'NO PEACE UN FREEDOM IS W

Thrilling Send-Off in Durban

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

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 Ganvile 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

But the questions which South

But the questions which South Africa is asking remain unanswered. Was Ganyile kidmapped in Basuto-land? Where is he now? What action does the British Government intend daking over this flagrant violation of international law?

The sub-judice rule no longer affords Britain an excuse for he stience. The British Government has stience. The British Government has fishered, the British Government has those to the subject by the South African Government. Now that the Court has given its decision Britain must fell the world the truth and say what she is going to do about it.

The South African Government 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.

admit the ghastly facts.

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

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.

our time.

No one could be left unmoved to be plucked from the village of Groutville. a name many of you have never heard before and which does not even lead to be fore and which does not be placed on the place of the place of

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 hand it is a tribute to my humble contribution to efforts by demo-crats on both sides of the colour-line to find a peaceful solution to the race problem. The contrib-bution is not in any way unique. I did not initiate the struggle to in South Africa, other African patriots—devoted men—did so be-fore me. I also as a Christian patriots—devoted men—did so be-fore 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

(Continued on page 3)



"LUTULI CANNOT BE BOUGHT"— Prof. Matthews

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

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

rallies in the main centres last Sunday.

His office as President-General of the ANC had been marked the ANC had been marked by two significant factors: firstly, his insistence on non-violence as a more considerable of struggle was not due to converte the convergence of thought the Prize was being given through the Prize was being given the collier Lutuli as a softening-up them nationalism meant only African them.

cans or Afrikaners.

MRS. FRANCES BAARD said that although decent-minded people throughout the world were honourthroughout the world were nonour-ing Chief for his unswerving advo-cacy of peace and the brotherhood of man, the Nationalist Govern-ment was treating that as a crime. Those who advocated fundamental human rights were met with bans and confinement.

and confinement.
"In denying these rights, the Nationalists must not expect us not to rise and demand them," bbe said.
MR. OMAR CASSEM called upon the Government as Chief, he

(Continued on page 6)



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5c.



Why Did India Oppose Ghana's **Move For Sanctions?**

It would have been much better for India to remain a spectator than to introduce a counter resolution against the GHANA resolu-tion calling for economic and diplomatic sanctions against South diplomatic sanctions against south Africa. The tactical compromise made by India will not be forgot-ten by those who would have benefitted had the GHANA reso-lution succeeded. Who would benefit?

The oppressed peoples of South Africa would more than benefit. They would rejoice that then the They would rejoice that then the starvation epidemic which has prevailed since 1652 would be equilibrated amongst the oppressed and the oppressor. It would only the then that the Nazi-like retime of Verwoerd would allow flexibility in its robliets. While realising that economic sanctions can be the much fulked about "two-edged" sword, affecting both the oppressor and th

sed, we want them applied against South Africa for we believe it is the only way by which the world show its sympathy towards oppressed peoples of South ca. Besides it is the only way in oppr which the Nazis can be taught how dangerous it is to swim against the tide. To the oppressed it will only mean a tightning of belts, But to the oppressor it will mean move than that because he will be brought to his knees—forced to respect the will of the people and the world as a whole. We have suffered 300 years already. We are not prepared to add a couple of years more to that. As for South African Indians.

they were welcomed by oppression and degradation the very first day they landed in Natal.

NOT FAST **ENOUGH** DONATIONS are coming in

pot nearly as fast as we need New Age is a hungry mon-

New Age is a hunery mon-ster and it devours money more ouickly than we can collect it. That is our danger. There are not enough people everywhere providing for it and the hurden must not be allowed to rest on the few will-ing helpers in each centre. Our seecial thanks go to the ladies who organised the Cane Town who organised the Cane jumble sale last week. The continued appearan

paper is the responsibility it that you carry out you share of the responsibility b posting your donation today!! VONT

Last Week's Donations:

Johannesbure: Tickets R80, lumble Sale R122, Doe R10 M and M R10, Friends R40. Old friend R10 Intellectual R12, Izz R2, Wil

Care Town: Cave Town: K.F.H. 90c. Fele R135. Arch R5. S. R10. Chief JO. 20c. Diamond R25. Ray F. R4. Jumble sale R68.45. O.S. R2.25. Norbay R10. Fee R4. Harry R2. R and J. R20.

ort Flizabeth: Friend R2.10, Brother R1.05. Durban

Gen R4

Grand Total: R444.30.

As for the characteristics of Nehru we will leave that to the subjects of Nehru himself. They know best, But in our observation we find him absolutely a stooge used by the western powers to weaken the morale of the African and Asian representatives at UNO As Mr. P. G. Warkins has admitted, India should have taken cities of South Africa as it took the cities of South Africa as it took the

cists of South Africa as it took the initiative by breaking off diplo-matic relations with South Africa. So why budge now, at a time when fruitful results are more than a mere anticipation but a visible expectation?

South Africa belongs to all who live in it and no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

MOUNTAIN NGQUNGWANA

Port Flizabeth

Louis Trichardt Indians Oppose Apartheid

Great play has been made by certain sections of the Press on the presentation of a sixty-guinea tray to Dr. Verwoord near Louis Trich

May I point out that this was the action of only two or three Indians, representing nobody but themselves. They stand condemned in the eyes of all freedom-loving Indians of Louis Trichardt By their actions they have done a great disservice to the cause of the Indian community.

