

WORSTER ATTACKS

NEW AGE

Members of Staff Placed under House Arrest

CAPE TOWN.

ONE of the main targets of Mr. Vorster's house arrest orders seems to be New Age. This week Brian Bunting, former editor of Guardian and Advance and at present a member of New Age editorial staff in Cape Town, was placed under house arrest for 13 hours a day.

His wife Sonia Bunting, Cape Town finance organiser, was placed under house arrest for 24 hours a day. The job she was doing for New Age is simply destroyed by ministerial edict.

Rica Hodgson, New Age finance organiser in Johannesburg, has also been placed under house arrest. (See story on this page.)

The order on Mr. Bunting forbids him to enter any factory premises. One effect of this is that he will be unable to enter Pioneer Press to put New Age to bed as he has been doing in the past.

All the members of New Age staff who have been put under house arrest are forbidden to communicate with any named or banned person. Since many of those who work on New Age in all centres are named or banned,

this means that inter-office communication will become practically impossible.

Mr. Bunting is also forbidden to communicate with his boss, Mr. Fred Carneton, editor of New Age, who is a listed Communist. Since the two of them work in adjoining offices and are daily in almost constant contact with one another, it will be practically impossible for Mr. Bunting to carry out his functions on New Age unless his order is varied.

Immediately on receipt of his order Mr. Bunting phoned the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town and asked for a variation of his order, but the Chief Magistrate refused to take notice of the telephone request and insisted that written application be made.

The Chief Magistrate indicated that he would have to ascertain from the Minister what the intended scope of the banning notice was before he would be able to consider making any alterations.

Jack Tarshish, convicted last month for painting slogans, is the third Capetonian to be placed under house arrest. The order confines him to his home from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. on week-days and from 2 p.m. Saturdays to 7 a.m. Monday.

Mr. Tarshish, an ex-serviceman who fought as a gunner-observer in the S.A. Airforce, was amongst those detained during the 1960 State of Emergency. In recent months he has played a leading role in organising assistance for political victims.

COUNTRY SHOCKED BY 24-HOUR ORDERS

JOHANNESBURG.

THE last seven days of the past week South Africa's dictatorial Minister of Justice wield his house arrest powers like a whip—a cat 'n' nine tails. The severity of his latest 24-hour house arrest orders for the next five days has left the country gasping.

The orders against all eight house arrest victims here—Rica and Jack Hodgson, Michael Harmel, Cecil Williams, Rusty Bernstein and the first three victims, Helen Joseph, Walter Sisulu and Katarada—have turned their homes into jails—a new type of private jail in a country dotted with harsh penal institutions.

The Minister of Justice is policeman, prosecutor, judge and jail warden all in one. Less than 24 hours after the news of these 24-hour house arrests shocked the country, Vorster announced to the press there would be magistrates with power to relax certain conditions of the restrictions, but this is no relaxation, for it places the lives of the most spirited members of the political opposition in the country in the hands of the appointees of the Minister.

Minister Vorster's tactics are patently obvious: to try to bully

and frighten his most vital opposition into surrender or flight from the country. There are no signs at all that he will achieve any success!

The Vorster tactic is based on a misconceived "while agitator" theory and he fondly imagines that if only he can muzzle some leading white members of his opposition the country will settle back to enjoy Nationalist apartheid rule.

WHAT A FALLACY!

Nevertheless the house arrest orders are a savage blow against eight South Africans renowned for years of unremitting opposition to the Nationalists and strong identification with the country's national liberation struggle.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The new house arrest orders had as a prelude a vicious Government smear campaign against Communists and the Left movement, this a calculated preliminary to disarm the white opposition which still dithers between full-scale unremitting opposition and fear of being identified with too left policies. So Vorster banned the Congress of Democrats, the most militant of the white opposition bodies, in the hope the rest of the white opposition would fold up. Even here he has not succeeded.

As for the African movement, smear tactics simply do not go down.

LONG SERVICE

The five new house arrest victims all have a record of long service and leadership in the national liberation struggle. Rusty Bernstein and Michael Harmel were both members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party before it was banned in 1950. They have always been an

integral part of the broad front of national liberation. Both have contributed penetrating and analytical articles to the progressive press like New Age, Fighting Talk and Liberation, when the latter was in existence.

Four of the five new house arrest victims are ex-servicemen and played a leading role in the Springbok Legion during and after the war. Jack Hodgson was the first secretary of the Springbok Legion, served on the Soldiers' and War Workers' Demobilisation Board (for which he received a letter of thanks from Gen. Smuts), and was first secretary of the Congress of Democrats when after the war the fight against Nazism shifted to all-out opposition to the local brand of the Nationalists in South Africa.

Before this Hodgson did valuable organising work in the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union. Today he has a 30 per cent war disability, has been banned, restricted and hounded by the Special Branch from one attempt to run a business to another and now is told by Vorster that he should find permanent employment from the confines of his tiny Hillbrow flat.

STAGE WORK

Cecil Williams, the well-known stage producer admired for his presentation of plays with a social conscience like the "Kimberley Train," "Home of the Brave," "The Strong are Lonely" and lately for his productions for Union Artists was an officer in the South African Navy, served as an Information Officer in Italy and was national secretary of the Springbok Legion after the banning of Hodgson.

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"The Struggle Must Go On"

— Mrs. Mandela

JOHANNESBURG.

THE day her husband was sent to prison for five years, Mrs. Zanyivi Winnie Mandela sang national songs with the crowd at the trial with the smiling courage that has characterised her since her husband went underground, and before that during the long drawn-out treason trial and the state of emergency.

Hours after she heard the five-year sentence pronounced in court, Mrs. Mandela told New Age: "I feel free. I have never been so confident about the future in store for the

African people. What has happened should take none of us by surprise, for we are faced with a vicious oppressor. I will continue the fight as I have in all ways done in the past."

DADDY WAS TAKEN . . .

Mrs. Mandela said her two young children were still too young to understand what was happening. "All the oldest one knows is that her daddy was taken by the police one day . . . I shall certainly live under great strain in the coming years, but this type of life has become part and parcel of my life for some time."

"I married Nel in 1958 . . . he was then a treason trial accused and I was aware that

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Mrs. Winnie Mandela with her two children. On the left is Zenzani aged 4 and on the right Zintziswa aged 1.

MANDELA'S LAST STAND IN COURT

— See Page 4



NEW AGE

LETTER BOX

INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

I was thoroughly disgusted with your blatantly dishonest and deceptive comment on the India/China dispute which appeared in the October 25 issue of New Age.

You tried to create the impression of fair play by posing a Chinese viewpoint against an Indian one, and tried to suggest that Indians generally were aware of the peaceful intentions of the Chinese. The real culprits were the stereotype communist bogey man—the capitalists, Indians in this instance.

The Indian statement which you chose to print was deliberately and dishonestly selected to vindicate China. If this had not been the intention, then a statement of the Chinese Government would have been accompanied by a statement from the Indian Government, not by that of an Indian parliamentary party.

However, the most serious breach lies in the fact that you selected an outdated statement of the Indian Communist Party and made no attempt to keep your public informed of the more up to date attitude of the Indian Communist Party which aligns itself unreservedly with the Indian Government and is aggressively critical of the Chinese Communist. Local Natal papers have printed these statements. I refer to the Graphic and Leader dated November 2, 1962. Had you sought access to them and had you deemed them pertinent to your proposition, you could have likewise had easy access to them.

