



Picketing demonstration in front of the South African Consulate, 5th Ave. and 42nd St., New York, on Nov. 21, organized by the Council on African Affairs. The more than 200 participants included representatives of 30 trade union, civic, and church organizations. Signs denounced annexation aim of Smuts and racial oppression in South Africa; urged U. N. action to end discrimination and colonialism.

on the part of the inhabitants for assuming the full government of their country."

It is to be noted, further, that the draft agreements, in dealing with such matters as the social and political advancement of the people and their rights, contain various "escape" phrases which serve to negate the positive features of the agreements.

Such loopholes as the following occur again and again: "as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the territory and its peoples;" there will be no transfer of native land or resources "save with the previous consent of the competent public authority;" there will be freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of petition "subject only to the requirements of public order" (as determined by the mandatory power, of course).

Among significant omissions in the draft agreements is the failure to mention such matters as the right of trade union organization and the prohibition of forced labor. And while there is the pledge of non-discrimination against members or nationals of the United Nations in social, economic or commercial matters, not a word is said about outlawing the color discrimination practiced against the native colonial inhabitants.

#### International Control or Unilateral Action?

The trusteeship provisions of the Charter, despite their shortcomings, were intended to promote the advancement of colonial peoples toward self-government. It cannot be denied that this was the real intent of at least the majority of the delegates who affixed their names to the Charter. But the draft agreements reveal the colonial powers moving in the di-

rection of increased *national* control over their trust territories, leading ultimately to outright annexation.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Novikov, remarked that: "This tendency is, for instance, specifically embodied in these articles of the draft agreements which invest the trustee state with full legislative, administrative and judicial authority and in certain cases go even further than the terms of the League of Nations mandates for the corresponding territories."

Strenuous efforts have been and are being made by several of the delegates to counteract this tendency toward increased national control of the colonies. One valuable and important suggestion, advanced by the Indian delegation, was that the United Nations itself assume the responsibility of administering trust territories throughout the world, naming individual powers simply as the administrative agents of the U.N. This suggestion was strongly opposed by all the mandatory powers, with the United States delegate leading the opposition.

#### Where Does The Blame Lie?

As the current meeting of the General Assembly draws to its close, there is increasing pessimism expressed in some quarters regarding the net result of the deliberations on trusteeship. The pessimism is especially voiced by those delegates, some Americans among them, who had expected the Assembly to give a quick rubber-stamp approval to the draft agreements as drawn up.

It will indeed be a most serious blow to the cause of peace and world security and to the prestige of the United Nations, particularly in the eyes of millions of colonial peoples, if trusteeship still remains merely a promise on paper when

the delegates adjourn in December. But even more serious damage would result, we believe, from hasty action in approving weak trusteeship agreements which would make it absolutely impossible for the United Nations to carry forward the pledges made on behalf of colonial peoples.

Already we can see the United States, Britain and other imperialist powers pointing an accusing finger at the Soviet Union, India and other anti-imperialist states because of their endeavor to establish the trusteeship system on a firm foundation. The accusers say, "You are causing delay and preventing the establishment of a Trusteeship Council."

The fact of the matter is that the shoe is on the other foot. It is the prospective trusteeship powers, including the United States, who are causing this delay by saying, in effect, to the other states, "You will either agree to our terms or we won't play ball and there won't be any Trusteeship Council at all!"

These prospective trustees have barred the way to a functioning trusteeship system by their slowness and procrastination in bringing forward their draft agreements, by their narrow and selfish outlook in drawing up the terms of these agreements, and by their refusal to modify the terms of their contracts in the interest of the larger need of mutual trust among all races and nations and the welfare, progress and freedom of all peoples.

These powers seek to reserve for themselves the last word of authority over the colonial peoples and territories under their charge, and to convert the Trusteeship Council into a mere holding company. They seek to have any questions in dispute referred to the International Court of Justice (where they can be assured favorable decisions) instead of being settled by the Council or by the General Assembly.

The colonial powers must not be permitted to succeed in their schemes. Strong public pressure must be exerted upon our State Department and the American delegation—and the same with the British—in order to prevent the United Nations ship from being wrecked on the rocks of imperialist greed and national selfishness.

Have you subscribed to New AFRICA?

And what about subscriptions for your friends so they, too, can read it regularly?

Just \$1.00 for 12 monthly issues.

Kindly make check payable to:

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street

New York 10, N. Y.

W. A. HUNTON, Editor

# The Question of Colonial Military Bases — Are We Preparing for Peace or War?

Besides providing for the establishment of military, naval, and air bases, manned by foreign as well as locally recruited troops, in trusteeship territories, the draft agreements as submitted reserve the right of the trustee power at any future date to designate all or part of the trusteeship territory as a "strategic area."

Should this be done, jurisdiction would come under the Security Council rather than the General Assembly, and in that case, Britain or France by using its veto power could take unilateral action just as the United States has threatened to do. That road leads straight to international dissension and disaster!

The first and obvious question regarding such military installations is: What will be their effect upon the colonial peoples in the areas concerned? Is there not the likelihood that they will be used as they have been used in the past to repress the struggles of subject peoples to achieve independence? History has taught that military rule must necessarily be tyrannical; it is idle to talk about protection of colonial peoples against military exploitation where such rule exists.

Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, spoke very frankly on this question to the General Assembly. "India is concerned," she said, "about the use of armed power of member states for purposes other than preventing aggression on behalf of the United Nations.

"The use of troops against the national aspirations of people, for the protection of imperial vested interests, and virtually as armies of occupation threatening both weaker peoples and the world peace as a whole, calls for unreserved condemnation by the United Nations—and for the demand that all such troops shall be withdrawn."

## Will Bases Save Empires?

It has been announced that the British government will spend \$80,000,000 on the building and reconditioning of air bases in South East Asia. Similar sums no doubt will be spent on the fortifications planned in the West and East African colonies belonging to Britain.

Apparently the rulers of the British Empire have learned nothing from what happened to Hong Kong, Singapore and other "impregnable" strongholds upon which Great Britain relied in the last war. They still persist in placing their trust in guns instead of in the good will of the peoples in and near these far-flung bases.

The millions of dollars spent on guns and planes and bases cannot be spent again for the education, health and advancement of colonial peoples. In making its choice, the British government has shown the bankruptcy of its colonial program.

## Africa—A Center of Military Strategy

The draft agreements for Britain's mandate territories in Africa dovetail neatly with the recently disclosed elaborate schemes for the establishment of an east-west British military defense belt across the continent of Africa. These plans call for an elaborate system of military installations extending 3,000 miles from Takoradi, Gold Coast, on the Atlantic Ocean, across to Mombasa, Kenya, on the Indian Ocean.

The purpose of this new military zone is to supplement and reinforce the former "empire life-line" extending across the Mediterranean from Gibraltar through Palestine and the Middle East countries to Egypt and the Suez Canal.

A forecast of these developments was given earlier this year by Lord Tweedsmuir who remarked that "in Mombasa and Freetown [Sierra Leone] we have two great Imperial bases . . . Given time and patience we can build up a first class African army. Who pays does not matter; at all costs the War Office must command and control it."

From other sources we learn that the control and administration of military forces in British East Africa is being transferred from the hands of the Colonial Office to the War Office and that, as a start at least, two or three divisions of white British troops are to be stationed permanently in East Africa.

We learn also of plans for the building of a great naval base at Durban on the East coast of South Africa and another at Walvis Bay on the West coast—assuming that the Union of South Africa succeeds in getting permanent control of South West Africa.

It will also be recalled that the United States is spending a big sum for the modernization of the harbor at Monrovia, Liberia, that American troops are still stationed in that Negro republic, and that permanent U.S. air, naval and military bases are to be established there. No doubt there is full understanding on these matters between the British War Office and the American military command. But what if the U.S.S.R. were to demand similar bases in Africa?

