

# Hepple Attacks S.A. House Slanders On Union Labour Movement

(From our Johannesburg Correspondent)

"From South Africa House our Government is conducting a campaign of slander against the South African trade union movement," said Mr. Alec Hepple, M.P., addressing a big Labour Party meeting held last week to welcome him back from Europe. He was referring to a publication called "South African Survey" issued in London by the High Commissioner's office, and circulated in the United Kingdom.

A recent issue of this document contains the most amazing distortions of trade union affairs in South Africa. Little Nat, splinter groups are presented as "the real trade union movement," and allegations of Communism are spread with McCarthyite recklessness. Explaining the process by which "Communists" are driven out of the trade union movement, the document says: "No steps have been taken against trade unions as such. . . . Unions deprived of a general secretary or chairman through such action are of course free to appoint anyone they choose to fill the vacant post, provided the new occupant is not a Communist."

Naturally the document makes no reference to the sustained Government attack on the Food and Canning Workers' Union, two of whose officials, Miss R. Lan and Mr. O. Mpeha, were recently banned from attending meetings though they have never been "named" as Communists.

The document says "Communist activities have been under investigation by the police since 1920. A special security staff was set up within the police force in 1947 under the previous Government. This security division is on similar lines to security staffs in most states of the world today. Its total membership is very limited, being only 143 spread over the whole country. Its work is concentrated on the investigation of Communist and similar undermining activities." Like Liberalism and the Torch Commando?

### SPIES AND SNOOPERS

Defending the Suppression of Communism Act, South Africa House says: "The argument that it is dangerous to apply such legislation because it drives Communists underground has not been proved by experience in South Africa. On the contrary, since the introduction of the legislation a far greater number of people have approached the Police, to volunteer information on Communist activities, than did so before the law came into force." (South Africa House's emphasis.)

Yet a little later on the document says "The subtle methods of

The document says African trade unions cannot be recognised "in view of the fact that most of the Bantus in South Africa have only recently emerged from a primitive stage of existence," but promises vaguely that "in years to come, when Bantu workers have reached a high standard of civilisation, provision will be made for a more advanced and direct form of securing the best interests of these workers."

Meanwhile, says the document, "the great majority of Bantu trade unions are in the hands of educated Communist leaders, who find no difficulty in holding the support of the uneducated masses" and alleges that "it has frequently occurred that these Communists have organised unofficial strikes for political motives. When asked to state their complaints, the striking workers have replied that they did not know, but their trade union leaders had ordered them to stop working."

No wonder Mr. Hepple is annoyed. Anybody connected with the South African trade union movement would be annoyed at this travesty of the facts. The South Africa House document is on a par with those statements issued by the German Nazis explaining Hitler's regime.

infiltration by Communists into many trade unions and the general lack of knowledge about underground Communist activities in South Africa has been shown up by the fact that a number of leading public figures, who themselves are strongly opposed to Communism, refused to accept the police verdict that the banned people had been proved members or supporters of the Communist Party (now acting underground as a result of its banning by Government legislation some years ago)."

The incredible document attacks the leadership of the Leather Workers' Union, the Garment Workers' Union and the Building Workers' Union, and justifies the attempts of Nat-inspired groups to infiltrate and disrupt the working of these unions. The Trades and Labour Council is described as having come "to a growing extent into the hands of people with extreme left-wing sympathies."

# T.U. Editor Won't Swallow Apartheid — Sacked

(From our Johannesburg Correspondent)

Mr. Dawie Couzyn, the editor of Saamtrek, has been sacked because he refused to be a party to the abandonment of the policy of the paper as demanded by the directors on transferring sponsorship to the new S.A. Trade Union Council.

The directors emphasised that the previously defined policy of Saamtrek was now unacceptable, especially the clause pledging "support for a progressive policy towards all sections of the working people without any distinction."

They demanded that an editorial committee appointed by the S.A.T.U.C., including Messrs. Downes, Crompton, Rutherford, Budd and Bennett, examine and sanction all editorial matter before publication.

