

Advance

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STRUGGLE OPENS AGAINST SELL-OUT MERGER

Betrayal Like Thunderbolt

JOHANNESBURG.

THE sudden announcement through the daily Press of a trade union merger between the South African Trades and Labour Council and other bodies which have collaborated with the Nationalist Government has come as a thunderbolt to members of the T.L.C. affiliated unions. Despite warnings, they had regarded such a betrayal as impossible, and are now rallying their forces against the scheming of the so-called "inner circle" of the T.L.C., which has never consulted them but attempted a behind-the-scenes sell-out.

But this step-by-step betrayal of the long-standing principles of trade unionism cannot be carried out without the consent of the unions themselves, and the fight will be taken up at the national conference in July. Without a two-thirds vote the sell-out leaders cannot legally dissolve the T.L.C. and merge with the apartheid elements.

Contrary to every precedent, the T.L.C. leaders failed to consult or notify affiliates beforehand, and the first that was heard of the reported agreement (outside of the "inner circle" of the leaders) was the bald announcement in the daily Press.

When Mr. Morris Kagan resigned from the National Executive at the beginning of March he warned "that the majority of the executive were planning to dissolve the T.L.C. and unite with the 'break-away' unions to form a new co-ordinating body, which would exclude African unions" (Advance, March 11, 1954). "I regard such a move as a complete betrayal of trade union principles," said Mr. Kagan.

ADVANCE WARNING

"It seems clear," warned Advance, "that the majority on the T.L.C. Executive are now bent on throwing overboard the 30-year-old principle that the movement should affiliate on an equal basis organisations of all workers, irrespective of race or colour: a principle that has guided the Council since its inception and entitled it to claim to be the only truly representative federation of all organised labour."

Although these warnings were not officially repudiated at the time (Miss Hartwell, T.L.C. secretary, told Advance the Council was "too busy" to worry about denying Press reports), many trade unionists refused to take them seriously, and even accused the "Left" of irresponsibility.

It is only now that many of these critics are "waking up" to the very real dangers in the situation.

"We would all like to see unity in the ranks of the trade union movement," Mr. Morris Kagan said in an interview with Advance last week. "But an alleged unity which means the exclusion of the representatives of the majority of the working class is no unity at all. It can only lead to further defeats and disasters for the movement."

LAST WORD NOT SAID

"However, the last word has not been said. The leaders of the T.L.C. have neither a legal nor a moral right to commit the affiliated unions without their consent. The last word will be said at the forthcoming national conference of the Trades and Labour Council in July. The

Council cannot be dissolved without a two-thirds majority of affiliated bodies consenting.

"I trust they will not consent. Since its foundation by the late Bill Andrews and others in the '20s the T.L.C. has steadfastly stood by the principle of uniting all workers in South Africa, irrespective of colour.

"Maybe some will hope that by sacrificing this principle they will at least be gaining a united front of all unions against the Government and the Schoeman Bill. This is an illusion. I can assure them that the surrender to apartheid ideas is the first step towards surrender on every other trade union principle. The McCormicks and the Downses have no intention of seriously leading the workers against the Government in its anti-labour drive. This is a step not towards a united, militant and independent trade union movement; it is a step towards a Nazi Labour Front."

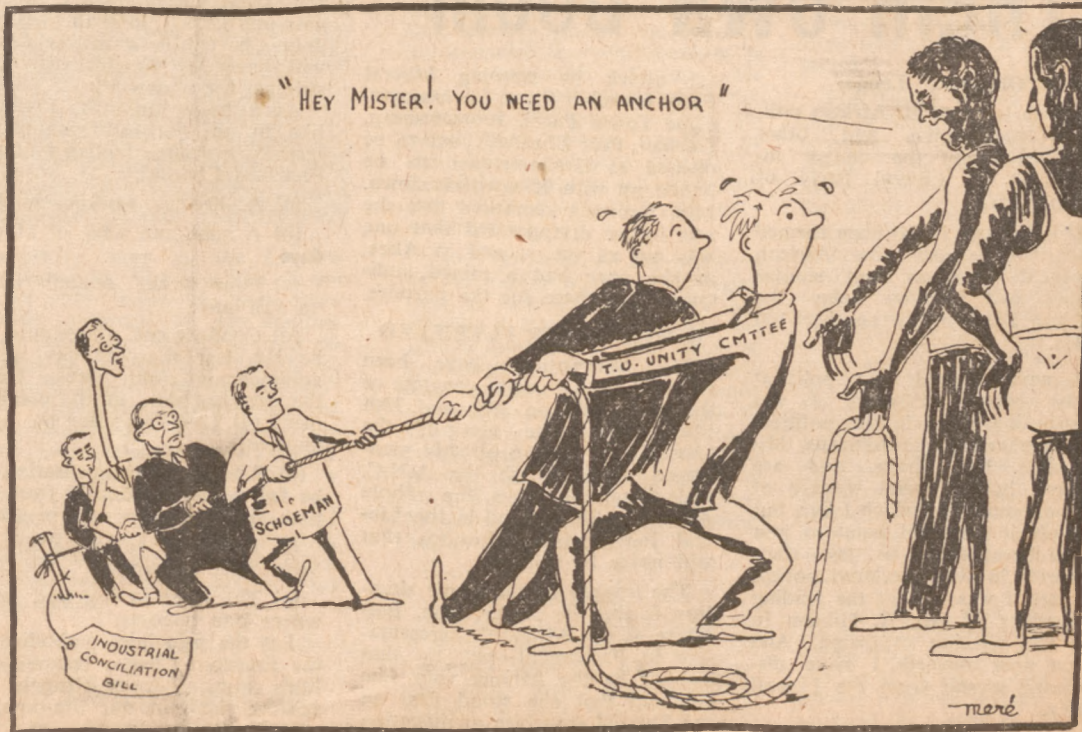
AFRICANS DISGUSTED

African trade unions affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council are disgusted at this reported move, which they regard as a sell-out.

The general opinion in progressive trade union circles, however, is that the Trades and Labour Council has more vitality than its leaders anticipate, and that the forthcoming national conference will refuse to endorse the dissolution of their organisation.

Some indication of how the outside world views the question of excluding Africans from the trade union movement and the struggle against the Government is to be gained from a message to a local engineering union from the Engineering and Metal Workers' International (WFTU), representing 30 million affiliated members:

"In view of the importance of the question (the Schoeman Bill), we think that the exclusion of the African trade unions, representing the great majority of the working class, from the "all-in" conference does not conform to the most elementary standards of democracy, and is a striking violation of the fundamental trade union rights of the workers and the most elementary human and social laws."



PULL TOGETHER OR FALL APART

NATIVE LABOUR ACT USED TO ENFORCE STARVATION

38 African Strikers in Durban Charged

DURBAN.

THIRTY-EIGHT African workers have been charged under the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, section 18, for refusing to work for starvation wages and taking part in a strike. These workers have suffered two wage cuts during the past four months. "No law can make us agree to starve," one of them told Advance, expressing the feeling of the men.

Six of the workers are out on bail, the remainder, due to lack of funds, are in jail.

They were to appear in the Pine-town Court this week.

These Africans were arrested as the "ringleaders" of the 250 Africans who went on strike at Natal Spinners last week after their request for higher wages had been turned down.

Factory at Standstill

Every African worker left his machine and the factory has been at a standstill ever since.

The majority of the Africans are cotton spinners, doing semi-skilled work at labourers' rates of pay.

Four months ago qualified spinners received a basic wage of £2 4s. per week. Other grades of spinners received £1 13s. 11d. per week. All wages were reduced to £1 13s. 4d. and grading was eliminated.

In February their wages were

again cut, spinners receiving only £1 7s. 6d. a week.

Last week the workers told the management that they could not go on working for such low wages. The management replied that those who did not want to work could go. The workers unanimously decided to go on strike. They walked out of the factory surrounded by police.

Cannot Live

Interviewed by Advance, Mr. L. Zondi, one of the workers said: "We were compelled to take strike action because we cannot live on our wages."

"All of us were brought to the factory from Ladysmith where our wives and children had to remain. We live at Clermont Township where we must pay a rental of at least £1 5s. per month. Bus fares to and from work cost us nearly £1 a month.

"We must eat and clothe ourselves and then send money to

Remembering The Rosenbergs

JOHANNESBURG.

Commemorating Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the tragic martyrs to McCarthyism, who were executed one year ago, the Johannesburg Youth Forum has called a memorial meeting at 4a Kort Street for Wednesday, June 16, at 8 p.m.

Mr. Lionel Forman, who was himself in Europe at the time, will speak on the way in which the trial was framed up, and the reaction of the people in Europe and elsewhere. Other speakers will include Mr. L. Bernstein and Mr. A. M. Kathrada.

our wives and children. How can they expect us to live on a wage of £1 7s. 6d. a week?

