

# 'NO PEACE UNTIL FREEDOM IS WON'

Thrilling Send-Off  
in Durban

A smiling, jostling, jubilant throng of 4,000 people of all races gave Chief Lutuli a thrilling send-off from Durban last week. Here Chief is seen on his way to the airport acknowledging the people's greeting with his raised clenched fist. In the car with him are his wife and his mother; standing in front of him, Dr. G. M. Naisker. Miss Hilda Lutuli is seated next to the driver. (See page 5.)

## Full Text of Chief Lutuli's Oslo Speech

"OURS IS A CONTINENT IN REVOLUTION AGAINST OPPRESSION. AND PEACE AND REVOLUTION MAKE UNEASY BEDFELLOWS. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION ARE OVERTHROWN," SAID CHIEF A. J. LUTULI IN HIS NOBEL ADDRESS WHICH HE DELIVERED IN OSLO ON MONDAY NIGHT.

### Habeas Corpus Refused

## What Next In Ganyile Case?

THE Supreme Court has refused an application for a writ of habeas corpus for the Pondo leader Anderson Ganyile who was alleged to have been kidnapped by South African police while he was in Basutoland. This was the result of over seven weeks' deliberation by the judge.

But the questions which South Africa is asking remain unanswered. Was Ganyile kidnapped in Basutoland? Where is he now? What action does the British Government intend taking over this flagrant violation of international law?

The sub-judice rule no longer affords Britain an excuse for her silence. The British Government has admitted that it was given information on the subject by the South African Government. Now that the Court has given its decision Britain must tell the world the truth and say what she is going to do about it.

The South African Government, too, must answer the allegations that have been made. Until this is done, the Government's silence can only lead people to infer that it is guilty, and is hiding behind the emergency regulations because it is afraid to admit the ghastly facts.

A heavy responsibility rests also upon the South African people as a whole—to TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION TO SEE THAT PEOPLE'S LEADER ANDERSON KHUMANI GANYILE IS RESTORED TO FREEDOM WITHOUT DELAY.

We print below the full text of the speech.

Chief Lutuli said:

IN years gone by, some of the greatest men of our century have stood here to receive this Award, men whose names and deeds have enriched the pages of human history, men whom future generations will regard as having shaped the world of our time.

No one could be left unmoved to be plucked from the village of Crouville, a name many of you have never heard before and which does not even feature on many maps,—to be plucked from banishment in a rural backwater, to be lifted out of the narrow confines of South Africa's internal politics and placed here in the shadow of these great figures. It is a great honour to me to stand on this rostrum where many of the great men of our times have stood before.

### Significance

The Nobel Peace Award that has brought me here has for me a threefold significance. On the one hand it is a tribute to my humble contribution to efforts by democrats on both sides of the colour line to find a peaceful solution to the race problem. The contribution is not in any way unique. I did not initiate the struggle to extend the area of human freedom in South Africa, other African patriots—devoted men—did so before me. I also as a Christian and patriot, could not look on while systematic attempts were made, almost in every department of life, to debase the God-factor in Man or to set a limit beyond which the human being in his

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## "LUTULI CANNOT BE BOUGHT" — Prof. Matthews

THE award of the Nobel Prize to Chief Lutuli was celebrated by thousands of South Africans of all races at mass rallies in the main centres last Sunday.

Here are some of the details:

### PORT ELIZABETH

Addressing a rally of about 5,000 people, PROFESSOR Z. K. MATTHEWS said some people thought the Prize was being given to Chief Lutuli as a softening-up

process. Only mischief-makers and those who did not know him would think so. Anyone who wanted to buy Chief would not find the price, he said.

His office as President-General of the ANC had been marked by two significant factors; firstly, his insistence on non-violence as a method of struggle was not due to cowardice; secondly, his broad sense of nationalism embracing all the people of South Africa placed him far above the level of the narrow-minded people who claimed that for them nationalism meant only Afri-

cons or Afrikaners. MRS. FRANCES BAARD said that although decent-minded people throughout the world were honouring Chief for his unswerving advocacy of peace and the brotherhood of man, the Nationalist Government was treating that as a crime. Those who advocated fundamental human rights were met with bans and confinement.

"In denying these rights, the Nationalists must not expect us not to rise and demand them," she said.

MR. OMAIR CASSEM called upon the Government as Chief, he

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# NEW AGE

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# "SACRAL IS INDEPENDENCE"

(Continued from page 1)  
Black form might not strive to serve his Creator to the best of his ability. To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually enslave God for having created men of colour was the sort of thing I could not, as a Christian, tolerate.

