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The "banned" were given a tumultuous welcome by the crowd of about 5,000 who gathered to hear them on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, last Sunday. Our pictures show (above) Sam Kahn at the microphone, and (below) a section of the crowd.

ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME FOR THE BANNED

CAPE TOWN.

Loud cheers from an enthusiastic crowd of 5,000 people greeted each speaker at a mass meeting on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, last Sunday, addressed by people who had been banned by the Minister of Justice from attending gatherings.

"For nearly 18 months we have been banned by the Minister of Justice from speaking at any meetings. We come here today to celebrate a great victory of the people," said Mr. Brian Bunting, chairman of the meeting.

"We owe this victory and the chance of speaking to you to a fine leader of the people, Johnson Ngwevela, who by his bravery has succeeded in upsetting Mr. Swart's apple-cart.

"Johnson Ngwevela and others who have struggled with him against the tyranny of this Government have shown that the people of this country are not prepared to lie down, they are going to fight back."

UNITY

An appeal for workers' unity was made by Miss Ray Alexander. "The Minister of Labour has indicated that he will try to split up the trade

unions," she said, "and the only way for the working class of South Africa is to unite and smash the Nationalist Government.

"Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy tried to destroy the trade unions, and here Swart, Malan and Schoeman are following the same pattern. But I believe that the days of the Nationalists will also be short in history."

"When the people of China win a victory, it is our victory as well," said Mr. Fred Carneson. "When the people of Korea drive out the American aggressors, it is also our victory, and when the people in these

countries see that the people in South Africa are on the march they feel happy too.

"The barbaric and uncivilised behaviour of the white settlers in Kenya has lost them their right to remain in Africa. Their continued presence would be a perpetual menace to all the peoples of this continent."

"Do not let us wait until we are prisoners before we realise what it is like to be free," said Miss Nancy Dick. "We still have some rights left and these must be made use of. We can still attend meetings, we still have an independent workers' newspaper, we still have the right to vote to a limited extent, and we can still join organisations. If we want to

extend our rights we must keep what we have got."

A tremendous ovation greeted Mr. Johnson Ngwevela as he came up to the microphone. "I want you my countrymen, not to lose the minute rights you have. You must elect someone in the place of Mr. Bunting and Mr. Kahn who will represent our views as these people have done. If you exercise that small weapon you will be in a position to gain that better weapon Swart has in his hand and then you will use it against him.

"We did not bow down to the Suppression of Communism Act,

(Continued on page 4)

Vital Issues Face A.N.C. Conference

By a Special Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.

THE national conference of the African National Congress which assembles next week at Queenstown promises to be one of the most significant in the history of South Africa's senior democratic organisation. The harsh years of Nationalist rule have tested many leaders who have claimed to be anti-fascist—notably those of the United Party—and found them wanting. Congress has come through the same period with a tremendously increased stature, as the undisputed leader of the African people and an inspiration to South Africans of all races who seek to dispel the nightmare of apartheid insanity and advance to a genuine democracy.

Following the stirring campaign of 1952, the comparative lull which took place in Congress activities over the past twelve months afforded a valuable opportunity to train and organise the unprecedented number of enthusiastic but politically inexperienced new members who had flocked to the organisation. Unfortunately, the lull also gave opportunities to various factional elements to create dissension and confusion within the ranks. These

elements are not numerous or influential; but their appearance illustrates an important lesson which must not be ignored. A political body cannot mark time. It must go forward, or else it will decline. Organizational tasks which are not related to a central political campaign are not in themselves sufficient to maintain the forward impetus which is required both by the nature of the situation and the temper of the people.

The crucial task confronting delegates to the Queenstown conference will be to define the political theme and campaign which will enable Congress to regain the initiative and to drive forward to new heights in 1954.

In this connection great interest and much favourable comment has been occasioned by the proposal of Professor Matthews, in his presidential address to the Cape provincial conference, that Congress should take the lead in convoking a great assembly of the people of South Africa, of all races, to voice and define their aspirations and needs. It is felt that, though the planning and preparation of such

(Continued on page 3)



Johnson Ngwevela roused his audience with the "Afrika" salute.

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U.S. ECONOMY SHOWS

CHRISTMAS CHEER

Last week we were too ashamed to mention the amount sent in by readers—it would have given too much joy to our enemies. This week is better but, believe us, still not nearly good enough.

The total is £155. Johannesburg contributed £83 and Cape Town £72. The Johannesburg amount included a collection made amongst some workers in Alexandra Township; £25 from an "Old Supporter" and a fiver from a friend.

Xmas is only a fortnight away and you are, no doubt, already planning your expenditure. Remember us. Our Xmas headache won't be the result of a hangover, but the size of the printer's bill. A good donation from you will be much better than an aspirin!

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DANGER SIGNS

Unemployment Rising, Production Declining

NEW YORK

THE United States was fostering the arms race to avert a "looming economic crisis", said Mr. Vyshinsky, Russia's United Nations delegate, to the Political Committee recently.

Quoting from Press reports, Mr. Vyshinsky referred to the following signs of an impending slump:

Inventories of goods which found no market had increased by £2,000 millions.

Agricultural goods in Government stockpiles were at twice last year's level.

Unemployment had risen.

There had been a reduction in wholesale prices and in industrial production, particularly steel.

The production of agricultural machinery had been slowed down, textile production had dropped 19 per cent, home building 20 per cent.

Side by side with this, the United States defence budget had risen from 1,000 million dollars in 1937 to 58,200 millions in 1953.

CONFIRMATION

Mr. Vyshinsky's view of the situation was, of course, rejected by the United States delegate, Mr. Lodge. But confirmation of Mr. Vyshinsky's forecast was provided, outside the United Nations, in a speech by Mr. Stassen, Director of the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration, in an address to the National Foreign Trade Association.

The "free" nations of the world were producing more than they were consuming, he warned, and would have to take steps to increase consumption. Workers in the Western world were not getting an adequate share of the national income.

"The time is here," he said, "for an increase in the wages of the workers throughout the world so as gradually to raise their standards of living without inflation but with expanding productivity keeping pace on a sound basis."

This address, together with a speech by the U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Weeks, annoyed big business circles. Mr. Weeks said: "I am quite willing for American industry to face the competition of any industry anywhere with respect to all the ingredients which make up a product—management, plant, equipment, methods, raw materials—except the labour factor. I am not willing to have American industry compete at the expense of the standard of living of American labour."

WAGES PROBLEM

Big business "Journal of Commerce" commented acidly: "The Secretary is willing to let foreign countries compete just as long as there is no real competition, because the only real factor on which foreign industries... can compete is on the difference in labour costs."

In other words, despite the fine words of U.S. officials, big business is still looking to a solution of its economic problems through a lowering of the standard of American workers,

New Swart Threat "Outrageous"

—Dadoo

JOHANNESBURG

Mr. Swart seems to have forgotten that it was the last straw which broke the camel's back. At any rate his threat to amend the Suppression of Communism Act so as to set at nought the Appellate Division's judgment, reaffirming the right of the individual to be heard before he is condemned, has certainly flicked a raw spot on public opinion already deeply indignant at his arbitrary punishment of his political opponents.

The South African Labour Party at its national conference in Durban last week passed a special resolution protesting strongly against Mr. Swart's threat to amend the Act in order "to circumvent the latest decision of the Appellate Division, which has held that men shall not be punished by the arbitrary decrees of politicians without a just hearing or trial".

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo said in a special interview with "Advance":

"Mr. Swart's statement that he will amend the Suppression of Communism Act in order to nullify the effect of the Appellate Division's judgment, is outrageous and revolting.

"It is the duty of the people to bring such pressure to bear upon the Government between now and the opening of Parliament that Mr. Swart dare not amend the Act in this way. We must safeguard the cherished right of man to free speech with all our might."

Mr. Oliver Tambo, well-known A.N.C. leader, told "Advance":

"The highest court in the land has affirmed the simple and universally-acknowledged principle that a man should not be condemned unheard. It is deeply disturbing that the Minister's immediate response should be to repudiate that principle and seek to arm himself with new powers to override it. I protest, and I think all democrats should protest too."

Nigerian Workers Call for Inquiry

LAGOS (Nigeria).

