

NEW AGE

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TREASON TRIAL DOCUMENT THE FREEDOM CHARTER FULL TEXT—CENTRE PAGES

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NATION- AND WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT FOR CONGRESSES

WHILE THE 153 CONGRESSMEN FACING CHARGES OF TREASON RE-ASSEMBLE IN JOHANNESBURG FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE PREPARATORY EXAMINATION, NEWS IS FLOWING IN FROM ALL SIDES OF NATION- AND WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT FOR THEM.

£10,000 FUND IN LONDON

In a Press conference in London last week, reported by almost the entire British Press, Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., one of England's most prominent lawyers, called upon the British people to give maximum support to all those who opposed racialist policies in South Africa.

Mr. Gardiner was reporting back after attending the opening of the preparatory examination as an observer on behalf of the English Bar Council, the Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Society, the Society of Labour Lawyers and the Association of Liberal Lawyers.

In careful, restrained language Mr. Gardiner painted a picture of what one paper described as "a country across which the swastika has fallen".

"COMMUNISM"

The government's definition of "communism" in the Suppression

of Communism Act is so wide, the eminent lawyer said, that the Act can be used to oppress any citizen who opposed apartheid.

Those "best qualified to judge" were of the opinion that "the Nationalist Party now in power has made some judicial appointments otherwise than on merit", he commented. All South African lawyers that he had met were gravely disturbed at what they considered to be a lowering of the standards of the Bench.

"No one knows which of the opponents of the party in power

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GIANT PARTY IN HONOUR OF ARRESTED LEADERS

Armed Police Didn't Frighten Them

PORT ELIZABETH.

Hundreds were turned away from the Moslem Hall here because they could not find room at what the Eastern Province Herald described as a "Giant Tea Party", last week.

The Hall was crowded out with over 2,000 people who came to honour the "victims of the dawn of December 5". From 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. musical items and sketches made up the programme.

BEFORE THE PARTY ENDED INFORMATION CAME THAT ARMED POLICE IN A TROOP CARRIER AND SPECIAL BRANCH WERE WAITING ON THE STREET OUTSIDE. NO SOONER DID THE PEOPLE FILE OUT THAN THE SPECIAL BRANCH BEGAN TO CLOSE IN ON THEM.

According to the evidence given by Mr. Alvan Bennie, one of those who was arrested, police poured out of a troop carrier as the people

walked to a nearby bus stop. The police were carrying guns and additional supplies of ammunition in canvas bags was also carried along

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RAND BUS BOYCOTT

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DURBAN MASS MEETING

DURBAN. — "We will go on demanding — notwithstanding the arrests — the right to be in the government of our country," declared Mr. J. N. Singh at the Civil Liberties Defence Committee's mass public meeting held at the Gandhi Hall recently. The Hall was overflowing with Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloureds.

Special feature of the meeting was that many women from all sections, attended. As the arrested persons were not allowed to attend any gathering — that being the conditions of the bail — the stage was full of empty chairs bearing the names of every one arrested in Mr. V. Lawrance, the grand old man of the congress who presided, opened the meeting with prayers and welcomed the arrested people back to their families, friends and people.

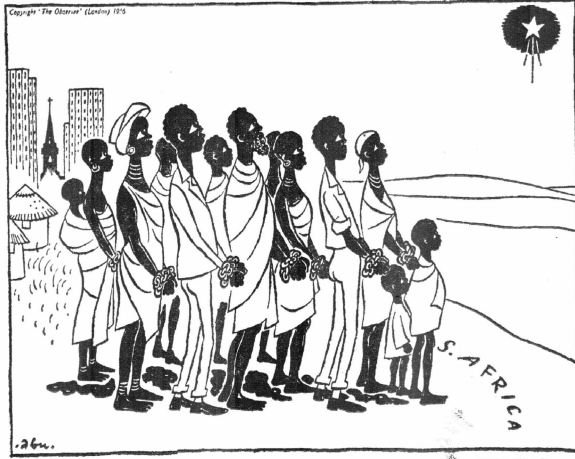
HIS FIRST MEETING

"At a time such as this when many of our people are arrested and gaoled," Mr. Singh said, "many should and have come forward to take part in the affairs of our country." This was the first

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MR. J. N. SINGH



AS OTHERS SEE US—SOUTH AFRICA IN CHAINS

—From the London Observer two days before Christmas



Mindszenty's Role In Hungary

I have not seen recent copies of New Age but I am told that you have been repeating accusations that Cardinal Mindszenty was or is anti-Semitic. It seems almost incredible that a man whose human integrity was violated by the savage and cynical of a classical Stalinist mock-trial, should today be attacked by you on the basis of fabricated propaganda put out at the time of that trial.

The truth is that the Hungarian Catholic Hierarchy was responsible for conveying to safety from the Nazis some 200,000 Jews and that Mindszenty as Bishop of Veszprem in 1944 and 1945 was actively and personally engaged in this work of rescue—a fact testified by Jewish refugees and Jewish friends of the Cardinal—who speak the truth. These facts are given additional force by Mindszenty's attack on the Nazis as "tyranny" and "a new paganism."

It was shameful that frantic and big slanders should be manufactured against Mindszenty in those days, and shameful that they should have been so hungrily and uncritically believed. But it is more shameful that they should be repeated now when the many faked-up trials and slanders of those days are being exposed by one.

J. E. STEWART
Pius XII College,
Basutoland.

(Our correspondent admits he has not even read the New Age of November 22 in which specific examples were given of Cardinal Mindszenty's reactionary role in Hungarian politics. These charges are not met by the general defence of the Cardinal contained in Dr. Stewart's letter.—Ed.)

Soviet Union And Hungary

May I express my thanks to New Age both for the publication of my letter regarding national self-determination and the editor's reply. I must record that I cannot accept the substance of this reply.

I also feel that I must oppose your correspondent "Observer" in his letter "Left-Wing Intellectuals and the Soviet Union." His plea for faith in a friend "whom you have known well for a long time" is precisely this attitude of blind faith which has resulted in the shameful dishonest words and deeds recently disclosed.

The uncritical acceptance of the Soviet "line" has, among other things, led to a rejection of sincere criticism, a splitting of the ranks of progressives and a subsequent disastrous isolation of left-wing forces. Fortunately today there are many who are no longer prepared to continue the ostrich-head-in-the-sand approach.

I submit that it is in the light of this new and healthy attitude that the recent events in Hungary must be viewed. If the actions of the USSR are incorrect, they must be exposed as such. How much of the truth may be brought to use the USSR are incorrect, they must be exposed as such. How much of the truth may be brought to use the USSR are incorrect, they must be exposed as such. How much of the truth may be brought to use the USSR are incorrect, they must be exposed as such.

A. R. IIPMAN

Durban.

Why the Nats Will Fail

The 5th December 1956 will be remembered by all freedom fighters throughout the world over.

On that unforgettable date, 140 men and women, European, African, Coloured and Indian, were arrested at dawn and charged with high treason.

These 140 people believe in the one word most hateful to the Nationalist oppressors, the word FREEDOM.

2,000 years ago Jesus Christ also preached about freedom and died on the cross for his belief. If Jesus Christ had been in South Africa on the 5th December, 1956, the "Christians" would have arrested him too.

But as long as there is oppression, there shall be people protesting against oppression, and not all the policemen in the world can stop it.

