

# AFRICANS SPURN NAT. OFFER



CHIEF ALBERT J. LUTULI

**"We Don't Want  
Crumbs"**

—Chief A. J. Lutuli

**"THE AFRICAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT CRUMBS. THEY DEMAND WHAT IS THEIR RIGHTFUL HERITAGE IN THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH—AFRICA. OUR DEMAND IS, AND ALWAYS WILL BE—BACK FROM TRIBALISM; FORWARD TO NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY."**

That is the answer of the African people to Verwoerd's plan for 'self-government' for the Transkei, as expressed by Chief A. J. Lutuli in a hard-hitting statement made to New Age this week.

We print below the full text of his statement:

THE so-called independence plan in respect of the Transkei enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament is a shocking deception which is doomed to failure. It is being put forward not only as a counter to the world-wide opposition to apartheid, but to divide the African people who are unanimous in their opposition to Nationalist policies, into separate tribal entities fighting each other.

If Dr. Verwoerd hopes to stop international criticism and divide our people by this fraudulent plan, then I am afraid that he will once again be disillusioned. The forces of progress all over the world, and more particularly in Africa, will accept nothing less than complete democracy for all in South Africa.

Let us see what this plan really is. What does it offer? This plan takes the country back to the days of tribalism which in this twentieth

century is fast breaking down. Under this plan the African people of the Transkei are being offered even less power than that enjoyed by a provincial councillor. Talk of a black Prime Minister, a black Cabinet and a black Parliament are just so many meaningless words.

No black Prime Minister of any so-called independent state will be free from arrest under the pass laws or any of the scores of discriminatory legislation that clutter up our Statute

Books. Any ordinary white voter will have more say in the running of the Transkei than its "black Prime Minister."

UNHEARD OF

The suggestion of separate citizenship for Transkeian Africans is something unheard of in modern democratic language. Once the full plan of so-called separate development is complete, as Dr. Verwoerd hopes it would be, we will have several separate groups of second-class citizens living in several separate areas.

On the present land available for the African people—here there is not even a hint that more land will be allocated to the African people—it means that 13% of the land will be divided into so-called independent states in which over two-thirds of South Africa's 11 million Africans will have to live and earn their livelihood.

(Continued on page 3)

**GANYILE  
PRESSES  
CHARGES**

—see page 6

Workers Want National Convention

**S.A.C.T.U. PLANS  
MASSIVE CAMPAIGN**

JOHANNESBURG.

THE S.A. Congress of Trade Unions will launch a massive campaign for a National Convention early this month. It aims to strengthen the industrial organisation of the workers, through their trade unions, because it maintains that economic demands are vitally linked with political rights.

"The workers will only be able to achieve all their demands when all have an equal say in the affairs of our country," said Mr. Leon Levy, General-Secretary of the organisation.

The campaign will start with the distribution of leaflets, posters and slogans throughout the country, and sandwich boards at stations.

February 7, the date that has been set aside as the Day of Solidarity with the Workers of South Africa by the Committee for International Solidarity, will be marked by the presentation of a strong demand to Parliament for a basic minimum wage throughout the country of R2 a day and higher wages for all. (The Committee for International Solidarity was set up in Ghana last year for the purpose of getting workers in all countries to protest to their Governments about the lack of justice and rights in South Africa.)

Regional conferences will be held in all rural areas later in the month for the purpose of on-the-spot recruiting, and for the gathering of local demands, which will be added to those already formulated.

They are:

- A national minimum wage of R2 and higher wages for all.
- The abolition of passes.
- Full trade union rights.
- Freedom of association and organisation.
- The abolition of job reservation.

Mr. Levy told NEW AGE that this vital campaign on nation-wide issues would not stop the regular work of the Unions of serving demands on local employers as soon as workers in a particular industry were substantially organised.

NO COLOUR-BAR

SACTU is the only trade-union coordinating body in South Africa that has no colour-bar. Since its establishment in 1956, its influence has grown until today it is powerful in over 4,000 factories throughout South Africa, on the Railways and increasingly on the farms.

Unlike the all-white bodies, it takes up the workers demands with consistent militancy. Despite the fact that African trade unions are not legally recognised and that it has borne the brunt of continual attacks from the Nationalists, 53 unions are already affiliated to SACTU.

## S.A. UNITED FRONT DISSOLVED.

**Kgosana Expelled From  
Pan African Congress**

CAPE TOWN.

A REPORT from Dar-Es-Salaam that the S.A. United Front has broken up was received here this week.