Mr. J. A. Maduka, general secretary of the 8,000-strong Nigerian Coal Miners' Union, has demanded that the Government appoint a public commission of inquiry to investigate the conditions of labour in the colliery industry, and the banning of the trade union by the Nigerian Coal Corporation.

Clarion Call

Crisis in Buganda

I HAVE seldom read anything more hypocritical than the explanation of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, for his action in deposing the Kabaka of Buganda last week.

Mr. Lyttelton acknowledged there had been a difference of opinion between himself and the Kabaka on the future status of Buganda. The people of Buganda wanted independence, because they were afraid of white domination through a proposed East African Federation on the lines of Central African Federation. The British Government, naturally, was not in favour of granting its colony independence.

Mr. Lyttelton at first thought of flying out to Buganda himself to settle the dispute, but rejected the idea. Probably it would have appeared infra dig for a white Cabinet Minister to fly to Buganda to appease a black Kabaka. (Has anybody forgotten that Chamberlain flew to Munich to appease Hitler?)

So then Mr. Lyttelton thought he would get the Kabaka to England. "If I had been successful in persuading the Kabaka to work with the Government and not against it, all would have been well and the Kabaka could have returned and the tension rapidly have disappeared."

Mr. Lyttelton, however, was more worried by the possibility that he would not be successful, knowing full well British plans would be unacceptable to the African people. "If the Kabaka had not agreed, I should have had to inform him in this country he could not return to Buganda." After all, you can't let a man go back to his people and agitate.

But how can you ask a man over for talks and then prevent him from going back again? That wouldn't be cricket, not at any rate according to Mr. Lyttelton's book of rules. A British Cabinet Minister is a man of honour, and could never stoop so low.

So, rather than have such a blot on his escutcheon, Mr. Lyttelton got out of his dilemma by simply sacking the Kabaka in advance. Blow discussions. Blow the Africans' desire for independence. Blow everything but Mr. Lyttelton's honour and the interests of British imperialism in Africa.

Shades of Seretse Khama!

Deportation Without Trial

ONE is hardly surprised to read, after all that, that Mr. Lyttelton is reviewing the legislation concerning deportations of British subjects from British colonies. Some 150 Ordinances are involved. "Particular attention was being given to deportations without prior judicial inquiry", stated the Press report.

What price the British way of life, British democracy and fair play today? "Deportations without prior judicial inquiry." Why, even Simon Zukas, who was expelled from Northern Rhodesia for opposing Central African Federation, was given some sort of judicial inquiry. But even that is too much for the British Government today.

They want the right to whip out of the way at a moment's notice anyone who opposes them anywhere in the Empire. The situation is too dangerous for the imperialist ruling class to play around with the notions of democracy and civil liberties any longer. Opposition must be ruthlessly crushed at the outset.

The methods of Swart and the Nationalist Government, first adopted here on the recommendation of British M.L.S Chief Sir Percy Sillitoe, are increasingly being adopted by the British Government itself. And the British Press will still blather about "freedom" and do itself the honour of condemning apartheid.

It Never Rains But It Pours

THE reign of the second Elizabeth, despite all the ballyhoo, has not got off to a very good start. There are wars in Malaya and Kenya. There is tension in Guiana and Buganda, where the people's Governments have been dismissed; the elections in the Sudan have resulted in a crushing defeat for the pro-British Umma Party; Persia and Egypt, with American connivance, remain hostile and are working for the expulsion of Britain from the Middle East; Malan is claiming the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland; India and Palestine are simply nostalgic memories for the pukka sahibs of a bygone era.

With their backs to the wall, fighting desperately to save their crumbling Empire, the British imperialists clutch at any straw to revive their sagging morale. "At least," they comfort themselves in a world of disaster, "at least we have conquered Everest."

And the Queen really is adorable.

And we won the ashes against Australia.

So there's still some hope, eh? Don't you think?

What Cheek!

IN an interview with the Press last week-end, the Chief of the Union C.I.D., Brigadier C. I. Rademeyer, and the chief of the Special Branch, Louis Wessels, admitted that they have been "snookered" by the Appeal Court decision in the Ngwevela case. Until such time as the law was amended, however, they promised that "other steps" would be taken to restrain "Communists and agitators".

What the "other steps" would be neither of the two was prepared to say.

Col. Louis Wessels graciously conceded that both he and Brigadier Rademeyer agreed that the Appellate judgment was correct. The Appeal Court must be very flattered.

One wonders, though, what would have happened if the two police chiefs hadn't agreed with the Appeal Court judgment. Would they, perhaps, have declared a state of emergency and brought the Public Safety Act into force?

We have come to a sorry state in our affairs in this country when police chiefs, army generals and other civil servants make pronouncements on political subjects, and lay down the political line which they intend to follow. It shows we are closer to the police state than many people think.

And it is Minister of Justice Swart who has brought us to this pass by repeatedly assuring the police they can do what they like, they will get his backing.

CHANTICLEER



Despite the finding of a United Nations Commission that there is forced labour in South Africa, the newly-appointed Director of the State Information Bureau said in Johannesburg last week: "We have a very pleasant way of life; we live in a good country that offers employment to just about everyone."

VITAL ISSUES FACE A.N.C. CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

an assembly would be a huge task it would open up tremendous possibilities for democratic action, and could galvanise and inspire not only Congress men and women but also millions of ordinary folk in town and country.

The conference will also have before it the duty of reconsidering the Constitution of the organisation. At last year's conference it was felt that the old constitution had not kept pace with the big changes of the past few years, and a commission was set up to draft amendments. The commission has completely reframed the constitution, emerging with a highly controversial document which has already occasioned widespread discussion.

Progressive opinion in the Transvaal, while viewing sympathetically the conception that something more dynamic is required than the old, somewhat pedestrian, document, feels that care should be taken not to adopt a constitution which would convert Congress from a broad, democratic mass-organisation, embracing different viewpoints, into a doctrinaire body of a somewhat au-

thoritarian type. Congress has its own traditions which are worth preserving, and it would be perhaps most desirable to achieve some sort of synthesis between the best elements of the old constitution and the new draft.

Factions

It was mentioned above that mischievous elements have made their presence felt recently in A.N.C. circles. It is anticipated that some of these will attempt to make the recent visit abroad of the secretary-general, Mr. Sisulu, an issue in an attack on the present executive.

Such an attack would almost certainly be a damp squib. Congress has moved a long way from the 'thirties when a former militant president, Mr. Gumede, was unseated following a visit to the Soviet Union.

Today patriotic Africans realise the importance of the struggle for peace between all the big powers, and refuse to accept the reactionary anti-Soviet "cold war" policy of their white rulers.

Mr. Sisulu has done a fine job as ambassador-at-large of the African people in China, the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere, and it is expected that conference will record its appreciation to him, and reaffirm its previous stand for world peace and for negotiations between the "Big Five".

Bannings

Congress has been hard hit, in company with other anti-Government organisations, by the banning of many of its foremost leaders under the so-called "Suppression of Communism" Act. A foremost task before the conference will be to launch an all-out drive among the people and to raise such a storm of protest that Mr. Swart will be unable to get away with his proposed amendment to the Act nullifying the Appeal Court's ruling that a man shall not, without a hearing, be condemned to political and social death.

The Boycott

Another issue which should not be passed over, is the glaringly apparent unworkability of the "boycott" policy as applied indiscriminately to all elections. This is a matter which should obviously be treated on its merits in each particular case; the sole criterion being whether or not it advances the cause of Congress and of national liberation to take part in any particular election for office. The African voters of the Cape Western have shown a sounder appreciation of this fact than many of their leaders. Where it advances the cause of progress for the people to vote for a Bunting for Parliament, or a Moretsele for an Advisory Board, Congress should encourage them and not stand in their way. Playing with the idea of a negative boycott as the alleged solution to any and every political situation should be left to the N.E.U.M. and others who seek to cover up their fear of positive action with this sort of childishness.

BASUTO PEOPLE DEMAND SELF-RULE

Opposed to Incorporation in South Africa

MASERU

"BASUTOLAND must never, at any time in the present, in the future, as it has not been in the past, be incorporated within the Union of South Africa, except by consent of a two-thirds majority of the Basotho", states a manifesto on the subject of incorporation issued by the Basutoland African Congress recently.

