

Advance

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"LONG LIVE ADVANCE!"

Swift Response to Govt. Attack

"ANYONE WHO CARES FOR FREEDOM MUST BE PREPARED ABOVE ALL TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. THIS ATTACK ON A PAPER WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE A CHALLENGE TO US ALL," FATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTONE, OF JOHANNESBURG, TOLD ADVANCE, COMMENTING ON LAST WEEK'S POLICE RAIDS ON THE NEWSPAPER'S OFFICES AND ON PRIVATE HOMES.

Father Huddlestone said the raid on the Advance offices could hardly come as a surprise to anyone who has some knowledge of the Government's intentions and policy.

"It is in line with police activities at private meetings and with the Government's general determination to stifle all effective opposition. In other words, it is the march of a fascist state."

CAPE TOWN.

National organisations and progressives throughout South Africa have responded vigorously to Swart's latest act of intimidation. They have pointed out that the threat to Advance, implicit in the raids, is not only a threat to the freedom of the Press as a whole but an attack on the entire democratic, anti-fascist front in South Africa.

Leading officials of the Congresses—Tambo, of the A.N.C., and Cachalia, of the S.A.I.C.—have stated that the preservation of Advance is a matter of vital concern to the progressive movement.

"Advance performs an invaluable ser-

vice to the entire democratic cause in South Africa," declared a statement by the executive of the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

"We call upon every branch, every member and every supporter to rally to the defence of the people's fighting newspaper. We express fullest solidarity with Bunting and his editorial and administrative staff, now under fire for their gallant championship of the cause of the oppressed people."

PEOPLE'S GUARDIAN

The Reverend D. C. Thompson also expressed keenest indignation.

"I've always regarded Advance as the guardian of the people," he said. "It

gives facts and information about the lives of the people of South Africa that I have been unable to find anywhere else. It is the duty of every man of goodwill to resist this latest attempt to encroach on people's liberties by a rampant police state."

In a strong statement of protest the Cape Western Region of the S.A. Congress of Democrats declares:

"Advance has a long record of courageous and uncompromising opposition to and exposure of the hated policies of White supremacy and apartheid; of whole-hearted support for the South African democratic front led by the Congress Movement.

(Continued on page 2)

AN OPEN LETTER TO SWART

To the Minister of Justice, Pretoria.

Sir,—On behalf of the Advance newspaper and its readers, I hereby register my strongest protest against the raids which were conducted last Tuesday by your special police on the offices of Advance and the homes of various people connected with it in several centres of the Union.

The police were acting in terms of warrants issued under Section 7 of the Suppression of Communism Act, which says that if the Minister of Justice "has reason to suspect . . . that the circumstances connected with any periodical or other publication are such that the printing, publication or dissemination thereof ought to be prohibited . . . he may in writing under his hand designate any person as an authorised officer to investigate . . . the circumstances connected with that periodical or other publication."

In other words, you are of the opinion that Advance ought to be banned. Why? Advance is a legal, registered newspaper, which throughout its existence has neither been convicted of, nor even charged with, any offence against the law. I suggest that your sole reason for wishing to ban Advance is simply that we have been the most outspoken critic of apartheid and the most zealous defender of the rights of the people against the despotic attacks of your Government.

Using your powers under this infamous Act, you have already destroyed one newspaper with which I have been connected—the Guardian. You followed the same procedure on that occasion: first a raid, which took place on November 24, 1950, barely six months after the Suppression of Communism Act became law. Despite the Guardian's appeals and representations, nothing more was heard from you or your officers until October, 1951, when the Guardian was presented with a "summary" of the charges which had been preferred against the paper by a committee of three which had conducted its deliberations in secret and to which the Guardian had no access.

The Guardian denied all the charges. Nevertheless, on May 23, 1952, you arbitrarily banned the paper, giving it no opportunity whatsoever to defend its existence.

