

INSIDE: Articles By Kotane, Sisulu, Dadoo, Ray Alexander And Others



SPECIAL

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NORTHERN EDITION

RAY ALEXANDER ELECTED

Enthusiastic crowds greeted Ray Alexander at all the polling booths. Although the results are not out at the time of going to press, her victory was certain.



ZULUS MAKE GOOD SAILORS

DURBAN.

THE owners of the British Saville Line Shipping Company are for the first time employing all-African crews.

After the m.v. Afric had been handled by an all-Zulu crew the captain, Mr. Lord, personally expressed his appreciation to the men for the splendid way in which they had worked on his ship. He promised that he would report to the owners that he had been highly satisfied with his African seamen.

Later the South African Native Seamen's Union, who have been finding it difficult to get their members signed on by ships owing to the policy of the authorities, wrote to the Saville Line Shipping Company requesting that African seamen be employed on their ships. A favourable reply was received.

Subsequently another ship belonging to this company, the s.s. Brazilian Prince, sailed from Durban with an all-Zulu crew. Again the men were praised by the captain of this ship for the satisfactory manner in which they had carried out their duties.

Mr. E. Shezi, chairman of the union, in an interview with ADVANCE, said he wished to express the appreciation of his union for the decent treatment which African seamen had received from the captains of the two ships and to the owners of the ships for recognising the fundamental right of Africans to enter the maritime services.

TRADE UNION FUTURE IN BALANCE AT VITAL CONFERENCES

JOHANNESBURG.

MAY DAY MARKS THE BEGINNING OF ONE OF THE MOST VITAL WEEKS IN SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION HISTORY. FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, TRADE UNIONISTS WILL BE ASSEMBLING IN CAPE TOWN, UNDER THE SHADOW OF MINISTER SCHOEMAN'S THREATENED ANTI-LABOUR LEGISLATION, FOR TWO VITAL CONFERENCES.

The first is the national emergency conference convened by the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, which begins at the Oddfellow's Hall, Hope Street, on Saturday afternoon. Announcing the decision to convene this gathering at the recent annual conference of the Council, the president, Mr. George Maeka, after criticising the "Trade Union Unity Committee" for calling a "so-called all-in conference excluding African Unions," said:

"Only trade union unity on the basis of trade union principle can save the situation. It is high time that our Council should take the initiative to bring about a joint struggle by all unions which stand by the principle of workers' unity."

The second conference, convened by the "Unity" Committee begins on Monday. The conference will hear the contents of a previously undisclosed memorandum which the committee will by then have discussed with the Minister.

COURAGEOUS INITIATIVE
The courageous initiative of the Council of Non-European Trade

Unions has found a warm response in progressive union circles. Despite the serious financial difficulties faced by many of them, at least ten African unions in Johannesburg will send delegates to Cape Town.

A TRAGEDY
In addition several registered unions had already decided to send delegates at the time of reporting. They include the Laundry, Food and Canning, Textile, Garment (No. 2 Branch), Bag and Twine (Durban) and others.

A very large number of registered unions, including the Mine Workers, Typographical, Garment and many

other unions are to attend the "all-in" conference.

Mr. Morris Kagan, the veteran trade unionist who recently resigned from the national executive of the Trades and Labour Council in protest against its policy on African trade unions, told Advance, "It is a tragedy that at this time, two conferences should be held instead of a single all-embracing conference."

"This tragedy arises directly out of the policy of excluding the African unions, representing the majority of the workers, from the 'all-in' conference."

STILL NOT TOO LATE

"It is still not too late to bring about true unity."

"Progressives at the all-in conference should press for the inclusion of all unions, irrespective of race, and for the adoption of a militant policy to defend trade union rights."

Mr. Leslie Masina, secretary of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, told Advance that the policy of his council was to work for a united trade union movement in the fight for self-preservation. "We are prepared to co-operate with any trade unions. But we are not prepared to surrender or abandon the struggle."



Views of the historic National Women's Conference held in Johannesburg. Right: Mrs. Ida Mntwana, elected president of the new S.A. Women's Federation by the conference. (A report appears on page 7.)



A REAL GENERAL ELECTION

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

By **WALTER SISULU**, Secretary-General, African National Congress

THE vast majority of the people are deeply concerned by the increasingly brutal dictatorship of the chauvinistic Nationalist Government. As is well known, all legislative power and all responsible and important positions in the administrative departments of the Government, and in all the large industrial, commercial and financial concerns, are restricted to Europeans. The rest of the population, comprising the majority of the people, are deprived of rights and land. Africans are not even allowed to do skilled work.

In a world which is moving rapidly towards progress, the rulers of South Africa are determined to reverse the march of history and to take away from people the little they have.

The people, on the other hand, want to live a happy life in a friendly and peaceful manner. They want to see the end of racial antagonism and the end of all laws which discriminate on grounds of colour. They want better living conditions and a prosperous South Africa.

For these reasons the African National Congress at its conference at Queenstown in December decided to call for a Congress of the People to work out a Freedom Charter for the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour.

There can be no doubt of the correctness and timeliness of this resolution. To South Africa, faced with the alternative of going completely Fascist, the Congress of the People points the way towards the inspiring goal of a fully democratic state for all South Africans, irrespective of their national groups. The work of the liberatory movement has created very favourable conditions for the success of such a people's congress.

MOST IMPORTANT EVENT

I believe that the Congress of the People will be the most important and significant event in the history of this country. There, for the first time, will meet in a great assembly the true representatives of the people, from all walks of life and from all racial groups in

the land. It will be an assembly of Africans, Europeans, Coloureds, Indians and Chinese. It will be a congress of people of different political and religious views, whose common interest is the building of a great united nation in South Africa, a nation which will be free from prejudice, ignorance and chauvinism.

The elected delegates will come from every corner of the country, carrying with them resolutions, demands and grievances of all sorts from the people who sent them. It will be a congress where peasants, farm labourers, city workers, industrialists, merchants, intellectuals, men of science and other true patriots will meet to discuss the great problems facing the country.

They will meet to discuss and draw up a charter for the future South Africa, a democratic South Africa, in which all national groups shall have a right to develop unhindered their natural talents and to satisfy their material and cultural needs, a South Africa in which the greatest at-

tention will be paid to the development of the country for the needs of the population and the development of science in the interests of society.

PREPARATORY WORK

Of vital importance to the success of the Congress of the People is the preparatory work. Tens of thousands of preparatory meetings—large and small—throughout the country will be held, at which the masses of the people will discuss and exchange views about the problems that face them, the demands that should be incorporated in the Freedom Charter and the forms of political organisation needed to implement these demands.

Emerging from such discussions as well as from the debates at the Congress of the People itself, the Freedom Charter will be an authentic and undeniable expression of the will of the people.

The Congress of the People, symbolising the coming together of the different population groups, will give the lie to the upholders of apartheid. It will demonstrate



that our people can work harmoniously for a great common purpose, even though they differ in their beliefs, their outlooks and the colour of their skins.

If this Congress of the People can achieve unity of purpose and aim among all democrats and say in one voice: "South Africa must be as we have decided!" it will lay the foundation for united action of the people. It will take a great stride towards the aim of all true patriots, freedom in our life-time.

AWAY WITH ALL GHETTOS!

By **Dr. YUSUF DADOO**

No actual group area, however, has been declared so far, excepting for the Coloured township at Roodepoort.

OPPOSITION STRENGTH

That the Government has as yet not succeeded in declaring Group Areas is an indication of the strength of the united and resolute opposition offered by the people. The Minister of Interior, Dr. Donges, has had to admit in the Senate that "the declaring of Group Areas was not a matter which could be disposed of overnight." He proceeded to state:

"Lydenburg was one of the places where there had been systematic opposition to the application of the Group Areas Act. This opposition was led by the Indian Congress."

It is the primary task of the people to continue to express their united and determined opposition to the implementation of the Group Areas Act at every sitting of the Board so as to make the declaration of Group Areas well-nigh impossible.

UNFORGIVABLE BETRAYAL

It is deplorable that a few individuals with vested interests who had banded themselves into what is called the South African Indian Organisation have now broken the united front against the Act and are submitting alternative plans for Group Areas to the Board. This is an unforgivable betrayal. Their plea that they are opposed to the Group Areas Act "in principle" becomes meaningless in the face of their decision to submit alternative plans. It is little wonder, then, that this weak-kneed, vacillating stand has been used by Dr. Donges to claim that "there was a section of the Indians which was prepared to co-operate in the application of the Group Areas and which realised that the scheme would be eventually to their benefit."

Is the organisation prepared to admit that the "scheme is to their benefit"? The time has come to condemn the S.A.I.O. in unmistakable terms as a tool of the Government and exposed as a body

in which the people as a whole have no confidence whatever.

THE Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, in his mad rush and indecent haste to make "apartheid" a reality, has deliberately chosen the Western Areas of Johannesburg as an important battle-ground.

By one stroke of the pen, as it were, he wants to use the Natives Resettlement Bill to evict 70,000 Non-European men, women and children from their houses in Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare and transport them into the bare veld of Meadowlands. He wants to move them from the freehold land of Western Areas to the "location" at Meadowlands complete with a superintendent, location regulations and permits and police raids!