The policy of Saamtrek, as defined in the contract between Unity Publications, the company established by the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, and Mr. Couzyn, who has been editor since its inception, states the paper will "give the trade unions and workers of South Africa full support in their fight for better conditions, trade union rights and full democratic rights;

"Inculcate the trade union and labour tradition among the workers;

"Support a progressive policy towards all sections of the working people without any distinction;

"Oppose all attacks on liberty."

At a prolonged meeting of the directors, Mr. Couzyn said he could not depart from the policy as laid down in his contract. The directors then proposed he should abandon his contract and continue without one. Mr. Couzyn declined to accept these conditions and he was thereupon given two months' notice in terms of the contract. Saamtrek owes its continued existence in no small measure to the efforts of Mr. Couzyn who, during the two years of the paper's existence, carried on often single-handed in the most difficult circumstances.

# LET FREEDOM SPEAK

Here it is—eight pages of New Age! This is the first, and we owe readers and supporters our thanks not only for what they have done—BUT ALSO FOR WHAT WE URGENTLY EXPECT THEY WILL DO IN THE COMING WEEKS.

Extra donations went some of the way to pay for the extra four pages you get today. But not all the way. That means we have incurred a debt and debts have a nasty way of piling up.

But it had to be done. On four pages it would have been quite impossible to cover the ground of this issue—from Cape Town to Peking, from Swart's petty tyrannies to the road to freedom in South Africa.

We bring you a finely reasoned statement by a young African thinker and leader on the role of the African in the world scene. We provide the one and only platform through which many banned democrats—President Luthuli, Ruth First, Len

Warden, to mention only a few in this one issue—can speak to the people of South Africa and the world beyond.

It has cost £60 over and above our ordinary weekly expenses to bring out No. 5 of New Age. Next week we will be back to four pages, unfortunately, not because there is not material to fill dozens more columns, but because of financial stringency. So again, we ask you to share the responsibility so you can look back to the year 1954 and say: "That was the turn of the tide, that was the time when things seemed so dark and yet we could see the way forward."

R. K. COPE.



African resistance leader in Kenya, Marshal Kaleba, who has been in command of African forces in the Mt. Kenya area, was taken in by British propaganda promises and surrendered with his arms and ammunition recently. But he was sentenced to death by a Kenya judge—for possessing arms and ammunition. Two men with him were also sentenced to death. A girl of under 18 years was detained at the Governor's pleasure. Here Kaleba is seen chained hand and foot on his way to court.

# Swart Hits Food Union

CAPE TOWN.

Sarah Wentzel, secretary of the Worcester branch of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, was last week served with a banning notice signed by the Minister of Justice ordering her to resign as an office-bearer of the Union and prohibiting her from attending gatherings for 2 years.

Sarah Wentzel was born at Worcester and attended school at Wolsley. After starting in domestic service at 16 to help support her family, she entered the canning industry as a labourer in 1942 and immediately joined her union. In 1943 she was elected to the branch committee and in 1946 became treasurer. She was appointed secretary in April 1954.

### UNION PROTEST

A statement issued by the Canning Union says: "This latest attack by the Government on our Union proves once again that the Government has set itself the aim to destroy the trade union movement and particularly those with Non-European members where the Non-European members have developed into leaders of their people."

Stating that the attacks on the union have been inspired by interests with powerful influence in Government circles, such as the fruit farmers, the union adds: "Whatever the Government may do to us, it will strengthen our confidence in the Union and our banned leaders. We pledge that we shall not rest until we have removed the vicious and unwarranted attacks on the freedom of our leaders."

# Police To Control Prisoner Aid?

DURBAN.

Officials of the Social Services of South Africa, an organisation which seeks to protect the interests of prisoners and their families, believe the Government aims to take control of all organisations which deal with Non-Europeans, just as it has done with African education and African unions, to ensure that the Nationalists' ideology dominates all spheres of Non-European affairs. Government approaches to Social Services have made it clear that it intends implementing the recommendation of the Nationalist-appointed Committee of Inquiry into Welfare Organisations that persons detained for trial should be the responsibility of the State and that Prisoners' Friends should therefore be State officials and not social workers.