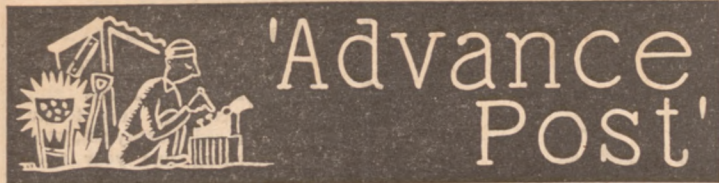
"Now we have been charged under a new law. We do not know anything about this law. But no law can make us agree to starve."

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AFRICANS WHO JOIN LIBERALS FINANCE THEIR OWN DOOM

From "Observer," Langa:

I wish to warn all African political organisations and other organisations of the danger inherent in the Liberal Party of South Africa.

It is obvious it has been formed solely to smash the African National Congress and similar bodies and thereby delay the African freedom by another 100 years.

I never joined any political party before, although I am greatly interested in the political trends affecting the Africans. My activities have been, and are always, in the social welfare of the community in which I live, but I made it a special point to join the Liberal Party to test their sincerity in their declared policy. In fact, I was one of the leading canvassers of Mr. J. Gibson in his last election campaign. And from now onwards I have dissociated myself from the Liberal Party.

DESTRUCTIVE PLAN

The plan of the Liberals is two-pronged in this disruptive and destructive undertaking. Firstly, the attack by skilful manoeuvres is directed to the leaders of the A.N.C. to win them over to the Liberal Party by pretending to be sympathetic and willing to assist and associate with the African National Congress and vigilance associations in their struggles. These leaders immediately on joining the party are given seats in the Provincial Committee and swallowed up there. Such recent victims are Mr. L. Pezisa, vice-chairman of Kensington branch of the A.N.C., and the A.N.C. star, Mr. Mfafa, although he is not on the committee yet.

The second edge of the weapon is to get the support of African women to join the party, thereby persuading the menfolk to join it. This is to be brought about by introducing sewing clubs for women, rummage sales and occasional social gatherings to raise funds for the party. Of course, poor Chief Njokweni is being used as a bait. Fortunately, Africans no longer take any notice of European-sponsored chiefs.

The process does not end there. All the places with strong A.N.C. activities have been singled out

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for attack by opening Liberal Party branches there; for example, Cape Town, Paarl, Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, one to be opened at Grahamstown to be linked up with Kingwilliamstown. Mrs. Ballinger remarked that she was rather disappointed that one was not as yet opened at Alice, as she once had a mixed audience of 60 there for the purpose.

HOPES NEVER FULFILLED

My observations have been crowned at this recent congress of the party held on 29th and 30th May, 1954. The aim of the Liberals, as I have already mentioned, is to smash the A.N.C. and thereby contain the whole African political mind in the Liberal Party with aspirations that will never be fulfilled.

The tragedy of the whole situation is that its leader, Mrs. Ballinger, is the Africans' representative in Parliament—put to that honour by the African vote. She declared that she stood firm on the Std. VI franchise qualification before the African could obtain his franchise.

This in itself is an indication of their aim of perpetual domination.

Why must the Africans be canvassed to join the Liberal Party—in other words, to finance their own doom? The people to be canvassed into the Liberal Party are Europeans themselves in order to change their minds of prejudice towards the Africans. I appeal to African leaders to take stock of this genuine call.

SUPPORT FOR ADVANCE

From Mr. M. Mfawze, Despatch Location:

I have been a reader of Advance for a long time, and I call on all Africans to support this paper because it advises us about all the oppression traps of the Nationalist Government. Advance is going to save us from the bad way which Malan tells us is good. Why does Malan not use the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws and the Native Resettlement Bill for the Whites if they are so good for Africans?

Advance for advising and Africa for Africans!

A ZULU ADVANCE?

From Percy Zeka, Maritzburg:

As a Capetonian who is now living in Natal, I am writing to suggest that it would be a good thing for our people if Advance could be published in our languages—Zulu, Xosa and Sesuto.

(We publish in English because Advance is read not only by Africans but also by Coloured people, Indians and Europeans, and English is the language most widely understood by the various races. However, we would like to hear readers' opinions on Mr. Zeka's suggestion.—Ed.)

Address letters to ADVANCE POST, 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town. Some of the letters below have been shortened or extracts only printed. All letters must include the real name and address of writer (not necessarily for publication), otherwise they cannot be printed.

HAIL THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

From Arnold Selby, Johannesburg:

We, South Africans who love our country and want to see it become a land of happiness, welcome the Congress of the People. We, who want to see our country free from racial bigotry, bitterness and hatred, look to the Freedom Charter as a means which will bring us together in our struggle for a new life.

As a trade unionist, I would like to see the following social security measures included in the Freedom Charter:

- A 40-hour working week;
 - A minimum wage of £1 per day;
 - Four weeks' annual leave on full pay;
 - Confinement allowances to be not less than £3 per week, commencing eight weeks from the expected date of the confinement till 12 weeks after the confinement;
 - Workmen's compensation to be full pay, commencing from the time the workman was injured.
 - The right to strike to enforce wage demands;
 - The right to live and work where one chooses.
- Let the principles embodied in the Freedom Charter become our life's aim. Let us struggle to achieve them in our life-time.
- Hail the Congress of the People!

FEED THE A.N.C.'S NEW BABY

From Witness K. Tamsange, Tiger Kloof:

Being moved by the steps taken in the Transkei to form a branch of the A.N.C., I feel it my duty to say a few words of encouragement through Advance, the mouthpiece of the African people (by Africans I mean all who are proud of Africa as a democratic and not an oligarchic country, irrespective of race or creed).

Mr. Sisulu deserves the congratulations of all freedom-loving people because his tour has done much to awaken the people in the Reserve. We hope the leaders of the Congress will use their opportunity to air the grievances of the people against the brutal police rule which is carried on in the Transkei.

I hope the Congress will be able to make the people in the Reserves understand that the stream of laws passed by the Native Affairs Department is designed to keep them in darkness and make them the victims of perpetual servitude. Leaders of the Transkei! Strive for the better cause with fortitude!

I want to appeal to Dr. Xuma, Dr. Njongwe and Mr. Mandela. These men were born and bred in the Transkei, but it seems as if in their struggles they have forgotten their Reserve. I feel it is their duty now to support and feed the newly-born child and lead it along the right path, feed it on delicacies until it is old enough to eat solids.

May I appeal also to our youth. Gentlemen, the freedom of our people is in our hands. We have a mission to fulfil. If we cannot lead our people our future is doomed.

I also appeal to the All-African Convention not to be a stumbling block in the way of the African National Congress.

Editorial

THE ANSWER TO SCHOEMAN

IT is now clear that, in the face of opposition from both the mass of the trade unions and the employers, the Nationalist Government's evil and destructive Industrial Conciliation Bill will shortly become law. With minor alterations in procedure on some points, practically all the objectionable features against which Advance has consistently warned the workers for the past year are included.

What are the prospects for the workers? For the white workers the future was predicted accurately by the memorandum of the Trade Union Unity Committee which said implementation of the Bill "will cause the disintegration and eventual destruction of our trade union movement. The system of collective bargaining, industrial conciliation and self-government in industry which has developed successfully during the past 30 years will vanish with the trade unions."

For the mixed unions which have become a portent and a promise of ever-widening unity and understanding among the wage-earners, the Bill opens the way to total disruption, raids on the funds and accumulated assets of the workers by greedy nationalist-inspired stooges, humiliation, unemployment and intense discrimination.

For the trade unions composed largely or wholly of Indian or Coloured workers the way is open for discrimination and the wholesale destruction of collective bargaining.

For the African unions Schoeman already has his Act ready to "bleed them to death."

Aim of Nationalists

The aim of the Nationalists is eventually to destroy trade unionism as an historic force in South Africa. This came out distinctly in the debates in Parliament.

Two generations ago the Afrikaner leadership represented a crude but robust nationalism of petty proprietors. Since then they have degenerated into second-hand fascists with second-hand ideas. Throughout this period they have never gained any understanding whatever of the working class or of worker organisation based on trade unionism. They have either feared or suspected it. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nationalist interference in the trade union field has been destructive in the extreme. The present Bill is designed to hasten the whole process of destruction and pave the way for a fascist "Labour Front" scheme—another second-hand idea inherited from Mussolini and Hitler.

Serious But Not Hopeless

The situation is serious but not hopeless. The United Party and the representatives of at least 90 per cent. of the employers are in a state of anxiety as they foresee chaos and civil strife setting back South Africa's prosperous industry and commerce and putting an end to progress. The reason is that the employers do not trust one another. As long as there are restraints such as industrial agreements backed, in the last resort, by the bargaining power of a strong trade union, then there is no temptation to go in for cut-throat competition at the expense of the workers. With the restraints down and the unions disorganised, the temptation will arise from the more unscrupulous and greedy employers.

We warn the employers, in the first place, not to try any tricks. They must restrain themselves from taking advantage of the Nationalist attack on the workers. If they want industrial civil war they can have it, and they will find themselves against a bitter and desperate working class. We don't want that. We say—Employers, it is in your own interests to keep your hands off.

