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SOUTH AFRICAN
REFE
LIB
INSTITUTE OF

Nats Planning Civil War?

An insight into Dr. Verwoerd's department was provided last week at an interview N.A.D. officials had with certain councillors on the Rand. "A location," said one official, "must be at least a quarter of a mile from the main road so that there is space for tanks and other military equipment to be assembled, without blocking the traffic, in case of 'trouble' in the location."

APARTHEID MEANS DEATH!



Apartheid and economic exploitation hit hardest at the young and defenceless. Year after year, the summer months take a terrible toll of our Non-European children. This young African child, a victim of malnutrition and gastro-enteritis, was photographed in a Cape Peninsula hospital a few months ago. In this instance the doctors managed to save their patient's life; the child recovered and was sent home—to live once again under the same shocking conditions that doom thousands of our people to an early death.

GROWING SUPPORT FOR PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

"Of Historic Importance"

CAPE TOWN.

INTEREST in the decision of the African National Congress to join with the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation, the S.A. Congress of Democrats and other democratic bodies in convening a Congress of the People to draw up a Freedom Charter, is mounting all over South Africa.

An indication that the South African Coloured People's Organisation will attend such a Congress was given this week when a meeting of that organisation passed the following resolution:

"The South African Coloured organisation, realising that the unity of all oppressed people is essential to the attainment of freedom and equality, wishes to express its appreciation of the sympathetic attitude of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, and resolves to approach these bodies with a view to discussing a basis for co-operation."

The Congress of the People is

described as being "of historic importance," by the South African Indian Congress in a letter sent to the Institute of Race Relations last week, asking them not to proceed with their proposal to hold a national conference at the present time, "thus avoiding any possible confusion and misunderstanding."

The text of the letter is as follows:

"In your letter of 10th September, 1953, you asked the opinion of the South African Indian Congress in regard to the holding of a national conference of all the peoples of South Africa, which would review and analyse the position of the

Non-European peoples,' and in regard to the desirability of a preliminary agenda conference towards this purpose.

"We are sure that you would share the view of the S.A.I.C. that this question is primarily and in the first place, the concern of the Non-European people themselves, who are most directly affected and who form the majority of the population.

FREEDOM CHARTER

"In this connection your attention is drawn to the resolution of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held in Queens-town in December, in which it was decided to organise a 'Congress of the People of South Africa to work out a Freedom Charter for all the peoples and groups in the country.' In terms of the resolution the S.A.I.C. and other democratic organisations of Europeans and Non-Europeans will be invited to participate in convoking this Congress of the People.

"In the light of this decision, by the largest and most representative organisation in the country, which we believe to be of historic importance in opening the road to radical improvement of race relations in South Africa, it is our opinion that your Institute should not proceed further with its proposal at the present time. We trust that you will find yourselves in agreement with this view, thus avoiding any possible confusion and misunderstanding."

ALEXANDRA WORKERS MOBILISE FOR ACTION

Swift Reaction to Increased Fares Proposal

JOHANNESBURG.

RESIDENTS of Alexandra Township are once again facing a threatened increase in bus fares. Twice before in recent years the united and determined action of the people has prevented an increase. Now, once again, the Local Road Transportation Board is considering a proposal to put the fares up. The Public Utility Transport Corporation, which holds a monopoly of public transport serving a number of African areas, is petitioning for the higher fare.

The response of the residents of Alexandra Township has been swift. A mass meeting called by the African National Congress immediately the news was announced adopted a resolution "protesting vehemently" against the proposal and resolving "never to pay any increase whatever in bus fares."

"Since 1944 there have been considerable rises in the cost of food, clothing and other essential commodities," the resolution says. "During the same period the basic wage of the African has remained static so that the average African family has to tolerate life punctuated with hunger, malnutrition and disease."

BEYOND CAPACITY

We are convinced, the resolution continues, that transport charges in relation to African wages and total family income are beyond the capacity of the Africans to pay.

"Continued exploitation by European monied interests," must cause political unrest, the resolution warns, demanding the rejection of the application.

The hearing by the Transportation Board is continuing.

MARITZBURG BOYCOTT

A full-scale boycott of municipal bus transport from Maritzburg to

Edendale is already being operated by the African residents there, following the decision of the city corporation to increase fares.

The boycott was adopted by a mass meeting of Africans immediately following the announcement of the fare increase.

Contempt of Court

BLANTYRE.

The British Government of Nyasaland has stooped very low in order to check the growth of the African National Congress in that colony. The Colonial Government issued an official statement attacking two Congress leaders, who were in prison awaiting trial, because alleged large sums of money were to be spent on their defence. The statement incidentally implied that the leaders were guilty.

For publishing this Government statement, the editor of the Nyasaland Times was fined £100 for contempt of court in a case initiated against him by one of the Congress leaders.

A few days later the Government apologised for its statement.

Africans Boycott Eastern Province Newspaper

PORT ELIZABETH.

Africans in the Eastern Province will not read or buy the "Eastern Province Herald" until that paper ceases to describe Africans by the derogatory and humiliating term "Native." This announcement was made last week by Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe, speaking for the African National Congress, following a mass meeting of over 7,000 Africans at Veeplaats.

Commenting, Dr. Njongwe said:

"The A.N.C. objects to the loose use of the word 'Native' which has a derogatory and humiliating meaning to Africans. This may seem to be a small thing, but it has big ramifications. It is the first step in the A.N.C. campaign."

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AFRICANS POOR IN RICH COUNTRY

U.S. Journal Analyses Black-White Situation

NEW YORK.

WRITING in the special African number of the famous American liberal weekly, "The Nation," Mr. Julius Lewin points out that the African mine-workers get only a tiny share of the tremendous wealth produced in the three rich mining areas of the Rand, the Rhodesian copper belt, and the Belgian Congo's Katanga. Africans, says Mr. Lewin, were formerly poor in a poor country; today they see that they are poor in a rich country. They wonder why they are told that they must remain poor.

This is what the millionaire chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, told them, in effect, recently, when he warned African workers in Rhodesia not to demand wages higher than about 5s. a day.

Mr. Lewin criticises the whole system of migrant labour as "wasteful and destructive of human energies and aspirations." In Africa the percentage of men away from their tribal homes has risen to 43 in parts of Nyasaland and reaches 75 in many parts of the Union...

Unashamed

South Africa, Britain, and Belgium have stood alone and unashamed before the United Nations in refusing to abolish laws allowing imprisonment and whipping to enforce contracts against numerous deserting migrant labourers, he says.

The mine-owners have organised themselves to offer the same wage rates on all the Rand mines, but they have always refused to permit the organisation of a trade union for African mine workers, although



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prime minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins who said:

"The Europeans cannot exist today for five minutes without Native labour. If we were to go on a purely European basis with the present conditions of (white) living and pay, the country would be sub-economic and down and out in five minutes."

Mr. Davidson says African nationalism generally teach the whites in South and East Africa a lesson in humanity and good sense. It is not exclusive, as white nationalism has always been in Africa; it demands equality, not supremacy.

Value of Freedom

In a leading article, "The Nation" analyses America's responsibility for Africa through its support of the colonial powers.

"Africa has become a major strategic land mass in the cold war... The white man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of Africa's resources; the black man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of freedom."

the mines have been obliged to recognise such a union on the copper belt.

Down and Out

Another article by Mr. Basil Davidson quotes the Rhodesian

UNITY MOVEMENT DEcriES MILITANT ACTION

Scurrilous Attack On Trade Unions

CAPE TOWN.

STILL sheltering under the cloak of the boycott and having learned nothing from the wealth of political activity in South Africa during the past two years, the leaders of the Unity Movement made a two-day appearance at the national conference of the Anti-Cad in Cape Town last week. Much of the time was devoted to bitter attacks on the democratic movement of the people.

