# **Independence For 33 Million People** NIGERIA ENTERS THE POLITICAL KINGDOM

loving Africa will celebrate the coming to full independence of the people of Nigeria. The entry of that country into and wealthy landowners. the Political Kingdom marks virtually the end of colonial rule in West Africa, and brings nearer the day when the whole of our continent will be freed from imperialism and racial discrimination.

Nigeria is the largest and most populous single colony left in the British Empire. About the same size as South Africa, its population of 33 million is more than double ours, and makes it the country with the largest population in all Africa.

# **SLAVE TRADE**

THE first Whites to arrive were the Portuguese in 1472, followed by the English in 1553. Then followed the era of the slave trade, in which millions upon millions of Africans were transported to the plantations of America. Whole areas were depopulated, and ancient cultures vanished with their peoples.

When slavery was finally abolished early last century, the scramble for territorial possession resulted eventually in the carving up of Africa amongst the imperialist powers, and at the Conference of Berlin in 1885 Britain established the 'right' to the territory in West Africa around the reaches of the River Niger.

A Crown Colony was established around Lagos, and expanding from there with a series of armed attacks, the British brought the whole of present Nigeria under their control, until in 1914 the Colony of Nigeria was formally brought into being.

The British applied a system of INDIRECT RULE i.e. rule through tribal chiefs. This had th effect of encouraging tribalism and delaying the formation of a national movement aiming at na-

GENERAL STRIKE . . .

**B**Y 1938, however, demands for the creation of a nationvigorous campaigner being Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, who is now likely to become Governor-General of the country.

Zik, as he was called, was a leading figure in the Nigerian Youth Movement which stressed the importance of unity between the different tribes of the country. The Youth Movement went from strength to strength, and eventually ousted the feeble local political parties which existed at the

In 1944 a breakaway group from the Youth Movement set up the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) which since that date has led the struggle for independence.

In 1945 the first general strike in Nigeria's history took place. ternal split.

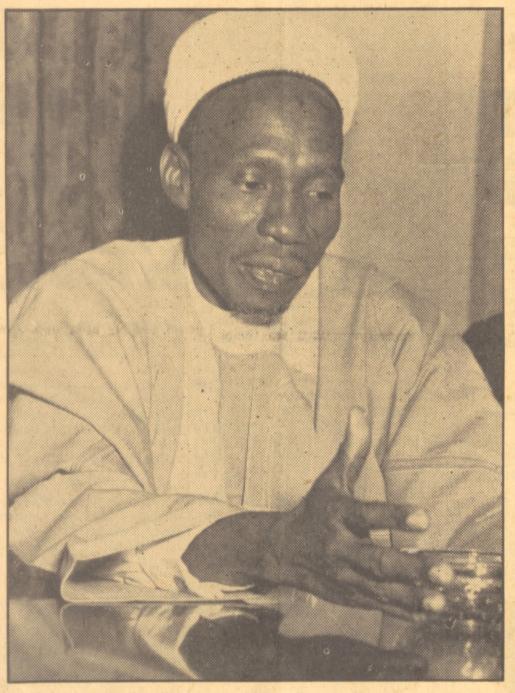
ON October 1st all freedom- interests of the Yoruba tribe alone. affairs and is the most strongly of interests, but at the moment In 1951 this group entered the anti-imperialist and pan-Africanist seems to be fairly stable. political arena and set up the of the three parties. Action Group, whose main backing came from the Yoruba chiefs has been diverted time and again

Modern political development in Northern Nigeria was slow. In the personal ambitions of many 1951 the Northern People's Con-gress was set up out of a social and cultural organisation under the leadership of Mallam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the Sardauna of Sokoto.

... AND CONFERENCES DURING the years that fol-

At the same time, the NCNC by opportunism in its ranks, and has been constantly troubled by

million people) is controlled by the Action Group, although the NCNC has small pockets of influence in the area. The Action Group, led by Mr. Obafemi Awolowo, is tribalist in its outlook, lowed there were a series of but has on occasions reflected



state were being raised, the most The Prime Minister of the Nigerian Federation, The Hon. Mallam Tafawa Balewa.