MINISTER OF MADNESS

Dr. Verwoerd, who has rightly earned the title of "Minister of Madness," talks of rescuing the people from the "slums" of Western Areas. If he were really concerned about slum conditions he would have given first priority in providing houses for the suffering people of Moroka-Jabavu, who are forced to live in shack-shanties and breeze-blocks. These people and many others like them have first claim to any houses that are being built. Besides, Dr. Verwoerd should know that the people of Western Areas are neither willing nor prepared to move.

The Western Areas Removal Scheme has very grave and serious implications for the whole of South Africa. It is a matter of life and death for thousands of Non-European residents. If it is the turn of Western Areas to-day it will be the turn of Alexandra, Lady Selborne and Cato Manor tomorrow. No area is safe!

The Removal Scheme is a direct challenge to civil liberties and civic rights. Municipal Councils will be at the mercy of the Minister of Native Affairs.

It is a test between the forces of democracy and freedom on the one hand and the forces of

Fascism of the Nationalists on the other.

The people of the Western Areas are demonstrating their preparedness to defend their homes and their property.

It is for the national movements to lead and guide the struggle against the Removal Scheme. It is for the Congress of Democrats, the Liberals, the Churches, the Labour Party, youth and women's organisations, social and sporting bodies—and, indeed, for all who believe in de-

mocracy and abhor the racialism and Fascist methods of Malan to rally behind the people of Western Areas and unleash a mighty campaign of protest that will sweep away Verwoerd's satanic scheme.

Hands off the Western Areas! Defend your homes — defeat apartheid!

Verwoerd shall not pass! Every home a fortress! Homes for the homeless!

Democracy—NOT FASCISM!



THIS May Day the people of South Africa face the grim prospect of a full-scale, major offensive by the Malan Government on the apartheid front.

Under the provisions of the Group Areas Act, the Squatters Act and the Natives Resettlement Bill hundreds of thousands of Non-European people are confronted with the threat of being driven out of their homes, of having their family life disrupted, of losing their businesses and means of livelihood, of being deprived of their freehold rights.

In short, of being compelled to live in ghettos in squalor, misery and poverty.

The Land Tenure Board, set up in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950, has already held sittings at several centres throughout the country to consider plans for the setting aside of separate group areas for the various "racial" groups—Europeans, Indians, Coloureds, Chinese and Malays. Those Africans who run businesses such as barber shops or boot and shoe repairs, tea-rooms or furniture makers, or who occupy offices or other establishments, will have to leave these areas and repair to their own locations.



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U.S. COMES TO GENEVA WITH WAR THREATS AND BULLYING

LONDON.

THE opening of the 19-nation conference on easing tension in the Far East had the world's attention focussed on Geneva this week. Hope of some form of agreement was far outweighed by the bitter and aggressive attitude of the American delegation which came to the conference apparently determined to see that no agreement was reached.

Both in China and the Soviet Union for weeks the Press and Government spokesmen have called for a just peace in Korea and a cease-fire in Vietnam. On the other hand, the American leaders have only come to Geneva because they were forced by their anxious allies and have come more and more into the open with a policy of full-scale air and military intervention in the war in Indo-China.

In Britain, the anxieties centred on the Geneva Conference have created the most serious political situation since the Tory Government of Sir Winston Churchill came into power.

BEVAN'S STAND

As it becomes clear that the United States is blackmailing Britain into another Korea in Indo-China, opposition has spread to all groups and unexpected support is rallying round the left Labour leader Aneurin Bevan.

In an article on the eve of Geneva, Bevan issued what amounts to a manifesto in his paper, the Tribune, telling America if she wants to become involved in a new shooting war, she must be told: "You go to it alone."

Bevan spoke for public opinion far beyond Britain when he declared:

"Why is China invited to Geneva? Is it only to give her a

venue for surrender? Are we to have negotiation or bullying? Peacemaking or warmaking? The hand of friendship or the threat of the H-bomb?"

He declares for a proper and genuine independence for Vietnam; the independence of the people cannot be traded away.

"There are no qualifications to this. If the Indo-Chinese elect to go Communist, they should be allowed to do so."

He says the Americans have refused to accept this point of view and have declared in advance that they will not accept the victory of the People's Government "by whatever means".

AGAINST PROGRESS

America's military threat, Bevan says, "is a cover for counter-revolutionary measures. We are being asked to join, not an alliance for the preservation of peace, but a

bulwark against political and social progress."

He says the Labour Government, when in power, never committed Britain to an alliance to oppose Communism as such. The only way to bring America to her senses and prevent Britain from succumbing to U.S. pressure is to break with her.

"We should tell America so in the plainest terms. If after that she persists, then she must do so alone."

BRIAN BUNTING, Editor of ADVANCE, who has just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, begins a series of articles in our next issue on "WHAT I SAW IN THE U.S.S.R."



AFTER an absence of many years Soviet film art made a welcome return to the commercial cinema in South Africa with the showing of the charming fantasy "Sadko." Winner of the first prize at the 1953 Venice Film Festival, this film of outstanding artistic merit, with superlative acting, colour and photography and a beautifully played background of Rimsky Korsakoff's music.

The Johannesburg public and the critics were delighted with the film with the solitary exception of the Sunday Times critic, Martin Squire, who wrote a thoroughly bilious review. So voluminous were the letters of protest which this sour review evoked that Mr. Squire was compelled to apologise the following week!

In Cape Town and Durban, too, the Press reviews were extremely enthusiastic.

Encouraged by the response to this fine film, it is understood that the distributors will shortly be presenting a fine new Soviet ballet film.

KIKUYU ESCAPE BRITISH TRAP

"Now We Shall Never Surrender"

LONDON.

BRITISH treachery in Kenya nearly resulted in the capture or annihilation of the leadership of the Kikuyu, according to reports on the results of the so-called "Operation China." At the last moment the British military authorities appear to have mistimed their trap, which killed 25 fighters and caught only one resistance leader, Gatamuki, who trusted in British assurances despite the warnings of his comrades in arms.

In the House of Commons the British Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. H. L. Hopkinson, denied that the negotiations and so-called "truce" were a trap. He said there were about 1,000 "terrorists" assembled in the forest on April 7 when troops opened fire on some Kikuyu in the reserve "within earshot of the forest." The Minister said the Kikuyu "thought they were led into a trap. They were not, of course, but they thought so and therefore dispersed."

The American paper Time, in a report from its South African correspondent, Alexander Campbell, who is in Kenya, puts a different angle on the affair.

TWO ATTEMPTS

The British made two attempts to catch the Kikuyu off their guard. Using the resistance commander "General China," who had been sentenced to death and been promised his life in return for collaborating, the British sent a number of letters to the Kikuyu leaders proposing peace talks and promising them safe conduct. The letters were said to have been written by "China."

Some of the local commanders of Kikuyu resistance groups sent replies, and 12 of them, with their followers, agreed to meet the British at an appointed place in the forest for peace talks. The British Chief of Staff, Maj.-Gen. George Heyman, arrived at the place. But unfortunately for him there was no meeting.

"SOMETHING"

The British Army communique said naively: "The Mau Mau representatives came within a few hundred yards but something frightened them off."

According to Time, the "something" was a force of 1,800 British and African infantrymen poured into the area.

In spite of this close shave, ele-

ments of the Kikuyu were still ready to negotiate with the British and were ready to test their assurances. Throughout, the top leader of the Kikuyu resistance, Dedan Kimathi, nicknamed Field-Marshal Russia, appears to have mistrusted the British and continued to warn his supporters of a British trap. According to prisoners, he told them: "Those who surrender will be massacred."

WALKED INTO TRAP

But the British succeeded through an agent called Kareba in persuading a leader known as General Gatamuki to attend a peace parley. Gatamuki and his followers came out of the Aberdare Forest at night on April 7 and camped a few hundred yards inside the reserve near the village of Gathvini. Hundreds of other Kikuyu fighters, talked over by Kareba, came down from the mountains and were assembling near the edge of the forest.

While this was going on, the British were surrounding the area and moving into position where they hoped they could annihilate the Kikuyu. At dawn a combined force led by Brig. J. R. Orr opened fire with Sten guns, mortars and grenades.

Gatamuki's men fought back and the majority cut their way out of the British trap. But they left 25 dead and a considerable number of wounded, as well as Gatamuki himself, who was taken prisoner.

Gatamuki protested bitterly at the treachery by which he had been caught. But Orr told Press-

men: "I regard the action with nothing but satisfaction."

It was Orr's treacherous firing which, as the British Government admitted, warned the men in the forest and gave them time to disperse. Orr's expression of satisfaction, in fact, covered a blunder on his part. He had obviously mistimed his action, and instead of wiping out the Kikuyu leadership he had caught only one leader who, according to his own statement, was anyway on his way to surrender.

British headquarters covered themselves by maintaining that Orr had upset the applecart and had ruined their carefully planned Operation China.

BRITISH HONOUR

They followed their disappointment by ferocious threats to wipe out the Kikuyu in renewed military operations. But these operations have been going on for 18 months without success, and the Kikuyu have now learnt the value of the British word of honour.

According to Time, the British struck many blows and killed Africans before they knew the "truce" had ended. One of the Kikuyu is quoted with a statement apparently typical of the African reaction:

"The White man tricked us. Our brothers were lured to their deaths. Now we shall never surrender."