On the other hand the Award is a democratic declaration of solidarity with those who fight to widen the area of liberty in my part of the world. As such, it is the sort of gesture which gives me and millions who think as I do, tremendous encouragement.

## Race Crisis

There are still people in the world today who regard South Africa's race problem as a simple clash between Black and White. Our government has carefully projected this image of the problem before the eyes of the world. This has had two effects. It has confused the real issues at stake in the race crisis. It has given some form of force to the government's contention that the race problem is a domestic matter for South Africa. This, in turn, has tended to narrow down the area over which our case could be better understood in the world.

From yet another angle, it is a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race, would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

This Award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole. Africa presently is most deeply torn with strife and most bitterly stricken with racial conflict. How strange then it is that a man of Africa should be here to receive an Award given for service to the cause of peace and brotherhood between men.

## Revolution And War

There has been little peace in Africa in our time. From the northernmost end of our continent, where war has raged for seven years, to the centre and to the south there are battles being fought out, some with armies, some without. In my own country, in the year 1960 for which this Award is given, there was a state of emergency for many months. At Sharpeville, a small village, in a single afternoon 69 people were shot dead and 180 wounded. In small arms fire; and in parts like the Transkei, a state of emergency is still continuing.

Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bed fellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown.

Our continent has been carved up by the great, powerful alien governments have been forced upon African people by military conquest and by economic domination; strivings of nationhood and national dignity have been beaten down by force; traditional economies and ancient customs have been disrupted, and human skills and energy have been harnessed for the advantage of our conquerors. In these times there has been no peace; there can be no brotherhood between man.

## Fight For Equality

But now, the revolutionary strivings of our continent are setting

the past aside. Our people everywhere from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood. The turbulent turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man.

It should not be difficult for you in Europe to appreciate this. Your continent passed through a longer series of revolutionary upheavals, in which your age of feudal backwardness gave way to the new age of industrialisation, true nationhood, democracy and rising living standards—the golden age for which men have striven for generations. Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the 18th Century to our own encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three quarters of the continent in less than a decade; its final completion is within sight of our own generation.

## Comparatively Bloodless

Again, by comparison with Europe, our African revolution—to our credit, is proving to be orders of magnitude quicker and comparatively bloodless.

This fact of the relative peacefulness of our African revolution is attested to by other observers of eminence. Professor C. W. de Kiewit, President of the Rochester University, U.S.A., in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1960, has said this: "There has, it is true, been almost no senseless violence in the achievement of political self-rule. In that sense there is no revolution in Africa—only reform..."

Professor D. V. Cowen, then Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1961, throws light on the nature of our struggle in the following words: "They (the Whites in South Africa) are again fortunate in the very high moral calibre of the non-White inhabitants of South Africa, who conduct favourably with them the whole continent." Let this never be forgotten by those who so eagerly point a finger of scorn at Africa.

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If that is so, it is late in gaining self-rule, independence and democracy; it is because in the past the pace has not been set by Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th Century development of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its own fate from foreign rule.

## African Goal

Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways—by race, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers.

But in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single common purpose and a single goal—the achievement of its own independence.

All Africa, both lands which have won their political victories, but have still to overcome the legacy of economic backwardness, and lands like my own whose political battles have still to be waged to their conclusion—all Africa has this single aim; our goal is a united Africa in which



Chief Lutuli, with Dr. Naicker on the left and Mrs. Lutuli, salutes the Durban crowd on the eve of his departure.

the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding; in which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the dignity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled it.

This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of White rule, carries the only real promise of peace in Africa.

Whatever means have been used the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.

## Illegal Doctrine

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an Award in its age of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater the honour that an Award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should come to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine, outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited; where to work, talk or campaign for the realisation in fact and deed of the brotherhood of man is hazardous, punished with banishment or confinement without trial or imprisonment; where effective democratic channels to peaceful settlement of the race problem have never existed these 300 years; and where white minority power rests on the most heavily armed and equipped military machine in Africa. This is South Africa.