Social Services of S.A. is totally opposed to the recommendation on the grounds that qualified workers, experienced and trained in this important field of social work, will be replaced by policemen and other court officials.

"The work of assisting prisoners and their families is a vital aspect of social services to-day, especially in a country like South Africa where thousands of Africans are arrested for technical offences. This work can only be satisfactorily performed by qualified social workers, not policemen and court officers whose harsh and unsympathetic treatment of prisoners is part of their training," declared an official of Social Services.

# 23 Unions Already Back Non-Racial T.U. Centre

(From our Johannesburg Correspondent)

The Trade Union Co-ordination Committee which, together with the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, is planning a national conference to establish a non-racial trade union federation, following the dissolution of the Trades and Labour Council, reports a good response from many Unions to initial approaches. Though the task is proving slower than was anticipated, as most trade unions require time to consult their membership, the organisers report enthusiastic first reactions from the executives of twenty-three organisations, the membership of which, taken as a whole, represents all racial groups in the country. These unions will recommend participation in the new federation to their members.

Meanwhile, the former leaders of the T.L.C., having rushed through dissolution on the understanding that McCormick's "S.A. Federation of Trade Unions" would also dissolve to merge with the non-African Trade Union Council, have learnt to their dismay that the Federation just won't dissolve. A few affiliated Unions will leave the Federation to join the T.U.C., but the Mine Workers', Engine Drivers', Reduction Workers', Municipal Employees', Railway Artisans and other unions—representing about 50,000 affiliated members, have now announced that they will stay in the Federation, under the Presidency of George McCormick!

The Federation has appointed Mr. Ellis, now reinstated as Mineworkers' Union secretary, as one of its Trustees.

Much uncertainty attaches to the present position of the National Union of Distributive Workers. Although its representatives were prominent in the fight to preserve the T. & L.C., at its historic Durban conference, the Union has not joined the other dissenting bodies, its colleagues in that gallant struggle, in the Co-ordination Committee.

### APPEASEMENT

At the time of writing it seems doubtful whether the N.U.D.W. will decide to throw in its weight with the new non-racial centre. Strong "appeasement" tendencies showed themselves at last week's Johannesburg branch meeting, and a compromise resolution was carried which will have the effect of leaving the union altogether unaffiliated.

While many members applauded the stand for principle made by the Union leaders at Durban, some of their fear opposition to the new centre from racially-prejudiced members in certain branches.

A strong lead from the national leadership of the union would change the position, but so far no such lead has been forthcoming.

# Back-Slapping with Baralong

CAPE TOWN.

Following in the footsteps of Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E. G. Jansen, Governor-General, has taken to wooing the African people by participating in mutual back-slapping indabas.

Die Burger reports that last week Dr. Jansen was welcomed by an African school choir singing "Die Stem" in Afrikaans when he visited the Moroka school in Thaba Nchu. Later in the day he visited the Barolong tribe where Headman W. Fenyang assured him that the Barolong welcomed the Bantu Authorities Act because under it they did not need to fear that they would lose their identity as a tribe.

In reply Dr. Jansen said it was pleasant to be with the Barolong and to know that they accept the Bantu Authorities Act.

Another speaker at this apparently friendly gathering was Dr. J. S. Moroka, a former president of the African National Congress. Dr. Moroka said the Barolong were doing all in their power to develop and improve their inheritance of 80,000 morgen, but the land was getting too small, and he asked that some more be given to the tribe.

### LABOUR PARTY WORRIED

It is also understood that the Labour Party leadership is far from happy at the role played by certain of its members who supported dissolution of the T. & L.C. Mr. Alec Hepple, its Parliamentary leader, has returned from his visit abroad, where he met socialist leaders in Britain and elsewhere, more convinced than ever that white labour in South Africa cannot profit by, but only incur disgrace from a policy of racial discrimination.

The Labour Party organ "Forward" has been uncomfortable over the position. A member of its editorial board, Mr. Olaf Olsson, is joint secretary of the Co-ordination Committee, and it seems clear that opinion within the Party is sharply divided over the future of the trade union movement, and some members are beginning to change their minds over their previous support for dissolution.