A White settler told the correspondent: "The Mau Mau war may go on for years. Perhaps Kenya died at Gathvini."

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SEE THE H-BOMB IS NEVER USED

JOHANNESBURG.

"WE as a peace organisation must acquaint people with the facts. We must create a public opinion so powerful that the hydrogen bomb will never be used," said Professor J. Gillman, addressing a symposium last week under the auspices of the Transvaal Peace Council. Speaking of the great achievements of human culture and science in the past, the conquest over disease and the noble edifices of the past, he said that scientists were being diverted to inventing new means of destruction. "Despair is descending upon mankind.

"Are we as peaceful, thinking individuals, ready to accept this pessimism, fatalism and hopelessness, or are we going to realise that individuals can get together, that collectively we can create a mighty force which can prevent those Governments which are intending to use these deadly bombs from doing so?"

Professor A. E. H. Blesley, who holds the Chair of Applied Mathematics at the University of the Witwatersrand, told the audience that a hydrogen bomb dropped over Johannesburg would leave "just a crater." He painted a horrifying description of the effects of such an explosion. "People exposed to the ball of fire which results from a hydrogen bomb would be dissipated in smoke in a fraction of

a second; buildings would be knocked down for 20 miles around. The clothes of people as far away as Randfontein would burst into flames, and those who were not killed instantly would find themselves in a raging inferno.

"My business is to say what follows a hydrogen bomb explosion. I would also like to say that people prefer such things happening to someone else, but it is going

to happen to all of us—radio-active dust spares no one."

Miss Ruth First gave a lucid description of the way in which Americans were being conditioned to accept the inevitability of atomic warfare, including school children. She traced the progress of negotiations to outlaw atomic weapons and compared the "Baruch Plan," which she said was not designed to prevent nuclear warfare, with those of Mr. Vishinsky.

The audience passed a resolution characterising the H-bomb as a "fearful threat to the future of all mankind" and demanding Great Power negotiations to settle disputes by negotiation.



MAY DAY, 1954! From one end of the earth to the other millions of workers and their democratic allies will confirm their resolve to fight for a new world—a world without fear and hatred, in which all men will walk proud and free and the great vision of international brotherhood becomes a living reality.

This special 12-page issue of **ADVANCE** will carry the mighty message of May Day into the homes of tens and tens of thousands of South Africans. Over 7,000 extra copies, over and above what we normally print, have already been ordered.

We have kept our promise to give you that extra four pages, but have only been able to do so by taking a calculated risk. The bill for this special issue, plus the other four issues in April, will be due for payment at the end of May. It will be a heavy bill, not only because of the extra four pages but also because of the greatly increased circulation.

We took the very great financial risk involved in printing this special issue because we believe that you will help us foot the bill. **DON'T LET US DOWN!** The consequences for **ADVANCE** will be very grave indeed if you do.

Many of you have not yet responded to our appeal for that extra special effort we called upon you to make in preparation for this May Day issue. There is still time for you to do so. If you like this 12-page issue, then show your appreciation in a practical manner.

We have done our part of the job and delivered the goods. **IT IS NOW UP TO YOU. COMMEMORATE MAY DAY BY SENDING YOUR DONATION IMMEDIATELY!**

FRED CARNESON.

P.S.—Our office addresses are:
CAPE TOWN: Chames Buildings, 6 Barrack Street.
JOHANNESBURG: 5 Progress Buildings, 154 Commissioner Street.
DURBAN: Pembroke Chambers, 472 West Street.

Crisis At Wits As Students Fight Apartheid

JOHANNESBURG.

THE struggle of the students of the Witwatersrand University against academic segregation has entered a dramatic new phase over the issue of the imposition by the University Council of segregated seating at public meetings at the Great Hall.

Following a decision at a general meeting of students instructing all student societies to boycott segregated functions in the hall, the president of the Students' Representative Council stated that withdrawal of recognition and of financial support could be used as sanctions against any society contravening this instruction.

The University Choral Society thereupon approached the principal of the university, stating their intention to produce "Ruddigore" in the hall and complaining against the "subordination of cultural activities to political ideology" which they claim the S.R.C. would be making by invoking sanctions against them.

THREATENS S.R.C.

The principal, Prof. Sutton, has now written to the S.R.C. supporting the Choral Society and threatening that he would hold its members "responsible jointly and individually for an act of discrimination which constitutes an abuse of power by your Council and may, indeed, be found to constitute a breach of university discipline."

This statement, which carries a threat of expulsion, has faced the Students' Representative Council with the most serious crisis since its establishment in 1905.

Appealing to the University Council "not to intervene in internal student affairs," the S.R.C. points out that its very existence "and all its valuable functions to the student body would be endangered by such intervention." A lengthy memorandum, setting out the students' case, points out that

the S.R.C. has always been accepted as an autonomous body, entitled to dispose as it sees fit of its own funds.

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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.

HOLY OPPRESSION?

From J. T. Dyubeni, Langa, Cape.
The U.P. policy regarding Africans is no different to that of the Nats. Both parties fight for seats, but hold the same views. They both want that leadership over the African people.

The African people have gained nothing from White leadership in these 300 years. Was the African not created in the image of God? Yes, he was. Yet it is clear to-day that Africans are looked upon as slaves by the Whites.

These White men want leadership in our churches, schools and all our affairs. Africans, I don't believe there is anybody who can tell you holy things while oppressing you at the same time.

NOT ONE HOUSE BUILT

From Y. N. Naidoo, Lucania Rd., Puntan's Hill, Durban.

Recently a conference of all Indian organisations was held at Merebank under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress. A decision was taken to test the sincerity of the Durban City Council as to the erection of houses under the housing scheme. Eleven years ago land was expropriated for housing schemes, but up till now not a single house has been built for Indians.

Yet now the Council is demolishing houses built by Indians. If the Durban City Council could not build houses, then those Indian residents had no alternative but to build themselves.

We hope that the Durban City Council will not dilly-dally with this vital issue concerning the 9,000 Indians of Merebank.

Houses should be built and the misery and hardships of the people relieved.

KITCHEN DISCUSSIONS

From K. Ben, Louis Botha Ave., Bramley.

I read with interest the letter by John Morley (April 8) suggesting "kitchen discussions" on the contents of ADVANCE.

Decades back, overseas, we workers of poor homes in various places in Europe, were deprived of schools for the same reason as the millions of workers are here.

But with their thirst for knowledge the workers themselves overcame their illiteracy through this "kitchen education."

I myself was prepared for the school by one who taught me for no reward whatsoever, and in turn I prepared others. In this way unity amongst the workers grew tremendously. Multi-national brotherhood was cemented everywhere. For in the kitchens of some poor workers' homes the workers of three and more different nationalities studied working class literature together.

Self-maintenance, self-education and unity are welded and cemented amongst men under the slogan "Down With Illiteracy."

And what could be better material to learn to read from than ADVANCE, which mirrors the lives of the people?

MALAN ILL-INFORMED

From P. A. Maseng-Sempe, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

The African National Congress has a branch in Basutoland, says Dr. Malan in Parliament.

The police have ill-treated Dr. Malan. The Basutoland African Congress is an entirely independent organisation with its own constitution.

The aims of B.A.C. are to fight incorporation to the last drop of Mosotho blood if circumstances demand it. We are not babies. We see every day how he ill-treats our brothers in the Union.

B.A.C. is not only going to fight incorporation but also to fight for Basutoland's self-government.

APARTHEID MEANS ROBBERY

From Zacchaeus T. Manube, Congress Youth League, Grahamstown.

The notorious doctrine of apartheid means nothing else but the enslavement of Africans to keep the Whites' supremacy undisturbed.

Sons and daughters of Africa, the time has arrived when we must fight unceasingly for full, equal rights in this country. Let us form a stronger-than-ever African front for the abolition of all oppressive laws.

I appeal to all Non-European people who are the victims of these brutal laws to carry out the directives of the A.N.C. and other truly democratic organisations. Let us not be intimidated by the presence of the policemen at our public meetings and gatherings—freedom is at hand.

PEOPLE'S CHARTER

From Diamond, Cape Town.

In spite of your laws, your police, your detectives;

In spite of your sjambok, your tank and your gun,

The Congress of Peoples has issued directives,

And we're all gonna vote to defeat you, Malan!

"Wag 'n bietjie" Verwoerd and bosses' man Schoeman,

Before you start kicking the people about,

Think again if you rate us sub-human.

Luthuli is coming—you'd better look out!

Good-bye, Mr. Strijdom; rich farmers have had it;

It's the farm workers now who are casting their votes;

The Charter of Freedom is now being writ.

If you don't like it we'll get you a boat.

HE READS AND EXPLAINS

From Musa Jali, P.O. Box 2181, Durban.

Many people here want ADVANCE to be published in Zulu.

Every Friday when I go to the office of ADVANCE in Durban I always have a number of tickets for papers that are already bought. When I return in the afternoon I have to read and explain all that is written in the paper to customers who are not able to read English, so part of my school vocabulary is from ADVANCE.

When we go to the locations to sell, all those who have heard about what is written in ADVANCE and the aims of the paper say: "ADVANCE is the most popular paper for us here—it must be written in Zulu, too. We will support it."