The 140 arrested people represent an idea whose time has come and the only way of destroying an idea, is with a better idea. The Nationalist oppressors will fail because, THEY HAVEN'T GOT A BETTER IDEA.

M. MANUEL
Port Elizabeth.
Executive member,
S.A. Coloured People's
Organisation.

Businessman's Grievance

I am a businessman at the Theron's village, Bethlehem. The City Council built shops where all Africans buy at the so-called Market Square. The Municipality is paid £6 for rent. There are no lights, except at the dairy which has all the necessary apparatus. During the night candles are used. The shops are opened at 8 in the morning, closed at 1, opened at 2 and closed at 5 until the following day, according to the Government Gazette. If you buy something before the fixed time, you are at once arrested. You pay an admission of guilt but the police never bring you before the local magistrate.

Those shops are meant to assist Africans. Many times thieves broke into them and articles are stolen.

Let us unite and discuss something about the said Market Square.

JOE MOTAUNG
Bethlehem, O.F.S.

More Non-White Sport?

I would like to congratulate Mr. Robert Resha on the excellent work which he does in providing us every week with his interesting sports glimpses.

But on one point I disagree with Mr. Resha. I feel he wants to tell us more about European sport than Non-European. Surely there is enough of the latter to fill his column? All the papers are full of European sports news, so why must we also fill up our own paper with it? I think that the time has come that we take more interest in our own people.

I am not criticising New Age because I feel that its non-white sports should be very proud to have such a factual and interesting paper in our midst. It is my wish that New Age will never die because it plays a great role amongst our community.

J. JONES

Cape Town.

Fund For Egyptians?

Our Union Government not only protested about what is happening in Hungary, they even opened a Fund for Hungarian relief and gave money to it. This should teach our Nationalist Government to open their ears to our Non-European struggles for freedom.

I would like our oppressors to open another relief fund for the Egyptians, as they are also suffering in their struggle to break the chains of imperialism. May the Egyptians continue to fight for their independence and break the chains of the powerful lions.

Africa, come back to us!
ANC MEMBER
Windermere.

Victory in Cradock

The Cradock Town Council last June made proposals for the implementation of the Group Areas Act at Cradock. The Council wants the present location removed to Sondag's Hoek, a place proposed for a new site and service scheme. The Vigilance Association reported this to the people and also informed them that the Council had to use a special Government official would address the African citizens on the matter.

The long expected day came. The officials said the new location was to be given to 41 Coloured families who were to be moved from Town. The Africans pointed out that it was quite ridiculous to move 1,200 families to give way for only 41, and that moreover the Coloureds and Africans were pleased to stay together.

The speakers were asked many questions. If the present government is so interested in our welfare, the people said, why do they want to move us to a mountainous place like Sondag's Hoek, where the Cradock refuse from the laboratories used to be dug in? The Mayor found it hard to maintain discipline at the meeting and the speakers could not answer all the questions. The meeting broke up after a short prayer, and the people shouted "Afrika" and gave the salute.

The same night Youth Leaguers distributed leaflets pointing out the dangers in the Council scheme.

Now people who were previously stopped from improving their homes in the location have been given orders to build.

The Vigilance Committee was supported by the ANC, the Coloured people and a number of Europeans. The people's unity has borne fruit.

E. L. VARA
Cradock.

Poor Housing In Queenstown

The houses in the municipal location are unfit for human habitation. Whenever it rains water penetrates through or under the walls because the houses have no foundation. As the floors remain wet for a very long period.

The houses are the worst slums of the whole Queenstown location. Roofs are not well fixed to the walls, with the result that on windy days dust heaps in. Walls have cracks all over. Their height is so low that one would think that these houses are sheds meant for farm wagons.

The Council has been conducting "Slidki" of houses, slums. But instead of improving the situation it has undertaken steps to build worse slums.

Residents are taking action against the authorities and the ANC branch of Queenstown is prepared to act with them as it is doing with the Slidki people. People must fight for their right.

Z. NOBAZA
ANC, Queenstown.

EDITORIAL

"TREASON" BOOMERANG

THE new year has begun well for South Africa.

Not for a long time has our country had such a spate of enthusiastic progressive meetings, such a widespread spirit of optimism and determination, such an impetus to support the Congress movement, such a contempt for the panic-stricken Nationalist Government.

It is easy to pinpoint the exact date on which the new wave of activity commenced — December 5th, 1956 — the day of the "treason" arrests.

The Nats hoped that the liberatory movement would be stilled, its supporters frightened. And echoing the Nat hopes, such papers as the World carried streamer headlines gleefully proclaiming "ANC In Trouble".

But it is not the Congresses who are in trouble. The arrests have boomeranged. The people have not been frightened away from the Congresses but have come flocking to their meetings with support; the streets of Johannesburg have seen demonstrations unparalleled in recent times.

One theme has dominated all the meetings — the charges of treason against the people's leaders will not halt the fight for democracy and freedom in our land.

The people will continue to discuss the laws which the Nats introduce and will condemn those laws when they are bad.

They will condemn the pass laws which keep the people in bondage.

They will fight the Group Areas plot which aims at robbing the people of their land and livelihood.

They will fight for schools, for hospitals, for houses and for food.

They will fight for their right to sit in Parliament.

The treason arrests will not stop these things. Already they have served as a spur to new activities. Let the date of the arrests go down as one of the turning-points in our history — as the stimulus for the final drive to freedom in our time.

BACK TO EIGHT PAGES—BUT...

THIS week we return you to an 8-page New Age.

To do this we take a calculated risk. Frankly, we have not received enough from you, our readers, to justify the return to 8 pages. But we are printing 8 pages because we believe that either we must make an 8-page pay its way or we must go back. The 4-page is no long-term solution to our financial troubles.

South Africa cannot afford to do without New Age. Week by week we have given our readers news and views unobtainable in any other publication in the country. The mere fact that up till now we have survived the Nationalist assault is proof of the popular support which the paper enjoys.

But no paper can live on love and fresh air alone. We need your help in the form of every penny you can possibly spare if we are to keep going.

SEND YOUR DONATION TO-DAY. Delay may be fatal.

Last week's donations: Cape Town £94.18.10; Basutoland A.N.C. 10s.; M. Ismail 10s.; Mqadi 2s.; G.S. £1; J.S. £1; A.N. 10s.; Alan £2; Tommy 5s.; K.G. £1; Moonsamy 6s.6d.; Coetzee £1.1; M.P.G. 15s.10d.; A.P. 10s.6d.; Moonsamy 2s.4d.; P.J. £5; Friend £10; Johannes 10s.; Old Socialist £25; Bookkeeper £10; December £10; January £2.10; Jessie £12.

Total for the week: £179 12s. 0d.

In sending its donation to New Age, the Basutoland African National Congress also sent us this fraternal message: "Forward to victory, to the United States of Africa. Let the Fort breathe out the Prime Minister of New South Africa."

THOUSANDS BACK BOYCOTT IN REEF TOWNSHIPS

MASS PROTEST AGAINST SURPRISE FARE INCREASES

JOHANNESBURG
The chanted slogan "Azikhelwa" ("We Don't Ride the Buses"), which carried Eytown's year-long bus boycott to victory, was voiced again this week throughout the African townships as the people embarked on a boycott of the Public Utility Transport Corporation buses that ply to and from Johannesburg.