Even here, where white rule seems determined not to change its mind for the better, the spirit of Africa's militant struggle for liberty, equality and independence asserts itself. I together with thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of struggle for these ideals, been harassed, and imprisoned, but we are not deterred in our quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

## Museum Piece

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa; its social system, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the

attention of the world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hang-over from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like God. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior, efficient, clever, industrious and capable; that black men are, equally unquestionably inferior, slothful, stupid, evil and clumsy. On the basis of the mythology that "the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst us," it is claimed that white men boid everything that is worthwhile in the country; its cities, its industries, its mines and its agriculture, and that they alone are thus fitted and entitled as of right to own and control these things, whilst black men are only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labour, and unfit to share political power.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs, when explaining his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

## White Conquest

There is little new in this mythology. Every part of Africa which has been subject to white conquest has, at one time or another, and in one guise or another, suffered from it, even in its virulent form of the slavery that obtained in Africa up to the 19th Century. The mitigating feature in the gloom of those far off days was the shaft of light sunk by Christian missions, a shaft of light in which we owe our initial enlightenment.

Through successive governments of the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the blackman at the hands of slave-drivers, men like Dr. David Livingstone and Dr. John Philip and other illustrious men of God stood for social justice in the face of overwhelming odds. It is worth noting that the names I have referred to are still anathema to some South Africans.

Hence the ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons. But the tradition of Livingstone and Philip

lives on, perpetuated by a few of their line. It is fair to say that even in present day conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard of initiating social services provided for us.

Our progress in this field has been in spite of, and not mainly because of the government. In this the Church in South Africa—though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of this Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take seriously the words of its Founder who said, "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly."

This is a call to the Church in South Africa to help in the all-round development of man in the present and not only in the hereafter.

In this regard, the people of South Africa, especially those who claim to be Christians, would be well advised to take heed of the Conference decisions of the World Council of Churches held at Colstoele, Johannesburg, in 1960, which gave a clear lead on the mission of the Church in our day. It left no room for doubt about the relevancy of the Christian message in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of the World Council of Churches. It has a great meaning and significance for us in Africa.

## Backing Of Law

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in the world; the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered up by legislation at the time when in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are being steadily scrapped.

These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them.

They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country; for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate who is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87% of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and

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Our pictures show (left) Mrs. Philippa Levy addressing the Jo'burg meeting and (right) some of the hooligans who tried to break it up.

## "LUTULI CANNOT BE BOUGHT"

(Continued from page 1)

said, had done, to settle the racial problem in the country by calling a National Convention with sovereign rights to draw up a fresh constitution that would enjoy the backing of all the people of this land.

**PROF. TERENCE BEARD**, of Rhodes University, said the racial unity for which Chief Lutuli stood was the only moral solution. Apartheid was an evil.

At 4.15, when the award was being given to Chief in Oslo, the crowd rose and sang freedom songs. "We shall follow Lutuli. Down with the Nationalists," they chanted.

### CAPE TOWN

Chief Lutuli had always maintained that freedom was the key to peace. **ADY. A. L. SACIS** told a crowd of about 4,000 people on the Grand Parade.

"They are like Siamese twins. You cannot have one without the other. If you hurt the one, you hurt the other," he said.

Speaking of the threat of violence, he said there had always been violence in this country—usually directed at the people by the Government. He warned the Government that the people were becoming impatient. The burden of apartheid was becoming more than they could bear.

**IMAM HAROUN**, a prominent leader of the Moslem community, said: "Chief Lutuli is a true Christian brother and not a hypocrite like so many others."

**MR. THOMAS NGWENYA** said the people must stand for what Chief had always stood for—freedom and peace, and reject Verwoerd and all his attitudes and prejudices.

## George Peake Convicted

CAPE TOWN.

In the Magistrate's Court on Monday, five people—Mrs. Lulu Peake, Mrs. Miriam Mohammed and Messrs Howard Lawrence, Isiah Stein and Owen Human—were found not guilty of interfering with the police when they were trying to arrest Councillor George Peake at a City Hall meeting called by the Coloured People's Congress on June 11.

The magistrate held that since the identity of the police had not been disclosed, the accused could not be found guilty of aiding Mr. Peake to resist arrest.

There was evidence, however, that Mr. Peake knew they were police, and the magistrate found him guilty of resisting arrest. He was remanded to December 21 for sentence.

**MISS LEONORA JACOBS**, of the Coloured People's Congress, said: "It is not only Chief who is being honoured, but also all the freedom-fighters whom he leads. Let us not forget those who have been banned and confined because they stood for freedom and peace."

**MRS. MABECE**, of the S.A. Women's Federation, pledged the support of South African women for the ideals for which Chief was being honoured.

**MR. ADRIAN LEFTWICH**, of NLSAS said students realised that there could be no freedom in education until there was freedom in all spheres in South Africa.

