

# NAT PREPARATIONS FOR URBAN AUTHORITIES

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**NEW AGE**

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# FOR URBAN AUTHORITIES

## Aspirant "Bantu Ambassadors" Jockey For Position



Mr. Nehru stopped at Cairo on his way back to India from the United Nations General Assembly recently, and met President Nasser for a brief discussion. Our picture shows Mr. Nehru and President Nasser at the Cairo airport discussing international developments. With them is Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in London.

**JOHANNESBURG.**  
EVEN WHILE THE TRANSKEI IS UP IN ARMS AGAINST BANTU AUTHORITIES THE GOVERNMENT IS HARD AT WORK IN THIS CITY TRYING TO FERRET OUT MEN WHO WILL BECOME TRIBAL AMBASSADORS IN THE TOPNS.

One of the Pedi stooges was holder; he called a meeting in the open air at the Zoo Lake.

The following are some of the men in the running for appointment as tribal ambassadors:

**Ntambonzonqawwe** (meaning: 'the ropes that moor the ship') Nkosiyane is hoping to get the post of Tribal Ambassador of the Tembusu. He is a relative of Paramount Chief Sabata, and a cousin of the Nkosiyane who has been in exile since his rejection of Bantu Authorities for Tembuland in 1956.

Some members of the joint Tembusu-Gcaleka-Zulu committee are not convinced that Ntambonzonqawwe is the best man for the job but they have agreed to put forward his name if it is confirmed by the Government. Ntambonzonqawwe will shortly present himself to Chief Sabata in the Transkei, accompanied by two of his tribal committee members.

**Mr. Nkopo**, a member of the Jabavu Advisory Board and secretary of the tribal committee, has been recommended as tribal ambassador for the Immigrant Tembusu. He, too, has not yet been confirmed by Kaizer Matanzima but is hoping he will be acceptable.

**Mr. Theo Moses**, member of the George Gogh Location Advisory Board, is to be the tribal ambassador of the Gcaleka.

**SECRETIVE COMMITTEE**  
The secretive little committee that is nominating these ambassadors for the tribes of the Transkei is being very furtive about its meetings, and does not rally more than eight carefully chosen men to its deliberations.

They are almost of them relatives of the reigning chiefs. They are hoping against hope that when they present themselves before their people their royal blood will auto-

matically confirm them in the jobs. The Pedis working for the extension of the Bantu Authority system in the towns will a little more open handed about it.

A meeting of about 100 people took place at the Zoo Lake at the instance of Mr. J. Marichane, whose brother is Chief of Marichane Village near Sekhukhuneland. The Chief had asked for three tribal representatives to be appointed. Mr. Marichane told the meeting.

The three names are to be submitted to the Native Commissioner of Marichane Village and to the Bantu Authority already working there, by November 20.

Mr. Marichane said the tribal representatives would work hand in hand with the Commissioner and the Bantu Authority of Marichane and would be "our spokesman and representative in all matters affecting our people in Johannesburg."

**"EVIL AIM"**  
A domestic worker in the crowd then had his say.

People in Johannesburg should not be a party to Bantu Authorities, he said. "People in the reserves are fighting viciously against Bantu Authorities and many have lost their lives. It would be a crime for us to help the Government succeed in its evil aim of dividing us into backward tribes."

"Why has the Government decided to approach us? Because Bantu Authorities cannot work without our co-operation."

"Yet our cattle in the reserves have been reduced and we were told we had agreed to this even though we were never asked."

"Bantu Education has been given to our children despite our protests. Let us not accept what in the end will be as fatal to us as the other laws passed by the Nationalist Government."

**"WHAT ABOUT PASS LAWS?"**  
Another member of the crowd took the cue. He asked Mr. Marichane "What will happen to the pass laws under the system of tribal ambassadors? Will Bantu Education be abolished and wages raised?" he asked.

Mr. Marichane said he did not know.

The speaker said they would accept a system which ended the pass laws and raised wages. The Zoo Lake meeting then resolved that Mr. Marichane should write back to the Chief and ask him to come to Johannesburg to explain what benefits the people would enjoy if he had already accepted Bantu Authorities, if he had done so for the benefit of his people or himself alone.

# PROGRESSIVES' VOTE PLANS

**JOHANNESBURG.**

HOW far will the Progressive Party's franchise policy eventually go? At its first conference, the party shelved the franchise question by referring it to a commission of so-called experts.

A year ago, at its first conference, the party shelved the franchise question by referring it to a commission of so-called experts. After brooding over the problem for many months, this commission, headed by Mr. Donald Molteno, has recommended that all Africans who have passed standard two and three, should be given the vote.

The trouble about this proposal is that the vast majority of Africans today are not kept at school long enough to pass standards two and three. It is estimated that under 20,000 pass standard four every year. So giving this number of Africans the vote when they reach the age of 18 some years later would not affect the fortunes of any political party and certainly not of the Nationalists.

It is thought here that the executive of the Progressive Party might even want to raise the educational vote qualification to standard six.

The question will have to be decided at the annual party conference in November.

### MINORITY REPORT

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, as a pillar of finance, sat on the commission. Together with Dr. Zae de Beer, who follows him faithfully, Mr. Oppenheimer has written a dissenting minority report on the franchise. It is believed to recommend that the education qualification be even higher than standard six, so as to keep down the number of Africans who might get on to the voters' roll.

The number who pass standard six every year is only about 15,000, or a little more than all the White voters in one urban constituency.

**INSIDE**

**TOURE NKRUMAH KHRUSHOV**

Speeches at U.N.O. —

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## NO HAPPINESS UNDER REPUBLIC

The Republic referendum campaign of the two White opposing groups is now over and the fate and destiny of 14,000,000 people has been decided by a paltry 850,000 White voters.

The Nationalist Party now claims in this vain-glorious victory to have obtained the will and the mandate of the people of South Africa, which included immature White youths and excluded some 11,000,000 non-White citizens.

Fifty years ago, at the time of the founding of Union, Britain too, did not consult the non-European people, but it handed over the country to a minority group.

The broadcast of the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, on Friday October 7 offers the unprecedented nothing new, nor any hope for their future.

Ignoring the plight and the daily struggle of the non-Whites, Dr. Verwoerd warned the Press that his Government would not allow the republic to be ruined by "sensational-mongering, incitement or the besmirching of our country's name or of its leaders."

This is a clear indication that non-White right to express their feelings and their grievances will be taken away under the new republic, and any opposition to the Nationalist Government will be termed "incitement."

The new republic, as envisaged by Dr. Verwoerd's Nationalist Party, cannot be "the ideal of generations and the choice of people," as long as non-White remain political pawns of the minority.