I can draw no other conclusion than that the New Age deliberately and calculatedly used a statement which had lost all historical significance to mislead and to prop up its emotional and biased solidarity to a Communist Government, right or wrong, ethical or unethical, democratically peaceful or aggressive.

Admiration for the efficiency of socialist planning and partnership in this respect is one thing, blind irrational allegiance to a dogma is untenable.

TIME FOR UNITY

We are entering a period when the Government is openly pushing fascist laws, spending millions on militarisation. The Government fears the non-white in general and the African in particular. Many Africans are dying of direct and indirect oppression. Every day many die of starvation and South Africa is a land of misery—the richest and most advanced part of Africa.

Machine guns and jets do not make the Nids invincible. Even with the aid of other western powers they are not stronger than the will of the people.

But if this oppression goes on for many more years, it will partly be the blame of the organisations which are divided among themselves. This is no time for so many political movements. Unify yourselves and for the movement and forget about crazy party opinion for a while.

SELLO M. MATSOBANE

Krugersdorp.

My very strong advice to the New Age is to concentrate on local affairs on which it has direct and up to date information and in lieu of which it serves an important national function.

FATIMA MEER (Mrs.)

(Mrs. Meer's assumptions are completely baseless. We printed the Indian Communist's statement in our issue of October 25 because it was the first and only indication we had had up to that time that they differed from the Chinese in their approach to the border problem and declared their support for Nehru's policies. It was received in our office during the week before we went to press. The later statements which Mrs. Meer alleges we suppressed were only printed in the Graphic and the Leader one week afterwards. That we have had no intention of suppressing the views of any parties to the dispute at any time may be gauged from last week's New Age when we published a selection of views by the Soviet Union, China, Indian Government, Indian Communists and Indonesian Trade Unions.—Ed.)

PEN FRIENDS WANTED

Nikulin Alesha, aged 17, a Soviet citizen, is written to New Age asking for penfriends in South Africa. His address is c/o International Club, Pioneer Palace, Leningrad, USSR.

South Africans who are interested are invited to correspond with him at the above address.

Motsete Group Condemned

We of the Bechuanaaland People's Party identify ourselves with all freedom fighters and the liberation movement of Africa. We want the liberation not only of Bechuanaaland but of the whole of Africa from the White oppressive colonial self-styled rulers.

We therefore deplore and denounce the recent action of Motsete and his group, who demonstrated against the recent ANC conference while it was being held in Lobatse. What Motsete and his colleagues have done is scandalous and a disgrace for the people of Bechuanaaland and a shock to the world and all freedom fighters.

Thomases are born every day in our country and we know that there were some born in Bechuanaaland recently, led by Motsete. If he feels helping a white imperialist he may do it by himself but not at the expense of the BPP and the sons and daughters of Bechuanaaland.

Motsete was the former President of the BPP but at the conference in August of this year 19 out of 26 branches cast a vote of no confidence in his leadership and elected Mr. M. K. Mpho as President of the BPP. Now Motsete and his group are deceiving the people and the cause he originally pledged to follow.

BISHOP D. MACHENG
Secretary-General, BPP.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

We heard our leaders so often speak of freedom before they were imprisoned or banned. And even today if you are a bus conductor or from work the only conversation among the people is "We want and will win freedom through thick and thin."

But there are still some hard-thinking people who don't care about our jailed leaders fighting for our rights in our factories. Instead of going to a meeting, they go to the shebeens where as they say they enjoy their freedom drinking beer.

South Africans, realise your freedom and be brave like your leader Robert Sobukwe and his great followers.

PAN-AFRICANIST
Langa, Cape Town.

EDITORIAL

Will The U.N. Bring Freedom?

THE decision of the United Nations General Assembly to request member states to impose diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa represents the most formidable blow yet struck against apartheid by the outside world. The size of the majority—67 to 16 with 23 abstentions and 4 absent—is a measure of the world's detestation of the abhorrent colour bar policies of the Nationalist Government.

But the U.N. decision represents more than an attitude; it embodies also the desire of the majority of the world's peoples that something concrete should be done to bring apartheid to an end. The resolution calls for the breaking off of diplomatic relations, trade boycott, arms embargo, refusal of landing and passage facilities to ships and planes—and a request to the Security Council to consider the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

The Verwoerd Government has reacted to the U.N. decision with surprising mildness—apart from a vicious attack by the Prime Minister on Israel, the motive for which it is not very difficult to understand. But on the whole the South African Government has declared itself unworried by the threat of sanctions, pointing out that the Republic's main trading partners can be relied upon to continue to do business with her, as most of them voted against the resolution and are in any case not bound by its provisions which are merely commendations.

In other words, Britain, the United States, France, Germany and the other capitalist countries of the West, which have well over £1,000 million invested in South Africa, will ignore the U.N. resolution and help keep the Nationalist Government in the saddle because what matters to them is not the welfare of the people of South Africa but the millions of pounds which their labour profits come before principles where the West is concerned.

We can rely on the true friends of the South African people, the Afro-Asian powers and the socialist countries, to continue to strive for the implementation of the U.N. resolution, which represents the conscience of mankind revolted by the abomination of apartheid. But if we are realistic, we will not expect the resolution by itself to bring about a startling change in our fortunes.

What it should do is fortify the freedom fighters of South Africa with the encouragement that world opinion is on their side, and will bring such assistance to them in their struggle as is possible. But the main impetus for change in South Africa must still come from our own people.

It is not U.N. resolutions but the people's resolution which will bring freedom to South Africa. The battle must be fought on this. The millions of our own people must be mobilised and organised before final victory can be won.

CRISIS OF THE AGGRESSOR

In a time when the least a true internationalist can do is to condemn India for refusing to negotiate with China over their contradictory claims on the border region, hangover from colonial times, it is sad to see New Age finding space in its columns to publicise views that only serve to confuse the issue and thus mislead the people of our country.

As we all know, the capitalist press devotes a lot of its space and energies to build a picture of China as a big monster who thinks of nothing but fighting. Of course, this is not true. Time and again Chinese leaders have said that China stood for peace, general and complete disarmament and for equality among peoples and nations. Of course, India also subscribes to these views. But no one calls her an advocate of war.

Furthermore, in view of the fact that China has been constantly provoked by America and its satellite state of Formosa, its desire for peace cannot be dismissed as mere propaganda. After all they could have invaded the islands of Quezoy and Matsu, since the view of the American Generals and Admirals is that these islands are so possible to defend against invasion from China.

On the other hand, India is becoming notorious for its border disputes. First, it was Pakistan. It is today Kashmir is part of India, it is due to the presence of Indian

troops. At a certain stage, Pakistan proposed a referendum by which the people of Kashmir would decide about their future. India refused. The Indian Government even arrested its leader who led the movement for autonomy, a movement they helped to create before they decided to invade Kashmir. Certainly a strange behaviour for one who believes in peace and self-determination.

Now there is the question with China. China, however, has settled her border problems with other countries (for instance Nepal, Pakistan and Burma) by means of friendly talks. Why weren't they able to do the same with India? Indeed, what are the facts behind this border question?

Of the total area of Kashmir, about one-eighth is still ruled by Pakistan. A part of the northern region of Kashmir, about one-tenth of the total area, the region of Ladak and in general the Banastan, is Buddhist country, inhabited by people with social customs and relations different from the rest of Kashmir, which is Muslim country. This is the region China claims as belonging to the People's Republic of China. The Hindu population lives in the Yammu region, in the present Indo-Pakistan border. It should be noted that Pakistan recognises the Ladok area as rightfully belonging to China.

