portugal.

At first it was the Communists who almost alone kept the flame of resistance burning. But gradually the ranks of the anti-Salazar forces began to grow, until now they include: **THE COMMUNISTS**—Despite their isolation, they never wavered in their resistance to Portuguese fascism. Over the years they have been the main target of the secret police, and thousands of them have been tortured, imprisoned, exiled and beaten to death. Yet their numbers have grown and their influence increased. Their main strength lies amongst the workers and students of Oporto and Lisbon. The determined manner in which they have stood up to their accusers in various court trials in recent years has done much to encourage a spirit of open resistance to the authorities. They stand for all-out struggle waged by the broadest possible alliance for the overthrow of Salazar and the establishment of a genuinely democratic regime in Portugal.

LIBERALS—The lack of a large class of industrialists, the influence of the Catholic Church and the almost complete isolation of Portugal from the stream of liberal and socialist thought for three decades have all contributed to the smallness of the group of liberals in Portugal.

The early liberals were not able to stand up to the bloody blows of fascism, but there is now a new

generation consisting mainly of intellectuals and professional people who are reacting to the stultification of life in their country and in ever growing measure over by their lot with the liberation movement.

They tend, however, to knuckle under to the police and form an uncertain element in the democratic movement.

EX-FASCISTS: These include people like General Delgado, head of the liberation forces in exile, and Captain Galvao, who led the capture of the Santa Maria. Many of them held high rank in fascist Portugal and their disillusion with Salazar often started with personal disappointment at being pushed down in the dog-eat-dog struggle for high positions that is one of the features of fascist society.

From opposing Salazar on personal grounds they have developed into opponents of the whole regime, and in the course of their opposition activities they have found that their only trustworthy allies have been the democratic elements dedicated to the complete overthrow of fascism in Portugal.

WORLD STAGE By SPECTATOR

In 1958 in the first elections held in Portugal in 32 years Delgado stood as the only opponent to Salazar. The tremendous support he received despite the conditions of terror prevailing (the authorities declared that he had gained 25% of the votes, he claimed 75%) came as a tremendous jolt to Salazar who immediately arrested thousands of Delgado's supporters and decided not to risk any more elections. Delgado escaped from the country and his flight led to the formation of the opposition forces abroad. When questioned in London about the "dangers of Communism" in Portugal, he said merely that they were brave people whose numbers had been decimated by Salazar's terror. Delgado's men are tough and determined, and their political consciousness is growing.

Sections of the Church: As in Spain, the Catholic Church has been one of the main bulwarks of fascism. Its activities are by no means confined to things spiritual—a number of monopolies are owned by the Church, as well as large tracts of land. In recent years, however, as a result of growing pressure from below an increasing number of churchmen have started to mutter against the Salazar regime from which they are now trying to dissociate themselves.

National independence movements: Opposition to Salazar has by no means been confined to Portugal itself. In fact in the past few years the main thrust to the Portuguese dictator has come from the people of Portugal's colonies in Africa and Asia (see full report on page 7).

United Front

At first all these groups tended to act on their own, but events have thrust them all together and they now work together in an impressive united front. Especially impressive is the growing unity be-

tween the forces that seek to free Portugal itself and those that are fighting for national independence for Portugal's colonies.

AT A CONFERENCE PRESIDED OVER BY DELGADO IN BRAZIL LAST YEAR ALL THE LIBERATION FORCES ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE COLONIES. (At first the Communists were the only people in Portugal itself who accepted this principle, but as a result of the growth of the independence movements in the colonies and of the educational work done by the Communists even the ex-fascists were won round to adopting it.)

The delegates recognised that they were all struggling against a common enemy—Salazar is the oppressor of the Portuguese people as well as of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Goa and the other colonies.

Inside the colonies themselves there is also increasing unity between those Europeans who oppose Salazar and the Africans and Indians demanding liberation.

Thus the jails of Angola, while being filled mainly by Africans, also contain at least half a dozen whites who have thrown in their lot with the great struggle of the colony. Similarly lawyers from Portugal who courageously offered to defend African nationalists on trial were themselves thrown into jail.

Nowhere is the interdependence of the struggle for freedom and democracy in the colonies and the metropolitan country more evident than in the case of the Portuguese empire.

If Salazar is toppled in Portugal, then the peoples of the colonies can no longer expect their independence. Similarly, the rising tide of anti-colonialism in the colonies is imposing an ever-increasing strain on Salazar.

SALAZAR KNOWS THAT HIS REGIME WOULD NOT SURVIVE A PROLONGED WAR IN THE COLONIES, WHICH IS ONE OF THE REASONS THAT HAS PRESENTLY MADE COLONIES IS SO SWIFT AND TERRIBLE.

Salazar's Friends

Although his position in Portugal and the colonies continues to deteriorate, and although the clamour of the Afro-Asian and socialist blocs in support of the freedom-fighters continues to increase, Salazar is not completely without friends. Portugal is a member of NATO, and as such counts on and gets support from its fellow members. Both BRITAIN and AMERICA send ships and planes to chase the Santa Maria after she has been taken over by Galvao (although it is significant that the British craft diplomatically ran out of fuel and gave up the chase quite quickly).

The U.S. in fact treated the Santa Maria as if it were an enemy warship, even sending a nuclear submarine to help track her down, and thus enabled the Portuguese authorities to keep track of the ship's movements. It seems to be American policy to back dictatorial regimes up to the hilt as long as they side with America during the cold war and wave the flag of anti-Communism. This is yet another example of the U.S. standing by the "free world"!



People walk past waiting buses at the Norongo Street bus stop in New Brighton. Most of them are picked up by passing motorists and taxis.