Delegates were not ashamed of their scabbing activities. In the words of one of the Unity Movement "theoreticians," Mr. I. B. Tabata, "The Coloured people stayed out of the Defiance Campaign thanks to the Anti-Cad and due to our strength they stayed out of the strikes."

UNIONS ATTACKED

A bitter invective against the trade union movement was delivered by Mr. E. Hassim, a delegate from the Transvaal, whose speech might well have been made by a Nationalist Party spokesman. He described the Non-European trade union movement as "an inverted historic anachronism." Describing the trade union officials as "iron-handed bureaucrats" who have stifled the growth of consciousness amongst the workers, he accused them of having turned the trade unions into insurance policies for themselves.

"The vast majority of officials are completely dishonest and have done more than any government law to suppress the growth of the trade union movement in South Africa."

The vital issue of "decapitating" the leaders of the trade union movement has been referred to the National Executive of Anti-Cad, their co-operation in this task will doubtless be welcomed by the Minister of Justice.

But once again the teachers are underestimating the intelligence of the workers, who would think twice before accepting trade unions organised on the basis of the ten point programme. And what of the mass of unorganised workers? They were not even mentioned. The workers, it is obvious, cannot expect

much assistance from the "intellectual leaders" who are preoccupied with defaming the efforts of others.

The record of the Anti-Cad "movement" for the past two years according to their spokesman, includes, inter alia, the successful boycott of the polls by the Coloured people in the General Election (an assertion which is not substantiated by the polling figures), and a successful boycott of the Land Tenure Advisory Board (not evidenced by the crowded sittings).

FIGURE JUGGLING

The secretary reported to conference that 59 organisations were represented, some by proxies. An analysis of these 59 organisations shows however that 20 of them were branches of one organisation, the Teachers' League of South Africa, which also sent along members of its National Executive, who counted as another "organisation."

For the rest there were 11 parent-teacher associations which, for 11 months of the year, are concerned only with the domestic affairs of particular schools; 7 local discussion circles (mostly Anti-Cad committees in a different guise); a football club, a religious association, a non-existent trade union council and 6 civic associations—small parochial bodies with which the Western Cape abounds. In addition to the 6 local Anti-Cad branches, each of which were also given the status of separate "organisations," there were represented 7 political organisations, whose existence prior to the conference was known to very few.

And who were the delegates? Most of them teachers resident or on holiday in Cape Town.

Clarion Call

THE editors of the big capitalist daily newspapers are by no means as free and independent as they would like their readers to believe. They take their orders in regard to policy from the all-powerful business interests which own and control the press—and hire and fire the key personnel. Any journalist who forgets who pays him and gives his readers his own honest opinion soon finds himself looking for a new job if his honest opinion is not palatable to his directors.

McCausland Incident

THIS is particularly true when it comes to the handling of foreign affairs. South African editors were given a sharp and somewhat dramatic reminder of their "responsibilities" as far back as 1938, when the then editor of the Cape Argus, Mr. McCausland, was summarily dismissed for daring to question the desirability of the Munich Pact which handed a large slice of Czechoslovakia over to Hitler and made the last war inevitable. The instructions for his dismissal came from London, in the form of a cable by none other than Mr. John Martin, the late uncrowned king of the gold mining industry.

Judging by the columns of the daily press, those whose high responsibility it is to guide public opinion have not forgotten the lesson. The current British-American policy of deliberately creating a new German army is being sold to the South African public in ever-increasing doses. Leading articles and special features punting this theme are appearing more and more frequently.

Blank Ammunition?

AMONG the special features was a long article by Herr Theodore Blank, who styles himself the Director of the Federal German Office for Security and Defence, a long title which in reality means Minister of War. Herr Blank, and through him the owners of the Argus group which published his article, do their best to persuade us that the proposed Wehrmacht is just what we need to defend "democracy." To ensure that the new military machine remains under democratic control, Herr Blank assures us that "we shall... redouble our care in the selection of persons bearing responsibility..."

In the light of hard facts, however, his assurances are as worthless as those made by Hitler in the palmy days of Munich. An article which appears elsewhere in this issue clearly reveals the extent to which out-and-out Nazis have been promoted to leading positions in the present West German government. Peace and freedom is as safe in their hands as a chicken in the mouth of a fox.

There is plenty of material available to the South African press in regard to the real state of affairs prevailing in West Germany today, yet this all-important news is being deliberately suppressed in the interests of American and British foreign policy. Those interests, however, are not the interests of the people of South Africa. To do their duty to democracy, the editors of our big dailies should be utilising the space given to such characters as Herr Blank for the purpose of acquainting the public with the truth.

Herr Goring in Person

IN America it has long been the practise to put over a political point of view in the form of large, paid advertisements in the daily press. That practise has not yet gained currency in South Africa, but a small start in that direction has already been made. Last week the Cape Times carried a full-length, double column advertisement consisting of a letter alleged to have been written to Churchill by Goring from his condemned cell. The advertisement was inserted by a certain Johan Schoeman, P.O. Broederstroom, Transvaal, whose blurb states that "The document is of the utmost importance to the historian and is a testimony which will undoubtedly command the closest attention of political students of all nations and creeds."

The "document" is in fact nothing but a crude attempt to whitewash the Nazis and to place the blame for everything on Winston Churchill. It is not, in itself, worth analysing. But the question which does arise is why the Cape Times ever accepted this piece of blatant Nazi propaganda for reproduction in their columns.

Mr. Schoeman, who is one of the most out-spoken Nazi apologists and anti-Semites in this country, is surely not unknown to the Cape Times. For years now he has been regularly sending copies of his "newsletters" to all and sundry, including the press. His self-appointed task is to convert the South African people to the creed of National-Socialism. Is there any valid reason why the Cape Times should assist him in his task? Newspapers have not only the right, but the moral duty, to refuse advertisements calculated to mislead and confuse the public and this, surely, was an occasion on which the Cape Times should have exercised that right.

Jungle Ethics

SOMETIMES the finance experts on our daily papers get careless and give us a fine insight into the ethics of the capitalist jungle.

The people of Chile are facing acute unemployment and hardship as the result of the fall in copper production there.

People starving! And here is the reaction of the Financial Editor of the Cape Times:

"Rhodesian copper producers may feel encouraged by the fact that Chile's production fell in 1953..."