Some time ago the Chinese Govern-

ment built, at a tremendous cost, a highway linking Tibet to the Sinking through the mountainous and barren land of Ladak and Shikpi, and another one through one of the highest mountains in the world, the Karakorum. While this construction was going on, the Indian Government never dispute the right of the Indian. Instead, they built posts on both sides of the roads without interfering with the work or with the traffic after the work was completed. The Chinese on the spot did not realise what was going on, and as a result the Government in Peking only later on noticed what was happening. They did not go beyond sending a diplomatic protest to New Delhi. Instead of reasonably solving the problem once and for all, the Indian Government chose to answer with a diplomatic protest of their own.

This is in general lines the background of the border conflict. Time and again Chinese leaders asked for negotiations. As recently as October the 6th, "China sent another Note to India proposing that discussions on their boundary dispute be started at once on the basis of a report drawn up by officials of both countries" (my emphasis) (The Observer, 7th October 1962). There was no question of such negotiations meaning a loss of face to India, since, as stated, the report that would

serve as basis for negotiation had been drawn up by officials of both countries.

As a sort of a reply, the Indian border guards opened fire against the Chinese soldiers. The People's Army of China hit back and quickly took possession of what China claims as her territory.

It is tragic to see the great Indian people being misled by their Government and being used as cannon fodder in order to keep the cold war burning. The same intention that keep apartheid going, that threaten the heroic Cuban people, are now rushing "help" to the Indian army against the people of China and ultimately, also, against the people of India. Because guns are never used, never lost sight of this) the fundamental interests of the Indian people are the same as those of the Chinese people, the same as those of the South African people, the same as those of the Cuban people, an imperialist victory against any of these peoples is a defeat for all of them.

It is the task of the freedom-loving South African people to pressure the Indian Government for a halt to militarisation and a start of negotiations.

Before ending I would like to congratulate the workers in New Age for the fine newspaper they produce.

S.B.

Durban.

U.N. SANCTIONS VOTE WELCOMED BY S.A. LEADERS

"We Are Ready To Pay The Price"

THE resolution recommending economic sanctions against South Africa, adopted by an overwhelming majority by the General Assembly of the United Nations, has evoked widespread comments of support from leaders interviewed by New Age.

Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Con-

gress, said that yet another blow had been delivered by world public opinion against apartheid.

"Effective action by the countries who voted for this resolution will undoubtedly bring hardships for our people, but in the long-term implication of this resolution, it will bring home to white South Africa the dangers inherent in their continued support for the Nationalist cause."

IMPERIALISM

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (Durban) in a press

statement condemned the "tongue in the cheek" attitude of the major imperialist powers to this resolution.

"Whilst paying lip-service to the aspirations of the Non-White peoples in their struggle against apartheid, these countries, more particularly Britain and America, voted against the resolution.

"Their excuse was that such a resolution would affect the Non-White peoples. Who are they to judge what is good for us? The Non-White peoples' organisations called for this resolution; they campaigned for it both at home and abroad."

Stating that the Congress Alliance had taken into account the consequences of economic sanctions on the people of South Africa, SACTU said: "This is but a small price to pay to smash the chains of oppression in this country. What do these 'great Western saviours' of civilisation offer in place of sanctions? Nothing at all—just pious resolutions condemning apartheid.

"In the meantime arms to suppress the people's movement are being supplied to the Nationalist Government by Great Britain," adds the statement.

LOCAL ACTION

Calling on the people not to be deceived by such dishonest utterances SACTU states: "In any case international economic sanctions in itself will not bring freedom to the toiling masses in this country. Only by united and determined action by the oppressed peoples in this country can we use these international victories to further our struggle for full freedom and democracy for all in South Africa."

DURBAN.

MORE SABOTAGE IN EASTERN CAPE

PORT ELIZABETH.

TWENTY-NINE wires—twenty-two at Zablele and seven at New Brighton—forming one of the major telephone and telex outlets from Port Elizabeth, were cut on the night of November 6 and 7. Communications with the north were partly disrupted. For about five hours Port Elizabeth had no direct telephone and telex contact with a large part of the country.

Involved in this breakdown was also the line carrying the SAPA news service to Port Elizabeth.

No arrests were made in connection with this incident.

An attempt to derail a train was made near Perseverance, about 15 miles from Port Elizabeth. An iron clamp was used as a buffer, but it was reported that there was no derailment because the Graaff-Reinet train which was the first to run over this section of the line was not travelling fast at the time as it had just stopped at Perseverance.

Five arrests were reported to have been made in connection

with this derailment and later two Africans were reported to have been questioned for a whole day.

Twenty-seven nuts and four couplings were uncwrenched on the railway line near Centlives, about seven miles north of Uitenhage, on Thursday morning.

A large number of Africans working in the nearby quarries and farms were questioned in connection with this attempt at derailment.

And in Cape Town

Saboteurs in Cape Town cut a thick underground cable serving the new municipal power station at Athlone on Saturday night, isolating the station from the rest of the Peninsula for more than 10 1/2 hours.

An expert said the saboteurs must have had a thorough knowledge of cables since it would normally be dangerous for an inexperienced person to saw through such a line.

House-Arrested by Vorster



Michael Harmel



Jack Hodgson

COUNTRY SHOCKED

(Continued from page 1)

Williams was arrested together with Nelson Mandela when he drove the underground leader on a mission to Natal.

Rica Hodgson, New Age's talented fund raiser, is known in country towns in every province for her work for this paper and other progressive causes. She too has a record of war service in the WAAF, worked for the Springbok Legion for six years and since then had had a spell of running the Defence and Aid Fund, collecting ball and fines for political arrests.

Before Defence and Aid she worked for the Treason Trial Defence Fund.

EMERGENCY

Rica Hodgson, Rusty Bernstein and Cecil Williams were all locked up during the state of emergency after Sharpeville.

Yet another victim of Nationalist tyranny last week was Victor Goldberg, a one-time chairman of the Transvaal Congress of Democrats, who has been served with a new type of banning order prohibiting him from "any gathering at which persons have social intercourse with one another."

Anne Nicholson, one of the younger members of the Congress of Democrats before its banning, was called before the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg and warned—on the instructions of the Minister of Justice—that she would be placed under house arrest if she did not cease her political activities.

This is the first known such warning delivered by a magistrate to a political.

Alvern Bennie Charged

PORT ELIZABETH.

Mr. Alvern Bennie, a prominent Port Elizabeth SACTU organiser, has been charged with attending a gathering in violation of a banning order served on him recently. He was released on R200 bail, after the hearing had been adjourned to November 19.

Two others, arrested with Mr. Bennie during a raid on a house in New Brighton, have been charged under the General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act. They are Messrs Lungile Kepe and Fanele Mati, who have also been released on R200 bail, subject to the condition that they report to the New Brighton police station every day.

Their case was remanded to November 12, when they will appear together with 35 others similarly charged under the Sabotage Act.



Rica Hodgson

World-Wide Support for Mandela

JOHANNESBURG.

DURING the course of his trial, Nelson Mandela received many messages of support from both local and overseas organisations and individuals.

A cable from the British Overseas Socialist Fellowship said: "We are with you in your steadfast fight for South Africa's freedom from oppression, and admire your courageous struggle against apartheid."