## What Is Behind These Plans?

A glance at a map will indicate to anyone the proximity of the proposed African military zone to the U.S.S.R. *Time* magazine, November 4, 1946, in an article on Britain's military plans in Africa, points out that from the Central African bastion "the British would be able to slam the gates of Suez on any aggressor. They could rake an enemy in the Persian oilfields with rockets launched in Kenya or Khartoum. No threat [?] to a peaceful Soviet Union, the African girdle might be a potent barrier to Russian expansion across the Middle East toward India."

Is it any wonder that the Soviet delegation to the U.N. has raised the question of troop placements in friendly countries and is insisting that provisions for military bases and armed forces in trusteeship territories should have the specific approval of the Security Council of the United Nations?

If the United Nations is to be, as it is intended to be, an agency for the maintenance of international peace and security, it must take immediate and effective steps to plan for international measures of defense as a substitute for national and imperialist schemes of military power.

## A UNITED NATIONS PROGRAM FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM

- Immediate and complete rejection of the request for annexation of South West Africa, and the placing of that territory under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council.
- Follow up action on discrimination against Indians in South Africa by full investigation and exposure of ALL racial discrimination in that country, as well as in other African territories.
- Priority of the interests of the Africans concerned to be recognized IN FACT, and not merely in theory, in all trusteeship arrangements, and limitation of trusteeships to a specified length of time.
- African colonies of Spain and Portugal to be brought under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council.
- Maximum use of the powers of the Social and Economic Council and its agencies to hasten improvement of the Africans' existence.
- Definite plans for insuring political democracy for all Africans and for their achievement of self-government and self-determination.
- A voice for African colonial peoples in the United Nations.

## CREECH JONES, NEW COLONIAL SECRETARY, OBEDIENTLY FOLLOWING TORY POLICY

In a re-shuffle of cabinet posts in the British Labor Government, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, former Under Secretary of State for Colonies, has been promoted to Chief Colonial Secretary. No objections apparently have been raised by Churchill's followers and friends to this appointment of one who formerly, as Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, was an outstanding critic of British colonial policy and was regarded as a good friend by African subjects under British rule.

The times have changed, and so has Mr. Creech Jones. *East Africa and Rhodesia*, which speaks for the white settlers in Africa, comments on this change in his outlook, calling it "a tribute to his widening knowledge and undiminished sincerity."

In 1943 this official said, speaking of Kenya, "My [labor] party always opposed the White Highlands policy and the eviction from these lands of the Africans . . . we do not countenance it, even at the present time."

But this year on his visit to Kenya, the same gentleman said, "Although we stand in a position of special responsibility to the African, at the same time we are vitally interested in the success of British settlement here, and believe it should be made permanent. We believe the utmost facilities for its proper growth should be made available."

And to the European employers of Africans in Kenya, Mr. Jones said, "I quite appreciate that one of the problems is to get the African to discipline himself in respect of work and the land. It is no good for the African to clamor for education and good health unless he is prepared to labor and apply regulations, such as destocking [reduction of cattle herds owned by Africans]. If he is not prepared to do these things, he must take the consequences and perhaps you will be forced to adopt some form of compulsion in order that the necessary work be done."

### COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman*  
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN, *Vice Chairman*  
EDITH C. FIELD, *Treasurer*  
W. A. HUNTON, *Educational Director*  
MAX YERGAN, *Executive Director*

#### Council Members

Leonard Barnes	John Hammond
Mrs. C. A. Bass	David D. Jones
Bishop W. Y. Bell	Norman Mackenzie
Dr. R. T. Bokwe	Adah I. Kieffer
Mrs. Lida N. Broner	George Marshall
Charlotte H. Brown	Mrs. John F. Moors
William E. Cochran	Bishop David H. Sims
F. E. De Frantz	Ferdinand C. Smith
Hubert T. Delany	Mrs. Stanley F. Smith
Hubert B. Dickerson	Channing H. Tobias
E. Franklin Frazier	Doxey A. Wilkerson

To Subscribers: Publication of this issue has been delayed in order to provide readers with a full report of the preliminary general debate on trusteeship at the U. N. General Assembly meeting.

### ANOTHER NEW PAMPHLET—

MUST Reading for TODAY

## STOP SOUTH AFRICA'S CRIMES

What's behind Smuts' Annexation Demand for South West Africa?

Do You know why the United Nations' Spotlight is on South Africa?  
Do You know what are the Issues at Stake? . . . Here's the Answer!

This pamphlet and other publications of the *Council on African Affairs* are now available at progressive bookstores in most cities, and from the Council's office. 10c a copy, quantity orders at reduced rate.

### FINDS AFRICAN SKILLED WORKERS WIDELY EMPLOYED IN BELGIAN CONGO

Though low wage levels of African workers in the Belgian Congo leave much room for improvement and trade union organization among them is barely existent, the contrast otherwise between the Africans' employment opportunities in the Belgian Congo and in the Union of South Africa is very striking. The Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations made this clear in a report written on the basis of a recent visit to the Congo.

"Africans there," he said, "are employed in occupations for which few people in the Union believe them capable. At the Union Minière, Africans were operating the Hollerith machine and doing many other skilled jobs. Throughout the Congo, the banks use Africans as ledger clerks and typists and in other posts. The post offices have Africans at the counters; they take in and dispatch telegrams and operate the telephone exchanges. The building artisan work is done by Africans; a seven or eight-story building of flats was being built by them in Leopoldville.

"At Leopoldville, too, we saw one thousand looms in a cotton textile factory operated by Africans and all the processes from the raw cotton to the finished cloth worn by African women were carried out by Africans, and a few were engraving the pattern on the steel drums. But the employers have proved that an educated African trained in their technical school can increase the production manifold, and so they have decided to replace, over a period of years, the untrained operators with educated and trained Africans."

The moral of all this for South Africa, where the Color Bar relegates Africans to menial labor, is too obvious to need statement.

### NIGERIA STRIKERS WIN PARTIAL VICTORY AFTER WAITING FOR MORE THAN A YEAR

In the summer of 1945 there occurred in Nigeria a six-weeks general strike of all Africans in government service, including teachers, railwaymen, postal workers, and even day laborers. The government finally, after stubborn refusal to listen to the workers' demands, offered them the choice of a 20 per cent increase in cost of living allowance or a commission of inquiry to go into the matter. They rejected the increase offered as too small. So the Commission was appointed. After more than a year, the Commission finally issued its report in October. The report was a voluminous 224-page document dealing with the over-all economic, social and political conditions in Britain's largest African colony. The findings show, says *African World*, that the "first and foremost" cause of the strike was "official ineptitude."

The immediate point of interest in the report to the African workers was that the Commission recommended an award of a 50 per cent increase on the allowance for cost of living increases, with effect from August 1, 1945.

The proposal for payment of twelve equal monthly installments of the arrears was protested by the workers' main union body, the Supreme Council of Nigerian Workers and the Governor finally agreed to payment of the arrears in two equal installments, the first as of last July and the second before Christmas.

This award represented fulfillment of the main point of the demands made when the African Civil Servants and Technical Workers Union called the strike last year. The workers demanded a minimum wage of 50c a day and 50 per cent increase in cost of living allowance. The average unskilled labor wage of 16c to 30c a day still remains to be raised.

### COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street  
New York 10, N. Y.

P. L. & R. 562

This is your News of Africa  
for November, 1946

# FIGHTING TALK

The Voice of the Springboks

Registered as a Newspaper  
Volume IV. No. 11. February, 1946 3d.

# LEGION WINS FOOD RATION FOR SOLDIERS

AS a result of a memorandum to the Food Controller on behalf of the Springbok Legion by Mrs. Jessie McPherson, Mayor of Johannesburg, a scheme is to be introduced by the Food Control authorities to ensure that ex-soldiers and men recently returned from the North get their fair share of goods in short supply.



Mrs. McPHERSON

Mrs. McPherson went down to Cape Town recently to interview the Minister of Agriculture on behalf of the various organisations she represents. On her return she has written to the Springbok Legion as follows:

"I raised with Minister Strauss the difficulty experienced by returning soldiers in getting goods in short supply. I suggested a simple scheme of cards to be issued at a suitable central depot, which would not inconvenience our men, as I did not think it was right to expect them to stand for hours in queues after fighting for years abroad for a new and better world.