In Reverse

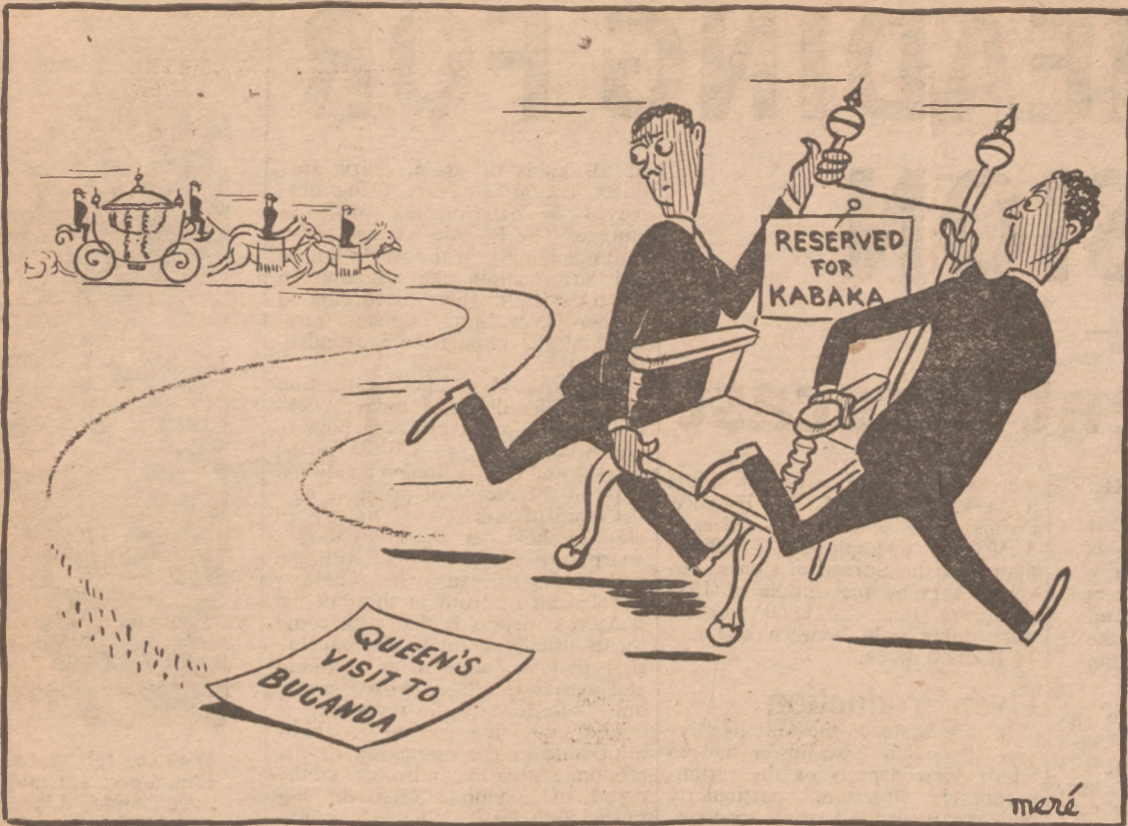
African labourers have been leaving Upington to get better-paid seasonal work in the South-West African fishing industries. (The pay there is not exactly high, so Upington wage rates can't be anything to boast about.)

So now the Town Clerk of Upington has announced that Africans who leave the town "without the permission of the municipality" will not be allowed to seek work when they return.

When they introduced the Urban Areas Act they said that one of its main purposes was to prevent too many Africans from COMING IN to the town, and to get them out. The Upington municipality is using the Act in reverse—to keep the Africans in and prevent them getting better wages elsewhere.

It seems that whatever the government says it wants to do when it introduces a new bill there is only one thing you can be sure about in the law. And that is that there is an infinite number of ways the bosses can use it to bash the Africans,

TRUMPETER.



Following upon the summary deposing of their own monarch by the British Government, the Parliament of the Buganda people has asked for a postponement of the Queen's visit to their country.

ADVISORY BOARD CONGRESS REFLECTS MASS DISCONTENT

JOHANNESBURG.

THE annual Advisory Boards Congress held at the Donaldson Centre in Orlando last week distinctly reflected the changing spirit of the African people. Usually this Congress is a very tame affair. The proceedings are opened by a Native Affairs Department official and "observed" by large numbers of officials from city and town councils.

This year's conference started off much as usual. Deputising for Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. H. J. van Wyk opened the Congress by explaining the benefits of apartheid and warning the delegates not to "talk politics." He was followed by the president, Rev. O. S. Mooki, who criticised some councils for not co-operating with the Boards and some Boards for not co-operating with the councils.

But, as the Congress proceeded it became obvious that the progressive and militant wing, though still a minority, was more substantial, vocal and influential than it has ever been before in these conferences.

OUTRIGHT CONDEMNATION

The Congress condemned the Bantu Education Act in toto, and asked the Government to amend it and either to restore African education to the provinces or to place it under the Union Education Department. A resolution asking that only Africans should be appointed to Dr. Verwoerd's Bantu Education Advisory Committee was withdrawn without discussion, on the grounds that this implied approval of the Act and willingness to co-operate in implementing it. Normally this was just the sort of resolution which the Congress delighted in.

The Congress also reflected the bitter feeling of the people against the Western Areas and Mentz removal schemes, by condemning them outright.

When it came to elections the two extreme right-wing executive members—Rev. G. Molefe of Port Elizabeth and Mr. Malunga of Kimberley—were both ousted in favour of Messrs. W. G. Champion and R. H. Godlo.

MILITANTS NEEDED

"The Congress was much better than in the past," Mr. P. Q. Vundla, head of the Western Native Township delegation, told Advance. "The majority of the delegates are still isolated from the people. They live

in a different world. There is an appeasing spirit. But even these people are getting fed up with the Government.

"This Congress would be a very different affair if the A.N.C. members and other progressives throughout the country would take more

interest in Advisory Board elections," said Mr. Vundla, who is himself a well-known A.N.C. leader. "These compromisers are only able to pose as representatives of the urban Africans because the real leaders of the people fight shy of the Boards.

"It would only be necessary for the Congressmen and other militants to enter the lists this year to show how different the real temper of the masses is. I am convinced that properly used the Boards can serve a useful purpose for the liberation movement."

CANDIDATES IN CAPE ELECTION

CAPE TOWN.

ONLY one more week remains before Nomination day for the bye-election in the Cape Western Electoral Circle, and the interest of the electorate is mounting. The bye-election is due to the expulsion from parliament by the Malan government of Brian Bunting, who had been elected by an overwhelming majority, all his opponents losing their deposits, and the indignation of the electorate at this veto of their choice will be one of the significant factors in the election.

A new candidate to enter the contest is Mr. Len Lee-Warden, Vice-President and Regional Chairman of the South African Congress of Democrats.

"Irrespective of Race"

Interviewed by Advance, Mr. Lee-Warden said:

"I have taken my stand on the invincible principles and practices of democracy; on the acceptance of the fact that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; on the basis of civil liberties, of freedom of speech, movement association and organisation for all men, irrespective of race, colour or creed."

Mr. Lee-Warden is a trade unionist who has worked in the printing trade since he was 14 years old. "Africans must be given the right to organise freely into trade unions, with all the rights of trade unionists," he said.

Mr. Lee-Warden served throughout the war.

Speaking of the Malan government, Mr. Lee-Warden said:

Extension of Rights

"The Nats, and also the previous governments, for that matter, have arrogantly rejected the extension of democracy to all South Africans, and I shall base my stand on the extension of rights and privileges to all South Africans irrespective of their colour."

Another newly-announced candidate is Mr. J. T. R. Gibson, who will be replacing Mr. L. Rubin as the Liberal Party candidate. As far as is known, Mr. Gibson has not previously shown great interest in the demands of the African people. He has not been in South Africa for ten of the past thirteen years.

Others who have signified their intention to stand are Mr. B. Levittas and Mrs. Jonker-Fiske.

SISULU APPEALS TO YOUTH

"Make 1954 Record Year"

JOHANNESBURG.

A STIRRING CALL to the youth of South Africa to "come forward in their thousand thousands to the liberatory movement and save their country from being ruined by the ruling clique of the Nationalist Government," has been made by Mr. W. M. Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"The strength and power of our organisations will depend on the importance we attach to the youth and women of our country," writes Mr. Sisulu. "The role they are destined to play in the liberatory movement cannot be over-emphasized. I am now more convinced than I have ever been before of the necessity to organise immediately, the youth of South Africa. I appeal to the youth in particular, to come forward in their thousand thousands to the liberatory movement and save their country from being ruined by the ruling clique of the Nationalist Government. I direct this appeal to young men and women in all spheres of life.

"I have accordingly directed the Branches of the African National Congress to give every possible assistance to the African National Congress Youth League. I am confident that our boys and girls will respond to the call and make the year 1954 the record year in the history of the youth movement."

Education Act

CAPE TOWN.

The Bantu Education Act came into operation on January 1, 1954, according to a notice in the Government Gazette.

Treat yourself to true smoking pleasure

AMERICA HEADING FOR DEPRESSION

Mass Unemployment Forecast

NEW YORK.