Sharpeville and Langa Commission Reports

POLICE ROLE EXPOSED

"It cannot be too strongly impressed on every police officer how absolutely necessary it is, not only to ensure that he does not in any way misuse his weapons, but also that he observes the utmost caution, combining humanity with caution, before he takes upon himself the moral as well as the legal responsibility of opening fire on the populace—a measure which must only be resorted to when every other method of maintaining peace and good order has failed."

—Extract from Police Standing Orders

THE publication of the reports of the judicial commissions which inquired into the Sharpeville and Langa disturbances reveals that in both cases the shooting by the police, and the subsequent loss of life, could have been avoided had the police conducted themselves in accordance with the spirit as well as the letter of their standing orders.

Neither Commissioner has said so in many words. Nevertheless, the evidence which they present in their reports leads irresistibly to this conclusion.

Sharpeville

The Shortly after the shooting in Sharpeville the South African Government, through its High Commissioner in London, Mr. Van Ryn, said:

"According to factual information now available, the disturbances at Sharpeville on Monday resulted from a planned demonstration of about 20,000 natives in which demonstrators attacked the police with assorted weapons including firearms. The demonstrators shot first and the police were forced to fire in self-defence and avoid more tragic results. The allegation of the United Nations Afro-Asian group in requesting a Security Council meeting, that the demonstrators were unarmed and peaceful is therefore completely untrue."

The report on Sharpeville submitted by Mr. Justice Wessels shows that it is the Government's version of the facts which is completely untrue. Here are some of the judge's findings of fact: **1** The crowd totalled only about 10,000. **2** According to the police themselves, there was in the beginning no



THE WOMAN THEY NEARLY KILLED. She was seen getting off one of the boycotted buses. Many men and women stand in the neighbourhood were infuriated by her action and charged at her but two men intervened. She is seen in the above picture squaring on the ground with her one-year-old baby, exchanging words with another woman.

hostility on the part of the Africans towards the police; **2** There was no previously arranged plan to use violence, and the crowd was not an armed crowd; **3** The mood of a portion of the crowd had been turned by the crude manner in which the police had arrested some of the PAC leaders at the gate. The judge said: "The weight of evidence indicates in my view that the action taken (by the police) against at least two persons was of such a nature that it could be regarded as an assault by a section of the crowd."

After this there were angry shouts and stones were thrown, but not many, as only a dozen or so hit the police before the shooting began. No shots were fired from the crowd at this time. **3** There was no general attack on the police or the police station. There may or may not have been a local attack at the gate. The judge's own words on this latter point are: "I correlate all the evidence and the probabilities, then it is my conclusion that I can find neither that there was an attack at the gate nor that there was in fact no attack."

BISHOP'S CHARGES In his book "Shooting at Sharpeville," Bishop Reeves charged that the police disregarded both the letter and the spirit of their own standing orders and disobeyed the law of the land by making no effort to persuade the crowd by non-violent means to disperse; by issue no warning to the people that they did not disperse force would be used; by making no attempt to use any method of dispersing the crowd less drastic than firearms.

Judge Wessels' report does nothing to refute these allegations. He says: "There was lengthy cross-examination over the steps that Lt. Col. Pienaar (the police officer in charge) should have taken to disperse the crowd before the police resorted to firing. My own opinion that it is beside the point."

"The police said they fired because their lives were in danger... I believe in the case of the majority of the men who gave evidence that they can be believed when they say that this was their state of mind."

NO ANSWER

But were the police justified in coming to this conclusion? On this crucial point Mr. Justice Wessels is silent, stating that it was not his job to determine whether the police officer or any of those who fired on the crowd were guilty of dereliction of duty or a contravention of the law of the land.

He adds: "It serves no purpose to consider how matters would have gone if shots had not been fired. There would have been no loss of lives. It is also possible that there would have been a more serious bloodbath."

This can only be described as hedging. What the whole world has been expecting from the commission was a definite opinion as to whether the firing of 700 bullets by the police into an unarmed crowd was justified under the circumstances. Judge Wessels refuses to give such an opinion on the grounds that it is outside his mandate. The effect of his refusal is that the Bishop's charges remain uncontradicted, and the world will inevitably come to the conclusion that the police DID fail in their duty, that the killings were unnecessary and could have been avoided had the police displayed the least measure of the "patience, humanity and caution" they were enjoined by their standing orders to observe in such situations.

P.E. BUS WORKERS OUT TO WIN

(Continued from page 1) ate in the dispute, matters would not have come to the present impasse.

He congratulated the workers and the people of the peaceful manner in which they had conducted their just struggle. He described the people's behaviour as a "spice of provocation, as 'marvellous'."

"POWER IS OURS"

PORT ELIZABETH. WITH the bus dispute in its third week there is everywhere evident in the vast township of New Brighton and Zakele a greater determination on the part of the people to fight it out with the bus company.

As from Monday the 23 the Bay Bus Company has maintained a skeleton service apparently to comply with the Transportation Board requirements to operate the service if the Transportation Certificate is not to be forfeited. The few buses operated, which are not patronised at all except by the police and the seabs, start running after six in the morning and stop at six in the evening before it is dark.

INTIMIDATION FAILS There were rainy days last week but this did not dampen the people's determination to force the company to negotiate with its workers. Nor did interference and intimidation by the police who earlier in the week stopped private cars, and ordered the passengers out.

As a result of such interference the nurses were late on duty at the Livingstone Hospital as they, together with the workers, had to walk to work. At Ferguson Road police drove revolvers as they dragged the driver of a car out from his seat. A White constable started punching the driver with his fists while an African constable hit the man with a baton.

The manager of the bus company, accompanied by the police, has been running along the Nubekisa and Norongo bus route telling the people that they would be charged for loitering and that they should not shelter under the bus shelters. A large number of people at one shelter who were sheltering from rain while they were waiting for their buses, were ordered to get out of the shelters and the buses away from New Brighton. They would not budge. A woman shouted: "you won't succeed as a policeman."