> constitutional conferences in popular sentiment by backing the London at which the political NCNC's demands for indepenstatus of Nigeria was hammered dence. out from time to time. The NCNC • The NORTHERN REGION 3 regions.

The position at the moment is as follows:

The NCNC backed the workers million people) is dominated by emerged as the party with by far for democratisation and the end and gained greatly in prestige. It the NCNC, under the leadership the largest number of seats. Next of feudalism is growing rapidly. In pressed continually for constitu- of Dr. Azikwe. The NCNC is by came the NCNC, closely followed the South the spirit of anti-impetional reform, but in 1948 it was far the most advanced of the three by the Action Group, and, finally, rialism which is sweeping all greatly weakened by a major in- major political parties in Nigeria. the NEPU managed to secure a Africa, is leaving its mark. This It is made up mainly of Ibos, but few seats. In that year a number of pro- is not a tribal organisation. More- The Federal Government is Prime Minister Macmillan refessional men of Yoruba origin over, it is to some extent sensitive made up of a coalition between ceived a rude and vociferous rebroke away from the NCNC and to pressure from the trade unions the NPC and the NCNC. This is ception from the overwhelming set up their own organisation and peasants. The NCNC stands a marriage of convenience rather majority of Nigerian students durdedicated to the furtherance of the for neutralism in international than an alliance based on identity Continued in next column

favoured independence quickly for (17 million people) is dominated a united Nigeria, whereas the by the NPC, an organisation Action Group and the NPC which has the backing of the aufought for regional autonomy and tocratic Moslem Emirs of the independence in "good time." region. The NPC is the least pro-Eventually a compromise was gressive of the 3 main parties, and reached-independence day was is opposed by the Northern Elefixed for October 1st this year, but ments Progressive Union (NEPU) Nigeria was to be a federal rather whose aim is to democratise the than a unitary state, consisting of region and break the stranglehold which the Emirs have over the

# ELECTIONS

The Prime Minister, the Hon. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, of the NPC, has always been a close friend of the British, and the domination of his party in the Government has led observers to believe that the Nigerian Government would turn out to be per-• The WESTERN REGION (7 haps the most strongly pro-Western one in all independent Africa

# **GHANA vs. NIGERIA?**

WESTERN writers constantly point to an alleged rift be tween the Governments of Ghana and Nigeria, both of which are supposed to be fighting for the leadership of Black Africa.

might have for themselves. mass pressure in Nigeria supports a policy similar to that being pursued by Dr. Nkrumah. This was illustrated by the first foreign policy statein August that Nigeria would follow a policy of neutralism.

He declared that his Government would "endeavour to remain on friendly terms with every nation which recognises and respects our sovereignty, and we shall no blindly follow the lead of anyone "We consider it wrong for the Federal Government to associate

any of the power blocs." Yet even though Nigeria will not slavishly follow the British

lead on international affairs, the British Tories have every reason to be pleased at the manner in which the transition to independence in Nigeria has been accomplished.

The fairly intensive Nigerianisation of the civil service and administration in the past few years will ensure that after October 1st there will not be the same pattern of events that threatened to shake the Belgians right out of the Congo after that country achieved independence.

Furthermore, the politicians of the politically and socially backward Northern Region dominate the Nigerian Government. These people can be relied upon to exert every effort to maintain British economic power in the country, for their own position as feudal rulers of their peoples is tied up with the support they have received and will continue to receive from the British. Similarly, the British have good cause to expect support from the tribalist and feudal Nigerian leaders against the strongly anti-tribalist and strongly pan-Africanist Dr Nkrumah, whose policies are causing the British colonialists increasing anxiety.