We are opposed to apartheid, and take no pleasure in the naming of tunnels to boost the sentiments of Afrikaner nationalism. We are of Afrikaner nationalism. We are patient, for we know that the whole world (including Dr. Ver-woerd's country of origin, Hol-land) is against this system, and

land) is against this system, and that time is on our side. Most of its were born here; this is our home, and here we will make every effort to oppose Dr. Verweerd's widely condemned concept of tribal partitions of South

SOUTH AFRICAN

Louis Trichardt

The Queen Had A Jive With Nkrumah

The British government decided le last moment to allow the I visit to Ghana. This was in Ghana and Britain, who were celebrating the success of their in-trigues to subotage the visit.

is not my purpose to Nkrumah or to censure him for what he does to those who hamper what he does to those who namper the progress of the people. That is Ghana's internal affair, But all attempts to overthrow Nkrumah attempts to overthrow Nkruman have failed, Nkrumah is for Africa and for socialism whatever the consequences. This has angered the conservatives who wish to see Nkrumah go out through the same door Verwoerd used.

door Verwoerd used.

To them Nkrumah has been an ungrateful servant to his benevo-lent ex-master. Nkrumah's visit to and the amount of assistance from the East and his pure of the capistalistic elements in his govern-have proved that Nkrumah is nobody's lackev and that he means to the capitalistic stacker and the capitalistic stack to progress towards socialism. It is unfortunate for the west to regard this as the strengthening of Kremlin hold in Africa because the contacts Nkrumah has made with the east are far less than those he has already made with the west. The opposition is somehow or other linked with the hoary colo-

nialists who are sparine no effort to cause disorder in Ghana, This amone other intentions is designed to highlight the often quoted fal-lacy that the Blacks are unable to themselves.

To those people Nkrumah should have been like his neigh-bours who are with the west and consent to the establishment of western military bases on nonbelligerent African soil.

Whoever has been to Ghana cannot blame Nkrumah for his socialist tendencies in view of the powerty of the people, the rift between the rich and the poor, the underdevelopment of the country, innovance and disease to be found

The right-wine elements who The right-wine elements who were making frightening statements in the House of Commons kept their mouths shut hoping that an ege would be thrown at the Queen and they could jump up and say: "We were right and we are always right."

If the people of Ghana are hap-py, as has been proved, why can-not these people give Ghana a

chance? Surely they can't expect a baby Ghana not to have teething problems! Why should they always commare Ghana with Bri-tain, which has a centuries old his-

tory?

The success of the Queen's visit has convinced everybody that Nkrumah has overwhelming popularity in Ghana. Even these alarmists had nothing more to say after the Queen had a jive with Nkrumah.

BILLY I S MOKHONOANA

A Humanitarian

I sincerely commend Mr. J. K. Nverere, the premier of Tangan-vika, for his humanitarian invita-tion to "Professor" Manualis So-bukwe to attend their independence celebrations on December 8. Africa will honour Mr. Nyerere for many years to come as one of the many African statesman our Black Africa has produced.

Africa for the Africans! MOTHWEE MADI

Alexandra

EDITORIAL

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

FRIC Louw was given a hero's welcome on his return to South Africa last week. What was his achievement? He had no been able to save South Africa from international disgrace and condemnation because of the apartheid policy. He had not been able to convince a single soul, apart from the representative of the butcher Government of Portugal, that South Africa had a case for consideration.

But he had managed, with the assistance of Britain, America and the other imperialist powers, to avoid the two-thirds majority on the sanctions clause. This, according to Dr. Verwoerd, was a heroic achievement for which Mr, Louw's name would go down in history.

In our opinion, it as about as heroic as the achievement of the schoolboy who by a combination of ingenuity and cunning manages to avoid getting six of the best after being caught cheating in an examination. In essence, Mr. Louw is being praised not because he stood for right and justice, but because he defended infamy and managed to get away with it.

Strangely enough, Mr. Louw didn't sound as thrilled with his achievement as Dr. Verwoerd and his other admirers in this country, A cold war was being waged in the United Nations against South Africa, he said. "I want to warn my fellow South Africans that they must have no illusions about the dangers of this cold war . . . The powers against South Africa are getting bigger and stronger. Next year more Black states would be admitted to the United Nations, and the battleground might even he extended to the soil of Africa

What is Mr. Louw's remedy for this desperate situation? "The Government's policy of parallel development, apartheid, had to be carried out as soon as possible," he said. It would require

sacrifices, discomforts.

Truly, those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. Mr. Louw's Government has just been condemned by UNO for its apartheid policy. The way to avoid future condemnation and possible sanctions, he now says, is—TO HAVE MORE APARTHEID!

What are these "sacrifices and discomforts" Mr. Louw is talking about? Up till now it has been only the Non-Whites who have made the sacrifices, suffered the discomforts. To speed up anartheid can only mean that the sufferings of the Non-Whites will be intensified. This in turn can only lead to an intensification of local resistance by the people and further outbursts of international indignation at the policies and practices of the South African Government.

Or is apartheid something different from what we have received from the Nationalist Government since 1948? If so, what is it? It is not equal rights, or even a qualified franchise-Mr. Louw himself has said so. It is not partition and the creation of independent Black states, because White South Africa could not survive without Black labour.