There will never be "a grand

## Children of Same Father

Are we Africans the children of the same Father with European parents, redeemed by the same blood of Christ, destined for the same heaven endowed with the same inalienable right as whites?

Under White Supremacy Africans are to be less educated, less healthier, less moral, less cultured, because decades of segregation have deprived them of opportunities to have proper education and standard of living.

NARBAATH NTHSUNTSHE Johannesburg.

future ahead" nor can South Africa achieve "happiness and progress" under the present racial policies.

The future of South Africa, under a Nationalist republic, will only be better, with the enemies all the world over, unless the non-White people of this country share what is also their birthright: TO RULE AND BE RULED, TO GOVERN AND BE GOVERNED.

STEVENS O' DWYER Johannesburg.

## He Saw Tanganyika Celebrations

I would like to write about happy occasion in this country, which will undoubtedly give inspiration to the struggling Black nation, a country of which I am proud to be an inhabitant, in its involuntary exile.

Recently Tanganyika celebrated its granting of responsible government. The occasion was marked by colourful ceremonies organised by T.A.N.U., the ruling party. Over 20,000 people in Mbeya alone celebrated T.A.N.U.'s victory. On his arrival at the Dar Es Salaam Airport from Nigeria, the Chief Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, said it was T.A.N.U.'s wish to gain full independence next year. Asked by reporters, what it is that Nigeria had which Tanganyika has not, he replied curtly, "independence", to the accompaniment of loud cries of "Uhuru na Kazi" (Freedom and Toil) from the large crowd of Africans who had come to welcome him.

Immediately I ceased to be part of the crowd. I was transported to distant South Africa. I saw Albert Lutuli on 26th June, 1961, performing a similar ceremony. I saw him flanked by Dama Nkomo and Oliver Tambo inspecting a guard of honour of Freedom volunteers in front of the Union Buildings Pretoria, taking the oath of allegiance in Parliament.

I saw the people of South Africa, black, white and brown celebrating their freedom from Nationalist tyranny.

Yours for freedom now or never, SANDHI HLEKANI Dar-Es-Salaam.

## "So Much For Racial Bliss"

Let me record some developments during one of the ugliest phases in the history of mankind for the enlightenment of the ruling junta and all other reactionary elements. To begin with, we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of Union.

Our Nationalist friends have somehow suddenly achieved the feat of giving sweet-sounding assurances of tranquility and not long afterwards we are having the pleasure of hearing mutually contradictory utterances.

Here are some choice morsels: No contentious matter should be discussed, in the Union Parliament during the festive year of 1960.

Not long after this assurance, an opening speech with political flavour was delivered from the Throne by the Union Governor-General, Mr. G. R. Swain who is supposed to be above party politics and to be merely a unifying factor.

Within a few shakes of a duck's tail a multiplicity of emergency regulations was rushed through the Union Parliament, giving the Minister of Defence, or any official of his department, arbitrary powers of arrest.

Thousands of democratically-minded people were picked up, thrown into detention cells under the emergency regulations and rusticated there for months on end without any charges being preferred against them.

The Union Prime Minister, Dr. F. H. Verwoerd, announced that the emergency would be lifted, but stipulated that it will be re-imposed just as quickly if people did not "behave themselves" during the referendum campaign.

During the early stages of the Sharpeville clash between the people and the police, Dr. de Wet, van der Byl Park M.P., told the Union Parliament that it was a matter of grave concern that only one person has been shot dead by the police.

A gloomy picture emerges from the pattern of events in Pondoland and in other areas where the people have become intelligent enough if not too intelligent, to discover that there is something fishy in the Government's "Promotion of Bantu Self-Rule" schemes. Yet B.A.D. Mafisa and Wet Nel is busy whistling in the dark and telling his pals that "race relations have never been better."

So much for the racial bliss promised by the Union Prime Minister, Dr. F. H. Verwoerd, in the year of 1960.

SIPHO P. KOTI Johannesburg.

## Time For Multi-Racial Government

Some of our old African folk who still believe in "old African customs" are deceiving themselves by saying that they cannot be regarded as a nation without such traditions. I strongly oppose their ideas and remind them that their beliefs are creating a bar between Africans and other people.

Then there are still those among our African brothers who bear useless old hatreds.

People should think of today, not of the past. If we can adopt one idea: "Africa for the Africans," which means anyone regardless of race, colour or creed born in this continent of Africa is an African, then we will definitely advance. But if we still have a spirit of saying that this one is an "African" and that one is "African," we shall be spreading hatred and misunderstanding ourselves.

The time is ripe for us to think of a government—multi-racial government, a government by men of all colours.

SABBATH P. MOKHOSI Leribe, Basutoland.

## EDITORIAL

## ENOUGH OF PIOUS PLATTITUDES!

EVER since the March events shook White South Africa out of its complacency, various white politicians and prominent individuals have, either singly or collectively, stressed the imperative need for "something to be done" to relieve the African people of the hideous and intolerable exploitation to which they are now subjected. Even a number of cabinet ministers have, although very fleetingly, touched on the same theme.

Latest addition to the "we must do something" school is the statement issued last week, signed by 68 very worried men. The signatories were mostly those of well-known Nationalist and United Party supporters, with a few "uncommitted" individuals thrown in.

As others have already pointed out, the statement is such that anyone could have signed it with a clear conscience, precisely because it contained nothing but a collection of pious platitudes. It would be surprising if the South African Trust, dispensing the same sort of soothing syrup abroad for the benefit of doubtful investors, did not have a hand in this particular bit of blarney.

The whole point of the present tense situation in South Africa is not that something must be done—everyone realises that—but what must be done and how soon.

If the 68 individuals—well-meaning or otherwise—really want to know what must be done, let them ask the African people. The answer will be clear and explicit:

- Abolish the Pass Laws!
- £1 a Day! More Land!
- Lift the Ban on our Organisations!
- Free our Leaders! Start immediate negotiations with them for the extension of true democracy for all in our land.

If they want to know how soon, the answer will be equally clear and explicit: NOW!

Whoever seeks to avoid these concrete issues is playing with words—and with fire. The African people are obviously not prepared to wait forever while fence-sitters humbly petition the Nationalist leopard to change its spots into some unspecified hue of another colour.

The African people are tired of words, words and more words. They get enough clap-trap from the de Wet Nels and the Hans Abrahams. They want to see action on the part of those who claim to be concerned with their welfare.

And whoever is really sincere in their desire to help the Africans must perform break decisively with the Nationalist and United Parties, neither of whose policies offer any hope whatsoever.