"Mr. Gibson, the Food Controller, promised that something would be done in this regard. I also said that the meat scheme should be extended to include the whole country. At the moment only 9 areas are controlled, hence the uncontrolled areas get good supplies whilst the controlled areas get very little during the short season.

"I asked Mr. Strauss if he would consider extending the meat scheme. His reply was that he would consider including a few areas adjacent to the large cities, but not complete control.

"I believe that we are living in a world that needs proper and efficient control and planning. The world will be short of food for the next two or three years, hence without proper planning I shudder to think of the future. However, we will keep on struggling."

## GERMISTON FORGING ON

Germiston branch of the Legion is forging ahead these days. The man responsible is Mr. Dick Webb, who was appointed organising secretary in the middle of November and has given all his time to the Legion there ever since. A member of the National Executive Committee and a soldier both of the last war and of this, Mr. Webb already has a number of successful socials to his credit and is making plans for a big masquerade ball in April. Mr. Webb is backed by an able and hard-working committee, and P.R.O. Mrs. Hodgson, who has kept the Legion office going for many months on her own. Our congratulations to all of them.

## SERIOUS SHORTAGE

THE Government does not realise the seriousness of the food position in South Africa. This is obvious from the result of the Mayor of Johannesburg's interview with General Smuts and Mr. Strauss.

Mrs. McPherson has returned from Cape Town to report to Johannesburg Food Action Committee (on which the Springbok Legion is active) that the Government will try to import food; will introduce broad measures to reconstruct South African agriculture and to save what is left of our soil for that reconstruction; and will introduce the long-term meat scheme, designed to get livestock on to the market with less acute seasonal shortages.

But the Government does not believe that the 1000 shortage will remain for at least the next two years; refuses to ration essential commodities; will not accept the need for a Ministry of Food; will not make full use of its land or even save it from soil erosion. The Government will not be able to take the one step needed to control meat effectively, i.e. to take physical possession of livestock belonging to persons (be they speculators or members of the Nationalist opposition) who will not part with their meat; the former in order to restore complete freedom of enterprise and uncontrolled prices, the latter to discredit the Government and to hasten the day of its downfall.

### A LITTLE EASIER

At the moment the food position is a little easier. The retail butchers have not enforced their lockout; the shopping public have stopped their raids on abattoirs. The meat scheme has not been withdrawn. We may be satisfied for the time being with the Government's promises and half-course of action—until the next shortage comes along, as come it will.

But there are many reasons why the Springbok Legion, on behalf of its members and the general welfare, should continue to press for rationing, the creation of a Ministry of Food, and greater control by the Government over the producer and distributor in the general interests of the consumer.

In the first place, ex-soldiers suffer soonest in a time of shortage. They have been away fighting and have lost the opportunity of becoming book-customers with butchers, dairies and grocers; and the cash-customer doesn't shape when meat, butter and tea are in short supply. Only the early introduction of rationing will assist ex-soldiers in this position.

### OUR RESPONSIBILITY

Secondly, many members of the Springbok Legion are non-Europeans; and it would be an evasion of our responsibility towards them if we fail to recognise that among Africans in particular the food shortage is a matter for desperate anxiety. In the Northern Transvaal and the Ciskei many thousands of Afri-

## HELWAN P.R.O.

THE Legion Office at Helwan runs a P.R.O. section in addition to its other activities. For those who don't know, P.R.O. stands for Public Relations Office, and is the place the boys go when they want advice or assistance from the Legion.

Since the office opened at Helwan, 21 cases have been handled, in the following categories:

Employment	6
Personal	1
Extended Service	5
Trade Unions	1
Housing	1
Military	1
Repatriation	2

Information was given wherever possible. Military cases were referred to the respective O.C.s. Cases which the committee could not deal with were referred to the Public Relations Officer at Head Office.

can ex-servicemen, back in the Reserves "on holiday," their claims to jobs under the demob. scheme signed away, are faced with starvation.

This is no new thing. South Africa produces in sufficient food for its whole population and the poorest must suffer when crops fail. The new thing, however, is that many ex-servicemen, and the Springbok Legion as an organisation, have come to realise that the destitution of non-Europeans involves the destitution of South Africa as a whole. As with houses, so with food; only a reconstruction that provides Africans with these raw materials of life can ensure the future happiness and prosperity of our country.

### POLITICAL GROUNDS

The final reason why the Springbok Legion should continue to press its demands is political. If the present Government does not ensure equality of distribution of essential foods to the people, the people will do away with the Government and its half-measures. The result will almost certainly be an anti-democratic Government, and not even a pretence to equal distribution.

The Springbok Legion therefore, stands solid in its demands. We want rationing of all essential foods; a Ministry of Food; a vigorous reconstruction, compulsive and not permissive, of South African agriculture; and finally, until this reconstruction bears fruit, importation of essential foods for the early relief of the non-European famine, and rationed distribution at subsidised prices to the poorer sections of the community.

## DEMOB. INVESTIGATES KOPJES SCANDAL

TO clear the ground for the forthcoming meeting of the National Advisory Council for Demobilisation, an informal deputation from the Springbok Legion met Mr. H. Welsh, Deputy Director of Demobilisation, on the 24th January. Specific problems, as well as questions of a more general character, were also discussed, with satisfying results.

The situation at Kopjes, reported elsewhere in this issue, was raised, and Mr. Welsh assured us that an official of the Directorate was leaving immediately to prevent the arrest of the men, pending full investigation of the position. This prompt action on the part of the Directorate is welcomed and appreciated by the Legion.

Among the more general questions discussed were the following:—

**EMPLOYMENT FOR AFRICAN EX-VOLUNTEERS:** Mr. Welsh stated that the Directorate was aware of the critical position. A propaganda campaign to make employers aware of their responsibilities would be launched at the end of February and it was hoped to solve the problem without recourse to the Soldiers' and War Workers' Employment Act.

**LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME FOR AFRICAN EX-VOLUNTEERS:** A scheme was already under consideration by the Directorate. The men would not only be settled on the land, but steps would be taken to ensure that progressive agricultural methods were adopted by the settlers.

**HOUSING LOANS:** The 90 per cent. housing loan scheme would not apply to African ex-volunteers. It was hoped to provide a £50 grant to ex-volunteers to assist them to provide accommodation for themselves, but only where their jobs depended on their having a negotiating with the Treasury to this end.

**MEMBERS OF THE WADC:** Ninety per cent. of the members of the WADC who had obtained their discharges by purchase had had their discharges favourably reviewed. They were now entitled to all demobilisation benefits, but owing to great pressure of work the Directorate had decided to adopt the following procedure:

Towards the end of February the women would be sent their gratuities, plus a letter setting out the benefits to which they are entitled and requesting them to apply for a refund of the purchase price. The machinery for dealing with this category was not yet ready, and as premature applications would upset the scheme, Mr. Welsh stated that no applications should be made before the receipt of the official letter of notification.

## MINISTER TO ATTEND HOUSING CONFERENCE

THE Minister of Health, Dr. H. Gluckman, has cabled the Springbok Legion as follows:

"THE MINISTER APPRECIATES THE INVITATION TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON HOUSING AND WILL BE IN JOHANNESBURG FOR THE PURPOSE ON MONDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY UNLESS PARLIAMENTARY EXIGENCIES PREVENT. WE TRUST THE CONFERENCE WILL BE AS COMPREHENSIVE AS POSSIBLE, AND THAT THE HOUSING COMMITTEE OF THE D.S.D.C. WILL BE REPRESENTED."

The purpose of the conference is to investigate new methods of building including prefabrication, with a view to the quickest and cheapest method consistent with present standards of comfort and convenience being recommended for adoption by the National Housing Commission.

The Director of National Housing, Major Collings, and the Acting President of the Central Council of the Institute of South African Architects, Mr. Douglas Cowin, have already agreed to take part in the conference, and the M.O.T.H.S. and, it is hoped, the B.E.S.L. will be joint convenors with the Springbok Legion. Invitations are being sent to all

interested bodies including Trade Unions.