NO amount of official optimism and "morale boosting" has covered the fact that the giant United States economy is spiralling down into a "recession" that may well end up as a full-scale depression. All indications on the economic barometers at the opening of this year point to a single forecast—gloomy. And it is only the official propagandists who continue to camouflage the situation by the use of special expressions and even by inventing new expressions such as "overtime economy."

In a conference of 300 economists, most of them Government employees, only five had the optimism to predict that there would be any improvement in the economic situation in the coming year. The rest admitted the national economy was swinging downwards and only disagreed on how great the decline would be. Similarly the Soviet economist, E. Varga, says after a detailed study of American statistics, "facts and figures show that U.S. economy is sliding fast towards a crisis of overproduction."

not well with the economy," the correspondent continues "Steel mills, which were working at 103 per cent of capacity a year ago, were working only at 67 per cent by mid-December, motor car production was down by 12 per cent compared to a year ago, and mail order sales were down by 16 per cent.

"There were 50 per cent more business failures than in December 1952 and between the beginning of October and the second week of December the number claiming unemployment insurance rose from 760,000 to 1,400,000." Fore the first time since 1949 the average working week fell below 40 hours. Even the optimists admit the possibility of 3,500,000 unemployed by the end of the year, and this figure by no means reflects the full situation of the partly employed

Already Here

One political figure of some importance and the only economist in the Senate, Senator Douglas, has admitted outright that the country is already in a recession and the Times Washington correspondent says he is undoubtedly right.

Against the "sunshine boys" who persist that the declining figures of production, investment, purchases, orders and employment merely indicate a period of readjustment similar to the setback in 1949, the correspondent quotes some telling facts.

American economy cannot be judged on whether it maintains its gross level of production. It must continually expand. As soon as the continual rate of growth in production ceases the economy gets into disorder. In a period of normal growth, he says, the gross production should increase at an average rate of one billion dollars a month.

On this basic assumption U.S. production in the last six months is down by some 15 billion dollars on what it should have been in a normal period. It has failed to increase and it has actually turned downward at a fairly sharp rate.

Unemployment Mounting

"There are other signs that all is

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NEW ATTACK ON AFRICAN VOTERS

Administrative Actions Invalid?

CAPE TOWN.

AFRICAN voters are becoming increasingly concerned at the growing attacks on long-established rights. In recent months the Langa Registration Officer has been requiring African voters who have lost their certificates to enter into Service Contracts.

"This is only one part of the whole attack on the rights of African voters," comments one reader. Until 1952 African voters who were registered in a town were exempted from the general restrictions on the freedom of entry by Africans to that town and the restrictions on the right to find work.

In 1952 the Malan government took away this right of entry. In a sweeping attack on the liberty of the people they introduced a measure which went far on the way to depriving the African voters of those few rights which he had held. But although voters no longer automatically had the right to remain in the towns in which they were registered, they still retained the freedom to find themselves work without the necessity of the hated service contract.

"Serious Matter"

"Clearly, if when we lose our voter's certificate we are to be deprived of our rights as voters, this would be a very serious matter," a voter commented to Advance.

But legal enquiries by Advance show that this attack of the Langa Registration Officer is probably invalid.

who may be doing only a few hours a week. The C.I.O., for instance, claims that there are already 3,250,000 unemployed. Official figures of the Bureau of Census revealed that by the middle of 1953 no fewer than 2,074,000 workers were doing only between one and 14 hours a week.

Over-Production

In his State-of-the-Union message, President Eisenhower had to admit some aspects of the serious economic situation, particularly with regard to the vast overproduction of agricultural commodities and the bulging stocks of farm products which cannot be shifted without bringing about a crash in prices.

He did not say so, but this is a classical symptom of capitalist depression. The President posed three alternatives: the physical destruction of stocks, the limitation of crop areas and the lowering of prices which would force farmers out of production. He favoured the third alternative and thought destruction of food stocks "unconscionable... in a world in which millions of people are hungry."

In fact, however, millions of tons

of all kinds of grain, dairy products, cotton, etc., are being destroyed or deteriorating while in storage. The President talked about millions hungry in the world but he did not mention the situation in America itself where, according to former President Truman, one-third of the population are underfed.

This is the classical crisis situation of the United States today: over-production amidst crushing poverty and need, leading to a break in the market and destruction on a national scale of the means of production.

Commentators have not been slow to show that the crisis took a sharp turn for the worse with the end of the Korean War. There is an element of truth in this but the dangerous aspect is that such comments usually point to the conclusion that increased arms spending and even war are visualised as the only "solution" to the recession.

The increasing feeling of alarm noticeable in the discussion of the economic situation indicates that the dread of economic crisis in big business circles is driving them into war hysteria and intensified political persecution inside the United States.

WE NEED EVERY PENNY YOU CAN GIVE US

WE NEED IT URGENTLY

Send Your Donation To-day!



Baby Boko, the Nigerian baby girl who survived an operation separating her from her Siamese twin recently, is all smiles in the arms of a sister at Hammersmith Hospital, London. On the right is Baby Boko's mother, Mrs. Veronica Davies.

FRENCH IN INDO-CHINA WIN PAPER "VICTORIES"

Huge Losses Point to Defeat

LONDON.

FRENCH communique since the beginning of the year have repeatedly spoken of victorious action in Indo-China and one of the favourite phrases used is that the "period of the annihilation of the enemy" has begun on front after front.

Apart from these sunshine stories sent out by Gen. Navarre's headquarters, every other report and indication confirms that it is the French and their African, Foreign Legion and puppet troops who are suffering crippling losses.

The Vietnam Army celebrated the New Year by liberating hundreds of prisoners. Since Gen. Navarre took command in May last year with orders to bring about a swift military solution to the 7-year war, his forces have lost 44,000 men. Gen. Navarre's position now is that he is

unable to muster enough troops in any sector to regain the initiative.

With the great victories in the state of Laos, Gen. Navarre attempted to stabilise the position and safeguard his remaining communication lines by rushing mobile battalions by air from the Red River Delta area based on Hanoi. But this scattered his resources and weakened the whole strategic position of the French.

French Difficulties

In particular, Navarre is in a grave position in North and Central Vietnam where he is unable to extricate his forces without suffering disastrous losses. The last North-West outpost of Dien Bien Phu is held by some 10,000 men but it has become untenable. The prospect of pulling out over 300 miles of wild and enemy-infested country is appalling for the French command.

The military reverses have steadily strengthened the political movement in the French-held areas in favour of peace talks on the basis of the offer by Ho Chi-Minh, chairman of the Vietnam People's Government.

Peace Moves

A conference of influential politicians who have hitherto supported the French puppet Government was called in Saigon to agree on the basis of peace talks with Ho but was hastily banned this week by the puppet "Emperor" Bao Dai. It is significant that the peace movement is backed by the Caoist Catholics of South Vietnam who have so far restrained their followers from supporting the liberation movement but who now see the tide of victory flowing against the French.

Anything Wrong—Blame the Reds

NEW YORK.

American investigators have been given the answer to the grave problem of pornographic material produced in the United States and flooding the country as well as the outside world. A House of Representatives committee was told by Mr. John B. Keenan, Director of Public Safety in Newark, New Jersey, that Communists may be responsible for the "filth" in the form of obscene books, pictures and magazines from which publishers are making lucrative profits.

U.S. THREATENS TO VIOLATE KOREAN TRUCE

Prisoners May Be Seized on January 23rd

LONDON.

SOME 22,000 prisoners held in the terrorist grip of American and Syngman Rhee agents in the repatriation camps at Panmunjon have become pawns in a ruthless United States game of power politics. The Americans have threatened to hand them over to Chiang Kai-Shek at midnight on January 22 and were this week building a fortified camp at Munsan, South Korea, to take them over and turn them into cannon fodder to fight against their own homelands. On the other hand, this may still be delayed if the United States decides hastily to get a political conference started as a counter to Soviet diplomacy at the forthcoming Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference on January 25.