It is estimated that between 50,000 and 75,000 Africans are supporting the boycott.

The boycott is the people's answer to an increase in the daily bus fares which took effect from Monday, January 7. The increase affects the 28 bus routes run by the P.U.T.C. on the Reef and in Pretoria.

The people decided at mammoth meetings over the week-end to boycott the buses rather than pay the additional 1d. per trip demanded by the bus company.

Two pickets were arrested but were later released.

Alexander's boycott started with a mass demonstration of over 700 outside the P.U.T.C. offices in the township. The following day, Sunday, 5,000 people assembled at No. 5 Square and formally took the boycott decision.

It was Alexandra Township which, 12 years ago, made bus boycott history when for six weeks the entire township walked the nine miles to and from the city every day as a protest against a fare increase by the same company. That epic in the people's history has given them fresh inspiration for the new struggle which began this week.

The P.U.T.C., apparently using surprise tactics, announced the increased fares without prior consultation of the people. Mr. T. H. Frith, the Managing-Director of the Corporation, admitted in an interview with New Age that "the people can complain that we did not consult them, but we are up against everything, what can we do?"

THIRD ATTEMPT

This is the third attempt by the P.U.T.C. to raise the bus fares in the last three years. In 1953 determined opposition by the people, plus the announcement that a Government grant would be given to the company, made them abandon their intentions. Early last year the week-end fares were increased with the assurance that this would mean the additional expenses of running the service and that the workers need not complain as the week-day services would not be affected.

The African people now fear that the fares will continue to increase unless the people put up a stubborn resistance.

Transport action committees have been set up in a number of the areas affected.

The Pretoria branch of the African National Congress has lodged a strong protest with the company and has issued a call to all leading organisations in Pretoria to join hands and organise the public to reject the bus fare increases.

In Lady Selborne 10,000 Africans boycotted the buses from the first day.

It is estimated that the boycott may last a long time, as the African people are determined to continue until victory is won.

SWART'S NEW BLOW AGAINST SACTU

Johannesburg.
SACTU officials Leon Levy and Leslie Messina have been prohibited from attending gatherings for a period of five years.

They have also been forbidden to leave Johannesburg.

GIANT PARTY

(Continued from page 1)
by others. They herded the people together on to the pavement which filled up so that some had to walk on the street. Anyone who attempted to break away from the mob was quickly herded back to the others.

ARRESTS
As they were driven along and came towards the police station which is not far from the hall more armed police came out and the first arrests took place. A Congress volunteer in uniform was arrested and hurried away to the police station on the opposite pavement; then a boy of about 18 had his arm twisted behind his back as a Coloured constable hurried him along to the station. The arrests seemed to be made at random and were at gun-point.

Had it not been for the discipline that was maintained by the large number of people who were being driven by the police there would have been a riot. One eye witness suggested that the presence of a few European, Indian and Coloured women and children who got mixed up with the crowd, with the Africans, probably acted as a restraining influence on the police.

FIVE POLICE
After the police had trailed the people for about a mile as they walked home to New Brighton and had arrested 8 of them, a few stragglers reported that they had also been stopped.

Giving evidence one of the accused stated that he did not know what he had been arrested for until he had appeared in court on the following day and heard the charge being read.

One of the members of the court proceedings the sergeant in charge of the police revealed that 50 police had been detailed to Kempton Road this afternoon where the tea party took place.

The accused pleaded not guilty and after a day's hearing the case was adjourned until the 7th.

VICTORY FOR NATAL WOMEN

PIETERMARITZBURG

The case against five women—members of the Congress and the Liberal Party—who had been charged with holding an illegal procession when they staged a mass demonstration against passes—has collapsed and the charges have been withdrawn.

The demonstration, in which 623 women of all races from all parts of Natal participated, revived the solidarity of the women of Natal against this oppressive policy.

All the women were arrested by the police, and subsequently released on their own recognisances.

The women are: Miss Violaine Junod, Mrs. Rudhi Singh, Miss Florence Mkhize, Miss Hajira van Dorsan and Mrs. Jan Somers.

The eight European women who participated in the demonstration and who were arrested are all members of the Liberal Party. The other women are members of the ANC Women's League, the Natal Indian Congress and the SACTO.

IN ADDITION THE NATALIVE COMMISSIONER HAS NOW AGREED TO RECEIVE THE WOMEN'S DEPUTATION.

Chief Cultural Club Leader Deposed

PORT ELIZABETH
"Not permitted to remain in the Proclaimed area of Port Elizabeth" is the imprint of a rubber stamp left on Mr. B. Tyesi's reference book when he took it to the labour bureau here yesterday.

Mr. Tyesi who is receiving treatment three weeks while he is recuperating from an attack of T.B. came to P.E. in 1939. Since the boycott of schools started, Mr. Tyesi—who is a qualified teacher, has been the Chief Club Leader at New Brighton.

Mr. Tyesi told New Age that he had no other home than P.E. where both his mother and family are living. Not only has he been endorsed out but the location authorities at New Brighton have made his stay at New Brighton illegal by cancelling his name from the residential card.

An invalid, he depends entirely on his wife, and if he were to leave P.E. he would not get the specialised clinical treatment which he is requiring.

The boycott of P.U.T.C. buses has been most effective in Alexandra Township and Sophiatown, where 100 per cent. response is reported. Western Native Township and other centres served by the same bus company have also reported that the boycott was effective on the first day.

People started to go to work from 3 a.m. They walked, cycled, rode in taxis or horse-drawn cabs, but kept away from the bus termini and stops.

Rows of empty buses at the bus termini testified to the effectiveness of the boycott.

The boycott has won a great deal of sympathy from the public. A large number of Europeans, as a spontaneous gesture, have written to Africans to and from Johannesburg. Many employers have arranged transport for their employees.

POLICE ACTIVITY

Scores of armed police were posted at bus stops and patrolled Alexandra Township, but failed to intimidate the people. At one stop

£10,000 FUND

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may be the next to be attacked," he added.

FUND

Canon John Collins, chairman of Christian Action, one of the organisations which sponsored Mr. Gardiner's visit announced that Christian Action had set itself the target of ten thousand pounds to assist the arrested people. £800 had come in within a few days of the commencement of the campaign.

The fund's panel of advisers and sponsors so far includes the Bishop of Birmingham, Lord Farrington, Professor Max Gluckman, Mr. Victor Gollancz, Father Trevor Huddleston, Mr. David Low, Sir Compton Mackenzie, Mr. William Plomer, and Earl Russell, O.M., F.R.G.

A similar fund has been set up in the United States.

POLICE ASSAULT

There has also been a lot of criticism in the overseas press of police brutality outside the Drill Hall on the opening days of the hearing.

"No detached onlooker who saw it happen can believe that the clubbing and shooting were ever necessary and London Observer correspondent Cyril Dunn, commenting on the police attacks on the crowds outside court.

"What one remembers about it all was revealed by that no fear of being overwhelmed drove these immature constables into what seems to have been wholly independent action. They did it with evident glee. Even when publicly rebuked by some of their own officers, men visibly dedicated to good police standards, they were not crestfallen."