The manifesto points out that the Basotho are not a conquered nation subject to Britain. The Basotho asked for protection from Britain and not for annexation and the subjugation of their citizens.

They did so in order to maintain their independence and avoid conquest by the Boers—"the members of the Nationalist Party of today who rule the Africans in South Africa with the iron heel, sjambok and thunder".

Since Basutoland became British territory, the Basotho had always, states the manifesto, upheld their loyalty to the British Crown in times of peace and had participated in the Boer War and the first and second world wars side by side with the British forces.

UNDERHAND

Commenting on the negotiations which have taken place between the Governments of Britain and South Africa on the subject of incorporation, the manifesto says the British Government had no right to engage in these discussions behind the backs of the Basotho. "The Basotho have been faithful to their allegiance, but Britain has been unfaithful to her word of honour."

The Basotho opposed incorporation in South Africa because "We oppose the Union of South Africa's legalised political non-recognition of the Africans, the Indians and the Coloured communities as human beings and the Union's efforts to prevent the said non-white groups of South Africa from entering into the world community which is the birth-right of every human being today.

"We oppose the Union of South Africa's fascist rule—the rule of the gun and the sjambok.

"We oppose the legalised racialistic political philosophies and the laws emanating therefrom which are designed to make the Africans perpetual slaves—hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own land of birth.

"We oppose apartheid in all its implications which in a nutshell mean the modern enslavement of the Africans in South Africa—Africans to be slaves whose existence shall only be tolerated as long as it serves and promotes the interests of the white people of South Africa.

"We oppose the incorporation of our country into the Union of South Africa because in South Africa there are Churches—Christian Churches—but they have knowledge neither of God nor of justice.

"We oppose the oppressive rule of force and bloodshed to which the Africans in the Union of South Africa are subjected.

"We oppose the Union of South Africa's desire to usurp our land and to reduce the Basotho to the status of the Africans in the Union, with no freedom to determine and to shape their destiny."

NO DEMOCRACY

Turning to internal affairs, the manifesto complains that there is no democracy in Basutoland. The Basotho National Council is disregarded by the powers that be, and the High Commissioner in Pretoria

and the Resident Commissioner in Maseru, through the instrumentality of the Paramount Chief at Matsieng, "rule this country with such powers as amount to open dictatorship".

The Congress demands that the powers at present exercised by the High and Resident Commissioners and the Paramount Chief be vested in the National Council, whose constitution should be amended to give it full legislative and executive powers over all people who live permanently or temporarily in Basutoland.

The manifesto further points out that colour bars and discrimination in favour of the Whites are deeply entrenched in the life of Basutoland, in such matters as conditions of service, salary scales, promotion rates, allowances, residential quarters, treatment by officials, etc.

The Congress demands that the British Government remove all discriminatory laws and practices and introduce legislation making racialism of any sort a punishable offence.

FIRST CONFERENCE

The Basutoland African Congress, which was formed in January of this year, will be holding its first annual conference at Maseru from January 1st to 3rd, 1954.

Complains Korea Boom is Over

LONDON.

One of Britain's biggest businessmen, Mr. Ivan Stedeford, chairman and managing director of the £12,750,000 Tube Investments Ltd., last week complained, when presenting the company's annual account, that "the lush days of the Korea boom" were over.

He told shareholders that profits fell in the last year from £9,291,834 to £6,199,131.

Tube Investments controls 12 steel tube firms, four aluminium firms, seven cycle firms and 14 other companies—and has minority interests in five more, plus interests in subsidiary companies in the Argentine, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa.

Five More Acquitted

JOHANNESBURG.

The appeals of Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and four others against their convictions under the Suppression of Communism Act were successful before Judges Murray and Steyn in the Supreme Court on Monday after their counsel had cited the Ngwavela case.

They were originally sentenced for attending gatherings after receiving banning notices—Dadoo to six months hard labour, Marks and Bopape to four months each and Bhoola to two months.

The convictions and sentences were set aside.

Huyser Naming Stands

JOHANNESBURG.

Mr. Piet Huyser's action to have his name removed from the Liquidator's list failed in the Transvaal Supreme Court last week. Mr. Acting Justice Ludorf said that the Liquidator had afforded Mr. Huyser an opportunity of making representations as required by law. He did not think the procedure adopted was unfair.

Mr. N. E. Rosenberg, Q.C., with him Mr. Kentridge, appeared for Mr. Huyser, and Mr. D. Gould, Q.C., with him Mr. C. F. Eloff, for the Liquidator.

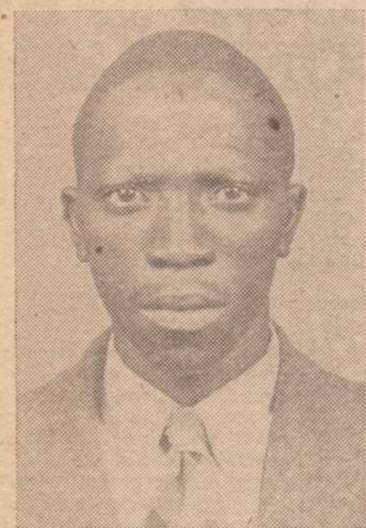
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COLIC AND DIARRHOEA REMEDY



Mr. J. Letselaha, who, together with Mr. Ncombo and other members of the African National Congress, is a candidate for the Advisory Board elections in Pimville. This group advocates a vigorous policy of fighting against the reduction of stands from 50 by 30 to 30 by 30, and accuses the present Board members of co-operating with the City Council against the interests of the residents. They pledge to fight all-out against the Verwoerd mass removal plan, which affects Pimville.

INDIAN AREAS NEGLECTED

DURBAN

"As soon as Reservoir Hills is declared an Indian Area the City Council will begin to neglect the area as is usually the case. The Indians who are rushing to buy properties at Reservoir Hills I feel, will not enjoy the same amenities as the Europeans", declared Mr. R. Rajkumar, Chairman of the Overport Branch of the Natal Indian Congress, when he addressed a meeting of the branch recently.

The meeting was held at the Overport Social Club ground and those present heard informative talks on the Group Areas Act by members of the African National Congress and Natal Indian Congress.

Mr. Rajkumar said that the Indian areas were deliberately neglected by the Durban City Council in order that they could one day be declared slums and expropriated for European ownership and occupation.

Mr. Rajkumar asked how many thousand Europeans were living in the Cato Manor area which enabled the authorities to declare it a White Group area. Indian occupation was refused by the Minister of Interior in the Cato Manor area and the money-lenders had refused to lend money in an area which the City Council contemplated expropriating.

HARDSHIPS

Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, a representative of the African National Congress, gave an elaborate account of the hardships encountered by Africans since the Land Act of South Africa of 1913. He stated that though the Africans were the first to arrive and settle in Charles-town, they were asked to "get out" and "yet the Government had the audacity to blame us for penetration". Mr. Dhlamini stressed the importance of Indo-African unity.

Mr. Debi Singh declared that the implementation of the Group Areas Act would bring hardships on both the Black and White people of this country, but most unfortunately most of the whites did not realise this. "They are bluffed by Dr. Malan and his Government, as was the case of the Germans during Hitler's regime.

"The Acts passed by the Government against Non-Europeans are many. Our policy has always

"THERE MUST BE A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY" CONGRESS MEMORANDUM ON COLOURED VOTE

JOHANNESBURG.

"The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress express their emphatic opposition to the Separate Representation of Voters 'Act' in its entirety," states a joint memorandum submitted by the two organisations to the Commission of the Separate Representation of Voters Act.

"It is obvious that any attempt to remove the Coloured men from the common roll of voters in the Cape Province constitutes a diminution of the already shamefully restricted remnants of the Non-White franchise," continues the memorandum. "The experience of the African people during 17 years of communal representation has proved abundantly that this system operates to their grave detriment.

"The endless stream of legislation discriminating against the Non-White people which was passed virtually unopposed through Parliament during this period demonstrates beyond question that the representation of one section of the community by a fixed and insignificant minority of members of Parliament is no safeguard whatsoever of the rights of that section.

It is nothing but a pretence of democratic representation which deceives no one.

"For a century the Coloured man in the Cape has exercised his vote. It is entrenched in the Act of Union which was passed in 1910 and its maintenance has been the subject of constant pledges by White politicians of all parties since then, particularly at a time when those politicians were depriving the African of his vote. The spokesmen of 'White South Africa' assert their so-called civilising mission in Africa and their devotion to high ethical principles. The legislation which you are considering exposes the hollowness of these pretensions for it is both uncivilised and a crude betrayal of solemn pledges.