RETREAT FIGHT

From W. Elephant, De Villiers Street, Vasco, Cape.

In reply to A. M. Khalifa's letter in your issue of April 1 (in which, condemning a faction fight, he asked: "What is wrong with these people? Are they not Africans?"), I would like to suggest that they are Africans but are short of education because of repressive legislation.

TRADE UNIONS AND LIBERATION

From D. F. Mncube, Johannesburg.

There are thousands of liberatory movement members who do not bother to join a trade union.

These members do not realise that they not only hamper the progress of trade unionism but of the liberatory movement itself and that the trade union movement is part and parcel of the liberatory movement.

Those who stand aloof, who do not join their respective trade unions, are not only isolating themselves from their fellow workers but holding back the entire progress of the struggle.

DR. VERWOERD, MY BAAAASIE!

From Fezile B. Teka, Kwaza St., Lundini, Port Elizabeth.

My good baas, I mean Baas Dr. Verwoerd, being the Second Supreme Chief of the Natives, being a Christian and a good Calvinist, being a man civilised for 2,000 years, being kindly disposed towards his minor children—the Bantus—has looked at their living conditions and has been moved to deep compassion — to tears, if I may speak the truth before man and God.

He sees that the brick houses they live in in Sophiatown and Newclare are not healthy for these happy children of nature. Their natural habitat is the open air.

Then he has a vision. He, my baas, my baaaasie, my good Baas Dr. Verwoerd, will lead these people back to their happiness in the open air. So may they for ever after sing of him (my good baas, my baaaasie, Baas Dr. Verwoerd): "He leadeth us to the green meadows; he maketh us to lie in the dew in the open air." He would live down the ages as the saviour from asphyxiation of the simple children of Africa.

Then the envious, the traitors, the jealous, the Communists, the kaffir brothers, the kaffir sisters, the kaffir uncles, the kaffir aunties, the kaffir grandfathers, the kaffir grandmothers, they all start making an unholy row against this resettlement of Africa's down-trodden children.

In all fairness I would ask: Do these people expect the poor man to turn himself inside out before they will be satisfied?

If that is what they want, why can't they say so? My baaaasie is always a reasonable man. He is also a lawful man. He is also a peaceful man. I am sure that if they put it to him he would oblige them (the malcontents) by turning himself completely inside out.

Come on, my good baas, my baaaasie, Baas Dr. Verwoerd!

IF I WERE SCHOEMAN . . .

From H. S. Marawu, Vasco, Cape.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. A. Reeves, is quite right in speaking the truth and condemning the Western Areas removal. But Minister Schoeman attacks him.

If I were the Minister of Labour I would appeal now to all bishops, ministers, predikants, evangelists and lay preachers—White and Black—to follow the views of the Bishop of Johannesburg.

If our God is in front of us freedom-loving people, who can stop us?

Editorial

MAY DAY—FREEDOM DAY

LIBERTY, Equality, Fraternity! This call of the working people resounded round the world on May 1, 1789, when the people of Paris, willing to die rather than continue to starve while the ruling class lived in luxury, stormed the Bastille, the prison in which the people's leaders were held, and released them.

And it was on May 1, 1886, that 190,000 American workers went on strike for the eight-hour day. They met with brutal violence. Eight of their leaders were arrested; four were hanged.

One hundred years after the storming of the Bastille, on May 1, 1889, the International Working Men's Association at its first conference decided to commemorate the storming of the Bastille and the martyrdom of the U.S. workers by making May Day the day of workers' celebrations throughout the world.

One of the American working class martyrs murdered for leading the strike had declared from the scaffold: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are strangling to-day."

His words have been proved true. Every year since 1889 the workers throughout the world have celebrated May Day as their day. From the very beginning it has been linked with the struggle for socialism, for peace, for freedom. Every year the massive memory of the silent martyrs has thundered more loudly the message to the class which murdered them: "Socialism. Peace. Freedom!"

In the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies May Day is a public holiday. Great, joyful celebrations are held in every city and village. And in many other countries where the working class, their trade unions and people's organisations are strong May Day has also been won as a holiday.

MAY 1 is a day in which South African history, too, has been written in the blood of the working people.

May Day, 1951, will be recorded in our working class history as one of the greatest and most heroic battles of the people against oppression.

In spite of unprecedented pressure and terror, with all their meetings banned, with mounted police patrolling the streets, the Rand's industries came to a standstill as African, Indian and Coloured workers, observing their day as Freedom Day, refused to go to work.

Then these things happened on May Day, 1951:

In Benoni, when a contingent of police arrived, a small number of people gathered round out of curiosity. No hostility was shown by either side.

The workers were suddenly given three minutes to disperse. A woman who was an eye-witness described what followed in these words: "I have never seen anything so horrible in all my life. The people were dispersing and walking unhurriedly away from the police in all directions. Some who had not heard the order were still standing together talking.

"It was not three minutes—it was more like three seconds—when suddenly the order was given to charge into the people.

"The police rushed into the crowd—some of them with fixed bayonets. They slaughtered the people like cattle, stabbing them from behind and shooting them in their backs as they ran. I swear there was no provocation from the people."

At Alexandra, Third Avenue, a very narrow lane was the scene of the shooting. A pick-up van and troop-carrier were passing through, and the people had dispersed. One solitary stone was thrown by a woman as the pick-up van passed.

It bounced harmlessly from the roof. There was no other stone-throwing or threat. Immediately the police opened fire with Sten guns. In a few seconds eight people were dead, including one 15-year-old schoolgirl.

In Sophiatown the police instructed a small crowd which had gathered to disperse. An 18-year-old boy, Brown Mpome, stood leaning against a pole. A close friend of Brown told a reporter: "When the police told us to disperse we all ran away. Brown just stood there against the pole. The police opened fire and I got a bullet in my arm. When the firing stopped I saw Brown still standing there. I went to him, and saw blood streaming from his neck.

"As I reached him a policeman struck me down with a baton and arrested me. He raised his baton to hit Brown, but before he could do so Brown fell to the ground. The back of his head had been shot away."

THE silence of South Africa's May Day martyrs for freedom will also be proved more powerful than the bullets which killed them.

To our working class men and women who have made the supreme sacrifice this May Day issue is dedicated.

To the unity of all people fighting for freedom this issue is dedicated

TO THE WINNING OF A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA THIS MAY DAY ISSUE IS DEDICATED.

NATIONAL UNION OF LAUNDRY, CLEANING AND DYEING WORKERS

May Day Greetings to all workers from the National Union of Laundry, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers. May Day, 1954, must mark the determination of workers to resist the Government's attempt to kill unions.

The National Executive of the S.A. Congress of Democrats extends warm May Day Greetings to all workers and democratic South Africans. May 1954 see great advances in the people's struggle for peace and for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for all men and women in South Africa without distinction.

ARNOLD SELBY.—On this May Day let us remember the future belongs to us, the ordinary people. Let us redouble our efforts in the fight for a free South Africa and world peace. Let there be no compromise with the Fascists and no collaboration with Government stooges. Forward to Full Freedom!

The Witwatersrand Branch of the National Baking Industrial Union sends May Day Greetings to all workers in South Africa and to the workers the world over.

Onwards towards workers' unity in South Africa and peace and prosperity all over the world.

M. Kagan.—May Day Greetings to all trade unionists and progressive South Africans who stand for unity in the fight against reaction and oppression. Down with the traitors.

S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS (BENONI BRANCH)

Benoni Democrats greet the Paper of Democracy. Your struggle is Democracy's strength.

S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

The Johannesburg Region sends warm Greetings to all democrats in South Africa and makes this special May Day appeal:—

By its acts the Government is displaying its fear of the people's movement for full and equal democratic rights. We must take heart from this and be ready to advance! All who believe in the brotherhood of man must join with us in the forward march to happiness and progress for all people in South Africa.

THE GARDENS-NORWOOD BRANCH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

Greets all democrats and workers on May Day, 1954. Onwards to a free South Africa!

Furniture, Mattress and Bedding Workers' Industrial Union (Tvl.).—On the occasion of 1st May, 1954, we send this message of greeting to all fellow workers of South Africa, which shall serve as a pledge of our determination to wage with you the struggle for a free trade union movement and a true democracy.

HILDA WATTS

This May Day sees us nearer to liberation and happiness than ever before. Greetings to peace lovers and democrats everywhere! We can win freedom for South Africa and peace for the world—we can win it soon!

The Youth Branch of the SACOD sends Greetings to the youth of South Africa. On this May Day we pledge our untiring support for the struggle for a free South Africa, where we will all enjoy leisure, work and study.

THE WITWATERSRAND WORKERS' COUNCIL OF ACTION

Workers! Unite to defeat Schoeman's new law to destroy free trade unions. THAT IS THIS MAY DAY'S URGENT TASK

CAPE PEACE COUNCIL
Box 2706 - Cape Town

Peace is indivisible and cannot exist for South Africa while its peoples are at war with one another. End race and class oppression to open the way to world peace.

The African National Congress (New Brighton Branch).—The ANC conveys its fraternal greetings to the workers of South Africa, the workers in the colonial countries and the workers of the world. The flagrant Fascist practices must be regarded as a challenge in South Africa, workers. Mayibuye! Afrika!