With the new alignment of the McCormick-Ellis group, there is every reason to believe that genuinely democratic trade union opinion is steadily swinging towards the Co-ordination Committee and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions in their efforts to establish a fraternal alliance of all trade unions upholding the principles of the labour movement.

# Verwoerd Annoyed By "Agitators"

JOHANNESBURG.

At his second big 'indaba' in the Transvaal—at Sibas last Friday—the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, abandoned the smooth manner he had adopted at the first indaba and openly threatened the chiefs and headmen who had been summoned to hear him.

"I must warn you now that you must co-operate with the Government," he said. "The Bantu must be a friend of the Government as the Government are the friend of the Bantu."

He added later: "The good mother lets the child walk quickly but holds its hand tightly. We will let you walk, but you need not be frightened. We will hold your hand tightly."

The Minister seemed to be upset by the distribution of leaflets at both indabas by members of the African National Congress denouncing the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.

These agitators were not the sort of people who would help the headmen maintain their authority, said Dr. Verwoerd. "The man who scratches out the fire will burn himself," he added, in his best rain-making tradition.

### Mother of Heroes

JONAHESBURG.

The death occurred recently in Pretoria of Mrs. Archibald Pillay, who was for many years a staunch supporter of the progressive movement.

Five of her sons and their wives served terms of imprisonment in the fight against oppression. Mrs. Pillay was also well-known for her social work and during the war years she raised funds for the Bengal Relief Fund.

# Hardest Hit Freedom Body

JOHANNESBURG.

Mr. Freddy Morris, provincial organiser for the Congress of the People, and a member of the provincial executive of the African National Congress, has received a banning order from Swart forbidding him to attend gatherings.

His banning adds yet another to the long list of proscriptions from the Transvaal leadership of the A.N.C., probably the hardest-hit organisation in the country. Headed by former president J. B. Marks and his successor, Nelson Mandela, provincial secretary David Bopape and his successor John Motsabi, the list of former executive members who have been forced out by bans include: Dan Tloome, Duma Nokwe, A. Kunene, J. Mavuso, G. Maeka, I. Mooko, F. Boshelo, and last week Elias Motsaedi.

This list does not include Moses Kotane, Walter Sisulu and National Executive members of the A.N.C. resident in the Transvaal.

# 23 Mission Schools To Close

From our Jo'burg correspondent

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, has ordered the closing down of all Anglican mission schools in the Southern Transvaal because he cannot bring himself to co-operate with the Government in implementing the Bantu Education Act. As a consequence of this order, 23 schools, teaching more than 10,000 African children, will close on April 1, 1955.

The Bishop says the Bantu Education Act is morally indefensible, as the Government plan is to allot a place of permanent inferiority to the African.

### VIOLATES CHRISTIANITY

"In consequence I am bound to oppose it, and therefore cannot assist the Government, however remotely or indirectly, in implementing a policy which violates Christian standards."

Speaking in Durban last Saturday, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Natal, the Most Rev. Denis Hurley, said the principle of apartheid, maintaining the permanent inferiority of certain classes of the population, was an example of a State abolishing the rights of individuals, overstepping its authority and becoming tyrannical.

# FOUR MORE BANNED

DURBAN.

Four more officials of the Natal Indian Congress were banned by Minister Swart last week.

Messrs. Debi Singh, secretary, J. N. Singh and I. Meer (vice-presidents) and Mrs. F. Meer, an executive committee member of the Congress, all received orders from the Minister of Justice prohibiting them from attending any gatherings for a period of two years, and ordering them to resign from the Natal Indian Congress as well as numerous other organisations.

All the orders were served in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

### United Nations

LONDON.

Two people are considered so dangerous to American security that they are only admitted to the U.S. to attend U.N. sessions on condition they do not leave the tiny area surrounding the U.N. building. One is the Rev. Michael Scott, now in America to plead the cause of the Hereros, once more before the General Assembly. The other is Mrs. EdJia Werfel, correspondent of the Polish paper Trybuna Ludu.

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# African Students Pledge Fight Against Verwoerd Act

CAPE TOWN.