ELECTORATE

"It is regretted that in discussing this Bill and its predecessors, the racial obsession of Parliamentarians has obscured a vital issue, viz., the general character of the Coloured electorate. For many years these voters have exercised the franchise in a serious and responsible manner. They are mainly working people; artisans, small businessmen, and professional people.

"They have therefore, as a part of the electorate, exerted a beneficial and progressive influence impelling politicians to deal with bread and butter matters rather than the sterile racial issues and demagogic flagwagging which have for so long disfigured South African public life.

"To remove these voters from the roll will serve further to strengthen the undue domination of vested interest and reaction in Parliament.

"Whereas throughout the civilised world the people have attained an ever greater measure of participation in government through the abolition of property qualifications for voters, and the achievement of women's suffrage, South Africa has retrogressed from the Cape Constitution of 1853 which did not discriminate between voters on the grounds of race or colour.

"There must be a return to the great democratic tradition which has been the pride of the advanced nations of the world, including the lands of origin of the main white population groups of South Africa.

"For the sake of the harmonious development and future well-being of South Africa, the Non-White population must be given its full share in the making of the laws of the country. We demand the retention of the Coloured vote in the Cape, we demand the abolition of qualifications required for Coloured voters which do not apply to Europeans. We demand the extension of the franchise to the other Provinces and to all Non-Whites, both men and women."

NATAL VIEW

An assurance that the Non-

European people of Natal "are unanimously and completely opposed to any attempt by Parliament to deprive the Coloured voters of the common roll franchise" is given to the Commission in a joint memorandum submitted by the African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress.

Nokwe Home From China

JOHANNESBURG.

Mr. Duma Nokwe, well-known African National Congress member, has just returned from abroad. After attending the Bucharest youth festival, Mr. Nokwe accompanied Mr. Congress general secretary, Mr. Walter Sisulu, in a five-month tour during which he visited Britain, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, China, Holland and Israel.

Mr. Nokwe was tremendously impressed by what he saw abroad, particularly in the new China, where he spent five weeks, visiting seven major cities, and in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, China's economic and technical progress is unbelievable, he says.

From Prague to Peking he found one desire uppermost: peace. "As an African, I was indescribably moved by the warmth of the welcome we were given wherever we went, especially in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. I saw that all men are indeed brothers."

Mr. Nokwe plans to devote himself to building up a powerful youth movement in South Africa.

WELCOME FOR THE BANNED

(Continued from page 1)

we rose up and we beat this man Swart with his own stick. He can only exercise his hand because my people are not united.

FINEST ANSWER

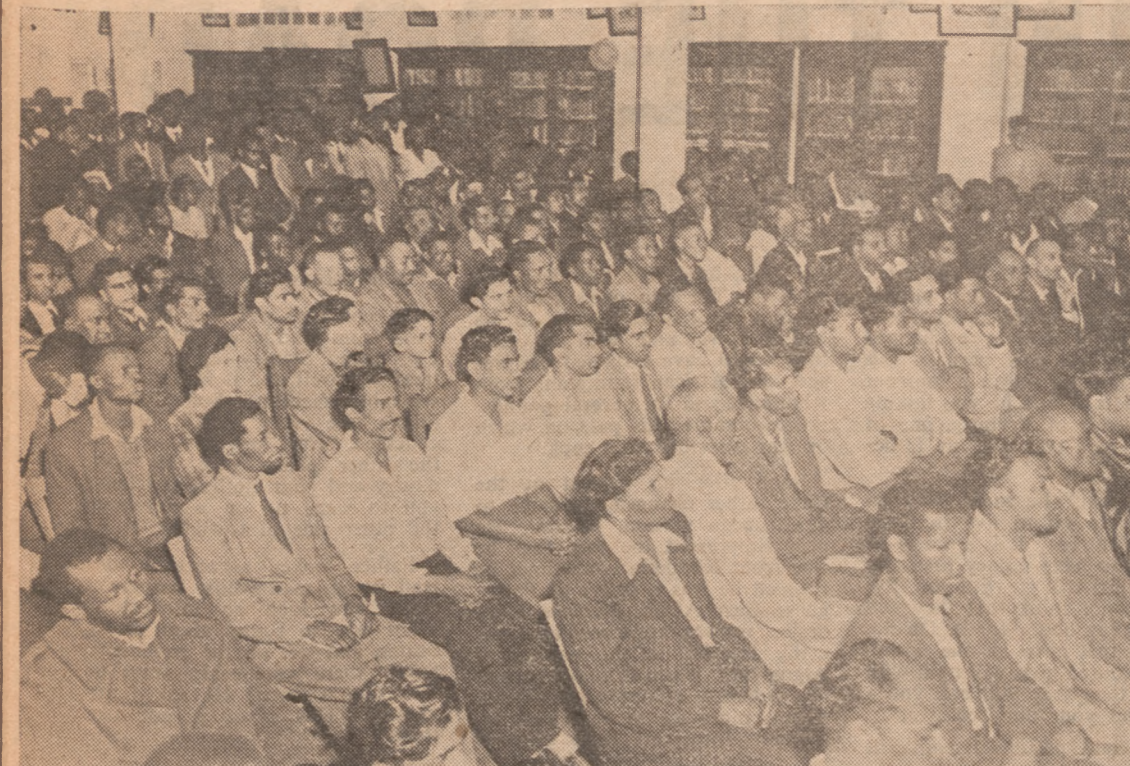
"The magnificent crowd which has turned up this afternoon is the finest answer that could be given to the tyranny of this government," said Mr. Sam Kahn, who was enthusiastically welcomed by the crowd. "This Government wants to outlaw freedom of speech and the liberties of the people. It has tried to terrorise and intimidate those who are strongly opposed to its policies. We refuse to be silenced. At a time when this government is imposing the most beastly laws upon the Non-Europeans it is a crime to be silent."

"We must not be quiet. Today a great responsibility rests upon every single one of us. All these racial myths of white baasskap are simply a means whereby the people can be further exploited. We are going to struggle until the day dawns when black men will sit alongside white men in the government."

"Many people were shocked when I was banned," said Miss Mary Butcher, the last speaker. "What could I have done to further the objects of communism, they said. But we must realise that anyone who speaks against the Nationalists today is in danger of being banned. No-one is free in this country anymore. But we must not shrink and try to hide away from this danger. The only way we will gain safety and freedom is if we rise up and defeat the Nationalists."

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions passed by the meeting protested against the actions of the British Government in British Guiana and Kenya and called upon the Government to support the worldwide demand for an end to international tension. A further resolution called for the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act and pledged to strengthen the political organisations of the people and to work ceaselessly for the establishment of a government which would guarantee equal rights for all South Africans irrespective of race or colour.



Our pictures show (above) a section of the crowd at the joint A.N.C.-S.A.I.C. meeting held in Durban recently and (left) Mr. Rowley Arenstein, one of the "banned", addressing the audience.



DADOO, KOTANE TO SPEAK ON SUNDAY

JOHANNESBURG.

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Nelson Mandela and Yusuf Cachalia are among prominent leaders, long banned by Swart, billed to speak at a series of meetings in Johannesburg this week-end under the auspices of the "Let The People Speak" committee.

On Sunday, December 13, there will be meetings at 9 a.m. at No. 2 Square, Alexandra Township; at 12 noon at Dadoo Square, Moroka Township; at 2.30 p.m. on the open square in Hamilton Road, near the International Hall; at 7.30 p.m. in the Trades Hall.

U.S. Experiments on Human Guinea Pigs

WASHINGTON.

Like the Nazis during the war, the Americans are now carrying out dangerous medical experiments on human beings. The Washington Post has revealed that prisoners and mental patients are being used, in many cases without their permission.

These human guinea pigs are being infected with malaria, jaundice and dysentery. At least three have died and hundreds have fallen gravely ill as the result of these experiments.

The experiments have been carried out at Ashland Gaol, Kentucky, and at the Lousburg prison in Pennsylvania, and at the asylums at Mencil and Saint Elizabeth, both in the Washington area. At Mencil alone, 550 patients were injected with jaundice virus.

