

30,000 AT FUNERAL OF MAN WHO WAS SHOT BY THE POLICE

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HE WAS A
VOLUNTEER
INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

From GOVAN MBEKI

PORT ELIZABETH.—At the greatest funeral ever known in these parts, over 30,000 people gathered in New Brighton last Friday to honour the memory of John Nangoza Jebe, who was shot during the clash with the police on March 23.

"He lived and died for a noble purpose," said Mr. Gladstone Tshume, speaking at the funeral. "Honour to him therefore who paid the dearest price for the greatest of causes—the liberation of his people."

The tension, borne in silence, was almost unbearable when the service opened by singing "What has Occurred has Happened Before." The vast mass of men and women, old and young, raised their voices in solemn song.

Mr. Caleb Mayekiso, Chairman of the New Brighton and Eastern Cape ANC, said the people of South Africa had realised the significance of the occasion. About 40 telegrams and messages from the entire Union were read. Messages came from the whole of the Congress movement. They came from individuals of all national groups.

All breathed one spirit, a common brotherhood, a common ideal and a common determination to

(Continued on page 3)



In this picture John Nangoza Jebe, the man who was shot by the police on March 23, is seen on the right. All the men are wearing the ANC uniform and giving the Afrika salute.

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FREEDOM CHARTER ADOPTED BY A.N.C.

"I Hacked His Forehead with the Heel of my Boot"



This is Contasle Visser, photographed when he appeared in court in Johannesburg last week at an inquiry into the murder of Mr. S. Jooma. (For full story, see page 5.)

"Africanists" Routed at Special Conference

From Ruth FIRST

CHEERS AND SPONTANEOUS SINGING GREETED THE ADOPTION OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER BY THE A.N.C. SPECIAL CONFERENCE IN JOHANNESBURG LAST WEEK-END, WITH THE ONLY OPPOSITION COMING FROM A TINY GROUP OF 16 "AFRICANISTS" WHO WERE DISCREDITED AND COMPLETELY ROUTED BY THEIR OWN DISRUPTIVE TACTICS.

Women and men would join hands and invite all African organisations to join the campaign "employing all methods available to it to destroy the pass system," resolved conference in an all-day Sunday debate on passes.

The conference, held in Orlando, opened with a procession of Congressmen, led by a band.

The live-wire debate on the Freedom Charter recalled the spirit of the Congress of the People itself.

The debate on the passes showed a refreshing flexibility of approach, with the stress on the Congress use of different methods and tactics, forms of mass education and organisation of the people to fight the passes in different areas under different conditions; but throughout an awareness that, in one delegate's words, "the people must be bold when the time comes for action."

The conference was attended by 224 delegates. It opened on the note of speaker Leslie Massina's address. The colonial governments were toppling everywhere in the world, he said. There was no reason why South Africa should not free herself.

FIRST STEP

Chief Luthuli's special message to conference said firmly: "The oppressors have not learnt from history that the will of the people cannot be suppressed." The rejection of passes by the African women would be a first step to abolish passes for men and women.

Chief Luthuli called on the conference to protest against all apartheid laws and notably the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill.

"Ours is a just cause and the future is ours," he said.

The delegates stood in tribute to John Nangoza Jebe, shot by the police in New Brighton, also 15-year-old Omar Arend, who was killed in the Woodstock police station.

For the National Executive Mr. John Nkadimeng moved that the draft constitution be postponed to the annual conference in December to give time for its circulation and study by the Congress branches. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

THE "AFRICANISTS"

Then came the long-awaited debate on the Freedom Charter. From the outset the conference went out of its way to give the so-called "Africanists" a chance to speak and express their viewpoint. In all 16 members of this group, which was expelled from the ANC Youth League Orlando branch a few years ago but which remained within the Orlando ANC, came to the conference and scattered themselves through the hall.

The "Africanists" tried every possible stunt. They said the Bloemfontein annual conference had deferred the Freedom Charter, not to this special but to the annual conference.