No one can blame the African people if, in answer to empty phrases, they reply with a parody of a well-known jingle:

While guns and batons break my bones,  
Kind words will never soothe me!

## WAS HE RESPONSIBLE?

Did the Government detain only Politicians like Modder Bee Gaol under the Emergency Regulations?—to answer this question, I'll narrate you the following story told to me—

A 26-year-old mine labourer, for his personal reasons decided to take his discharge and change to another mine. Because he hadn't enough money to travel to the place where he wished to get work, he went to his brother who was working at Parkview. When he arrived there his brother was still at work, so he went to the nearest shop to buy himself a packet of cigarettes. When going back to the flat he was stopped by the Police Van; two policemen came out of the van and demanded a pass.

He produced his discharge reference book. They asked him why he was not working, he told them he was changing for another job interesting to him, they asked him why he was there at this time of the day without Special pass. He did not answer and he was arrested.

He was kept in the cell at Park View Police Station (with four

others) for 3 days. On the 3rd day they were transferred to Modder Bee Gaol.

One day they were told their release was expected but would be released in groups of 140 per day. When his turn came they examined his pass and questioned him as follows:—

Where were you born?—"At Umkoma" he answered—"You have no right to be here in Johannesburg?"—"He did not answer—"Go back to Umkoma!"—"I have no money"—"See to it yourself!"—So he decided to go back to where he came from—Crown Mines.

My last question is: Was this man responsible for the troubles that rose to the declaration of the State of emergency? Why did the police not open a case through the prosecutor and commit him for trial?

I feel that he and others who have shared the same fate have been prejudiced and therefore the Government must compensate them.

L. L. B. TYUMBE Johannesburg.

## "Everybody" Includes You

WE have so many friends everywhere. Each day our post proves this—people write in to us. And each day our staff members are the only too willing to help New Age financially so that the paper can continue to come out.

The trouble is that we haven't the forces to visit all our friends regularly. And in some cases we are not able to mean to do so either, because our supporters are all over South Africa, some of them in very remote parts.

It is to these people that we address ourselves in particular. When next you write to us or renew your subscription, when next you visit your post office, when next you work out your budget—don't forget New Age. We explained last week that we have only a few weeks in

which to collect sufficient money to tide us over December and January. Only if everybody helps us can we be sure of doing this. And everybody includes YOU!

SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY!

Last Week's Donations:

Cape Town: Barney Desai (in memory of Lionel) £1, Anon £10, K. Davids £1, Egg £2, Band £1, Latke 10s., J.H.E. £1, Baw £1, Anon £11.16.6, Rubar £5, Joe £3, A.B. £3, L.W. 5s., M. £10, E. M. Binyon £5, P.W.B. 12s., Teeth £3.

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Johannesburg: Collections £55, Friend £5, Friend £6, Anonymous £2, Grand Total £148 18s. 6d.

# ANOTHER ATTACK ON AFRICAN EDUCATION

## Stiffer Test For Pupils

PORT ELIZABETH.

IN the October Journal of Bantu Education the B.A.D. sets out conditions under which Africans will be allowed to continue with secondary school education as from January, 1961. These are:

- Only pupils who have obtained an aggregate pass of 50% will be admitted to secondary schools;
- not only must a pupil obtain this aggregate, but, in addition, he must obtain a minimum pass of 40% in the following subjects: vernacular, an official language and arithmetic.

Commenting on this, a teacher told New Age that the purpose of the Nationalist Government in imposing these conditions was primarily to reduce to the barest minimum the number of Africans who could acquire a higher standard of education than the primary school. He said the Nationalists can only succeed in carrying out their indoctrination if less and less Africans read English.

Vernacular is now the medium of instruction in the Primary School, so that a boy or girl who has a Standard VI Certificate under present conditions is scarcely able to read and understand English intelligently. Such children would only be able to read vernacular and in that field the Nationalist Government hardly has any competitor.

It has, in fact, a virtual monopoly of the printing and publishing of all books in vernacular. Its pictorial magazines are designed to put across B.A.D. propaganda in a popular manner.

The Government runs B.A.D. journals in vernacular, with a liberal dash of Afrikaans and distributes these free of charge. For instance, *Bantoe and Inkebele*; and there is the *Uitlooi Bantoe* in which the Nationalists have a powerful propaganda medium.

### EFFECT OF LIMITATION

Asked to explain why it should be difficult to get a sufficiently big number of pupils to fulfil the conditions laid down, the teacher said: "The effect of these conditions will be that less than 20 per cent of those who write the Standard VI examinations will qualify to proceed to the Secondary Schools because:

### Another People's Leader Exiled

Recently the Nationalist Government has again exiled one of its opponents in the Cala District. He is Mr. Elexi Nkane, of Lower Cala. When five armed police were asked by his relatives where they were taking him to, they said he would be taken to British Bechuanaland—where exactly, nobody so far knows.

Another family is left without a breadwinner because the Nationalist Government cannot answer the legitimate grievances of the people. Force and banishment are the only solutions the Nationalists know.

● It is very difficult for the pupils to get a 40% pass in Arithmetic because it is taught in vernacular and the new terminology has not been mastered either by the teacher or the pupils. Further, such terminology is not used in everyday business dealings outside school.

● "Owing to the introduction of new terminology even the vernacular has become virtually foreign language, so that learning it has itself become as difficult as learning a new language. For example, the numerals have been renamed.

● "Both the official language more particularly English, is taught merely as a subject-like gardening, so that a pupil is only able to speak it during the period when it is taught.

● "Most of the teaching time is taken up preparing the pupils for festivals and out-of-door work such as manual labour.

● "Music competitions and physical drill have been given a position of exceptional importance in the school. In practice B.A.D. officials require the teachers to devote more time to the preparations for these activities than is provided for in the timetable.

● "In any case, what other group is required to learn so many languages? And what is worse, is called upon to obtain such a stiff minimum, though the official languages enjoy the same status on the timetable as languages such as Latin or Greek?"

● "Asked what he thought could be done to rectify matters, he said the parents should themselves take up these matters. The members of school boards and committees endorse everything required by the authorities.

## ABOLISH THE PASS LAWS

A most useful 78-page "Fact Paper" on the Pass Laws, compiled by Muriel Horrell, has been published by the Institute of Race Relations.

It contains details of the workings of the pass laws, quoting extensively from the various Acts of Parliament and giving examples of the hardships caused to African people by their operation. A summary is given of recommendations on the pass laws by commissions in the past, together with the views of opposition political parties and groups, including the African organisations themselves. An interesting section is devoted to the history of the anti-pass campaigns conducted by the Congress movement culminating in the events of March and April 1960 and the declaration of the state of emergency. The operation of the pass laws in Southern Rhodesia is discussed in another section.