# **RICH AND POOR**

ON the other side of the picture, though, is the prospect of increasing political consciousness TN the elections held for the amongst the Nigerian masses. In • The EASTERN REGION (8 - Federal Parliament, the NPC the Northern Region the demand was clearly evidenced when British



Three families comprising 25 persons have been forced to live in this home since demolition; began in the Merebank area. Council bulldozers during their road-building operations have pushed up sand so that it almost covers the home. According to Mrs. Phoolmathie, one of the tenants, no meal is free from sand. The families are all awaiting homes in the housing scheme.

# seems to be that whatever am-bitions the leaders of Nigeria might have for themselves. Scandalous Conditions Indian Shantytown

# ment made by the Nigerian Federal Premier, when he said Housing Shortage Created By Group Areas

# From M. P. Naicker

THE shortage of housing amongst The Durban City Council claims if they get into financial difficulties the Indian people prior to the enas those that sprang up during the demolishing existing homes, has laid Age said that within a year his

Continued from previous column

who have a long history of determined struggle, will no doubt play an important part. As long as continue to freeze the huge Ni- New Age, the Congress says: ing of the working people to any properly plastered. appreciable degree.

working people is there for all to not even plastered. But the price

# HATE APARTHEID

AS far as we in South Africa are concerned, we can safely leave it to the Nigerian people themselves to sort out these problems. We can be sure of one fact, and that is that all Nigerians, whether they be feudal princes, mineworkers or cocoa growers bitterly oppose the policies of the Verwoerd Government.

PEOPLE OF NIGERIA ON years. THEIR ATTAINING INDEPEN-EFFORTS TO BUILD UP freed it. THEIR COUNTRY INTO A FREE AND PROSPEROUS ONE All conditions of tenancy are ALL WHO LIVE IN IT.

war years at Cato Manor, Moroka, is forfeited to the Council. The DURBAN. Jabavu and elsewhere.

ban, due mainly to the operation of the Group Areas Act, is reaching but by its methods is creating new Even then, they are compelled to and more serious difficulties for the sell to the Council at an amount Shantytowns, almost unknown by a working class suburb in the city. house and not on the rateable value, sent to Makousvlei. Here the Council, after expropriat- which will keep going up. itself as a matter of course with actment of the Group Areas Act, ing large tracts of land from the are developing at as rapid a rate land-starved Indian community and

ing his stay in that country last Most of those whose homes have

# **CONGRESS STATEMENT**

British concerns dominate the come in for strong criticism by the sent. heights of Nigerian industry and Merebank Branch of the Natal trade, and as long as the British Indian Congress. In a statement to

gerian trade surplus in London "When the first homes were built banks, so long will it be impos- under this scheme they were fairly sible to raise the standard of liv- well built with brick with all walls

"But seeing the great demand for Further, the glaring gap in the these homes the Council began using standard of living between the rich hollow cement blocks which were Government officials and the poor much cheaper and the walls were

of each building remained the same. "The cement-block homes are a failure. Within months large cracks are appearing on the walls as cement blocks do not expand and contract with the change of weather. What is worse water soaks into the walls and remains in it for some time"

Stating that the cash price of a three-roomed dwelling is about £640, the statement adds that in actual fact each householder finishes ALL DEMOCRATS IN up paying £1,670 before he actually SOUTH AFRICA SALUTE THE owns the building at the end of 30

There is ample evidence that most DENCE. WE WISH THEM of these homes would be in FURTHER SUCCESS IN THEIR shambles long before an owner had

# STRICT CONDITIONS

IN WHICH THE RICHES OF loaded against the people. For in-THE LAND ARE FULLY UTI- stance any householder who cannot LISED FOR THE BENEFIT OF pay his instalments for three months is ejected and whatever he has paid

"owners" cannot re-sell their homes the Indian community in Dur- to be trying to solve the problem, before their final payment is made.