The United Front, which represented the banned African National Congress, The Pan-African Congress, SWAPO, SWANU, and the SAIC abroad, was formed after Sharpeville and the declaration of a State of Emergency in South Africa in March 1960.

The statement was issued by James Hadebe, representative of the ANC in Dar-Es-Salaam, and Gaur Hadebe of the PAC.

At the time of the end of May Anti-Republican demonstrations in South Africa last year there was severe internal dissension within the ranks of the PAC, those outside South Africa supporting the Stay-At-Home and those within the country working actively against it.

Latest news from Acra is that Mr. Philip Kgosane, who led the march of 30,000 Capetonians on Caledon Square during the Emergency to demand the release of the people's leaders, has been expelled from the PAC for "being a running dog of the settlers."

Another expelled at the same time for the same reason is Mr. Lawrence Mgweba, who also played a prominent role in the March 1960 demonstrations.

Attractive Gift For  
Tanganyika

DAR-ES-SALAAM.

SOUTH Africa's contribution to the building up of the newly-independent State of Tanganyika, in the shapely form of twenty attractive and highly-trained nurses and midwives, was presented to the Prime Minister here last week.

The nurses, who have come from all over South Africa to serve in this country, were presented to Mr. Kawawa by Mr. Oliver Tambo, Roving Ambassador of the banned African National Congress. Mr. Tambo said:

"We give this gift to your newly-liberated country, Mr. Prime Minister, as our small contribution to the great development that lies ahead for Tanganyika."

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## NEW AGE LETTER BOX

### A WASTE OF MONEY

It is with great apprehension that I read of the R20-million deal between the Government and African Explosives and Chemical Industries to build arms and ammunition factories in the Transvaal and the Cape.

One wonders why our government is prepared to spend R20m. on arms when this sum of money could be utilised for providing homes, schools, hospitals, libraries and numerous other facilities for the 13 million citizens of our country.

The argument which is continually put forward by Nationalists is that such a plan is absolutely essential in order to crush a possible Black uprising, and protect the White people. The real reason is that, due to the world condemnation of Apartheid this government has become desperate and wants to crush all opposition.

I am convinced that such large sums spent on arms factories is tantamount to open hostility toward the Non-whites of South Africa.

I therefore wish to appeal to all peace-loving people to call a halt to this policy, and thereby help to create better human relationships

### Hanging By a Thread

It is obvious that two-thirds of both Blacks and Whites do not know what is taking place behind the iron curtain of apartheid. They must depend on their leaders to tell them the truth, so that they may prepare themselves. It is the driver who knows where and when the petrol will run out.

By way of trying to intimidate and discourage the freedom fighters, Verwoerd was compelled to tell his people that the white man will be superior to the black man forever, whereas he knows, as much as Chief Lutuli knows, that the white man's rule in South Africa is hanging by a thread thinner than a spider's.

When white supremacy is replaced by democracy it is not the black, nor the white leaders, who will be affected, but the majority of the whites who have been led into teaching their children that they will be the bosses of the blacks for at least 300 years.

Let our leaders tell the truth.  
"HONEST"  
New Brighton.

### A PAT ON THE BACK

FROM London comes a welcome R26.50 raised at a Xmas film show for the children over there, and from Holland comes an equally warm and welcome pat-on-the-back.

Mr. and Mrs. Piet and Jean Vels, Hollanders who were forced to leave South Africa by the police, sent us this message:

"During our stay in South Africa we found that the only true and honest paper was New Age.

"We admire and salute the editor, reporters and all friends who are always doing their best to keep this wonderful paper alive against the heavy blows of the Nazi Government of South Africa.

"We wish New Age the very

among the various races in our country.

We don't want ammunition factories—We want Peace and Freedom in Our Time!

PETER EDWARDS  
Johannesburg

### Equal Rights, Not Independence

Many men are still in prison in the Transkei, and many others are being deported to places where their relatives cannot see them. I myself have been detained on seven occasions, the last time for four months in terms of proclamation 400. Yet the spirit in the Transkei is very high, as Mr. Ganyile's case showed.

Now we are told that the Transkeian Territorial Authority—a body chosen by no one but the Government and themselves—are to draw up a draft constitution for the Transkei.

Our leaders, who are Chief Lutuli, Professor Matthews and others, are the ones who should be consulted.

We are opposed to Bantu Authorities, euphemistically called self-government. When the chiefs approached us we told them that the only solution to the problems of our country is the summoning of a National Convention representative of all the people of South Africa to draw up a democratic constitution.