One of their last resorts to prevent the debate was to shout from

the back of the hall "Stalin is dead." When the conference ushers acted to exclude this "Africanist" from the conference, others of his group rushed to help him. A scuffle ensued. The Speaker left the platform to help restore order at the rear of the hall and after a short interval the conference resumed.

On Sunday afternoon the "Africanists" again created an uproar, charging the Congress National Executive with a "cowardly" resolution on the pass issue that did not state specifically what should be done.

(Continued on page 3)

C.O.D. CONFERENCE INVADED BY SPECIAL BRANCH

JOHANNESBURG.

The police invasion of the annual conference of the Congress of Democrats gave greater weight than ever to the conference decision to redouble efforts to defeat the system which makes such police action possible and to replace it with true democracy as envisaged in the Freedom Charter. This annual conference took the great step of writing the Freedom Charter into its own constitution as the aims of C.O.D.

A troop of 15 members of the Special Branch, led by Major Spengler, broke into the proceedings on the second day of the debate. The conference was held up for about two hours as they took down names and addresses, seized documents

and searched the persons of a few of the delegates present.

At the delegates' request, the chairman, Pieter Beylveld, started to read the search warrant to the conference but after the first paragraph Major Spengler snatched it from his hand. No one was allowed to leave during the search.

Greetings from Howard Fast, the U.S. novelist, was part of the police haul.

No sooner had the police left than the conference adopted a strong resolution condemning their unjust intrusion and rejecting the allegations that the documents seized were for the purposes of investigation into treason and sedition "with contempt."

(Continued on page 3)

INSIDE

- Tomlinson Report Debunked ... page 6
- Collective Leadership in the Soviet Union ... page 4
- Father Huddleston's Testament ... page 2

FATHER HUDDLESTON'S TESTAMENT

Isitwalandwe Huddleston has written a book. It is called "Naught for your Comfort," which is a phrase from Chester-ton's "Ballad of the White Horse":

I tell you naught for your com-
fort,
Yea, naught for your desire,
Save that the sky grows darker
yet
And the sea rises higher.

Father Huddleston started writing the book, it seems, about the time he first received the news that he was to be transferred by his Community from South Africa to England, where he is to become Master of the Novices. He did not want to leave South Africa, which he had grown to love during his 12 years sojourn here. "Partir, c'est mourir un peu," he quotes. (Parting, it is to die a little.) "And I am in the process of dying: in the process, 'every hour'."

Father Huddleston is sad to leave, not the country, with all its natural beauty, but its people, particularly the Africans whose joys and sorrows he shared, whose love he earned by the thousand and one services, great and small, he rendered to them. He received in return a rich reward:

"Always, all through the twelve years I have spent in Africa, there has been something constructive to do with and for the people I have loved. The African Children's Feeding Scheme: The Orlando Swimming Bath: The Newclare Squatters: The Huddleston Jazz Band . . . Absorbing and fascinating and exciting, all of them. But I do not think they would have been enough to lift the weight of sorrow from my heart, had it not been for the daily and hourly knowledge of African friendship and affection. Often enough, I confess it with deep shame, I have been impatient, angry even, at the incessant interruptions and claims upon 'my' time. But God knows I would not have been without a moment of it. I have never understood or been able to understand how White South Africa can so lightly forfeit such a richness of life: can, on the contrary, build round itself such mighty and impenetrable barriers of pride and prejudice and fear. At least I do understand."

And summing up, he says towards the end of his book:

"Do you think that I can give up fighting or rest contentedly in my priestly life, when this is what I am trying to protect from plunder: this most precious human treasure, the opportunity of love itself? If I am mistaken, as well I may be, in the methods I have

used: then I trust in the mercy of God for my forgiveness. For He, too, is a Person. And it is His Person that I have found in Africa, in the poverty of her homes, in the beauty and splendour of her children, in the patience and courtesy of her people. But above all, I have found Him where every Christian would expect to find Him: in the darkness, in the fear, in the blinding weariness of Calvary.

