



On her fourth day of reporting to Marshall Square police station Mrs. Joseph was intercepted by members of the Liberal Party who handed her flowers and the message "We admire your courage."

RELEASE HELEN JOSEPH

MRS. Helen Joseph, first victim of Vorster's house arrest orders, has become the focal point throughout South Africa of popular opposition to the police state's attacks on civil liberties.

Last week demonstrations of protest were held in all the main centres of the Republic and numbers of political organisations from the United Party upwards passed resolutions of protest.

DURBAN PROTEST MEETING



Mr. Alan Paton, the National Chairman of the Liberal Party (left), and Dr. G. M. Naicker (right) addressing a mass meeting at the YMCA hall in Durban last week called by the Women's Federation (Natal) to protest against the house arrest on Mrs. Helen Joseph.



ELECTIONS IN N. RHODESIA

The Northern Rhodesia territorial elections will be held on October 30. It will be the first time Africans have been given a constitution which gives them a chance to return an African majority in the Legislature. The constitution has been regarded as one of the most complicated ever devised—and the decision as to who will be the winning candidate especially in the National seats will require a mathematician as an electoral officer. The Legislature itself has been enlarged to accommodate 45 members. These members are divided into three equal groups of 15. The first 15 are upper roll seats—intended for Europeans; there is a lower roll of 15 for Africans and 15 national seats which will be of mixed races. One of the national seats is reserved for Asians. The remaining 14 are in seven pairs. Four of these must return one African and one white candidate. The remainder can return two candidates of any race. For a national candidate to qualify, he must get at least one-tenth support from voters of the opposite race and one-fifth support from either higher or lower roll votes cast. To decide the winning candidate the two percentages are added up and the candidate with the highest average goes through.

To enable our readers to judge the issues at stake in the election, New Age publishes this week—

AN INTERVIEW WITH KENNETH KAUNDA

Are you hoping to win the forthcoming territorial elections?
I am positive the United National Independence Party will win. We have got majority following. We are making good headway. We also are making inroads into the European community. We stand a good chance of winning four or so upper roll seats which are meant for European parties. This is in addition to capturing nearly all 15 lower roll seats. We also believe that if we do not win any national seats which require support from both races, nobody else will win.

Does UNIP intend to nationalise big industry such as the Mines?
We have no intention of doing so.

Assuming that Federation breaks up and health comes back to territorial control, what plans has your party in this connection?
We shall encourage private hospitals, mission hospitals and also build more government hospitals, clinics and dispensaries.

At present the territorial government spends more money on police than on any other vote, will your government maintain that?
The police of any country must be proportionate to the population. In our case, we have a police force that is out of proportion to the population. It is too large. We believe that instead of spending vast sums of money on the police force we have to spend more on social services. Our aim is to create more employment and raise the living standards of our people.

What attitude will you adopt towards the European when you take over?
Time and again we have made it plain that the colour of a man does not count. What counts is his behaviour. It is stupid of men to quarrel about their colour, in as much as it is stupid to quarrel about tribes. UNIP's stand is that Europeans will be welcome here after independence not so much because of their capital and their technical know-how but simply because they are fellow human beings. As Africans, we have been oppressed and discriminated against on grounds of colour but we are not prepared to live in the past. If the African accepted the European because of his capital or technical know-how, the acceptance would be artificial and temporary. It would make the Africans feel justified in doing away with the European as soon as the situation changed. This would be wrong, morally, politically and spiritually. Our yardstick is merit.

Do you think that you will be able to get foreign capital for an intensive programme of development when you need it?
I would think so. Apart from that, some local financiers have assured us that they would plough back some of their profits if only there was stability in the country. In case of foreign capital, we would like that to come to us without strings attached and probably in the circumstances, we would like the money to come through United Nations agencies. I have spoken to people at the World Bank and they said they would be quite happy to invest in this country provided we assured them of the safety of their money. I could also mention that I have spoken to some financial houses in London, Oslo and Stockholm. I am glad to say that response was very good.

Do you think that accusations from certain quarters that your party is communist or communistic-inclined are justified?
It has no justification at all. To me communism is a way of tackling economic problems in the same way as capitalism is. These methods have been applied with success and sometimes without. But the set of problems tackled by these methods are entirely different from ours. We have to apply methods suitable to our own situation here. I do not consider that communism is a suitable method here. This is an accusation our enemies use in their efforts to discredit us.