The Washington Post comments that, in the case of the mental patients at any rate, one cannot regard them as having given their permission for the experiments.

Nazi Spy Organisation Being Rebuilt

BERLIN.

The formidable Nazi espionage organisation is rapidly being rebuilt—with American assistance. While their activities are at present mainly directed against the German Democratic Republic and the Eastern Democracies, it is known that they are already operating in Paris and other European centres.

Some indication of its activities was recently given to journalists in East Berlin by Herr Hans-Joachim Geyer, who fled to East Germany last month, after serving more than a year as the sub-chief of X.95-92, the West Berlin headquarters of the spy ring.

To prove his bona fides, he brought with him many original documents and specimens of the types of apparatus issued to the spies and saboteurs. They included a radio transmitter with a range of more than 1,000 miles and time bombs which can be fitted into jam tins.

Geyer said that the Americans were concentrating on recruiting individuals who had served in the Nazi secret service, ex-members of the S.S. and Wehrmacht officers. His bureau had itself sent many agents into East Germany with instructions to sabotage production in coal mines, to blow up bridges and to make contact with ex-officers whose names and addresses had been ascertained during the "free food" distribution stunt. The espionage network was being directed by the Hitler general Gehlen.

A large number of agents have been arrested as a result of Geyer's disclosures.

KENYA HEADS FOR BANKRUPTCY

NAIROBI.

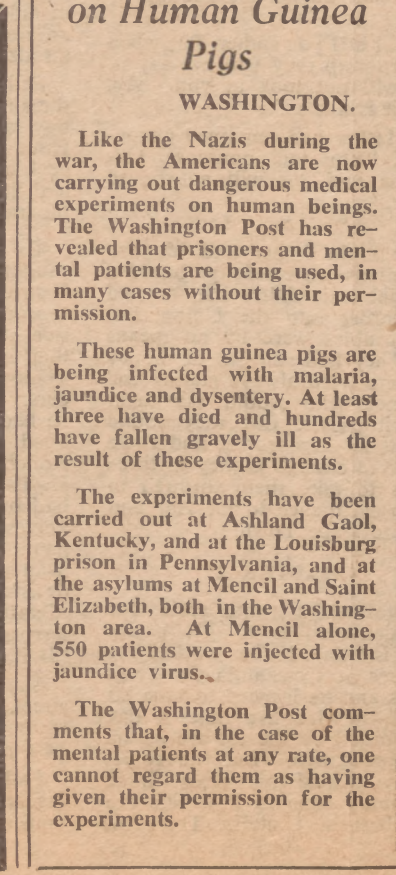
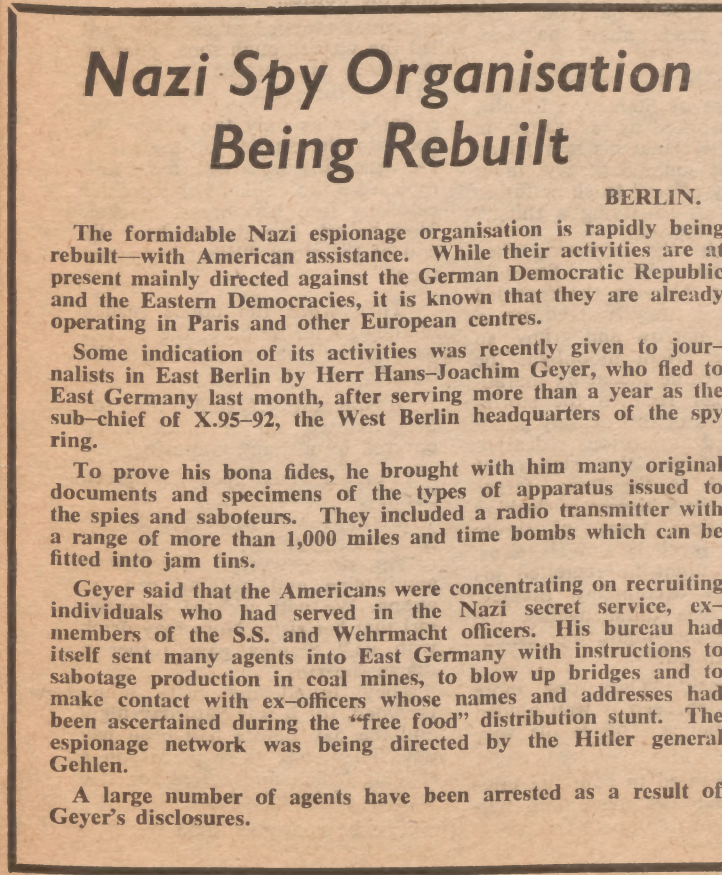
A DECREASE in social services in Kenya might be necessary if the Government was to be able to pay its way, said the Member for Finance, Mr. E. A. Vasey, when he presented his Budget for the first six months of 1954 to the Legislative Council recently.

The "Emergency" was having a disastrous effect on the country's economy, he said. In 1954, 40 per cent of the taxpayers' money would be spent on the maintenance of law and order.

By the end of June, 1954, the general revenue balance would have fallen from nearly £9 millions to £4,750,000. The Colony did not possess reserves to stand this drain much longer.

In 1952 £750,000 had been voted for the Emergency Fund. In 1953 £2.5 millions had been voted and a further £500,000 might have to be added. In the first half of 1954 £2 millions more would probably be needed, making a total of £5.5 millions since the emergency began.

In 1952 Kenya's national income was £107 millions, an increase of 4 per cent over 1951. For the first six months of 1953 the value of



BRITAIN'S ACTION AGAINST KABAKA WAS ILLEGAL

Analysis of Treaties

LONDON

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON'S action in summarily deposing the King of Buganda was completely illegal. This is revealed by a study of the two treaties negotiated between the Buganda and Britain, the one in 1894 and the other in 1900.

The treaties were negotiated by the Foreign Office and not by the Colonial Office, of which Mr. Lyttleton is the head. The relevant documents are to be found in the papers of the Foreign Office, together with treaties with the Argentine, Bulgaria and other foreign states. The treaty with the Buganda was therefore a treaty between states, and Mr. Lyttleton had no more right to depose the Kabaka than he has to depose the head of any other state with which Britain maintains relations.

The 1900 treaty, moreover, makes no provision at all for the deposition of the Buganda King, but merely mentions the withdrawal of recognition and protection under certain circumstances. The British government would no longer be bound to observe the 1900 treaty only if the Kingdom of Buganda should fail to pay sufficient taxes "or pursue a policy which is distinctly disloyal to the British protectorate".

No charge of disloyalty has ever been made against the King of Buganda, and thus both Mr. Lyttleton and the British government are guilty of the gravest breach of a solemn international treaty in deposing him.

The statement issued by Sir Andrew Cohn, the Governor of Uganda, seeking to justify this outrageous interference in the affairs of the Buganda, contradicts itself as to the reason for the King's deposition. At the beginning of the statement says:

"The decisions of her Majesty's Government relate to a request that a time schedule should be set for the independence of Buganda within the Commonwealth. . . ."

Further on, the same statement contains these words:

"It would be completely untrue to say that recognition of the Kabaka has been withdrawn because he has asked for self-government. . . ."

"The British Government", continued the statement, "does not consider it possible to set a time-table for constitutional advance, as this must depend on the development of the people and the country; but makes it clear that the Buganda reforms and the changes in the composition of the Legislative Council, recently announced, are to be regarded as steps forward towards the long-term objective of self-government for the Uganda Protectorate."

COMPLAINT

It is precisely this question of legislative "reforms" which has been one of the main complaints of the Kabaka and the Lukiko—his elected advisory body. With the full support of the Lukiko, and of public opinion, the Kabaka refused to nominate members to represent the Buganda on the new Legislative Council. And no wonder: The new Legislative Council gives seven representatives to 5,000 Europeans, seven to 40,000 Indians and only an equal number (14) to more than five and a quarter million Africans.

Lyttleton's action has further aroused British public opinion,

already stirred by the shocking revelations of the Griffiths' case, to a new awareness of the dangers of Tory policy in Africa.