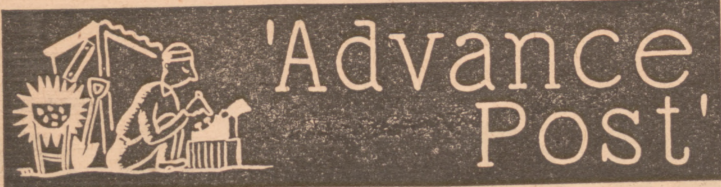
Now you are again using the despotic powers granted to you under the Suppression of Communism Act to attack Advance. Possibly you will again go through the whole farcical procedure laid down in the Act. The effect will be the same. Advance will have no opportunity to defend itself before an impartial tribunal and will be silenced simply because it has effectively voiced the desires and aspirations of the majority of the people of this country who suffer under the oppressive policies of your Government.

No doubt you hope your attacks on the Guardian and on Advance will not only intimidate the remainder of the opposition Press but will also prevent the people from carrying on their struggle for basic human rights in this country. In this hope you will be disappointed.

You may murder Advance, as you murdered the Guardian. But the principles for which Advance stands—freedom and equal rights for all—will triumph over your dictatorship because they, and only they can bring peace and harmony to all our peoples in place of the strife and suffering which your Government has inflicted upon them.

Yours faithfully,
B. P. BUNTING, Editor.





YOUR TASKS AS WORKERS

From K. Swaminathan, Durban:

The people of South Africa are now engaged in one of the most profound struggles in their history.

Ben Schoeman, Minister of Labour, wants to have complete control of the workers of South Africa, and since this can only be achieved through the trade union movements he is going to amend the present Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937. Under the new I.C. Bill provision is being made to split the trade unions into racial groups. This can only mean one thing to the workers—to accept the lowest possible wages from the employers.

FIGHT BACK

Whilst on the one hand the fascists are doing their very best to suppress the workers and control their trade unions in South Africa, on the other hand the workers are becoming more and more determined to fight back in order to defend their trade unions and retain the system of collective bargaining.

This is being proved by the formation of the National Campaign Committee and Workers' Councils of Action all over the country, embracing all sections of the workers, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The task of all workers—European, Indian, Coloured and African, is not to allow themselves to be misled into any new federations which are not prepared to reject any industrial legislation based on apartheid. Remember, apartheid in trade unions is no lesser evil than slavery.

Therefore, workers, your job now is to throw in your lot with the Workers' Councils of Action and the National Campaign Committee, which are pledged to fight all anti-working class legislation and create a new South Africa, free from fear of want, disease, unemployment and unhappiness among the workers.

SUPPORT FOR CANON COLLINS

From Mr. C. Kumalo, 43 Beacon Rd., Kiptown, Johannesburg:

Europeans who have lived long in this country are adverse to criticism by a foreigner on the question of Africans. They claim to know the Africans, yet hardly understand any of their languages.

By their oppressive laws, which are Christian nor democratic, they claim to interpret the African's mind and his aspirations, yet they get amazed when they see liberatory movements pressing for better conditions and human status.

Canon Collins was right when he put the whole position of this country in its true perspective. The world will know. The high-sounding clarion call of God's messenger will penetrate the wilds, and good fruits of harmony and peace between sections of the population will be planted once more in this beautiful country. May the Canon live to see his wish fulfilled.



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RAIL RATES AND RENT INCREASES

From Walter M. Sisulu, Fordsburg, Johannesburg:

The increase in railway rates and the transformation of the sub-economic houses into economic ones will have very serious effects on the economic life of the African people. Thousands of homes will be ruined and the social life of the urban Africans will be still further destroyed.

The decision of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, to force all Africans whose earnings are £15 per month to pay an economic rental on the sub-economic houses is unjust and absurd. The fitting answer has already been given by the Orlando-Jabavu people in their resolution on Sunday, 22nd August, and by the Johannesburg Joint Advisory Boards. They have both shown that it was not sufficient to reject the increase of rentals but to demand the minimum wage of £1 per day.

I have no hesitation in saying that this lead will be followed by other centres who are affected by this decision.

FARMERS PROTEST

The ill-considered decision by Mr. Paul Sauer, the Minister of Railways, has been shown by the immediate reaction of the industrialists and the farmers, who have seen in this the creation of a difficult position in both the farming and industrial life of the country, a position which will affect numerous commodities and thus bring about a leap in the already high cost of living. This is an issue which affects mainly the Non-European people as the lowest paid section of our community, yet it also affects greatly the poorer section of the European community.