Thirteen Days Jail — For Nothing

JOHANNESBURG. Thirteen days in jail, bail fixed at R500—and then release and the withdrawal of the charge. This was the experience of former Healdtown student Wellington Sikiti when he was arrested and held in custody in Rustenburg earlier this month. The police would not agree to any reduction of bail—but then suddenly the cell door was opened and Sikiti was a free man again. Thirteen days in jail for nothing.

Police Raids in East London

EAST LONDON. The homes of three former members of the banned ANC were raided by the Special Branch last week. They were Messrs Bennet Mashiane, Douglas Tsako and S. Selani. The police asked for passports and searched for pamphlets but discovered none. Last week a large number of political pamphlets were distributed throughout the location. The pamphlets named and denounced certain Africans as ambassadors of Matanzima and Victor Poto, describing them as "sell-outs" and "Judases."



Part of the 80-odd demonstrators who took part in a multi-racial demonstration last Saturday morning in West Street, Durban. Hundreds of people held up the traffic to watch the demonstrators, who carried placards protesting against the imposition of house arrest on Mrs. Helen Joseph. After an hour the demonstrators were dispersed by the police.

'WHITE COURT CANNOT DISPENSE JUSTICE'

(Continued from page 1)

clash of the aspirations of the African people and those of the Whites the country's courts could not be impartial and fair. In such cases the Whites were interested parties. To have a White judicial officer presiding was to make the Whites the judges in their own case.

Mandela said he wanted to make it plain he was not a racialist and detested racialism whether it came from a black man or a white man. But it was improper and against the elementary principle of justice to entrust Whites with cases involving the denial by them of basic human rights to the African people.

What sort of justice was this that enabled the aggrieved to sit in judgment over those against whom they had laid a charge?

Continuing his argument against a judiciary controlled entirely by Whites and enforcing laws enacted by a White Parliament, Mandela was interrupted by the magistrate who said: "After all this is a White man's court. There is no other court. What purpose does it serve to challenge this one?"

Mandela continued that in its proper meaning equality before

The Congress Alliance in Johannesburg demonstrated on the City Hall steps last week with posters which said: "Free Helen Joseph," "House Arrest—Civil Death," and "Amandla Ngawethu." Mrs. Joseph, banned from attending gatherings, walked past the demonstration, her right fist clenched in the air.

The following day Congress Alliance demonstrators held yet another placard demonstration, this time watched by three vanloads of police. Special Branch men moved among the spectators. Some "Vrystaat" hecklers were present, but the demonstration was well-protected from them by young members of the Congresses who watched carefully for any sign of interference.

Demonstrations were held by the Black Sash in many centres, including Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and East London.

Congress demonstrations were also held in Durban and Cape Town.

Here are some of the messages and resolutions of protest received during the week:

South African Congress of Trade Unions (to Mr. Vorster): Freedom of speech and association, the right to trial by an independent judiciary have, at one step, been entirely abrogated. You have found Mrs. Joseph guilty

and prosecute and demand vengeance against the just.

He had the feeling that he was a Black man in a White man's court. This was not the atmosphere conducive to feelings of security and confidence in the impartiality of the court.

This doubt sprang from the facts of unfair discrimination against the Black man in the constitution of the country's courts. There was only one way of allaying such doubts, namely by removing unfair discrimination in judicial appointments. The White man's standard of fairness and justice had to be judged by the extent to which he had condemned the majority of South African citizens to serfdom and inferiority.

He concluded: "I make no threat when I say that unless these wrongs are remedied without delay we might well find that even plain talk before the country's courts is too timid a method to draw the attention of the country to our political demands."

The magistrate dismissed the application for recusal. Evidence was then led about the Maritzburg Conference at which Mandela made the key speech and Mandela began the cross-examination of the witnesses. About 50 witnesses are to be called by the State, it is understood.

without giving her an opportunity to defend herself and you have taken it upon yourself to impose this sadistic sentence.

Federation of South African Women: We know that the Government regards as a communist every opponent who stands for the extension of full democratic rights to all the citizens of our country. We say these beliefs are held not only by communists, but are shared by millions of people throughout this land and overseas.

Alexandra Branch of Federation of S.A. Women: The "house arrest" order served on Mrs. Helen Joseph is a most cowardly and atrocious act that should fill the hearts of all freedom-loving South Africans with profound sorrow and indignation.

Transvaal region of Federation of S.A. Women: We will not be silenced! We will speak out whenever it is needed, meet as friends and women whenever we can, and work ceaselessly for the day when Helen will once again be with us.

Federation of S.A. Women (Natal) in a telegram to Vorster: "Release Helen Joseph or bring her to trial. Imprisonment without trial is fascism."