Noting that the South African police have been instructed no longer to make arrests merely for non-possession of reference books providing satisfactory explanations or credentials are offered by the Africans concerned, Miss Horrell comments: "This instruction, one trusts, will considerably reduce the number of arrests of people who have erred only by forgetting to carry their reference books on their persons."

"But the various laws and regulations relating to influx control, the procedure to be followed by work-seekers and so on remain in force. Unless these are replaced or drastically amended, Africans are still likely to experience the type of hardships described above. Wives and husbands will still be separated, youths prevented from joining their parents, women who have been widowed ordered to leave the towns, men debarré from obtaining work for which they are qualified, and needy persons prevented from improving their earning capacity."

The fact paper, which costs 1s., is obtainable from all offices of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.



"We will not budge an inch. We will not be divided. The interests of the workers are one," said Mrs. Viola Haste, presiding over the recent conference of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. On the left is Mr. Don Mateman, a national official of SACTU.

## AUSTRALIAN BID TO BLOCK UNITY WITH S.A. WORKERS

### Sactu Conference Report

JOHANNESBURG.

THE Australian Government is preparing a law to make it a criminal offence for Australian workers to take action to stand by the workers of South Africa or any other country.

This attempt to stop Australian solidarity action in support of the boycott of South African goods was announced to the recent national conference of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions.

SACTU's report to its fifth conference records that "Australians workers have a proud and militant tradition and we know they will defeat this attempt... to divide and isolate them from the workers of other countries."

### SOLIDARITY ACTION

Yet another important solidarity action announced to the SACTU conference is the establishment by the World Federation of Trade Unions of an International Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of South Africa. This committee will operate from headquarters in Europe and will shortly announce its plans.

SACTU records the mountain of support received from trade union bodies in Scotland and Ireland, SOBSI in Indonesia, the All-India

Trade Union Congress, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Scandinavian Unions, the Vietnam and Korean councils, unions in Roumania, Cuba, Greece, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, France and Italy, the Latin American Confederation of Workers, the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and many individual unions in Britain.

It records also the support and publicity the ICFU has given the boycott. Says SACTU's report: "We know that this boycott has alarmed not only the Government, but employers' groups too, and this is one of the reasons why so many employers are talking in terms of 'concessions'."

## 4 S.A. Exiles Returned by Federation Police

JOHANNESBURG.

THE political police of three countries—Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the Union, seem to have acted in glove to arrest and return to a South African court four Africans who are charged with leaving here without passports.

Those who have been arrested are Mr. Christopher Yoke of Dorchester in Cape, formerly an N.A.D. clerk in Ladysmith; Mr. Goodwin Xabani, a school teacher from East London; his wife Mrs. Kay Xabani, a special worker who trained at the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social work, and Mr. Edward Kumalo who was a welfare officer at the Welkom Mines.

With Mrs. Xabani when she was arrested with her three year old daughter, Kuki, Kuki is in the care of Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie.

The four have been transferred from Johannesburg to Mafeking jail to await trial.

## Black And White In South African History

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(See bottom of back page for list of addresses)

# U.S. Writer Exposes The Big Lie—"BRAINWASHING"

ONE of the most malicious, evil hoaxes of modern times has been blown to shreds by a book recently published.

It is "Why They Collaborated," written by Eugene Kinkead who is an editor of the New Yorker magazine, and published by Longmans.

Kinkead, with the fullest official American co-operation, delves into the activities of American POWs in the Korean war and their captors, the Chinese and North Korean armies.

From Kinkead's revelations, made to him by top-level U.S.

official spokesmen whose names he gives, these indisputable facts emerge—

● If there is such a thing as "brainwashing," which officialdom doubts, IT WAS NEVER PRACTICED on American POWs.

● The U.S. army "has not found a single verifiable case in which they used it (physical force—RC) for the specific purpose of forcing a man to collaborate or accept their convictions."

● The verifiable cases of cruelty were those which it and well POWs practiced on their own highest and wounded—even to murder.

● POWs, mostly only semiliterate when captured, arrived back in the USA more than capable of arguing the merits of Communism with some of the best brains in the top army command.

● GI morale was shocking both in the lines and as POWs to fact that gives food for thought to those countries whom the USA has promised to "protect".

● PRINCIPAL reason for the POW debacle was obviously not use of force, but the exact reverse—use of friendship.

● "The Chinese to our great bewilderment would greet each captive with a smile, a cigarette and a handshake. This was a policy for which they were not prepared . . . they had expected to be shot . . ." said Colonel Willis Perry, who was one of General Trudeau's immediate aides.

● LIFE OF POW  
Perry outlined to Trudeau the general life of a POW.

● "The Communists did not want to kill our men. Ideally they wanted to turn them into evangelists. . . they could not obtain these results with beatings, torture and death. Besides defeating their own purpose in a long range war, it would have created a short range problem in prisoner control."

● From 6 to 9 p.m., the library was open. It was "well-stocked" with Tolstoy, Hugo, Dickens, Upton Sinclair, Eskine Caldwell and Steinbeck as well as Marxist literature.

● EDUCATION  
It is obvious from a later comment that far from indoctrinating or "brainwashing" the POWs, their captors were humanely giving them the education which their own country lamentably failed to give.

"The indoctrination process, unfortunately, was greatly helped by the ignorance of the captive GIs whose formal education on the average had ended with the ninth grade at school. Not only did the prisoners not know much about the history of Communism, they didn't know very much about that of the United States either," says Kinkead after a study of the reports on the POWs.

"Some of the POWs," he says, "had not gone beyond the fifth grade in our schools. But when they returned to the United States they had acquired a wealth of information about Marxism. They could recite entire pages from memory and they had studied the

theoretical writings of Lenin and Stalin until they could argue the merits of Communism and its superiority to democracy with some of the best educated of the specially trained Army interrogators.

NEVER USED  
Kinkead repeatedly attacks use of the term "brainwashing," using authoritative spokesmen to reject the theory that it was ever used.

His most prominent authority was Major Harry Segal, Chief of the Neuropsychiatric Consultation Service at the Walter Reed Army hospital, and who had headed the psychiatric teams which examined the POWs.

Segal says "brainwashing" was a severe measure requiring a complete personality change.

This would have been in direct contrast with the avowed "lenient" policy of the Chinese. Segal said and it could not have been used without arousing "resentment and rebellion."