In fact, neither Mr. Louw nor Dr. Verwoerd has any answer. That is why they are so emotional and worked up, so hysterical about the danger confronting the volk, so desperate about the future. Determined to maintain White Supremacy at any cost, for them there is no way out, no turning back. They can only go down fighting.

THOSE WHOSE WAY OF LIFE IS ABOUT TO DIE ARE SALUTING ONE ANOTHER.

ALLEY UP MY

CHRISTMAS comes but once a CHRISTMAS comes but once a year and believe it or not, it comes to Pampoen-outer-die-box, to the comes to Pampoen-outer-die-box, thereafter in the complete investigated by a Commission of Inquiry including the Special Branch, the Denartment of the Interior—all of Pampoen-outer-die-box, of course.

First to be heard by the Commission was Onm van der Mielieblaar of the PODB Kultuur Vereniging, who had strong objections to Christmas this year. Oom's evidence went something like this: Chairman: You object to Christmas this year.

mas this year?

Oom: Ja. boetie. I hear this Father Christmus comes from somewhere near the North Pole. That's where Norway is, isn't it? Besides this Pana Christmas goes around in red. So he might be one of these Versenwirks for all the of these Kommuniste for all we know. I think we ought to get our own Pana Christmas from the South Pole then we'll have a then we'll have a

whale of a time. Next customer was young Japie Kakebeen who was all for Christ-

"All we have to do is have members of the Special Branch meet old Santa Claus when he arrives at Pampoen-onder-die-bos arrives at Pampoen-onder-die-bos and follow him around to see that he visits the White Group Areas only," said young Japie. After all he had written to Santa Claus to bring him a sten-gun for Christ-mas and he was looking forward to verting it. to getting it.

The Commission of Inquiry later produced its findings and recommended as follows: "After all is said and done, Pampoenall is said and done, Pampoen-onder-dis-bos really earl't afford to abolish Christmas or prohibit Santa Claus as an undesirable alien. However to ensure that all sections of the PODB population enjoy the spirit of good-will there will be five Santa Clauses this year. The regular one for die volk, plus others appointed from the BAD, the CAD and the AAD for the non-white. Papagers and seed to be seen the

Inckie Schnossel who will be Santa Claus for the Yiddish community Of course all of them will come under the strict surveillance of the Special Branch, while going around sorceding joy along parallel lines. At the same time the SB will be asked to conduct wide-soread raids and seize all lists of requests for presents in order to see that no obscene, undesir-able, treasonable and banned stuff is imported."

By Alex la Guma

In this way, said the Commission, Christmas would be celebrated in the traditional Pampoenonder-die-bos manner.

onner-ue-nos manner.

The only character who protested against this was Colonel Panerbotham (Kaffir Wars, Rid.) who stalked out muttering that he could have at least been asked to carry the bag for the English-speaking section because they had introduced Xmas hats and lingle between the colonial col bells to Pampoen-onder-die-hos

white Pampoen-onder-die-bos-sers. The fifth one will be Mr. ed the Commission.

"AFRICA'S GOAL 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 situation where the laws of t land virtually criticise 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 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 eves of the world. This has had two effects, It has con-fused 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 contention that the face 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 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 condeeply form with strice and most bitterly stricken with racial con-flict, 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 brother-

Revolution And War

There has been lit.le peace in There has been lit.le 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 arms, some without In my own country in without. In my own country, in the year 1960 for which this Award is given, there was a state 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 by small arms fire; and in parts like the Transkei, a state of emergency is still continuing. Ours is a continent in revo-

lution 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 powers; alien governments have been forced up by the great powers; 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 the strip of th for the advantage of our con-querors. In these times there has been no peace; there could be no brotherhood between man.

Fight For Equality

But now, the revolutionary stirour continent are setting the past aside. Our people every-where from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood. Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrec-tion 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 nation-hood, democracy and rising living standards—the tandards-the golden age for which men have striven for gene which then have striven for gene-rations. Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the 18th Century to our own en-compassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comthe African parison. 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 orderly, quick and comparatively

This fact of the relative peacefulness of our African revolution is attested to by other observers of eminence. Professor C, W, de Kiewiel, President of the Roches-Kiewiet, President of the Roches-ter University, U.S.A., in a Hoern-le Memorial Lecture for 1960, has this to say: "There has, it is true, been almost no serious violence in been almost no serious violence in the achievement of political self-rule. In that sense there is no rule. In that sense there as an revolution in Africa—only re-

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

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If it is so—if we are late in gaining self-rule, independence and gaming self-rule, independence and democracy, it is because in the past the pace has not been set by us. Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th Century develop-ment 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 tennelled; 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 para-dox 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 retizen 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 banish-ment or confinement without trial or imprisonment; where effective democratic channels to peaceful democratic chatters to peacetain 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 liber-ty, equality and independence asserts itself. I, together with asserts itself. I, together with thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of struggle for these ideals, been harassed, and im-prisoned, 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 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 man-kind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is wor-shipped like God. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are un-questionably superior, efficient. superior, efficient, rious and capable, en are, equally unquestionably clever, industrious and capable; that black men are, equally un-questionably inferior, slothful, stupid, evii 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 build everything that is worthwhile in country; its cities, its indusits 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 sojour-ners in these cities, fitted only tor menial labour, and unfit to share political power.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, then Minis-ter of Bantu Affairs, when explain ing his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (tne African) in the European commu-nity 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 to which we owe our initial enlightenment.

with a constraint of the time doing little or nothing to the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the blackman at the hands of stave-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 resome South Africans.