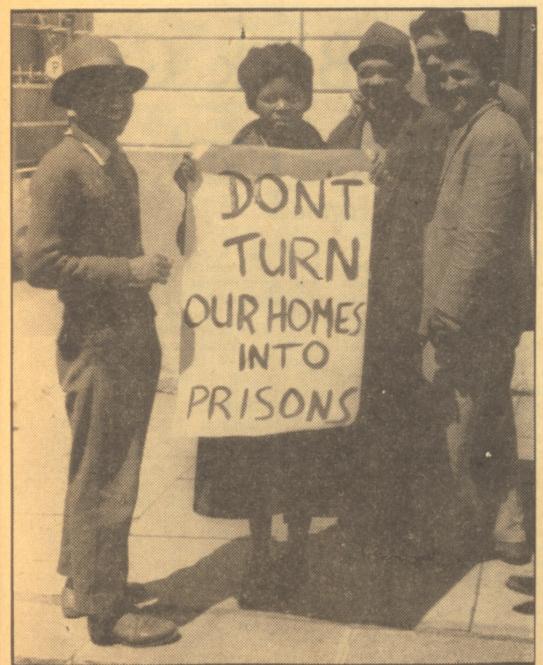
S.A. Indian Congress: We regard the Minister's action as unjust and unwarranted and call upon all who love freedom and democracy to voice their strongest condemnation of this dictatorial action.

Natal Indian Congress, in a telegram to Vorster: "NIC condemns inhuman, barbaric and undemocratic action. . . Demand immediate withdrawal of order."

Leo Boyd, Natal leader of the Progressive Party: By declining to take her to court the Minister has struck a blow not at communism but at democracy.

S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (Natal): Our answer to Minister Vorster's action must be to redouble our efforts to remove this vicious, fascist Government from office.

S.A. Indian Youth Congress: Helen Joseph is the first victim of the "house arrest" clause but most certainly not the last. Her fate awaits many more South Africans and unless citizens of the country raise their voices in protest now our country is doomed to become a fully-fledged police state. THE WRITING IS ON THE WALL.



One of the demonstrators who took part in the protest organised by the Federation of S.A. Women in Adderley Street, Cape Town, last week.

FIRST BANNING ORDER IN SOUTH WEST

The first ever banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act to be issued in South-West Africa—South Africa's stolen colony—was served on SWANU leader Gerson Vei this last week. It is in terms of section 9 of the Act. This prohibition was issued as SWANU leaders were planning protest meetings against the house arrest of Mrs. Helen Joseph and the arrest and trial of Nelson Mandela.

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Newspapers in the March to Freedom—2

"IMVO"—THE FIRST AFRICAN POLITICAL PAPER

THE first independent political newspaper, expressing African opinion and at times the voice of the small African professional elite, was "Imvo Zabantsundu—The voice of the People." Its first issue appeared on November 3, 1884, from its offices established in Kingwilliamstown.

Africans Vote

Africans in those days possessed the vote, and had, for the first time that year, begun to participate as an organised force in the Cape elections. They did so by throwing their weight behind a white liberal, James Rose Innes, in the Kingwilliamstown constituency where they were strongest.

The support of the Native Electoral Association, led by John Tengo Jabavu, at the time editor of *Isigidimi* (see last week's chapter), brought Rose Innes victory.

In order to retain their influence, a group of white liberals, including Rose Innes' brother, decided to provide the capital for the establishment of the first African political newspaper. Jabavu was appointed editor, but the liberals kept full control of policy.

Isolate Elite

The controllers of the paper were more concerned with using Imvo to isolate the intellectuals from the masses, to maintain white domination and clamp down on militant struggle than to promote the true interests of the Africans.

This is revealed clearly in the statement of policy published in the first issue and welcomed by the white newspapers all over Southern Africa. It declares:

"A large class has been formed among the Natives which has learnt to loathe the institutions of barbarism, and to press for the better institutions of a civilised life. The aim of Imvo is to be a rope to tow these stragglers to the shore of civilisation.

"Native public opinion does not tie itself to any party but endeavours to promote loyalty to the Queen and to the British Empire, and peace and prosperity in South Africa."

Attack On African Vote

In spite of this white control, however, Imvo in its early years was an important factor in the political advancement of the Africans.

During the first attack on the African franchise in 1887 the paper gave great publicity to the wave of protest meetings amongst Africans, and Jabavu himself was the convener of a conference of delegates from all over the Cape called to discuss the impending disfranchisement.