Speaking in a debate in the House of Commons last week, Mr. Fenner-Brockway said that Lyttleton's handling of Colonial affairs had now become a disaster for Britain. He said that the people of Uganda had not been reassured by the declaration of the Colonial Secretary, and that the people of that country feared that Britain would, at a later stage, push through an East African Federation (which would include Kenya) against their wishes.

Mr. C. L. Hale, another Labour member, speaking in the same debate, pointed out that the Kabaka had merely put forward the proposals of his Parliament, which he had no right to withdraw. The Government's action had prevented the King from reporting back to those to whom he was responsible.

"Never before," said Mr. Hale, "had a king been so summarily deposed with so little reason being vouchsafed for it, and never before had a man been deported from his country of origin and birth with so little semblance of law and with so little justification."



The exiled Kabaka of Buganda arriving in London last week after he had been deposed by the British Government for demanding self-rule for his country within the Commonwealth.

THE BEND IN THE ROAD

by Katie Hendricks

Four years before, Father had walked naked among his own people, loafed and hunted during the day and slept in his circular reed and mud hut at night; now he was thrust into the capital of Southern Rhodesia. For father, the most impressive feature about that town was the fine clothes the white people wore. But, although he boasted to his friends of the tips he received from the residents of the hotel, he could not make his four pounds ten shillings a month stretch beyond a shirt, a pair of trousers and a hat. For hours he would feast delighted eyes on the clothes displayed in the shop windows, and then, with only a few pence in his pockets, he would walk up to the counter and ask to be shown the very best suits and shirts. He stayed as long as he dared, and until the shop assistants' patience was exhausted.

The general dealer who, in a weak moment, had sold father a gramophone on credit, became impatient and harried him every pay day until father grew tired of Salisbury and the general dealer. Cape Town beckoned. He must go where the money and the pretty coloured girls waited for him.

Father began to plan for his journey to the Cape.

There are two ways to enter the Union, legally or illegally. For the Rhodesian native the latter method is by far the most simple.

At first father tried to get the necessary exemption pass before he could obtain a travel permit. But nothing came of this, and then he decided to accomplish his journey by jumping trains en route to the Cape. Some Africans simply walk the many hundreds of miles, but father had ideas about himself and he would not descend to such levels; besides he had heard too many terrifying tales of men being attacked and eaten in the bush by lions.

Father joined three other Africans with the same idea of going to Cape Town by train. They decided unanimously that they would not go to Johannesburg, which is busier and closer to Rhodesia than Cape Town by a thousand miles, because Johannesburg, it was reported in Mashonaland, was the very sink of iniquity. It was plagued with trouble and unrest, strikes, police raids and fighting with the white man. No, it must be Cape Town.

As a first stage in their journey, they went to Bulawayo in a meale truck, and on the other side of the station they jumped on a train bound for the Union. Without

passes, as they were, it would have been impossible to get tickets in the usual way. In any case, they knew from the experience of others that they would need their money to pay for a little help.

The further they went, the more stringent became the searches for illegal native passengers. There was one ticket inspection after another so that father and his companions had to jump on and off trains with the agility of acrobats, and father began to understand why the older people were content to stay in the reserves.

When the train drew into Plumtree they all jumped for a hedge growing alongside the track. Plumtree is a station in which to take care. For in that little one-horse town searches are particularly rigorous. When several passengers had alighted and the guards had clipped all the tickets and examined native passes, the little bell on the platform tinkled.

Father had been briefed that this little bell is the signal to get ready to jump on the train again. The four jumped as the train accelerated past them. They leapt at the swaying, rumbling coaches and grabbed at the flying brass railings.

When father heaved himself on to the train he was asked what the devil he was doing in the European dining car, and was escorted to the Non-European carriage where he found two of his companions. Only many months later did they learn that the fourth member of their party had missed his footing when he had tried to catch at the flying door handle. The door had opened and his journey had ended beneath the relentless iron wheels.

This stage of the journey did not last long because a ticket inspector found them, and not even my father's eloquence could help them. They were put off the train at Mahalapye. From there they walked for a day and a half, jumped another train which took them to Ramoutsa and they bribed a guard to take them to Mafeking.

They had been warned that Mafeking is a town bristling with police, so they quitted the train once again and made off into the veld, well before Mafeking station. Then they walked around the town and boarded another train at a siding on the Union side. Once again they jumped before Vryburg and walked into the town. There they found friends who told them that the only way to get through Vryburg was to wait for the train that left after midnight.

I have come to know about my father's adventures from mother and the tales I heard in Rhodesia. Father and I seldom exchanged confidences, yet one part of his story he did tell me in a moment of bitterness. While he was talking to his friends in Vryburg, one of the older men regarded my father squarely.

"Look, son," he said, "why do you want to go to live in Cape Town? What for? It is a waste of time. If you have money then any coloured girl will go with you. But you must not think that they will love you any better for it. Oh no, not like the girls at the kraal. Those coloured girls will fight with you and then they will call you a kaffir. And your children . . ."

Father laid particular emphasis on this point.

" . . . your children will treat you like dirt. When they are young



The fourth member of their party had missed his footing.

they will call you father. But when they grow up they will not say it. They will not look at you. Ay, see if it is not so."

But father had remained unconvinced. "You talk nonsense, Uncle," he said, "it will not be so for me."

That night father and his two companions successfully boarded the night train. They had crossed the boarder into the Union, but their troubles were by no means over. They had run out of money and there were always guards and policemen who would ask them for their passes. But they found work at an aerodrome, and there they saved enough money in three months to take them through to Kimberley, thence to De Aar and finally to Cape Town.

CHAPTER 2

In those days it was easier for Rhodesian natives to get passes than it is today. Father worked for a farmer at Constantia for some months and he learned to take his "sopie" of wine five times a day as permitted by the tot system on the Cape farms. But the sopies scarcely tickled his great thirst. He wanted wine to flow like the kaffir beer at Umtali. There the

beer was food, but this deep red wine put fire into one's blood.

Good wages were only to be had in town, and with an ease that would have surprised the present day African immigrant from Rhodesia, and for several pounds, father obtained his pass on which he was described as a cook.

Soon after his arrival at the Cape father changed his name to a European version, Martin. He also suppressed the fact that he was from Rhodesia; sometimes he claimed he was a native of Portuguese East Africa, because Rhodesian natives are considered socially inferior to the natives of Algoa Bay. When it comes to getting a pretty coloured girl friend, it cuts more ice to be a real foreigner; foreigners have glamour and sometimes straight hair; father had short tufty hair which could be remedied for short periods at a time by regular visits to the hairdresser. He would sit patiently while a specialist went to work on his short curly crop. Soft oil was applied and the hair combed repeatedly with a hot comb and then white vaseline was rubbed into the scalp.

With his hair-do, father would assume an American accent which he picked up at the Avalon and New Palace bioscopes; he was then transformed into an American negro from one of the ships down at the docks. In this way he sometimes gained admission to the Non-European bars from which natives are by law excluded; and he would go into Dock Road and exchange back-chat with the coloured girls, and sometimes take one of them up the mountain above Vredehoek.

Cape Town has an ample supply of vice, and father picked up much of it. He wanted to try out everything in this wonderful city all at once. He gambled, smoked dagga, went with loose women and drank Vaal Japie, Skiet en Donder, White Muscadel and Old Brown Sherry. A lot of his liquor father got from the shebeens because bottle stores and Non-European canteens serve only coloureds. Occasionally a lighter skinned African can pass for a coloured by donning a cap to hide his tell-tale hair. But there are no half shades about the Mandisodzas.

Father was first introduced to the shebeens by Stanley, a Manica boy who worked as a waiter in Hout Bay. He met his new friend at bioscope one Saturday night and Stanley offered to show father the means of satisfying a thirst.

To reach the shebeen, they caught a bus to Hanover Street in District Six. Leaving the crowded thoroughfare, they walked up a side street, narrow and grimy, so that in the bright moonlight the shadows became menacing marauders. Father recalled the stories he had heard of this densely populated and notorious district, stretching from the slopes of Devils Peak to the Bay; father had heard the whispers of flashing knives in dark lanes, of skolly gangs and brothels and shebeens. That dark night he regretted his decision to accompany Stanley. Measuring his thirst against the terrors of the night, he asked: "Is it far to go?"

Stanley said, "Only one more street. The shebeen is well hidden from the police. This is the very best place."

Father wanted to continue talking, the shadows made him nervous.