> One owner interviewed by New per month!

ear. Then, too, the masses of Nige-the sharties which have been built on the sharties which have been built on the station and loaded on the statio rian workers and peasants can be expected to put ever greater pres-the City Council. They have all been the main demands that would sure on their government to give promised homes in the new scheme, be made to the Council would be leg-irons and we stayed like this, them the benefits of independence by improving their material and cultural standards. In this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this connec-tion the Nigerian trade unions. In the conditions at this that the price be fixed in accordance the powner of the neople who

# THE MISSING MEN OF THE EMERGENCY What Happened To 4 (bis) Detainees

under the notorious section 4 (bis)

NEW AGE, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1960

rrested in the Western Cape. It is a story of:

in the local prison;

summary "sentence" to distant iails: transportation in chains;

for missing sons.

joined hundreds of other African with me. men held for similar offences.

# **COURT IN OFFICE**

A special court established under the Emergency Regulations had been set up in an office in the jail and prisoners were taken in one by

"After I had been lying in Roeland Street for about eight days I was taken into this room," W.H. said. "There were men in plain clothes inside, and one of them who grave and alarming proportions. people, as is the case in Merebank, fixed on the original value of the was a magistrate said I was being

"Many other men were treated in this manner at the time I appeared before this court. I think about 180 out a new sub-economic housing rates were increased by five shillings to 200 men were sentenced that week.

"Afterwards we were driven in a According to the Secretary of the lorry to the railway yards outside

LEG-IRONS "We were handcuffed and wore

with the income of the people who "It was very uncomfortable. For have not returned home. The State evictions are pending but many need homes, and not on a profit- meals on the train we were given a of Emergency is over, but families families ordered to 'get out' have The new housing scheme has making basis as is the case at pre- piece of bread and some water three still wait anxiously for news of sons not known of their right of appeal times a day."

CAPE TOWN. | Their destination turned out to the police net months ago and have WHAT happened to the thou- be East London and they were not been heard of since. sands of Africans who were taken to Fort Glamorgan jail which One of these is Mrs. Lily Vangga

arrested for so-called pass offences is just outside the city, near the sea of Langa whose son Richard was FRANTIC MOTHER detained under the Emergency Reof the Emergency Regulations, and held without trial in open court? In the meantime the mother of W.H. was trying frantically to get Richard Vangqa, 36, left to work What has happened to those who. up to today, are still missing? New Age, probing into the story of one good hands and being well cared that he would be returning to Cape of these men, uncovered a pattern for. There was no necessity for her Town. The only news of her son which must apply to hundreds of to bring warm clothes. Later she Mrs. Vangqa received after that so-called idlers and vagrants was told that he had been moved was when she saw his name in the to Worcester jail. But he was not Eastern Cape list of detainees in a local newspaper on May 6. His • "drumhead" courts established For this mother W.H. had simply whereabouts to date are unknown

disappeared. JAIL CROWDED

In an interview with New Age were young men, but I also saw they could trace him. a young man, W. H., 19 years old, boys of about 16 or 17 years old. They have not seen Richard were ignored and he was removed sult I was separated from many ot her son back. to Roeland Street jail. There he the prisoners who had come there In the meanwhile Richard Van-

to Fort Glamorgan with me, but J all the detainees been released? did not see him again after we W.H. served at Fort Glamorgan African Families Evicted arrived there." for two months.

WORK HARD said. "Many were sent to work in

o painting ships in the harbour." After two months W.H. reported that he was ill and could not work. He said the prison authorities rehim to one day solitary confinement and the loss of three meals.

The next day W.H. was released. two loaves of bread for the journey. "When my property was handed to me my shoes were missing. 1

arrived at home barefooted."

# Jews Must Vote NO In Referendum

# JOHANNESBURG.

**A** LL Jews, irrespective of party affiliations, should vote solidly NO in the October 5 referendum. This is the call issued by the Jewish Democratic Association.

Those who vote 'Yes' will vote in favour of a government with a shocking record, says the Association.

The appeal of the association says that the position of Jews as a group in South African politics, and especially in relation to the referendum, has recently caused much discussion among Jews.