Butcher: "Sorry! I can't give you any meat today, you haven't been on my books for the last five years."

# WHAT WE THINK . . .

WHEN we were in the army, things had to be done quickly and efficiently; and in order to get the things done we had to talk quickly and efficiently. Well, there is no reason why we should change our habits when we get back to civvy street. Quite a lot of people need some straight talking to, and there are so many people with crooked tongues running around the country, that we can set an example by speaking our minds and telling people where they get off.

## FOOD RACKET:

For example, we don't know the ins and outs of this food business, but we can see clearly enough that there is something wrong. In the army each man got the same as every other man, and if a man didn't get his ration he was entitled to a big squeal. Now that we get back home, we see some people who always have meat on their tables, whilst others run around from shop to shop and can't get anything. We've got the money to pay, most of us, but we can't buy. On the other hand, some guys never stop buying, especially in Vereeniging. Well, the Minister and the butchers and the farmers and just about everybody have been making explanations for the last two months, but they don't wash very well. All we know is that we want our fair share of what's going, and we expect the Government to guarantee it to us. At the same time we mustn't forget the guys who haven't got the money to buy what they want; nor that the present food shortage reveals a chronic neglect of the land. But those are separate issues. We'll talk about them some other time.

"GENTLEMEN": It was reported in the "Rand Daily Mail" the other day that General Smuts and Dr. Malan had reached a gentlemen's agreement as to the manner in which party whips would co-operate in the House of Assembly. This came as a bit of a surprise to us, as previously we had understood that it took

two gentlemen to make a quarrel.

**HOUSING:** In no place in the country is it so difficult to get a house as Johannesburg. At the time of writing, 3,000 applications have been made, but there are only about 50 places available. As if that wasn't bad enough, the D.S.D.C. had not even got its priorities worked out. Everybody was shouting again, and the estate agents and the Government ministers and other interested parties were jockeying for position, and the newspapers were crying. The Springbok Legion offered to assist, the offer was accepted, and our volunteers went through the lists in three days and worked out the highest priorities.

The Legion has also investigated building methods, because obviously the D.S.D.C. can't solve the housing shortage. And we know that if the Government were to adopt new methods, we could build enough houses in a very short time to get over the shortage. One firm alone, using new methods, says it could build 2,000 houses in one year, at one-third the cost, using South African materials, and requiring only a fraction of the labour which is being put into the present national houses. D-day for national housing drive was September 1, but not one house is finished yet. Yes, you can scratch your head. Why don't we try new methods? Well, the Government is looking into the Rumble concrete house, but we must emphasise that speed is the essence of the contract.

## WE WANT HOMES FOR HEROES.

**THE PRESS.** You may have noticed that we have to struggle to get mentioned in the press, although we do far more than most to help our members and our cause. Whereas the executive members of other ex-soldiers' organisations only have to open their mouths and they have a keen reporter scribbling away like mad. We don't want to detract unnecessarily from the merit of the other ex-soldiers' organisations, but we would like to point out that by failing to ignore the press is trying to ignore the men of the war, and is doing a real disservice to them. At the same time, knowing the press as we do, we can almost take the silence of the press as an unwilling compliment to our industry and the justice of our case. In fact, we should only start to worry when the press praises us, for we must be in a pretty bad way to earn the approval of the Rand Club and the Chamber of Mines. The greatest characters in history have had to fight against the prejudices of their day. So the fact that we have to fight shows that we've got something.

**THE POOR GERMANS.** According to a recent issue of the "Transvaler," Nationalist Party newspaper, the Afrikaans churches have issued an appeal for funds to relieve the distress of women, children and other hungry people in Germany. They don't want their appeal misunderstood, and ask people not to look for funny motives, saying that they are inspired only by a feeling of magnanimity towards fellow-sufferers. "May God let a spirit of sacrifice fall upon you and may he richly bless you for coming to the help of these sufferers."

Well, we won't look for funny motives, but we would point out that thousands of Afrikaans soldiers were killed or wounded fighting the Germans, whose Nazi bosses caused the war. If the Afrikaans churches are so concerned about suffering, and not simply keen to make a political point, there are plenty of their fellow Afrikaners who are also fellow sufferers in this country, not to mention fellow Englishmen and fellow non-Europeans, who could do with assistance. Charity begins at home.

PIET HUGO.

## PEN MISSING

Mr. S. F. Rosenthal, of the 6th Div., borrowed a fountain pen from a signaller when he had to fill in some forms on arrival at Z.A.S. on January 12th. The signaller disappeared before Mr. Rosenthal could return the pen. If the signaller wants his pen back, he should communicate with Mr. Rosenthal at 10, Hillbrow Street, Johannesburg, and give a description of the pen.

## CAPE TOWN BRANCH FINDS NEW HOME

OUR Cape Town branch was recently threatened with a major disaster. Formerly housed in the Old Post Office buildings in Adderley Street, they were given notice to move, along with all the other tenants in the building, because the place was to be pulled down and some other edifice constructed in its place. The Cape Town committee started looking around. At first they looked around casually and with discrimination, because they thought they had plenty of time to make a good choice. After six weeks or so they started to look around frantically, because they hadn't had a single offer, and they were faced with the prospect of being thrown out into the street, a Legion without a home, at the mercy of the elements.

Well they've got a place now, in the basement of Union House, Queen Victoria Street, and everybody can breathe easily once more. But when the Cape Town branch talks about the housing shortage in future, they can be listened to with respect, because they have had first-hand experience.



## FASCISTS IN BRITAIN HAVE "HAD IT"

IN an exclusive interview with the editor of "Fighting Talk" recently, Lord Strabolgi, the Labour Peer, who is touring South Africa at the moment, had one or two things of interest to say about the position of ex-servicemen in England.

The ex-servicemen are not taking independent political action at the moment, but are seeking satisfaction for their demands through the British Legion, he said. If, after demobilisation, things should go badly for the ex-servicemen and there should be a lot of unemployment among them, he thought it most unlikely that they would have anything to do with Moseley and his crowd of fascists. In the first place, said Lord Strabolgi, Moseley is of no significance at all in British politics at the moment, and has no hope of getting anywhere in the future. In the second place, the disgruntled ex-servicemen, if there ever are any, are far more likely to go over to the Communists.

The British soldier voted pretty solidly for Labour in the British general elections last July, said Lord Strabolgi. Not all of them were able to vote, however, and it is Lord Strabolgi's belief that some of them were deliberately deprived of the vote by the Tories when it became apparent that the forces as a whole were behind the Labour Party.

### GOING SMOOTHLY

Demobilisation in England, although slower than some sections liked, was going pretty smoothly for the ex-soldier, who was experiencing no untoward difficulties in getting reinstated into civilian life. The public as a whole were very sympathetic towards the problems of ex-servicemen, and the nation was putting itself out to make things easier for them.

Lord Strabolgi said the people of Britain had not heard anything of the activities of fascist organisations in South Africa like the Ossewa Brandwag and the Broedersbond, though no doubt the Government knew all that was going on. The Labour Government had no views on the internal situation in South Africa. He could not say what the British Government would do if a fascist party came to power in South Africa.

## PREMIER CONCRETE WORKS

7-13 MARITZBURG STREET  
City and Suburban. 22-3689  
Mnfs. of Polished Terrazzo Fire Places and Kitchen Sinks; Floor Tiles, Garden Tables, Wash Troughs, etc.