"Mindful of their responsibilities as the rising generation of Africa, the students of Fort Hare pledge themselves to play their full part in working for the development of a system of education fit for a free people in the land of their birth," reads a statement issued recently by the Fort Hare Students' Representative Council, recording the students' view on the Bantu Education Act.

The Bantu Education Act has caused concern among all interested in African development chiefly because of the theory of education by which it is inspired, the statement declares.

After quoting from Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the statement concludes:

### MASTERS AND SERVANTS

"In sum, it is intended for the present system of education in the broad sense of the term to substitute a cynical system of indoctrination calculated to produce a race of servants for a race of masters.

"And to add insult to injury, the system is to be run by the servants themselves, and if they like more of it than their masters

are willing to give, they will jolly well have to pay for it themselves." The African people, the students declare, have made it abundantly clear that they will have no truck with the policy of apartheid, and as they become better organised for the struggle, "they will translate into action their rejection of apartheid in general and of the Bantu Education Act in particular."

The statement ends with the students assurance to "their parents, their leaders and all others on whom will devolve the responsibility of devising measures to combat this notorious Act, of their readiness to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in any sacrifices they may be called upon to make, in the endeavour to save their children from the pollution to which it is proposed to subject their tender minds."

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## Police Reign of Intimidation Against Cape Africans

Under cover of the Urban Areas Act and other discriminatory legislation, the police have instituted a campaign in Cape Town and the Peninsula which amounts to nothing less than political persecution and an attack on the whole liberatory movement.

The police action has followed a Congress of the People meeting in the Mowbray Town Hall recently which was raided and at which the names, addresses and places of work of all present were taken.

Since then Africans have been rounded up and arrested if any of their papers were not in order, amongst them four active workers in Mr. Len Warden's election campaign, African National Congress leaders and members, and freedom volunteers.

Another victim of this intimidation campaign is Mrs. Dora Tamana, well-known social worker and respected resident of Blouville, Retreat.

### A.N.C. PROTEST

The executive committee of the Langa branch of the African National Congress has issued a statement protesting against this "intimidation by the Government of members of our branch, especially the volunteers."

The statement says that nearly all the volunteers were visited by the police who, in a number of cases, kicked open the doors of their rooms, and demanded passes and poll tax receipts, arresting those whose papers were not in order.

Mrs. Tamana was visited by four policemen one afternoon at her uncle's shop. They asked her uncle for his papers, and he produced his exemption certificate.

They then asked Mrs. Tamana whether she had a permit to live in Cape Town.

### Election Day Appeal

CAPE TOWN.

Cars and helpers are urgently needed on Election Day, Wednesday, December 1, Mr. Len Warden told New Age.

All people who are willing to help, either all day or part time, are asked to phone Mr. Warden at 5-4704.

Helpers are especially needed between the peak hours of 12 to 2 and 5 to 8 p.m.

"I told them I did not know anything about a permit, and that I had lived in Cape Town longer than the 15 years required under the Urban Areas Act," Mrs. Tamana told New Age.

### SEARCHED

"Then I was taken to the police station at Retreat where I was searched by a woman.

"Then I saw one policeman take a big key. He led me to a small room. I asked this man what I had been arrested for. He said it was because I had no permit to live in Cape Town."

Mrs. Tamana, who is a grandmother, spent the night in the cell—on a mat on the floor. She was also given blankets. The following morning she was first taken to Wynberg Court and then to the Langa Court, where she was locked in a yard.

Her case was due to come up on Wednesday, November 24.

Mrs. Tamana has lived in the Cape Peninsula since 1930. She is secretary of the Retreat A.N.C. and also of the Federation of South African Women, and is an executive member of Cafda, the Cape Flats Distress Association.

For two and a half years, assisted by Cafda, she privately ran a small creche, thus enabling African mothers in Retreat to go to work knowing that their babies were being well cared for. Financial difficulties forced her to give up the creche.

CAPE TOWN.  
Dr. O. Wollheim, warden of Cafda, spoke very highly of Mrs. Tamana:

### VALUABLE WORKER

"For the last six years or more she has been a very valuable member of the Cafda executive committee," Dr. Wollheim told New Age. "From time to time she has been very useful to us in the matter of distributing clothing, blankets and other relief measures after fire and flood damage in Blouville, where she has always served as our local distributor."