GREETINGS FROM DURBAN

On this historic day we send heartfelt Fraternal Greetings to our Fellow Workers of South Africa.

Let us on this day pledge:—

To defend free Trade Unionism.

To struggle for higher wages, better working conditions and for the extension of social security for all workers.

To strive for the attainment of full democratic rights for all.

And to defend world peace.

Long Live Free Trade Unionism!

Forward to a Happier South Africa for All!

From:

South African Tin Workers' Union.

Food and Canning Workers' Union.

Chemical & Allied Workers' Union.

Twine and Bag Workers' Union.

Natal Box, Broom and Brush Workers' Union.

Natal Dairy Workers' Union.

Tobacco Workers' Union.

National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers of S.A.

S.A.R. and H.W. Union (Natal).

SYDENHAM BRANCH OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Greets All Workers UNITE AND HALT FASCISM IN SOUTH AFRICA!

MEREBANK BRANCH OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS Salutes the Workers of South Africa on this May Day and calls upon the Workers to make the coming CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE a great success.

London Advance Readers send their warmest greetings to the great and growing force of South Africans who are fighting so surely and confidently for the defeat of fascism in South Africa. The confidence and fighting spirit of the people is clearly reflected in the tone and content of Advance, and we congratulate you on the way in which you are fulfilling your vital role in the people's struggle.

SOUTH AFRICAN PEACE COUNCIL.—The South African Peace Council extends warmest Greetings to all peace-lovers. May Day, 1954, comes when the future of humanity is threatened by terrible weapons of destruction. Let this May Day be the occasion for all peace-lovers to pledge their determination to work for the outlawing of the H-bomb, for peace.

The Transvaal Youth Festival Committee greets the youth of South Africa on May Day, the day which highlights the struggle of working people throughout the world for a more democratic way of life. We, the youth, African, Indian, European, Coloured, stand united for peace and racial harmony.

South African Clothing Workers' Union.—On behalf of its members, the S.A. Clothing Workers' Union joins hands with the workers of the world in the celebration of May Day. In spite of stringent laws keeping Africans as helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water, they are confident their day will come.

Textile Workers' Ind. Union (S.A.) Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage Branch We appeal to all workers in South Africa to make May Day, 1954, the turning point in the workers' struggle for a united trade union movement. With greetings from the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage Branch.

THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

GREETS ALL WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ON THIS OCCASION OF MAY DAY. Let us pledge ourselves to work with increased vigour for PEACE and FREEDOM in our Life-time.

THE SEA POINT BRANCH OF THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

greet all workers, irrespective of race, creed, nationality or colour. Stand united! You have a world to win!

African National Congress, Retreat, c/o Cafda, Prince George Drive, P.O., Retreat.—Members of the African National Congress of Retreat send warmest congratulations on May Day. Long Live May Day! Afrika!

"The real beauty of the good life is participating in the forward movement of humanity"

—Julius Rosenberg. With greetings to all my co-fighters.

From CECIL WILLIAMS

TRANSSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS.—May Day is a day of commemoration and rededication. The workers and the oppressed nations of South Africa and the world remember and honour their leaders, founders and sacrifices of the people. We commemorate those who have died in the struggle for trade unionism, national liberation, so that everyone can have freedom to live decently and have the right to free speech and assembly. They have won certain liberties. Those are now being threatened. It is for the people of to-day to carry on the great task. We wish to thank Advance for its fine services.

Y. M. DADOO'S MAY DAY MESSAGE

I send my Greetings to the working people of all lands in their gallant fight for Peace, National Independence and Freedom.

On this day I reaffirm my vow to play my rightful role in the grim struggle of the South African people against apartheid, tyranny, Free, Democratic South Africa.

LONG LIVE ADVANCE—THE PEOPLE'S PAPER!

THE FOOD CANNING AND ALLIED WORKERS' UNION

extends May Day Greetings to all workers. Let 1st May usher in a period of real unity between the workers of all races.

The S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union greets peace-loving people everywhere. The need for good relations and understanding between nations is to-day greater than ever if disaster and tragedy is to be avoided for ourselves and all humanity.

May Day Greetings to all Advance Readers. Owing to the enforcement of apartheid regulations at Lenric House, "AFRICAN BOOKSHOPS" have decided to close down temporarily until more suitable premises can be found. An announcement about the reopening date will be made in Advance in due course.

TRANSSVAAL LEATHER AND ALLIED TRADES INDUSTRIAL UNION

The Executive Council of the Transvaal Leather and Allied Trades Industrial Union wish to convey Greetings to all the members of our Union and to the workers of South Africa.

The South Western Regional Committee, A.N.C.—The revolutionary spirit of May 1, 1950. People's Freedom Day, when 18 workers were shot dead by police, will live in the hearts of all the oppressed people. It will for ever remain a source of inspiration to the labouring people of S. Africa.

E. WEINBERG

11 Plantation Road, Gardens Johannesburg

Tyranny has never stopped the march of history. Uncompromising struggle will bring victory and freedom to the people of South Africa.

The National Union of Distributive Workers

WITWATERSRAND B BRANCH

extends warm Trade Union Fraternal Greetings to all fellow workers on the 1st May. We call on all workers to unite for the preservation of free and independent Trade Unions and for the winning of the rights of free speech and democracy.

FORWARD TO PEACE AND FREEDOM!

TEXTILE WORKERS

The National Executive Committees The Textile Workers' Industrial Union (S.A.) and the African Textile Workers' Industrial Union (S.A.) wish all workers everywhere a free and peaceful future.

African Commercial and Distributive Workers' Union of S.A.—May Day is Labour Day throughout the world. In thousands of towns the workers will assemble and march to demonstrate the universal brotherhood of labour. Despite the reactionary Government, the liberatory movements carry on.

MODERN YOUTH SOCIETY
Kensington and Cape Town

Modern Youth Society members greet young people of all races in South Africa and throughout the world. Let us join hands in friendship and build our organisations so that they will play their role in the struggle for justice, freedom, peace.

THE FORDSBURG PEACE GROUP

greet the workers and peace-loving people on this historic day. Man has made the A and H bombs and man must ban them for the freedom and liberation of the oppressed people. Every man and woman must work ceaselessly for the outlawing of destruction and war and for lasting peace.

CAPE YOUTH FESTIVAL COMMITTEE

Greetings to young workers and students throughout South Africa! Forward to bigger and better Festivals of Friendship, where youth joins hands under the banner of Peace, Friendship and Racial Harmony.

The African National Congress (C.P.).—The A.N.C. extends its sincerest fraternal greetings to the workers of the world and to the oppressed and exploited in colonial countries. Let us once more dedicate ourselves to the belief that society is sound only when made up of free people. Afrika! Mayibuye!

African National Congress, C.T. Branch.—We send May Day greetings to workers throughout South Africa. We greet the allies of our people in every land in the world.

CAPE FURNITURE WORKERS' UNION
350 VICTORIA ROAD
SALT RIVER, C.P.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CAPE FURNITURE WORKERS' UNION APPEALS TO THE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO UNITE. DISUNITED WE MUST BECOME EASY PREY FOR THOSE OPPOSED TO OUR IDEALS.

A.N.C., Moroka Branch.—We send our May Day Greetings to the workers of South Africa and of the world. Being the oppressed and the most exploited workers in the land of our birth, we are prepared to march forward to our liberation. Long Live the People's Liberatory Movement!

Food and Canning Workers' Union, 56 Parker St., Worcester.—The Food and Canning Workers' Union, Worcester Branch, wish to extend their sincere May Day Greetings to all workers for world peace, unity and for better living conditions.

The African National Congress, Grahamstown Branch.—Wishing all readers of Advance and all Africans a very successful May Day celebration, from the Grahamstown branch of the African National Congress.—Duma N. Kosinkulu, Secretary, Grahamstown Branch.

The South African Indian Youth Congress, in sending heartiest May Day Greetings to the youth and working class of South Africa and all countries of the world, wishes to remember with pride and sends its salutations to the people of the world who are fighting or who have overthrown their oppressors.

THE SOUTH AFRICA CLUB

CAPE TOWN

sends May Day Greetings to all fighters for freedom and justice.

MAY 1954 BRING NEW VICTORIES!

I. O. HORVITCH,
Chairman.

Message from LOUIS C. JOFFE

The danger of war, the deepening economic crisis, the intensification of oppression on the African and the other Non-European people, the exploitation of the working class and the fascisation (that is the way to the open brutal dictatorship of the most reactionary chauvinistic-nationalistic elements of monopoly capitalism) must rally all democrats to support Advance—the great voice against the menace. May Day must in this period be not only a celebration but a day of dedication for forging co-operation between all the working, oppressed and democratic people.

An Advance Study Document (it can be cut out and kept for reference)

MOSES KOTANE, Executive Member of the A.N.C. until he was banned by Swart, has written specially for our May Day issue this immensely important article pointing

South Africa's Way Forward

THE policy of the Nationalist Government is opposed by most of the people of South Africa and condemned by democratic people throughout the world. Nevertheless, the Government is going ahead at ever-increasing speed to implement that policy.

To supply more cheap labour to farms and mines it intensifies to an unendurable extent the pass system and police terror amongst African industrial workers. It legislates to uproot tens of thousands of Non-Europeans in town and country and to destroy the fabric of their lives.