Other speakers included Mrs. E. Stott, Mr. M. Ntuba, Adv. D. Molteno, Q.C., of the Progressive Party; Mr. P. Hjul, of the Liberal Party; Mrs. Mkhonto, Mr. Whitehead, of the Civil Rights League, Archdeacon Wood, of the Anglican Church, Mr. E. Ntuba and Mr. Gierden.

### JOHANNESBURG

A jubilant, singing and dancing crowd of about 1,200 people converged on the Johannesburg "Honour Lutuli" meeting in Newclare on Sunday.

There were loud cheers when **MRS. PIXIE BENJAMIN**, the first speaker, said: "The Nationalists sit in their laager of Saracens. They are right to be afraid—because their cause is hopeless. We demand one man, one vote."

**MR. YUSUF CACHALIA**, speaking for the first time from a public platform since his ban expired, said Chief Lutuli had been acclaimed as the outstanding man of our times because of the struggle in South Africa.

"Times are moving fast in Africa," he said. "Freedom in our lifetime is out of date. We must work and mobilise as never before for freedom in Chief's lifetime."

The chairman of the meeting, **MR. M. MSIMANG**, said the Nobel Prize Committee, by making its award to Chief Lutuli, had highlighted the principles for which our liberation movement stands—"full democracy and equality for all men irrespective of colour, true brotherhood and peace."

### MANDELA SONG

As the buses and lorries bringing groups from Dlamini, Alexandra, Emdeni and Orlando West arrived, the new Mandela song could be heard everywhere: "Go on Mandela, keep on whipping. We'll tell you when it's enough."

Other speakers included Mr. Y. Putini, Rev. D. C. Thompson and Mrs. Ruth Matsocane.

Mr. Elias Pinane, of Mapeta, who jumped up spontaneously to chant a traditional heroic praise-song in honour of Chief, was greeted with a roar of acclamation from the crowd at the end of each line.

### DURBAN

Despite the threatening weather, over 1,000 people jam-packed the Gandhi Hall, Durban, to hear speakers of the Congress Alliance on Sunday.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. A. H. Sader, of Ladysmith NIC; Mrs. Vera Ponen, COD; Miss Florence Mkhize, Women's Federation; Mr. George Mbele, Mr. Stephen Dhlamini (SACTU), and Dr. M. N. Padayachee (NIC).

The meeting, which had been advertised to be held in the open air, had to be hastily adjourned to a hall when a storm threatened.

# Hooligans Fail To Disrupt "Honour Lutuli" Meeting

JOHANNESBURG.

**AN** organised group of hooligans armed with eggs and protected by the police made an unsuccessful attempt to upset the Congress of Democrats HONOUR LUTULI meeting on the City Hall steps here last week.

Nearly 20 hooligans arrived early at the meeting as Mr. Solly Nathe of the Transvaal Indian Congress stepped on to the makeshift platform to address the crowd. Hundreds of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites braved a downpour to listen to the speakers.

Mr. Raymond Thoms, of C.O.D., in his opening speech stressed that Chief Lutuli, and not Verwoerd, was the true and deserving leader of South Africa.

Tempers flared as the hooligans began booing and throwing eggs, tomatoes and debris. A section of the large crowd at the meeting surged forward to stop the hooligans from disrupting the meeting any further. True to type, they timidly moved back later.

A contingent of police arrived and formed a barrier, protecting the hooligans from the crowd. The cordon was used by the thugs as a protection and sanctuary from which they continued to throw eggs and tomatoes.

Mr. W. B. Ngakane in his speech said Chief Lutuli represented not only himself but thousands of Africans involved in the peaceful liberation movement.

In a passionate speech Mrs. Philippa Levy exposed the ignomi-

nious plans of the Nats to ruin the future of the Whites. She pointed out that the pinch of suppression would not be felt by the present generation but by the children.

"Whites must wake up now," she said, "or else be shocked into reality when it is too late . . . after they have too long believed in the myth of White superiority which the Nats have been propagating."

## Phofofo Arrested In Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG.

Special Branch men took notes at the annual conference of the Transvaal division of the Basutoland Freedom Party led by Mr. Khakela after his break with the Basutoland Congress Party. At the end of the meeting they arrested the chief spokesman of the conference Mr. O. P. Phofofo whom they took into custody to be charged. It is believed with entering South Africa without a permit.

About 100 people attended, and the Party's secretary Mr. J. J. Mokotsi discussed the differing policies of the BCP and the BCP. He attacked the BCP for "stifling the views of individuals," and criticised what he called "the shocking and irresponsible statements" of Mr. Mokhele, the BCP leader, in attacking the ex-ANC policy.

Most of the meeting centred on the rival policies of the BCP and the BFP.