The Nationalist Party has utilised the presence of a solitary Jew at its Congress to claim that the setting up of a Party, since it assumed power, Republic has Jewish support. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies insists on its neutrality with regard to South African politics.

### PEAČEFUL FUTURE FOR ALL

"We feel it our duty, however, to reiterate a resolution passed at the recent Congress of the Board of Deputies, which stated, inter alia, 'that every one of us should advocate and support those policies which he conscientiously believes to be based on justice and fair-play, and to hold out hope for a peaceful future for all peoples and races in South Africa.' "We call upon all Jewish

voters to examine the record and policies of the Nationalist

"During the thirties, and until the tide of the Second World War turned decisively against the Nazi and Fascist powers, the Nationalist Party openly supported the racialist, anti-Semitic and brutal policy of Hitler and Mussolini, No protests were raised by the Nats against the most crimina' regime in the history of humanity. Since then the Nationalist Party has united with organisations such as the Greyshirts and the Ossewa Brandwag and its Stormjaers. On assuming power in 1948 it pardoned convicts like Leibbrandt and Holm, the latter being today employed by an institution subsidised by the Department of Education.

"The work was very hard," he lands. Others worked in the pig-

NO TRACE Believing that Richard might have "For the two months during gone to the Transkei before setting which I served at Fort Glamorgan | out for Cape Town, and had been • parents hopelessly searching the jail remained crowded," W.H. arrested there, Mrs. Vangqa wrote went on. "Most of the prisoners to her relations there hoping that

said that he had been arrested in "Those found to have been born either before or after the State ot the middle of May for not being in the Reserves were moved from Emergency. At the moment Mrs. in possession of a pass. His pro-tests that he could produce one respective places of birth. As a re-the Department of Justice will bring

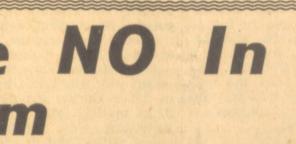
gqa is still missing. He is one of "There was one old man of about | the Missing Men of the Emergency 60 who was ill. He was transported What has happened to him? Have

VAN DER BIJL PARK. Widespread evictions from their homes in the Bophelong and Boiphathe quarries and on the prison farm- Park are seen by Africans as geries looking after pigs. I was set the March events in the anti-pass reprisals against whole families for campaign when large numbers marched in protest from these areas. Suddenly, without warning and

fused to accept this and sentenced have their residence permits cancelwithout reason, African residents led by the superintendent. Next they lose their jobs because they have lost their right to be in the area. "I was given a rail warrant and Without home or job the African has no option but to move off.

Some workers who have been in steady jobs for ten and 15 years are being thrown out. Men who have built homes on sites are being

family. But there are still men who Numbers of appeals against these and husbands who disappeared into and have already quit.



and also before then.

"It must also be pointed out that the Nationalist Government is following the most blatantly racialist policy in the world, thus condemning South Africa in the eyes of all civilised people. History proves that anti-democratic regimes are inherently hostile to the desires of all Jews to live as free citizens on a basis of selfrespect and equal rights among their fellow citizens. It is also neither in our interests nor in accordance with our tradition to support the oppression of other national groups.

"No self-respecting Jew can therefore support a Government seeking further powers to inflict still more oppressive laws upon the great majority of citizens."

# TREASON TRIAL ANG LEADERS GIVE EVIDENCE **ON NON-VIOLENCE**

said it would not assist the African National Conrgess to achieve freedom through violence. He believed in Christ and had joined Congress because he was convinced that Congress followed the teaching of Christ.

Mr. Sibande was asked by Mr. G. Hoexter (for the Crown) to explain to the Court what he meant by saying the time of speeches had passed, and now was the time for action. Mr. Sibande said that by action he meant the defiance campaign and boycotts.

Mr. Hoexter: Do you believe that as a result of the liberation struggle blood will be shed?

Mr. Sibande: We believe that we can get freedom without bloodshed. **DADOO YOUR LEADER?** 

Mr. Hoexter: Do you regard Dr. Dadoo as one of your leaders?-Yes.