Mrs. DORA TAMANA

## CAPE WOMEN FIGHT RENTS

The women's conference to be held in Cape Town next Saturday, under the auspices of the Federation of South African women, will discuss plans for united opposition to higher rents, Mrs. Dora Tamana, the Federation's national secretary, told the New Age.

"I appeal to women of all races to take part in this conference," said Mrs. Tamana. "Higher rents will cause severe hardship to thousands of people who already suffer misery due to the rising cost of living and low wages.

"The Cape Town City Council and the Divisional Council must be made to understand that the housing schemes were built to provide homes for the people and not profits for these Councils. They can find their money elsewhere, but not by taking the food out of our babies' mouths," said Mrs. Tamana.

"We appeal to all tenants' associations, sporting bodies, trade unions, cultural, vigilance and other organisations to send delegates to this very important conference, and thus to take part in co-ordinating all efforts to prevent the rent increases."

The conference will be held in Room 44, Stal Plein Buildings, 151 Plein Street, Cape Town, at 3 p.m. on Saturday, November 27.

### Slogans in Cape Town

CAPE TOWN.

Citizens going to work in Cape Town one morning this week found "Congress of the People" slogans painted on walls and other vantage points in the city. Workmen were sent by the authorities to scrape out or overpaint some of the slogans but others remained to remind people of the Congress Movement.

## THE AFRICAN AND THE COLD WAR

By a leading member of the A.N.C.

Since the end of the Second World War and the consequent emergence of the two big power blocs in the East and the West, the African liberation movement has been faced with the necessity of working out a clear attitude on foreign affairs.

First of all it must be said that like all liberation movements the African movement is concerned primarily and almost exclusively with the solution of internal problems. In the words of Pandit Nehru "A national movement is like a man suffering from cancer. He can think of nothing else." This is only natural and proper in the present historical situation of the African people.

The African national liberation movement in South Africa, like the emancipatory movements all over Africa, is grappling with very serious internal problems arising from the colonisation of the different territories and the absence in them of genuine political, social and economic rights for the masses of the people. The struggles of African people to unite themselves and form organisations powerful enough to win liberation and democracy meet everywhere with fierce resistance on the part of the oppressors, who are determined to protect their interests in Africa.

To this formidable task must be added other objective difficulties such as tribal and other divisions, the lack of a fully developed political consciousness among the people and undeveloped working-class and national liberatory organisations.

### POLICY IN MAKING

The very nature of these problems and difficulties facing the freedom movement of the African people, has until recently retarded the growth of a policy that recognised the overriding importance of international events on the struggle of the African people. Events are, however, compelling the African leadership, albeit grudgingly, to formulate some kind of international policy. In the language of the post-war world, the Africans are having to take up an attitude towards the cold war.

At present it is probably wrong to speak of the development of an international policy in the African national movement. It is probably more accurate to say that the thinking of the African leadership with reference to international affairs is developing a fairly precise tendency or direction. It could be nothing more than a tendency owing to the fact that the African national movement united Africans of different creeds and beliefs and therefore cannot base its policies on theoretical assumptions, but rather on observed facts.

The point from which African internationalism begins, is the

## Worcester Leaders Arrested

CAPE TOWN.

Miss Asha Dawood and Mr. J. Alwyn, two of the foremost people's leaders in Worcester, were recently arrested on a charge of incitement to public violence in terms of the Criminal Laws Amendment Act.

They have been released on £100 bail each, and the case has been remanded to December 13, in the Worcester court.

Mr. Alwyn is awaiting a Supreme Court judgment on his appeal against his sentence of 18 months imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act.

need to achieve political independence, freedom, land and an end to racial discrimination in Africa NOW. In other words the task of the African national movement is to encourage and develop all those factors that will enable it to achieve freedom for the people in the shortest possible time, and place them in a position to make their full contribution to the welfare of Africa and the world. Bearing this in mind then, what does the African see when he looks at the contemporary international scene?