## Vic Goldberg Arrested

JOHANNESBURG.

Mr. Vic Goldberg, emergency detainee who left South Africa in October on an exit permit and flew back into Johannesburg last week, is the first South African to be arrested and charged for re-entering the country of his birth against the provisions of the Departure from the Union Act.

Mr. Goldberg is out on bail of R225.

During argument over bail in court Mr. Goldberg said he had returned for "personal reasons."

## Bursaries For Non-White Students

JOHANNESBURG.

Bursaries are being offered by the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town, Pope Pius XII College, Basutoland, and the University College of Salisbury, Rhodesia, in the faculties of Arts, Science, Commerce and Engineering.

Students wishing to apply should write to the Secretary, P.O. Box 106, Vrededorp, Johannesburg, by not later than January 8, 1962.

## Women Arrested at Prayer Meeting

PORT ELIZABETH.

A police van-load of Special Branch detectives swooped on a house in Zakele recently.

Sixteen women who were in the house conducting a prayer meeting for a sick friend were whisked away to the charge offices and questioned as to the nature of the gathering. Later all the women were released.



Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of underground leader Nelson Mandela, held a poster at the Johannesburg airport demonstration to say farewell to Chief Lutuli last week.

**ASIA** "The women who escaped death were converted to Christianity and distributed amongst the soldiers"—Albuquerque, 1510

# Goa moves Against Portuguese Tyranny

**WATCH OUT FOR GOA! THIS TINY ENCLAVE ON THE WEST COAST OF INDIA MAY BE THE NEXT COLONY TO LIBERATE ITSELF—AFTER OVER 450 YEARS OF PORTUGUESE RULE.**

First conquered by the Portuguese 'navigator' Albuquerque in 1510 by a skillful combination of intrigue and force of arms, Goa ranks as one of Portugal's oldest possessions.

In December 1510, Albuquerque wrote to his sovereign in these words:

"... I then burnt the city and put everything to the sword. For days together blood continued flowing in the streets... Wherever infidels were caught and found, no life was spared to them... We calculated six thousand souls the minimum, to have been killed, men and women... The women who escaped death were converted to Christianity and distributed amongst the soldiers... It was my lord, a great deed, well fought and well finished..."

Thus Portuguese rule began and thus it has continued, but Goa has never submitted meekly to this conquest. The Goans fought back and continue fighting today.

There have been over 30 recorded armed revolts in Goa since it was conquered by the Portuguese, an average of one revolt every 15 years. Besides these, there have been numerous constitutional struggles for reform.

Besides Goa, Portugal has two other enclaves in India: Daman and Diu. The total area is 1,344 square miles with a population of 637,591 in 1950. Administratively they form a single unit, pompously designated "Estado da India" and now called part of the "Overseas Province of Portugal."

Only 2.2% of the population speak Portuguese; 78% are illiterate. Of the population, 60% are Hindus and 36% are Christian.

After so many years of Portuguese rule, Goa has remained poor and underdeveloped in spite of its fertile soil and rich mineral deposits.

Only one third of the land is cultivated and produces not even one half of the country's requirements in food. It has no industry barring a little bit of recently started mining enterprise, no handicraft worth the name, and no other avenue open for the people to earn their livelihood.

Over one fourth of the population—the young men and women of all classes forming its best elements—are compelled every year to migrate and seek their livelihood in all parts of the world.

In Bombay City alone, there is nearly 20% of the whole Goan population. The economic life of Goa, by and large, depends on the savings of its emigrants. Anyone who knows the Reserves in this country will recognise the familiar pattern.

Under Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, Goa is today virtually an armed camp.

The British, during their rule in India, never allowed more than 5,000 Portuguese troops in Goa. Now, after India's independence, the number increased from 900 in 1945 to 14,000 by 1954.

A large number of PIDE agents (Portuguese Gestapo) and a strong contingent of 'Logia Portuguesa (a counterpart of Hitler's S.S.) are imported from Portugal to keep a watchful eye on the none too trustworthy soldiers. Besides this, there is a wide network of police spies.

This spy-system works out at one government agent for every seven citizens of Goa: the whole country has become a vast prison house.

There is neither freedom of speech nor freedom of association and not even social functions can take place without the advance sanction of the authorities. The press is, of course, completely gagged and most legal papers, newspapers, pamphlets, and wedding invitations—must be submitted in advance to the military censors.

## UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE

Because of the impossibility of constitutional agitation, an underground resistance movement developed in Goa, resulting in armed clashes and sabotage.