Mr. Hoexter: Why?—He is one of those leaders who are struggling with us for freedom.

Mr. Hoexter: Is he one of your leaders in Congress?-Although he belongs to another organisation, he is with us in the struggle for freedom.

Mr. Hoexter cross-examined Mr. Sibande on the "murder, murder" speech made by Robert Resha. Mr. Sibande said he understood the speech differently in Zulu.

"In my language when you speak to people and when you give people instructions, you may say that if you are called upon to die you must die. That does not mean you are going to die but just that you must be determined to face whatever difficulties you might find in the struggle for freedom.

Mr. Sibande was cross-examined on the Freedom Charter.

Mr. Hoexter: How do you think Congress would achieve the demands of the Freedom Charter in the shortest possible time?

Mr. Sibande: We never discussed the shortest possible time.

Mr. Hoexter: You wanted freedom in the shortest possible time?

Mr. Sibande: Even if I were to get it tomorrow I would be happy, I would not run away from it.

The next witness was MR. M. B. YENGWA, former secretary of the ANC in Natal.

Mr. Yengwa, a Bachelor of Commerce and articled to a firm of that is opposed to the South African attorneys in Durban, told the Court that in 1954 he was banished by the Minister of Justice to Mapumulo, Natal, for two years. He joined Congress in 1945 because Congress stood for equality for all races in this country. He said that there was never any suggestion of using violence in Congress. He knew this to have been the case since its inception because his father, who joined Congress in 1917, had told him so. Dealing with volunteers for the Congress of the People, Mr. Yengwa said that he told volunteers that they would not be called upon to dety laws but that they were to be disciplined, to enrol people into the African National Congress and to collect demands for the Congress of the People. He said he knew of no pledge for volunteers to kill. Mr. Yengwa said that he favoured a mixed economy, nationalisation of certain industries and leaving room for free enterprise. "I don't favour Communism because I don't favour nationalisation of all industries.' Showing the difference between the African National Congress and Communists, Mr. Yengwa said that Communists laid more emphasis on the class rather than on the national struggle. The ANC laid more stress on the national struggle.

MR. GERT SIBANDE concluded the national policy of the African paign, the number of volunteers in National Congress?

Mr. Yengwa: No. Congress has people of all classes in its ranks, Christians, Communists, Socialists and non-Christians.

He felt that there was a strong religious element in the African National Congress. "If Congress had any philosophy I would say the religious philosophy is strong.'

Mr. Yengwa went on to say that no Communist had ever opposed the policy of non-violence nor had they criticised it. There had been no infiltration of Communists in Congress after 1950. "I know of no Communist who joined Congress after 1950."

### **IMPERIALISM AND** CAPITALISM

The witness said that he believed that there was a connection between imperialism and capitalism in that imperialism exploited the resources of the colonial countries. He also thought that in general the ANC realised that connection, but there was no orthodox theory in the ANC.

"The ANC does believe that there is exploitation of the African people in this country and that that can be done away with."

Mr. Yengwa said that the ANC was committed to a policy of nonviolence and "we believe that libe-ration can be attained by non-violent methods. We don't believe that such a society could be brought about by violence. Violence we believe will defeat our own ends."

Mr. Yengwa said that the attitude of the ANC to Britain and America did not depend on their internal policies but on their external policies. The extension of independence to Ghana and Nigeria by Britain was welcomed by Congress.

"The speech by Mr. Macmillan had an effect on us. The Ambassador of the United States has visited Chief Lutuli. We welcomed this and we felt the United States was undergoing a change. Our attitude to the western governments is that they supported the South African Gov-ernment at UNO. The western countries have colonies in Africa. The United States has also supported South Africa at UNO.

"Russia has opposed colonialism and imperialism and opposed the South African Government and to this extent we support any country can National Congress and what was said to the volunteers.