Hence the ghost of slavery lingston to this day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons. But the

are called farm prisons, But the

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 ser-vices 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 this the Church, seems to be though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take serious. ly 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.

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
Council of Churches held at Cottesloe, 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 messae in the messent issues that consae in the messent issues that consage in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of World Council of Churches, a great meaning and significance tor us in Africa,

Backing Of Law

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: 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 registation 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 which is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87% of the land and all the that 87% of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and (Continued on page 4)

"WE DEMAND FULL EQUALITY"

occupation and now through the recent Group Areas legislation non-Whites are losing more land to white greed; for the fact that all skilled and highly paid jobs are for whites only; for the fact that all universities of any academic merit are an exclusive preserve education of every white that cox about £6.400, whilst that of an African child coxis about £7. an African child costs about £9: for the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16, whilst education for the non-white children is scarce and inadequate, and for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and gaoled or fined for breaches of innumerable pass and permit laws which do not

World Spotlight

I could carry on in this strain, and talk on every facet of South African life from the cradle to the grave. But these facts today are necoming known to all the world. A fierce spotlight of world atten-tion has been thrown on them. Try as our government and its apologists will, with honeyed words about "separate develop-ment" and eventual "independence" in so-called "Bantu homelands," nothing can conceal the reality of South African condi-

I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable, It seems utterly indifferent to the utfering of individual persons who lose their land, the their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in

This terrible dream is not held on to by a crack-pot group on the fringe of society, or a Klu-Klux-Klansman, of which we have a sprinkling. It is the deliberate poliey of a government, supported actively by a large part of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority, but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown their lot with non-Whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

Thus it is that the golden age of Africa's independence is also dark age of South Africa's decline and retrogression, brought about by men who, when revolutionary changes that entrenched fundamental human rights were taking place in Europe were closed in on the tip of South Africa—and so missed the wind of progressive change.

Bitterness Grows

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows to alarming beights; the conomy declines as confidence bbs away; unemployment rises; government becomes increasingly dictatorial and intelerant of consti tutional and legal procedures, increasingly violent and suppressive; there is a constant drive for more policemen, more soldiers, more armaments, banishments without trial and penal whippings

All the trappings of mediaeval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is being reduced to an instrument of sub indoctrination, slanted and biased reporting in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book-banning and black-listing, all these, spread their shadows over the land. This is South Africa today, in the age of Africa's great-

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance. The people of South Africa have

never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. We have a long tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of white set-tlement and conquest 300 years ago. Our history is one of oppo-sition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny.

Consider some of our great names; the great warrior and nation-builder Shaka, who welded tribes together into the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshoe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basutoland beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death rather than surrender his territory to white invaders.

All these and other royal names,

as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion. Consider also the sturdiness of the stock that nurtured the foreforebears, who in trekking from the north to the southernmost tip of Africa centuries ago braved rivers that are perennially swollen; hacked their way through treacher-ous jungle and forest; survived the plagues of the then untamed lethal diseases of a multifarous nature that abounded in Equatorial Africa or another in their history, been

All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa, and have bravely paid the penalties for it.

It may well be that South Afri-ca's social system is a monument to racialism and race oppression, but its people are the living testimony to the unconquerable spirit of mankind. Down the years, against seemingly overwhelming fuller life and liberty, striving with incredible determination and forti-tude for the right to live as menfree men.

In this our country is unique. Your recent and inspiring overran most European States, is testimony of this unconquerable spirit of mankind.

People of Europe formed Resistance Movements that finally helped to break the power of the combination of Nazram and Fascism with their creed of race

Barriers Continue



Ten-year-old Bance Seedat, of Durban, kisses Mrs. Lutuli goodbye.

and wrested themselves from the plunged into much struggle,

They endured it all. They set-tled in those parts of Africa to build a future worthwhile for us their offspring.

Struggle for Liberty

Whilst the social and political conditions have changed and the problems we face are different, we too, their progeny, find ourselves facing a situation where we have to struggle for our very survival as human beings.

gle may differ from time to time, the universal human strivings for liberty remain unchanged. We, in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic cam-

gaping mouths of the beasts of prey.

They endured it all. They set-Africa. Here the barriers do not go down! Each step we take forward every achievement we chalk up, is cancelled out by the raising of new and higher barriers to our advance. The colour bars do not get weaker; they get stronger. The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighter's grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstra-tions of our people have been

have never been silenced.

Through all this cruel treatment Although methods of strug- Inrough all this cruet treatment in the name of the law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, sphere we will be satisfied with have remained non-violent. If to-day this peace Award is given to all racial bars. South Africa through a black man, it is not because we in South Africa have won our fight for peace and human brotherhood. Far from it. Perhaps we stand farther from ictory than any other people in promising, Africa

suffered at the hands of the gov-ernment has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resist-ance. It is for this, I believe, that this award is given.

Multi-Racialism

How easy it would have been in South Africa for the natural feel-ings of resentment at white domination to have been turned into feelings of hatred and a desire for revenge against the white community. Here, where everyday in every aspect of life, every non-white comes up against the ubi-quitous sign, "Europeans Only," and the equally ubiquitous police-man to enforce it,—here it could well be expected that a racialism equal to that of their oppressors would flourish to counter the white arrogance towards blacks.