We don't want independence for the Transkei. We want a democratic government representative of all the people.

T. N. J. MBUZO  
Umtata.

### DISGUSTED

I was disgusted by the speech made by Dr. Verwoerd on the radio the other night, in which he said that separate development was the key to everybody's future.

I was also disgusted to learn that Matanzima is dancing to Verwoerd's tune. He is crazy to dance to that cha-cha-cha!

Finally, I would appeal to the Government to stop calling us Natives or Bantu. We are Africans not Bantus. We are not foreigners.

May God bless the oppressed people of this country.

COCOA  
Meadowlands.

### DON'T BE MISLED

It is clear to me that the Nationalists are waging a vicious war against the Africans, because they are determined to remain parasites.

The Africans want nothing less than one man, one vote, yet the Government continues to persuade the blind Transkeian chiefs to accept Bantu Authorities. Those who are misled into regarding the Transkei as their rightful home, instead of seeing the whole of South Africa as theirs, are blind.

Let us unite and be strong so that we don't fall victim to the Nationalists who want to see us divided and fighting among ourselves.

G. M. QINISILE  
Cape Town.

### Press Helps Pirates

Once again the "new-look" imperialist press has assisted the international pirates in the Congo to subvert the rule of law by bringing the Stanleyville regime under the control of the murderers of Patrice Lumumba. And hardly a word of protest has been heard in the West.

It is important to notice this, and to understand the alliance between the forces of neo-colonialism and the Western newspaper monopolies. First we are treated to the atrocity stories involving the murder of priests at Kongola, followed by more vague reports, given banner headlines nevertheless, of shootings, mutilations and rapes.

Then, before the UN investigators can reach the spot and deny what has been nothing more than malicious rumour, Gizenga is arrested and whipped away to his destruction in Leopoldville by the forces of the United Nations.

All this is reminiscent of the early days of Congo independence when similar stories of atrocity committed against the Belgians were used to undermine the freedom of the young republic. But the damage has been done once more. Patriot Gizenga has followed his great leader into a fascist jail and the American-controlled United Nations has handed two more Congo provinces to the Kasavubu-Mobuto gang in Leopoldville.

Meanwhile Tshombe, strongly buttressed by the rival imperialist clique in London and Salisbury, laughs up his sleeve and continues to grow fat on the riches of Katanga.

Rev. T. N. W. BUSH  
Tanganyika.

### LIKE WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

The announcement of Transkei "self-rule" by the Prime Minister is the wolf in sheep's clothing.

He said that he was prepared to grant the territory an all-black Parliament and Cabinet but only to manage matters such as agriculture, education, health, social services, lands and roads.

Matters such as defence, foreign affairs and justice, would remain under the control of the South African all-white Parliament until the Transkei government became capable of taking them over.

I appeal to the people of the Transkei that they should stand firm. They should not be bluffed. They should not accept the puppet government in our territory.

The people of the Transkei have proved themselves many times to be good South African patriots. They want, as we all want, a 'free' Transkei in a free South Africa.

We know that freedom can never be realised or secured in our sub continent till white supremacy is abolished and equality of rights established for all.

E. B. MKABILE  
Springs.

## EDITORIAL

### HAMMER THAT CRACK!

THE African people, through their genuine spokesmen, have rejected Verwoerd's offer of 'self-government in their own areas' with the contempt it deserves. For them to have done otherwise would have meant abandoning their claim to South Africa; to the land which has been stolen from them by brutal conquest and legalised robbery; to all the wealth of a modern state which their labour has helped to create.

Presented by the entire Nationalist propaganda machine as a logical, though greatly accelerated, extension of apartheid policy, the decision to make the offer now was obviously forced upon the Government by the severe external and internal pressures to which it has been subjected.

**It is a direct consequence of the merciless hammering which the Republic received at the United Nations and of the report by Mr. Louw to the Cabinet on the serious international dilemma facing the Government.**

Internally, the Nationalists hope that their new move will divert the struggle for full franchise rights in a multi-racial state—the all-important struggle for power in the central government—into channels of their own choosing and thus, they hope, put them in a better position to control the situation.

**For the Nationalists, in spite of their fervent claim to the contrary, have no intention of permitting a really free and independent Transkei, or any other African state, to develop anywhere near the borders of South Africa if they can possibly prevent it. They will continue, as before, to strive might and main to prevent the African people from having any significant say in their own destiny.**

The constitution which will form the basis for so-called self-government is being drawn up by appointed stooges under the far from benevolent guidance of de Wet Nel and his Bantu Affairs Department.