Another, from the Hungarian Solidarity Committee with Peoples Struggling for Independence, reads: "The Hungarian Solidarity Committee expresses strong protest against the fact that the South African authorities have put you and your friends on trial because of your firm and courageous stand against apartheid."

"In the name of the Hungarian people we assure you of our solidarity in your heroic fight."

Similar messages of solidarity were received from the South West African National Union, the Cape Town Liberal Party, the National Union of Young Cuban Communists, the Finchley Anti-Apartheid Committee, the Christian Action Council, the B.A.S.T.A.D. Anti-Apartheid Committee and many other organisations and individuals.

ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY



November 1 is Algerian Independence Day. Our picture shows the huge crowd watching the military section of the Independence Day parade passing through the centre of Algiers—the first Independence Day parade in the history of the country.

Conscience Made It Imperative To Oppose Unjust Laws

"I HAVE FIGHTED TO OPPOSE UNJUST LAWS TO PREVENT THEM FROM BEING ENFORCED"

MANDELA'S address to court before sentence was passed traced his participation in the strike that led to his trial; his early life in a Transkei village, his growing interest in politics and joining of the African National Congress, his struggles to practice as an attorney, together with his partner Oliver Tambo, his own experience of discrimination and how his whole life had been a conflict between his conscience and the law.

His conscience had made it imperative for him to oppose laws which were "unjust, immoral and intolerable."

Opening his address, Mandela claimed that the court must take into account the question of whether he was responsible for the offence of incitement or whether a large measure of responsibility did not lie on the shoulders of the Government which promulgated the law for establishing a Republic in South Africa, knowing that his people as a whole, who constitute the majority of the population of this country, were opposed to that law, and knowing further that every means of dem-

onstrating that opposition had been closed to them by prior legislation.

It is common knowledge, declared Mandela, that the All-African Conference of March 25 and 26 last year decided that in place of the unilateral proclamation of a Republic by the white minority, it would demand in the name of the African people the calling of a truly national convention representative of all South Africans, irrespective of colour, to sit amicably round a table and debate a new constitution for South Africa. Since the conference was fully aware that the Nationalist Government had refused to deal with, discuss with or take into consideration the views of the overwhelming majority of the South African population, it was necessary for the conference to find a means of stating its aims strongly and powerfully, despite the Government's unwillingness to listen. Accordingly it decided that should the Government fail to call a National Convention before 31st May 1961, all sections of the population would be called on to stage a general strike for a period of 3 days.

He claimed that Government violence could only do one thing and that was to breed counter-violence. "Already there are indications in this country that people, my people, Africans, are turning to deliberate acts of violence and of force against the Government in order to persuade the Government in the only language which this Government shows, by its own behaviour, that it understands."

Burns, banings and persecution by the police had made him a criminal, said Mandela, not "because of what I had done but of what I stood for. But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the Government had decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry upon him. I was driven to this situation and I do not regret it . . . Other people would be driven to the same course . . ."

"History shows that penalties do not deter men when their conscience is aroused, nor will they deter my people or my colleagues with whom I have worked before. I am prepared to pay the penalty even though I know how bitter and desperate is the situation of an African in the prisons of this country."

He pledged himself to take up after his sentence was completed the struggle for the removal of injustices until they were finally abolished once and for all.

On the charge of leaving the country without a passport Mandela said he did not apply for one because he knew it would not be granted.

He and his colleagues had received an invitation to attend the conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa at Addis Ababa.

His tour of the continent made a forceful impression on him. For the first time in his life he was free from white oppression and the ideology of apartheid and racial arrogance.

Mandela listed the many statesmen and leaders whom he had met. Rashidi Kawawa, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and Julius

and practise in an African location in the back of beyond, miles from the courts and his clients. Since this was tantamount to asking them to abandon their practice, they knowingly defied the law and continued to practise in the city illegally; this defiance of the law was forced upon them against their wishes, by the action of the authorities.

In the courts they were often discriminated against and Mandela was constantly aware that he could never become prosecutor, magistrate or judge. Mandela stated that he regarded it as a duty which he owed to his people, to his profession, and to the practice of law and of justice to all mankind, to cry out against this discrimination. He recalled the Defiance Campaign (when the Johannesburg Law Society failed in its application to have his name struck off the roll because of the part he played in it); his four years before the courts on high treason, and his many months detention during the emergency.

-Mandela

Ynyerere; Emperor Haile Selassie, General Aboud, President of the Sudan; Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia; Modibo Keita, of the Republic of Mali; Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal; President Sekou Toure of Guinea; President Tubman of Liberia; Ben Bella, Prime Minister of Algeria, and Colonel Boumediene, Commander-in-chief of the Algerian Army of National Liberation; Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labour Party, and Jo Grimmond, leader of the Liberal Party in Britain; Prime Minister Oloole of Uganda; and distinguished nationalists like Kenneth Kaunda, Oginga Odinga, Joshua Nkomo and many others.

South Africa was out of step with the civilised world as was shown by the resolution adopted the night before by the General Assembly of the United Nations which decided to impose diplomatic and economic sanctions.

"I must place on record my belief that I have been only one in a large army of people, to all of whom the credit for any success of achievement is due . . . I have been fortunate throughout my political life to work together with colleagues whose abilities and contributions to the cause of my people's freedom have been greater and better than my own, people who have been loved and respected by the African population for the dedicated way in which they have fought for freedom and for peace and justice in this country."

"It distresses me to read reports that my arrest has been instigated by some of my colleagues for some sinister purposes of their own. Nothing could be further from the truth. I dismiss these suggestions as the sensational inventions of unscrupulous journalists. People who stoop to such unscrupulous manoeuvres as the betrayal of their own comrades have no place in the good fight which I have fought for the freedom of the African people, which my colleagues continue to fight without me today."



The policeman doesn't look too happy: he is escorting a relative of Nelson Mandela to a seat in the public gallery.



More police than people? At times it looked like it, as the force swarmed inside and all around the court.

Conscience and the Law

"Your Worship may well wonder why I should persist with conduct which has brought me these difficulties . . ."

"I would say that the whole life of any thinking African in this country drives him continuously to a conflict between his conscience on the one hand and the law on the other.

The law, especially as written and designed by the Nationalist Government, is a law which is immoral, unjust and intolerable. "Our conscience dictates that we must protest against it that we must oppose it and that we must attempt to alter it.

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Before the White Man

In order that the court should understand the frame of mind which led him to act as he did, the accused explained the background of his own political development. He recalled the tales he heard as a boy of the good old days before the arrival of the white man when his people lived peacefully under a democratic monarchy, and owned the land, forests, rivers, mineral wealth, and all the riches of this beautiful country. He recalled the names of the great heroes such as Dingane, Bambata, Hintsa, Makana, Ndabeni, Sanguati, Dalasite and Sekhukhane—the pride and glory of the entire African nation—who led their people in defence of their fatherland.

"I hoped and vowed then that among the treasures that life might offer me, would be the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggles."

Into the A.N.C.

He joined the ANC in 1944, said Mandela, and followed its policy, supported it and believed in its aims and outlook for 18 years. Its policy was one which appealed to his deepest inner convictions. Mandela explained that the principles of the ANC had been embodied in the Freedom Charter "which no one in this country will dare challenge for its place as the most democratic programme of political principles ever enunciated by any political party or organisation in this country."