That it has not done so is no accident. It is because, deliberately and advisedly, African leadership for the past 50 years, with the inspiration of the African National Congress, which I had the honour to lead for the last decade or so until it was banned, had set itself steadfastly against racial vaingloriousness.

know that in so doing we passed up opportunities for an easy demagogic appeal to the na-tural passions of a people denied freedom and liberty; we discarded the chance of an easy and expedient emotional appeal.

Our vision has always been that

of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country to re-main there as FULL citizens with main there as FULL citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others. For the consum-mation of this ideal we have lab-oured unflinchingly. We shall continue to labour unflinchingly.

Congress Alliance

It is this vision which prompted the African National Congress to invite members of other racial groups who believe with us in the brotherhood of man and in the therhood of man and in the freedom of all people to join with us in establishing a non-racial de-mocratic South Africa. Thus the African National Congress in its day brought about the Congress Alliance and welcomed the emergence of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, who to an en-couraging measure support these ideals.

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights.

In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of govern-

In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "whites only" basis. In culture we will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning in non-segragatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability. In the social

We do not demand these things for people of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black, On these principles we are uncom

But nothing which we have expediency that is most treache-

rous to democracy, for in the tur and elsewhere "partnership." These are efforts to side-track us from the democratic road, mean delay-ing tactics that fool no one but the unwary. No euphemistic nam-ing will ever hide their hideous of events the sweets of economis political and social privileges the are a monopoly of only one ser tion of a community turn sou even in the mouths of those wh eat them. Thus apartheid in pratice is proving to be a monste created by Frankenstein. That the tragedy of the South Africa

We reject these policies because they do not measure up to the best mankind has striven for throughout the ages; they do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in a sea of flux and change down the ages, aspirations of which the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is a culmination. This is what we stand for. This is what we fight for.

In their fight for lasting values,



Apartheid Fraud

Many spurious slogans has

"race federation

been invented in our country is an effort to redeem uneasy rate relations—"trusteeship." "separa:

development."

To compromise would be an An African child in tribal dress dances to the rhythm of African drums as Chief Lutuli arrives at Durban airport.

Adv. A. L. Sachs, of the Corress of Democrats, is seen addressing the Grand Parade meeting in Cape Town held last Sunday to honour Chief Lutuli.

there are many things that have sustained the spirit of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and those in the yet unredeemed parts of Africa where the white man claims resolutely proprietary rights over democracy—a universal heri-

High amongst them-the things that have sustained us, stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today guest; our brothers in Africa; especially in the Independent African States; reanisations who share the out we embrace in countries s tered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organisation jointly and some of its member-nations singly.

In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the equality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause. To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of sup-port of us, we cannot adequately express, nor can we ever forget; now or in the future when victory freedom rests in the hands of all

We Must Make Our Own Freedom

We South Africans, however, equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come to us as a gift from abroad. Our freedom we must make ourselves.

All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger.

our freedom efforts, our cause is the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom. Only on this basis can the peace of Africa and the world be firmly founded. Our cause is the cause of equality between nations and peoples. Only thus can the brotherhood of man be firmly established, It is encouraging and

her humiliation and torment at the hands of white rule, the spirit of Africa in quest for freedom has been, generally, for peaceful means the utmost.

If I have dwelt at length on my

country's race problem, it is not as though other countries on our continent do not labour under these problems, but because it is here in the Republic of South Africa that the race problem is

Perhaps in no other country on the continent is white supremacy asserted with greater vigour and determination and a sense of righteousness. This places the opponents of apartheid in the front rank of those who fight white

Africa's Age

In bringing my address to : close, let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and to some extent the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of conturies of serfdom. This is Africa's age—the dawn

of her fulfilment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying: ours was a fight for noble values and worthy ends, and not for lands and the enslavement of man.

ment of man.

Africa is a vital subject matter
in the world of today, a focal
point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history
has delayed her rebirt or a purpose? The situation confronts her
with inescapable challenges, but
more importantly with opportunimore importantly with opportunities for service to herself and man-kind. She evades the challenges and neglects the opportunities to her shame, if not her doom, Now she sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with its humi-liations and sufferings.

The address could do no more than pose some questions and leave it to the African leaders and peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their concern for higher values and by

their noble actions that could be ". . . footprints on the sands of "Footprints, that perhaps

another, Sailing o'er life's solemn main, A forlorn and shipwrecked

brother. Seeing, shall take heart again." Still licking the scars of past rongs perpetrated on her, could

wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and prac-tise no wrongs? Her hand of friendship scorrfully rejected, her pleas for justice and fairplay syumed, should she not nonethe-less seek to turn enmity into the properties of the pro-tein the properties of the lands, her independence and op-portunities to become—this, often oddly enough done to her in the oddly enough done to her in the name of civilisation and even Christianity, should she not see her destiny as being that of making distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new Africa Flayour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the

A Challenge

She should see this hour of her fulfilment as a challenge to her to labour on until she is purged of racial domination, and as an op-portunity of reassuring the world that her national aspiration lies, not in overthrowing white domination to replace it by a black caste, but to build a non-racial democracy that shall be a monumental brotherhood, a 'brotherly community' with none discriminated against on grounds of race or colour.