For Expert Cleaning  
**BLOOM AND SONS**  
(Pty.) Ltd.  
CLEANERS & DYERS

**ORKIN LINGERIE**  
(Eind.) Bpk.  
Lilianweg 49, Fordsburg  
Johannesburg

**UNION CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS**  
UNEX CLOTHING  
Corner Main and End Streets  
JOHANNESBURG

FOR YOUR NEXT SUIT DEMAND



**YOUNG AGENCIES**  
143 COMMISSIONER STREET  
Johannesburg  
Specialise only in Wholesale  
BABYWEAR  
Our big speciality value "The Younga" layette comprising quality brands & guaranteed values

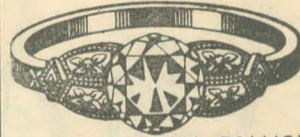
P.O. Box 3006 Phone 33-6275  
Telegrams: "Vermilco"  
**VEREENIGING MILLING CO., LTD.**

Produce Merchants, Miller and Grain Exporters  
manufacturers of "Epic" Products  
Head Office: 41 Pim St., Newtown,  
Johannesburg. Branches at Vereeniging, Springs, Bethal, Ventersdorp, Heilbron, O.F.S., Maitland, C.P.

**M. E. STORES**  
corner Pritchard and  
Harrison Streets  
Johannesburg

**Main and Mayfair Tin Manufacturers Ltd.**  
10 SMIT ST., BRAAMFONTEIN  
JOHANNESBURG  
Phone 35-1750

DIAMOND ENGAGEMENT RINGS



**AMSTERDAM DIAMOND CUTTING WORKS (Pty.) Ltd.**  
83 Rissik Street  
Cor. Plein Street, Johannesburg

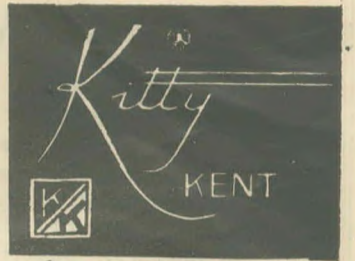
**CRYSTAL CONFECTIONERY CO. (Pty.) LTD.**  
SPECIALISEER IN VERJAARDAG-TROUKOEKE  
Posbus 1376

**HOLLYWOOD DISTRIBUTORS (Pty.) LTD.**  
WHOLESALE SOFT GOODS  
186 Commissioner Street  
Johannesburg  
Phone 22-3428 Box 3579

WHOLESALE ONLY  
**I. LUBNER**  
Manufacturing Upholsterers  
Directors: I. Lubner, I. Lasarow  
Hardy Street, Johannesburg  
Phones 22-2564, 22-2413  
Specialising in Seating for Hotels, Theatres, Hospitals and Public Buildings

**ESSEMBEE KNITWEAR (Pty.) LTD.**  
36 JULES STREET, JEPPE

WATCH OUT FOR . . . . .



EXCLUSIVE GARMENTS  
Obtainable at all Leading Stores  
Manufactured by  
**ANGLO AMERICAN FASHIONS**

**Carmen**  
Coats and Costumes

Tailored by:  
Johannesburg Dress Mfrs. Ltd.  
P.O. Box 8183 — JOHANNESBURG

**GENERAL MERCHANTS (PTY.) LTD.**  
Showroom and Stores:  
3 Saratoga Avenue, Johannesburg  
Phone 44-5291 Phone 44-6670  
P.O. Box 7997  
Distributors and Contractors in all Building Material. We also supply all garden, etc. Also all tap-irrigators  
INQUIRIES INVITED

When in Durban  
Do as Durban does  
shop at  
**GREENACRES**  
Phone 22-8471/2 Box 4478

**Consolidated Timber Co. (Pty.) LTD.**  
HARDWOOD AND SOFTWOOD  
TIMBER MERCHANTS  
50/52/54 VAN BEEK STREET  
(cor. Eloff Street) New Doornfontein  
Johannesburg

**HILSON AND TAYLOR (Pty.) Ltd.**  
COMPLETE  
HOUSE FURNISHERS

**BUTTERWORTH HOTEL**  
FIELD STREET — DURBAN  
SELECT ACCOMMODATION  
AND EXCELLENT SERVICE  
Tel. Ad.: "Butterworth," Durban

**WE FURNISH AFRICA**  
For forty-two years Bradlow's Stores have served South Africa. We can see to your needs—pay us a visit.  
**BRADLOW'S STORES LTD.**  
83 MARKET ST., JOHANNESBURG  
Branches throughout the Union and Rhodesia

**PRESIDENT SHOES FOR MEN**  
Another Product of the  
**FLEXO CRAFTSMEN**

**PREMIER BISCUIT CO.**  
19 Siemert Road  
Doornfontein

**Universal Tyre Service**  
RETREADING and VULCANISING  
SPECIALISTS  
PROMPT SERVICE & ATTENTION  
Satisfaction Assured  
227, ELOFF STREET EXTENSION  
Phone 33-1509  
JOHANNESBURG

## BRANCH BARBS

MANY of the branches of the Legion in the Union have shown such progress and initiative that they are now producing their own newspapers. These are Johannesburg, which runs the "Reef Barb," Cape Town, the "Cape Barb," Port Elizabeth, whose paper boasts the militant title "Action," Maritzburg, which has a "Maritzburg Barb."

All these papers are printed and attractively laid out, with photographs, in some cases cartoons, and interesting topical articles and reports on the activities of the Legion in the particular area. The "barbs" are circulated to all Legion members in any particular area, paid and unpaid, and constitute a valuable addition to our publicity service. It should be the ambition of every branch to place its organisation and finances on such a sound basis that the production of a local "barb" becomes a possibility. Many branches are running a roneoed newsletter, but we hope they will not rest content until they too have made contact with the nearest printer.

## SECONDED TO R.N.

Legionnaire R. E. Oakes, formerly Captain in the Welfare Section, states that he has taken up the matter of staff pay for those U.D.F. officers who were seconded to U.K. forces and appointed to staff positions which the U.D.F. now say they won't recognise as the officers concerned did not go through staff college. Will all those who are or were in this position please write to Mr. Oakes, P.O. Box 5403, Johannesburg, with details as follows: Rank, No., Name, Unit which appointed them as staff officers, date of appointment, whether published in British Part 2 Orders and number if possible, position held entitling them to staff pay, date staff position relinquished.



## Council on African Affairs

Monthly Bulletin

*Dedicated to new relations with Africa—  
in the interest of the African people's welfare  
and the promotion of international  
democracy, security, and peace.*

Volume 4, No. 11

Dec., 1945



### NEW U.N.O. TANGLE LOOMS ON QUESTION OF LEAGUE MANDATES AND TRUST AGREEMENTS

With the first organization session of the United Nations body scheduled for next month, there are increasing signs of impending difficulties in interpreting and implementing the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter.

One of the most complex points is the charter's provision that the terms for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system "shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned." The charter failed to define "the states directly concerned."

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Gromyko, early in the preliminary discussions in London proposed that the League of Nations mandatory powers (Britain, France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Belgium), the United States, the Soviet Union and China as the Big Five nations without mandates, and "perhaps the neighboring powers" of mandated territory should approve agreements covering colonies brought under the Trusteeship Council.

The Yugoslav delegate later embodied this in a formal proposal, further stipulating that the present mandatory powers declare their intention to place their trust territories under U.N.O. supervision. This would be, in effect, a condition for their participation in trusteeship agreements. (Nothing in the San Francisco Charter compels present mandatory powers to bring their territories under the Trusteeship Council.)

Yugoslavia's proposal, according to the New York Times correspondent, Sidney Gruson, raised "a potentially explosive political problem," in that both Britain and the United States are expected to oppose the right of the Soviet Union to have a voice in the disposition of all trust territories, including captured Japanese islands and other such regions which fall into the category of strategic areas.

Just *why* there should be such opposition to the Soviet Unions' sharing in these decisions has not been explained.

### LANDLESS BANTUS IN SOUTH AFRICAN RESERVES FACE FAMINE; GOVERNMENT HELD RESPONSIBLE

Starvation stalks four million Africans who have been herded into the small and crowded Native Reserve Areas in the Union of South Africa. The Ciskei, Transkei and Northern Transvaal sections have been the hardest hit, with both human beings and cattle dying from lack of food.

The editor of a responsible periodical in South Africa charges the government with "dereliction of duty and culpable negligence" for not taking necessary steps to avoid present famine conditions, although there was full knowledge early in the year of what was impending.