ANC EXPELS TSHUNUNGWA

PORT ELIZABETH

When the Cape Branch delegates met at Queenstown on the 15th December, 1956, they decided to expel Mr. A. T. Tshunungwa from the A.N.C. (Cape).

About three months before the Executive of the A.N.C. (Cape) decided to suspend Mr. Tshunungwa as Provincial Secretary because, the executive stated, he had, contrary to the declared policy of the A.N.C., actively helped to mislead some people to agree to operate the Bantu Authorities Act by serving as Secretary to a Bantu authority, Kaiser Matanzima.

He had neglected to do his duty and disregarded instructions issued by the executive and by these acts he had generally prejudiced the cause of the people.

The Branch delegates not only confirmed the decision of the executive but took a very serious view of the charges, and decided to expel him.

A week before this decision was taken there had been bloodshed in the area over which Mr. Tshunungwa was a Bantu Authorities Secretary. At a meeting of the residents of the Nova Location disagreement over claims staked by Matanzima's supporters on the one hand, and those of another group on the other resulted in a fight which resulted in a number of people being admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

DURBAN MEETING

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Singh had addressed in two years, his banning order having expired. He spoke more than an hour, calmly but forcefully.

"We feel that in the time of crisis it is the duty of democratic minded people to rally round the cause they believe in. . . . Even now when the leaders are on trial the country goes on. Early next year the Parliament will meet to pass laws after laws.

"When we discuss these laws that passed and the laws which are to be passed, we are not committing treason. If we don't like any of the laws then we must say so without fear. When the Government wants to introduce passes for our women we say we don't like it. When twenty thousand of our women said so in Pretoria, there was nothing wrong with it, but everything right.

FIGHT GROUP AREAS

"The Group Areas Boards have been sitting in many centres trying to cut up the country for our many sections. When we don't like any of their plans we must say so and we must do everything to see that these plans are not put into effect.

"In this country the people all people must go on struggling to bring about a country in which there will be democracy for all sections of the people. In the language of the common people, what it means is that nothing in this country must be preserved for only a section of the people. For example, education should be for all. When our people are sick then there should be hospitals for all our sick people — not only for a section. When we talk of democracy we mean all services must be made

DURBAN MEETING

(Continued from page 1)

available to all sections of the people.

"The highest thing we value is the right to take part in the Government of the country. And we will go on protesting, notwithstanding the arrests, the right to be in the government of our country. Don't let anything frighten you.

"That right is not a new one. It is the right for which peoples through the centuries have fought for and died for — gladly died for. In the country we will, unafraid, continue till we win democracy."

Among the other speakers was Mr. J. M. Didcott, representing the Liberal Party.

. . . And Cape Town

Protest meetings under the slogan "We Stand By Our Leaders" were being held by the African National Congress and the Cape Town "We Stand By Our Leaders" Committee, at Langa, Blouville and Elsie's River, as the beginning of a series of protest meetings planned for the Cape Peninsula and Western Cape regions. At these meetings enthusiastic audiences supported the demand of Congress to release our leaders and to drop the allegation of treason against them. Collections were taken by the sponsoring committees.

On Cape Town station on Saturday last Sunday night an enthusiastic crowd of supporters from all the Congress gave a rousing send off to peoples' leaders returning to the all. When the hour people are sick then there should be hospitals for all our sick people — not only for a section. When we talk of democracy we mean all services must be made

Because of the widespread interest aroused in the Freedom Charter by the "treason" charges, we reproduce here the full text of the Charter, one of the documents referred to in the prosecution's opening address. The Prosecutor has not yet decided whether or not he will allege that the Charter itself is treasonable, he told the court.

FREEDOM CHARTER — FULL TEXT

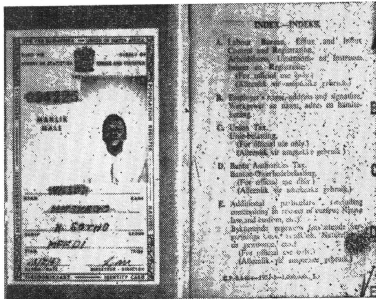
WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW

THAT South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!
EVERY MAN AND WOMAN SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR AND TO STAND AS A CANDIDATE FOR ALL BODIES WHICH MAKE LAWS;
All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

THERE SHALL BE EQUAL STATUS IN THE BODIES OF STATE, IN THE COURTS AND IN THE SCHOOLS FOR ALL NATIONAL GROUPS AND RACES;
All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;



"All apartheid laws shall be set aside."

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

THE NATIONAL WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY, THE HERITAGE OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, SHALL BE RESTORED TO THE PEOPLE;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.



"Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people."

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

RESTRICTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP ON A RACIAL BASIS SHALL BE ENDED, AND ALL THE LAND REDIVIDED AMONGST THOSE WHO WORK IT, TO BANISH FAMINE AND LAND HUNGER;
The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

NO-ONE shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;
No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
ALL LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE ON GROUNDS OF RACE, COLOUR OR BELIEF SHALL BE REPEALED.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

THE law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
THE PRIVACY OF THE HOUSE FROM POLICE RAIDS SHALL BE PROTECTED BY LAW;
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

ALL who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

We who have come from every corner of our land, chosen by our people to meet together in this great assembly, believe that the Freedom Charter we have adopted contains in it the true and most just desires of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

We proclaim that in this land, where the mass of the people own nothing and know only poverty and misery, this Charter will become the most treasured possession of all who are oppressed and of all who love liberty.

Wherever there are people living or working together, they must be told of this great Charter so that they may see and understand the sweeping changes that will come from their every-day struggles against indignity, inequality and injustice.

We declare that all true sons and daughters of South Africa will work from this day on, to win the changes which are set out in the Freedom Charter. Those who are in the forefront of this struggle will for ever hold an honoured place in our history. Those who work against it will be isolated and scorned.

We pledge that when we return from here to our homes we will at once make known to all our neighbours and workmates what we have done here, and we will win support for the Freedom Charter.

LET THE FREEDOM CHARTER LIGHT OUR WAY TO LIBERATION!

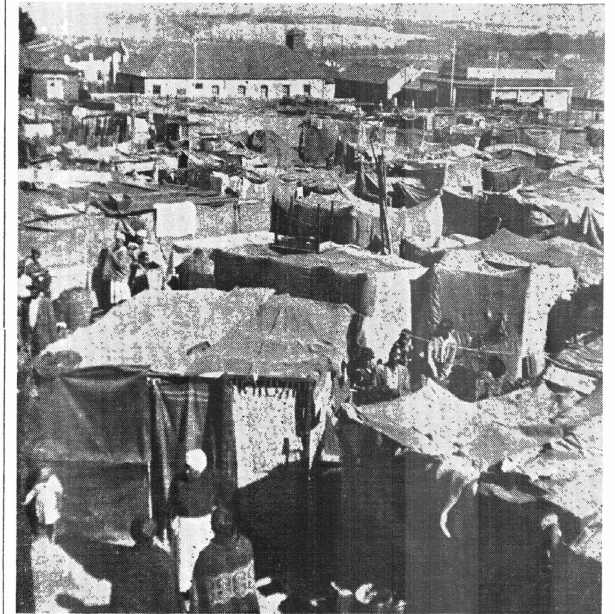
employers;
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES SHALL RECEIVE EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK;
There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

THE Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;
THE AIM OF EDUCATION SHALL BE TO TEACH THE YOUTH TO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE, TO HONOUR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, LIBERTY AND PEACE;
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of State allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass State education plan;
Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

ALL PEOPLE SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE WHERE THEY CHOOSE, TO BE DECENTLY HOUSED, AND TO BRING UP THEIR FAMILIES IN COMFORT AND SECURITY;
Unused housing space to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;



"Slums shall be abolished and new suburbs built where all have transport..."