The American claim on the prisoners is that they are all fanatical anti-Communists who would rather commit suicide than return to their homes. But in fact most of them have never had a chance of being interviewed by the explanation teams in terms of the Armistice agreement.

at the end of the explanation period cannot be handed over to anyone except the political conference, which must decide what to do with them.

They also wish to evade any Soviet suggestion at Berlin that the talks should bring in the unsolved problem of the Korean peace and that representation should be widened to include China. Rather than meet China at a conference, other than as a declared enemy, and to avoid being exposed as violators of the Armistice Agreement, the United States may yet hastily make a pretence of agreeing to the political conference.

The other course is the course of open violation of agreement, illegality and defiance of international practices. Last year, in order to sabotage the chance of an armistice, the Americans connived at the illegal seizure by Rhee of 27,000 prisoners. This failed as the North Koreans and Chinese refused to be provoked.

On New Year's Day a dramatic incident occurred, highlighting the completely false position of the Americans and threatening to blow up their whole policy on the Korean peace talks.

The Indian Custodian troops unexpectedly entered Enclosure B of the camps and held a roll call, their aim being to attempt to discover how many fascist agents had been infiltrated among the genuine prisoners. The prisoners took advantage of the presence of so many armed soldiers and threw themselves on the mercy of the Indians. No fewer than 128 demanded repatriation to China. Explanations had been broken off several weeks ago on the lying claim that the prisoners did not even wish to hear the terms.

The South Korean Government immediately attacked the Indian troops for "violating the freedom of the prisoners." Rhee's Foreign Minister, Pyun Yung Tao, said that on January 22 his Government would forcibly seize the prisoners still under Indian guard at Panmunjon.

In terms of the Armistice, there is no justification whatever for the American conduct which is closely behind the Rhee dictatorship. The Armistice gave the prisoners 90 days in which to hear explanations but the Americans sabotaged the opening of explanations for a month and then made it certain through terrorist tactics that the men would not get a chance of making a choice or of hearing the Northern teams except at the grave risk of their lives.

The Americans now find themselves in a difficult position. The Armistice lays down that prisoners still in the hands of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission

Have A Look At This Lot!

"Heartening political victories have been won by the forces of stability and freedom," said President Eisenhower, referring to Western Germany in his State-of-the-Union message to the United States Congress last week. "Slowly but surely the free world gathers strength."

Political victories for the "free world"? Let's have a look at the "forces of stability and freedom."

At the top is Konrad Adenauer, the present Chancellor of West Germany, who once sent the following telegram to fascist dictator Mussolini:

"Your name will be entered in the book of History in golden letters."

And how did this champion of the "free world" fight for freedom during the Nazi rule? The American newspaper published in West-



ern Germany—"Neue Zeitung"—gave this biographical note:

"He did not worry. He pottered about in his garden and tended his roses."

Gangster Collection

This champion of Eisenhower's "free world" has an appropriate collection of gangsters to help him.

As Minister of Justice he has Gerhard Schroeder, a former Nazi storm trooper. Out of a British internment camp where he had been held as a dangerous nazi, after numerous war crimes in occupied Poland, came Waldemar Kraft, as Minister without Portfolio.

And as Minister of Labour there is Anton Storch, who said in a speech in 1952:

"If people complain that I spread fascist ideas, I do not regard this as in any way an insult. When I hear the sounds of martial music, then my heart beats higher."

It is not clear whether Eisenhower has the Jews in mind when he cheers as a political victory the appointment of Viktor Emmanuel Preusker to the Housing Ministry. For Preusker's service to Nazidom was that of "Aryanising" Jewish property.

At the beginning of 1939, he was named head of the German Business Division of the Dresdener Bank, and was simultaneously given a very large monetary bonus and a special certificate of thanks for his work in "freeing the German Economy from the Jewish yoke."

These are the American President's friends in Germany. They are close kin to his other friends—Chiang-Kai Shek on Formosa, Syngman Rhee in South Korea, Franco in Spain, and our own Doctor Malan.

THE BEND IN THE ROAD

by Katie Hendricks

SYNOPSIS

Katie Hendricks and her brother Robert are taken by their mother to live at a convent. Despite mother's warnings father is allowed to take Robert out for an afternoon.

Father lifted Robert furtively to the crossbar of his bicycle and rode off with him to his room in Wynberg. He stopped on the way to buy Robert some clothes.

The mother superior became very worried when Robert did not return that day or the next, particularly as mother had been so explicit in her warning about father. She sent for mother and mother sent for me.

The sisters had helped me develop a confidence in myself. With patience they had cured a stutter which, with my scarred hand, was a souvenir of the episode with the paraffin bottle. With patience too, they cured a tendency I had to steal, perhaps also a legacy of Mattie's. What I had not been able to get by asking I took by stealing and all Aunt Mattie's cuffing could not cure me. But the nuns had taken me into their confidence and entrusted little things to me until I felt quite confident that I could resist wanting to own them and that I could take care of myself.

When I set off to Wynberg to bring Robert back to the convent, mother said she would follow; but if possible she would prefer not to see father, as she knew she would not be able to control her temper.

That Sunday afternoon I caught the mid-day train into town and then took the connection through to Wynberg. I knew that my reception would be anything but friendly, but buoyed up with indignation and the righteous knowledge that father had done a terrible thing, I walked determinedly through the hardware shop to father's room behind.

Father was sitting in the yard with Robert in the sun and suddenly I felt an overwhelming shyness. If he had not noticed me I should probably have retreated quietly and returned to the convent, but father had seen me and for the moment he disregarded me. His indifference rankled and shyness upset my equilibrium so that I began to shout at him in a voice I did not recognise:

"Why did you take Robert away from the convent?"

"Come, sit beside me, Katie..."

"It was a wicked thing to do."

"Come sit, Katie."

"God will certainly punish you for this."

"Shut up child," father roared in a voice that matched my anger so that I felt suddenly subdued.

"No, pa," I caught my breath.

"I cannot sit. I have come to take Robert back to the convent."

"And what do you think? Am I not your father and Robert's father as well?"

"You have never been a father to us," I said defiantly. "I have come to take Robert back." I was becoming hysterical again.

Father rose to his feet, his eyes were hard and his attitude such that I started back in fear, "Don't be frightened," he said coldly.

Robert had stopped playing and stood watching the scene between his father and his sister; his eyes were wide with wonder.

I turned to him. "Robert, come with me, come with me, do you hear?" But Robert stood still and

his expression did not register that he had heard.

"Let us go," father said to Robert.

"Back to the convent?" I croaked unbelievably.

"No," said father, "we are going to some other place."

I got behind Robert and began to shove him towards the street but he ran around me and they walked off together to the bus stop right into mother who was also coming to look for Robert.

Mother can be a savage antagonist. That evening near the bus stop in Wynberg she was terrifying. As she shouted violently she buffeted father every now and then and in a short time a crowd had gathered. Father looked around hunted for some way of escape. The crowd seemed hypnotised by mother's ferocity; she held Robert's arm tightly with her left hand and with her right she pushed father off the pavement into the street.

Once or twice father tried to shout back but he had no heart

terrent. Robert understood pain and feared it.

The more Robert was punished the greater was his determination to put a distance between himself and the convent. The next time he slipped away he went into the country to Stellenbosch, where he found work with a citrus farmer. But it was only a few weeks of freedom; he was recognised by a boy on leave who told the mother superior. By this time Robert's determination to leave was beginning to wear her down and she thought it was after all not a bad idea that Robert and the convent should part company; the notion of running away was spreading to the other boys and she classified Robert as a bad influence. Mother received a letter that Robert had become unmanageable; it would be desirable if she would take him away from the convent.