But in the meantime the workers must not allow themselves to be rendered defenceless by the shackling and break-up of their established unions. Alternative forms of organisation, a second line of defence, must be rapidly built up. The answer to the Nationalists must be the great cry which has always stood the workers in good stead in many a crisis in many a country:

Organise on the Job

In every factory, shop, building site the second line of defence must be built rapidly. Shop stewards' committees, workers' councils of action covering trades, areas and districts are the answer to the legal garrot by which Schoeman and company hope to strangle the unions.

Workers! Back your unions as never before wherever they take up the fight. Refuse to have anything to do with the race-splitting of existing unions. Stand by your White, Coloured and African comrades. And join the struggle by ORGANISING ON THE JOB. This is not only a struggle over principles. It is a fight for your job, your wage packet, your home and children.

STRONG-ARM TACTICS TO SMASH RHODESIA RAIL STRIKE

Govt. Hysteria Hides Men's Real Grievances

BULAWAYO.

EMERGENCY measures, threats of the Northern and Southern Rhodesian governments, the arrests of two of the strike leaders and threatened deportation of one of them, Mr. C. Taylor, has resulted in a spread of the Rhodesian rail strike from the firemen to guards and engine drivers. Practically the whole of the Railway services in the Rhodesias have come to a standstill.

The strike arose originally out of a demand by the firemen of the Rhodesian Railways for an increase in pay which has been forced upon them by the soaring cost of living. The overwhelming majority support their strike leaders and have clashed with their official leadership led by Mr. V. C. A. Beirowski who are supporting the bosses and Rhodesian governments.

The strike commenced on June 4 at Salisbury and subsequently within a matter of hours spread to major centres such as Que Que, Dett, Inyazure, Bulawayo, Broken Hill and Gwelo.

RED HERRING TACTICS

The strike has been represented as being engineered by an extremist group against the wishes of the official union leadership.

While Mr. Went was claiming widespread support for the official union leadership with its policy of passive submission to the railway bosses and Government, both the Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia were rushing through emergency measures aimed at crippling the strike by brute force. This proved the strike arose from genuine, widespread grievances and was not the work of a handful of agitators and malcontents.

In Northern Rhodesia the Government threatened to call an emergency and declared that the strike would not be protected under the Northern Rhodesian Trade Unions and Trades Disputes Act. Anyone who tried to prevent another from working would be liable to prosecution.

LEADERS ARRESTED

Shortly after the start of the strike Mr. C. R. Taylor and the chairman, Mr. C. Raeburn, were arrested. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, later announced that Taylor was to be deported for reasons not connected with his trade union activities in Rhodesia but for reports the government had received about his activities before he came to Rhodesia. Mr. Todd failed, however, to disclose what the reasons were.

U.S. PERSECUTES CHINESE STUDENTS

The United States Government has been accused of detaining 5,000 Chinese students by refusing them permission to leave the country. Their passports have been taken from them and they have been threatened by the U.S. Immigration Office with fines not exceeding 5,000 dollars or not more than five years' imprisonment, or both, should they try to leave without permission.

This information was given by Huang Hua, the spokesman of the Chinese delegation at Geneva, in a Press interview. He also stated that among those who had applied for exit certain of them had suffered arrest and maltreatment.

If the U.S. Government respected the principles of international law and humanitarianism it should immediately cease its maltreatment of Chinese students and restore to them their inalienable right to leave the country, he added.

In spite of the government's threatened strong-arm tactics, efforts have been made by both the employers and the government to woo the strikers back to work. The General Manager of the Rhodesian Railways, Col. H. B. Everard, announced on Sunday that if the strikers returned immediately to work there would be no victimisation, other than loss of pay for the period of the employees' absence.

Sir Roy Wilensky, Federal Minister of Transport, promised a meeting of the Salisbury Branch of railway workers that their suggestions on existing Rhodesian industrial legislation would be considered if they returned to work. In answer to his statement, to which was added a demand that the "Union put its house in order", the meeting broke up and the guardsmen and firemen decided to support the strike as a protest against the Government's attitude.

FRENCH MOTHERS ANXIOUS

The unpopularity of the French "dirty" war in Indo-China among French people of all walks of life has been demonstrated by an unending stream of French delegations which have visited Viet-Nam representatives at the Geneva Conference. In a 12-day period up to last week 42 such delegations were interviewed.

Mme. Jourdan, whose son perished at Dien Bien Phu, said: "My son has been deceived by lying propaganda in the garrisons. This propaganda has sent French youths to their death to safeguard the selfish interests of the capitalists."

U.S. ORGANISED OVERTHROW OF E. PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

Ambassador Named "Villain of the Piece"

NEW DELHI.

DIRECT American pressure is believed in India to have been behind the military coup by which the Moslem League Government, led by Mohammed Ali, has deposed the democratically elected East Bengal Government and has set up an armed dictatorship. The United Press of India names the U.S. Ambassador in Karachi as the "villain of the piece."

The East Bengal Government, representing over half the population of Pakistan, was elected by an overwhelming majority on a platform which was in direct opposition to the recently concluded U.S.-Pakistan military alliance.

After the Provincial Government took office it demanded the resignation of the Moslem League Central Government on the grounds that its complete defeat by popular vote was a repudiation of its policy of subservience to America.

Following the dissolution of the Provincial Government mass arrests have been made throughout the province, and Mr. Fazlul Huk, the deposed Premier, has been declared

HITLER POLICY— U.S. DOLLARS

LONDON.

Franz von Papen, son of the former Nazi Ambassador, and Otto Stinnes, of the steel family which helped to finance Hitler, have arrived in Austria with a large number of other German big business men, financiers, politicians and industrialists to give effect to the American-financed and sponsored European coal and steel community and the European Payments Union.

This new Americanised German invasion of Austria is the 1954 model of the Nazi *anschluss* (unification) of the late '30s.

a "traitor" in leaflets dropped by Pakistan military aircraft over Bengal villages. Among the arrested is the former Minister of Co-operation, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman.

In an endeavour to find a pretext for his arrest the Pakistan Prime Minister had to unearth Section 92 of the British Government of India Act of 1935. The charge arises out of a demonstration which took place outside a jail in which he is alleged to have participated.

Troops have poured into the province and a virtual military dictatorship has been set up under Ali's general, Iskander Mirza, the man who negotiated the recent U.S. military pact with Pakistan.

The action of Mohamed Ali follows close on this pact with the United States and indicates at least two things. Firstly, in March of this year Mohammed Ali's party was soundly defeated in East Bengal in the first Pakistan provincial election to take place, winning only 10 of the 309 seats in the House. The parties composing the United Front won 223 seats. The United Front Government, which composed a loose alliance of Hindus, Moslems and political parties of various opinions, has been advancing the demand for the autonomy of East Bengal.

Reports from West Pakistan indicate that if free elections took place there the Moslem League

BRITISH CLAMP MARTIAL LAW CONDITIONS ON BUGANDA

"Most Peaceful" People Treated As Enemies

LONDON.

BRITISH colonial policy of suppression and terror is clearly seen in their attempt to destroy the national democratic movement in Buganda. Following a highly successful trade boycott of British goods by the people of Buganda, in protest against the Governor's new powers to exile any person he considers "dangerous to public security", a state of emergency has again been declared in Buganda.

Eight Buganda chiefs have already been suspended on the charge of having supported the boycott, and hundreds of alleged "intimidators" have been arrested.

"INTIMIDATION"

In a debate on Buganda in the British House of Commons last week Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, Colonial Secretary, admitted that no physical violence had taken place to enforce the boycott, but alleged "intimidation and the cutting down of trees and so on belonging to those who have ignored the boycott."

A suggestion by Mr. Sydney Silverman, Labour M.P., that free

elections be held in Buganda and the Colonial Office abide by the result, was totally rejected by Mr. Lyttleton.

While the former Labour Colonial Secretary, Mr. Griffiths, indicated that he considered a peaceful boycott was legitimate political action, Mr. Lyttleton insisted "criminal elements have been taking advantage of the situation."

The trade boycott started on May 1st following a call by the Uganda National Congress, which appealed to all Africans to buy nothing except necessities for a period of three months.

But the extent of resentment of the Buganda at the malicious propaganda conducted against the Kabaka and the disregard of their traditional institutions was displayed in the overwhelming success of the boycott of the Queen's visit—described as amounting to "clear indifference".

Demanding the immediate repeal of the Deportation Laws the Uganda National Congress has now declared a country-wide general boycott of British goods.

would suffer a similar fate. For this reason it is clear that Mohammed Ali is anxious to strengthen his hand and has turned to the army for this purpose.

Secondly, the American Government has little sympathy for popular governments, which are a constant obstacle to her imperialist ambitions. To this must be added her lack of faith in Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

The first step has been carried out; the military pact has been concluded. With the aid Pakistan is to receive, her present Government hopes by force to perpetuate its existence. For America it will mean an important influence in Asian affairs, an attempt at weakening the prestige of India, if not coercing her into American ways, and, finally, another base for an adventurist, war-like policy against peaceful nations.