Asked whether the Defiance Campaign was not the flouting of the law and causing lawlessness, the witness replied that Congress did not deliberately flout the law but that it did deliberately break certain laws. He said the Government was a political party and it had to take into account the aspirations of the African people, not just regard the campaign as a legal matter in which there was just the flouting of the laws.

Mr. Trengrove asked the witness what he thought the Government should do at a stage when there was a flouting of the laws and lawlessness.

Mr. Yengwa: We don't go about thinking what the Government will do at this stage. That is for the Government. We have a programme to carry out.

Mr. Trengrove wanted to know from the witness whether if there was a defiance campaign, people being arrested and the masses of the people infuriated, that would not bring about violence. The witness said that he did not agree.

NO SUBSTANCE

Mr. Trengrove: Do you agree that the ANC knew that the Defiance Campaign would bring about a conflict between the people and the state if it reached the second and third stages?

Mr. Yengwa: That is not borne out by facts. And that never was the Congress policy.

Mr. Trengroye: Congress has always held the view that strikes could lead to violence?

Mr. Yengwa: That is a fact which is indisputable but it has nothing to do with the policy of the ANC

Mr. Trengrove: How does vio-lence arise in a strike?—Anybody can use violence.

Mr. Trengrove: Who used violence in the 1946 miners' strike?-According to my information it was the police.

Mr. Trengrove: Did Congress hold the view that in a strike the Government would use the army and the police force to break the strike?

Mr. Yengwa: That is not a question of a belief, it is what has happened.

Mr. Trengrove: You presumably knew that there would be bloodshed in this country before freedom was achieved? Mr. Yengwa: I would like to know where you get that from. It is a serious allegation against me because you say I know and I wish to tell you that there is no substance whatsoever in your allegation. Mr. Trengrove: I want to put t to you that when you say that your policy is non-violent, what you mean is that if the Europeans do not give in to your demands, they will have to choose between giving in and facing a bloody revolution? Mr. Yengwa: I just don't know where you get that. I have already explained that the policy of the ANC is non-violence. We have no dual policy of violence and nonviolence. Mr. Trengrove then read a portion of a message sent to a conference of the Indian Congress in Natal by Rev. Skomolo in which he said that the Europeans would have to choose between peace and violence. After reading the message Mr Yengwa said: "This is an excellent message." Mr. Yengwa explained the message to mean that the possibility of a bloody revolution in South Africa could not be excluded. but it would never be the African Party were traitors. The witness was cross-examined National Congress who would be responsible for it. "It is up to the white people of South Africa to



An 81-year-old Natal member of the now outlawed African National Congress who joined Congress in 1916, only four years after the organisation was founded, went into the witness box in the Treason Trial to give evidence for the Defence. He is Mr. Isaac Bhengu, seen here talking to Defence Counsel Adv. A. Fischer. Mr. Bhengu was arrested in Newcastle and detained in jail during the State of Emergency.

Africa is going to be.

"They can determine whether it is going to be a violent future or the peaceful non-violent future which struggle? the African National Congress wants."

Questioned on the Freedom Charter, Mr. Yengwa said that the aims of the Charter could be attained by a change of mind, a change of mental attitude for better things, a better South Africa. "I look at South Africa not as a place where you have the Bantu, Englishman. Afrikaner, but as a place for all the people of South Africa, the common people of South Africa.'

Mr. Trengrove: I put it to you that you wanted to overthrow the state, to take over the mines and the banks?

Mr. Yengwa: That has no basis. Mr. Trengrove: You wanted to destroy the old society. You wanted to destroy the capitalist society?

Mr. Yengwa: Your assumptions have no basis on the documents before us.

Mr. Trengrove: I put it to you that the ANC is propagating a classless society?

Mr. Yengwa: That is not true and it is not borne out by the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter

Mr. Trengrove: Why do you regard people who have died in the riots as people who died in the

Mr. Yengwa: The riots arise from the conditions in the country. We are of the opinion that the people involved in these riots are innocent victims of the system.