Mother was in a quandary. She said it was impossible for her to look after Robert herself because she was away at work all day and

dagga at sixpence a "kaartjie", he followed their example. The kaartjie is a little packet of dagga sold with a thin ready cut piece of paper prepared for rolling into a cigarette. In those days when I saw Robert I knew that he had smoked dagga for his eyes had a peculiar bulged look and his lips thickened. I came to tell the difference between a dagga cigarette and an ordinary one; the smoke is much heavier and it will give anyone who is not accustomed to it a headache in a few minutes. The red burning part of the dagga cigarette is surprisingly large and bright and gives away the dagga smoker immediately. Robert and his friends called the dagga cigarette a "pill". They loafed in the streets outside the Malay woman's house and passed the "pill" around, each taking a long draw.

It was perhaps inevitable that Robert, thrown into such company and with no other amusement than to get into trouble, should have found his way into

be a good thing if we send him to Rhodesia, to your brother John."

Father derived some satisfaction from this talk. With his mouth full, he said smugly, "I told you that school was not a good place for him."

"Ja," said mother with constraint.

"Who will pay for him to go to Rhodesia?"

"I will."

Father clicked his tongue in disapproval. "He cannot go by himself."

"You can go as well to look after him."

"But I have no money," father protested, "it takes a lot of money to go to Rhodesia."

"I will help you with the money," said mother.

After that father was more affable. It would be good to send Robert away and he would go with him; otherwise Robert would become a skollie.

When Robert heard of what was intended he was dubious and he did not like at all the prospect of living with Uncle John, the Methodist minister. But the idea of a long train journey with father appealed to him and he did not consider a future beyond that time.

Mother had Robert registered as a Rhodesian native which was convenient in order to get a travel permit; the Rhodesian government does not regard favourably the development of a Coloured population within its own borders.

Mother and I went to see them off at the station. It was a little freedom for me too, to go to the railway station and escape from the convent for a few hours. But I envied Robert's greater freedom that travelled on trains and did not merely gaze upon them. I vowed that I, too, would visit Uncle John in Rhodesia. But I knew that I was going to miss my brother very much and I said to mother, "Will Robert grow up in the kraal?"

"Yes," mother said, "he will grow up into a good man. When he comes back he will forget all about his skollie friends."

"I have heard that Rhodesia is a wild man's country. There are lions and elephants and lots of pagans. Will they make Robert good?"

"There are no skollies there," mother replied. "Uncle John will make Robert a good boy."

During the hot weary journey through the Karroo and the Kalahari deserts, Robert sat for hours sucking sweets that father bought for him. He gazed through the window and watched the veld, the stones, the shrubs racing away beside the railway track and the little barren hills on the horizon which seemed to stand still and then drift away. He asked suddenly, "How many bioscopes are there in the reserve?"

Father opened his eyes wide. It had not occurred to him that Robert had no conception of the gulf that separates the ways of life of Cape Town and Maranke.

He laughed. "There are no bioscopes in the reserve. It is like a farm."

"Then what do the people do when they are not working?" Robert asked anxiously.

"They work, they plough, they build their huts," said father, ignoring the fact that he had never done any of those things.

(To be continued next week)



Robert became a hawker's boy . . . shouting: "tomatoes and onions."

for further battle and he walked quickly away. Mother whisked Robert on to a passing bus and I jumped on behind them, forgotten.

We were soon once more installed in the convent. But Robert had tasted freedom and the convent could no longer hold him. He began to run away of his own accord.

One evening only a week after he had returned from Wynberg, Robert disappeared. Although the coloured population is as large as the white population of Cape Town, its world is small and we always knew the places that Robert was likely to go to. He had gone to a distant relative in Constitution street. The next time he disappeared, which was only two or three weeks later, he went to Wynberg again but he was noticed by an Aunt working in the grocery store she patronised.

Back to the convent Robert came to be locked up in the bathroom. The sisters insisted on this form of solitary confinement as punishment but I thought that a caning would have been more of a de-

she shared a room with other female members of the hotel staff.

So Robert ran wild for a few days after he left school until mother found a Malay woman who was willing to let Robert board with her. She ran a hawker's business and employed several young coloured boys to hawk vegetables; Robert was to become one of them and she would supply his food and accommodation and pay him twelve and sixpence a week.

Robert became a hawker's boy and trundled a "pushcart" from Cape Town to Camps Bay and back shouting "tomatoes and onions". He liked the work, as he was free to do as he wished, provided he sold most of his vegetables.

Unfortunately what Robert liked to do and what was good for him rarely coincided. Trade rivalries resulted in fights with knives, the hawkers keeping their knives as a protection against "unfair competition" as well as cutting the tops off carrots. Robert became as good a hawker as any of the others. When the others bought

the ranks of the junior section of the notorious Globe gang in District Six. Robert was fast on his way to becoming a skollie, the Cape Coloured gangster.

Mother heard about this and determined that something should be done to make an honest man of Robert. She was convinced that the only solution was to send him away from his skollie friends.

Mother could swallow her pride when it was expedient and although she had not seen father since the savage scene at the Wynberg bus stop, she went to discuss Robert's future with him.

Father changed jobs so rapidly that it was difficult to know his address. After making many inquiries mother found him at a Wynberg hotel. He was eating at a long table outside the kitchen, with the waiters. He did not ask mother to sit down.

"Martin," mother began, "I wish to talk to you."

"Talk," said father.

"It is about Robert," mother said and she told him all about the mischief Robert had been doing. Finally she said, "It will

ON PARADE

POETS OF REACTION

The poet T. S. Eliot and I were once fellow travellers on the Edinburgh Castle from Southampton to Cape Town. We belonged, however, to different classes, he to the millionaires in the first class. When asked (on another voyage, his first Atlantic crossing) "Have you anything to declare?" he is reported to have replied, not, like Oscar Wilde, "my genius" but simply "a sense of sin".

His co-director Mr. Faber, of the rich Anglo-American publishing house, Faber & Faber Limited, accompanied him on endless but aloof pacing of the decks of the Edinburgh Castle still burdened with his sense of sin, never speaking to another soul on board, like three lines from his character Celia in "The Cocktail Party"

"An awareness of solitude . . . what has happened has made me aware,

That I have always been alone."

Eliot has proclaimed himself a classicist in literature, a royalist in politics and an Anglo-Catholic in religion. His classicism he soaked up in his youth like a sheet of blotting paper — blotting paper steeped in European culture; his royalism is a snobbish way of ignoring decaying Society, an escape from bad smelling reality to the rose-gardens of fairyland; his Anglo-Catholicism is class interest masked in a pretension of high moral purpose with no spark of feeling for the poor or oppressed, with no essential respect for humanity. So what more natural than that he should find his spiritual homes in the capitals of the Vatican's and Britain's Empires and spin mystical aristocratic cobwebs about the brains of his readers.

Billets Doux

Nightly, as the mailship scudded from the Bay of Biscay across the Equator to the Cape of Storms, I would write an unanswered letter to this "Promethean" poet who has a heart of firecrackers, pecking at his vitals (he was recuperating from a stomach ulcer) with my quill dipped in the acid of criticism of his reactionary, anti-semitic, people-hating verse and prose.

His reactionary role is seen not only in the slurs he has always cast on the principles of the French Revolution, and its slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity but in the support he gave to the pro-Fascist and avowedly anti-Semitic "Action Francaise" when he wrote in his own magazine articles of praise of Charles Maurras, the leader of that movement "Most of the concepts which might have attracted me in Fascism I seem already to have found, in a more digestible form because I think they have a closer applicability to England than those of (Italian) Fascism."