Commenting on the news, Moulana Bousani, head of the Awami League, largest single party in the deposed United Front Government, said in London before his return to East Bengal: "We are . . . not willing to be tools in the hands of the imperialists and their war designs. We want peace and democracy for us and for all."

Big Vote Against The H-Bomb

MARGATE.

One hundred and fifty thousand British civil servants have voted, by a spectacular majority, against the continuance of H-bomb experiments. The resolution, which was supported by the National Executive of the Civil Service Clerical Association at its annual conference, has instructed the N.E.C. to urge the Trade Union Congress to request the Government to promote the establishment of an international organisation, with powers of inspection, to control the use of atomic energy and to ensure its use for peaceful purposes.

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DISRUPTERS FAIL IN ORLANDO A.N.C.

JOHANNESBURG.
An attempt was made recently by the disruptive "Bafabegiya" group, whose leaders were expelled from the African National Congress by the Transvaal provincial executive some months ago, to capture control of the important Orlando branch of the A.N.C. Taking advantage of the fact that the annual general meeting was due to be held, the group made use of supporters in the Orlando East organs of Congress to issue notices convening an "annual general meeting".

The attempt failed ignominiously. The Orlando Branch Executive, hearing of these notices, took quick action to circulate all organs in the branch, warning them that the so-called "annual general meeting" of May 30 was irregular and undisciplined.

MISLEADING REPORT
A statement issued by the Orlando Branch Executive vigorously condemns reports of the proceedings of this irregular meeting published in last week's Bantu World, which splashed a big headline on its front page alleging that "MacDonald Maseko was elected Chairman of Orlando Branch". These reports, states the Executive, are "misleading

ONLY WORKERS CAN NOW STAND AGAINST NATS

CAPE TOWN.
THE Nationalist Government has declared war on the workers of South Africa, and the only effective opposition to Malan's fascist plans must come from the united struggle of the organised working class. This was the message heard and supported by a well-mixed meeting of Coloured, African and Europeans in Salt River last Thursday to carry forward the campaign against the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill.

The meeting was called by the Workers' Council of Action. The chairman of the Council of Action, Mr. A. C. Gordon, said the Schoeman Bill tied the workers hand and foot. The Government had declared war on the workers. The history of the struggle for trade union rights in South Africa had been written in blood, and the workers of town and country must unite in order to defend their rights and to obtain freedom, justice and equality. "We have had enough of oppression, and we will stand no more," he said. "Many workers must be made to realise that they have been betrayed by leading South African trade unionists, who have secretly discussed this Bill with the Government."

DEATH BLOW
Mr. L. B. Lee-Warden, representing the S.A. Congress of Democrats, said apartheid was leading the country to ruin and, in the shape of the Schoeman Bill, was a death blow to trade unionism. "The Bill sets a new world record for retrogressive legislation and puts the trade union movement back to the days of Paul Kruger."

Mr. Lee-Warden pointed out that the Suppression of Communism Act was the cloak used by the Government to weaken the unions and take the fight out of them before the present Bill was introduced. "It's not too late to stop this Bill," he said. "Organise the workers of the whole country and see that your own trade union acts, not just talks. Then you can save your liberty."

Speaking for the Coloured workers, trade unionist Mr. J. Beyers said: "The workers are the only people who can save South Africa—but not without a fight." The workers were being taken back to the days of slave labour, he said. "It may be a long struggle, but we know we hold the key to victory."
Mr. Thomas Esitang, speaking on behalf of the African National Congress, said the word "apartheid" had taken on a most sinister meaning under the Nationalists.

AFRICAN OPPOSITION
He warned the Government of African opposition. "The A.N.C. is a political organisation composed entirely of workers. They are the backbone of the country. The Government knows that if the Africans, who turn the wheels of industry, withdraw their hands the country will face economic ruin."

MOAN OVER COST OF MALAYA WAR
LONDON.
Bemoaning the tremendous and continued cost of the Malayan war to the British people, the London Daily Express says: "Twenty-three battalions in full fighting strength, plus headquarters staff," are engaged in Malaya. Most of the men are young conscripts, and the cost to the British taxpayer for bare maintenance of these troops alone, apart from the tens of thousands of police and other units, works out to about £13 per soldier per week.

HER LAST SIXPENGE

While I was selling Advance in Windermere last week a wrinkled and ragged old woman came up to buy her paper. From her torn handkerchief she carefully untied a sixpence. When I offered her the change she refused it. "You are fighting for us," she said; "you deserve my last sixpence."
If all our readers would show this spirit it would no longer be necessary to publish this appeal. London readers sprang a pleasant surprise on us last week. They have formed an Advance committee and have sent us £15 10s. as their first contribution. How about readers in other places following their example. If we had Advance committees functioning throughout South Africa our financial troubles would be over.
Last week brought in a total of £200. Keep it up!
M.B.

P.O. Apartheid Means Insults

CAPE TOWN.
An African who has worked many years for a firm right next door to one of the Cape Town city post offices went in to withdraw 5s. from his P.O. account last week. This is the conversation which took place at the apartheid counter:
White Woman Clerk: Where is your tax receipt?
Customer: At home.
Clerk: Where's your pass?
Customer: At home.
Clerk: Where do you live?
Customer: replies.
Clerk: Where?
Customer has to repeat his address.
Clerk: Where do you work?
Customer: replies.
Clerk: How much do you want?
Customer: Five shillings.
Clerk: I'll give you four shillings.

Coloured War On Bus Apartheid

CAPE TOWN.
All organisations in the Western Cape have been invited by the South African Coloured People's Organisation to a conference on 15th June at the Crawford Hall, 350 Victoria Road, Salt River, to organise action against the legislation by which the Government is to introduce apartheid on the buses in Cape Town.
"Do not have any illusions about this," writes the chairman, Mr. E. A. Deane, in the invitation. "If the Bill is passed it will be introduced bit by bit in experimental stages. . . . The real reason for the experiments will be to get the Non-European people used to the idea, gradually so that they finally accept it."

PUNISHMENT WITHOUT TRIAL

— S.A. Police Pattern BENONI.

Can the police punish people without their being sentenced in a court? The law says no. But consider the case of Joubert Kali, Benoni member of the African National Congress.
On Saturday, May 8, the police arrested him in Benoni location while he was selling Advance and distributing Congress leaflets. They took him to the office of the superintendent, who told them he could not be charged for selling papers and distributing leaflets. They did not release him. They took him to the police station and demanded his pass. It was in the location, and he sent a message to his wife to bring it. When she arrived with the pass the police refused to allow her to give it to him. He spent the night in jail.
NIGHT IN JAIL
The next day, Sunday, Mrs. Kali came again to bring him some food. She brought the pass, too, and after Mr. Kali made a vigorous protest at police refusal to let her give him his pass she was eventually allowed to give it to him. He spent Sunday night in jail.
The next day, Monday, Mr. Kali was brought into the Native Commissioner's Court and put into a line of men to be sent to farm labour. When the Commissioner asked him if he was prepared to do hard labour on a farm Mr. Kali said definitely not. He produced his pass and demanded to know why he was being charged. The Commissioner asked the policeman in charge, who said he did not know. Then Mr. Kali was taken to the police station again. The police demanded his tax receipt. He had paid up to 1953. He spent Monday night in jail.
On Tuesday morning he was brought before a magistrate and charged with failing to pay his 1954 poll tax. The magistrate gave him 21 days to pay up, and he was released.
POLICE WENT TO HIS EMPLOYER
Then he went back to the iron and steel factory where he has been employed for the past two years. His boss told him that he had received a letter from the police about him. The job was finished. He could go.
Now Mr. Kali has spent three days in jail. He has lost his job. He had committed no crime. "I think," he said, "they want to frighten people so that they should not support the Congress and Advance."
"Are you frightened?" Mr. Kali was asked.
"We cannot be frightened by these things," he answered. "They only make us more angry."

INTERNATIONAL SUMMARY BY COMMENTATOR

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA IS CRACKING

EVERY day, on an average, between two and three Frenchmen are assassinated in North Africa. Every day French forces, official and unofficial, kill at least as many, and probably more, North Africans, known generally by the name Moors. This is now the chronic state of "peace" in that part of the glorious French Empire. We are familiar with the "glories" of empires, especially now that the sun is setting on them and they have sunk into a disreputable and ugly old age.
A peculiarly aggravating thing from the French point of view is that everything they do turns out to be the wrong thing. They are terrified of granting the Moorish peoples any concessions, because the very grant of a concession stimulates the national liberation movement to demand nothing short of full independence.
It is a terrible dilemma. What is M. Laniel or any other Prime Minister to do? On the whole, they try to do as little as possible of a positive kind. They meet struggle with repression, terror with terror. And for the rest they fight that hopeless, losing battle which comes at the end of every imperial era and is known in France as "retentionism." That means clinging on as long as possible, without plan, without hope, trying to make money quickly before being forced to quit.