(Continued at foot of next column)

ROUSING SEND-OFF FROM DURBAN

OVER 4,000 jubilant people

-Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans cheered, sang and shouted slogans outside the Himalaya Hotel, Durban, as Chief A. J. Lutuli lunched with his family and about 40 of his friends last Tuesday, prior to leaving on the first leg of his journey to Oslo where he received the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize.

Among the guests were Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the S.A. Indian Congress, and Mr. Alan Paton.

The screaming, jostling, goodnatured crowd which jam-packed the entrance to the hotel and overflowed into busy Grey Street during the peak lunch-hour held up traffic for over an hour

CLENCHED FIST
When Chief Lutuli appeared on
the balcony of the hotel with his wife, Nokukanye, and Dr. Naicker there was spontaneous cheering. His greeting of "Amandhía!" with his clenched fist raised brought forth a roar of "Awethu!"

from the people.

As Chief left the hotel to enter the car-an open silver-grey Cadillac-which was to take him to Durban airport, the crowd mobbed him. It seemed as if everyone wanted to touch him at the same rime

The crowd cheered wildly when a 10-year-old Indian girl sponta-

neously rushed forward and kissed

It was several minutes before the car was able to move and when it did, it had to travel at a snail's pace for the jubilant people thronged around the car singing: "Somlandela, Lutuli!" throughout the length of Grey Street.

TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION

Looking tired, but nonetheless as cheerful as ever Chief waved the people's greetings with a raised clenched fist. Travelling with him in the car were his mother, his wife, his daughter Hilda and Dr.

Naicker.
A motorcade of over 100 cars followed the Chief's sleek limousine to the airport, where the colour bar broke down complete ly as the multitude followed Chief into the foyer. The concourse became congested and there was complete chaos until Chief, after

complete chaos until Chief, after an appeal by the Special Branch, addressed the people and spoke for the first time to a "mass meet-ing" since his banning. The harried police, who had tried unsuccessfully to control the crowd, must have been shocked at the effect of Chief's speech, which immediately restored order. At the request of the Chief the people left foyer within seconds and assembled on the airport grounds

outside.
Chief left Durban with the strains of "Somlandela, Lutuli! ringing in his ears as thousand ringing in his ears as thousands waved him goodbye on his mo-



Professor Z. K. Matthews is seen addressing the huge Port Elizabeth rally on Sunday,

What of the many pressing and complex problems of a new State, typically in Africa poverty, illiteracy, tribalism with its narrow, dwarfing, parochial, selfish outlook? These and more—legacies of colonial days-will tax to the limit the statesmanship, ingenuity, altrusm and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal to democratic tenets in statecraft. To us all, free or not, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honeur of Mother Africa.

For Peace and Friendship

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of disaster in this nuclear age, much in need of

becoming a victim of materialism and lust for unbridled power, Africa should be a mediator, working in concert with other nations to be a force for world peace and friendship. This hour, this moment of fulfilment, is for the sages of Africa, nay, all her sons and

daughters in word and deed to say: Africa, "Arise and shine for thy light is come." Help "turn the swords into ploughshares" and with a free conscience say: Our fight is not for conquest of land or domination of people, but for the recognition and preservation of free man in a free world.





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

"LUTULI CANNOT BOUGHT"

said, had done, to settle the racial problem in the country by calling a National Convention with sovereign rights to draw up a fresh constitu-

rights to draw up a fresh constitu-tion that would enjoy the backing of all the people of this land.

PROF. TRENCE BEARD, of Rhodes University, said the racial unity for which Chief Lutuil 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 Lutuil. Down with the Nationalists," they chanted.

CAPE TOWN

Chief Lutuli had always maintained that freedom was the key to peace, ADV. A. L. SACHS told a crowd of about 4,000 people on the Grand Parade.
"They are like Siamese twins.

"They are like Siamete 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 better of sperification of the country of the cou

IMAM HAROUN, a prominent leader of the Moslem community, said: "Chief Lutuli is a true Christ-ian 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 Verwed
and all his attitudes and prejudices

George Peake Convicted

CAPE TOWN.

CAPE TOWN.

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

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.

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

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

spheres in South Africa.

Other speakers included Mrs. E.

Stoft, Mr. M. Ntaba, Adv. D. Molteno, Q.C., of the Progressive Party,
Mr. P. Hjul, of the Liberal Party,
Mrs. Mkhonto, Mr. Whitchead, of
the Civil Rights League, Archdeacon Wood, of the Anglican Church,
Mr. E. Nziba and Mr. Gierdien.

JOHANNESBURG

A jubilant, singing and dancing crowd of about 1,200 people con-verged on the Johannesburg "Hon-our Lutuli" meeting in Newclare on

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, MR. YUSUF CACHALIA, speaking for the first time from a public platform since his ban ex-pred, 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," the 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 high-lighted 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, seakers, included, Mr. V.

when it's enough."
Other speakers included Mr. Y.
Putini, Rev. D. C. Thompson and
Mrs. Ruth Matsoeane.

wno jumped up spontaneously to chant a traditional heroic praises song in honour of Chief, was greeted with a reast of acclamation from MISS LEONORA JACOBS, of the crowd at the end of each line.

DURBAN

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 Misze, Women's Federation;
Mr. George Mbele, Mr. Stephen
Dhlamin, (SACTU), and Dr., M. N.
Padayachee (NIC).