"And Calvary is but one step from the Empty Tomb."

Religious Passion

Father Huddleston's book is, naturally, a deeply religious one. It is illuminated with the exaltation of religious experience, its prose burns with the passion of a man who has dedicated himself to a cause which has come to dominate his whole life. He is constantly outraged by the ignorance and callousness of the White South Africans, who harden their hearts to the crimes and tragedies which are daily committed in the name of White civilisation. But perhaps his most lashing words are reserved for the Christian Church itself, which he feels has failed its duty to the South African people.

"To accept racial discrimination within the Body of Christ, within the Unity of the Church, is not only a contradiction of the nature of the Church but a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit of God Himself. Yet we Christians are tempted in South Africa to do just that. In order that we may live unmolested; in order that we may be free to minister to our people; in order that somehow we may retain control of our schools, our institutions and our buildings, we are tempted to say yes to the State and to find good reasons for doing so."

Father Huddleston says bluntly that unless the Church awakens, "terrible as an army with banners," to challenge the evils of racial discrimination in South Africa with weapons more effective than words, it will lose the allegiance of the African people. Then indeed civilisation, in his opinion, will be destroyed.

Political Weapons

That is why Father Huddleston has never been afraid to use political means to arouse the conscience of the people, both in this country and abroad; why he has courageously identified himself with the liberatory movement.

"I do not," he says, "believe it to be wrong, or foolish, or un-Christian to try to strike from the

hand of White South Africa the weapons which not only hurt and wound the African every day, but must also ultimately destroy civilisation on this sub-continent . . . I believe that the Christian is bound to act politically, wherever he may be: that if the Church refuses to accept responsibility in the political sphere as well as the strictly theological sphere, then she is guilty of betraying the very foundation of her faith: the Incarnation."

How far is he prepared to go, this priest in armour?

"It is at least a permitted opinion in the Catholic Church," he says, "and one supported by St. Thomas Aquinas himself, that, when Government degenerates into tyranny the subject has a right to resist. The only point in dispute is whether the Government in South Africa has degenerated that far. In my opinion, with regard to the African people, it certainly has." (My emphasis.)

No churchman has spoken like this in South Africa before. That is fundamentally why Father Huddleston has been raised to the pre-eminent position he at present enjoys in the esteem of the people; and also why he so perplexes, embarrasses and at times annoys the various sections of the White population.

Personal Record

Father Huddleston's book is not, however, merely a political treatise, nor even a religious one. It is the personal record of a remarkable man, the story of his relationships with the men, women and children amongst whom he lived. He will take you back over some of the outstanding events of the last dozen years—the Western Areas removals, the fights between the "Russians" and the Civic Guard in Newclare, the dramatic protest in court against the evictions of tenants from the Sophiatown yards, the boycott of the Bantu Education schools, and many other incidents which are now part of the people's history. He will tell the story of Oliver Tambo, Helen Navid and Stephen Ramasodi. He will take you into the darkest corners of Sophiatown and introduce you to some of its most splendid characters. He will delight you with his personality and with his incisive writing, his clear-etched pen-pictures. You cannot fail to be infected by his enthusiasm for life, his love of the common people, his broad humanity.

But—and this is a big but—one must also confess to a disappointment. For all that Father Huddle-

ston's book is the passionate protest of an honest and sincere man, a terrible indictment of the tyranny of apartheid, it is at the same time a confession of failure and of defeatism. It does not point the way forward.

Fundamentally, Father Huddleston has not understood the real truth about South Africa. He has not been able to explain why racial discrimination exists, nor how it is to be eliminated. He has not grasped the connection between the colour bar and the capitalist system. He does not begin to perceive the revolutionary role of the people's liberation movement.

Looks Overseas

Explaining that he relies mainly on the force of international opinion to change the ways of White South Africa, Father Huddleston says:

"I have become convinced that within South Africa, it is now impossible to mobilise a sufficiently powerful offensive to counteract the forces which operate so strongly, so subtly and so irrationally against us."