Following the appearance of the leaflet issued by the banned ANC last weekend, the tramway buses on

the Veeplaats-Cadles routes which run on the outskirts of New Brighton and Zakele have also been effectively boycotted.

One of the 194 of the workers, who have now been idle for three weeks, have been served with summonses to appear in court on February 13. They are charged under the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act with illegal striking.

"AMANDLA NGAWETHU"

Everywhere the walking thousands greet: "AMANDLA," and the reply flies back: "NGAWETHU" (Power is Ours).

Everywhere the walking thousands greet: "AMANDLA," and the reply flies back: "NGAWETHU" (Power is Ours).

While the shareholders of the company are counting their losses

in thousands of pounds, the masses of the people are counting gains in unity which are infinitely greater than any inconvenience resulting from the strike, which, after all, they are no strangers.

DAIRY WORKERS GO SLOW One of the largest dairies in the city provided transport by truck to and from work when the bus dispute began. Last Thursday, however, they were told that as the bus service had been resumed they should board the buses.

This incident sparked off a go-slow as a result of which milk has been delivered late, as the men refused to board the buses.

In the afternoon the management inserted an advert in the local paper apologising to the customers and stating that the fact that there were no buses at New Brighton was responsible for the failure to deliver.

During the course of the day the dairy told the workers that the management was willing to provide transport provided that each worker paid 3d. per trip, which is the amount they pay on the buses. The workers refused, and the go-slow continued.

27 ON MURDER CHARGE

(Continued from page 1) who supported the Government.

It is against this background that the present trial is being held.

500 AT MEETING Giving evidence for the Crown, Mr. Walter Kanyile, an employee of the Local Tribal Authority, told the Court that sometime in 1958 the Paramount Chief of the Zulul, Cyprian Bekizulu Zulu, convened a meeting of about 500 tribesmen from the Thokazi area. The purpose of the meeting was to get the people to accept Bantu Authorities.

Mr. Kanyile said that he was present at the meeting and that after three Indians who had been appointed by the Paramount Chief had addressed the gathering the entire crowd stood up and as one man rejected the Betterment Scheme.

Cross-examined by Mr. N. T. Naicker, for the defence, Mr. Kanyile said that to his knowledge no other meeting was held thereafter, neither was there any inquiry by the Osutu Tribal Authority to find out why the Thokazi tribesmen were opposed to the scheme.

Under further cross-examination Mr. Kanyile admitted that despite this unanimous rejection by the tribesmen the Betterment Scheme

was enforced. "We divided the Thokazi area into smaller units, called blocks, and issued people of each block with residential sites and arable land permits," he added.

ASSAULT ALLEGED According to another Crown witness, Absolom Mmamayo, the event of November 28 was sparked off by an otherwise small incident. Mr. Sigida Ndwandwe, destroyed his (Mmamayo's) crop. He drove the cattle away but, he alleged, Ndwandwe drove back the cattle into the fields. When he tried to drive off the cattle once more, Ndwandwe assaulted him.

On that same evening, he added, his hut was burnt.

Prosecutor: "Why was your hut burnt?"

Mmamayo: "Because of the Government's Betterment Scheme. We were given sites on other people's land."

Prosecutor: "Do you know whose land was given to you?"

Mmamayo: "Yes. I was given land belonging to Cijiciza Zulu, one of the accused."

After calling further Crown witnesses the case was adjourned to February 1.



TREASON TRIAL

THE Crown has asked the three judges of the Special Court, Pretoria, to find accused Dr. Wilson Conco and Robert Resha guilty of High Treason. Mr. J. J. Trengove Q.C., the first member of the Crown team to argue on the personal position of each accused, submitted that the two accused participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence.

Mr. J. C. Van Niekerk Q.C. (for the Crown) came back for his second performance to argue on the South African Congress of Trade Unions. He submitted that SACTU knew of the organisation of volunteers. He referred the Court to a meeting held in West Street, Johannesburg, on November 28, 1956, at which accused Robert Resha spoke on the duties of the volunteers. He said that accused Leslie Massina, General Secretary of SACTU, and John Nkadembe, member of the Executive Committee, were present at this meeting.

Mr. Justice Bekker: Present as what?

Mr. Van Niekerk: Accused Massina and Nkadembe were present.

Mr. Justice Rampff: Assuming they were there as members of the African National Congress and this speech was a diversion in so far as SACTU was concerned, how can you say SACTU knew of this speech? These two volunteers may not have reported the speech to SACTU?

Mr. Van Niekerk: I can take it no further than that My Lord.

Mr. Van Niekerk submitted that SACTU supported the campaign against the removal of the Western Areas, and identified itself with the campaign.

Mr. Justice Bekker: What do you say of the methods?

Mr. Van Niekerk: I have no evidence on the methods My Lord.

Mr. Van Niekerk further submitted that SACTU supported the campaign against Bantu Education as well as the anti-pass campaign.

Dealing with the Federation of South African Women, he said this organisation was essentially a co-ordinating body of all women's organisations. It co-operated with the ANC.

Mr. J. J. Trengove Q.C., also making his second appearance during the Crown's argument, informed the Court that he was going to deal with the personal position of accused Dr. W. Z. Conco, R. Resha, M. Ntsingane, S. Mkalipi, W. M. Sitsulu, D. Nkomo, who is conducting his own defence, and T. E. Tshununga.

Overt Acts

Mr. Trengove said that the Crown would submit that the accused Conco participated in the conspiracy. Overt acts alleged against him were two meetings, the issue of "Mayibuye Africa" bulletins and the part played at the Congress of the People at Kiptonville in 1955. Mr. Trengove dealt with the membership of the accused to show that he accepted important positions in the African National Congress and in the African National Congress Youth League. He knew that his activities in these organisations were intended to bring about a change in the economic and political situation of this country. The evidence would show, Mr. Trengove said, that he was a loyal member of the ANC and particularly as a Freedom Volunteer he was subjected to party discipline and adher-

ence to all instructions whether legal or illegal.