FRATERNISATION  
Segal said that the fact "that their policy was highly successful in avoiding resentment is obvious from the extensive incidence of American prisoners' fraternisation with the Chinese enemy," a fraternisation "in marked contrast" to that toward the Japanese captives in the Second World War.

THE economic position of the Non-White worker is becoming desperate. Unable to meet the spiraling cost of living the mass of the Non-White working class is seething with discontent. Daily scores of workers in Durban are joining the ever-increasing army of unemployed.

The situation is so serious that the President of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Mr. Ken Firth, was forced to admit in the course of a speech delivered to the Natal, New Germany and District division of the Chamber last week, that unless South Africa found a solution to the main problem—poverty—within the next five years the internal and external pressures that would be brought to bear on the country would create such instability in the labour force that successful operation of industry would become impossible.

Speaking in a similar vein, Durban's Director of the municipal Bantu Administration Department, Mr. S. Bourquin, addressing the Natal Region of the National Development Foundation, last Thursday, referred to recent voluntary increases in wages by certain industries and the municipality. He said that despite these increases, 85 per cent of Durban's African men still earned less than £15 per month and only 16 per cent have an excess of income over the minimum estimated cost of living.

"In most cases, after the basic cost of living has been met, there is no money left to pay rents," he said.

In the meantime the South African Congress of Trade Unions, Durban Branch, has re-started its campaign demanding a national minimum wage of £1-a-day, which was interrupted when a State of Emergency was declared and most of Durban's trade unionists were imprisoned.

Several new trade unions have already been formed and two new full-time functionaries have been appointed.

Commenting on the statements made by Mr. Firth of the Chamber of Industries and Mr. Bourquin of the Bantu Administration Department, Mr. Billy Nair, local secretary of SACTU, in a statement to New Age said that the time has arrived when organised industry and commerce should not only talk about the evils that stem from the poverty of Non-White workers, but should act positively in the matter by bringing pressure on the Government to legislate for a minimum wage of £1-a-day.

"Pressure should also be brought to bear on the Government to legislate for the inclusion of African workers under the industrial laws of the country, so that they too, like other workers, could negotiate collectively with their employers," he added.



THE SWISA FUNERAL LEAVES ORLANDO. Large crowds gathered for the funeral service to Mr. Siwisa during the Emergency.



MOURNERS AT THE KAMANGA FUNERAL ALSO FLOCKED TO THE SWISA FUNERAL. Nyaaland Congress flags were held aloft when mourners from the Kamanga funeral joined the Swisa funeral. Both men were buried the same day.

# He Said: "Detainees were Beaten to Death" JO'BURG NEWSMAN ON TRIAL

MR. Dennis Kiley, a journalist on the staff of the Golden City Post, and a representative of the News Chronicle in London, is being charged with having sent false information about South African prisons to his paper in London.

The Crown alleges that one Kiley press telegram said three Africans had been beaten to death during the Emergency in the Voderder B prison, and another that three African political leaders had died in jail but their

relative had alleged that they had been 'beaten to death by the police.'

The three men alleged to have been beaten to death are:

- the chairman of the South West Region of the former Pan Africanist movement, Mr. George Siwisa;
- the President of the South African branch of the Nyaaland African National Congress, Mr. Kamanga;
- Mr. Nicholas Mathope, said to have been a supporter of the African Na-

tional Congress before it was banned.

One of the cables to the Chronicle also said that two young African detainees were among a group of prisoners in Modder B who saw Africans being beaten up for refusing to do hard labour.

We publish here pictures of some of the personalities involved in the trial which was adjourned to November 2.



Mr. Nicholas Mathope, one of the three men who died in Modder B jail. A police sergeant of Sterkfontein mortuary said at the trial that he had washed the body because he had been told Mr. Mathope was an ANC member.

BODY OF AFRICANIST LEADER TO BE EXHUMED—FOR THE SECOND TIME. This picture of Mr. George Siwisa was taken shortly before his detention under the Emergency, and his death. The exhumation of Mr. Siwisa's body, ordered by the court sitting in the Kiley case, will make this the second exhumation. The first was when the body was buried in a cemetery near the Modder B prison, and later removed by the family for a funeral and re-burial at Nancefield cemetery.

## WIDOW LOSES ALL

JOHANNESBURG.  
THERE is a pathetic sequel to the tragic death in Modder B prison of John Kamanga, president of the Nyaaland African National Congress (now the Mawali Congress Party) in the Transvaal.

When Mr. Kamanga was detained during the Emergency he fell into arrears with his rent on his Orlando West house. At the time of his death in prison the arrears amounted to £38 12s. 6d. The house has since been relet. All the Kamanga furniture and possessions have been moved to the office of the Superintendent, who is holding them in lieu of rent. The furniture will be put up for auction if the rent is not paid within the stipulated six-month period.

Mr. Kamanga's widow and three children, the eldest aged nine, are now living in Nyaaland.

# SWAZILAND RAIL PLAN BLOW TO VERWOERD

## ... But What Will Swazis Gain?

LONDON.  
IN deciding to link Swaziland by rail not with the Union but with Mozambique, the British Government has dealt the Verwoerd Government a hard blow.

For years the Nationalists have hoped to get a grip on Swaziland by taking charge of its first railway as part of the eastern Transvaal system. That hope has now been dashed by the contract under which the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa will sell £2 million worth of iron ore to Japan, exporting it through Lourenco Marques.

This contract means that the Corporation now wants the railway line so badly that it is ready to help pay a large part of the cost, which will run to £10 million.

The railway line will also serve Couatuzulu lumber mill and the pulp

factory designed to produce newsprint and paper.

BUT WHAT WILL THE SWAZIS GET OUT OF THIS NEW EXPLOITATION OF THE RICH RESOURCES OF THEIR COUNTRY?

Paramount Chief Sobhuza is asking for a Legislative Council on the lines of the one recently promised Bechuanaland where Africans and Europeans will each occupy half the number of seats. Though an advance on the present position, such a LEGCO will be merely an advisory body. Also the danger is that by the time such a council opens in Mbabane, perhaps in 1962, vital decisions affecting the future of Swaziland will already have been signed and sealed.

COLOUR-BAR QUESTION  
Sobhuza is not represented in the current negotiations here in London. Consequently, no claim has yet been made, on behalf of the Swazis, for a full share in the profitable enterprise now taking shape.

Nor has the question of the colour bar been faced. With the new railway which will run across Swaziland lands to be run by white-skilled jobs reserved for Europeans? Will the pulp factory be allowed to bring hundreds of Europeans into the Protectorate?