The leaders of the unprivileged classes from all sections should find in opposing these measures a common cause and should tackle it boldly.

DETAILS OF POLICE RAIDS

CAPE TOWN.

A LARGE number of books and documents in no way remotely related to Advance were among the material confiscated by the police in their raids on Advance offices and homes of Advance personnel in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth on Tuesday of last week. The homes of a number of progressives, not officially connected with the paper, were also raided.

Members of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. removed 14 files crammed with notes and Press cuttings from the residence of the popular Springs Methodist clergyman, Douglas Thompson.

The files related to the Peace Council, the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union—Rev. Thompson is chairman of both bodies—and to South African Indian, African and many other subjects in which he is specially interested.

The two-hour search of the Rev. Thompson's home created the widest indignation among his parishioners and friends throughout the Witwatersrand. Rev. Thompson told Advance that for days after the raid friends telephoned him to express their sympathy and feelings of outrage.

A large quantity of papers completely irrelevant to the affairs of Advance was also removed from the home of Mr. Louis Joffe. Mr. Joffe was interrupted by the C.I.D. while in his bath, and, disregarding his protests and obvious illness, the C.I.D. insisted on an immediate search of his possessions.

CHILD'S BOOK

Also raided on the Rand were the homes of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Mr. Michael Diphu, Mr. Moses Kotane, Mr. A. Selby and members of Advance staff.

At the home of Mr. M. Harmel, the Johannesburg correspondent of Advance, the detectives commenced their search by opening the top of the piano and

examining the hammers. They left after two hours, carrying away a number of manuscripts, articles and stories, negatives of family snapshots and a child's book. At the home of another staff member the C.I.D. opened cake tins.

From Advance offices in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town the police removed, in addition to correspondence and editorial material, the current books of account, disrupting business and seriously hindering administrative work.

MORE BOOKS

In Cape Town police removed books from the homes of Mr. Brian Bunting, Advance editor; Mr. Fred Carneson, manager; and Mr. Sam Kahn, director. Books and documents were also removed from the home and printing press of Mr. L. Lee-Warden, proprietor of the Pioneer Press, printers of Advance.

Also raided at their homes were Miss Ray Alexander, Mr. H. Bernadt, Mr. R. K. Cope, Miss Mary Butcher and Miss Naomi Shapiro.

In Durban the homes of Mr. D. A. Seedat, Mrs. R. Arenstein and Mr. Joe Francis were also searched. Mr. Francis said afterwards that he told the police that he had no connection with Advance, but they nevertheless searched his house thoroughly, including the pantry.

In Port Elizabeth the police seized a cash-box containing money. They subsequently returned the box, but sealed in such a manner that it was impossible to open.

"LONG LIVE ADVANCE!"

(Continued from page 1)

"We call upon every South African to regard the attack on Advance as an attack on his own right freely to criticise the Government. Rally to the support of your newspaper! Deeds are required as well as words. Advance must be read in the house of every democrat, and financial support must be given as never before. Swart must not be allowed to silence the people's newspaper. Long live Advance!"

"The attack on Advance is not an attack on the Advance newspaper as such but an attack on the freedom of the Press," warned Mr. Greenwood Ngotyana, the Cape African leader, who is an executive member of the Cape Provincial African National Congress.

ONLY PAPER

"The Government has particularly attacked Advance because it is the only paper which is the mouthpiece of the oppressed masses in South Africa.

"The attack on Advance is an attempt to hinder the progress made by the leaders of the Congress of the People," Mr. Ngotyana went on. "The Government is hoping to find an excuse to ban Advance, although it has never been charged or found guilty of any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act.

"I feel every honest-minded citizen of South Africa will stand up and defend the freedom of the Press."

LIBERAL PARTY

In a statement to Advance the Liberal Party of South Africa declares that, although it does not agree with Advance, "which has attacked us on a number of occasions, we deplore the recent police raids on your offices.

"The fight for a free Press is part of the fight for African freedom, and the Liberal Party, completely opposed as it is to all forms of totalitarianism, recognises the right and duty of the Press to say what it believes, and the duty of the State to protect that right," the statement goes on.