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children; Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State; Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all; Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

SOUTH AFRICA shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations; SOUTH AFRICA SHALL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN WORLD PEACE AND THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY NEGOTIATION — NOT WAR;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY, AS WE SAY HERE: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."



"No one shall go hungry."

MEMORIAL

AND one by one the people started singing. Not many, only a few. The volume rose, tremulously at first and then swelled till it filled the dining-room, pulsated into the three other rooms, the kitchen where two fussy housewives in mourning were making wreaths, the bedrooms stacked with ladies' coats and sober, black felt hats . . . The room itself, where the people sang.

Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy Bosom fly . . .
A fat old woman in the corner nearest a cheap, highly polished chest of drawers fumbled nervously for a handkerchief. Her crying was infectious and more lips quivered and handkerchiefs were convulsively sought.

While the gathering waters roll,
While the tempest still is high
"Hide me, O my Saviour hide . . ." sang a small boy in a neat Eton collar who shared a hunchback with his mother. There were few people but they all sang. Except Mavis. She sat glowered, staring at the floor, smooth, delicately shaped brown hands. Glossy-eyed and tearless with a highly contemptuous twist across the close-set mouth. Staring at her hands and half noticing that the left-hand thumb-nail was scarred and broken. She refused to look at the coffin or join in the singing but sat staring listlessly at her broken finger-nail. The room did not exist, the fat woman sang in some far-away world some forgotten hymn.

Till the storm of life is past . . .
The fat woman had sufficiently recovered to add a trembling contralto to the volume. Mavis sat and had a vague impression of Rosie fussily hurrying in with a tray of flowers, passing a brief word with her mother, the door, and then busily hurrying out again. Mavis could not react or feel. She was only aware of the beating in the coffin, of her mother's presence in the room, the old woman filling the room, swirling round in it and crowding the place with her watery eyes and gnarled hands. Eyes which had quickened as Mavis asked, "Do they treat me so?"

"Mavis, why do they treat me so?"
"Mavis, knew the answer and felt like screaming out."
"Because, you're Coloured Ma. You are Coloured but you gave birth to white children. It's your own fault. Ma, you reared white children!"

Mavis was dimly aware that the tiny dining-room was filling, becoming uncomfortably crowded. Hot, stuffy, crammed to capacity. She sneezed into a tiny handkerchief in the centre. Pile of place to Ma, in a cheap pine coffin which bore the inscription,

Maria Loupser,
188-1956.
R.I.P.

Ma had been the Maria Loupser who now rested in peace whom Mavis and treated with respect. She looked up to see if the plaque was still on the coffin, and then busily transferred her gaze to her broken fingernail.

Other refuge have I none,
Hangs my helpless soul on
Flowers. . . The hot, oppressive smell of flowers. Flowers, death and the people singing. The small boy in the Eton collar singing so that the veins swelled out in his throat. People busting in and out, coming to have a last look at Ma. Put a flower in the coffin for Ma. Open my hunchback to the lament for Ma, poor humble Ma.

Ma, of the tragic eyes and gnarled hands, who had given birth to white children . . . and Mavis. Raise your voices and sing to her, sing for her.

Thou of Life the Fountain art,
Freely let me take of Thee . . .

ONLY a month before Mavis had looked into those bewilderment eyes. "Mavis, why do they treat me so?"

And she had been angry even so that she had hurt the old woman. "Mavis, why do they treat me so?"

And she had forced in every word with a skewer.
"Because you are old and black and your children want you out of the way!"

By RICHARD MOORE

One of the short stories in the New Age competition which was "highly commended" by the judges

And the old woman had whimpered and said, "Mavis they should not treat me so. Mavis, you should not treat me so." Yet what Mavis wanted to say was, "They want me also out of the way, Ma, because you made me black like you. They want me also in the kitchen. They want me also to use the back-door. Their friends must not see us, Ma. We must never enter the dining-room."

But she had never said so, only saw the fright in the old woman's dumb eyes. Eyes already dying. Dumb, ox-like tortured eyes which gazed her to increase the tempo of her abuse.

"You are no longer useful, you know. You're a bloody nuisance, a bloody, black nuisance. You must never come into my kitchen to shock their White guests in the dining-room, in YOUR dining-room."

But the old woman could still not understand and mumbled to herself, "I don't want to go into the dining-room. But it IS my dining-room. Mavis, it is mine, Mavis." And she whimpered like a child who had lost a toy. And Mavis felt a hideous, sadistic pleasure well up in her, and she screamed at her, "You're black and your bloody children's white, white, white!" And then Mavis broke down and wept like a baby.

"Ma, why did you make me black?"
"Ma, then only had the old woman understood a little, and Ma had taken her youngest in her arms and had rocked her like a baby.

NOW at last Ma was back in the dining-room and the people sang.

The darkness deepens.
Lord with me abide . . . room. Shadows flitting across . . . room. As deep as Ma's ignorance. Rosie tight-tipped and officious. Jim, whose White wife saw Ma now for the first time. And Sonny, pointedly ignoring Mavis, and speaking in hushed tones to a group of men in the passage. Black armbands and flowers. Mavis sat, an inconspicuous brown figure in the corner. The only other brown face besides Ma's in the room, and even Ma was paler in death. A none of Ma's friends in the room.

"Why do they not allow my friends to visit me, Mavis?"
And Mavis had only shrugged her shoulders. "Do you want Tant Soule to sit in the dining-

room with her black body? Or Ou-Kar with his Kaffer wife? Do you want Jim's wife to meet them? Do you want to embarrass your own children?"

And then the old woman had stared with her ox-like eyes, "I only want my friends to visit me, even if they have to sit in the kitchen."

And then Mavis had sighed resignedly at the simplicity of the doddering old woman and felt like saying, "And what of MY friends, my Coloured friends. Must they also sit in the kitchen?"

And then the tears had shot into the old woman's eyes and the Mother had looked even older.

"Please, Mavis, I want my friends to visit me, even in the kitchen."

And now finally Ma's friends did sit in the kitchen. A timid, frightened group near the fire. Tant Soule in a new "kopdoek" clutching her swollen hands, and Ou-Kar conspicuous in borrowed yellow sizes too large for him. In the dining-room sat the children and Dadda's friends and relations who had ignored Ma while she lived. Dadda's relations and a glossy-eyed Mavis. A Mavis who scratched meaninglessly at her broken thumb-nail.

AND now as more people crowded into the room the volume rose.

While other helpers fail and comfort flee
She could have given Ma the understanding she needed. She could have protected Ma, yet she had understood Ma, could have tried to put a stop to the petty tyranny. She had never really tried to reason with them, never bothered to tell them that Ma was dying. Her own soul ate her up. She was afraid of their reaction, not so much against the old woman but against herself.

And what if they had said, "Why don't you both clear out, you bloody black bastards?" She would then have cleared out. And the old woman? No. She would have cleared out alone. But she had never spoken, they had never spoken. And she had vented her frustration on the helpless old woman.