Later, he states that "the Government of the immediate and foreseeable future is strong indeed. The weakness of a multi-racial opposition is like the weakness of a 'liberal' opposition: it has inevitably a mixture of different basic principles.

"When, therefore, a Government ruthlessly uses its power and its propaganda not only to rally its own supporters but to terrify or to cajole its opponents, it is bound to meet with a large measure of success. In South Africa, the Non-European opposition has been fearfully weakened by the fierce measures already taken to silence it. Most of its leaders are banned: all of its activities are open to police raids: its very existence as opposition is made to appear as treason to the State . . . For South Africa is today a police state.

"In view of this the immediate future must be dark."

He finds the Government cocky and self-assured, but the "Opposition, both on the 'liberal' European front and the Non-European, is presently at a low ebb, the lowest that ever I remember."

In Doubt

In his Epilogue, he returns to the same position. While proclaiming his confidence that the "ultimate future" will turn out to be on the right lines, he goes on to say:

"But of the immediate future, I am in doubt . . . resistance to oppression and injustice is at a very low ebb in the Union of South Africa today. There is the scent of defeatism in the air."

The European opposition is weak and divided. "The Non-European people are still waiting for a leader. And that is perhaps a most crucial point. For distress and defeat can only be turned into victory—or perhaps one should say, HAVE in history only been turned into victory—by the emergence of one who is great enough, and wise enough, to unite in a determination which had been beyond their strength. Equally, it is the dark days which tend to produce such leaders. So there is hope."

This shows a very naive understanding of historical processes; and it must be said that if the Non-European people were to rely on such hope, they would be in a very poor way indeed. But they do not, and are not without hope. Indeed, they are daily strengthening their organisations and their leadership for the struggles which lie ahead.



People's Struggles

Father Huddleston should know this. He saw what happened in the defiance campaign, when nearly 10,000 people of the "multi-racial" opposition went to gaol in a disciplined campaign against the unjust laws. He was present at the great Congress of the People, which gave him his Isitwalandwe award—and which also adopted the historic Freedom Charter proclaiming the confidence of the South African people of all races in their ability to remake their future themselves.

Yet it is one of the staggering omissions of this book that these significant events are not even mentioned. How is it possible, one asks, that Father Huddleston, writing last September only two months after C.O.P., can thus ignore what is happening under his nose? That with so many signs of the growing militancy and determination of the people on all sides, he can yet speak of "defeatism" and declare with such certainty that "within South Africa it is now impossible to mobilise a sufficiently powerful offensive to counteract the forces which operate . . . against us?"

Impossible? Such words do not exist in the dictionary of the liberation movement. The fact that Father Huddleston uses them shows up glaringly the isolation of this great fighting figure from the organised political movement of the people, and reveals the inadequacy of his political message. Father Huddleston, after all, is not really a political animal. Despite his close ties with many individuals, he was never really an organic part of the liberation movement itself. He identified himself with it in spirit, but he campaigned, very largely, on his own, and never knew the discipline and the comradeship which binds those who work together to realise the aims of the Freedom Charter.

One does not wish to end on an ungracious note. We are all grateful to Father Huddleston, and wish him well in his future work. But we will not look, as he suggests, for liberation to come like magic from abroad. We are determined, despite all obstacles, to carry on the fight here and now until final victory is won by our own people; for that is the only way the future of equality and justice towards which we aspire can be built on firm foundations.

BRIAN BUNTING.

A LITTLE BOY'S FORTUNE



Selwyn Hilner, whose picture brightens this column, is not quite eight years old. Last week a family visitor made him a present of ten shillings—a small fortune to a little boy, even in these days of inflated toy and sweet prices. Without any prompting, he decided 7/6d. of his ten bob must go to New Age, and

nothing could make him change his mind. New Age needed the money more than he did and he wasn't going to be talked out of giving even one penny less. Thank you, Selwyn!