French parliamentarians belonging to the Right-wing parties went to investigate and reported that the Foreign Legion and other units of the 30,000 strong French force had committed arson, rape and murder, including the murder of children. Officially the French admitted killing only 200 Tunisians in the riots but the generally accepted figure is well over 1,000.
Since then a running underground war has been carried on with continual assassinations and reprisals. The economic life of the country has ground down to a dead level of loss to France.

The lot of the Tunisian workers is desperate. Nearly 500,000 are unemployed and have no insurance benefits. Those who work are worse off than before the Second World War. Farm workers, for instance, earn 7d. per hour for a 12-hour day, while French workers have the full protection of labour legislation and wage determinations. The typical colonial grab of the land is illustrated by the fact that half a million Tunisian grain farmers hold an average of 12 acres each of poor land while 6,000 French settlers average 200 acres each of the best land.

Backward Morocco
Morocco is by far the richest of the three territories but it is socially the most backward. Here, the liberation movement is hampered by the preservation of a rather farcical but firmly rooted tribalism. Stiff unbending and somewhat silly in the context of the modern liberation struggle, the tribal chieftains conduct themselves and their affairs in almost pre-medieval fashion. This enables the French to play off tribes against each other, exploit personal and dynastic jealousies and thus weaken the unity of the people. But even this is a decidedly losing game.
French administrators in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco live in compounds surrounded by barbed wire and hundreds of troops. The settlers on the land sleep on their weapons much as the unpopular white settlers do in Kenya. And they look to French arms and finally to the United States to support them and allow them to hold on just a little longer.
"We may hold out for a few years; perhaps for our life-time," the French settlers say. "After that, who knows—and who cares?"

Ultimate Defeat
In an illuminating discussion of the position of the French in North Africa the correspondent Philip Deane in the London Observer compared the situation with that in South Africa.
"Like the whites in South Africa, the settlers have strong arguments to show that their future would be completely jeopardised if the natives had a fair deal, and these settlers are not altruists. They are ruthless pioneers who propose (as a solution) to bring in more European immigrants and push the Moor into the wilderness 'as happened with the Red Indians in the United States,' as one hears said."
But the real reason for French retentionism and her dilemma, he says, is that there is no safe way out. "Either they do something or they lose North Africa. But if they do what they should do, then they might lose it all the sooner."
"Whichever way the French turn in North Africa they are faced with ultimate defeat. Reluctant to make a decision, they prefer to go on with their usual methods rather than embark on experiments."
That is a somewhat ominous conclusion: "WHICHEVER WAY THEY TURN THEY ARE FACED WITH ULTIMATE DEFEAT." But one can safely say the same about colonialism throughout Africa. The game is up, only in French North Africa the end is nearer than in most other areas.

Lesson for South Africa

For South Africa what happens in French North Africa is interesting, important and highly instructive. There are many parallels, though, of course, the differences are still greater.
The three territories comprising French North Africa or the Moorish lands are Morocco, on the west, with its sea coast on the Atlantic; Algeria, in the middle, and stretching a good way into the Sahara; and Tunis, on the east, facing Sicily and Italy in the Mediterranean. From west to east is about 1,500 miles. The area of the three territories is about the same as the Union and South-West Africa, and the population about half as large again as ours.

Algeria is the oldest foothold of France in North Africa and is, politically, regarded as a province of France. It sends to the French Assembly 30 deputies. The selection of these deputies is a well-organised racket. Half of them are French colonialists belonging to the wealthy families who have coined fortunes from every type of fraud and exploitation. The other half are Moorish stooges. In the unstable and hopelessly corrupt French Assembly the 30 Algerian deputies hold a quite disproportionate power.

No Government for years has been able to hold office without them or to do anything against their wishes. They are a case of a very mangy tail wagging a debilitated dog. They also look after the interests of the French settlers in Morocco and Tunis, although they cannot prevent the daily cutting of settlers' throats, which is extremely annoying.
French power in Tunisia began by forcing a "protectorate" on the country in 1881. Ever since France has been vaguely promising to restore the independence of the country and putting off the day by the familiar tactics of retentionism. The last, most troublesome and also most backward of the areas to be grabbed was Morocco, which was made a "protectorate" by force of arms as late as 1912.
The most advanced, politically and socially, is Tunis. In fact, Tunis is in a position to take over its own administration and run its affairs without a hitch to-morrow if the retentionists could make up their minds to quit.

Tunis Double-cross
Tunis came close to gaining the first leg of her independence in 1950, when a Government with a tinge of Liberalism held office in Paris. A temporary Government under Mohamed Chenik was formed with the aim of negotiating a constitution leading towards nominal independence.
But less than two years afterwards, before the constitution had been worked out, the French reactionaries struck back. The pattern was similar to the double-cross in Indo-China when the French suddenly turned their guns on the Vietnam Government.
The Tunisian Government was arrested and exiled and a dictatorship imposed. Tremendous upheavals followed, in which the French reign of terror was equal to the worst atrocities under the Nazis.

TWO COMEDIES — BOSSES AND STOOGES

By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

satisfied with the other provisions in the Bill. The anti-strike clause, the industrial tribunal, etc.—all this is welcome to the employers. The United Party followed much the same line of thought in the debate on the Bill last week. The attack on the Bill by Mr. Hepple, leader of the Labour Party, was the best thing in the debate. But again, as in all debates in Parliament, every speaker took his stand on the superiority of the White man.
ADDED APARTHEIDERS
So much for the debate, which was really no more than a sham fight, in spite of the melodramatic all-night sitting. I want now to turn back to the report of the Coloured vote commission and give one further extract from the evidence.

This week's sample is from the evidence given by one of the Coloured organisations in favour of apartheid. The witnesses were the Rev. L. W. Schrieff and the Rev. H. Swarts, of "Christus Sy Sendkerk," at Retreat. Note the familiar phrases they use.
I tried counting the number of times they said, "We are quite satisfied," "We agree" and "It is apartheid and we agree with it," but I gave up half-way.
A SPOT OF LUCK
I might mention that the Rev. Swarts, apparently, had had some

we have been told that all the Coloureds are opposed to a separate roll?—We are perfectly satisfied with the proposal. Personally, we agree with it.
Senator Jackson (U.P.): What do you understand the duties of a guardian to be?—Mr. Schrieff: The duty of the guardian is to see that the child is properly looked after.
HE! YOU SLIPPED UP!
Assuming the number of the Coloured people is about the same as the number of the European people, to how much land, basing our division on the principles of Christianity and fair play, do you think you would be entitled?—Equal to the others.
So you would want about half the land?—Yes.
Mr. Hughes: You would want about half the Cape Province?—Yes.

(At this stage Mr. P. W. Botha, Nationalist, hurriedly intervened.)
Senator Jackson: Have you studied this new law (the Coloured Vote Bill)?—Yes.
Can you tell us what it contains?—The law provides for three representatives.
When did you read that?—I have read it in the paper.
But the Bill actually provides for four representatives?—That is right. It provides for four representatives.

What else?—There is a lot attached to it but I cannot remember everything.
But you come specially to give evidence about this Bill and you do not know what it contains?—I do know what it contains.
There is much more. If you want to read the rest of the evidence the two reports of the commission cost £1 15s. and £1 respectively. The price of the third report (of the select committee) is not stated.
Enjoy yourself!



M. Laniel

S.A. PIANIST THRILLED CZECHS



Outstanding South African pianist Harold Rubens was specially invited by the democratic Czechoslovak Government to take part in the great International Spring Festival of Music in Prague this year in honour of the composers Smetana and Dvorak. One of his first performances was with the Prague Symphony Orchestra, conducted by the Italian composer, Guido Arnoldi. Rubens played the Beethoven 4th Concerto to a wildly enthusiastic audience in the House of Artists. A series of other performances followed, and his stay in Czechoslovakia was specially extended. Picture shows Harold Rubens standing near one of the posters of his Prague concert.

WORLD-WIDE CAMPAIGN TO FREE PAUL ROBESON

NEW YORK.

A PROVISIONAL committee has been formed here to conduct a world-wide campaign for the restoration of passport facilities to Paul Robeson. Chairman of the committee is the world-renowned author, Howard Fast.

The great American Negro singer, one of the outstanding singers of our time, has for long been denied the opportunity of earning a living in his own country. Regular concert, stage and film engagements, radio and television appearances and recordings by commercial companies have been closed to him by the political persecution now rampant in America.

Robeson has received many invitations from overseas to appear at concerts, sing in operas and act in Othello, but has been unable to accept these engagements because of the State Department's refusal to grant him a passport. Thus not only Americans but people throughout the world are denied the opportunity of hearing this magnificent artist.

The provisional committee has issued an appeal for messages of protest to be sent to the United States State Department, Washington, D.C., or to the U.S. embassies in the different countries.

SUPPORT FROM S.A.