With all real power vested in the Central government, the Transkeian 'parliament' as planned by Verwoerd will be a travesty of the real thing and a mockery of the aspirations of the African people. And if, as forecast, the constitution in any way entrenches the power of the discredited chiefs, it will certainly not satisfy the people of the Transkei even on the level of local government.

Yet, as pointed out in a New Age article on January 11, it would be unwise to dismiss this latest development as merely another big bluff. **Entangled in a web of irreconcilable contradictions, harried and harassed from every direction, the Nationalists have been forced to descend from the comfortable realm of theory into the far more dangerous arena of action.**

Faced with the bitter, unrelenting opposition of the people to the hated Bantu Authorities system, the Nationalists have been compelled to abandon the idea that the Africans must and can develop only along traditional, tribal lines. Their scheme for a 'parliament,' a 'Prime Minister,' a 'Cabinet' and all the other trappings, however fraudulent, is nevertheless a concession that the African people are capable of running a state along modern lines—and that they have a right to the vote.

**It is a retreat which weakens their position and leaves them wide open to devastating attack from two directions.**

The already aroused peasantry in the reserves, hungry for land and democracy, will push forward with their struggle, forging ever closer links with the workers in the towns. Their pressure will force even the Government stooges to raise the price of their co-operation with the Nationalists.

The African people outside the reserves, those who form the majority of the population, will not be slow in taking advantage of the Nationalist dilemma. **They will hammer the crack in the granite wall until it splits asunder.**

In politics action, as distinct from theory, more often than not leads to results very different from those envisaged by the protagonist. Whatever the Government's intentions, and however dishonest they may be, the very act of promising self-government and independence to the Transkei has already awakened political passions, and set in train events which will have their own momentum.

Verwoerd, wittingly but unwilling, is once again plunging the country into crisis and opening up new battle fronts. He knows very well that he is playing with fire, yet has no option but to push ahead.

The last word will rest with the people, in the Transkei and throughout the country. They will meet this challenge as they have met all previous challenges—by raising still higher both the level and the tempo of their struggle.

**WHATEVER ZIG-ZAGS THAT PATH OF STRUGGLE MAY TAKE, THEY WILL NEVER FOR ONE MOMENT GIVE UP THEIR DEMAND FOR COMPLETE EQUALITY IN A MULTI-RACIAL, UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.**

# WHY TRANSKEI CHOSEN

(Continued from page 1)

The fallacy of this plan is even more evident when one knows that even before these areas are granted this so-called independence, they would be financially bankrupt. Despite assurances that certain monies will be available, the source from which they will be available and the amount available, clearly indicate that no state no matter how small or no matter how limited the scope of its activity, could exist on such miserly income.

## NO SURPRISE

It is no surprise that certain chiefs and tribesmen have already welcomed the plan. They have, by their actions in the past, shown that they are prepared to support the Government in all its plans because of

certain benefits they receive by their support. Those chiefs and headmen who have opposed the Government in its nefarious Bantu Authorities programme are either in gaol or have been deported.

## SIGNIFICANT

It is significant also that the Transkei has been chosen as the first area for this futile experiment. Since the beginning of 1960 we have witnessed one of the most determined and courageous struggles ever conducted in recent times by a disfranchised and unarmed community against the Government.

Even today, on the eve of achieving this so-called indepen-

dence, we find that hundreds of Pondos are in prison detained under a state of emergency which is in existence since the end of 1960.

There are also several hundreds who are serving various terms of imprisonment for having participated in the fight against Bantu Authorities. There are hundreds more who have been banished from their homes to remote areas. The pro-Government chiefs who have been given powers to deport opponents hold a threat over any tribesman who opposes the Government.

The Transkei has been chosen precisely because of this atmosphere of tension.

## S.A. BELONGS TO ALL

From the foregoing it is easy to see what my attitude to this latest apartheid bluff is; it is total opposition. The African people do not want crumbs. They demand what is their rightful heritage in the land of their birth—Africa. Our demand is, and always will be—Back from tribalism; Forward to non-racial democracy.