### LAST BASTION

First fact that strikes him is that Africa—the last bastion of colonialism in the world—is divided and ruled over by five of six European powers including among them Great Britain, Belgium, France and Portugal. To these must be added the nominally independent reactionary regimes such as Liberia, and Abyssinia, which could hardly survive without a great deal of imperialist support.

These powers, together with South Africa, singly or collectively, stand in the way of any genuine advance of the African people towards freedom and democracy in the land of their birth. In all their struggles the Africans find themselves face to face with one or other of these powers.

The African then notices that these same powers are a nuisance to other oppressed people in the world—in British Guiana, Malaya, Indo-China, Goa and elsewhere. A closer look reveals that these powers have a way of hanging together.

They are (or were) together in N.A.T.O. and in E.D.C. They were all together in the Marshall plan. In the debates at U.N.O. it is to be noticed that the representatives of these powers generally express similar policies when colonial affairs come up for discussion, and invariably vote together.

By this time it has become clear that another and much bigger power than any of these, directly or indirectly, supports them in all their endeavours, namely, the United States of America. When issues affecting African freedom comes up the United States ruling class through its representatives mostly votes against the people or abstains from voting for fear of hurting the susceptibilities of its friends—the colonial powers. Thus the tremendous power of the United States is used to prop up the decaying colonial system against the interests of millions of Africans.

And it is with bitterness that the African reflects that the initial spurt that made the United States possible lies in the transportation in an earlier age, of millions of Africa's best sons and daughters to work as slaves in America. This traffic in human lives, which resulted in the loss of an estimated 100 million Africans, represents the historical take-off for Western capitalism in W. Europe and America. It is these same powers that hold up African advance today.

Meantime the African national movement, impatient in its desire for freedom, notices another group of powers that seem ever anxious to develop friendship with the African people. They oppose colonialism regularly and consistently. They support the national struggle for liberation. They take up a principled stand at U.N.O. every time against racial discrimination and for freedom of all peo-

ple in the world. Among these powers are to be found the Soviet Union, People's China, Burma, India, Indonesia, Poland.

### EAST AND WEST

The Western powers counter this by quoting facts and throwing accusations regarding the internal conditions in these countries. They in turn reply with counter accusations and facts.

The liberatory movement would be hard put to it to find an attitude amid this medley of charge and counter-charge. It therefore can base no policy on a comparison of the internal situation in these countries. The African leadership can only be guided by the external policies of all these countries, particularly as they affect our aspirations and demands; and viewed from this point there is no room for doubt.

The Eastern powers consistently and regularly attack colonialism and racial discrimination. The Western powers led by the U.S.A. just as consistently defend colonialism and even condone the practice of racial discrimination. Thus the Eastern powers hate the policy of the Nationalist government in South Africa. The Western powers say they hate it and proceed to stabilise this hated regime with capital, loans and arms.

The East supports our claims for freedom and national independence. The West says we are not ready for it and continues to aid in our oppression. We send a top-ranking leader of the Congress to the West and he is snubbed. We send another to the East and he is honourably received.

The East patiently preaches peace and tirelessly works for a negotiated pact between the big powers. The West on the basis of vaguely expressed security needs turns Africa into a war base and sends swarms of American "geographical expeditions" all over Africa in search of uranium deposits that can be used for the production of more nuclear weapons, proscribes the peace movement and its leaders. All these are facts exercising an overwhelming influence on the development of African thinking on international relations.

### REALISTIC POLICY

The West claims that all its acts are really in the interests of the Africans whom they oppress, and that the Eastern powers are actuated by bad motives towards Africa. This simply won't wash.

On the basis of these facts the African national movement is developing what is a realistic, independently conceived policy which includes alliance and friendship with all peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism in the world, on terms of mutual respect and equality; opposition to war and the turning of Africa into a war base for any future war; support of the peace movement in its endeavours to relax international tension and secure a peace pact between the big powers; the attainment of a strong, united, free, independent and prosperous Africa; the acceptance of genuine permissible assistance from any source that will ensure the attainment of the above in the shortest possible time while respecting our independence and freedom.

This policy corresponds with the historical needs of the Africans at the present time and recent events are proving the correctness of our standpoint in the cold war.

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