On behalf of the progressive forces in South Africa, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo has sent the following message of support:

"Ten million oppressed Non-Whites and European democrats in South Africa condemn the action of the U.S. Government in refusing a passport to Paul Robeson to go abroad as yet another blatant example of the way in which aggressive American imperialists are attempting to trample underfoot the hard-won and cherished rights and cultural heritage of the American

people. It exposes the claim of the American rulers that they are the champions of freedom as a hollow sham and mockery.

"The world acknowledges the voice of Paul Robeson as the voice of democracy, and as long as the U.S. Administration stifles this voice so long will the U.S. ruling class be condemned by peace-loving people all over the world. We in South Africa support wholeheartedly the world-wide demand to see and hear Paul Robeson, the world's great artist and fighter for peace and freedom."

PREDIKANT IS DISTURBED

JOHANNESBURG.

An article by Ds. R. J. Raath in the magazine *Vrou en Moeder*, organ of the S.A. Vrouefederasie, says the numerical proportion of Non-White school children to White is "disturbing." He gives the total figures for the Union as 544,972 White children at school and 1,428,024 Non-White.

The reverend gentleman is disturbed at the fact that there are numerically more Non-White children at school, not at the truth revealed by his figures, that there are no schools for millions of South African children. The figures show that all European children of school-going age are in schools but only half the Non-Europeans.

THE BEND IN THE ROAD

SYNOPSIS

Katie, living beyond her means at Tafelberg Hotel, has got into debt and is tempted into prostitution. But she has a lucky escape.

The next day I gave notice at the hotel and, within a week, I had found a room in Vasco. I settled down to a more Spartan existence and paid off my debts.

At the end of the year I decided to go on holiday. What I needed was a change of environment—a rest combined with pleasant company. It was then that I thought of Sister Edna.

Sister Edna had been a Domestic Science teacher at the convent. Like many of the German sisters, she took a peculiar interest in the darker children. I was outlandishly dark for a Coloured and perhaps that was why she had taken me under her wing. At the beginning of the year she had been transferred to a mission station on the Basutoland border and she had frequently invited me to come at any time to visit her there. I wrote to her now, saying I had decided to take advantage of her kind offer.

Basutoland is a British Protectorate poised on a lofty plateau—called the South African Switzerland by some. The Drakensberg mountains form its eastern and south-eastern boundaries and it is wedged in by three of South Africa's provinces—Natal, the Orange Free State and the Cape Province.

Basutoland was founded by the wily Moshesh who won many battles from the impregnable mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu. By his cunning he turned even his defeat into victory for his followers.

When he began to suffer defeat at the hands of the Free State burghers, Moshesh asked to be taken under the protection of Great Britain and the Basutos have enjoyed that country's protection ever since. When the Europeans first came the Basutos described them as a light coloured people with hair like the hair on a cob of maize—and their ox wagons as white huts drawn by oxen with their tails.

My holiday at the mission station proved as interesting and enjoyable as I had hoped. Sister Edna met me at the station and questioned me eagerly for news of the convent and her former pupils.

At the mission station I was introduced to Father Alexander and Adam, the schoolteacher, who spent many hours at the convent and from whom I was to learn much about an educated African's outlook and way of life.

Father Alexander often took me on his rounds to the villages. He had a new Ford car, but there are very few roads in Basutoland and the going was slow and rough. I met many Basutos and Xosas who asked me from what place I came; I replied Cape Town. There were murmurs of approval and they indicated that I must be very rich. Many of their bread-winners had gone to Cape Town and they sent back regular postal orders. Sometimes I said that I was from Rhodesia (or at least that my father was), but this information was not greeted so warmly.

Somehow the tribes in Basutoland do not mix; even the Basutos and Xosas are divided into Christians and pagans. Nearly all the Basutos wear blankets and they are called blanket Basutos.

When I accompanied Father Alexander on his rounds, Adam sometimes came with us. Adam and I sat in the back together and talked shop for he was a very serious-minded teacher.

He was a melancholy little man in his twenties, with a large head and a thin narrow body and eyes that blinked ceaselessly behind his

By KATIE HENDRICKS.

rimless spectacles; he told me that he spent most of his nights poring over books by candlelight.

Adam came from the Herschel district and the kraal in which he had been brought up was not more than five miles away. One day we were driving in the vicinity of his native village and I asked Adam whether he had no wish to visit the place. Father Alexander thought that it would be good to go and drink some kaffir beer there.

"I will not go," Adam said awkwardly.

I was surprised. I thought of Adam as an eager, intelligent student who had now come back to help his people. I expected that he would jump at this opportunity to pay them a visit. Then I thought that perhaps he had quarrelled with his people.

"But your father comes to the school to see you, doesn't you?"

"Yes," Adam admitted, obviously uncomfortable at the turn the conversation was taking.

"Does your father still live in the village?"

"He still lives there," said Adam, blinking his eyes defensively.

"Then what is the matter with you? Why don't you want to go and see him?"

Adam, seeing no way out, decided to explain and Father Alexander twisted around in his seat to listen.

"They can come to see me in the school, but I will not go to see them in the kraal," Adam stated firmly.

"Why not?" I thought that here was an example of rank snobbishness of the worst kind. I was beginning to change my opinion of Adam, the ambitious student who had left his hut in the kraal to study at the African college of Fort Hare; Adam had won a scholarship to take his degree at the University of the Witwatersrand; Adam who had come home to help educate his people. This was a new Adam who would not even go to visit his father in their kraal!

"When I came back from Johannesburg," Adam said gravely, "I vowed that I would not set foot in a hut again. They must come to school to see me. I have a little brother at my school," he added.

Now I saw Adam as an em-mittered African who despised his own people and their culture and who had only returned to the district because he would not get employment as a teacher anywhere else.

Father Alexander had stopped the Ford on a rise overlooking the village and now he smoked his pipe in thoughtful silence. I wondered what this white man thought of an African who despised his own people.

"If you don't like it here," I said, not a little hostile, "why did you come back?"

"But I like it here," Adam said hastily to correct my wrong impression. "My wife finds it rather lonely, however. It has taken her a long time to get used to living in the country; she is from the city."

"Johannesburg?"

"Yes, she is from Alexandria Township which is just outside Johannesburg and she is used to many people."

"There are many people here," I retorted.

"But these people are raw native people."

"Then why did you come back here?" I asked hotly. I had had too much snobbery from Aunt Mattie and all the other aunts and uncles to stomach this kind of conceit.

"I came back to help my people," Adam said simply.

"But how can you help them when you won't even go to their kraals. You despise them," I said irritably.

Father Alexander intervened mildly. "But Adam helps his people a lot, you know."

Adam blinked his eyes behind his thick lenses; he was distressed by the indignation of my tone. "But I do not despise my people."

"Then tell me," I expostulated, "if you don't despise your people, why won't you even set foot in a hut and why do you make your father come to see you. Whenever Father Alexander and I go into a hut, you stay in the car."

While Adam searched for words to explain his quandry, I continued relentlessly. "Are they too primitive for you? You built yourself a nice house," I added reproachfully, and then: "Father Alexander doesn't mind going into the huts."

"You don't understand," Adam frowned. "It is different from the Father."

"Why?" I asked coldly.

"Because he is a white man."

"I am not white, but I go into the huts."

"But you are a visitor."

"What difference does that make?"

"It makes a lot of difference," Adam said thoughtfully, "I am here all the time and if I do as they do, the people will lose their respect for me; then I will no longer be able to teach them anything."

(To be continued next week)

FIRST NOVEL BY AFRICAN

JOHANNESBURG.

Advance readers will be glad to learn that Alfred Hutchinson, who has recently contributed articles to *Advance*, has been notified that his first novel, "Strange Seed," has been accepted by the Central News Agency for publication and will be appearing shortly.

N.R. DEMAND FOR ELECTIONS

NDOLA.

A resolution calling for elections on a ward basis was passed unanimously at a recent meeting of the Ndola African Urban Advisory Council.

Mover of the resolution, Mr. L. D. Mtine, member of the Provincial Council, said he felt the Government should not restrict the seats of the Legislative Council to the African Representative Council. This caused a lot of misunderstanding between various councils in the territory, and he thought all political bodies should be allowed to contest seats.

Mr. A. B. Kazunga, seconding the motion, said the only remedy was constituencies where candidates should contest the elections.

Mr. J. K. Chirunga, deputy-president, Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers' Union, said the only way out of personal hatred and misunderstanding was the introduction of party politics, so that the people's representatives were elected by popular vote.

Mr. H. D. Banda said if the present system continued the country would never be at peace.

The motion has been forwarded to the Provincial Council, of which the Provincial Commissioner is president.

"WHAT I SAW IN THE SOVIET UNION" By Brian Bunting

PEOPLE'S STANDARDS ARE HIGH

THE general cultural level of the Soviet people appeared to us to be high and evenly spread over the whole population. The working-class audience at the Bolshoi, for example, knew its ballet a great deal better than we did and was highly critical of the standard of performance.