"You sent them to a White school, Ma, YOU did you know. I'm proud of your white children . . . and you HATED me, didn't you, Ma?"

And the Mother had stared at her with vacant eyes.
"You encouraged them to bring their friends to the house, YOU did, and you told me to stay in the kitchen. And you had a black skin yourself. YOU HATED me, Ma, and you've pushed you into the kitchen also. You're the cause of it, Ma, you are, you know." And she had continued to torture the old woman who did not retaliate. Now they sang hymns for Ma and Mavis sat tortured by her imagination . . . The room assumed a sepulchral atmosphere. Tears, flowers, handkerchiefs, black armbands . . . and still dominating everything the simple, bewildered eyes of Ma,

bewildered even in death. Mavis had judiciously placed two pennies on them that the others might not see.

Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes . . .
sang Dadda's eldest brother who sat with one tightly shut near the head of the coffin. He had refused to recognise Ma socially while she lived and he attended the funeral as because his brother's wife had died.

Shine through the gloom and point me to the skies . . .
sang the boy in the Eton collar, whose mother had not quite recovered from the shock that Mr. Loupser had a Coloured wife. All sang except Mavis who was torturing herself with memories.

"I THINK I'm going to die, Mavis," those watery eyes had told her a week before, "I think I won't last long."
"Let your white children whom you adore bury you."

"They are my children but they do not treat me right."
"Shall I tell you why they do not treat you right?"

And she had driven in every word: "Because they are ashamed of you, afraid of you, afraid people may find out about their Coloured Mother!"

"But I did my best for them."
"You did more than your best, you encouraged them. But you were ashamed of me, weren't you? Now you share a room with me at the back where we both can't be seen. And so you are going to die and your white children will be well rid of you!"

"They are your brothers and sisters!"
"My what?" and Mavis had bared her teeth at the hypocrisy, "I hate them and you. I HATE you, the old woman who only mumbled, "But you are all my children, Mavis, do not let me die so."

You will die in your back-room and be buried from your kitchen."

"It's a sin, Mavis, it's a sin."
"You killed me and buried her from the kitchen. They had taken the table out of the dining-room and borrowed chairs from the neighbours. And now they sang hymns and waited for the priest from Dadda's church.

"Let the Waters and the Blood From Thy Right Side which flow'd"

Be of sin the double cure . . .
sang the man at the door starting a new hymn. There was an expectant bustle at the door and the priest appeared. All now crowded were making the wreath and Tant Soule holding Ou-Kar's trembling hand.

"PLEASE Mavis, see that Father Josephs buries me!"
"None of my business. You did nothing for me."

"I am your mother, my girl, I raised you."

And those words had seared into Mavis' mind.
"Yes YOU raised me, and YOU were my place. You took me to the Mission with you because we were too black for Dadda's church. Let Rosie and Sonny see Father Josephs. Let them go to a Coloured Mission for a change!"

And the old woman had entreated with those ox-like eyes, "Please let Father Josephs bury me, please Mavis."
And now the priest from Dadda's church stood at her coffin and read in a stentorian voice from the service for the burial of the dead.

"I held my tongue and spoke nothing. I kept silence, yes even

from good words; but it was pain and grief to me . . .
The fat lady near the door wept hysterically.

"My heart was hot within me and while I was thus musing the fire kindled; and at the last I spoke with my tongue . . ."

And Mavis kept staring at her broken fingernail and heard not and saw nothing. Rosie had consulted her about the burial, and had asked her to go to the Mission and ask for Father Josephs, but she had turned on her heel without a word and walked out into the streets. Through the cobble city streets, through the poorer quarters till she had reached the bright lights. Thinking of the dead woman in her room, the woman who had been a Mother, Maria Loupser who had married a white man and now died in a back-room. Mavis had stared blankly into many shop windows that night.

And now Dadda's priest prayed at the coffin of a broken Coloured woman. And the back-room was empty.

"O Lord, take into Thy eternal care. Thy servant Maria Loupser. Grant her Thy eternal peace and understanding. Thou art our redemption and our refuge. Look down upon her children who even in their hour of need look to Thee for solace. Send Thy eternal blessing upon them for verily they have heard Thy Commandments which Thou handed to Moses in the mountains, which is, 'Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long . . .'"

Mavis felt hot, uncomfortably hot. Her saliva turned to white heat in her mouth and her head rolled drunkenly. The room filled with her mother's presence, her mother's eyes, body, soul, flowing into her, filling every pore, becoming one with her, becoming a living condemnation.

"Hypocrites!" she screamed, "You killed me and you murdered my Blameless! Don't you know your God!"

CEMENT WORKERS ALLEGED POLICE ASSAULT

PORT ELIZABETH.

A number of workers at the cement factory in Port Elizabeth that they were attacked by police last week while they were having lunch in the factory premises.

The workers told New Age that during the lunch hour police arrested 12 of the men. At the time some of the workers were having their lunch while others were lying on the ground resting inside the factory premises. As soon as the African Police alighted they started attacking them while the European ones looked on.

At the time of writing some of the workers have gone to see a doctor for the treatment of the injuries and to obtain medical certificates.

The workers told New Age that when they took the matter up with the management they were told that the police had a right to do what they pleased.

When New Age phoned the manager, he denied that the workers had made any complaint to him, but added that as far as he was concerned he was not having any trouble with his workers.

EISENHOWER'S PLOT TO TAKE OVER THE MIDDLE EAST

THE British and French Governments are angry at the threatened American take-over of the Middle East. There can be no concealing the significance of the fact that more than 100 Tories recently tabled a strong anti-American motion in the House of Commons virtually accusing the American Government of double-dealing in its handling of the Suez crisis, and French Foreign Ministry officials are reported to be seriously alarmed at the U.S. threat to oust France from North Africa and the Middle East. And Eisenhower's new plan confirms this threat.

President Eisenhower's request to Congress for full authority in advance for any action he may take in the Middle East provides strong evidence of U.S. determination to gain mastery over the lands of the Arab world. Eisenhower has asked for approval to take military action if he feels it necessary to fill the "vacuum" (what contempt for the sovereignty and dignity of the peoples of the area to refer to them as a "vacuum") created by the drastic drop in British and French influence in the Middle East and thus prevent the area from being "swallowed up by Communism".

That the American policymakers want to counter the great increase in prestige acquired by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a result of their resolute support for Egyptian independence, is indisputable. They can only view with alarm the great alliance that has been

formed between the socialist countries and the members of the Afro-Asian bloc in a joint struggle against colonialism.

The business magnates who make up the Eisenhower Cabinet see the Middle East as a key plum for their own plucking — as a source of raw materials, an expanding market for American products, a war base for aggression and an important centre of communications. Moreover, control of the Middle East would give the United States a powerful economic stronghold over Western Europe in the form of complete control of the capitalist world's oil producing areas.

WORLD STAGE

by Spectator

Secretary of State Dulles, pious Dulles, says that the United States must be ready to accept increasing responsibility over the Middle East to help "free nations". "That area is immensely important to all freedom-loving, God-fearing people," he begins piously. "There are to be found the holy shrines which symbolize the faith of the three great religions. There are the resources, the channels of communication, which serve vitally the welfare of the peoples of the Middle East and of other regions."