There must be many of our more mature readers who can afford to give us 7/6d. as well. Another 99 seven-and-sixpences would add up to £37.10, and that's nothing to sneeze at, is it? We are sure that Selwyn would get a big kick out of knowing that his generous gift had multiplied a hundred-fold, so please bear this point in mind when you open your next pay packet or feel a few half-crowns in your pocket.

Another thing to bear in mind is that May Day isn't far off now. A special May Day donation to New Age would be a very fine way indeed of expressing your solidarity with your fellow workers. In fact, some of our readers have suggested that we should ask you to give us one day's pay to mark the occasion, and we think it's a good idea too.

There would be no better way of celebrating May Day, so let's have your pledges now.

The Easter Holidays have, as always, brought a sharp drop in our donations, as you can see for yourself from our list of acknowledgements. It is essential that we make the short-fall up before the end of the month, so please shake the holiday feeling off as quickly as possible and come down to earth again.

YOU NEED NEW AGE! NEW AGE NEEDS YOU! SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY!

THIS WEEK'S DONATIONS

Anon £7; R.I. £25; Don 10s.; Friend £1; Keep It Up £20; Selwyn 7s. 6d.; A.F. £1 1s.; Big Shot £3; Pots and Pans £2; G.G. £2.

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|-------------------------|----------|
| Previously acknowledged | £604 7 8 |
| Total this week | 61 18 6 |
| Total to date | £666 6 2 |

"DON'T LET THE GOVT. BLUFF YOU!"

A.N.C. WOMEN'S LEAGUE WARNS ON PASSES

JOHANNESBURG.—"Danger! Passes ARE being issued to African Women!" says a leaflet in English and Sotho issued by the African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women (Transvaal).

The leaflet answers the Government propaganda that the documents being issued in Winburg and other Free State areas are not passes, but identity books.

"Demand freedom: not passes or pass books, or identity books or reference books or whatever other name the Government gives these things," says the leaflet.

"African women are being told that the documents issued to them are not passes. The Government says they are 'books,' different from the passes our African men have to carry. The Government officials will tell you these books are to help you! They will say that the books need not be produced on demand to the police; that they will help you to find jobs; that they will help you trace your sons and husbands in the cities.

"This is talk to bluff you! The

Government is trying to trick you into accepting passes!

"These books for women are pass books. Like your menfolk, you will be at the mercy of the pass laws and you will share their sufferings.

"The little black books that will cost you 3s. 6d. will have to be produced on demand to any policeman. You will have to register your employment. You will have to join the long queues at the pass offices. You will be subject to influx control and if you cannot pass the Section 10 tests of the Urban Areas Act you will be deported from the cities. Under influx control husbands and wives will be separated; families divided; children torn from their mothers.

"The pick-up vans, the kwelakwela, the police who hammer at your door in the middle of the night, will be on the hunt not only for African men, but for YOU, the women, too.

Don't let the Government deceive you! This Government says pass laws have been abolished for men (The Abolition of Passes Act) yet every day we see the raids on our homes, the crowded pick-up vans, the men swallowed up by the jails.

"Be on guard! Know that these books are passes! See the danger that faces you, the women! Women cannot live a future imprisoned by the pass laws!"

Freedom Charter Adopted by A.N.C.

(Continued from page 1)

At this stage the women delegates were thoroughly infuriated. A group of about 10 women marched to Leballo's seat and were on the point of physically ejecting him when Congress officials intervened. After this the "Africanists" left the conference in a body. Their own antics had thoroughly discredited them. Their speeches branded them in the eyes of all as vicious Nationalists claiming "Africa for Africans only," against co-operation with the other Congresses and, as more than one delegate said of them during the debate, as having "joined the camp of the enemy, the Government."