Although the fight against the disfranchisement was completely unsuccessful the seeds of united action were sown.

Later, as the white Liberals and the reactionaries moved closer together on more and more issues in their common determination to keep the Africans in subjection, which finally culminated in Union in 1910, Imvo's policy of moderation and muted protest on some issues was unacceptable to the ordinary people. Yet there were many occasions when Imvo's criticisms were strongly voiced and

it held fast to the assertion of African rights.

Land Act

Such protest was particularly marked with the passing of the "Squatter's Bill" or what we subsequently know as the Land Act, which deprived Africans of the right to farm or live on the land of a white owner. The Bill was presented during a particularly severe drought and thousands of

from society and doomed to a condition worse than slavery." Imvo shuddered at Dr. Abdurahman's drastic words:

"The Coloured races are rapidly beginning to see the necessity for Union. The amount of irritation produced in the mind of the Native of late is surprising and there is a deep-seated feeling of passive hatred being engendered against the white races. A pause must be made in this anti-colour policy or ere long that passive hatred will show itself in active resistance."

Imvo commented: "We trust the picture described is imaginary, but even if it were true it is for a Coloured leader like Dr. Abdurahman to set a better example . . . It is in moderation and calm reason that our problems can be solved, not by extreme men on either side."

Though Imvo sought to avoid too open a clash with the government at most times, its pages carried a most vivid reflection of the pain and indignation felt by the Africans throughout the country at the time of the white miners' strike in Johannesburg.

The strike had been called when the Chamber of Mines made known its intention of employing Africans in certain semi-skilled jobs in the mines. The furious white miners regarded this as a threat to their own jobs and demanded what we now know as "job reservation." They said that in order to pay Africans cheaper wages the government (synonymous with the Chamber of Mines) was prepared to sacrifice "white South Africa."

During March of 1922, Commandos were set up to fight Smuts and the Chamber of Mines, and as a subsidiary occupation they set about shooting innocent Africans in various areas.

In an editorial of February 28,

From the Notebooks
of
LIONEL FORMAN,
with additions by
SADIE FORMAN

Africans were left hungry and destitute as a result.

On January 23, 1912, the editorial commented:

"The Squatter's Bill assumes every Non-European to be a squatter on the land of his birth and a thing to be hunted and harried off the soil. In this country, when the Europeans came, they found the Natives settled and cultivating the land. To assume they are squatters . . . is to resort to the most barefaced measures of oppression ever heard of."

In subsequent months Imvo carried full reports on the Cape Peninsula Native Association which was formed to fight the Squatter's Bill, and the speeches made at its meetings were extensively quoted.

Formation Of A.N.C.

It is of particular interest that during March of 1912 the newly formed ANC known as the S.A. Native National Congress and the African Political Organisation, led by Dr. Abdurahman, agreed on the need for closer co-operation between "the Coloured and Native races" and met to protest at the Squatter's Bill. Imvo reported an APO member, B. Abrahams, as saying that the Bill "shamelessly sought to benefit the large gold mining companies and the big landowners. The government really played into the hands of the capitalists in Europe who held gold mine shares or owned vast tracts of undeveloped country—men who had never even seen South Africa . . ."

The ANC was formed in 1912 as a reaction to the sterner measures of suppression envisaged by the whites and represented by the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

1912 was also a year of intense political activity on the part of the APO whose militant policy frightened Imvo Zabantsundu at times.

Dr. Abdurahman

Imvo reported a speech made in Johannesburg, "the very lion's jaws of colour hatred and prejudice," by Dr. Abdurahman which had been violently criticised by the white press as being "dangerous incitement." The paper said that he had made an able and thoughtful address on colour problems, but it was a matter of regret that he could not curb his feelings. He spoke of the Coloured man being regarded "as a pariah, banned

1922, headed the "Industrial Crisis," Imvo commented trenchantly:

"Whatever may be the object of the strikers in plunging the whole country into a sea of turbulent waters, or from a desire to re-foster that detrimental political and industrial line of demarcation—the colour bar, there is no parallel in S.A. history.

"Why the present trouble on the Colour Bar?"

"Politicians fear the progress and development of the Native. Labour wants all the white workers to stand and watch the Natives work, in fact they want the Natives to do all the work and the white people to draw the money.

"The colour bar gives the white man an opportunity of getting paid for not working but for watching the black man work."

A mouthpiece of the Chamber of Mines and an upholder of capitalism, Imvo commented:

"Capitalism has got sick and tired of paying the white people large sums of money for doing nothing and now wants black labour for the sake of cheapness."