"Evidence will show that during the crucial period, the period of the indictment, he was in the heart of the liberatory struggle," said Mr. Trengove. He was intimately associated with the liberatory movement. The Crown would show that during this period the policy of the ANC and the ANC Youth League was directed at undermining the safety and security of the State and overthrowing the State by force and violence. The accused was a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress.

Intelligent, Evasive, Untruthful

Dealing with the evidence of Dr. Conco, Mr. Trengove made the submission: "It is quite clear that he is a well educated man. He took a medical degree, a degree in science. I mention this to show that when he gave evidence he was hedging and evasive. We submit that he was intelligent enough to know that if he honestly replied to the questions, it would show that he took part in a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence. And therefore we will ask the Court to find that on certain issues, he was evading because he was afraid to answer truthfully and correctly."

Mr. Trengove said that to Dr. Conco "a word may mean anything if it could get him out of a difficulty."

Unconstitutional Action

Mr. Trengove submitted that the accused admitted that the struggle would be waged by mass action involving unconstitutional means. The

accused knew the consequences of that action.

Mr. Trengove argued that the African National Congress did not believe in a change of mind of the white electorate. Dr. Conco came to the witness box with a story that the ANC was working for a change of heart. That was fiction. "It was invented for the purpose of providing defence."

Whenever this witness was faced with a question which showed the Congress policy was that of preparing the people for mass action, he was not prepared to give a clear answer.

Mr. Justice Bekker: What must we infer from that?

Mr. Trengove: That he is an unsatisfactory witness.

Mr. Trengove submitted that if the policy of the ANC was to overthrow the ruling class, they did not consider doing that by persuading the white people to agree to the overthrow of the ruling class. They were going to do that with or without the willingness of the ruling class.

Conco Was Party

Dealing with the campaign against the removal of the Western Areas, Mr. Trengove made the submission that Dr. Conco was not only aware of what was going on in the Western Areas but was a party to the provocative attitude towards the Government. They wanted to create a situation in the Western Areas which would compel the Government to use force in removing the people of the Western Areas.

On the question of the volunteers, Mr. Trengove said that the accused was doing more hedging. He did

UPPER VALLEY

If you care to examine the adverte for a certain brand of menthol-flavoured cigarette displayed in newspapers most of whose readers are supposed to be white, and compare it with the ad for the same cigarette published in newspapers which cater mainly for our blacks, you might notice that the advertisers apparently believe in us developing along our own lines.

In the one ad the bikini-damsel under water up to her neck is black, and in the other she is black.

There is no doubt about it that both the damsels in question have lines which need very little further development.

But, leaving out the fact that advertising models must turn their bread and water, we have to ask whether this form of apartheid is really necessary. Looking at the lines of well developed females don't make me smoke more or less.

WHICH reminds me that bikini bathing suits have been banned in the Virgin Islands.

REPORTED in the Daily Telegraph, an overseas paper, is the story of a cemetery in Massachusetts, USA, which refused to bury an American soldier's Korean wife. A clergyman said the woman was refused burial "because of the colour of her skin." The Hillcrest Park Cemetery was

a burial place for the Caucasian (white) race.

● We wonder if the American met his Korean wife when he was in her country fighting for the "free world."

★ PRESIDENT Kennedy asked retiring President Ike if he



would be willing to take up an assignment when he left the White House.

● As endless?

★ I AM now about to retire to my fox-hole for a spot of leave. The moment that I will leave the shores on this paper to do the chores at home. That is what is called marriage. However, it will also mean that readers will have a rest from my weekly beef for a while.

● I can already hear the groans when you see me back. So until then, bye bye.

Crown Demands Guilty Verdict For Conco, Resha

by violence. He was part of that conspiracy."

Mr. Trengove submitted that "the evidence of accused Resha shows inter alia that he was aware of and fully supported the attitude of the ANC to the liberatory movement in South Africa, as well as the liberatory struggles in Africa and elsewhere in the world."

Mr. Trengove said that the accused accepted the position that in many of the so-called liberatory struggles the oppressed people had resorted to violence to further their struggles.

Reckless and Ruthless

In the campaign against the removal of the Western Areas, the Crown asked the Court to note a number of speeches made by the accused and documents to which the Government had referred. His own attitude is that they were not going to support the Government; they were going to frustrate the work of the Government; the recklessness and ruthlessness of this witness is clearly shown in his evidence," Mr. Trengove submitted.

"They wanted to compel the Government to use force and intimidation. Why did they want to do that? My Lords, it shows a state of mind which is not only reckless but ruthless. Secondly he is vicious because that is one of the ways in which to raise the political consciousness of the people, to incultate in their minds the hatred of the Government," Mr. Trengove said. "He knew this could result in bloodshed."

"It is significant that a man like Resha with his background was chosen to be chief volunteer and Deputy to Chief Lutuli."

Meetings

The Crown dealt with a number of meetings which accused Resha addressed. The first meeting to be dealt with was the "Murder Murder" meeting in West Street, Johannesburg, on November 22, 1956. Mr. Trengove said that this meeting was an overt act alleged against the accused. The only point the accused made when he was cross-examined about this meeting was that THE ILLUSION WAS OUTSIDE ANC POLICY. Mr. Trengove referred to Chief Lutuli's evidence when he was asked about this speech. He said that he could not say the speech was subversive because he was not a legal man, Chief Lutuli said "It is a violent speech, a very violent speech."

Mr. Trengove submitted "The speech is not only violent but inciting to violence."