"This raid, a further example of the Government's gross interference in the liberties of individuals and or-

ganisations, closely follows the recent banning of Non-European leaders and the deportation without trial of two African National Congress men from East London.

"Such actions make it increasingly difficult for the Non-European people to express their just aspirations in a legitimate manner through responsible leaders. They are also signs of the Government's feeling of insecurity in the face of growing opposition to its unjust and oppressive policy of apartheid," the statement concludes.

TRADE UNIONS

While a number of trade unions are calling special executive meetings to consider steps to defend Advance, some have already issued statements protesting against the police raids.

Mr. Leon Levy, general secretary of the National Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers, said:

"Advance has been singled out because of its unbroken record of outspokenly expressing the feelings and opinions of the working class and all true democrats."

Warning that every organ of opinion will be under attack, Mr. Levy called for a firm stand to preserve the freedom of the Press.

Mr. A. Calmeyer, secretary of the Cape Town branch of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, said: "We workers protest very strongly against this interference with the personal freedom and liberties of our people, and appeal to the Minister to call a halt to such actions."

Protesting against this "further infringement upon the freedom of the individual and the freedom of speech," Miss R. Lan, acting general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, stated:

World Journalists Protest

CAPE TOWN.

The International Organisation of Journalists has rallied to the support of Advance. The following cable from their general secretariat was received in Advance's Cape Town office two days after the police raid:

"We learn from an English broadcast about the attack on your newspaper.

"In the name of all honourable journalists of the world, we will decidedly protest against it, and beg you to let us have particulars without delay."

"The Suppression of Communism Act since 1950 has continually been used to suppress the struggles of the working people of South Africa, and to-day it is being used against the newspaper which has constantly expressed the desires, feelings and aspirations of the working people.

"We feel that every democratic person in South Africa should rally to the defence of the free Press."

LAWYER RAIDED

Warning that the raid on his house set a dangerous precedent, Mr. H. Bernadt told Advance:

"Since I am not a shareholder nor director of the company which publishes Advance, I can only come to the conclusion that the police raided my house because I am the legal representative of the newspaper.

"This creates a dangerous precedent because it is an attempt to intimidate lawyers from acting for or defending clients who may be suspected of any political offence. If lawyers have this threat hanging over them clients may find it difficult to obtain legal defence.

"Lawyers must protest against such intimidation and resist it in every possible way, particularly as it must be borne in mind that the client is innocent until he is proved guilty."

Labour Men Call For Peace With China

LONDON.

WITHOUT departing from their hardened political attitude as anti-Communists, the Labour delegation of eight have left China with the most favourable impressions, firmly believing in peace, friendship and mutual relations with the great Chinese people. Mr. Attlee's words were—"It is important we should get as close a contact with the Chinese people as possible." And Mr. Morgan Phillips gave the considered opinion of the delegation—"We are convinced world peace depends upon a closer communion between China and the rest of the world."

Speaking to pressmen in Hong Kong after leaving China, Mr. Attlee said they were impressed by definite reforms which seemed to mark a new departure in China.

"Evidence we had everywhere is that you have a Government that is incorruptible and that is genuinely working in accordance with principles in which it believes and that it has done some very remarkable pieces of work."

On Chinese domestic policy, the Labour leader said they saw practical evidence of the Government's work "in what I think was the quite remarkable housing achievements both in Peking and Mukden and other parts."

"We saw evidence of extraordinary activity in the field of education and public health. I have been in many Eastern bazaars, and it was a new thing to go into markets and find no flies, no smells and everything clean," he said.

Mr. Attlee conceded that "the Government seemed to be based on the goodwill of the peasants," and had done a lot for them.

But he criticised the trade unions, stating his opinion that China's unions were simply an instrument of the Government for ensuring more production.

MODERN NATION

In his statement Mr. Phillips said the isolation of China must be ended. The Labour delegation sympathised with and was deeply impressed by the efforts of the new China to build a nation on modern lines.