And it was also bold enough to say:

"These opposing parties on one thing are agreed—that they have one common enemy—the Native—who must be kept in his place and not be allowed to make progress."

"Thousands of Natives have no land, they are entirely dependent on the mines for a livelihood and hundreds and thousands of their dependants are starving today."

On March 21 the paper published a strongly condemnatory letter from the Chief Organiser of the Cape Native Congress, Dr. James D. Ngojo, against the actions of the Commandos in shooting down "inoffensive, innocent" Africans whose "crime" was that they lived. Imvo added:

Political Plot

"This is not a strike pure and simple, but a political intrigue

aimed at keeping the black man down through the false war-cry of a White South Africa, uttered by incompetent Europeans who wish artificially to entrench their empty position of unmerited superiority by legislation.

"A befitting conclusion to the Reign of Terror will be the double-fold one of (a) the destruction of the colour bar both in parliament and in industries and (b) the outright suppression of the Republican propaganda."

Precisely the contrary of both these "befitting conclusions" resulted from the strike. The colour bar was firmly entrenched in industry throughout the country and far from Republican propaganda being suppressed, the Smuts government was defeated in 1924 and a Labour-Nationalist Pact Government was elected which commenced with a will to propagate Afrikaner nationalism and to make South Africa "safe for the white man."

African Culture

In those earlier years Imvo provided a window for African creative writing as well. Aside from letters and articles by such men as Dube, Plaatje, Elijah Makiwane and Tseme, it also published for example, the poetry of S. E. Rune Mqayi, the great Xhosa writer of praise poems to the African prophets. A beautifully expressed song on the misguided prophetess Nongqause who exhorted her people to burn their cattle and crops as a protest against the Glen Gray Land Act, the forerunner of the Reserve system, and to wait for a new life of plenty to come as a result, is published in full in the issue of January 12, 1912.

Bought Out

In later years Imvo Zabantsundu was bought out by a white company, the Bantu Press, and could then lay no claim to being "The Voice of the People." Far less can it do so now that it has been taken over by Verwoerd's Afrikaanse Pers.

Nevertheless prior to this latest take-over, its 78 years of life give it a place among the country's oldest papers and the high quality both of the journalism and the technical production from the very first issue are pioneering efforts of which African journalism can well be proud.

(Next week: The A.P.O., the Cape Socialist, Abantu-Batho.)

Basuto Workers Back Call For Liberation Front

Provisional Secretariat Formed

MASERU.

SUPPORT for the formation of a national liberation front in Basutoland continues to grow amongst all sections of the people.

The call was first issued by Josiel Lefela, veteran leader of Lekhotla la Bafo (see New Age September 27). This was followed by the independent decision of the Basutoland African Students' Association to call for a united front (New Age October 11).

Now formal support for Lefela's call has been pledged by the Basutoland General Workers' Union, which met at Mhaleshoek recently, and a secretariat has already been formed headed by Mr. A. S. Makhele, Secretary-General of the Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions.

MINIMUM PROGRAMME

The resolution of the Basutoland General Workers' Union says a national minimum programme of action should include the de-

mand for:

(1) Complete and immediate independence and the establishment of a democratic Lesotho in which the civil rights and liberties of every individual are guaranteed with Moshoeshe II as Head of State.

(2) Unity of all parties, chiefs, personalities, trade unions, peasant organisations, youth, women's and students' movements irrespective of ideology or political belief who are prepared to work wholeheartedly for (i) above.

(3) Maximum and efficient organisation of the masses at village, area, district and national level in order that the whole nation may participate fully in nation-building and freedom tasks.

(4) Development of close co-operation with organisations in Africa and the world which support the immediate independence of Lesotho and in particular freedom movements in Bechuanaland, Swaziland and South Africa and in the PAFMECA area.

(5) An immediate and planned

programme to prepare the country for radical agrarian reform, economic development and administration of Lesotho, by the Basotho and for the Basotho.

(6) The development of a National, democratic, collective leadership of talents to organise the freedom struggle in a planned manner.

FRONT COMMITTEES

The General Workers' Union suggests that wherever possible National Liberation Front committees should be formed all over Lesotho representing the broadest unity of all people prepared to subscribe to this declaration.

Village, local and district conferences should be organised at which this declaration can be discussed and at which action can be decided upon.

"Preparations should be started to organise a National People's Conference whose main objective would be to determine the best means of uniting all Basotho in a patriotic and unselfish struggle for freedom and independence."

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