There is a tremendous intellectual ferment in the Soviet Union. With the mass of the people eager for knowledge and culture and at last possessed of the facilities to enjoy it, public support for scientific, educational and cultural projects and institutions is unlimited.

Let us take as another example of this the Lenin State Library in Moscow. This is the largest library in the Soviet Union, though there are, of course, several other libraries in Moscow alone, and every town, every village, every collective farm and every factory has its own library.

The Lenin Library is a general lending library, and you can borrow from it fiction and non-fiction, poetry and prose, out of a total of 17 million books, magazines and pamphlets published in 160 languages, 85 of them the languages of the Soviet peoples themselves. We looked for the names of South African writers in the index, but found only those of Olive Schreiner and Peter Abrahams, though there may be others we did not think of on the spur of the moment. The library also houses 270,000 original manuscripts, and has all the microfilm facilities necessary for the study of precious or rare documents which cannot be lent out.

There are 13 reading halls, with nearly 2,000 seats, in this library. We passed through these reading halls and found them all crowded, with even a queue of people waiting for the chance of taking an empty seat. An average of 6,000 people visit the library every day and 20,000 books are taken out every day. In addition, the staff has to deal with 125,000 written queries during the course of a year.

Membership of the library is free, and so great is the pressure from the public that a staff of 1,800 is required to handle them and a huge building expansion programme is under way. There is also a special children's section in the library, visited by close on 1,000 children every day.

Art Gallery

As another example of popular interest in the arts let us take the Tretyakov Gallery of Russian Art, which we visited one Sunday. This gallery contains 50 halls devoted to the various periods and painters in the history of Russian art. (There are, of course, other galleries in Moscow devoted to non-Russian art.) The gallery on the day we went was absolutely crammed to the doors.

That day the sun was shining brightly outside and it was not very cold, so there is no question of the people merely having gone to the gallery to escape from the weather. The guide who took us round the various halls had to clear a way for us through the throng and ask people to step aside from the pictures so that we could view them. We have visited art galleries in other countries, for instance the Tate and National Galleries in London, and in these galleries, unless there is a special exhibition on, there are not very many people to be seen. Certainly we have never before seen such a mass of people in an art



The Moscow Metro, although not yet as large as the London Underground, is incomparably more beautiful. The first line of the Moscow underground was opened in 1935. There are now three lines with 40 stations, but there will eventually be 140 stations when the plan is completed. The two latest stations, completing an inner circle line, were officially opened on election day, March 14, 1954. Each station is devoted to a central theme, such as "Women" or "The Red Army" or "Labour" or "Agriculture," and is adorned with statuary, mosaic work, paintings and designs to illustrate that theme. The result is—as the architects intended—that it is a pleasure merely to walk through each station, and, in fact, many Moscow citizens can be seen merely sitting on the benches provided and taking their ease in pleasant surroundings. The utilitarian purpose of an underground railway has not, of course, been forgotten. At peak periods trains run every 40 seconds and are jammed to the doors. At "quiet" periods the trains run every two minutes and are also jammed to the doors.

gallery—again the ordinary working people of Moscow—soldiers, children, etc.—and not merely the intellectuals and the specialists.

Ten thousand people visit the gallery of a Sunday and about 7,000 to 8,000 on weekdays. Such is the new mass audience which

has been developed in the Soviet Union.

Living Standards

The living standards of the Soviet people are rising steadily. Since the war there have already been four progressive cuts

in the prices of commodities, particularly basic foods and clothing, and the cost of living has been reduced by more than 50 per cent. in the course of the last few years.

Above all, the volume of consumer goods available in the State shops is to-day greater than it has ever been. During the '20s and the '30s the main emphasis in the Soviet economy was placed on capital investment, laying the foundations for the industrial development of the country, accompanied by collectivisation in the countryside. During this period consumer goods were not always in free supply, though the people were always assured of their basic necessities. There followed the war period, in which the Soviet people suffered very greatly.

Now, however, all the sacrifices of the earlier decades are beginning to bear abundant fruit, and industry is turning out greater and greater quantities of every type of consumer goods, from cameras and fountain pens and watches and radio and television sets to food and drink. The average Soviet citizen is to-day living in greater comfort than he has ever lived before and, what is more, he knows that things are getting better all the time.

Shops

We went into several shops in Moscow and Kiev. They are generally crammed with goods—and even more crammed with people. In fact, our observation led us to conclude that there just aren't enough shops in Moscow. It's not that there is a shortage of goods, though this may be true

in such lines as radios and television sets. On the whole, the goods are available, but there are more people than counters to serve them at. We were informed that the authorities had laid it down as one of their most urgent tasks to increase the number of shops, particularly food shops, in Moscow. In furtherance of this decision, a huge new department store had been opened on the Red Square shortly before we arrived in Moscow, and we spent some time wandering through this store and inspecting the range of goods.

The Soviet people show every sign of being well fed, and there is plenty of food available in the shops. The products of Soviet light industry are also good on the whole, though one does hear complaints from time to time, voiced in the Press and at public meetings, about the quality of certain lines, or the goods coming from a certain factory. While we were in Moscow, for example, there was published in the Press the case of a factory manager in one of the Soviet republics who had been brought before the court and sentenced for producing bad macaroni. It was maintained by the court that he had deliberately neglected his job and wasted State resources, with the result that the people had refused to buy his macaroni.

It is the constant task of the Soviet authorities, however, to ensure that the standard of production is of the highest. We now possess a Soviet camera, which is as good as anything of its kind produced in the West.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

TRADE UNION COLUMN By RAY ALEXANDER

REJECT THE MERGER SELL-OUT

AT first sight the idea of the proposed merger of trade union organisations seems attractive. "Unity is strength" is an old motto of the working class.

This merger is, however, false unity. It brings together a minority of the workers but shuts out the majority. It might be a good thing to remind readers who it is that are now coming together and why they originally split.

The first organisation to break away from the S.A. Trades and Labour Council was the S.A. Mine Workers' Union, at the end of 1948 after the Nationalist Party victory. The issue was the rejection by the annual T.L.C. conference of the union's motion for the exclusion of African trade unions from the Council.

The second and biggest split took place in 1949 after the re-drafting of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council constitution.

Certain unions which wanted to exclude African unions failed, and thereupon refused to affiliate to the newly-formed body — S.A. Trades and Labour Council, 1949.

BIG JELLY-FISH

A third group split away in 1950, but for a different reason. This was the year of the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act and the big jelly-fish leaders, afraid of being listed, were determined to sacrifice the trade union leaders who fell

under Swart's axe.

After sending Swart a telegram supporting his attack upon free trade unionism, upon political and civil liberties, they walked out of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council.

These break-away trade unions subsequently, in 1951, formed, with the active blessing of Ben Schoeman, the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions. The basis of this new body, as we have seen, was on the one hand the exclusion of African unions and on the other hand the surrender of the right of unions freely to elect their own officials without State interference.

The S.A. Federation, formed under these circumstances, has not altered its character. Its two leading lights, McCormick and Downes, have endorsed Schoeman's Trade Union Destruction Bill in principle, and McCormick recently reaffirmed his confidence in the Minister.

If, therefore, the Federation wants to "merge" it may be expected to act in the belief that its policy will triumph.

MERGER MEANS SURRENDER

Merger means a surrender by the S.A. Trades and Labour Council to the policies which it rejected throughout the course of its existence. Once the Government, using fascist legislation, had removed the progressive section of

the trade union leadership, the Council's capitulation to the reactionaries followed.

But the arguments which in the past prevented the reactionaries from swinging the majority of trade union representatives to their point of view still holds good. It is true to-day, as it has ever been, that the European, Coloured and Indian workers cannot afford to push away from them the hundreds of thousands of African workers.

This position was foreseen by the founders of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council nearly 30 years ago. I am referring to the memorandum submitted in 1928 by the S.A. Trades Union Co-ordination Committee in reply to a request for affiliation by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.), signed by W. H. Andrews and R. Stuart, joint secretaries.

ANDREWS' 1928 MEMORANDUM

Here are some extracts from the memorandum:

"With the growth of industries and mass production the highly-skilled worker is becoming a less important factor. He will never be eliminated, but the proportion of skilled to so-called unskilled and semi-skilled operatives is rapidly diminishing.

"On the other hand, in spite of all his handicaps, the Native

worker is slowly but surely pushing himself into the higher and more responsible branches of industry, trade and even into the professions (doctors, parsons, lawyers). . . . Sooner or later the national trade union movement must include all genuine labour industrial organisations, irrespective of craft, colour or creed.

"The question ultimately is—Are the Native workers to be friends or enemies of the European workers?"

If unity is possible and necessary between Coloured, European and Indian why is it not possible and necessary between these groups and the African trade unions? On the other hand, those Europeans who are not prepared to unite with Africans must eventually reach the position where they reject unity with Coloured and Indians. Schoeman has already shown the way towards the complete disintegration of the trade union movement, having excluded all Africans from the registered trade unions, he is now carving up the registered unions themselves into racial groups. Out of this merger can come only complete disunity.