Beerhall Speech

Another speech the Crown dealt with was the one commonly known in the treason case as "The language of the beerhall," made at a meeting held in Sophiatown on April 29, 1956. Resha is alleged to have said:

"When the people of Sophiatown said Dr. Conco, we do not want to be removed from Sophiatown Dr. Verwoerd did not listen, but two weeks ago at the beerhall the youth of Newure spoke a language, and since that day the police have not again come back to the beerhall. That language which the youth spoke at the beerhall is a language which many a white man in this country understands better, but I want to say to the youth that language is better understood when you speak it in the streets of Sophiatown."

Mr. Trengove said this speech was also an overt act against this accused. "The speech is indicative of a state of mind which raises reasonable doubt that he had a hostile intent to commit treason. There is no doubt this man Resha had a state of mind that was antagonistic to the State, a state of mind to overthrow the Government by force. "There can be no doubt there was a conspiracy to overthrow the State

'Murder Murder' Resha

On accused Robert Resha's "murder murder" speech made in Johannesburg on November 22, 1956, Mr. Trengove said that this speech could not be held against this witness because he was not there. "But Your Lordships will have to decide whether this speech was not in accordance with African National Congress policy. People at this meeting applauded this speech. But Your Lordships cannot come to the conclusion that Conco did not know this policy. He was a member of the National Executive Committee. He knew that the volunteers had to be organised for the hard core in the building up of resistance."

Summing up his argument, Mr. Trengove said that the accused committed certain overt acts. The Crown had proven beyond all doubt that this accused had a hostile intent which amounted to treason. In his own evidence he was trying to achieve his aim by unconstitutional means. He wanted a State based on the principles of the Freedom Charter. He wanted merely a question of franchise but he wanted revolutionary changes. He admitted that there were only two ways by which he could achieve his aim—the ballot box or force. He admitted that he wanted to achieve these changes unconstitutionally, illegally and by means which could lead to a conflict between the masses and the duly constituted authority of the State.

Unlawful Means

"Your Lordships, we submit, will not find that he thought he could achieve these changes by legitimate means. In a report to which he was a party, it says the people who speak of these changes are using the ballot box were hardening in their attitude."

The Court must have regard to the position of the accused. Mr. Trengove. The Court would have to consider what knowledge he had of the policy and activities of his organisation. Secondly, there was nothing in the policy of the ANC that he did not make his own.

Mr. Justice Bekker: Which of the accused do you say he conspired

Mr. Trengove: Resha, Mandela, Nkomo, Tshununga and Sitsulu are the men with whom he conspired. He conspired with everybody. More than half of the accused were at the Congress of the People. Half the accused held executive positions in the African National Congress.

Mr. Justice Bekker: Do you say that they were preparing the people to commit violence during the period of the indictment?

Mr. Trengove: They were preparing the people for the overthrow of the State which would involve violence. They were busy on that during the period of the indictment.

Resha

Dealing with accused Robert Resha, Mr. Trengove submitted that there is no reasonable doubt that he had a hostile intent to commit treason. There is no doubt this man Resha had a state of mind that was antagonistic to the State, a state of mind to overthrow the Government by force. "There can be no doubt there was a conspiracy to overthrow the State

The dramatic seizure of the 20,000 ton Santa Maria ocean liner by the patriotic and democratic Portuguese revolutionary, captain Henrique Galvao, has spotlighted attention on the gathering

REVOLT AGAINST PORTUGUESE AFRICA

The Portuguese 500 years ago were the first European imperialists to grab colonies in Africa. Now the tyrannical dictatorship of Salazar is determined to make the Portuguese the last of the imperialists to leave our continent.

Of all the hellspots of colonialism, there are none as ghastly as the Portuguese territories in Africa. They make South Africa seem like a land of milk and honey for all its inhabitants by comparison.

But the peoples of the colonies have been inspired by the pan-African liberation movement to stir in revolt against their overlords, and the day is not far off when the peoples of "Portuguese Africa" join their brothers who have achieved freedom elsewhere in Africa.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA is a real iron curtain and comprises three main land colonies: Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea and two groups of islands: Cabo Verde Islands and Sao Tome and Principe.

CABO VERDE ISLANDS:

Concentration Camp
There are six uninhabited and nine inhabited islands in this group which were discovered in 1460 by the Portuguese. The area is 4,033 sq. km. with a population of 172,000.

The island of Sal in this archipelago is chosen by Salazar for the concentration camp of his opponents where they are taken and left to die a slow death. In the same island is situated the international airport of Sao Vicente constructed by the Americans in 1949.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA:

World's Most Illiterate
Not far away, on the African coast, there is Portuguese Guinea with an area of 36,125 sq. km and a population of 503,935 Africans and 2,263 Europeans. Although the Portuguese are there since 1446 the illiteracy rate is 99.3 per cent among the indigenous population, this being the highest illiteracy rate in the world (U.N. Statistical Year Book). The place is full of diseases like filariasis, elephantiasis, yaws and leprosy. Although Portuguese Guinea is the oldest European colony in Africa, it was one of the last to be subjugated. The tribes of the interior were "pacified" in 1915 and the Bissagos were finally subdued only in 1936.

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE:

Governor Used Machine Gun
These two tiny islands (area: 964 sq. km. and population 60,159) are situated in the middle of the Gulf of Guinea, and are under the Portuguese since the 15th century. These islands are notorious for the savage treatment meted out to the labourers forcibly brought from other colonies and put to work in the coffee and cocoa plantations. In February 1953, a revolt against the system of slave labour took place in the island, which was ruthlessly crushed by the colonialists. Another recent agitation, demanding bread, remunerative work and the end of the rule of terror was suppressed with the use of machine-guns.

Even the Governor, Carlos Gorgulho, handled one of the machine-guns. Three hundred demonstrators fell to the bullets.