These principles have not been those of the African people alone but have been adopted by the Indian people and the S.A. Indian Congress, a section of the Coloured people through the S.A. Coloured People's Congress, and by a far-sighted, forward-looking section of the whites whose organisation in days gone by was the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

Colour Bar in Court

Mandela explained to the court how in his career as an attorney he suffered because of his colour and membership of the ANC. He described how the authorities insisted that he and his partner Oliver Tambo must leave the city

and practise in an African location in the back of beyond, miles from the courts and his clients. Since this was tantamount to asking them to abandon their practice, they knowingly defied the law and continued to practise in the city illegally; this defiance of the law was forced upon them against their wishes, by the action of the authorities.

Conscience and the Law

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the Government.

He claimed that Government violence could only do one thing and that was to breed counter-violence. "Already there are indications in this country that people, my people, Africans, are turning to deliberate acts of violence and of force against the Government in order to persuade the Government in the only language which this Government shows, by its own behaviour, that it understands."

Burns, banings and persecution by the police had made him a criminal, said Mandela, not "because of what I had done but of what I stood for. But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the Government had decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry upon him. I was driven to this situation and I do not regret it . . . Other people would be driven to the same course . . ."

"History shows that penalties do not deter men when their conscience is aroused, nor will they deter my people or my colleagues with whom I have worked before. I am prepared to pay the penalty even though I know how bitter and desperate is the situation of an African in the prisons of this country."

He pledged himself to take up after his sentence was completed the struggle for the removal of injustices until they were finally abolished once and for all.

On the charge of leaving the country without a passport Mandela said he did not apply for one because he knew it would not be granted.

He and his colleagues had received an invitation to attend the conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa at Addis Ababa.

His tour of the continent made a forceful impression on him. For the first time in his life he was free from white oppression and the ideology of apartheid and racial arrogance.

Mandela listed the many statesmen and leaders whom he had met. Rashidi Kawawa, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and Julius

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An aunt of Nelson Mandela came to the final day of the trial and blew her pipe with the her.



'Relatives only' the police officer told the crowd trying to get into the public galleries. Mrs. Winnie Mandela is wearing a white hat.



There is a Government ban on demonstrations over trials but these women in the crowd at Pretoria did not seem to have heard of it.

MANDELA JAILED FOR 5 YEARS

JOHANNESBURG.

NELSON Mandela went to jail last week for five years, but not before he had ended his trial with the flourish that marked his defence throughout. He declared to the court: "I have no doubt that posterity will pronounce that I was innocent and that the criminals that should have been brought before this Court are the members of the Verwoerd Government."

The sentence was three years imprisonment for incitement to strike and two years for leaving the country without a passport. The trial on these two counts became, in Mandela's hands, an indictment of white domination and Nationalist rule, with Mandela acting prosecutor in the case of *The People against The Government*.

POLICE JITTERY

In an all-out attempt to prevent any pro-Mandela demonstrations occurring outside the Pretoria Court building, police sealed off the block at Proes and Struben Streets, diverted traffic and held back hundreds of Mandela supporters, preventing them from gathering outside the court.

Before 8.30 a.m. the well of the court was filled with African spectators but the police refused entry to any other Africans, reserving the Non-white gallery for Whites only although the white gallery was not full.

Outside the courtroom the street and courtyard swarmed with armed police, some equipped with tear gas, many jittery and on edge. A white youngster sporting his S.A.P. uniform barked at African spectators leaving the court to visit the outside toilets—"Jy kannie bier rond loop nie—dis nie 'a Bioscope' nie!" and threatened to throw them out if they left the building.

Each time Mandela entered the court the spectators rose to their feet. This served to identify the numerous plain-clothed police who sat with eyes pricked amongst the spectators in the white gallery;

they remained seated.

Every time Mandela entered or left the court he saluted his people with "Amanzithu" and received a warm "Aweethu" in response. His last three Amanzithu salutes before leaving the court to start serving his long term of imprisonment were delivered with such fire and boldness and the response "Aweethu" burst forth with such force from over a hundred throats that the hall rang again and again with the echo.

In his summing up the magistrate, Mr. W. A. van Heulsting, observed on more than one occasion that Nelson Mandela was a man of standing amongst his people. He had no doubt that Mandela was the leader, instigator, firebrand, main mouthpiece and brains behind the organisation which called the nation-wide strike on May 29, 30 and 31 last year.

He stated that Mandela's activities were not only unlawful but

undemocratic. Mandela showed no remorse but seemed proud of his achievements; he had stated no uncertain terms that he would continue his activities whatever the sentence passed on him. The magistrate noted: "We are living under abnormal and trying conditions." If law and order were not maintained, anarchy would reign. He declared that the court was not concerned with politics but with the maintenance of law and order.

BATTLE-CRY

At the close of the trial the crowd left the court singing "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika" and marched up the street singing "Tshotholozela Mandela" in spite of Vorster's ban on demonstrations of this kind. A large number of Mandela supporters were waiting behind a police barrier at the end of the block and many militant lists were raised as public women shrilled a battle-cry when the two crowds met. The people marched up the street with police swarming round them anxiously, and slowly dispersed to their buses which had brought them to see their leader for the last time for 5 long years.

"The Fight Must Go On"

(Continued from page 1)

even a death sentence was hanging over his head.

"I do not think that people should worry that he has been sentenced to five years imprisonment. Their worry must be whether we are prepared to allow the Nationalist Government in power that long. This is what people must worry about."

Winnie Mandela added: "The greatest honour a people can pay to a martyr is to keep the flame burning, to continue the fight."

LEADERS OF AFRICA

"The arrest and the locking up of my husband must be taken as that of Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana, who was freed from prison before he finished his term and took over the premiership of his country. It must be taken as that of Dr. Fidel Castro who stayed in the mountains for

six years and came down after the revolution to lead the Cuban people. It must be taken as that of the Ben Bella and other great leaders of Africa who have suffered for their people.

"The Makans must not be forgotten, the great leaders of the older days who fought with spears against the white man. People must have these events ringing in their heads so that Mandela will not be forgotten for more than a year.

"We must recognise and acknowledge that our struggle is against white domination and is in Africa, and that the bribe must fall upon Africans.

"My husband correctly said: 'Suffering in jail is not compared to suffering outside jail. Our people suffer inside and out of the jails. BUT SUFFERING IS NOT ENOUGH; WE MUST STRUGGLE.'"

STATE PRESIDENT BANS TWO FROM CAPE TOWN

Matanzima's Opponents Exiled to Transkei

CAPE TOWN.

TWO prominent leaders of the African people who qualify for permanent residence in terms of the Urban Areas Act were last week served with orders signed by the State President, Mr. C. R. Swart, banishing them from the Cape Peninsula for ever.

They are Mr. Gilbert Hani, who has lived in Cape Town for 24 years, and Mr. Jacob Mpenba, whose period of residence here is 31 years.

Both are well known as strong opponents of the Government's Bantustan policy. Mr. Hani is the father of Mr. Martin Hani, who was recently sentenced with Mr. Archie Sibeko and two others to 18 months imprisonment for being in possession of ANC leaflets.

Mr. Hani's notice, issued in terms of the Native Administration Act of 1927, states that in view of the fact that Mr. Swart considers it "in the general public interest" that he should not be allowed to reside in Cape Town, he is therefore ordered to move to Location No. 46, Lower Sabalee, under Headman Gwebuza. Mr. Mpenba, who is the father of St. Mark's, Transkei, where the Bantu Commissioner, Cofimavaba, will show him a place to live.