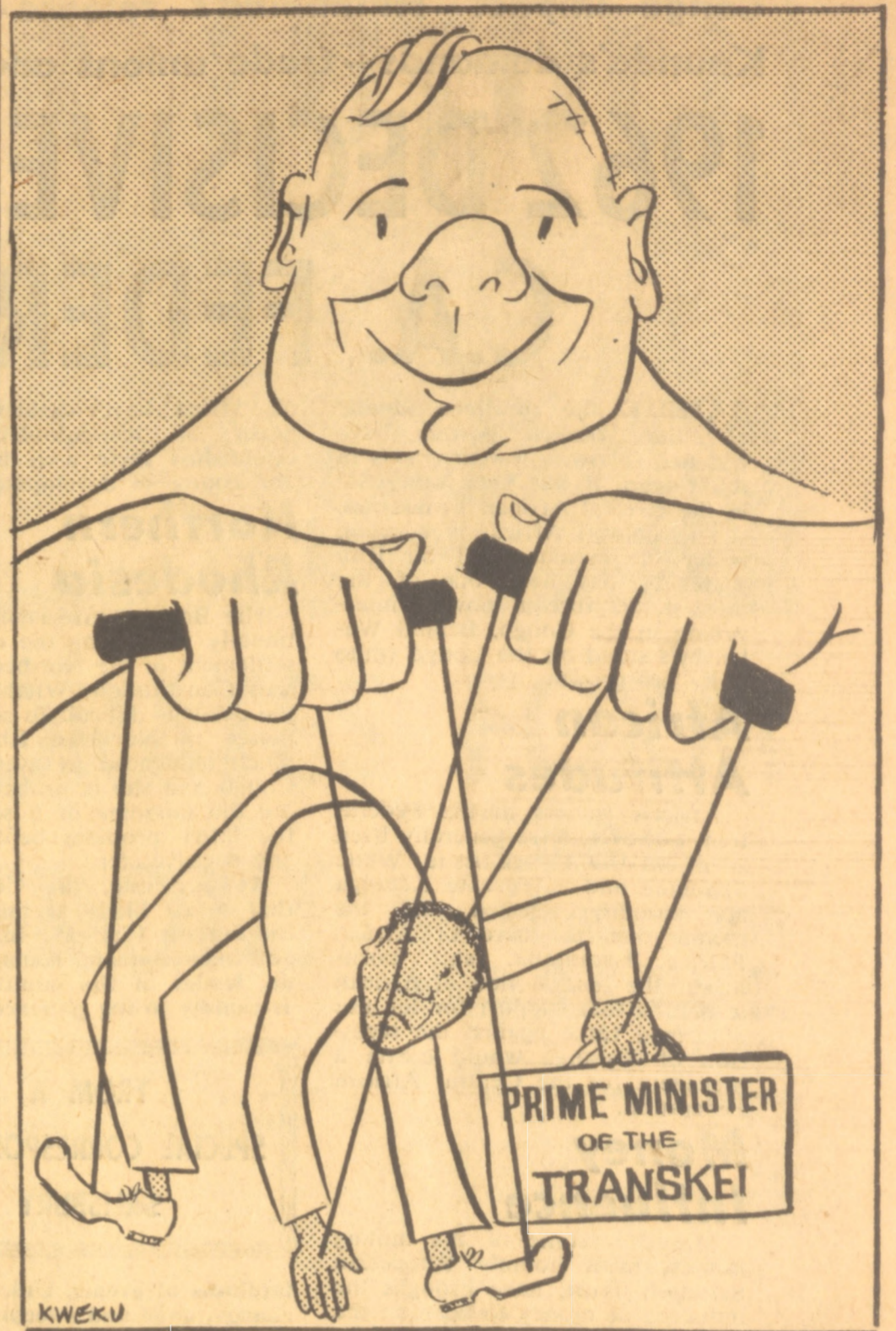
South Africa does not belong to any one race or tribe, it belongs to all those who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

Because we stand for an undivided South Africa, the African

people at their historic Pietermaritzburg Conference held last year, demanded a National Convention representing every section of the South African population with sovereign rights to draw up a non-racial constitution for our country.

THIS IS, TO MY MIND, THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE US, AND ANYTHING LESS IS UNACCEPTABLE.

We do not want tribes and ethnic grouping which is the aim of Dr. Verwoerd's plans. We demand racial harmony, and such harmony could only come about by extending to the Non-White people the right to vote and be elected to all government bodies in South Africa. Such voting rights must be in accordance with basic democratic privileges—IT MUST BE ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE!



Independence

## P.E. BOMB ATTACK

PORT ELIZABETH.