"Who keeps the shebeen?"

"A coloured girl and her husband from Rhodesia. That is why I go there," Stanley replied. "They treat you well and it is a very respectable shebeen. Some of the others are very bad." Stanley chuckled, "Hey, hey, hey, some of the other places take all your money and your clothes and leave you to wake up on a pavement the other side of town."

Father looked askance at this frail young man whose spectacles made him look so intellectual. What was so funny about being beaten and left on the pavement! Surely there were easier ways of satisfying a thirst! He asked anxiously, "This place is not like that?"

Stanley said: "No, this place is not like that."

"Do the police come to this place?"

"Only once when a Shangaan boy did not like the brandewyn; he said to the coloured woman, 'Give me my money back because this brandy is like water. This is a no-good shebeen.'

"The coloured woman's husband is very strong. Ooh, very strong; and he threw the Shangaan boy into the street; then the Shangaan boy went to tell the police."

Father stopped short on the shadowy pavement. Suddenly the street was alive with menacing blue uniforms, with bated breath he asked:

"The police; did they come?" Stanley smacked his lips. "Yes they came, but they found nothing."

"How is it they found nothing?"

"You will see. There is a man who always looks out of the window for the police. When they come this man shouts:

'Hier kom die law. Hier kom die law.'

Stanley continued, his eyes flashing with enthusiasm behind his horn-rimmed glasses, his arms pumping up and down with appropriate gestures: "Quickly, quickly everybody hides away the glasses and the bottles."

Stanley stopped at an alley and led the way through some piles of rubbish. He turned to father: "This is the place."

Father was only too pleased to get into the shelter of the alley. He wiped his brow with relief and replaced the silk handkerchief carefully into his breast pocket. Now he was impatient to hear the end of the story. "What happened then?"

"Then when the police rushed in they found nothing; the bottles were in the lavatory and under the floor."

"It was lucky," said father as they paused on a little stoep covered by a dingy grapevine.

"Yes, it was lucky," agreed Stanley.

"Perhaps we will not be so lucky to-night."

"Ag, don't worry. They have good wine and nothing can go wrong. We will ask the coloured girl that her sister Nora may drink with us." Stanley gave father a dig in the ribs.

They found the little house crowded, for it was Saturday night and the day before had been pay day. They took their places on a sagging bench and called for two bottles of brandewyn.

(To be continued next week)

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RAY ALEXANDER'S TRADE UNION COLUMN

ONE FOR ALL—ALL FOR ONE

It is very difficult in a capitalist society to live up to the principle of co-operation and mutual assistance that alone makes a trade union something worth while.

The trade union, when all is said and done, is a weapon in the struggle between the underprivileged and the privileged. It is an attempt on the part of the workers to make the odds against them a little bit more equal.

Who has expressed the idea of trade unionism better than the poet Shelley when more than a hundred years ago he told the Men of England:

The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth—let no imposter keep;
Weave robes—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms—in your defence to bear. . . .

These are the sentiments that inspired our forefathers to combine in trade unions even when forbidden to do so by law, and in spite of the penalties of imprisonment, deportation and even death which the law imposed.

Selfishness

Unfortunately, the worker, like everybody else who grows up in a capitalist society, learns to be selfish, and to put his own individual interests above those of his fellow-men. Or rather, like other people, he is misled into thinking that the interests of the one can be pushed forward at the expense of the many.

And so, although trade unions should have as their aim the protection of the interests of all workers, they very often adopt a sectional outlook and are prepared to obtain benefits for a small handful of workers at the expense of the great majority.

As I have said before in a previous article, there is always the danger of a trade union becoming a monopolistic organisation. In this country, because of the prevailing system of race and colour discrimination, this monopolistic tendency is likely to take the form of a privilege for the European workers at the expense of the Non-European.

This is all the more easy because, since the Europeans are in a minority, concessions to them at the expense of the Non-European workers will often be advantageous also to the employers.

Industrial Councils

That situation has often arisen on industrial councils, where African workers, because they are not included in the definition of "employee" under the Industrial Conciliation Act, are not allowed representation, although the Minister of Labour may extend wage regulating agreements to Africans in the industry.

My readers will, of course, appreciate the fact that the African workers in such a case take no part in the negotiations.

Such a situation could only lead

to injustice. As far back as 1932, Adv. F. A. W. Lucas (afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court), the first Chairman of the Wage Board, said that "on a number of occasions the employers and the well-paid European employees have agreed, in return for concessions to these employees, to sacrifice the interests of the unorganised and poorly paid employees, irrespective of race."

Even the Botha Commission of 1951 admitted that "the interests of Native workers have suffered in the process of collective bargaining between employers and European employees. In some cases it would seem that their interests are deliberately sacrificed by the European employees in order to gain benefits for themselves."

Shocking

One of the more shocking examples of this kind of injustice has recently occurred in the furniture industry, which is going through a bit of depression at

the moment. The National Industrial Council Agreement expired, and representatives of employees and employers have been negotiating a new agreement.

During the negotiations the employer's side gave notice that it intended to withdraw from the National Pension Fund, to which employers contributed five per cent on the basic wage for each worker in the industry, irrespective of race. I should add that each worker contributes a like amount. The employees, on the other hand, pressed for the retention of the fund.

Compromise

One of the employers, however, then reported that the representatives of the Transvaal employees had previously undertaken to support the proposal to dissolve the fund, provided that a provident fund would be introduced which would exclude all Africans and any other worker earning less than £4 12s. 6d. per week. The effect of the second provision would be

to exclude also most of the Coloured and even a few of the European workers.

The employers would pay the five per cent only on the basic wages of the members of the fund.

I understand there are about 5,000 Africans employed in the industry in the Transvaal as compared with 2,000 Europeans and Coloureds. Clearly, therefore, the employers stand to save a great deal if they stop paying the five per cent on the wages of the Africans.

The proposed deal consequently provided that employers, out of this saving, should pay all the workers, including the members of the new Provident Fund, an additional 2½ per cent on the cost of living allowance.

The nett effect would be that the European workers would have a Provident Fund at the expense of the Africans.

The negotiations are still proceeding and I hope that the members of the Transvaal Furniture Workers' Union will not betray

their fellow-workers in this disgraceful manner.

But the African workers should not be silent in these matters. Indeed, they must shoulder the main responsibility for protecting their interests. They form an overwhelming majority in the industry and, if organised, should be able to bring a great deal of pressure to bear on both the employers and the European employees.

The problem is not one for Africans alone. If the Minister of Labour carries out his threat of forcing apartheid on the trade unions, the Coloured and Indian workers will also find their wages and conditions being decided for them by minority groups in which they have no representation. They, too, will find their interests being sacrificed to the advantage of the employers and the privileged employees.

Africans, Coloureds and Indians must learn to work together and persuade the Europeans to join them on the basis of the only sound principle of trade unionism—one for all and all for one.

The Banned Speak in Jo'burg

JOHANNESBURG.

Six banned people addressed a meeting at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg, last Monday night.

Mr. Cecil Williams spoke on the fight for freedom of speech. Mr. I. Wolfson analysed the situation in the trade union movement and urged South African workers to defend their rights.

Hilda Watts stressed the right of supporters of peace to speak out on matters affecting human survival under the threat of atomic destruction. Mr. E. Weinberg appealed for support for the struggle against the arbitrary bans.

Mr. Michael Harmel analysed the reason for the bans in the light of the situation revealed by the U.N.O. report.

Mr. A. Fischer presided.

Make Sure You Don't Miss the Advance Party on Xmas Eve

Ellis Acquitted

PRETORIA.

In the Supreme Court here last week Mr. Justice Blackwell set aside the conviction and sentence imposed on Mr. D. E. Ellis, former general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, for accepting a bribe.

The judge ruled that the private prosecutor, P. J. Visser, immediate past president of the union, had no title to prosecute.

Ellis was found guilty by the Regional Magistrate, who sentenced him to 18 months' imprisonment. The conviction was the result of a private prosecution, as the Attorney General had refused to prosecute.

Application on behalf of Mr. Visser for leave to appeal to the Appellate Division will be argued this week.

STARVATION WAGES FOR KIKUYU

LONDON.

The average wages of African agricultural labourers in the "less disturbed" areas of Kenya are officially admitted to be no more than 20s. to 25s. a month, according to the annual report on Kenya issued last month by the Colonial Office.