Agitation continued. More troops and police reinforcements were brought in; arms were distributed among the white population and a reign of terror was imposed on the islands. Houses and even villages, like Folha Fedi, were

looted and burnt. Besides unascertainable numbers of casualties, 1,000 persons were thrown in dungeons. On February 5, 1959, out of 47 persons incarcerated in a small cell 30 died overnight, because of asphyxiation.

MOZAMBIQUE AND

ANGOLA:

Revolt Against Forced Labour
These two immensely large chunks of African land are sprawling on the two coasts of lower Africa. Mozambique is on the Indian Ocean and Angola on the Atlantic. These two African territories, both of which border the Union, are twenty times the size of metropolitan Portugal and hold some of the key ports in the whole of Africa besides both the ends of the most strategic railway line linking the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean.

MOZAMBIQUE has an area of 771,125 sq. km. and a population of 5,732,317. It was "discovered" in 1446, and ever since has been ruled by the Portuguese. The colony possesses the largest groves of coconut palms in the world. American oil interests are active in the area and there have been recent reports of strikes and demonstrations against the exploitation of workers there.

The average wage of a Mozambique worker is about ninepence a day. There is only one high school in the colony and the tuition fee is over £10 per year. The illiteracy rate can be imagined—no figures are available. Mozambique lives on sugar, cotton, tea and most of all, on the export of black labour. On the other side of Africa facing the Atlantic, there sprawls a huge territory—1,246,000 sq. km. The area is bigger than Portugal, and roughly the size of Spain. France and Italy put together—called **ANGOLA**. Its population is only 4,280,000 besides 80,000 Europeans.

The main reason for this depopulation is the slave traffic of previous centuries and the still prevailing recruitment of forced labour which is exported to other parts of the country through Government agency.

It is an agricultural country but thanks to the dictators of colonial economy, only one per cent of the cultivable land is under plough and that, too, of the most primitive type of plough. The country has large deposits of diamonds, asphalt, bitumen, manganese, copper and gold, which are exploited, especially diamonds and manganese deposits, by American companies and yet in the words of John Gunder, "the chief proponent of the country's labour shortage and lack of food. One large district is known proverbially as 'the hungry country' . . . In the whole of Angola there are exactly 68 high school students . . ." (Inside Africa).

The worst aspect of the ignominious and inhumanly atrocious Portuguese rule in Africa is the system under which the administration sells the African labour to the Union of South Africa and to other white countries. It is said that the African

labour is the chief export of Portuguese "overseas provinces" of Africa. Over 80,000 Africans are forced every year to leave their home and hearth and to go to work in South Africa's Rand Gold Mines.

Forced labour is an essential part of the economic system of these colonies. Under Portuguese law, any adult male or female may be compelled to work for a white

master, under the threat of severe punishment. More than 380,000 Africans work as forced labour in Angola in circumstances of the utmost wretchedness and poverty. The railway, the mines, the big plantation-owners, all get labour from the Government. A European merchant can even ask the Government for a goadener or a cook, who is then obliged to work for him at a wage unbelievably low, whether he wants the job or not.

Underground Fighting Units Prepare to Smash Colonialists

BUT, as always, Africa is a land of surprises. In 1958 there was a surprise over the discovery of oil in Angola; this was followed by last year's surprise—even panic—over the discovery of African politics in the Silence of Portuguese empire. Despite Salazar's stranglehold on the life and thoughts of its subjects, more and more Africans are understanding that their lives are not as they are now. They are finding new links with a different future and new friends who may help them to achieve it.

They are organising themselves on sound political lines and fighting Portuguese colonialism with their backs to the wall. They have established a net-work of underground fighting units and have forged links with other forces having similar aims in other parts of Africa as well as Asia.

The Movimento Popular de Angola (MPA), the Partido Africano de Independencia de Guine (PAIG), the Uniao dos Populacoos de Angola (UPA), the Movimento de Libertacao dos Territorios Africanos, the Sob-Dominacao Colonial Portuguesa (MLTADCP) and the Movimento Anti-Colonialista (MAC).

Headquarters in Guinea

This last group, as a co-ordinating organisation made way for the creation of the Frente Revolucionaria para a Independencia Nacional das Colonias Portuguesas (FRAN) at the Second All-African People's Conference held in Tunis in January 1960 which was attended clandestinely by the delegates belonging to the underground organisations in Portuguese Africa. THE FIGHTING FORCES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES HAVE RECENTLY ESTABLISHED THEIR HEADQUARTERS—IN CONAKRY (GUINEA) AND CONGO—THE NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOURS WHO SUCCEEDED IN OVERTHROWING THEIR FOREIGN YOKER.

The tempo of the struggle can be judged easily by the efforts of the Portuguese to curb its reports which sometimes trickle out to the world press. According to some English and American papers, confirmed by

African leaders, two hundred people have been arrested from Cabinda District alone, out of whom six members of the UPA are reported "missing". More than a thousand Africans have been killed in S. Tome, and more than 50 in Guinea (August 1959). Six Europeans have been arrested for helping Africans.

A further wave of arrests has been sweeping across Angola. During June 1960, 1,052 people were arrested in Central Angola along with mostly civil and railway employees.

Guerrillas vs. Nato Guns

Hard on the heels of these proceedings comes news of guerrilla companies gathering in some parts of Angola and in the densely forested enclave of Cabinda—a strip of land to the north of the Congo estuary. It is further learnt that the various underground organisations represented by the fronts are growing fast in popular support and are posing for a final showdown.

Salazar, on the other hand, is also straining hard. He is reinforcing, with his limited means, the garrisons of his "overseas provinces" with more and more airborne, naval and other troops, while the official press (the only one in existence) fills itself with eager editorials about the "tremendous fire power" that is now available through the courtesy of NATO and the friendly Powers to operate the agents of international Communism."

AND THUS, THE DECKS ARE BEING CLEARED FOR A FINAL ROUND BETWEEN THE AGE-OLD EXPLOITER AND THE AGE-OLD EXPLOITED.