THE CHARTER

Introducing the Freedom Charter debate Mr. H. G. Makgothi outlined the landmarks in the liberation struggle and the role of the C.O.P. and the Charter in the people's freedom history. He said C.O.P. was born out of the defiance campaign and it had been no accident that the first motion for its convening had originated at the ANC Cape conference. Clapping and cheers greeted his summing up of the Essence of the Freedom Charter, "The people shall govern."

Miss Florence Mkize said all who were true sons and daughters of Africa would be for the Freedom Charter, but those who were with the Government would kick against it.

A Free State delegate said if the conference rejected the Freedom

Charter the O.F.S. would still stand by it. A Port Elizabeth speaker said the Charter was accepted in the Cape.

ANTI-PASS CAMPAIGN

The National Executive report on passes stressed that under the slogan "down with the pass laws" a campaign will be unfolded inviting every man and woman to join every African organisation, to take part in house-to-house, street-to-street, village-to-village campaigning against the evil of passes.

One delegate after another spoke graphically against passes and their cruel extension to women. They told of the anti-pass feeling in their districts and recounted demonstrations against passes for women. Local reports showed intensified Congress activity in many areas and that Congress will reach far into the rural areas in the course of this campaign.

The discussion called for bold action by the people but warned against the fallacy that the struggle against passes "could be won by any single action."

Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi summed up the women's feeling when she said: "To take a pass is like taking dynamite. It can explode in your hand at any time."

The conference ended condemning the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill, the Port Elizabeth ban on gatherings and the police action in New Brighton.

DEFEND THE MUNICIPAL VOTE

CAPE TOWN.

"European and Non-European citizens have lived together in the Cape for the past 300 years. The attacks upon this right are part of the Nationalists' cruelty to humiliate and force the Non-Europeans into a state of slavery in all spheres of public and private life," states a leaflet issued by the Cape Town branch of the Federation of South African Women, calling upon the people to attend the Defend the Vote Conference in the Library, City Hall, on April 21.

Explaining the Nationalist plan to take away the Non-Europeans' municipal franchise, the leaflet says:

"Municipal Councils have an important place in the life of the people. This is local government. They see to the making and cleaning of streets; sewerage, drainage; supply of water, electricity, hospitals and clinics, housing, playgrounds, creches, swimming baths—all these are under the care of the Council.

"Many of our people live in Council houses. It is their representatives' duty to keep rents low. If Non-Europeans are excluded from electing and being elected to the Municipal Council, who will keep the rents low?

"Nowhere does the Non-European get a square deal today. In every town there is segregation and discrimination against Africans, Coloureds and Indians. But there will be more discrimination and greater injustice if Olivier, the Administrator, has his way."

Appealing to organisations to elect delegates to the conference, the leaflet concludes:

"Let the women show the way. Mothers, do not allow your people to be dragged into the ditch of racial oppression, poverty and slavery. Rally to the defence of the municipal vote without a colour bar.

"ORGANISE PROTEST MEETINGS IN YOUR AREAS. ELECT DEPUTATIONS TO THE PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS AND DEMAND 'HANDS OFF THE VOTE, DOWN WITH THE COLOUR BAR, AWAY WITH SEGREGATION'."

C.O.D. Conference Invaded

(Continued from page 1)

Conference devoted much attention to the role of C.O.D., the need to participate to a greater extent in European politics as well as to carry out its role within the general Congress movement. C.O.D. must win to the Congress movement the militant white anti-Nationalists, said conference.

Conference resolved to "support African women to the fullest degree in their opposition to passes."

It called on the Whites to guard their rights and support the struggles of other sections against regimentation and the Population Registration Act since no group is safe while the rights of other groups are diminished.

Conference discussed Bantu Education and the Congress campaign against this. It supported the ANC decision to boycott Bantu school committees and school boards and the withdrawal of children from Bantu Education schools.

Conference applauded New Age support to C.O.D. and the national movements and pledged itself to support the £10,000 appeal. It also protested at the ban on meetings in Port Elizabeth, the Nursing Act, the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill and the high cost of living.