The meeting, which had been advertised to be held in the open ir, had to be hastily adjourned to

Mr. Elias Pinane, of Mapetla, who jumped up spontaneously to chant a traditional heroic praise-

Despite the threatening weather,

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.

week.

Nearly 20 Hooligans arrived early at the meeting as Mr. Solly Nathie of the Transvaal Indian Congress stepped on to the makeshift platform to address the crowd. Hundreds of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites braved a down-

Indians and whites braved a down-pour 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.

of South Africa.

Tempers flarred as the hooligans began booing and throwing eggs, some booing and throwing eggs, some began booing and throwing eggs, the second 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.

tomatoes.

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

In a passionate speech Mrs. Phillipa 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 of White superiority which the Nats have too long believed in the myo-of White superiority which the Nats have been propagating."

Phoofolo Arrested In Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG.
Special Branch men took notes at the annual conference of the Transval division of the Basutoland Freedom Party led by Mr. Khaketla after his break with the Basutoland Congress Party. At the end of the meeting they arrested the chief spokeiman of the conference Mr. O. P. Pheofolo whom they took in the conference Mr. of the Mr JOHANNESBURG.

believed, with entering South Africa without a permit.

About 100 people attended, and the Party's secretary Mr. J. J. Mokotso discussed the differing policies of the BFP 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. Mokhehle, 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
sack into Johannesburg last week,
is the first South African to be
arrested and charged for re-entering
the country of his birth against the
bulloon Act. the Departure from
Mr. Goldberg is out on bail of
R225.

During argument over bail in court Mr. Goldberg said he had re-turned for 'personal reasons,'

Bursaries For Non-White Students

JOHANNESBURG.

JOHANNESBURG.
Bursaries are being offered by the
University Indian Students' Bursary
Committee to Non-White students
for the 1962 academic year.
The bursaries are tenable at the
University of the Witwatersrand, the
University of Cape Town, Pope Pius
XII College, Basutoland, and the
University College of Salisbury,
Robert College, Commercial College, College,

Women Arrested at Prayer Meeting

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



Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of underground leader Nelson Mandela, held a poster at the Johannesburg airport demonstration to

"The women who escaped death were ASIA converted to Christianity and distributed

amonast the soldiers"-Albuquerque, 1510

Goa Moves Against **Portuguese Tyranny**

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

First conquered by the Portuguese 'navigator' Albuquerque in 1510 by a skilful 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 initidels 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 among the soldlers ... It was, my lord, a great deed, well fought and well insisted..."

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

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 handleraft worth the name, and no other avenues 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. 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 'Logiao Portuguesa (a counterpart of Hüller'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 Indian papers are banned. Everything printed—even calendars 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.

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 satvagrahis (non-violent resisters) marched into Goa. Severe repression followed and India severed diplomatic relations and imposed economic and travelling restrictions. Again in 1955, Indian satvagrahis from all parts of the country, marched into Goa. Twenty-four were shet down on the border by Portuguese troops, who eclebrated each kill with a mug of beer on the spot. Thousands were beaten and tortured for days on end. Nonetheless the satvagrahis 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 fighters carried on, and their activities virtually.

imposed a ban on their side of the border.

The underground fighters 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, bus and lerry from plying after sunset anywhere in Got axi.

Portuguese rule was confined to well-garrisoned towns and

villages, or at the most to rail and road heads.

villages, or at the most to rail and road neads.

The rest of Goa was under the control of the underground revolutionaries. The Goan patriots established two underground radio stations—Voz de Liberadde and Azad Goa Radio—to expose Portuguese propaganda and keep Goans informed of world events. These stations are still functioning today in spite of Portuguese rigilance 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 PICTURE ABOVE:

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

The United Federal Party he United Federal Party, ted by Sir Row Welchnsky and Whithead, realised about two years ago that the rising tide of national libera-tion throughout Africa called for new tactics. On the one hand the whites of S. Rhodesia were de-manding full Dominion status, on the other hand the Africars of the territory were demanding full par-

ticipation in the government. order to bluff the people in Rhodesia and Britain, the authori-ties stood by passively when the National Democratic Party was National Democratic Party was ties 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 had held high positions in the ANC. It appeared that the authorities were going to allow the ANC to con tinue 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 diffe-rent from apartheid. At the constitutional conference held in London in January this year NDP leader Joshua Nkomo was tricked into accepting the new was tricked into accepting the new constitutional proposals whereby, at the price of an ineffectual Bill of Rights and the granting of re-presentation 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 White head down to the ground. Not only had he won the right to rule S. Rhodesia freed from the 'inter-ference' of British public opinion, ference' 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 threatmend the future of the whole of the Central African Federation.

Desperate attemnts have since been made to build un 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. He overwhelming majority of African have demonstrated their allegiance

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

to the NDP

to the NDP.

During recent weeks an all-out
smear 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.

African workers.

The NDP has now been banned.

But no amount of banning will

nrevent the African people from

pressing forward with their depressing forward with their demands for one man, one volcities 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 TRANSTITION TO A DEMOCRATITE OF THE TRANSTITION TO A DEMOCRATITE OF THE TRANSTITION TO A DEMOCRATITE OF THE TRANSTITION TO A DEMOCRATIC STRUCK OF THE TRANSTITION TO A DE

EICHMANN'S HENCHMEN-NOW "TOP PEOPLE"

Adoloh Eichmann, chief architect of the extermination of 6 million Jews by the Nazis, has been convicted 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 DR. HANS GLOBKE. State Secretary and Personal Assistant to Chancellor Adenauer, Special-ist for Jewish Affairs in the Nazi Ministry of the Interior, the man who framed the anti-Semitic Nu-remburg Laws. Now the second most important man in West Germany.