JAIL TORTURES IN SPAIN

An international group of lawyers said in Madrid recently they had been given "abundant documentation" on the torture of people detained for political reasons which they would examine.

The group included Mr. R. Turner, a London solicitor, and Mr. A. L. Collins, a New York barrister. They were on a private visit to Spain to investigate how political crimes are dealt with and the treatment of people accused of such crimes.

"Worse than Slavery"—Galvao on Angola

In 1947 Senhor Henrique Galvao visited Angola on an official commission of inquiry and submitted in his report to Salazar:

"The worst aspect of the African forced labour is the attitude of the State to the recruitment of labour for private employers. In some ways this situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all the native is bought as an animal. His owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse, an ox. Yet here the native is not bought—he is hired from the State . . . And his employer cares little if he sickens or dies . . . because when he sickens or dies, his employer asks the State for another. . . I maintain that health services for natives . . . are, with rare exception, non-existent."

● The Salazar regime took immediate notice of the report—by clapping Galvao into jail.

PORTUGUESE AND AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

(Continued from page 4)

dictator, whom he seems to be taking as his personal model. The battle to free Portugal and its colonies, so dramatically highlighted by the seizure of the Santa Maria, is of more than academic importance to us in South Africa.

Angola borders on South West Africa and Mozambique on Natal. The day is not far off when the peoples of these territories emerge into the sunlight of freedom, and when that happens the isolation of the apartheid-mad South African Government will be almost complete.

Furthermore, the mines in South Africa depend very heavily on labour trucked into the Union by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique—a free Mozambique would never permit the present iniquitous system to continue.

THE OPPRESSED IN SOUTH AFRICA CAN THEREFORE REJOICE IN THE GROWING SUCCESS OF THE ANTI-SALAZAR FREEDOM MOVEMENT. NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT BRINGS NEARER THE DAY WHEN MILLIONS MORE OF HUMANITY BREAK THE BONDS OF SLAVERY, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THEIR EVENTUAL TRIUMPH WILL GIVE IMMENSURABLE ASSISTANCE TO US IN OUR OWN STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

NOW THE FIGHT IS ON

AS expected, the recent SASA Conference in Johannesburg marked a new stage in the fight for the fullest development of our sport.

With one lap behind us, we can begin another.

The programme is a pretty full one, judging by the resolutions taken at the conference which must now be carried out:

● The full-scale fight against racialism in all forms of sport.

● The new attack in the Olympic arena at Athens in June.

● Fighting the colour bar in cricket at the Imperial Cricket Conference.

● Other issues that have to be fought are—

★ The New Zealand cricket tour for all-whites.

★ Apartheid in the U.S. cycling tour later this year.

★ Apartheid in the U.K. cycling tour.

★ Racialism in our own cricket—the Christopher Cup tournament.

Forthcoming Features

● This last issue and the first report, "Slay away from racial sport", are of such importance that SCOREBOARD will be devoting special features to them.

● There will also be a special examination of the defence of the colour-bar in sport which was offered by Reg. Honey, S.A. rep.

of the International Olympic Committee at the SASA conference.

Boo's and Cheers

BOO:

So the Natal and South African "Open" Golf Championships are not open. Papwa, holder of a European title, cannot compete with our local Europeans. THIS IS A MATTER FOR A NATIONAL PROTEST.

CHEERS:

Papwa's sponsors are to be congratulated on making an issue of this and testing our white "sports men".

BOO:

E. B. Pagen, President of the S.A. Golf Union, Progressive and "sporting friends" of the non-whites, has dropped all his fine phrases and come out in his true colours. He did this last year as well when the Maori Golf Champion was excluded from the team to S.A.

CHEERS:

It is likely that Papwa will be invited to P.E. soon to take part in an exhibition with a local professional.

CHEERS:

Congratulations to Mike Franks and Donald Dell. U.S. tennis tourists. They have twice defied the colour-bar and played with non-whites, first at East London, and now again at Potong and Khomo in Johannesburg.

BOO:

The S.A. Cricket Board is still

SCOREBOARD

by RECORDER

stalling on the issue of re-organisation. Now the long overdue meeting is rumoured to be scheduled for sometime in February.

CHEERS:

The E.P. Cricket Federation is not having anything to do with the racialistic Christopher Cup cricket tournament in Pietermaritzburg. This is a relief as other provinces are sure to follow.

CHEERS:

The Border Federation has written a strong letter to the Board of Control and is making it public. Copies are circulating and this will be dealt with in a special Scoreboard article.

CHEERS:

The E.P. touring cricket team is visiting Cape Town for matches following the success tour by the Baslings. We need more such enterprising tours.

Motlhoeloa Fined For Tax Offence

From Jomo G. Kgaane

A Basutoland Region Magistrate, Mr. Thompson, was called at a defence witness when Mr. John Motlhoeloa, a prominent South African, was charged with failing to pay the Basutoland General Tax for the year.

In his evidence Mr. Thompson referred to interview he had with Mr. Motlhoeloa soon after the latter had been deported from the Union. He said that local investigations had not proved that Mr. Motlhoeloa had been born in Basutoland. The authorities had agreed to admit Mr. Motlhoeloa to the territory after representations by the Union Government.

Mr. Thompson said that Mr. Motlhoeloa had objected to this procedure and had asked to be expelled from Basutoland. He had made his first tax payments under protest and on condition that the money would be refunded to him in the event of an extension of time. The Magistrate rejected the defence argument that the accused was not liable for Basutoland tax, and also a plea that an extension of time be granted.

Mr. Motlhoeloa was fined £4 with the alternative of one month's imprisonment.

PONDOLAN—POLICE STATE, says TUROK

JOHANNESBURG.