How the "free nations" regard the offer of increasing help? The Paris correspondent of "Davar", leading Israeli daily, reports that "sources close to the French Foreign Ministry state that U.S. policy is currently being aimed at American succession of Britain and France in the Middle East and North Africa". The French Government is deeply worried by this new trend in U.S. policy which by implication threatens the French position in North Africa, Davar continues.

The report mentions as two specific examples of the new U.S. drive, efforts to get Britain to terminate her obligations to Jordan, so that the U.S. can then step in as it did in Greece and Turkey after the World War II, and secondly, offers of financial and other aid to Tunisia and Morocco in order to replace France in North Africa as it did in Indochina.

REMEMBER IRAN?

Surprisingly, the report did not refer to the precedent in Iran where not so long the Americans managed to cash in on the difficulties the British found themselves in, emerging with a powerful interest in the rich Persian oil fields from which they had previously been excluded. A comparison between the struggle of the Iranians and that of the Egyptian people for national independence and sovereignty is most illuminating.

When the Government of Deymoussadeq announced in 1951 that they were nationalising the foreign-owned oil fields in Iran they found that despite the overwhelming popular support they had in Iran itself, they stood virtually alone as far as the outside world was concerned. They were afraid to seek Soviet assistance, until it was too late, and the Afro-Asian countries have, as yet left fully their power to challenge colonialism on a worldwide scale.

When Colonel Nasser announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, on the other hand, he was assured of the support of the whole socialist camp, which he readily accepted, and of the Afro-Asian countries, which had declared their readiness at the historic Bandung Conference to oppose all forms of colonialism.

The Iranian Government found itself powerless to run the oilfield installations in the face of the withdrawal of foreign personnel, whereas the Egyptians were inundated with volunteers from all over the world to conduct ships safely through the Canal.

Whereas in Iran the Nationalist Government could not withstand the gunboat threats, intrigue and finally a military coup directed against them in 1953, the Nasser Government survived a powerful military attack from Britain, France and Israel, and after the aggressors had been compelled to withdraw in the face of vigorous world opinion and the hint of strong Soviet counter-measures, found that their position both nationally and internationally had been strengthened.

Thus it is clear that the balance of world forces in the past few years has undergone a dramatic transformation. At Bandung the newly independent countries of Africa and the East spoke about their determination to rid the world of colonialism. Now they have acted. The powerful rebuff given to imperialism in Egypt can be regarded as having set in motion the final liquidation of colonialism to its complete extinction

from the world.

Against this setting U.S. Government policy becomes clear. The French and British Empires are rapidly crumbling, and for the Americans to associate themselves openly with the desperate attempts of the rulers of these countries to halt the march of the tide would result to independence, would result in two thirds of the world's population coming out in arms against them. At the same time the British and French are being forced to abandon areas rich in material and human resources ready for fruitful exploitation by American capital.

An idea of the economic as well as political value of control over the Middle East can be gained from the serious economic consequences, particularly to the countries of Western Europe, arising out of the blocking of the Suez Canal and the restriction of the flow of oil to the Mediterranean — the economic price which the aggressors (and many non-aggressor nations) have been forced to pay for their military ventures.

The reduction in oil supplies is especially affecting Western Europe which normally imports 80% of its consumption from the Middle East. The overall deficit in Western European crude oil supplies is estimated at 40% of normal consumption, and at 25% of that in the case where American supplies are fully delivered.

SERIOUS EFFECTS

Private supply of oil has been cut. The cost of motor oils has been restricted or rationed, and supplies of oil for home-heating in the winter have been cut down. The cost of services have been seriously affected, with a cut in French train services, and a 10% reduction in road transportation in Britain.

Oil refineries have reduced production by 25% in France, 10% in Western Germany, and 25% by British Petroleum. Engineering, glass and other industries that rely on oil for energy are in

difficulty.

Though stock-piling has minimised the shortage of raw materials, prices have risen sharply. The oil monopolies in particular have seized the opportunity to increase their profits, with price rises in the United States, Britain (more than 30%), Italy, Holland, Sweden, etc.

Shipping freight rates have risen considerably, by as much as 60% from the beginning of November to the beginning of December, according to the Financial Times.

The Asian countries are also feeling the effects of the aggression which they helped bring to an end. Over two-thirds of India's exports passed through the Suez Canal, and the increased freightage costs is estimated at amounting to 100 million dollars per annum, a charge which will hinder development projects. The oil-producing countries of the Middle East are also being hard hit. Oil production in Iraq is expected to fall from 176 million tons a year to 100-110 million.

Unfavourable balances of payments will be further weighed down. Buying oil in the Western Hemisphere will cost Western Europe a further 800 million dollars a year, to be paid in dollars.

WORKERS HARD HIT

As usual, the workers have to bear the brunt of the difficulties. They must pay higher prices, with more unemployment, with difficulties in daily life in the form of poor transport, lack of heating, and a dearth of certain food supplies as a result of speculation and stockpiling.

Faced with utter defeat in Egypt, with their internal economic menaced by the oil shortage, with rising working-class anger and falling living-standards, the British and French ruling-class must be ruing the day it began its aggressive adventure.

Elections In Nigeria And French Africa

KANO.

The General Elections for the new House of Assembly for Northern Nigeria were completed last week, resulting in the re-election by an overwhelming majority of the present government which is formed of the Northern People's Congress.

No one in the country even pretends that the elections were fully democratic or that anything like parliamentary democracy yet exists, and the governing party is a movement of chiefs, feudal traditionalists and muslim priests, headed by the Emirs of Sokoto, Bornu and Kano.

There is an enormous gap between these traditional rulers and the ordinary people who have no say in the government, yet the country's growing independence movement is fighting on two fronts — on the one hand to end British rule, and on the other to break the political power of the emirs and chiefs.

Municipal elections were also completed throughout French Colonial Africa this month. Three-quarters of a million voters in 41 towns from Senegal to Madagascar were for the first time given the opportunity of electing their own local councils under universal suffrage, with Africans and Europeans voting together.

The elections were won in most districts by the Democratic African Assembly, the largest African party, which is nominally socialist and is led in the French parliament by M. Houphouët-Boigny, a member of the Cabinet.

DEDAN KIMATHI, LEADER OF THE KENYA AFRICAN LEADER, TO APPEAL AGAIN

LONDON

Dedan Kimathi, leader of the Land Freedom Army in Kenya, whose appeal against the sentence of death passed on him for being in possession of a revolver has been dismissed by a Kenya court, is now to appeal to the Privy Council — the British House of Lords.

Kimathi was an active member of the Kenya African Union, the largest and most representative African political organisation in Kenya until it was suppressed at the outbreak of the disturbances. He was recognised as a leader almost immediately after this and his capture was attempted in the first of the many sweeps and arrests. There had been a price of £500 on his head.

HOW IT BEGAN

The "emergency" was declared in Kenya in October 1952. In August 1953, Kimathi wrote to the Kenya Government pointing out that the African resistance had been caused by Government policy that the poor were the Mau Mau and that poverty could be cured, but only by bombs.

"The police of... driving people away without good grounds, and confining them to their reserves has resulted in a thousandfold increase in the Mau Mau in the forests. Young men and women and old men are in the forest because they are afraid of being killed or badly beaten, or confined..."