ANTI-PASS CONFERENCES IN

PRETORIA

"NO PASSES FOR WOMEN"

said the words across the freedom wheel at the regional conference attended by 105 delegates from Pretoria branches of the African National Congress, location residents' groups, trade unions, sports bodies, women's organisations, churches and village committees.

Mr. D. L. Mangisa said that the Government had entered Winburg "by the back door and given our women passes." He urged the women present to organise the women in churches for their rights. A pass was a sign of slavery, he said. "Because you have no pockets the passes are tied around your necks."

Discussing Bantu Education Mr. D. S. Brander said that the aims of the Bantu Education Act were to stop African advancement, to enslave the mind of the African child, and to enable the Government to group Africans into hostile groups so that the Africans should not stand united as a nation.

Mr. Rapudi deplored the Group Areas Act as a measure intended to rob all Non-Europeans of freehold properties and to keep them back from economic advancement. He said that the Group Areas Act, Removal Scheme and Ethnic Grouping were the result of the Government fear that if Non-European and white races lived as neighbours they would soon understand each other. And above all the Government feared the unity of the Non-Europeans, particularly the Africans.

Mr. Rapudi asked, "What does the Government mean by black spots, when Africa as a whole is black?"

HAMAANSKRAAL

By donkey cart, by taxi and car, and by foot, women travelled from Wennenskraal, Tweefontein and the surrounding districts to the Ha-

maanskraal conference last week against the extension of the pass laws to women. Over 80 women delegates attended.

"I do not believe that I can carry a pass. I would rather die," said an old woman.

The pass system was the cause of starvation and tsotsism, said the people, because their husbands and

sons were refused permission to enter the towns to find work. A woman delegate from Wennenskraal said: "The people who sent me here are not willing to carry passes. They are not willing even to carry identity cards."

A letter was read from one of the chiefs in the area on the evils of the pass laws, and urging women to oppose passes.

30,000 AT P.E. FUNERAL

(Continued from page 1)

fight for freedom and to put an end to the rule of brute force.

As Mr. W. Mkwayi, volunteer-in-chief of the Eastern Cape, rose to speak, a song in honour of the volunteers was sung. He praised the selfless manner in which Nangoza had dedicated himself to the freedom struggle. Always in his volunteer's uniform and army boots, he died in them.

THE PROCESSION

Leading the funeral procession were volunteers in uniform. At the head of the column, marching in ranks of ten, a standard-bearer carried the Congress flag at half-mast. Volunteers carried the bier draped in the Congress colours on their shoulders.

The entire township along the route stood and gazed in amazement and awe. Cafes along the route were closed as a spontaneous token of respect.

When the procession left the home it totalled over 21,000 but when it reached the cemetery it had swollen to over 30,000. All branches in the Eastern Cape were represented.

The most impressive sight took place at the entrance to the cemetery as thousands of volunteers and pioneers giving the Afrika salute and singing Senzenina lined up on either side of the road. As the

volunteer-in-chief leading the pallbearers walked between the saluting columns, he returned the salute.

As the bier was lowered into the grave the Congress flag was furled and again the song in honour of the volunteers went into the air from thousands of dedicated freedom fighters.

POLICE NERVOUS

Plain clothes African detectives and Special Branch men covered the funeral proceedings. About town, it was reported, large contingents of armed police stood by.

On the day preceding the funeral Mr. Mayekiso and Mr. Mbeki were called into the offices of the District Commandant. Midway along the length of a long table sat the Chief of Police, facing Mr. Mayekiso, the Chief of the People's Liberatory Movement. Facing each other at the shorter ends of the table sat the right-hand men of the police and the people's chiefs respectively.

Each chief claimed that if any trouble arose it would not start from his side. As we rose to leave, the police chief appealed to us not to make it Caesar's funeral. To this we gave no reply.

The representatives of a firm that should have filmed the funeral proceedings were refused a permit to enter New Brighton. So were Press reporters.

That day the ANC ruled New Brighton.

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