MAY NOT RETURN

The order also forbids Mr. Hani to return to Cape Town at any time, or to go to any other place save with the written permission of the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development.

The order served on Mr. Mpenba is identical, except that he is banished to a different village in the St. Mark's district.

The orders take effect immedi-

ately, but the two men have been given until November 15 to quit Cape Town.

Mr. Hani is a pedlar, and does not know how he will make a living in the Transkei. Mr. Mpenba lives in Cape Town with his wife and eight children, all of whom will be left behind without any means of support as a result of the order.

Mr. Hani is well known as a strong opponent of Chief Kaiser Matanzima, chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority. While he was on a visit to the Transkei in December 1960, he was hauled before one of Matanzima's bush courts and fined one pound or £10 for criticising Matanzima at public meetings in Cape Town.

The conviction was set aside on appeal.

RECENT VISIT

The present order is believed to be a consequence of the recent abortive visit to Cape Town of a delegation from Chief Matanzima, led by his brother George.

The delegation, which attempted to win support for the Government's Bantustan policies, met with a hostile reception. A bomb was thrown into the house at Langa where members of the delegation were staying. When the delegation attempted to hold a public meeting, the members of the audience rose in disgust and walked out.

Now Matanzima and the Bantu Administration Department are striking back. The Transkei is under emergency rule and opponents of the Government can be detained indefinitely without trial.

But, says Mr. Hani, "they will never change me. I shall remain opposed to everything Matanzima

represents until either I die or he dies. They can do what they like, they can torture my body, but they will never break my spirit."

FOOTNOTE: Headman Gqoboz, to whose location Mr. Hani was being ordered to move, was killed in the Transkei on October 19—four days before the order banishing the two men was signed by the State President. A number of people are at present in custody on an allegation of murder arising from the headman's death.



Mr. Gilbert Hani



Mr. Jacob Mpenba

NAICKER and DHLAMINI ON BORDER DISPUTE

DURBAN.

"FOR some years now, India and China have had differences over the border dividing the two countries but these differences should never have resulted in the present armed hostility between two friendly countries who have much to contribute to the welfare of entire mankind," said Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress, in a statement to New Age on the Indo-Chinese dispute.

"The existing differences and the present armed struggle will please no true friend of the Indian and Chinese people," he added.

Stating that the border dispute was being resolved by force of arms rather than negotiation, with China becoming an aggressor and India a defender, Dr. Naicker said: "This is certainly not in keeping with the high spirit of the Bandung Conference decisions.

PANCH-SHILA

"The Panch-Shila—the five-point peace programme adopted at Bandung—is being flagrantly violated. Conditions have been created whereby the whole concept of positive neutralism enunciated at the historic Bandung Conference is being endangered."

Stating that the South African

MPANZA BACKS BANTU COUNCILS

JOHANNESBURG.

Mpanza will campaign in the December 15 Advisory Board elections for the immediate establishment of the Urban Bantu Councils. This is what he told New Age in an interview last week.

Mpanza alone among the Board members of Orlando sticks up publicly for Urban Bantu Councils and faces the overwhelming opposition of the residents.

He would support Urban Bantu Councils because a very small piece of bread was better than no bread, he said. "No matter how small the bread may be I will accept it, then ask for more. It is very foolish to ask for all at one time. English people say Rome was not built in one day," said Mr. Mpanza.

Indian Congress had already written to both Pandit Nehru and Chou-en-Lai urging negotiations. Dr. Naicker added that other nations who took part in the Bandung Conference must take positive steps to bring about a negotiated peace between these two countries.

S.A.C.T.U. VIEW

Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, Chairman of the multi-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions, said that it was regrettable that this situation had developed between India and China.

"I call on my South African Indian brothers not to become too emotionally involved over this question. The role of all South Africans, who desire and fight for

peace, must be to see that this border clash does not become part of the cold war.

"Imperialism, the scourge of mankind, which has been responsible for centuries of oppression and exploitation in both China and India, must be kept out of these countries. Every progressive person, more particularly on the continent of Africa must work for a speedy settlement of this dispute.

"The South African Congress of Trade Unions appeals to all organisations and individuals to write to both Nehru and Chou-en-Lai calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities and urging a meeting of representatives of both countries to negotiate a peaceful settlement," concluded Mr. Dhlamini.

BANISHMENTS CONDEMNED BY LANGA MEETING

CAPE TOWN.

AT a protest meeting of more than 500 people against the deportation orders served by the State President on Mr. Hani and Mr. Mpenba, the following resolution was passed:

"This protest meeting of the African Youth League, Langa Group, resolves (1) that the deportation orders against Gilbert Hani and Jacob Mpenba are vicious acts of intimidation directed against all freedom fighters and an affront to the basic rights of freedom of movement, association and freedom to earn a living. It therefore condemns any such measures and calls on the African masses to back the resistance against oppressive laws.

"(2) The non-co-operation campaign designed to make oppressive machinery unworkable should be stepped up with greater vigour than ever.

REMOVALS

"(3) The inhuman removal of all Africans from the Western Cape is the immediate concern of all Africans and necessitates firm and united action on the part of all Africans in fighting it.

"(4) The notorious Sabotage Act under which people are placed under house arrest cannot stop us from fighting and obtaining our objectives of full democratic rights and one man one vote.

"(5) We express solidarity with Nelson Mandela now serving a 5-year jail sentence for calling on the people not to collaborate with their oppressors. It also reminds the Nationalists that Mandela's crimes and those of the others lingering in jail are our crimes—because they represent our interests.

"(6) The meeting refuses to agree that Messrs Hani and Mpenba should leave the Western Cape. It should be enforced if we resolve to take appropriate action to stop such intimidation."

Those who spoke were Messrs Yangapi, Maraw, Naba, Hani, Qumbela, Mhizzi, Lona and Martin Hani. Mr. Solwande was in the chair.

At one stage the police tried to stop the use of the loudspeaker system. When the chairman announced the order to the audience, the people shouted, "Let's remove them, not the loudspeaker." The loudspeaker was left alone.

IN NEXT ISSUE

Owing to pressure on space, the fourth article in the series "Newspapers in the March to Freedom" has had to be held over to next week.

Peace Council Reply To Radio South Africa

IN the broadcast talks "We present facts" the South African Peace Council has been subject to comment, and in fact "smeared."

It was stated that the South African Peace Council is linked with the World Peace Council and that this is "listed as a Communist front organisation." The facts are quite different. During the 13 years of its existence the world peace movement has made a most considerable contribution to the preservation of peace, has helped to ease the cold war and prevent it becoming actual war, and has also contributed to the ending of war in such areas as Indo-China, Korea and Algeria.

The last Congress organised on the initiative of the World Peace Council was held in July of this year, bringing together over 2,000 delegates from all countries including people of every possible viewpoint. All had a common aim: to free the world from the fear of war and destruction, to bring the armaments race to an end, to ban the manufacturing, testing and use of nuclear weapons by any country, and to achieve total dis-

armament, which in the end is the only way to ensure permanent peace, and to release tremendous resources and money to raise the living standards of all.

The South African Peace Council is not affiliated to the World Peace Council, and holds the view that racial discrimination and oppression, or domination by one group over another, is dangerous to peace and that people must be enlightened on the necessity to eliminate such discrimination, together with other causes of conflict, to bring peace and happiness to mankind.