# **OLD-TIMER GIVES EVIDENCE**

The thirteenth defence witness to enter the witness box last week was the short, thin, grey-haired, softspoken, 81-year-old MR. ISAAC BHENGU, of Ladysmith, Natal.-

Walking slowly and rather uncer-tainly, Mr. Bhengu entered the witness box wearing a heavy overcoat. Asked to take the oath, he gave the Congress thumb-up salute. He told the Court that he was born in 1879 and had lived in Ladysmith since 1904. He joined Congress in 1916 at a time when the late John Dube was the leader. He said that the method of work that had been recommended by the ANC was that of bringing the people together and letting them decide together what to do. He had always emphasised that nothing was to be done by violence. He said he learnt the policy of the ANC from the leaders and that the policy of the ANC had

Mr. Kentridge: Have you been aware of any attempt by Communists or any other group to change at length about the Defiance Cam- determine what the future of South ings are peaceful.

Government, like India.

## POLICE HOSTILE TO AFRICANS

Mr. Yengwa dealt with police hostility and assaults on the African people. He mentioned his father, a member of Congress, who was assaulted by the police in the 1919 pass demonstration; the late Mr. Nkosi who was killed by the police in 1930. During the defiance cam-paign in 1952, Mr. Yengwa said his volunteers were assaulted in the police station and in gaol. While in gaol he reported an assault on a volunteer to the chief warder but was told that his evidence could not be believed against that of a European warder.

He said that the attitude of the ANC towards the African police was that they were traitors to the cause and they could not hide by saying they were only working. "A policeman knows the Government is hostile to the ANC and is fighting the ANC. If he is in a job that puts him against the interests of the African people himself, he should leave the job.'

This attitude, Mr. Yengwa said, was not peculiar to Congress. The Nationalist Party, according to Mr. Yengwa, took the view that it was representative of the Afrikaner and speeches were made that Afrikaners who did not support the Nationalist Party were traitors.

seems to envisage a society where there will be classes.

Mr. Trengrove: I put it to you that the Communists in the liberation movement in South Africa were working for the overthrow of the state by force and violence— That I don't know. I have never heard it said.

Mr. Trengrove: Your methods of achieving your aims are exactly what the Communists want?

Mr. Yengwa: I don't know what the Communists want but I know what Congress wants.

Mr. Trengrove: You were working for the overthrow of the state by violence?

Mr. Yengwa: That is ridiculous. Mr. Trengrove: I put it to you that the methods used by the socalled oppressed people in this country could lead to war?-That is very wrong.

Mr. Yengwa said that he agreed with the general principles of the Peace Council but he did not join the Peace Council because he felt it was favouring the Eastern countries.

## SILENT RESENTMENT

Mr. Trengrove: Is the attitude of the African people hostile to the police?—Yes, the attitude of the African people to the police is one of silent resentment.

Mr. Trengrove: Why do you resent the presence of the police at your meetings?-Because our meet-

never changed.

He said people coming to Congress meetings were told not to carry even small sticks. The people were told that if the police came and were antagonistic the people should do nothing.

Mr. Bhengu said he was an elder of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Cross-examined by Mr. G. Hoexter (for the Crown) Mr. Bhengu said that the leaders had always told them to behave and not to cause any trouble "even if the police attack us violently."

Mr. Hoexter: I understood you to say that the method of struggle was to make requests to the Government?-That is so.

Mr. Hoexter: Do you understand this to be the only method?

Mr. Bhengu: That is my understanding because of all the deputations that went to Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg. Those people had to go there to make a request, not to fight.

Re-examined by Mr. A. Fischer (for the defence), the witness said the purpose of the stay-at-home in June, 1950, was to make the Europeans suffer a bit.

Mr. Fischer: Why did you want the Europeans to suffer a bit?

Mr. Bhengu: Because if the Europeans suffered a bit, they would approach the Government and tell the Government we are suffering. meet these people and give them what they want.

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