THE bomb which was planted against the sub-transformer station near New Brighton on January 25 was apparently more powerful than any which have previously rocked this city.

It wrecked the heavy double doors, smashed the hardboard ceiling and asbestos roof and damaged the top section of the walls.

Damage is estimated at R300.

"How can there be Freedom based on Racialism?"

## PLAN DOOMED TO FAILURE

—Dr. Naicker

DURBAN.

DR. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress, commenting on the plans outlined by Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament for the so-called independence for the Transkei and the setting up of Indian and Coloured Parliaments said that this was the most laughable suggestion he has ever heard.

"How can there be freedom based on racialism?" he asked.

Stating that this was a diabolical but futile attempt to forestall the only solution to South Africa's pro-

blems—"a non-racial democracy with the principle of one man, one vote indelibly enshrined in a democratic constitution—Dr. Naicker added: "If Dr. Verwoerd hoped to lessen international pressures against this country by this spurious apology for freedom and independence, then he is doomed to failure.

## SOUTH AFRICANS

Dealing with the contemptuous remark made in the course of Dr. Verwoerd's speech referring to the



Dr. G. M. Naicker

South African Indian community as "Indian nationals," Dr. Naicker said: "We are not Indian Nationals . . . we have never been anything else but South Africans. As such we join in the demand of the African people for a National Convention with sovereign rights to draw up a democratic constitution for our country.

This is the only solution for the peaceful transition from the despotism that exists today in South Africa to a glorious and free country moving ever-forward in peace and friendship with all democratic countries of the world," he added.

## ANC Issues Statement

JOHANNESBURG.

FURTHER strong opposition to Verwoerd's plan for the Transkei came from the now-banned African National Congress in a statement received through the post by New Age last week.

The statement said that the growing resistance of the people, international pressure and developments elsewhere in Africa have created a situation where the Nationalists "have been compelled to admit that political power for the African people is an immediate and inevitable need."

Verwoerd, the statement continues, hopes that his scheme will give an extended lease of life to White domination. With it:

- He hopes to quell the scathing condemnation to which racialism and White domination are subjected by the peoples of the world, and to re-establish the international intercourse which is so vital to the economics of White domination.
- He hopes to stem the rising tide of resistance among the people and their demand for real political power.
- He hopes to cover White domination with a more acceptable cloak and to strip it of its crude and vulgar brutality to suit our era, in which crude and medieval methods of exploitation have become unpopular in the world.

"All these purposes will, however, not be achieved because the scheme contains within it the seeds of its own destruction, as well as the potentiality of intensifying the very forces that Dr. Verwoerd hopes to stall.

The statement says that the Africans claim the right to every inch

of the country, and the analogy between the proposed scheme and Africa's former colonial territories is fraudulent, because in none of those territories did the former colonialists partition the country and reserve to themselves its largest and wealthiest portion.

Verwoerd's scheme would continue the complete economic dependence and subjugation of the Transkei and is a bluff.

## A CRACK

"The demands of the African people," concludes the statement, "can no longer await the results of

selfish experiments by this Government. For us, 1962 is a year of decision, and mass attacks on the citadel of White domination. We propose to achieve our objective whatever barricades the Government might erect.

"We reject the scheme but we are fully aware that however objectionable it may be it is a crack in the granite wall—as a result of our incessant pounding. This is a signal for us to go over to an ever more determined offensive to take advantage of the weaknesses in the enemy camp."

C.O.D. Statement says that

## Govt. Ignores Main Problem

CAPE TOWN.

IN a statement issued by Mr. B. Gosschalk, the Cape Town Branch of the Congress of Democrats, joins in condemning the Transkei scheme.

The statement says:

There is much that is obscure in Dr. Verwoerd's statement about "self-rule" for the Transkei. What is quite clear is that it is not freedom as announced by Die Burger. The whole concept is part and parcel of apartheid, of white "guardianship" as Dr. Verwoerd calls it.

The African people call for equality in South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd, without even consulting them, offers them a degree of local government in an area which is economically dependent on the rest

of the country, has no ports, major cities, mines, railways, and all that goes to make up a truly free country.

Such "freedom" will not satisfy the African people, or the outside world it is designed to placate.

## UNTOUCHED

Untouched by Dr. Verwoerd's proposal is the main problem facing this country—the interdependence outside the Reserves of white and non-white. For this the Nationalists have no answer other than ban and banish with threats of even worse to come.

No smokescreens with elaborately prepared publicity will disguise the complete failure of the Government to begin even to face up to our major problems.

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