MERGER TOOL OF NATS.

Schoeman welcomes the merger, because he sees in it a means whereby his supporters in the S.A. Mine Workers' Union and the S.A. Federation generally can capture the trade union movement and turn it into a tool of the Nationalist Party.

To be consistent with the principles of the Trades and Labour Council the merger must be rejected because it is based upon the principle of division of society according to race and not according to class.

From Ring And Track

BY GUS



SOCCER

It is, indeed, surprising to note the apathy displayed by Cape Town's Non-Europeans as far as sport is concerned. Non-Europeans here, particularly the Malays, are of the opinion that European sport is more deserving of their support because of its so-called higher standard. In fact, at a well-known European rugby ground a special stand has been set aside for Malays only. I have come to the conclusion that this apathy is due to the poor administration of most sports here.

Soccer, except among the Coloureds, is one of the most poorly organised sports. Cape Town's premier soccer field at Green Point presents a shabby scene on Sundays when soccer fixtures are held. There are no enclosures, and a handful of enthusiasts and passers-by are treated to some, in the main, very poor soccer. The fields are in a dreadful condition. There are pools of water scattered about on the ground, which is hard and bare. Because of this state of affairs many a popular team has withdrawn from Green Point League and has affiliated to associations as far afield as Rosemead.

I have been given to understand that since the grounds have been leased by the municipality no attempts have been made to

improve conditions. A very feeble excuse, this.

In Durban all the grounds on which Africans, Coloureds and Indians play are leased to them by the City Council, and all of these—the Somsteu, Argyle and Curries Fountain Grounds—have been well looked after by the respective communities. It goes without saying that a ground that looks respectable—with enclosures and proper seating facilities—will invite some attention, and there is nothing so encouraging to a soccerite as the shouts of an enthusiastic crowd urging him on. Consequently the standard of soccer in Durban is comparatively high and enough funds have been collected for the betterment of the sport.

DOUBTS EXPLAINED

There has been considerable doubt as to what the position really is as far as the relationship of Malay, Indian and Coloured soccer boards is concerned. This is how Mr. Anand Naidoo, secretary of the W.P. Indian Soccer Board, explained the position to me.

"At one stage the Malay and Indian Boards were affiliated to the Coloured Board. The Malays decided to form an association of their own and broke away. Today they are known as the Cosmopolitan Soccer Board. The Indians, whose number makes it impossible for them to form a body of their own, are, nevertheless, partly independent. We have a separate league, to which are affiliated four teams. The four merge whenever they have to play a league match under the Coloured Board."

A fixture has been arranged between the Coloureds and Indians for Saturday at Athlone.

ATHLETICS

Persistent Wes Santee failed by a fraction of a second to run the mile in under four minutes in his second attempt in California on Saturday last. He bettered his first attempt with the time of 4 min.

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RUTHLESSNESS AT KLERKSDORP



These pictures show something of the destruction and misery caused when Driefontein location, Klerksdorp, was burnt down by the police. (Above) The smoke can still be seen rising from the scene of desolation, while some of the inhabitants try in vain to rescue their possessions from the ashes. On the right are some of the refugees with their pathetic bundles of belongings being hustled away by the police.

0.6 sec., and is still the second fastest miler in the world.

However, he broke the 1,500-metre record by 2/10 sec. So far it has not been recognised as official, but the International Athletic Federation is to consider it soon.

CRICKET

Khalid Hassan, Pakistani leg-break and googly bowler, will be the youngest player ever to appear in Test cricket if he represents Pakistan against England this summer.

Hassan, born on July 14, 1937, hopes to break a 25-year-old record which is held by J. E. D. Sealy, who was 17 years 121 days old when he played for the West Indies against England at Barbados during the 1929-30 tour.

BOXING

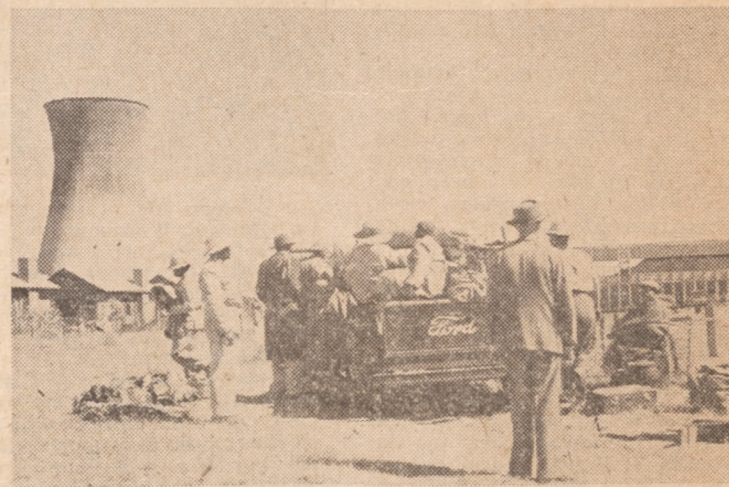
Competition amongst Durban's busy promoters is getting keener. Seaman Chetty and Nat Moodjey have completed their bills for the Durban Centenary Celebrations. Seaman has arranged his programme for June 10, whilst Nat has his for the Hoy Park Stadium nine days later.

On Seaman's bill Fondie Mavuso and Black Hawk meet again for the South African welterweight title. Fondie holds two decisions over the Hawk, but many people are of the opinion that the latter will reverse the decision in this outing. A good supporting programme has been fixed. Lingum Pillay at long last defends his Natal flyweight title against fiery Simon Ngobo, who should win easily.

Old man Rocky Ramiah is still on the come-back trail. This time he meets Young Seabela, with whom he drew several years ago. I saw the fight, and thought that Rocky had done enough to win. He now gets his chance to prove his superiority.

The fourth fight could easily have been a top liner itself. Slumber David, who is still smarting under the beating he received at the hands of 18-year-old Enoch Nhlano, gets a chance to rehabilitate himself against a very tough customer in featherweight Jerry Moloi.

Nat has signed on Alby Tissong to meet none other than "mystery man" Elijah Mokone. This fight has been eagerly awaited and should be a ding-dong affair all the way.



MASS PROTEST AT ERMELO

ERMELO.

African residents at New Ermelo have protested vigorously at reported plans of the Council affecting their rights. The people held a mass protest meeting on May 30, which was addressed by a member of the Provincial Executive, Mr. G. T. Nsibandé.

The residents resolved to protest against the imposition of rates at New Ermelo, and announced they were not prepared to submit to any removal scheme. The Ermelo Council has received no right from the residents to impose rates and has not consulted them.

Other resolutions passed by the mass meeting unanimously condemned the Government's Western Areas removal scheme, protested against the Bantu Education Act and demanded full and equal education with no colour bar.

The meeting also passed a resolution that every African should have the right to own his own house and land, where he and his family can live in freedom.

Builders Pull Out

CAPE TOWN.

The Western Province Building, Electrical and Allied Trades Union announced on Monday that it had broken away from the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions. This union has a membership of more than 5,000 and has been affiliated to the Federation since its inception three years ago.

The union's general secretary, Mr. W. O. Prime, said this step had been taken because of the attitude of the Federation's chairman, Mr. G. McCormick, to the Industrial Conciliation Bill. Despite an earlier assurance to the contrary, Mr. McCormick had supported the division of unions on racial lines at the Unity Committee Conference.

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RACING

DURBAN

The following are Tudor's selections for the racing on Saturday: First Race: 1 ETON LAD, 2 Harvest Fun, 3 Good Boy. Second Race: 1 FAINT, 2 Rock Nut, 3 Wine List. Third Race: 1 BELINDA, 2 Conventional, 3 Putney. Fourth Race: 1 CLERGYMAN, 2 Joe Clot, 3 Idyllic. Fifth Race: 1 TORCH BANNER, 2 Turfmaster, 3 San. Sixth Race: 1 FAIRWEATHER, 2 Dad's Gift, 3 Wayfarer. Seventh Race: 1 DECANter, 2 Chainti, 3 Senator. Eighth Race: 1 GALICIA, 2 Thallasa, 3 Wax Ale. Ninth Race: 1 ANVIL TOP, 2 Stage Glitter, 3 Gullistan.

Levitas Reports Back

CAPE TOWN.

Mr. B. A. Levitas, Native representative on the Cape Provincial Council, presented a report on his work since his election in November, 1952, at a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the Cape Western Advisory Boards and Vigilance Associations held last Sunday.

After the report had been unanimously endorsed by the meeting, Mr. Levitas agreed to present it to his constituents in a tour of the Western Cape at a date to be decided by the executive.

A resolution was also passed condemning the Langa beer hall scheme and appealing to all organisations to help in opposing its introduction.

The actions of the Liberal Party "in trying to cause splits in our organisations" were viewed with concern by the meeting, which sounded a warning to "all our people throughout the Cape Western to be more vigilant than ever before against such splitting tactics."

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