Goans helped by local people succeeded in 1954 in freeing two other Portuguese enclaves—Dadra and Nagar-Haveli—after a brief but sharp armed clash with the sizeable local garrison.

Also in 1954, Goan satyagrahis (non-violent resisters) marched into Goa. Severe repression followed and India severed diplomatic relations and imposed economic and travelling restrictions. Again in 1955, Indian satyagrahis from all parts of the country, marched into Goa. Twenty-four were shot down on the border by Portuguese troops, who celebrated each kill with a new *nome* of the dead anywhere in Goa. Tortured for days on end. Nonetheless the satyagrahis were determined to carry on and would have done so, had not the Government of India imposed a ban on their side of the border.

The underground fabric carried on and their activities virtually paralysed the administration. No European dared go into the country without a strong escort. All cities and towns took on a deserted look after sunset. Orders were issued by the administration to prohibit every taxi and ferry from leaving after sunset anywhere in Goa.

Portuguese rule was confined to well-garrisoned towns and villages, or at the most to rail and road heads.

The rest of Goa was under the control of the underground revolutionaries. The Goan patriots established two underground radio stations—'Voz de Liberdade and Azad Goa Radio'—to expose Portuguese propaganda and keep the people informed of world events. These stations are still functioning today in spite of Portuguese vigilance and the untiring hunt to unearth and silence them.

(To be concluded next week with: Why India is acting now)

## AFRICA SOUTHERN RHODESIA



# AFRICANS ANGRY AT BAN ON NDP

PICTURE ABOVE: Joshua Nkomo, leader of the NDP is seen waving to his supporters in Bulawayo at a recent NDP meeting.

**THE 'permanent' banning of the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia has once and for all exposed 'partnership' for the hollow sham that it is.**

The United Federal Party, led by Sir Roy Welensky and Whitehead, realised about two years ago that the rising tide of national liberation throughout Africa called for new tactics. On the one hand the whites of S. Rhodesia were demanding full Dominion status, on the other hand the Africans of the territory were demanding full participation in the government.

In order to bluff the people in Rhodesia and Britain, the authorities stood by passively when the National Democratic Party was formed in January 1960. The NDP's policies were very close to those of the banned ANC and nearly all the NDP leaders held high positions in the ANC. It appeared that the authorities were going to allow the ANC to continue under a new name.

At the same time steps were taken to relax the colour bar in the social field to give the appearance that 'partnership' was different from apartheid.

At the constitutional conference held in London in January this year NDP leader Joshua Nkomo was tricked into accepting the new constitutional proposals whereby, at the price of an ineffectual Bill of Rights and the granting of representation in Parliament to 15 Africans (less than a quarter of the total), the Southern Rhodesian rulers won the right to independence from Britain.

The new arrangements suited Whitehead down to the ground. Not only had he won the right to rule S. Rhodesia freed from the 'interference' of British public opinion, but also he hoped that because of the electoral system his party would get the support of a number of the African M.P.'s and thus be able to defeat the Dominion Party, whose blatantly pro-apartheid policies threatened the future of the whole of the Central African Federation.

Desperate attempts have since been made to build up the African wing of the S.R. United Federal Party. Though a small number of middle class Africans have succumbed to the temptation to join the Government party, the overwhelming majority of Africans have demonstrated their allegiance

to the NDP. During recent weeks an all-out secret campaign has been conducted against the NDP, the main accusation against it being that it has engaged in intimidation against its opponents. This charge comes strangely from the lips of the men who have ordered the full might of the police and army to be used if necessary against the NDP and who have never hesitated to use force to break up African meetings and to shoot African workers.

The NDP has now been banned. But no amount of banning will prevent the African people from pressing forward with their demands for one man, one vote. THE ONLY EFFECT OF THE BANNING WILL BE TO INCREASE THE ANGER FELT BY THE AFRICANS AT THE WAY IN WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN DECEIVED YET ONCE MORE, AND TO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC S. RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE) BEING ACCOMPLISHED BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

# EICHMANN'S HENCHMEN—NOW "TOP PEOPLE"

Adolph Eichmann, chief architect of the extermination of 6 million Jews by the Nazis, has been evicted of crimes against humanity. For his monstrous and inhuman actions he will be sentenced at the end of this week. The evidence led at his trial serves as a timely reminder of where the terrible road of racialism leads. It also serves as a reminder of the resurgence of Nazism in public life in West Germany. Here are some of the more flagrant examples of war criminals who now occupy important positions in West Germany and NATO:

**In the West German Cabinet:**  
DR. HANS GLOBKE, State Secretary and Personal Assistant to Chancellor Adenauer, Specialist for Jewish Affairs in the Nazi Ministry of the Interior, the man who framed the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws. Now the second most important man in West Germany.