The Schoeman labour laws seek to smash free trade unionism among workers of all races. Verwoerd's measures aim at slamming the door against Africans seeking enlightened education and at conditioning their children to a serf mentality. With each new session of Parliament Swart demands new powers to ban, proscribe and intimidate all the opponents of the Nationalists; to destroy every legal and judicial safeguard against despotic government.

The Nationalists have not been halted by the feeble and half-hearted opposition they have met in Parliament. Nor, as yet, have the mass activities of the people outside Parliament reached the level where they are united and formidable enough to deter the Government from proceeding with its evil designs. These facts have led to despondency and defeatism among some of those who are opposed to the Government. They see Dr. Malan and his lieutenants moving steadily towards an absolute and permanent dictatorship. They see the United Party paying the penalty for its desertion of democratic principle—visibly disintegrating. Viewing only these elements of the political scene, they begin to feel hopeless and to abandon resistance against Fascism.

In order to overcome these tendencies it is important to gain a clear understanding of the real issues involved in the people's struggle to defeat the Nationalists and to find the way forward for South Africa.

THE BASIC STRUCTURE

WE cannot gain such a clear understanding if we ascribe the policy of the Government merely to a particular backward and reactionary ideology of the Nationalist leaders. It is true that they have such an ideology which, rejecting all humanitarian and progressive ideals, and which aims at imposing by brute force a crude system of White supremacy and Non-White inferiority.

If this ideology of the Nationalists has found support from a section of the voters and become enthroned as the official State doctrine, it is largely because it is rooted in the basic structure of South Africa, having originated long before the Malanites won the 1948 election.

A brief analysis of this structure shows that it is characterised by:

1. The predominance of financial and gold-mining groups in alliance with the big farming interests and closely linked with British and American imperialism;
2. The amassing by these interests of vast super-profits derived from the exploitation of the Non-White masses, who are regarded purely as sources of cheap labour. They are deprived of land and democratic rights, held in a state of colonial subjection and terror and deliberately denied access to education and the benefits of civilisation.
3. The granting of numerous concessions and monopolies (e.g., of political representation, commercial opportunities, skilled trades and professions) to the European middle and working classes with a view to buying their support and maintaining some stability for this top-heavy structure.

All the basic foundations of this evil system of oppression and exploitation were laid by the successive Governments of Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, and, indeed, in the glaringly undemocratic Constitution of South Africa, the Act of Union itself. Only under such a Constitution could so unpopular a party as that of Dr. Malan, which is hated by nine-tenths of the people, become

the Government of the country. Only in such a soil could the vile doctrines of apartheid and race superiority take root and flourish.

The Nationalists differ from their predecessors in the Union Government chiefly in that they are carrying the infamous system to its extreme of barbarity and ruthlessness, destroying the last vestiges of democratic rights won by the people in former days and fanning to the utmost the ugly passions of race hatred.

THE TRUE ALTERNATIVES

THE choice before South Africa is not one between various methods of maintaining White supremacy: the true choice lies between suffering an increasingly brutal Fascist dictatorship on the one hand and, on the other, emancipating the majority of the people from oppression and serfdom in a multi-racial democracy affording equal rights and opportunities to all men and women.

During the post-war years the ruling class of South Africa has been faced with mounting difficulties. These arise from the general international crisis of capitalism in which this country is involved, and also from the marked advance in the leadership and effectiveness of the Non-European liberation movements, which have evoked keen interest and warm sympathy throughout the world. In these circumstances the capitalists turn more and more to the use of terror and force in order to maintain the colour bar system; and the Nationalist Party has proved a useful instrument for the implementation of such methods.

Many readers keep their copies of ADVANCE for reference and study. If you do not do this, anyway, you will be able to cut out this page and keep Moses Kotane's article for discussion circles and detailed study.

The one major force which has stood up to the Government as a serious opponent of Fascism and as the defender of the rights of the South African people of all races has proved to be the national liberation movement of the Non-European peoples. Throughout the time when the liberals and the reformist trade unions have been on the retreat, abandoning one after the other the principles which they claimed to uphold, it has been the fraternal alliance of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress which held the fort for democracy and rallied the people to resistance.

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was the biggest and most important mass action ever carried out by the oppressed people of South Africa. It was this campaign which showed up the General Election of 1953 as a hollow sham fight between rival oppressors. It brought the attention of all sections of the population—indeed, of the whole world—to bear on the basic problems of our country, and it established the Congresses as the true spokesmen of the aims of the majority of the people of our country. As a result of this campaign the Congress movement is stronger than it has ever been.

The African and Indian organisations have been joined by an organised body of Europeans, the Congress of Democrats, which stands with them on the basis of equal rights for all. Recent events inspire the hope that the million-strong Coloured community will come forward to join in the people's alliance which is being built up.

DISRUPTERS

IT would be wrong, however, to overlook the weaknesses which are apparent in the ranks of the democratic people's movements, especially in the field of organisation. The Government's attempts to cripple and behead the democratic organisations have not sufficiently been countered by timely steps to select and train new leaders to replace those forced out of the struggle.

Taking advantage of the lull in general activity which occurred during 1953, all sorts of disruptive and harmful groupings

(Now turn over the page)

Paarl Branch, F.C.W.U. — We greet all workers of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and in South Africa and all over the world. Let us be strengthened and united to fight against capitalists and Fascism and bring to all workers peace and harmony.

A.N.C., Transvaal Province.—We recall May 1, 1950, when 18 workers were shot by police on the Rand for the simple crime of celebrating May Day. Since these men died for freedom, let May Day, 1954, be an occasion on which we shall pledge ourselves to a continued struggle to emancipate mankind.

W. KODESH, CAPE TOWN.—May Day Greetings to all who are fighting for Freedom.

S.A. Congress of Democrats (Cape Western Region)

The Cape Western Regional Committee of the S.A. Congress of Democrats sends May Day Greetings to all those engaged in the struggle against tyranny, both in our country and abroad.

Freedom in Our Life-time!

The African Textile Workers' Industrial Union (S.A.) (Cape Area Branch).—The committee and members extend fraternal greetings to all workers. We call upon you to fight for trade union freedom; defend the right to free trade unions; defend the right of free, collective bargaining; & strive for equal pay.

The National Union of Cigarette and Tobacco Workers (Cape Area Branch) extends to the workers of South Africa its heartiest Greetings on May Day. Forward in the struggle for the rights of all working people! Forward in the struggle for workers' unity! Forward in the struggle for peace and security!

The Textile Workers' Industrial Union of South Africa extends its very best wishes to all workers in this country for May Day, 1954. Let this 1st May mark a new era in the unity of the trade union movement in their relentless fight for the rights of all workers in South Africa.



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made their appearance and threatened to confuse and divide the people. Here reference must be made not only to the well-known wrecking activities of such bodies as the "Non-European Unity Movement" and the "All African Convention," which have long been known to the people as turncoats, but also to new groupings within the Congresses themselves, who from self-seeking motives spread dissension in the ranks, using the methods of slander, racialism and even terrorism against the leaders. Such elements are being exposed and isolated.

Groupings like this are only able to form and to show themselves because of internal shortcomings and weaknesses. A greater measure of participation in the leadership by workers and peasants, the most numerous and militant sections, would do much to eliminate these weaknesses. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Congresses are not, and should not, be homogeneous bodies of people who all belong to the same class and share the same outlook, but are essentially united fronts of all sections of an oppressed nationality who seek liberty and democracy.

A movement which fails to go forward will go back. The absence of a great central political task, common to all democrats, has been a retarding factor during the past year. Such a task is the proposed Congress of the People of South Africa to draw up a Freedom Charter. The preparations for this convention, if properly carried out, will call on every democratic South African to render his utmost effort to the cause of freedom. These efforts will be well spent, for the work of calling the Congress and framing the Freedom Charter is an essential step towards mobilising and uniting the great majority of the people of this country against Fascism and opening the way forward for a democratic South Africa.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

IT would be of incalculable advantage to the democratic movement of South Africa if the workers, and particularly the African workers, were properly organised into vigorous and effective trade unions. Tribute must be paid to the unwearying efforts of those trade unionists who for many years have battled to keep their organisations going in the face of the hostility not only of the employers and the Government but even, in many cases, of the registered trade unions. However, the blunt fact must be faced that these efforts have not always resulted to any great extent in the establishment of big, stable and effective African trade unions.

This comparative failure is not only due to the objective difficulties and the opposition of the employers and the Government. It is also due to a mistaken approach to the problem of organising African trade unions; an approach which aims at unions identical in character to those recognised under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The "recognised" trade union movement has, thus far, failed lamentably to respond vigorously and effectively to the deep inroads which the Nationalist Government has made and is making into traditional working class rights and standards. Dozens of elected trade union officials have been summarily banned from their posts by the Minister of Justice with little more than formal protest; the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was not seriously challenged. The Schoeman revised I.C. Bill threatens to destroy the fruits of decades of trade union struggle and to replace united workers' organisations with numerous small and ineffective racial unions.