He made peace proposals, but the authorities replied with completely unacceptable terms.

In March 1954 he again made proposals for the ending of the fighting in a series of letters to Government leaders... suggesting that peace talks should begin

(Manchester Guardian, March 19, 1954).

Meetings did in fact take place, but as a body of security forces were present nearby and the fighting broke out between them and the Africans ready to surrender, the negotiations broke down because the Africans were convinced that the whole plan had been a trap to lead them to a mass slaughter.

In the following August, Kimathi's headquarters in the Nyeri district was confiscated.

In September troops and police, complete with armoured cars, surrounded the Mau Mau forest and tried to kill or confine him, but he slipped through the cordon and escaped. Almost immediately afterwards, mass escape of prisoners took place, and the "Lukeniya" (a most audacious and successful assault), which was "believed to have been directed" by him (Times, September 19, 1954).

The Kenya Weekly News (November 26, 1954), suggested building on an orientation round such people as the Police Officer Davidson (who had sworn to get Kimathi) with their "one object" — to kill Kimathi.

His second attempt by Kimathi to get peace talks and stop the fighting was frustrated by Government demands for unconditional surrender in a series of letters to private detention. The Government had obviously decided to starve the

resistance fighters out of the forests rather than negotiate a peace.

DETENTION CAMPS

Support for the fighters was greatly reduced by the Government measures to control the Reserves and other sources of support, first by mass sweeps and putting those arrested into detention camps and, secondly, by destroying the sacred homesteads of the people in the Reserves and herding the inhabitants into huge "villages" where they were surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards.

The large-scale fighting has been decreasing for some time and it is expected that the Reserves in the price of thousands shot and hundreds of thousands languishing in prison and concentration camps and mass reprisals will be "cleared".

If Kimathi loses his appeal, yet one more African leader who fought for the rights of his people will go to his death. The land-hunger, the poverty and mass repression will remain. New leaders will emerge to carry on the struggle which Kimathi carried on for four years against overwhelming odds.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO HELP NEW AGE?

Books

APARTHEID IN AMERICA'S SOUTH

BECAUSE the Youngbloods would not live on bended knee, they offered to the Southern way of life...

lived with the problems all their lives.

LYNCHINGS actual lynchings, were not common in Crossroads, but numerous "lynchings" did take place...

"Youngblood" is an indictment of the Southern way of life—indec of all racial discrimination.

by an unhealthy warped society. But more than that, it is a tribute to the Negro people in their determination to be free...

ALFRED HUTCHINSON. "Youngblood by John O. Kilday. Published by The Booklet Head, Price 18s.

But unlike many of the others they would not bend to the wind of oppression—and that's where the trouble lay.

At first Joe fought alone—trying to keep his head high and his shoulders thrown back—but he was surely being ground down...

NEW DISCOVERY To the Negro school, Myles brought a new subject, Negro history—a new discovery...

The local Telegram arraigned Richard Myles as the cause of almost succeeding in tearing down the goodwill that exists between the Coloured and White...

Group Areas Survey By Race Relations The South African Institute of Race Relations has completed the spot survey of the effects of the Group Areas Act...

DELIGHTFUL BOOK ABOUT AFRICA

IF there was someone who knew absolutely nothing about Africa (for instance, an ordinary White South African) who wanted to read a couple of books to fill this gap in his knowledge, I think I should currently recommend John Gunther's "Inside Africa"...

This is not a travel book, or a political book, or a geography book or an anthropology book. It is, as the author writes in her introductory note, a book about persons, not peoples.

Mrs. Warner, an American woman, went to Liberia. She collected animals for export to zoos. In the course of this work she went on expeditions to the most remote villages of the interior...

Now, Mrs. Warner is a very fine and remarkable woman, who respects people and customs other than her own and hates colour bars and racial prejudice.

mutual respect and understanding. And this is something very rare and precious in Africa where personal relations between Africans and Europeans are almost non-existent except on the basis of master-servant, teacher-pupil, commander-conquered...

Mrs. Warner is happily free from these arrogant assumptions of White superiority. She tells you, without comment, what these people are really like.

She reproduces in reporting dialogues, the quaint brand of pidgin used in Liberia for conversations not only with Whites but also between Africans of different tribes and languages.

"Now you, Dika, and you, Latoka, are going to be plunger men. You are going to kick the machine to make it work. See? No, I am going to be me, Johnny. You tell me, Latoka, how strength there is no room in me now led white men have everything because their heads are full of big thinks. But if you read a lot of little thinks. You break everything because all you have got is strength which is of no use.

I'll admit that there are bits in the book that irritated me. Rubbed raw by life in the Union I cannot bear to hear grown-up men called "Boys," even when it is done as innocently as here.

But you must read "Trial by Saswood." There is something in it for you.

MICHAEL HARMEL. "Trial by Saswood" by Esther Warner. Published by Gollancz, Price 21s.

HENRY NXUMALO

A Tribute

THE news of the death by stabbing of Henry Nxumalo is a sad blow—the tragic waste of a great personality. He was a journalist of distinction whose dramatic exposures, from first-hand experience, of conditions in the Johannesburg Fort area on the farms of Bethal and Rustenburg made him internationally famous.

His terse descriptions of these experiences made them the more telling. At the time of his death he was working on a book for Knopf and Co., the American publishers and the fact that they had commissioned him to write this is in itself a tribute to him.

COURAGE AND TENACITY The details of his life give a measure of his qualities—his courage and tenacity and his undoubted gifts which the narrowness of South African life could not stifle.

The war took him to Cairo as a member of the Medical Corps. Thence to London where he was a free lance journalist for some time. On his return home he went into the newspaper world and graduated from messenger to sports editor on the Bantu World and then became "Mr. Drum" in 1954 when the Golden City Post appeared he was appointed news editor. But these details do



we met, there was an instant understanding between us.

Henry Nxumalo's death as a victim of those conditions which he exposed leaves one angry and frustrated. Let it be a passionate anger which will demand that death by violence will no longer be commonplace in the Township of Johannesburg.

PHYLIS ALTMAN

Conference on Coloured Education

CAPE TOWN About 300 delegates and observers from all parts of the Western Provinces attended the conference at the Rondebosch Town Hall called this week by the Teachers' League of South Africa and Parents-Teachers' Associations. Papers were delivered on the Coloured Education Commission, the Coloured Affairs' Department, "What the schools will be expected to teach", "Who will control the schools" and other subjects flowing from consideration of the Government's policy in respect of "Coloured Education".

New Age hopes to be able to present a fuller analysis of the conference in next week's issue.

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RACING AT ASCOT

The following are Damon's selections for the racing on Saturday, January 12. Cape Racing Season Sprint Handicap: DIVULGE, Danger, Magnet Ascot Handicap: BATTLE ROY—AL, Danger, J. Bell's Selected. Milnerton Handicap: A. TENSIL, Danger, Garrett's Selected. Milnerton Handicap B: ALCA-ZAR, Danger, Siegfried. Progress Seven: MEIDTERRA—NEAN, Danger, Hulsstrom. Progress Five: CLEAR EVENING, Danger, H. E. Amos' Selected. Maiden Plate: REDSOL, Danger, Terasco.

Mailein Plate: STUDENT PRINCE, Danger, Battle Green.

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The Group Areas Act—Its Effects on Human Beings. 10s.