In the areas "affected by the emergency" agricultural wages rose to 30s. and 40s. a month.

Domestic workers get from £1 15s. to £6 15s. a month, and even skilled workers get the most miserable wages. A bus driver, for example, may get as little as £4 a month.

In the towns the minimum wages for unskilled workers range from £2 9s. to £3 a month.

Out of these wages every African has to pay a poll tax which averages 17s. a year in country districts and 23s. a year in Nairobi, the capital.

By contrast Europeans pay no poll tax and a married European with three children does not pay income tax unless he earns more than £600 a year.

Lists of retail prices published in the report reveal the low standard of living of the Africans. The European price list includes white bread, butter, sirloin of beef, leg of mutton, eggs, beer, cigarettes and bottled milk.

But the African list includes none of these items, the only meat mentioned being "beef, third grade".



Time for a—

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SPORTS PARADE

by Bert Williams

The Man in the Street

No. 5

SPORT AND POLITICS

Anything in any sphere that is likely to harm the cause of non-white unity, be it in sport or in education, should not only be discouraged but completely eliminated. Some wiseacre may say: Bert Williams is writing politics instead of sport. This attitude is not unlike that of the well-known Indian football administrator who told a meeting of the South African Indian Football Association when this body was discussing the Sigamoney episode in connection with the Minister's refusal of passports to the team to tour India that "we should keep politics out of sport"; the political bodies who had protested against the Minister's decision had no right to do so.

Fortunately this is a dying outlook; people have a little more intelligence to realise that you cannot divorce sport from politics. Even the most naive among us know that the decision of the Minister was affected by politics; that because of politics Indian sportsmen have to make do on very, very limited facilities; that because of political reasons some of the fine brains on the S.A.I.F.A. have to remain on this body even though they may dearly love to stand for Ward 8 or the Berea constituency.

Where Credit is Due

All credit to those men of vision and foresight who planned the present federation by which non-

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white soccer, cricket, athletics and cycling and amateur boxing are governed. Many of these bodies haven't yet perfected their machinery: it's still crude and awkward in many ways. I have taken up this matter time and again in these columns. I have maintained that without representation on a provincial basis federation is still a bit of a farce because at the moment division is along racial lines, not provincial and inter-racial. To make it workable, authoritative and influential this body must control policy. As an example, the S.A.I.F.A. should have got the authority of Federation before they ever planned the All-India tour. Also, Federation should not countenance the idea of a racial team leaving these shores. But Federation is on the right road; very soon they will achieve this state of perfection.

There may be some argument for the division in soccer on racial lines. First of all there are such a large number of individual club, district and provincial sides that it would be difficult to bring about a wieldy administration. Any difficulty here could be eliminated by representation in Federation on a provincial basis.

Cricket

But with cricket the position is different: firstly there aren't such a large number of individual clubs, secondly the game doesn't have such a large spectator appeal and somehow like its counterpart in India, Indian cricket here is rent by communal division. Well-known Indian cricket author, Bery Sarbadhikary, confirmed our worst suspicions when he revealed that India's weakness in world cricket was not due to lack of genius so much as the crying need for discipline and the elimination of communal feeling. Apparently

a prince does not want to take orders from a pariah a Hindu doesn't like fielding with a Muslim and a Brahmin thinks that the Christian regards himself as an equal once he is in the same team. Have you wondered therefore why a team with such brilliant individualists always fails? Sarbadhikary points out many examples of open mutiny when certain cricketers refused to play under the captaincy of one man because of communal differences. Take the last Australian tour by India and the scandal about Amarnath and his relations with the men. The truth was the boys just could not get on with each other and the truth is that as long as this happens India will never be a power in world cricket.

The position is not so bad here, but it's done in a more subtle way. In Natal the Natal Inter-District Indian Cricket Union is not very popular because it's mainly Tamil; the Natal Indian Cricket Union is controlled by Moslems. When the first Indian Springbok team was selected everybody wanted to know why Ted Chetty, brilliant Natal cap, was left out. Ted Chetty, a Tamilian, deserved his place in that side. A brilliant bowler and fieldsman, his knowledge of cricket and captaincy was not equalled by any of his contemporaries, not even the then skipper, A. I. Timol. Even in the Transvaal you have to hunt vainly for a Tamil or Christian name in a provincial side.

Worst Insult

But now comes the worst insult. The Witwatersrand Indian Cricket Union is not very keen on converting the Union into a mixed body.

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After much wrangling they decided to allow a minimum of two non-Indians in each team. This sort of hypocrisy must stop sometime: and if the delegates on this body are sincere about goodwill towards the other races they will stop it now. It will be to their own advantage. At the moment not more than twenty paid customers witness cricket matches at Natal-spruit. The position would be quite different if there were a mixed union: there would be better cricket, more spectators and more money.

There are plenty of excuses at the moment: a very convenient one is that such a move is not feasible. Many said this about the Board of Control but this was achieved. Actually it's selfishness on the part of many administrators which prevents a mixed union. There is always a small chance that they can grab official positions. I have sent out feelers about this type of merger and the reaction, particularly among the average cricketer, has been very favourable. If there is any sincerity about unity and goodwill now is the time to show it. The three racial groups and unions should meet and throw in their lot as one united body. That is the only way to eliminate racialism and communalism. If this doesn't happen then we will be in eternal shame: we may even have a Pakistani Sports Board as in Pretoria!

And if I may be so presumptuous my assistance is always available for any such discussion.

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He had no time to pause for an interview and photograph as he hurried to work. "Come to the workshop and I'll talk as much as you like," he said. We did.

He is Godfrey Rosenbaum Kuzwayo (the middle name is after his father's old friend and neighbour on a Natal farm), a compositor. Since his student days at the Wilberforce Institute, Mr. Kuzwayo has been fascinated by the printer's craft. A sympathetic teacher got him a post as proofreader in the school print shop. Young Kuzwayo was so absorbed that he refused even to go home for the holidays. He spent his free time reading every available book about printing.

Since then he has spent his life in the trade and he still loves it. He once worked for the Progressive Press under Albert Nzula and Charles Baker, he worked in Basutoland for several years, and he once owned his own press.

"African printers don't get union rates. The trouble is they are not organised," said Mr. Kuzwayo.

He lives with his wife and three children at Kliptown. "There are less restrictions there than in the municipal locations," he says, "but there is a grave lack of social amenities. Kliptown residents are terribly worried by the new removal scheme upsetting the homes they have established."

His hobbies? "I do a lot of reading—mainly philosophy—and I'm also fond of debating and belong to the Gamma-Sigma club."

Mr. Kuzwayo's message to Advance readers is: "We must learn to build co-operation of all racial groups—African, Indian, Coloured and European."

DURBAN RACING

Following are Owen Tudor's selections for the Greyville meeting:

First Race: 1, Bright Corona; 2, Eton Lad; 3, Cedrela.

Second Race: 1, Patience; 2, Chance; 3, Vlei Duchess.

Third Race: 1, Easton; 2, Roslyn; 3, Storm Hawk.

Fourth Race: 1, Siamese Cat; 2, Solo Race; 3, Offer; 4, Muzzle Velocity.

Fifth Race: 1, Kamillen; 2, Brevet Major; 3, Gay Major.

Sixth Race: 1, Rio Cession; 2, Quick Reward; 3, Happy Herald.

Seventh Race: 1, Royal Dream; 2, Brian Boru; 3, Puccini.

Eighth Race: 1, Derby Day; 2, Seriol Abbey; 3, Banana; 4, Harvest Mate.

Ninth Race: 1, Blissian; 2, Bow Tie; 3, Compton Verney.

Nehru on Colonial Oppression

NEW DELHI.

There was a growing tendency on the part of the colonial powers to harden their attitude towards their colonial possessions, said Mr. Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, addressing a press conference recently.

This attitude, he said, was a reversal of the tendency evident at the end of the war. The colonial powers were now digging their toes in, and this was bound to promote instability in a world where politically awakened colonial territories were seeking to assert their rights.

He emphasised that this hardening tendency was noticeable in all parts of Africa, where there were political and racial aspects to be considered. While South Africa was the most flagrant example, in the Central African Federation new parties were being built up virtually on the basis of apartheid.

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