**THEODOR OBERLAENDER,** Refugee Minister. Captain in the Nazi storm troops. Wrote in April 1940: "People of alien blood cannot be allowed the honour of cultivating German soil." Led pogroms in Lvov in 1941.

**GERHARD SCHROEDER,** Minister of the Interior. Joined Nazi Party in 1933 and later Hitler's brown-shirted storm troops.

Two other Cabinet Ministers belonged to the Nazi Party, five fought as officers in the Wehrmacht. Not a single one fought against Hitler.

**West German Generals:**  
GENERAL HANS SPEIDEL:

Now NATO commander in Central Europe. Chief of staff in occupied Paris, chief of Nazi 8th army on the eastern front. In 1942 ordered execution of French Jews and Communists and transportation of at least 1,000 more.

**GENERAL ADOLF HEUSINGER:** Inspector General of West German Army. Planned invasions of Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and Yugoslavia. Told Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal: "I believe that the treatment of the civil population in the area of operations... gave the top political and military leadership a welcome opportunity of carrying out their aim of systematically reducing the number of Slavs and Jews."

Every single general and admiral in the West German armed forces served as a high-ranking officer for the Nazis. Not a single West German officer fought against Hitler.

**Big Business:**  
ALFRED KRUPP, leading

West German industrialist today. War criminal, member of the Nazi party, used Jews from Auschwitz for his factories.

**L. G. FARBEN:** Monopolist in chemicals. Manufactured poison gas for quick extermination of the Jews.

**HERMAN JOSEF ABS:** Leading banker, politician, War criminal. Head of the vicious Deutsche Bank (still is). Official U.S. report 1946: "Actively participated in the criminal policies of the Nazi regime."

**Thyssen, Mannesmann, Hoesch, Haniel, Kloeckner:** All top industrialists today. Financed Hitler, used slave labour, plundered occupied Europe, helped the SS win out 6 million Jews.

**FINALLY, IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF WE HAVE OUR PRIME MINISTER DR. HENDRIK VERWOERD, WHO ALLOWED HIS NEWSPAPER ('TRANSVALER') TO BE USED AS A TOOL OF THE NAZIS' (SUPREME COURT JUDGE).**

# They Don't Want Education Apartheid



Some of the youngsters who took part in the anti-apartheid demonstration at a Durban school last week.

## Swaziland To Withdraw Permits From S. A. Farmers

**MBABANE (Swaziland).** **THE** Mbabane market sellers held a protest meeting here recently against the capturing of their market by South African farmers.

The market people alleged that the South African farmers brought vegetables from the Republic in their lorries and sold them in the European suburbs after obtaining permits from the Government, thus eliminating the Mbabane people from their own market.

One of the speakers, Mrs. Ida Dlamini, said: "There are widows and very poor people among us who depend entirely on what we sell on this market. But when farmers from the Republic come and take our business away from us how shall we live?"

Mrs. Dlamini was one of the first

people to open the Mbabane market. She also said that the Government charged the peasants 4 cents market fee irrespective of whether they had sold anything at all.

"How do they expect us to do any business when the people go to buy from farmers?" she added.

Mr. Sikone said: "Some of us come on foot from many miles away in order to sell at this market. But at the end of the day we leave without having sold anything, yet we are expected to pay the 4 cents market fee." He concluded that the Republic farmers should be stopped or they should sell directly to them so that they could sell the vegetables at a reasonable price to the local people.

A resolution was passed and handed to the Commissioner, who said in explanation that the permits were granted to the farmers by mistake during his absence and he would stop their monthly permits when they expired.

# "WE REFUSE TO ACCEPT BAN ON OUR LEADERS"

## CPC BRANCH REPLIES TO VORSTER

**CAPE TOWN.** **THE** Coloured People's Congress will refuse to accept the resignation of Mr. Alex La Guma, who was ordered to resign from the CPC by the Minister of Justice last week, said a statement issued by the Athlone Branch.

The statement condemned the order served on Mr. La Guma and the banning of Miss G. Jewell, a member of the Congress of Democrats, from attending gatherings for the next five years.

Mr. La Guma is the second member of the CPC executive to be ordered to resign from the organisation under the Suppression of Communism Act. Mr. Barney Desai, the CPC vice-president, was the first to receive such an order. They are also prohibited from membership of a number of other organisations and all trade unions.