Although drought, soil erosion and primitive agricultural methods are contributing factors in the present starvation crisis, the basic cause is the lack of adequate land to provide sustenance for the rural Africans. Africans residing in the Reserve Areas represent 40 percent of the total population of South Africa; they are restricted to 13 percent of the land area of the country.

The African National Congress has pointed out that "landlessness and overcrowding contribute the major share of the cause of the suffering . . . As a remedy against future distress like the present, the government must now immediately open land for occupation by Africans under all forms of tenure."

Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, parliamentary representative for Africans, after a recent visit to the Ciskei, reported that conditions were "terrible and likely to grow worse in the months ahead." She stated that "though the 200 feeding stations and the mobile markets are doing splendid work, they are merely touching the fringe of the problem . . . What depresses me most is the lack of urgency with which the position in the native areas is being tackled compared with the energetic steps being taken to assist European farmers."

The Council on African Affairs is undertaking a campaign to collect food and funds to send to South Africa for starvation relief.



The Dean of Canterbury and Paul Robeson Exchange Greetings

## "SOUTH AFRICA IS MOVING TOWARD A MAJOR CRISIS"

The Reverend Michael Scott, Chairman of the Campaign for Right and Justice, a progressive people's organization in Johannesburg, has stated that "South Africa is moving toward a major social and economic crisis.

"There has been a growing number of clashes during the last year, the riots at Sofia-town, Marabastad, the shooting at the Springs Location, and finally the disturbance in Johannesburg on the occasion of the Nationalist 'Victory' march, all indications of the serious position developing in South Africa.

"The position is made more serious by the growth of fascism under the guise of Christian nationalism which has created a cleavage in the social, cultural and religious life in South Africa."

The Johannesburg disturbance referred to occurred on September 18th and 19th and was reported in last month's *New Africa*. Several thousand people opposed to the fascist doctrines of the National Party clashed with a provocative parade of members of that party. Some 200 of the anti-fascists were injured.

### 40,000 Sign Anti-Fascist Petition

Following this outrage, the Campaign for Right and Justice drew up a petition to Prime Minister Smuts calling upon the government to punish racial incitement as a crime; dissolve all organizations of the Nazi kind; ban private armies; expel all anti-democratic and anti-soldier elements from the public service, the police, and teaching; prevent any discrimination against the ex-soldier; and punish South Africa's quislings and war criminals.

Within a month 40,000 Johannesburg citizens had signed this petition. The Prime Minister refused to meet with a deputation which desired to present the petition to him. On the other hand, however, he *did* grant a long interview to a Nationalist deputation soon after the Johannesburg riots and listened sympathetically to their protests, promising that "law and order" would be preserved by the authorities.

Reflecting the rising fascist threat in South Africa is the fact that, instead of abolishing the Pass system as the African masses and European liberals have demanded, the government is taking steps to tighten up the gestapo-like restrictions on the African people's freedom of movement.

Bowing to pressure from European farmers and mining interests for stricter control of Africans in urban areas, the government on April 1st of next year will hand over control of African pass registration to local authorities.

### Threat to Cape Town Africans

The government's action which has aroused the greatest resentment is the attempt to extend the pass regulations to the Cape Peninsula municipalities. The Cape Town area has remained until now the most liberal section of South Africa. The Department of Native Affairs has drafted Pass Law regulations for adoption in this area. These measures would establish over 60 petty criminal offences for which Africans might be arrested.

Since September, six huge protest meetings against these regulations have been held in Cape Town. A conference on October 21st, attended by 100 delegates representing 50 organizations with a total membership of over 80,000, resolved "to mobilize the people of Cape Town against these draft regulations and existing regulations and to wage a relentless struggle for their withdrawal."

The Anti-Pass Committee recently called upon the Prime Minister "to demonstrate the sincerity of his words in San Francisco by withdrawing the draft regulations and repealing the pass laws."

### Mr. Bevin Cracks a Joke

There may be cheers and laughter in the House of Commons when Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Minister, discusses the imperial policy of Great Britain—but in Java, India, and Africa it is another story.

Said Mr. Bevin to Parliament on November 7 (as reported by the London Times), after having bitterly assailed Russia's "territorial demands":

*"Do remember this—I make this plain because sometimes we are lectured about it—in the British Empire we gave freedom where it did not exist before, by the development of the Commonwealth. (Cheers) No one can read the policy of his Majesty's Government within the few months that have followed this war without seeing the desperate efforts we are making to extend that liberty and commonwealth idea still further. (Cheers.)"*

*"It is time we sang our own song a little bit. (Opposition cheers.) In view of what has been laid before this House since we have been in office—the efforts the Colonial Office have made in trying to rebuild these territories in a wider and progressive development of freedom—let us at least take credit when we are just, because we get kicks enough when it is sometimes not proven, and we get terribly kicked when it is proven. (Laughter.)"*

P.S. The British are said to have a strange sense of humor.

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA DEMAND RIGHTS FOR AFRICANS

Resolutions adopted at the recent meeting of the East African Indian National Congress held in Nairobi, Kenya, indicate that the same unity of outlook and action among the various sections of the non-European population which has been developing in South Africa is also to be found in British East Africa.

Indians, a minority of 57,000 in Kenya, although enjoying in most cases a somewhat higher economic, social and political status than the African majority, nevertheless have many problems of discrimination and exploitation in common.

The Congress gave major emphasis to demands for full and direct representation of Africans on the legislature and all other statutory bodies, the appointment of Africans as Assistant District Commissioners, freedom of political association, and the abolition of the Native registration system.

Demands affecting the Indian community included the withdrawal of war-time restrictions on Indian immigration, the abolition of residential segregation, and removal of restrictions on trading in Native areas. Protesting against recent administration changes in Kenya, the Congress voted no confidence in the Kenya government and asked appointment of a Royal Commission of Investigation into political affairs in the colony.

be solved. *And yet we talk of world peace and security.* Reliance upon might armaments, military bases and atomic bombs will not help toward that goal.

If the United States and the United Nations truly want peace and security, let them fulfill the hopes of common people everywhere—let them work together to accomplish on a world-wide scale precisely the kind of democratic association of free peoples which characterizes the Soviet Union today.

## SOVIET DEMOCRACY IS MODEL FOR WORLD, SAYS ROBESON

*Participating in the World Freedom Rally held under the auspices of the National Council of America-Soviet Friendship at Madison Square Garden in New York on November 14, Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, made the following statement:*

What constitutes a great nation? Great manpower, yes. Great material and industrial resources, yes. But more than these, the essential element of greatness lies in the ideals which inspire and unite a nation.

In developing our understanding of and closer friendship with the Soviet Union, it is important that we in America try to understand that country's ideals. The one which in my opinion has most significance for us, especially right now, is democracy among peoples of different race, color, creed and nationality.

Perhaps I am in error in using the word "ideals." For this term generally connotes something that one talks about and thinks about but never realizes. But democracy among all peoples, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality, is something that the Soviet people have achieved in practice. And it represents one of the greatest of all achievements of the Soviet Union in its 28 years of history.

This magnificent history of Soviet achievement in the advancement and complete national integration of minority and former colonial peoples has particular importance for us today.

### Danger of Colonialism

Recently a writer in the Soviet publication, "War and the Working Class," observed that "the system of colonial enslavement of hundreds of millions of people is an extremely dangerous obstacle in the path of social progress and a bulwark of reactionary tendencies all over the world. The removal of this barrier is an essential condition for the inclusion of vast countries, and the peoples inhabiting them, in the general channel of humanity's economic, political and cultural development."

There is no possible comparison to be made with the Soviet Union in its treatment of minorities. For they have no minorities in our sense of the word. There, all peoples of whatever color or culture enjoy complete equality. It is painfully obvious that this is not true in our United States—neither for the Negro, the Spanish-American, the Jewish-American people, the American of Asiatic descent, nor for millions of underprivileged of all colors.

As is exceedingly clear, we now live in one world. The struggle for freedom continues and we must fight wherever danger lurks.

In this new enlivening and fast-changing world, the Soviet Union I believe to be in the very forefront of the battle to obtain real (not imaginary) Freedom for the many—not the few.