The South African Peace Council is not affiliated to the World Peace Council, but supports its work for peace and its world campaigns for disarmament. In addition, it associates with and supports any individual, group or organisation, no matter what their political attitudes, provided they genuinely believe in, and work for world peace.

It is improper for Mr. Vorster to use the broadcast as his mouthpiece in attempting to "justify" the imposition of house arrest, on the grounds that individuals concerned supported our Peace Council and therefore the World Peace Council.

WORLD STAGE ON CUBA

CASTRO POPULAR AS EVER

The recent Cuban crisis emphasised one thing above all: that the Americans have failed completely in their plan to topple the new regime in Cuba by means other than direct invasion. Bribery, terrorism and blockade have completely failed to shake the great confidence that the overwhelming mass of Cubans feel for their government led by Fidel Castro. At the same time, the Cuban leaders are the first to point out that the sabotage and blockade, plus the lack of trained administrators and specialists, have produced difficulties for the island's growing economy.

We print below an authoritative account of the situation in Cuba written by PROFESSOR JOSEPH MORRAY, author of From Yalta to Disarmament, who has just returned to the United States after a two-year stay in Cuba where he taught at the University of Havana. The article, which was written shortly before Kennedy's latest threat to the island, is written in answer to the question:

From the stories in our press, one would gather that the Cubans are in great trouble economically, and psychologically. Is this true? Just how badly off are the people?

THE troubles are mainly economic. Income has gone up as a result of more steady employment and a reduction in such expenses as electricity and rents. The tenant farmers, for example, are now owners and have extra money to spend. Farm labourers, who formerly worked only four months a year, now have steady incomes.

These people are at the bottom of the economic ladder. They are now consuming more than ever before. The increase in consumption in the countryside is greater than the increase in production. Therefore there are shortages in the cities. Although production has gone up, this is due to an increase in the number of workers and the amount of land employed, not to an increase in productivity. Good administrators are extremely scarce. Many of them followed their old bosses to Miami. Those who stayed were frequently lukewarm to the Revolution. Their talents and experience have not been fully utilised, because they were suspect.

Over-confidence, inexperience, extremism on the part of the revolutionaries run in charge of farms and factories. There is much chaos and confusion in production and distribution.

IN GENERAL, THE CUBANS HAVE NEVER BEEN GOOD ORGANISERS. THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED TO SPONTANEITY.

Planning is still largely theoretical. They constantly repeat that it had to be introduced, but this is easier said than done. There is still no shame at a failure to meet quotas, since practically no one meets quotas.

Human Attitudes

Economic underdevelopment is registered, not only in a shortage of machinery, but in a low level of technical and administrative skills. The deficiency of machines is the lesser problem. The socialist countries can remedy this as rapidly as the Cubans can absorb them. But it takes years to develop good administrators, good technicians. Progress will be slow for a generation, just as it was in Russia, because this is a problem of changing customs, changing human attitudes and work habits.

Added to this handicap is the United States blockade and harassment. Much of the best human material is necessarily non-productive, because it must be kept at the task of training the youth and guarding the island from a military attack.

The blockade forces the Cubans to improvise spare parts. This takes time and is frequently proves impossible. Workers are non-productive while their machines are paralysed, and this affects output all along the line.

Food Rationing

These are the economic difficulties. They are great, but they do not imperil the Revolution. Food rationing had to be introduced in the cities, owing partly

to increased consumption in the countryside and partly to the long drought, the worst in forty years. But the rations are well above the starvation level. Rice is abundant, and there is some milk, fish, meat, eggs, and starches for everyone.

Every child below the age of eight years receives a litre of milk (a little more than a quart) per day. Others receive a litre for five people, enough for a cup of cafe con leche at breakfast. The 50,000 young people who are studying at the high-school and junior-high-school levels in the new scholarship programme in Havana receive favoured treatment. All look to this new generation. Rationing is an inconvenience and irritation, but it guarantees fair distribution. Most Cubans, the lower 80 to 85 per cent, have a better diet today than before the Revolution.

The upper-class people of the city, most of whom have always resented the Revolution, find in rationing new cause to complain. They claim to be hungry, but they don't look it. They are spoiled and feel the pinch by contrast. Some have staged street demonstrations, beating on empty dishes and pans with spoons. The counter-revolution and the United States press magnify these incidents.

Counter-revolutionary bands continue to exist, though on nothing like the scale of the Escambray operation in 1960. Occasionally they burn a bus or kill a militiaman. There was some burning of cane crops during the recent harvest season. No bombs have been exploded in Havana for months, a great contrast to 1960. The counter-revolution could not possibly overthrow the government.

Castro's Prestige

Fidel Castro's prestige and authority are undiminished. He continues to earn people's respect by his integrity and honesty with regard to the deficiencies in organisation and production. HE IS CONSTANTLY MOVING ABOUT, TAKING PEOPLE BY SURPRISE, TALKING WITH WORKERS AT ALL LEVELS.

No one is as well informed as he is as to what is really going on; and no one as merciless in his denunciation of chaos and inefficiency and neglect. Once again he proves himself to be a voice of the people. Although he heads up the government, he manages at the same time to keep his perspective on it and see it as the people do.

The Cubans have been sobered by the shortages and the production difficulties. They are newly aware that an end to foreign exploitation does not automatically solve the problem of organising their economy. But they still have infinite confidence in Castro's ability to lead them again to victory over all obstacles. They are also psychologically and politically sustained by their membership in the socialist bloc.

They see in the advances of the Soviet Union their own future. They are confident that the socialist countries will help them as necessary during the coming years.



—Hoy, Havana

INDIA—CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

"DO NOT PREJUDGE THE ISSUE"

—DR. NKURUMAH

THE British decision to rush arms to India has been strongly criticised by Dr. Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, in an exchange of correspondence with Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister.

Stating that he regretted Macmillan's suggestion that he (Nkrumah) had objected to the expression of British sympathy towards another Commonwealth country, Dr. Nkrumah's letter went on to say:—

"What distressed me was your statement that the British Government would give India every support. This appeared to me to be dangerously prejudging the issue and shutting the door in the face of any possible mediation or negotiation.

"The Commonwealth is not a military alliance and it would be most detrimental to its progress if the impression were created that Commonwealth members did not judge each issue independently on its merits but, instead, automatically sided with a fellow Commonwealth country when that country was engaged in a dispute with an outside Power."

NOT THE ISSUE

Dr. Nkrumah said the cordial relationship between India and Ghana was beyond dispute. "But this is not the issue. The present serious and critical situation between India and China could constitute a dangerous threat to world peace. In this circumstance it is surely our duty to do nothing to aggravate or prolong the conflict but to do everything which lies in our power to secure a speedy settlement of the dispute. Normally this could be achieved through the machinery of the United Nations. Unhappily, China is excluded from her rightful place in that organisation.

SEEK SOLUTION

"For this reason any dispute involving China is much more difficult of solution.

"... In my view a particular responsibility devolves on those countries who have diplomatic re-



lations with both India and the Chinese People's Republic. These countries could take the initiative in seeking a peaceful and honourable solution to the present dispute. The effectiveness of their action, however, is prejudiced if any among their number prejudice the issue by making public announcements in favour of one or other side in the dispute.

"Britain is one of the most important of the great powers which recognise both sides, and she could, in my view, play an important role in securing a solution which is agreeable to both India and China. I myself am doing what I can in this matter, but obviously any efforts which I can make would be most powerfully assisted if a group of nations, determined not to prejudice the issue, were to come forward and offer their good offices in seeking a settlement."