### ALARMED

All indications are that the Nationalist Government is alarmed at the spreading influence of the Con-

gress movement among the Coloured community, particularly since the May stay-at-home when thousands of Coloured people answered the CPC call to support the anti-Republic demonstrations. Since then five leading members of the executive, including Mr. La Guma and Mr. Desai, have been banned from attending gatherings for the next five years. The other members are Cliff George Peake, Mr. Toffe Barden and Mr. Reg September, the CPC General Secretary. Mr. Desai is also confined to the magisterial districts of Cape Town and Wynberg.

Many members of the CPC have also been arrested in connection with various demonstrations over the past months, and restrictions placed upon them under their bail conditions.

### EDUCATION TRANSFER

Nationalist proposals to transfer Coloured education to the Coloured Affairs Department have also coincided with the recent banning by the Minister of Justice of several Coloured teachers, apparently in a bid to prevent the organisation of

## Indian Youth Demonstrate At School

**DURBAN.**

**TWO** members of the Natal Indian Youth Congress were arrested while holding a placard demonstration at the annual speech day at the Clairwood High School last week.

The demonstration, which was multi-racial in character, was directed against the principal, Mr. V. Naidu who had invited the Rector of the Indian Tribal College Dr. Olivier, as a guest at the meeting.

Later both the youths were released after their names and addresses had been taken down.

In a statement to New Age, the demonstrators said:

"The demonstration is in terms of our decision to educate our people in the struggle of non-co-operation. We don't want to have anything to do with the Apartheid University and Indian teachers as well as the Indian community must have nothing to do with those who work to make this college a success."

protests by the Coloured community against the transfer.

Among the banned teachers, all of whom are connected with the Unity Movement and the Anti-CAD, are Messrs A. Fataar, E. Maurice, V. Wessels, C. Petersen and Mrs. J. Meisenheimer. Mr. W. Van Schoor, president of the Teachers' League of S.A., and Mr. B. M. Kies were banned previously. Mr. Kies is also confined to the Peninsula. Two Port Elizabeth teachers, Messrs D. Bruhl and F. Landman, have also been banned from meetings.

### FEAR

Commenting on the bans on the CPC leaders, the statement by the Athlone Branch said that these orders were a manifestation of the fear which the Government had of the militant leaders of the Coloured people.

"Vorster and his men know that while baasskap is on the way out and it won't be long before the walls of apartheid collapse completely. That is why they are trying to silence our leaders. The Nats know, just as the whole world knows, that their days are numbered."

# RIGHT TO BAIL TAKEN AWAY IN BASUTOLAND

**MASERU.**

**POLITICAL** circles in Basutoland are indignant at a new proclamation issued by the High Commissioner giving magistrates the discretion to refuse bail at the end of preparatory examinations.

The proclamation, which was issued on December 8 from the High Commissioner's office in Mbabane, Swaziland, takes the form of an amendment to the existing laws relating to criminal procedure in Basutoland.

Under the new Basutoland constitution, the High Commissioner is supposed to table all proposed new laws before the National Council, even in matters which are solely within his own jurisdiction. He has the right, however, if he considers the situation urgent, to issue a proclamation first and refer it to the National Council at a later stage.

The Basutoland National Council has not been informed of the new law, and the High Commissioner has therefore relied on this emergency clause.

Why? The preparatory examination in which Jack Mosiane and 26 others are appearing on allegations arising from the recent disturbances in Maseru is expected to end sometime this week.

It is believed that the new proclamation has been issued with the sole purpose of enabling the authorities to continue to hold Mosiane and his co-accused in jail if they are committed for trial.

Far from strengthening the hand of the authorities, this new proclamation is expected to strike a powerful blow against the new constitution and strengthen the demand amongst the people for complete independence NOW.

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## 3 More Arrested Under Unlawful Organisations Act

**CAPE TOWN.**

Three men—Kawleza Gama, Robson Gebe and Richard Gales—who were arrested last week, appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday, December 12, charged under the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960.

They were each allowed R50 bail and remanded to December 27.

Defence for the three men has been arranged by the Defence and Aid Fund.

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## Food Packers On Strike

**CAPE TOWN.**

About 25 workers employed as food packers at Victory Mills in Worcester went on strike on Tuesday morning to enforce their demands for higher wages and improved working conditions.

Application to the Minister of Labour for a conciliation board had been turned down, and after going through all the formalities as required by the Industrial Conciliation Act, the workers decided to strike. The workers earn about R2.50 a week.

The strike committee has issued an appeal to other workers not to break the strike by taking their places at the mill.

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