'The whole of Pondoland is in the hands of the police. This is the admission made by the Bantu Administration and Development Department which says it will not, and cannot, release information about the state of affairs in this troubled area.

Mr. Ben Turok, M.P.C. for Cape Western, asked for an interview with the B.A.D. to get a picture of recent developments in Pondoland. He was referred to an assistant secretary of the Department.

This official was as close as a claim—even tighter, if that is possible. He flatly refused to part with any information, and among the reasons he trotted out was one very curious one:

"I can't give you any information," he told Mr. Turok. "There is a debate coming up in Parliament. You're going to release the information I give you and the Minister will be left standing in the debate."

So the B.A.D. is not prepared to say if the Bantu Authorities system is still in operation; whether taxes are being paid; whether people are still being arrested and detained; where they are being jailed and the conditions of their detention.

NO ANSWER

The official's answers were all variations on the theme: "I don't know—I can't tell you—I won't tell you."

Only one answer was somewhat more direct.

Mr. Turok: When is the Emergency in Pondoland going to end?

BAD official: When they stop making nonsense!

Mr. Turok has written to the Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. De Wet Nel, complaining of this attitude of the B.A.D. and urging that officials be instructed to change their attitude to public representatives and to part with public information.

DURBAN RAILWAY WORKERS DEMAND HIGHER PAY

From Mandla Nkosi

DURBAN.

STRONG resolutions condemning the Railway Administration for not opening the door to skilled trades to Non-Whites and urging higher wages were passed at a well attended general meeting of the S.A.R. and Stevedoring Workers' Union, Natal, held in Durban last week.

Speaking at the meeting, Mr. C. Ndlovu, the Secretary of the Union, said that the workers were perturbed at the number of convicts employed by the Railways. The employment of convict labour by the Government was contrary to the International Labour Code, he said.

Demanding consultations with the Administration to deal with the complaints of the union, Mr. Ndlovu said that there could never be harmony between the workers and

the employers unless machinery was established for collective bargaining between the workers and the Railway Administration.

The meeting also passed a resolution condemning the Special Branch "whose members attend our meetings in large numbers, obviously to intimidate us and prevent the smooth functioning of the union.

"We demand that the Minister of Justice intervene in this matter and restrain his police from interfering in legitimate trade union activity. We trust the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

PAMPHLETS

New COD pamphlet: "Face the Future", with Foreword by Chief Lutuli and Freedom Charter in full. Urges African Nationalism and urges white South Africans to face up to the challenge of Africa. Price 2s. 6d. or 9s. a dozen. Also Freedom Charter—Beautifully printed, suitable for framing, 3d. each. Send cash with your order to: S.A. Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg.



"African Pastoral," one of the striking pictures in the Peter Clarke exhibition now on show at the Rodin Galleries, Rodene House, Bloeem Street, Cape Town.

BANTU EDUCATION FACTS

CAPE TOWN.

The State spends 8 times as much per White pupil as it does per Black pupil, and 15 times as much per head of White population as compared with per head of the African population.

For Coloureds and Indians the State spends 21 times as much per pupil as on African pupils, and on the basis of per head of population the figure rises to 44 times as much for these population groups—the idea being in certain quarters that "anything is good enough for the Native, Bantu or Kaffir; he is not deserving; he does not belong."

—Dr. A. B. Xuma, addressing the Race Relations Council meeting recently.

● Expenditure on Bantu Education rose by 7.9 per cent in the period 1957-58 to 1959-60, but enrolment in Bantu Education schools rose by 23.4 per cent, so that per caput expenditure per African pupil decreased from £8.54 in 1957/58 to £6.90 in 1959/60.

● Three-quarters of all African pupils in 1958 were in the lower primary schools, 46 per cent in the sub-standards alone. In 1958 only 25.8 per cent of school-goers were in classes above Standard 2, an improvement of only 1.8 per cent over 1957 when the percentage was 24, and a retro-

gression of 1.9 per cent over 1953, when the percentage was 27.7.

● "The available evidence relating to the operation of the Bantu Education Act, including the sharp increase in the matriculation failure rate, leads to the conclusion that a perceptible deterioration in educational standards has taken place."

—Findings of the recent Council meeting of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

TERROR IN PONDOLAN

(Continued from page 1)

about 50 head of sheep were confiscated by the chiefs.

The chiefs then visited the kraal of one Mr. Mandelwa and when they found that he was not there they assaulted his wife, Mrs. Madakeni Mandelwa. Our informant alleges that after the beating she was carried away unconscious to the chief's kraal.

COMPENSATION

According to another report it is alleged that the chiefs in the area, emboldened by police protection, are going around demanding that each tribesman pays an amount of £50 or four head of cattle to compensate the Government for "bringing law and order to Pondoland."

No one, according to our informant, has paid, except where the chiefs have assaulted householders and confiscated their property.

A third report from the Amadiba Location states that the Amanogweni School was gutted by fire last week, and that the Special Branch has increased its activities in an effort to trace those responsible.

TRANSKEI COUPLE BANISHED

(Continued from page 1)

to crush opponents of Bantu Authorities.

SIX CHILDREN

The couple have six young children, the youngest of whom is a baby girl only one year and nine months old. It is not known at the time of writing, what arrangements will be made for their welfare.

Friends of the family in Port Elizabeth are making desperate efforts to have an appeal lodged within the stipulated period of 14 days.

The appeal cannot be made to a court of law. It must be made to the Chief Native Commissioner, whose decision is final.

RACING AT ASCOT

The following are Damon's selections for Saturday's Ascot Opportunity Stakes: PAN RIDGE, Danger, Kebrun, Juvenile Flat, A; DEVON PORT, Danger, Tragedies, Milnerston Handicap 2nd: GOLD SMUGGLER, Danger, Soft Soap, Cape of Good Hope Guineas: TOP PACE.

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