Sobhuza recently expressed his anxiety about white immigration. But the small stream in the past few years will grow into a roaring torrent in the next few years when railway-building, mining and paper manufacture get under way.

When a British Commission surveyed the Territory's economic possibilities last year, they were warned that Swazi opinion would insist on the opening of full opportunities to Africans in new industries and on technical training to make this possible.

But who will protect the Protectorate from greedy investors putting private profits before human needs?

## Africans to Pay For Bantu Authorities

THE Government's plans to make the Africans pay out of their own pockets for Bantu Authorities are shown in proclamations published in the Government Gazette from time to time.

For instance, in the Gazette issued on the 14th of this month, several tribes through their chiefs "voluntarily made application" for the levy of a special rate in order to collect funds to pay for the functioning of the Tribal Authorities.

The Minister of Bantu Administration then imposed taxes on all Tax paying members of the tribes concerned.

● Every tax paying member of the Jobe tribe under Chief M. Manukuzi is required to pay 5/- a year for the years 1961 to 1965;

● The Imimbini tribesmen under Chief Percy Flynn in the Port Shepstone District must pay 10/- a year from 1961 to 1965;

● The Bataub-Nchabeleng in Sekukhuneland must pay £2 for this year;

● The people of the Baroka-Ba Nkwane under Chief Potlake Pasha, also in Sekukhuneland, must pay £2.3s. this year.

## NATAL READERS PLEASE NOTE

The address and Telephone Number of:  
NEW AGE DURBAN  
are now:

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118, GREY STREET,  
Telephone: 68897

## Natal Memo

DURBAN.  
In a memorandum demanding increases in wages and improved working conditions and also dealing with the burning question of unfair dismissals the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union Natal Branch states that positive steps must be taken by the Railway Administration to alleviate the suffering and hardship of the Non-White Railway workers and demands the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the complaints of the workers.

The memorandum which has been sent to the Minister of Railways, Mr. Ben Schoeman, suggests that the Minister meets a deputation of Railway workers if he feels that a Commission cannot be appointed.

In the meantime the union has staged an organisational campaign. The Chairman of the union told New Age that organisers are now planning a drive for membership throughout the length and breadth of NATAL.

"Our aim is to build a strong and united trade union and to force the authorities to meet our fair and just demands," adds the statement.

The director of markets recommended that the area be closed for the holding of public meetings.

CAPE TOWN.  
According to the Director of Markets, open-air religious meetings usually held on the Grand Parade during the lunch hour should be banned.

In a memorandum submitted to the City Council recently the Director, Mr. P. J. Venter, said that numerous complaints had been received from stall holders, herb-sellers and the owner of a cigarette kiosk at the Castle Street and Plein Street corner of the Parade.



official spokesmen whose names he gives, these indisputable facts emerge—

● If there is such a thing as "brainwashing," which officialdom doubts, IT WAS NEVER PRACTICED on American POWs.

● The U.S. army "has not found a single verifiable case in which they used it (physical force—RC) for the specific purpose of forcing a man to collaborate or accept their convictions."

● The verifiable cases of cruelty were those which it and well POWs practiced on their own highest and wounded—even to murder.

● POWs, mostly only semiliterate when captured, arrived back in the USA more than capable of arguing the merits of Communism with some of the best brains in the top army command.

● GI morale was shocking both in the lines and as POWs to fact that gives food for thought to those countries whom the USA has promised to "protect".

● PRINCIPAL reason for the POW debacle was obviously not use of force, but the exact reverse—use of friendship.

● "The Chinese to our great bewilderment would greet each captive with a smile, a cigarette and a handshake. This was a policy for which they were not prepared . . . they had expected to be shot . . ." said Colonel Willis Perry, who was one of General Trudeau's immediate aides.

● LIFE OF POW  
Perry outlined to Trudeau the general life of a POW.

● "The Communists did not want to kill our men. Ideally they wanted to turn them into evangelists. . . they could not obtain these results with beatings, torture and death. Besides defeating their own purpose in a long range war, it would have created a short range problem in prisoner control."

● From 6 to 9 p.m., the library was open. It was "well-stocked" with Tolstoy, Hugo, Dickens, Upton Sinclair, Eskine Caldwell and Steinbeck as well as Marxist literature.

● EDUCATION  
It is obvious from a later comment that far from indoctrinating or "brainwashing" the POWs, their captors were humanely giving them the education which their own country lamentably failed to give.

"The indoctrination process, unfortunately, was greatly helped by the ignorance of the captive GIs whose formal education on the average had ended with the ninth grade at school. Not only did the prisoners not know much about the history of Communism, they didn't know very much about that of the United States either," says Kinkead after a study of the reports on the POWs.

"Some of the POWs," he says, "had not gone beyond the fifth grade in our schools. But when they returned to the United States they had acquired a wealth of information about Marxism. They could recite entire pages from memory and they had studied the

theoretical writings of Lenin and Stalin until they could argue the merits of Communism and its superiority to democracy with some of the best educated of the specially trained Army interrogators.

### A REVIEW BY REX CHIPLIN



MAJOR Clarence Anderson, a doctor who was himself a POW told Kinkead that the worst "illness" in the camps was "give-up-itis" whereby men lost the will to live. They just lay down and died.

"On marches back from the lines," Anderson said, "casualties on litters were often callously abandoned by the side of the road. The able-bodied doctors carry them even when their officers commanded them to do so. If a Communist guard ordered the litter shouldered the men obeyed, otherwise the wounded were left alone to die.

"And when he was captured the average GI 'felt helpless without a bottle of pills and a toilet that flushed.'"

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## S.W.A. LEADER SPEAKS FROM CHINA

Will Address UNO Next Week

**A**FRICAN listeners to Radio Peking last month heard Mr. Jariwetunda Kozoguzi, President of the South West African National Union, broadcasting to this continent from People's China while on a visit there.

In his broadcast Mr. Kozoguzi:

- denounced the United States as the leader of world imperialism;

- urged the African peoples, particularly the independent States, to come closer to the people of China,

- called for the unity of the



Mr. Kozoguzi—"liberation soon" people of Africa, Asia and Latin-America.

Chief Hosesa Kutako and the Osamboand National Union "disassociated" themselves from the opinions expressed by Mr. Kozoguzi in China.

In a statement to New Age, Mr. Kozoguzi, however said, "My statements were made in my capacity as President of SWANU and as an executive member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. My position will be made clear when I address the United Nations Fourth Committee during the first week in November, when I will put the case for SWANU."

While in Peking, Mr. Kozoguzi was also interviewed by Chinese and other foreign journalists.