THEODOR OBERLAENDER. THEODOR UBERLARIVUEA.
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 Lyov in 1941.

SCHROEDER. GERHARD

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.

Weet Canage Concepts: West German Generals:

GENERAL HANS SPEIDEL:

Now NATO commander in Cen-tral Eurone. Chief of Maff in occupied Paris, chief of nazi 8th army on the eastern front. In 1942 ordered execution of French "Jews and Communists" and de-portation of at least 1.000 more.

GENERAL ADOLF HEUSIN-GENERAL ADOLF HEUSINGER: Inspector General of West
German Army. Planned invasions
of Belgium. Luvembourz. Holland
and Yugoslavia. Told Nuremburg
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 Savas 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 Au-schwitz for his factories.

hwitz for his factories.

L. G. FARBEN: Monopolist in hemicals. Manufactured poison as 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, Kloecknerr All ino industrialists todav. Flanaced Hitler, used slave labour, plundered occupied Europe, helped the FINALLY, IN SOUTH AFRICAL TISELF WE HAVE OUR PRIME MINISTER DR. HENNALLY, EN SOUTH AFRICAL TISELF WE HAVE OUR PRIME MINISTER DR. HENNALLY, IN SOUTH AFRICAL TISELF WE HAVE OUR FRIME MINISTER DR. HENNALLY, IN SOUTH AFRICAL THE NEW PAPER OF TRANSVALER, TO BE USED AS A TOOL OF THE NAZUS SUPREME COURT INDEED.

They Don't Want Education Apartheid



Some of the youngsters who took part in the anti-ap artheid 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 lotties 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 when they expired. **"WE REFUSE TO ACCEPT BAN**

people to open the Mbabane market. She also said that the Govern-ment 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. Sixone 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 wegetables at a reasonable price to the local people.

A resolution was passed and handed to the Commissioner, who handed to the Commissioner, who said in explanation that the permits were granted to the farmers by mis-take during his absence and he would stop their monthly permits

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.

demonstration, which was The demonstration, which was multi-racial in character, was di-rected sgainst-the principal, Mr. W. Naidu who had invited the Rector of the Indian Tribal College Dr. Olivier, as a guest at the meeting. Later both the youths were re-leased after their names and addresses had been taken down. In a statement to New Your Name of the College of the Name o

In a statement to New Age, the

demonstrators said:
"The demonstration is in terms "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."

RIGHT TO BAIL

POLITICAL circles in Basutoland are indignant at a new proclamation issued by the 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.

Basutoland.

Under the new Basutoland constitution, the High Commissioner is supposed to table all possible properties of the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to table properties of the supposed to the supposed to the properties of the supposed to the suppos

clause

therefore relied on this emergency clause.

Why?

The preparatory examination in which Jack Mosiane and 26 others are appearing on aflegations arising from the recert disturbances in Maseru is expected to end sometime. The preparation is expected to end sometime that the second of the authorities, the second 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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(FOR INDIANS ONLY)

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 im-

demands for higher wages and im-proved working conditions. Application to the Minister of Labour for a conciliation board had been turned down, and after going through all the formalities as re-quired by the Industrial Concilia-tion Act, the workers decided to the workers decided to R2.50 a week. The strike committee has issued

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

Wolfson & De Wet, F.N.A.O. (Eng.), Qualified Sight-testing and Dispensing Opticians, 4 King George Street (between Bree and Plein Streets), Johannesburg, Please note Change of Address 20% Reduction to Africans Phone 22-3834 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.

Branch.

The statement condemned the order served on Mr. La Guma and the hanning of Miss G. Jewell, a member of the Congress of Demo-erals, 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

eres movement among the Col-oured community, particularly since the May stay-al-home when thou-sands of Coloured people answered the CPC call to support the anti-Republic demonstrations. Since then five leading members of the execu-tive, including Mr. La Guma and Mr. Dessi, have been banned from attending gatherings for the next five years. The other members are Cllr. George Peake, Mr. Tofie Bar-dien and Mr. Reg September, the CPC General Secretary. Mr. Desai is also confined to the magisterial districts of Cape Town and Wyn-berg.

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

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. Fatsar, E. Maurice, V. Wessels, C. Petersen and Mrs. J. Meissenheimer, Mr. W. Van Schoen, president of the Teachers' League of S.A., and Mr. B. M. Kles were confined to the Peninsula. Two Port Elizabeth teachers, Messrs D. Brutus 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

a number of other organisations and all trade unions.

ALARMED

All indications are that the Nationalist Government is alarmed at Coloured leducation to the Coloured substitution of the coloured with the recent banning by the substitution of the coloured leducation of the coloured substitution of the coloured leducation of the coloured leducation of the coloured leachers, apparently in a know, and as the whole world know, and their days are number of the coloured leachers, apparently in a know, that their days are number of the coloured leachers, apparently in a know, and as the whole world know, and their days are number of the coloured leachers. "Vorster and his men know that

3 More Arrested Under Unlawful **Organisations**

CAPE TOWN.

Three men --Kawileza Gama, Robson Gebe and Richard Galela, 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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