There are many expressions in his writing which savour strongly of anti-Semitism, ranging from Fagin-like caricatures in his early poetry to such incitements to pogroms as "reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free thinking Jews undesirable . . . and a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated" (After Strange Gods).

Quote System

In 1939 he was advocating the quota system in education in a frank statement in support of the notorious numerus clausus system by which only a percentage of Jews is admitted to some Universities and which, in some institutions governs the appointment of teachers "The personnel will inevitably be mixed—there will be room for a proportion of other persons professing other faiths than Christianity".

Lines like the following speak for themselves:

THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF T. S. ELIOT AND HIS PUBLISHER, MR. FABER, TO SOUTH AFRICA, LENDS TOPICAL INTEREST TO THIS PUNGENT CRITICISM OF THE MUCH-LAUDED ENGLISH POET'S WORK AND VIEWS.

"Rachel née Rabinovitch
Tears at the grapes with murderous paws."

"Burbank with a Baedeker—
Bleistein with a Cigar."

"A saggy bending at the knees
And elbows, with the palms turned out,

Chicago Semite Viennese."
His anti-Jewish hostility is unconcealed in this quotation:

"The rats are underneath the piles.

The Jew is underneath the lot.
Money in furs . . ."

Karl Marx he gratuitously dismisses as a "Jewish" Economist. His anti-Semitism is only the surface sore of a much deeper disease and its ugliness is only fully understood when his general anti-humanism is recognised. His occasional digs at Negroes and his stand for the "culture" of Virginia and the Slave States of Confederate America show limited sympathy amounting to contempt for his coloured fellow Americans.

He has long been an outstanding member of a medieval poetical hierarchy of whom the sacred spirit is Ezra Pound, whose anti-Semitism must be swallowed by all who seek to enter the Holy ranks. If Pound is the Holy Spirit, the Pope whose encyclicals give all the faithful their articles of belief is T. S. Eliot, who was one of a committee which unanimously awarded the Bollingen Prize to Ezra Pound for his Pisan Cantos writings unsurpassed in Fascist proclamations and vile expressions of hatred for the Negro and Jewish people.

The Nazi Line

When Ezra Pound is talking straight. Here is how he offers the Nazi line that Aryans are gulled by Jews into war against the Nazis.

Canto LXXIV

"from them seats the blond bastards, and cast 'em the yidd is stimulant, and the goyim are cattle in proportion and go to sale-able slaughter with the maximum of docility . . ."

Canto LXXVI

"So that in the synagogue in Gibraltar . . . they resected at least the scroll of the law

from it, by it, redemption at \$8.50, at \$8.67 buy the field with good money."

Without wishing to dirty the page with worse examples, this instance

"Said the nigger murderer to his cage mate—Canto LXXVI.

This is the man honoured by T. S. Eliot. His veneer of counterfeited brilliance and fake scholarship, his twisted quotations, classical illusions and jumbings blended together to make poetry, do not justify adherence to his aggressive faith-cult. By what right does anyone classify amongst the great poets the author of the views that this elite Fascist embodies in his work?

Unlovable

In his play his characters are unloving and unlovable. His essays which are unshamably reactionary derive all obvious hatred of people by a mind who despairs of the world which he finds too terrible for his retiring spirit to bear, to whom life has become a preparation for death. As he wrote in his play "Murder in the Cathedral"—

"Man's life is a cheat and disappointment,

All things are unreal,
Unreal or disappointing,

"But we are content if we are left alone

For us the poor, there is no action,

But only to wait and to witness.

"Destiny waits in the hands of God."

So the Papal Poet leads his disciples to the cul-de-sac of mysticism and misanthropy.

I would conclude with two contrasting quotations on universal education, the first by Eliot and the second by that great religious poet John Milton.

"Furthermore the ideal of a uniform system of education such that no one capable of receiving a higher education could fail to get it, leads imperceptibly to the education of too many people, and consequently to the lowering of standards to whatever this swollen number of candidates is able to reach."—T. S. Eliot.
Milton's voice is more authentic of England.

READER'S FORUM

Indian Housing in Johannesburg

From C. D. Modi, Vrededorp, Johannesburg:

I am glad the Transvaal Indian Congress has taken up the housing shortage with the Johannesburg City Council. It is a downright shame and a disgrace that the Councillors have not kept their promises made as far back as 1951 for temporary, if not permanent housing, for the Indian community. The only opinion one can form of the Council is that the Indian housing shortage is not in the least on their minds, and that as long as the Indians are not living in the streets, there is nothing to worry about.

Does the Council know how the Indian people live in Johannesburg? There is one family of six living in a room 8 feet by 4½ feet approximately, with no decent sanitation or ventilation, where fresh water is kept in a bucket the whole day for the family to use, and where the children have nowhere to play except on the beds.

There are instances of families living with other families, where there is no privacy for married people. Thousands of Non-Europeans are living today in such shameful conditions which are a real blot on civilisation.

Millions are spent on projects which could easily be shelved for another ten years. If only half that money were spent on housing the "nation" we would have a happy South Africa. The Indian people could solve their housing problem themselves if only the Council would give them a start in the way of land and loans.

Kenya Report Completed

LONDON

The report of the court of inquiry which visited Kenya to investigate the allegations of atrocities raised in the case of Capt. Griffiths has been completed and is in the hands of the War Office and of the British Commander-in-Chief in East Africa, General Erskine. One of the allegations investigated was the statement which shocked world opinion that British soldiers were being offered five shillings a head for killing Africans.

By SAM KAHN

Africans Refuse To Move PRETORIA.

About 1,000 African families under Acting Chief Ngomane have refused to move from their homes in the Tenbosch area, near Komatipoort, to an area on the Lebombo Flats, twenty-five miles away.

The Secretary of Native Affairs informed Chief Ngomane in November that the decision to remove the tribe was final as their present site had been allocated for European settlers. In view of the people's refusal to move, the Department of Native Affairs has announced that it intends to "take recourse to law" to enforce the order.

Chiang Trickery

RANGOON.

Chiang Kai-Shek's representative in Burma, General Li Mi, who is ostensibly responsible for ensuring the removal of the Nationalist forces who have been terrorising the border areas since the end of the Chinese civil war, has been using the repatriation facilities placed at his disposal to stream-line his troops.

The evacuees so far have been mostly the old, the sick or disabled. The second batch of evacuees even included 38 Burmese Shans who could not speak a word of Chinese. They admitted that they had been recruited only a few days before and given Kuomintang uniforms.

"So at length gentlemen, when universal learning has once completed its cycle, the spirit of man, no longer confined within this dark prison-house, will reach out far and wide, till it fills the whole world and the space far beyond with the expansion of its divine greatness. Then at last most of the chances and changes of the world will be so quickly perceived that to him who holds this stronghold of wisdom hardly anything can happen in his life which is unforeseen or fortuitous. He will indeed seem to be one whose rule and dominion the stars obey, to whose command earth and sea hearken, and whom winds and tempests serve, to whom, lastly, Mother Nature herself has surrendered, as if indeed some god had abdicated the throne of the world and entrusted its rights, laws, and administration to him as governor."

T. S. Eliot's views are those adopted and being applied by Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Eiselen. Has poetry become the opium of the people?

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RAY ALEXANDER'S TRADE UNION COLUMN

Can Peace Be Prosperous?

I have been moving about the country during the past week or so and I have been disturbed, I might almost say shocked, to find some people inclined to believe that the present international tension, and the constant talk of war, are necessary evils because without them we would be bound to have an economic depression, wage cuts and wholesale unemployment.

False Argument

It is not difficult to show how false this argument is. Surely a country is more genuinely prosperous if it produces goods for the use of its people—food, clothing, housing—than if it produces armaments for destruction. A school building is more valuable than a tank. And workers prefer to be fully employed on producing things for use than on preparations for killing others and being killed themselves.