### PRESS CONFERENCE

Speaking at this press conference he said that there were good prospects for the national liberation movement of the peoples of various countries in Africa.

"No doubt the entire African continent will soon be liberated", he added. However, he pointed out, people must keep vigilance against U.S. imperialism which, under the cloak of "aid" would conduct aggression through economic plunder against the new politically independent countries in Africa, to perpetuate the bondage of the African people.

"We oppose neo-imperialism. We must locate the real enemy and must fight relentlessly against the aggressors. All the anti-imperialist forces, not limited only to Africa but throughout the world, should unite to oppose aggression".

Mr. Kozoguzi denounced the imperialist countries including U.S., Britain and France which had consistently supported in the United Nations the Union of S.A. in preventing the people of South West Africa from obtaining independence and freedom. He said that the U.S., Britain and other countries glibly said that they were the greatest champions of human rights and freedom.

### CORE OF IMPERIALISM

But he had visited these countries and found out that it was none other than the governments of these countries which were the core of imperialism. They had all long supported the Union of South Africa in blocking independence for South West Africa so as to protect their investments and economic interests there.

Mr. Kozoguzi said that after visiting China he was deeply convinced that China loved peace and would not invade any country. He held that the Chinese people were engaged in great efforts to develop production, and without peace they could not succeed.

He said that he had seen in China everything he wanted and went anywhere he liked.



New Age seller Andries Chamille—popularly known as "General China" and one of the original batch of treason traitors—has charged a railway policeman with assault. He alleges that he was hit across the head with a baton near Westbury station. This was after the policeman had pulled a copy of New Age from the bundle carried by Chamille and announced that he was against the paper.

## Nkoana and Others to Serve Half Their Sentence

JOHANNESBURG.

**T**HE appeal of Matthew Nkoana and 146 others convicted in the Bantu Commissioner's Court, Fordburg, in March was heard before Mr. Justice P. Gillies and Mr. Justice Snyman in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, last week.

This was the first appeal to be heard of those convicted of offences arising out of the March demonstrations.

Half the sentences were suspended for three years, on the grounds that there was a disparity between the sentences passed on the leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress, who started the anti-pass campaign and those who handed themselves over at the police station.

Arguing for the accused, the defence counsel said that the court below did not take into account the ages of the accused. It was argued that the reference book was a hardship to the African people, and that the accused were incited into taking this action by the Pan Africanist Congress.

## Govt. will try to Prevent Claims by Detainees

Minister of Justice, Erasmus, announced that legislation would be introduced at the next session of Parliament to prevent victims of police action during the March demonstrations and the state of emergency from instituting legal proceedings against the Government. The Government is at the moment faced with claims running into hundreds of thousands of pounds from men and women of all races held in jails throughout the country during the emergency.

The first claims range from demands for about £3,000 to about £7,000. If all ex-detainees claim, the total demanded from the Government could run into millions!

The detainees allege that the warrants issued in mid-May for their detention under the Emergency Regulations were invalid and that their continued detention was therefore unlawful.

## UP MY ALLEY

**M**Y eagle-eyed scouts tell me that biggies of the TISA did some fast evacuating of somebody's newly-built abode in Sunlands, Cape Peninsula, where they had gathered for an executive pow-wow during the state of emergency.

A van pulled up outside and a "hier-kom-die-bere" alarm was raised by somebody. Result: stampepe for the windows and the tall timber beyond.

One or two, I hear, found clambering through windows too undignified and preferred to go down standing.

● It turned out the van belonged to somebody delivering groceries.

**S**AID somebody over the telephone to yours truly the other p.m.: "The word 'Kaffir' has been ordered from the policeman's vocabulary, pleas have been made not to refer to Coloureds as 'hot-nots'. Will you please tell people not to call me a 'wit rot'?"

**W**OE to us radio listeners! A man called Parnes who had something to do with the origin of rock 'n' roll has just said that the successor to this noise will be rock 'n' trad, a mixture of rock and traditional jazz.

● I'm going to buy a pair of ear-muffs.

**S**POTLIGHT of the U.S. from the magazine "The Progressive": During the decade of the Fifties, Americans spent three times as much money on advertis-

ing as they did on higher education. As a result, every American knows today he can get a television set for his rumpus room, but few can be certain, even if they have the money, that they can get a college education for their son or daughter.

**W**HICH also reminds me of the story that Presidential candidate Nixon attended the

By ALEX LA GUMA



Ghana independence celebrations and walked up to a dark man in the crowd, took him by the hand and grinned: "Well, how does it feel to be free?"

● Reply: "I don't know nothing about freedom. I come from Alabama."

**A**CCORDING to reported legal opinion on the Group Areas Act, standing in premises does not imply occupancy.

● It looks as if restaurants hoping to keep their mixed patronage might have to put up a sign: **WHITES ADMITTED. STANDING ROOM ONLY.**



"It's the Minister's footprint, Madam, but he's bringing in a bill next session making it legal."

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# TOURE, KHRUSHOV, NKRUMAH SAY— END TO COLONIALISM!

THE 15th SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN NEW YORK SAW A GATHERING OF THE WORLD'S LEADERS AND STATESMEN. NEW AGE THIS WEEK PUBLISHES EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES MADE TO THE ASSEMBLY BY PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE OF GUINEA, PRIME MINISTER KWAME NKRUMAH OF GHANA, AND MR. KHRUSHOV OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE COMMON THEME OF THEIR SPEECHES WAS—FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE COLONIAL PEOPLES.

## Sekou Toure:

INDEPENDENCE for all colonial people was demanded in a strongly applauded speech at the United Nations General Assembly by President Sekou Toure of Guinea.

The process of evolution of subject peoples laid down in the United Nations own charter was

often conveniently "overlooked" by those who sought to maintain domination over certain parts of Africa, he said.

The practice of exploiting these subject peoples was being carried out without morality. "Until these false ideas of racial inequality are put aside it will be impossible to solve fundamental issues like peace and stability in the world."

**NO INFERIOR PEOPLES**

"There are no inferior peoples. No one has the right to say to another people they have the ideal of liberty. With equal force we condemn domination . . . by those who believe that the fate of colonial peoples must depend on their charity," Mr. Toure said.

That concept was "a main source of conflict in Africa." He added: "The proclamation of independence of all colonized peoples is the answer to this essential concern voiced by the charter of the United Nations."

**NOT PUPPETS**

The new African U.N. members could not accept the "puppet role" being foisted upon them by some. The imperialists must give up their privileges.