The reaction of the leaders of the Trades and Labour Council and the break-away unions of the Federation is to plan a so-called "all-in" trade union conference with a colour bar against Africans and to prepare a constitution for a trade union "federation of federations" which has room for the subservient Nationalist "Ko-ordineerende Raad" but no room for the Council of Non-European trade unions. The glaring weaknesses which these events reveal are not accidental. South African industrial legislation has fostered a type of bureaucratic, spineless organisation whose leaders have become isolated from the workers and their problems, absorbed in office routine, bounded in their horizons by the industrial councils and the Labour Department, and whose rank and file lack knowledge of and interest in trade unionism. This degeneration of former militant organisations of working class struggle has been the price paid for the illusion of security and legal status.

But African unions have never enjoyed even the illusion of recognition and a legal security. Even before the vicious Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of last year, designed by Mr. Schoeman in his own words to "bleed the Native unions to death," our African unions enjoyed no legal status at all, no access to the Industrial Councils and their negotiating machinery or to the employers.

It is vain, therefore, for African organisations to seek for their strength in elaborate office routines and administrative

machinery. Their strength lies, and can only lie, in the building of militant rank and file bodies, with active committees ceaselessly attending to daily complaints in every factory and workshop; sustained not by Government departments, which in fact assist employers, but by the consciousness, unity and determination of the workers themselves. To build such trade unions requires a searching review of their present methods by all trade unionists. It requires discarding unsuitable methods and the adoption of new methods which will bring them close to the workers.

It is a task which will require the full and continuous co-operation of the liberation movement and of all progressive people. But if this task is properly carried out it must result in the creation of powerful and indestructible trade unions which will not only succeed in raising the living standards of their members but which will be an integral part of the people's movement for freedom, greatly strengthening and reinforcing it.

THE RURAL AREAS

THE majority of the people of South Africa live on the land, but as yet the democratic movement for liberation has barely begun the task of arousing and mobilising the tremendous potential forces for progress among the landless millions in the countryside.

The desperate position in which the people of the rural areas find themselves is well known. We know of the starvation wages, harsh treatment and bitter life of the agricultural labourer on European-owned farms. We know how on the reserves and Crown lands and in the villages Non-Europeans are struggling against hunger, ignorance and disease.

The peasants are crying out for land, freedom and a better life. It is the duty of the national liberation movements, which are centred mainly in the bigger towns, to reach out a brotherly hand of assistance to these millions of people and to help them to organise themselves into peasant associations and agricultural workers' unions to struggle for more land and higher farm wages, for the right to security and freedom from pass laws, forced labour and other forms of oppression.

In this, as in every other field of South African life, unity and organisation is the key to resistance to Fascism and to the advance to democracy.

YOUTH MOVEMENTS

THE same lesson is to be learnt from the efforts of the young people of South Africa in developing the African National Congress Youth League and other youth organisations. The inspiring youth festivals, with their splendid message of peace, unity and racial harmony; the vigorous resistance of students to the imposition by the Government of apartheid in the universities; the ties of friendship which our young people are forging with the youth of other countries—all these activities deserve the utmost encouragement of all democratic people, for they provide the surest guarantee of the future People's South Africa that is arising.

All the same, our progressive youth movements have, as yet, made only a small beginning in the formidable task of uniting the young people of all races for a better future. Youth movements must not be regarded as preserves for a small group of intelligentsia with their own separate ideas and theories. Such an attitude would repel the millions of young people who can be attracted by broad, all-embracing youth movements offering cultural and recreational opportunities as well as political guidance in the accepted principles of the senior organisations.

WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

A GREAT need also exists for the democratic women of South Africa, African, Coloured, Indian and European, to come together in common struggle for their common needs: peace, democracy and equality of status. Many women's organisations are already in existence: women's leagues of the Congress, trade unions predominantly of womenfolk, and special organisations such as the Daughters of Africa and the National Council of African Women. It is to be hoped that the recent national conference has laid a basis for uniting all these bodies in a powerful democratic women's federation. Non-European working women in particular suffer from a three-fold subjection of race, class and sex; they must receive the full co-operation and assistance of every progressive in organising themselves for emancipation.

In our next issue Moses Kotane continues with sections on World Peace, "White" South Africa and THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

The African Food and Canning Workers' Union extends May Day Greetings to all union members, trade unionists in South Africa and overseas, as well as to all friends. We make an urgent appeal to the workers of South Africa to stand united in defence of their rights, and for a free trade union.

The African National Congress, Cape Western Region, sends May Day Greetings to all members and friends. We appeal to all freedom-loving people in South Africa to mobilise their forces in the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

May Day Greetings from
RAY ALEXANDER
Salute to all workers. Prepare for greater struggles in the finest cause of the people—
FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE-TIME.

The Food and Canning Workers' Union, Wolseley Branch, greets the Food and Canning Workers' Union's membership and all who assisted them in their recent strike. Long live working class solidarity! Long live the unity of all workers in the struggle for a free trade union movement in South Africa.

Food and Canning Workers and African Food and Canning Union, Port Elizabeth Branches, send May Day Greetings to all union members, trade unionists in South Africa and the world over. Let May Day mobilise all workers to fight against the Industrial Conciliation Bill and other oppression.

The S.A. Canvas and Rope Workers' Union sends May Day Greetings to all members and all workers. We appeal to you to join with all freedom-loving people to fight against the vicious amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Bill and to fight for a free trade union movement and democracy.

Food and Canning Workers' Union (Head Office)

salutes all members and all other workers on May Day, International Labour Day. Onwards towards real workers' unity, for peace, security and freedom.

Progressive Garment Workers send May Day Greetings to workers of S.A. and the world in their fight for better living conditions and peace. Garment workers, unite!

NATAL PEACE COUNCIL

calls upon the people of S. Africa to pledge on May Day to build a powerful peace movement to rally all sections of our citizens for the banning of atom and hydrogen bombs, and a Pact of Peace among the Five Great Powers.

WE, THE OPPRESSED YOUTH OF SOUTH AFRICA

greet the Youth of the world in their determined fight for national independence and peace. Long Live the World Federation of Democratic Youth!
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THE N.U.D.W.

extends May Day Greetings to all workers and expresses the hope that real TRADE UNION UNITY may not be too far distant.

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TRADE UNION COLUMN By RAY ALEXANDER

T.U. FIGHT THIS MAY DAY WILL DECIDE T.U. EXISTENCE NEXT MAY DAY



OUR May Day review of the South African trade unions must, to our sorrow, yield less reason for optimism than we would like.

On the world front, developments here as in the political field are far ahead of our own.

The World Federation of Trade Unions representing the most advanced sections of the workers in all countries, has grown from strength to strength. Its Conference in October last year was a unique event.

Attended by delegations from every single country in the world, it was the biggest and most representative gathering of its kind ever held.

Wherever socialism develops, trade unionism increases by leaps and bounds.

IMPERIALIST POISON

On the other hand, the poison of imperialism has eaten deep into the organised labour movement in the more reactionary capitalist countries. Both the Congress of Industrial Organisations as well as the American Federation of Labour (the main United States trade union bodies) have lent themselves readily to the attacks by McCarthy and Eisenhower (representatives of big business under the guise of anti-Communism) against the true trade union movement in the U.S.A. In Britain the Trades Union Council continues its traditional policy of compromise and collaboration with the capitalists; obstruction and dictatorship of the progressive workers.

We realise, of course, that trade unionism is not something apart from social and economic forces, or independent of the political factors. We have had too much

experience of the connection between trade unionism and politics in South Africa to put any trust in the constant cry of those who say: "Keep politics out of trade unions."

BIGGEST CRISIS

So, far from this being the case, our trade union movement is facing the biggest crisis in its history because of the anti-working-class policies followed by certain leading elements, which claim to be "non-political". I am referring, as readers of my column know without telling them, to the splits in the South African trade union movement, the effects of Schoeman's Apartheid Bill, the current attempts to bring about "unity" on the basis of a colour-bar policy and, most important of all, the continued government onslaughts upon the most conscientious and energetic, loyal and capable of the leading trade unionists.

There are many weaknesses in our trade union movement resulting from the cleavages in the working class, the fact that our proletariat is comparatively young and still largely rural in outlook, and the high degree of exploitation that is carried on by means of colour discrimination.

But we must not forget that the South African trade union movement can claim with pride that it has respected and upheld the principles of democracy in its own ranks.

This tradition is in danger. There are trade unionists who out of fear and slavish submission to a reactionary government, or the hope of getting something for themselves—trade unionists who in defiance of our tradition and principles have become stooges.

These people are now attempting to remould the trade union movement in the form demanded by the Nationalist Apartheid government.

The two streams in the trade union movement will be seen flowing very clearly in the coming May Day week at Cape Town. Here a Conference is being held under the auspices of the Unity Committee; just prior to this, another Conference will meet, convened by the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. The first Conference will be dominated by trade unions which have already accepted the Slave Labour Bill, and with it the principle of a colour bar in the trade union organisation. This Conference's delegates will be pledged to secrecy. A handpicked committee will meet Mr. Schoeman, the Minister of Labour to get "inside" information about his third Draft of the Bill.

The other Conference is being called to sound the warning and give the signal to the trade unions of South Africa to unite in this hour of need.

There will have to be a great deal of hard spade work, of building from the foundations upwards, of undertaking basic organisational work that should have been done many years ago.