Not only is the argument false. It is dangerous, because it provides encouragement for war preparations and thus increases the danger of the disaster of war. And there are few ordinary people who would not do everything in their power to prevent the bestiality of another war.

I think it was Stalin who said a few years ago, in a statement to an American journalist, that "there would be no war if the masses in the capitalist countries made up their minds for peace."

There is, of course, another great obstacle to war and that is the economic might and political stability of the socialist countries.

The working-class movement, however, has never built its hopes for international peace on the foundations of military strength. An arms race is always harmful to

the workers because it lowers their living standards and it can never be guaranteed to give superiority to any one side. In any event, past experience has shown that countries which prepare for war are almost bound eventually to go to war.

All Must Play Part

The workers cannot avoid their responsibility for preserving peace by expecting the socialist countries to keep the aggressive powers at bay. It is the duty of the workers in all countries to play their part in the peace movement.

In the history of the working class movement, trade unionists and social democrats all over the world have had many differences of opinion amongst themselves. But one thing on which they did agree over and over again was that they should not take part in imperialist wars. The whole idea of an international working class movement, after all, rests on the principle that the workers of all countries had a unity of interests greater than anything which binds the workers of one country to its ruling class.

War Propaganda

I suppose we must make an allowance for the volume, intensity and ferocity of the war propaganda and the use of the fascist-like terrorism to coerce people into putting up with the so-called cold war. But I am sure that a very important factor is the belief which I mentioned earlier that capitalism cannot escape an economic crisis unless it produces war goods on a big and expanding scale.

One need not be an economist to see the weakness in the argument. War goods are useless except for destruction; the working people can never improve their position by making articles which do not benefit human beings, however much profit the production

may bring to the individual capitalist.

You Pay

People have to pay for the colossal waste involved in the production of war goods on the existing enormous scale. All of us are paying now, in the form of inflation, which is undermining our standards of living. And future generations will also have to pay when the monies borrowed by governments to meet the cost of war production are repayable.

I do not believe that capitalism can cure its economic weaknesses by perpetual war. But if this were possible the only conclusion we can draw is that the sooner capitalism is replaced by socialism, which abhors war, the better it is for the human race.

Trade—not War

But possibilities do exist for expansion of trade in capitalist countries, without resorting to war production. An enormous untapped market exists.

The socialist countries have expressed time and again their desire to trade with the West. They are not competitive with the capitalist countries; on the contrary the Soviet Union, Poland, China and the other socialist democracies both need goods which the West can supply, and offer goods which the West needs.

I do not maintain that capitalism can save itself for ever from a crisis by trading with socialist countries. But then, as I have argued, making war goods will not eliminate the danger of capitalist crisis.

It is certainly more sensible for the workers to demand that their governments enter into trade relations with socialist countries, than that they should support their war policy which is reducing their standard of living and undermining civil liberties, and which, if continued, must involve them into a disastrous war.

The Man in the Street

No. 7



Taxi-driver Reuben Moloto was interviewed by Advance as he sat behind the wheel outside the Orlando railway station waiting for a fare. Mr. Moloto has been at this job for three years, and finds it difficult to make ends meet.

"We drivers are not making any fortunes," he said. "We have to struggle with the high cost of petrol and repairs." Although the fare is only a shilling per head from the station to any address in Orlando, Mr. Moloto finds that, unless it is raining hard or they are ill, most people simply cannot afford the luxury of riding the long distance from station to home.

Living with his wife and child in Orlando itself, Mr. Moloto feels that the main problem facing his people is the treatment they get from the Government and in particular the operation of the pass laws. "They say we must have passes. Then they make it as hard as they can for anyone to get a pass. Pass Laws should be done away with."

Mr. Moloto takes an interest in what is going on in the world. He reads Advance and other newspapers, and he has a New Year's message to all our readers.

"I wish that our people must live long and have better lives," he says. "Everybody must have a job and be able to earn money. Nobody must starve."

CLAIRWOOD

CITY SPORTING CLUB

The following are Tudor's selections for the City Sporting Club:

First race: 1. Piastre, 2. Etiquette, 3. Truefoot.

Second race: 1. Charm; 2. Fencer, 3. Daring Maid.

Third race: 1. Spicewood; 2. Waxale, 3. Pops.

Fourth race: 1. Custodian, 2. Lily Pond, 3. Probationer.

Fifth race: 1. Sasbair, 2. Maniupr, 3. Mazrui.

Sixth race: 1. Crown Prince; 2. Umatarara, 3. Shiner.

Seventh race: 1. Golden Epic, 2. Swing Fan, 3. Hay Seed.

Eighth race: 1. Shemozzle, 2. Fire Feast, 3. Epcor.

Ninth race: 1. Ignis Feast, 2. Transi Don, 3. Bodic.

OPTICIANS

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WANTED: PART-TIME WORK

by old activist in progressive and labour movement. Secretarial or administrative in progressive organisation or trade union or industrial, commercial or professional concern. Can also type well and do books.—Write Democrat, c/o Advance, P.O. Box 491, Johannesburg.

MASSIVE OPPOSITION TO INHUMAN REMOVAL PLAN

JOHANNESBURG.

ONE of the greatest storms in South African history is brewing over the Nationalist Government's determination to proceed with its mass Witwatersrand removal of Africans scheme (the Mentz Report and the Western Areas plan). Today it is not only the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress and the S.A. Congress of Democrats (which have totally opposed the schemes from the start) who have set their face against them. The Government is facing a solid body of opinion including almost every non-Nationalist group in the country.

Even the United Party, which through its majority in the Johannesburg City Council, has deeply involved itself in the Western Areas scheme, has now come out with a clear-cut statement of opposition to the principle of the Mentz report. A meeting of the U.P. Witwatersrand executive last week rejected the Mentz Report and "recommended that the Party formulate a positive alternative policy."

According to a newspaper report members of the Committee "were violently opposed to the mass removal of human beings without regard to their feelings, wishes and requirements." Others objected to

the "fantastic" cost of the scheme, which they estimated as high as £100,000,000 for services and transport alone, and expressed fears regarding the effects of the freezing of the industrial development of the Rand.

Another highly significant event was the outright rejection of the scheme by the most conservative and compromising body of African opinion in the country—the Advisory Boards Congress, which at its session last week disregarded the injunction of Mr. H. J. van Wyk, Acting Secretary of Native Affairs, by condemning the Western and other removal schemes.

Rubber Crisis Worst Since World Depression

Workers First To Suffer

LONDON.

AN ARBITRATION BOARD headed by Justice Taylor has been appointed at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, to consider whether the 300,000 Malayan rubber workers should again have their wages cut. In the past two years the workers have had five wage cuts and this will be the sixth. A decision is expected at the end of this month.

In the past year the price of rubber fell from 30 cents a month to 20 cents (U.S. currency). The result has been that rubber producers in South East Asia have suffered an estimated loss of 575 million U.S. dollars during the year 1953 including 200 millions lost in Malaya alone.

A report issued last week in Singapore by the Natural Rubber Bureau, an organisation of big British rubber producers, said the natural rubber industry is facing its biggest economic crisis since the great depression in the early 1930's.

The survey holds out no better prospects for the present year. It

estimates that total production of natural and synthetic rubber will drop in the present year by some 200,000 tons but with falling consumption there will still be over-production and a surplus of 100,000 tons.

The survey attributes the crisis to the United States policy of forcing down the price of rubber. In other words, America is "exporting" the worst effects of its oncoming economic depression and the first to suffer are the workers. Despite the existence of large rubber plantation companies, the greater part of the annual crop in South East Asia is grown by small planters who are being badly hit and in thousands of cases faced with ruin.

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