Mr. Toure tabled a resolution calling for the immediate seating of delegates of the central Government of the Congo.

comes to be revised, a permanent seat should be created for Africa on the Security Council in view not only of the growing number of African members of the United

Nations, but also of the increasing importance of the African continent in world affairs. This suggestion applies equally to Asia and to the Middle East.

question now is only whether the funeral of the colonial regime is to be peaceful or to be accompanied by dangerous adventures by those of its supporters who resort to extreme means. The events in the Congo are a fresh reminder of the existing dangers.

## Khrushov:

**MESSEURS** delegates, the emancipation and revival of independent life among peoples which for centuries have been kept off the highways of mankind's development by the colonialists is taking place for all to see—is the great sign of our epoch. In 15 years alone about 1,000 million people—that is, half the population of the earth—have cast off the chains of colonial oppression. Dozens of new states have been formed on the debris of old colonial empires.

Our age is the age of the struggle for freedom, an age in which the peoples are casting off the alien yoke. The peoples desire to live in dignity and they are fighting for that sort of a life.

The peoples of the new States have proved convincingly that they are not only able to do without the control and guardianship of the colonial powers, that they are not only able to administer themselves, but that they are also active builders of a new life, and incomparably more rational administrators and frugal masters of their wealth, of the riches of their countries, than the colonial authorities.

can continent and of other continents; possess tremendous, diverse and to a considerable degree unexplored riches. They could be made to serve the peoples of those countries and, consequently, to serve all mankind.

The colonial system deliberately and artificially perpetuates the economic backwardness of the colonies and obstructs their industrialization and the rational utilization of the available resources. This results in an unparalleled waste of public wealth, a tremendous waste of labour, in the preponderance of a single-crop economy in the colonial countries adapted to the selfish requirements of the metropolitan countries.

An end must be put to colonialism, and not only because it brings disaster and suffering upon the peoples of the enslaved countries. It brings disaster and suffering,



tears and privations also upon the people of the metropolitan countries. Who will say that French mothers, whose children are dying in the fields of Algeria, suffer less than Algerian mothers who are burying their sons in their native soil?

The Soviet Union, true to its policy of peace and support for the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national independence, calls upon the United Nations to raise its voice in defence of the just cause of the liberation of the colonies and to make immediate measures completely to abolish the regime of colonial administration.

The demand for the complete and final abolition of the colonial regime in every form and manifestation stems from the entire course of world history over the last few decades. This regime is doomed, and its downfall is only a matter of time. In practice, the

We welcome the sacred struggle of the colonial peoples against the colonialists and for their liberation. If the Colonial powers do not heed the voice of reason, and continue their former colonial policy of keeping the colonial nations in submission, people who want the colonial regime abolished should give the utmost support to those fighting against the colonialists, against colonial slavery.

People who oppress other peoples cannot themselves be free. Every free people should help nations still oppressed to win their freedom and independence.

It is imperative to stamp out colonialism once and for all, and throw it into the dustbin of history.

Who else but the United Nations should advocate the ending of the Colonial regime of administration if, in conformity with the Charter, it is the duty of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in human right, in the dignity and value of the human personality, in the equal right of nations, large and small?

Isn't it time to go over to the last victorious offensive against colonialism, just as civilized mankind a century to a century-and-a-half ago took the offensive against the slave trade and slavery and buried them, thus opening to the broadest scope not only the political but also the economic development of society?

The Soviet Government considers that the time has come to pose the question of full and final abolition of colonial rule in every shape and form, so as to put an end to this disgrace, this barbarism and savagery.

## Laos Explosive

A VIOLENT struggle is being conducted in the East Asian Kingdom of Laos. After a neutralist government had ousted the pro-American dictatorship of Laos two months ago, right-wing army men (aided by the right-wing government of neighbouring Thailand) tried to stage a counter-coup. After meeting with some initial success, the right-wing were outmanoeuvred by a left-wing and neutralist alliance.

U.S. warships cruise ominously in the South China sea off the shores of Laos—there is a serious risk of American intervention to restore the previous corrupt and reactionary regime in the country.

According to the London Times, the British government favours a neutralist government in Laos, but the Americans are adamant in insisting that a completely pro-U.S. government be installed.

The situation remains explosive.

## Nkrumah:

THE great tide of history flows and as it flows it carries to the shores of reality the stubborn facts of life and man's relations, one with another. One cardinal fact of our time is the momentous impact of Africa's awakening upon the modern world.

The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial powers to make a just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent.

But Africa does not seek vengeance. It is against her very nature to harbour malice. Over 200 millions of our people cry out with one voice of tremendous power—and what do we say? We do not ask for death for our oppressors; we do not pronounce wishes of ill-fate for our slave-masters; we make an assertion of a just and positive demand.

Our voice booms across the oceans and mountains, over the hills and valleys, in the desert places and through the vast expanse of mankind's habitation, and it calls out for the freedom of Africa. Africa wants her freedom. Africa must be free. It is a simple call, but it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would tend to ignore it.

I look upon the United Nations as the only organization that holds out any hope for the future of mankind. Mr. President, distinguished delegates, cast your eyes across Africa. The colonialists and imperialists are still there. In this twentieth century of enlightenment, some nations still extol the vain glories of colonialism and imperialism.



In my view, possession of colonies is now quite incompatible with membership of the United Nations. This is a new day in Africa, and as I speak now, thirteen new African nations have taken their seats this year in this august assembly as independent sovereign States.

The readiness of any people to assume responsibility for governing themselves can be determined only by themselves. I and the Government of Ghana, and I am sure the Governments and peoples of independent African States, share the joy of welcoming our sister States into the family of the United Nations. There are now twenty-two of us in this Assembly and there are yet more to come.

**PERMANENT SEAT**

I would suggest that when the Charter of the United Nations

The peoples of the colonial countries are not only denied the right to independence and self-government, but their national and human feelings and dignity are insulted and trampled upon at every step. Ruthlessly exploiting and plundering the colonies, the foreign monopolies are draining them of all their assets, barbarously robbing them of their wealth.

As a result of colonial rule the economy of the colonies is extremely backward, and their working population drags out a miserable existence. It is in the colonies that we see the longest working hours, coupled with the lowest national income, the lowest wages, the lowest expectation of life, and the highest death rate.

Indeed the main aim of the colonial system is to make tremendous profits for the great foreign monopolies which have captured the key economic positions in the colonies and to drain their wealth of their riches and assets by any and every means. Therefore the entire economy of the colonies is an economy of exploitation. Being subordinated primarily to the narrow interests and requirements of the market of certain more fully developed industrial countries, that economy develops slowly in a malformed, lopsided direction.

It has been scientifically proven that all the scientific efforts of the Af-