MAY DAY RESOLUTION

Let us resolve on this May Day to draw thousands of unorganised workers into trade unions, to educate all sections of the working class to understand their class interests. Racialistic, nationalistic prejudices must be overcome and the primary task of uniting the workers in a common struggle for higher wages and democratic rights must be tackled.

Long Live May Day.
Long live the unity of the oppressed people and working class!

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MAY-DAY IN PARLIAMENT

Our Parliamentary Correspondent Interviews Your M.P.

I KNOCKED at the door. "Are you Mr. Sjambok, the Nat. M.P.?" I asked.

"Ja," he said. "Who are you?"

Me: I represent *Advance*, the independent weekly . . .

Mr. Sjambok: Ah, yes. We're going to close you down one day. What do you want?

Me: We want to know what you think about May Day?

Mr. Sjambok: May Day? What's that?

Me: All the workers celebrate on May Day. White, African, Indian, Coloured—all workers.

Mr. Sjambok: Ah, yes. We're going to put a stop to that. You'll all go to gaol.

Me: All of us?

Mr. Sjambok: All you agitators. All you Communists, Liberals and English church spies.

Me: But what about May Day? The Nationalist Party once called itself a workers' party . . .

Mr. Sjambok: So it is. I expect you're one of those people who think that wool farmers loaf all day and drive around in Buicks?

Me: Well . . .

Mr. Sjambok: Yes, I can see you believe it. Let me tell you that wool farmers work hard. And what for? Do you know how much Buicks cost these days? It'll shock you.

Me: Tell me: Don't you sometimes think about the struggle the Afrikaner worker has to make a living?

Mr. Sjambok: All the time. I've

just told you how expensive Buicks have become.

Me: But workers don't buy Buicks?

Mr. Sjambok: Of course not. That's why they have nothing to worry about. It's the wool farmers who have to worry.

Me: May Day is on Saturday. What are you doing on Saturday?

Mr. Sjambok: I'm going to see my farm in the Karoo. They tell me the sheep are nice and fat.

Me: But you represent a Rand constituency? Are you also a farmer?

Mr. Sjambok: Yes, man. The doctor says the Karoo air is good for me. There's too much of this new-fangled smog up on the Rand. It makes me feel uncomfortable after meals.

Me: But what about the workers in your constituency. Surely, you should live with them and share their worries.

Mr. Sjambok: How many times must I tell you that I've got more worries than any of them? Do you know how much petrol my Buick uses?

Me: Is that all you have to say about May Day?

Mr. Sjambok: No. I've got a lot more to say. We're going to close you down and close May Day down. You wait for my next speech.

I KNOCKED at the door. "Are you Mr. Haw-Haw, the United Party M.P.?" I asked.

"Yes," he said. "Do come in and have a drink. I'm just on my

way to the Club."

Me: Thanks. But I only want to ask you a few questions. I represent *Advance*, the independent weekly . . .

Mr. Haw-Haw: *Advance*? Ugh! I don't like that word. Caused a lot of trouble in this world.

Me: We want to know what you think of May Day?

Mr. Haw-Haw: May Day? You mean, when all those fellows carry banners and shout slogans?

Me: Yes. That's May Day. You must have seen it on the way to the Club once?

Mr. Haw-Haw: Of course. But I thought Schoeman put a stop to that sort of thing?

Me: No. It still goes on—and gets better every time.

Mr. Haw-Haw: Good Heavens! But I could swear that the last Bill I voted for was meant to put a stop to this sort of thing? That's what the other fellows in the caucus told me. What on earth was it that I voted for then?

Me: Perhaps it was the Coloured Vote Bill?

Mr. Haw-Haw: What? Ha, ha. Very funny. Let me tell you that when the United Party stands firm on a principle, nothing can budge it. Coloured vote bill—ha, ha. Do you think we're so stupid as to drive the Coloureds into the arms of the Natives?

Me: Let's get back to May Day. Will you attend any of the meetings?

(Cont'd. on page 12, col. 5)

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BY GUS



TODAY is of special political interest to workers throughout the world. Let us on the sports fields also join in holding this day in reverence. Let us join in the fight for the emancipation of the worker from this hard and cruel thing called Capitalism. Let us fight for that day when our demand for the equal distribution of sporting facilities and unity on the sports field will be met. The realisation of this lies only in the hands of the worker. My best wishes for a happy May Day go to all fellow workers who have contributed so much towards the upliftment of sport throughout the world.

THE International Table Tennis Federation did the right thing when they refused to accept the affiliation of the South African Table Tennis Union because of its discrimination against non-Europeans; they accepted the affiliation of the non-white body whose membership is open to all races, the South African Table Tennis Federation. Now the International Tennis Federation shows every indication of taking a similar step against the white body in South Africa—the South African Tennis Association. The Federation has warned the South African Tennis Association that unless steps are taken to break down apartheid by offering some form of affiliation for non-European tennis players, drastic action may have to be taken against South Africa.

This would include the banning of Springboks, the Natal Mercury's correspondent says, from competing for the Davis Cup and possibly refusing to accept South African entries at Wimbledon and in overseas tournaments held under the auspices of the International Federation. The correspondent adds that for two years now representations have been made to the International Federation by several member nations against what is described as South Africa's "discriminatory policy against all but players of European origin". The only fault with this move is that it should have taken the Federation that long to move in the direction of banning her. The world body which is composed of European as well as Asian nations does not recognise any bar against any nation: this policy is perfectly

May Day in Jo'burg

May Day will be celebrated at several meetings and functions in Johannesburg on Saturday. The Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions has organised a May Day rally for the Trades Hall at 2 p.m., and at Alexandra Township the local A.N.C. branch has called a public meeting at the open square, which will also be addressed by a speaker from the Transvaal Peace Council.

The Garment Workers' Union has organised a May Day rally for European workers at Wemmer Pan Sports Ground at 9.30 a.m., when stage plays, sports events and other activities will take place.

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acceptable to South Africa overseas but not in the Union.

SAME APPLIES

The same applies to boxing and hockey and even cricket: South African whites have competed against black men without any squealing or yelping. That's a popular affliction of South African sportsmen—a schizophrenia. The time is ripe for backing up our demands effectively in the sports parliaments of the world.

The Empire and Olympic Games should be our next target; cricket too. The position in the latter sport borders on the comic. South Africa is not at home nor can she go to West Indies, Pakistan or India. As a result she has to miss nearly three years of international cricket. But her cricket team doesn't mind playing against Indian, Pakistani and West Indian players in county teams in England.

The late Duleepsinghji was a victim of the South African colour bar when he was dropped for England even though he deserved selection in the 1930's. England bowed to the wishes of South Africa: they didn't want to play against a black man who at home they treated little better than dirt. A fair-minded British sporting public reacted violently to the decision: they condemned the Board of Control but they never got it reversed.

Sportsmen too can help destroy the colour bar: they're, in fact, placed much more favourably than the politician. If every sporting body in the world took the attitude of the Table Tennis and Tennis Federation, white South Africa would be forced to draw the line somewhere—they may even forget about apartheid in sport! Sportsmen all over South Africa should embark on this campaign with as little delay as possible. Of course, there may be the usual intimidations—the withdrawal of privileges like recreation grounds, etc., but this should not deter them. The position is just as bad without their being bad boys.

Greetings from Paul Robeson

"My heartiest May Day greetings to all who struggle for democracy in South Africa," writes the great American Negro singer, Paul Robeson, in a May Day message to ADVANCE readers.

"There, as here in the United States, our fight for freedom and dignity of all men is a key part of the battle for world peace."

BIRTH

BROWN.—To Babette and Mannie, a lovely little lady, born on Saturday, 3rd April. She greets progressives all over the world.

A Message From The Dean Of Canterbury

THE special article written by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, for this issue was unfortunately on the Comet which crashed recently. A copy is being sent for a future issue.

Here is the Dean's message:

"Racial discrimination is fundamentally wrong and un-Christian. It should be resisted by all serious men and women of whatever race or nationality. Men are made for brotherhood, not for dominance or servility. The anti-racial struggle everywhere is a Christian struggle, and my warmest sympathies are with those who are putting up a brave fight on its behalf in South Africa and with Advance for championing its cause."

(Continued from page 11)

Mr. Haw-Haw: Meetings? I thought Swart put a stop to that sort of thing? What was that Bill I voted for last year? I'm sure it put a stop to meetings.

Me: No. The meetings are still being held—and they get bigger and better every time.

Mr. Haw-Haw: Good gracious! I'll have to raise this in caucus. That's the trouble with these Nats. You can't trust the fellows.

Me: There will be meetings in the African townships on May Day.

Mr. Haw-Haw: What? You mean the Native townships? But I thought Verwoerd put a stop to that sort of thing? I'm positive. Why, I voted for the Bill myself just the other day. What on earth did I vote for then?

Me: What are you doing on Saturday—May Day?

Mr. Haw-Haw: Let me see. I'm playing golf in the morning, and then after a few drinks at the Club we're going on to old Pot-Belly for lunch.

Me: Well, thanks.

Mr. Haw-Haw: Not at all. Mind the dog.

Me: Okay. Watch those Nats.

Mr. Haw-Haw: And how! Can't trust them an inch. Mention it at caucus next week if I'm not playing golf. Toodle-do.

Me: Toodle-do. I mean, good-bye.

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