INTER-AMERICAN CONSULTATION:
All those Latin American States that support the U.S. blockade of Cuba —hands up!





A sit-in of the Black South demonstrators who encircled the Durban War Memorial last week. They were demonstrating against the by-passing of the courts, house arrests and alleged indoctrination being broadcast over the SABC. Earlier in the week a multi-racial demonstration was staged at the Non-White bus terminal by over fifty Congress volunteers. They carried placards reading: "Nails Must Go!" "Repel Saboteurs!" "One Man, One Vote!" "Down With Apartheid!" "House Arrest is Inhuman!" "Lift Ban on ANC and COD!" "We Want E-a-Day!"

GOVT. PLOT TO DEPOSE SABATA?

PORT ELIZABETH.

SHORTLY after an announcement was made by Paramount Chief Sabata Dabedibho that the decision of the Regional Authority to take over the function of his traditional personal council was forced on him against his wishes, Chief Zwelich Mirara made a statement that "officials were trying to quash the constitutional aspirations of the Tembu people."

"These statements were made

after a secret meeting of the Dalindyebo Regional Authority at Umtata last Friday, at which Mr. G. R. Young, Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, and Mr. T. Coetzee were present, having invited specially from Pretoria.

Chief Zwelich Mirara supported his Paramount Chief on everything he said about the meeting. He declared that "the hereditary ruler of the Tembus and the highest authority in Tembuland was crushed to inferiority by the Regional Authority."

"This is a general feeling among the Tembus that the officials of the B.A.D. are engaged in a campaign to crush the constitutional aspirations of the Tembus.

GOVT. REFUSAL

Following the decision of the Bumbane meeting, held in August, to elect a Committee of 15 to draw up a constitution, the Government refused to accept the committee which it regarded as having been elected at an illegal meeting.

The government then called upon Chief Sabata to appoint councillors to advise him on matters relating to questions of tribal administration in his area. It promised him if he did this he would be allowed to hold a meeting to consider matters relating to the present constitutional controversy.

Sabata did appoint such a coun-

cil consisting not only of chiefs but also of representatives drawn from the ranks of the masses. As these people were not supporters of Bantustan plans the government did not accept them, giving no reasons. It then sent down from Pretoria the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. Young, to impose upon Sabata, against all traditions and practices, a council consisting of Chiefs and other stooges drawn from the Regional Authority which was set up under the Bantu Authorities plan.

All this is a deliberate attempt of the B.A.D. officials to weaken Sabata's influence and to have the views of his area watered down and conveyed to the authorities by the stooges.

POSTPONEMENTS

This was made apparent by the string of postponements of the permission to hold a meeting whereby the Committee could refer to the Tembu people its constitutional proposals, and the announcement by Mr. Young that such a meeting was unnecessary because representatives of the Tembus, in the form of members of the Regional Authority, had acted for the people and had rejected the proposals.

"This means that in actual practice Sabata's functions as Paramount Chief of the Tembu people are now being delegated by the B.A.D. to the stooges who make up the Regional Authority and do not enjoy the confidence of the people. It is clear that the B.A.D. no longer find Sabata useful for its purposes and it is only a question of time before it takes the final step of deposing him.

"GREATEST OF AFRICA'S LIBERATION ORGANS"

WE have received more details of the highly successful social evening held in London recently at which the record sum of £200 was raised for New Age.

Well over 250 people, mostly South Africans of all races, enjoyed the warm friendship which was the main feature of the evening.

The social was also attended by leading overseas representatives of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South West Africa National Union and the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia.

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, of the South African Indian Congress, was the principal speaker.

He referred to New Age as "the light that illumines the path forward for all our people—black and white—and called for continuous support for New Age—the greatest of Africa's liberation organs.

Our comrades overseas have done their job magnificently. Now what about the people of South Africa following their example? Don't delay! Send your donation today!

Last Week's Donations:

Cape Town: Fete R4.45, Socks (per ETS) R9, Rev. Blaxall R.1, Sacred River R.10, Newey R4, G.C. 40c.

Johannesburg:

Monthly R30, Benoni R10, Min Colls R4, Monthly R40, Jumble R149, M and M R10, B and S R4, Colls R15.

Grand Total: R285.85.

Farm Labourers Complain

Police Called To Eject SACTU Organisers

CAPE TOWN.

THE owner of a poultry farm, "Montfort," in Southfield, Cape, called the police when two SACTU organisers approached him last week about bad working conditions and wages.

The two organisers were acting on complaints lodged with SACTU by the workers on the farm.

After refusing to discuss the complaints because "we are losing our profits of late" and because "you are not from the Government," the owner, a European immigrant, phoned for the police. When they arrived, the farmer's wife told the police: "These two men have come to complain about the conditions and the wages of our natives." They must be communists."

One of the three constables then asked the owner to "fire all those natives" that don't like the wages and the conditions and get others. These "natives" are getting too clever."

The complaints of the farm workers are:

- that they are sworn at and abused by the foreman;
- that they work a seven-day week from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and from 12 a.m. to 3 a.m. they have to work in the refrigerators. Sometimes they have to start work at 5 a.m.;
- for this they are paid R5.50 and 15c per hour overtime;
- they are housed in a garage with no sanitary arrangements;
- new workers have to sleep on the floor without bedding supply;
- there is no sick-pay or leave pay.

After warning the two organisers to "stop molesting the farm-owner," the police took their names and addresses and told them to leave.

Acquitted of Banned Books Charge

CAPE TOWN.

PORT ELIZABETH. Mr. Stanley Mabileza, 28, a research assistant at Rhodes University, Port Elizabeth, was found not guilty and discharged in the magistrate's court on a charge of being in possession of banned books. He was charged under the Customs Act.

The books, "Uhuru" by Robert Rutark and "African Communist" were found when Mr. Mabileza's home was raided by the Special Branch on October 10. He was detained for two days and allowed bail of R15.

The magistrate said the only previous ruling on such a case was that of Mr. Justice Holmes, now a Judge of Appeal, that the State had to prove that the books were imported. According to law he now had to order that the books be returned to Mabileza. But Mr. Mabileza need not claim them as that it might be possible to charge him under another Act.

Defence attorney Mr. Van Kerken then told the court that his client would not take the books back.

Racing at Kenilworth

The following are Damon's selections for Saturday:

- The Spring Stakes, 1 mile: 1. FALAHA
- 2. High Leisure
- 3. Oranmore.
- Wynberg Handicap B, 1 mile: 1. BOTANY BAY. Danger, Governor.
- Kenilworth Open Handicap, 5 furlongs: SANTA LUCIA. Danger, ROYAL.
- Wynberg Moderate Handicap, 9 furlongs: NOBLE SONG. Danger, Power River.
- Kenilworth Progress Stakes: EVAN BEAT. Danger, Welcome Herald.
- Maiden Plate: FLIGHT CAPTAIN. Danger, Janet Anderson, Juvenile Plate, FILLES ONDINE. Danger, Wind of Change.
- Juvenile Flat, Colts: BALACLAVA. Danger, On the Beat.

AUTHENTIC SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER

EXTRA:

Soviet view on Indian-Chinese Frontier Dispute
5 cents Post Free from P.O. Box 2920, Johannesburg

BLANKET COMPETITION

The crocheted blanket was won by Master Peter Brown of 5, High Street, Diepsdal, Johannesburg.

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CLASH OF THE GIANTS!

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