### America's Responsibility

And in the light of recent events, recent disclosures, and the question of present high policy, the greatest source of danger at this historic period to the emergence of a People's World founded upon the equalities, economic, racial, social, and political, could well be upon our own American continent.

At this hour, in China, in Java, in other places our government is helping the British, French and Chiang Kai-shek governments crush the peoples' struggles toward democracy, freedom and independence. The tragic plight of Europe's anguished Jewish people has still to

*(continued at left)*

## SOUTH AFRICAN EDITOR DEFINES HIS COUNTRY'S COLOR PHOBIA

An audience was invited last month by the Council on African Affairs to meet and hear Dr. Wulf Sachs of Johannesburg, South Africa, now visiting this country.

The message which he brought the audience about conditions of African life in South Africa was both informative and dramatic—it was a challenge to Americans to assume their responsibility for aiding in overthrowing the degrading system of racial discrimination and oppression practiced in South Africa.

Dr. Sachs is the editor of a progressive South African magazine, *The Democrat*, and an eminent psycho-analyst. "Black Hamlet," his fascinating psycho-analytical study of an African whom he met in Johannesburg, has received wide acclaim.

Following are excerpts from Dr. Sachs' talk:

"I was not born in South Africa nor was I brought up there, so I have not been infected since childhood with that disease from which every white man suffers in South Africa today . . . The backward Dutch farmer, the Englishman and every other white man—you will find them all suffering from this disease. The white population, the various elements in the white population, differ only in the forms of their antagonisms and hatred in the handling of the non-European. . . .

"The general treatment of the non-European, to use a purely psychological term, is one of *dehumanization*. It is a disease of pigmentation. Everyone who is not of a white color is outside the pale—outside the law—outside the system. You may not realize that in South Africa discrimination is not only practiced as a tradition, not only as a political attitude or tendency or a temporary approach; it is definitely the law and constitution. Society has declared officially, and by act of both houses of Parliament—with amendments from time to time in case people should forget it—that the non-European has no rights in the system . . .

"It is just impossible, it has never happened, that any African has avoided the law for any period of time. There is always that conflict. This is always in evidence. If the African happens to forget his pass, if the policeman doesn't recognize him, if anything small at all happens, he will find himself in conflict. . . .

"The relationship between the authorities and the African is one of enemies. The authorities exist in Africa not to protect

him, but to find out when he does wrong. When an African sees a policeman he must run away because he never knows what he has done that the policeman doesn't like. Every African feels that every authority is an enemy or a potential enemy. . . . This applies not only to the illiterate who comes from the kraal. He may be a highly qualified and educated man.

"This has developed a condition of generalized fear among the Africans. Fear must be distinguished from two points of view. There is a fear of the unknown. The fear of the African is a real one. There is a tremendous difference. Theirs is a fear of every day life from morning until evening. Fear of the employer, of the police, of any white person who can bring harm. And you must realize the terrible effect upon the mental health of a population which lives in this constant fear. . . .

"South Africa plays a dominant role in the continent of Africa. It is organized and strong. Other countries in Africa are weak, economically dependent on South Africa, on the rest of the world, particularly America. South Africa is more or less self-sufficient. It plays a tremendous role, and the outcome of the fight against white superiority rule will influence the rest of the continent, and especially the development of the African people.

The problem is not only the problem of 7,000,000 people—it is the problem of the entire world. One of the necessary steps is to give information to the world on what really happens, so as to educate the ignorant or deluded people who think that South Africa is democratic, or that General Smuts practices at home what he preaches abroad.

"Let us show them that America knows what is going on. You must get information from many sources and give that information to others. You must write to the people of Africa and let them know that you are doing things for them and ready to help. You can do a tremendous amount of good. American opinion carries a lot of weight in Africa.

"From a psychological point of view, it is important. You must help the Africans. It is up to you to show that they do have friends who care. The African feels lost, has a sense of frustration in everything he does, a feeling that he suffers alone. He feels forgotten by the rest of the world. It is our duty to bring to the people in your country and all over the world the true situation in South Africa today."



A Recent Open-Air Protest Meeting of Africans in Johannesburg, South Africa



### Bring African Troops Home!

There were at last reports about 100,000 West African troops in Burma and 20 or 30 thousand more from Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland (South African High Commission Territories) still in Palestine and other parts of the Middle East. These soldiers are getting restless to the point of revolt at the long delay in shipping them home.

The danger of this situation is evident when one recalls the French use of Senegalese troops to suppress uprisings in Syria and Lebanon and British use of Indian troops to spearhead the attack against the Javanese.

African troops must not become involved in this damnable method of maintaining imperialism!

### ETHIOPIA UNITY PLEA VOICED BY MASS MEETINGS, PARADES

The press in this country carried reports of the memorandum sent by the Ethiopian Emperor to the London Conference of Foreign Ministers demanding return of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland to Ethiopia. But the American press failed to tell of the tremendous popular demonstrations, voicing these same demands by the native people in these East African countries, which occurred during the time of the London Conference.

Organized by the Ethiopia-Eritrean Unity Association and the Somali Community, processions, mass prayers and meetings embracing many thousands were held in Addis Ababa and several other Ethiopian cities. In Asmara, Eritrea, other thousands marched to the British military headquarters carrying Ethiopian flags (which they refused to lower at the command of the British captain) and demanded the reunion of Eritrea to the Ethiopian motherland.

The Council on African Affairs has received by mail from Ethiopia a detailed account of these demonstrations and copies of letters and cables addressed to the Conference on Foreign Ministers. Space will not permit their reproduction here.

It is significant that while crowds in Addis Ababa were shouting the demand for the return of Ogaden Province, still under British occupation and military administration, to Ethiopian rule, the same appeal was being voiced in London by a group of leading British citizens, some of whom are members of the government. The British appeal pointed out that several European countries liberated much later than Ethiopia had been fully restored to self-government and "the same right should not be longer denied" to Ethiopia.

### U. S.-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS

The new minister of the United States to Ethiopia, Felix Cole, was at one time first secretary of the legation in Liberia. Soon after his arrival in Addis Ababa, he stated:

"The relation of the United States to Ethiopia is one of sympathetic interest and a desire to do everything possible to advance the independence and well-being of the country . . .

"World economy is in a confused state at present. Despite the enormous productivity of the United States, it too has had and will have its shortages because of war priorities. . . . In spite of this situation, which will take some time to correct, whatever can be done to aid Ethiopia in a material way will surely be done."

The concrete form of this aid will hinge largely upon the results of the work of the U.N.R.R.A. mission to Ethiopia which left the United States a few days ago.

### WEST AFRICAN FARMERS' COMM. DEMANDS END OF MONOPOLY

The Council on African Affairs has received from London a copy of the memorandum submitted to the British Secretary of State for Colonies by the delegation acting for Gold Coast and Nigerian farmers, headed by Mr. Gershon Ashie-Nikoi.

The memorandum is a very carefully prepared presentation of the grievances and problems of African producers of raw materials in the British West African colonies, particularly stressing the question of cocoa, the main export crop.

It was the objection to the government's proposals for continued government control over marketing of West African cocoa which prompted the delegation, representing more than 300,000 farmers of Nigeria and Gold Coast, to come to London (see *New Africa* for December 1944 and August 1945).

#### Committee's Proposals

The delegation in its memorandum makes the following demands upon the government:

1. That the recommendations of the Nowell Commission be implemented, since hostilities are now over, in order that the Imperial Government might make good the promise that has been made to the Africa producers. (*The Nowell Commission in 1938 proposed that the monopoly system of marketing backed by statute and dominated by British firms be abandoned in favor of cooperative methods and freedom of trade. The government promised that the control system would be retained only for the duration of the war.*)

2. That the price of 25 s. (\$5.00) per load (60 lbs.) of cocoa demanded by the Farmers at a meeting held at Nsawam on the 24th day of August, 1945, and further confirmed by the resolution of the meeting of the same Farmers held at Suhum, in the Gold Coast, on the 6th day of September, 1945, should be declared as the price of cocoa in both the Gold Coast and Nigeria for the ensuing crop season.

3. That the amount of £2,240,188 realized on the sale of Gold Coast cocoa, and the amount of £1,169,806 realized on the sale of Nigeria cocoa, by the West African Produce Control Board during the control period, and all accumulated profits that have accrued, or are to accrue, from the sales of cocoa since the 1939/43 control period, should be turned over to the Farmers' own existing organizations in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, respectively, in order that the Farmers may employ these funds as a starting capital for the establishment of agricultural banks in British West Africa.

#### Full Accounting Asked

4. That the West African Produce Control Board should publish full statement of accounts covering its operations during the control period of 1939/43 and any other transactions that the Board has undertaken or is undertaking up to the present time; and that, in addition to cocoa, the statement of accounts to be published by the Board should cover all transactions in respect to palm oil, palm kernels, groundnuts, rubber and any other West African agricultural produce that has been handled or is being handled up to the present time by the Board.

5. That the operations of the West African Produce Control Board should cease immediately and that a new and fair system of centralized marketing, which takes into full consideration the legitimate claims of the producers, should be considered with the effective co-operation of the Farmers' own existing organizations.

6. That the present systems of quota allocations and licensing be abolished and that the producers be given the opportunity and

### Greetings to T.U.C. of Nigeria

Dr. Max Yergan sent the following cable to Mr. A. A. Adio-Moses, Acting Secretary-General of the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, on the occasion of the third annual conference of the Congress, held in Lagos on December 7, 8, and 9.

"Council on African Affairs expresses sentiment of progressive Americans Negro and white in extending greetings and expression of solidarity to Trades Union Congress of Nigeria in third annual session. We congratulate T.U.C.N. on great accomplishments and promise continued cooperation in fight for freedom and security for all workers."

freedom to market their cocoa crop collectively through their own accredited agencies . . .

7. That the present war-time restrictions on export and import facilities be removed in order to allow the producers of agricultural produce in West Africa to purchase their needs and generally to trade with the United Kingdom and other countries through the producers' own accredited agencies.

#### International Cocoa Council

8. That the establishment of an International Council on Cocoa should be considered, which shall adopt a comprehensive approach to all problems of cocoa as an important world commodity; and that representatives of the producers in all the cocoa producing countries, as well as representatives of the principal consuming countries and manufacturing interests, are to serve on the Council.

9. That the primary responsibility of an International Council on Cocoa shall be as follows: (a) To compile economic data, which shall form the basis for the formulation of a stable price policy for cocoa and other agricultural produce, always paying due regard to the rising cost of living and labor in the cocoa producing countries.

(b) To formulate a price policy for cocoa as an important world commodity which shall apply generally to all cocoa producing countries.

(c) To allocate to the various consuming countries the percentage which each consuming country shall have out of the total stock of cocoa available in the world market.

10. That it shall not be the responsibility of an International Council on Cocoa to purchase or sell cocoa or any other commodity, but merely to formulate a general stable price policy along the lines suggested above.

11. That fundamental changes be made in the Co-operative Ordinances of the Gold Coast and Nigeria in order to bring the Co-operative Societies into line with the real principles of co-operation, as is the practice in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. . . .

12. That the Imperial Government and the local Governments in West Africa should change their attitudes towards the existing Farmers' own organizations and should recognize the legitimate claims of the producers to consultation and effective participation in the formulation of any policy that affects the cocoa industry and all other West African agricultural produce generally.

In concluding their memorandum the delegation expressed the belief "that there are enough men and women with good will in the present Imperial Government of Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which unfortunately might affect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and Britain."

# Editorial

THOUGH the Senate has overwhelmingly approved full participation of the United States in the United Nations Organization, and though this government's expressed policy is one of international cooperation, America is *in fact* moving rapidly in the direction of isolationism. This is *not* the post-World War I or pre-World War II brand of isolationism, which maintained that America should not "meddle" in foreign affairs but should "mind its own business," safely protected by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. No, this is a new kind of isolationism which is quite different.

It is an isolationism born out of the *very real meddling* by the United States in the affairs of China, of Indonesia, and of other countries. The pursuance of the practice of intervention on the side of imperialism and feudal reaction and against colonial and semi-colonial peoples struggling to achieve freedom and democracy has made or is making America an object of hate and fear in the minds of hundreds of millions of people in the dependent areas of the world.

And in the independent countries there is also fear and suspicion of an America that plays politics with food relief for starving peoples abroad,—of an America that, claiming to be more righteous than other nations, retains exclusive possession of the secret of the atomic bomb, at the same time continuing to manufacture stock-piles of this ruthless and devastating weapon.

A RADICAL change has occurred since Wendell Willkie, three years ago, spoke of the great "reservoir of good will" which America possessed in the trust of peoples all over the world. "The existence of this reservoir," he said, "is the biggest political fact of our time. No other western nation has such a reservoir. Ours must be used to unify the peoples of the earth in the human quest for freedom and justice."

That it has not, since the war ended, been used to this end explains why America's reservoir of good will is now running dry, why she is involuntarily isolating herself from the rest of the world.

And yet this is not what the great majority of the American people want. The American *public* has not suddenly become selfishly nationalistic and reactionary. The expression of official *policy* of international cooperation coincides with American public opinion, but the record of governmental *practice* runs counter to both policy and public opinion.

It is the responsibility of the American public, of all strata and organization of the American public, to demand that our government make its deeds parallel its words.

America's present isolationism though different from the earlier species is even more deadly, and will, if not hastily ended, most assuredly lead to the third and last World War.



Nigerian Soldiers—They Fought for World Freedom, not Imperialism

# News Notes

LONDON—A West African Governors' Conference with headquarters at Accra, Gold Coast, will hold its first meeting in January, it was recently announced in Parliament. This body will aim at coordination and cooperation on social and economic problems and research in Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The Secretary of State for Colonies will be Chairman of the body—made up of Governors but no representatives of the *governed*.

★  
JOHANNESBURG—Mr. Vanderburg, Minerals Attaché to the American legation, reports that large scale purchases of South African minerals are likely to be made by Washington, as the United States has found it necessary to build up mineral reserves from other countries, many of our own deposits having been depleted by the war. Manganese, chromite, mercury, lead and zinc are the minerals most required by America, it is said, and in most cases these will be refined before shipment across the Atlantic.

★  
LAGOS, NIGERIA—Miss Olga Rhodes has qualified as the first Nigerian female radio engineer, having recently completed a technical course in England. A local newspaper cites Miss Rhodes' accomplishment as an example of the need of African youth "to detour from the beaten paths of the white collar professions and explore the virgin fields of technology."

★  
ACCRA, GOLD COAST—The Gold Coast *Observer* reports the award of scholarships by the Ashanti Confederacy Council to two African youths of common lineage for the study of public administration in the United Kingdom. The paper applauds this action as a notable instance of the principle that *self-help* makes for *self-government*.

★  
PARIS—The Director of Political Affairs in the French Ministry of Colonies, together with other French experts, visited London during November and conferred with officials in the British Colonial Office regarding a number of administrative and technical questions affecting the colonies of both nations, particularly in West Africa. Plans for continued contact were agreed upon.

★  
LONDON—A recently published Colonial Office report on higher education in West Africa gives the following information on the number of Negro students from British West African colonies attending institutions of higher learning in the United Kingdom and Ireland as of February 1945:

Nigeria—pop.	21,261,000	—178 students
Gold Coast—	3,960,000	—127 students
Sierra Leone—	1,768,000	—36 students
Gambia—	199,000	—4 students

(Official population figures are not to be taken too literally.)

I enclose \$1.00 for 12 issues of  
*New AFRICA*

Name .....

Address .....

Please mail and make checks payable

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 West 26th Street

New York 10, N. Y.

W. A. HUNTON, Editor

Murray Hill 4-6140

**Collection Number: AD843**

**XUMA, A.B., Papers**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:-* **Historical Papers Research Archive**

*Location:-* **Johannesburg**

**©2013**

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.