Reciprocating the earnest desire of China's leaders for closer communications and contact with other countries, he said: "A policy of exclusiveness can only imperil peace. We believe peaceful

MORE VOLUNTEERS FOR CONGRESS OF PEOPLE

CAPE TOWN.

Many new volunteers were signed up at two public meetings held during last weekend at the Strand and Langa under the auspices of the Congress of the People.

After three speakers from Cape Town, Messrs. Len Lee-Warden, George Peake and Greenwood Ngotyana had addressed the meeting at the Strand on Saturday afternoon, speaker after speaker rose to tell of the hardships and misery of the African people.

They enthusiastically greeted the message of the Congress of the People, and submitted their demands for inclusion into the Freedom Charter.

In Langa the following afternoon Messrs. Thomas Ngwenya, Len Lee-Warden and George Peake also addressed the meeting.

Volunteers from the audience undertook to help carry the message of the Congress of the People into every home.

Food Union To Appeal Against Judgment

CAPE TOWN.

The S.A. Trades and Labour Council has circularised an appeal to all its affiliated unions to contribute towards a fund to enable the Food and Canning Workers' Union to appeal against the Supreme Court judgment in their dispute with the Wolsley Fruit Canning Company.

In the judgment, the Cape Supreme Court had declared that "an employer is entitled to dismiss workers who strike, regardless of whether the strike is legal or not in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act."

Miss D. Hartwell, general secretary of the S.A.T.L.C. points out in her letter: "This is obviously a most dangerous threat to all workers, for victimisation will be encouraged by this decision."

co-existence along with active co-operation and mutual trade based on it would ripen understanding and bring us all closer together and reduce the danger of war.

He added that the undoubtedly great ideological differences did not seem a barrier to peaceful co-existence "and co-operation in the many fields where we have common interests."

All the Labour leaders stressed the freedom of expression and the warmth of hospitality they had enjoyed, and called for cultural exchanges, visits and mutual relations between Britain and China.

COLONIAL YOUTH FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

In this exclusive report from Peking, RUTH FIRST describes the opening of the Council meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth last month. South Africa was represented by Miss First and Mr. Albert Sachs, extracts from whose speeches are reproduced below.

PEKING.

IN the magnificent hall in the old Imperial Palace in which the Republic of China was proclaimed five years ago youth delegates from all corners of the globe met last month at the opening of the Council meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Here, where Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and others legislate for New China, the delegates discussed the struggles of colonial youth for their independence and rights.

The hall was brilliantly decorated in traditional Chinese style, with gentle, subdued lighting, but every now and then dazzling arc lamps were turned on for the whirring cameras.

As the session opened, streams of radiant and beaming Chinese youth—model students, young workers, sports champions, young farmers and writers—carried flowers up to the platform.

Then the work started in earnest. W.F.D.Y. President Bruno Bernini delivered a two-hour-long report on the conditions and struggles of young people in colonial and backward countries.

The leader of the French youth spoke with feeling: "In the past the French youth came to international youth gatherings with feelings of grief at the tragedy of war and slaughter in Viet Nam. We returned to our country to fight that war with greater determination.

"To-day we are full of joy: the cannon fire in Viet Nam has ceased!" He quoted the words of Henri Martin, young French hero, who said: "When you love liberty you love it for all the peoples." This was the belief of French youth, he said. There were stirring scenes as the youth delegates from France and Viet Nam embraced one another.

EXPLOITATION

The South African speaker was second on the agenda, and in the name of his delegation Albert Sachs delivered the speech.

"The vast majority of the young people of South Africa to-day suffer a life of exploitation, race discrimination and persecution by the semi-fascist Government of Dr. Malan," he said. "They are robbed of their rights—they are robbed of life itself.

"One of the results of the colour bar is that the life expectancy of the Whites is 60 years, while for a Non-White person it is 30. So it could be said that the colour bar deprives the Non-White of half his life. He loses not only half his life but his youth as well in a country where the majority of young people are denied the heritage of youth—education, training, leisure and culture and a share in determining the shape of his future."

MENZIES GOVT. PAID PETROV £5,000 FOR FAKED DOCUMENT

—Says Labour Leader

LONDON.

THE Menzies Government's expensive adventure in the witch-hunting business is in danger of turning into a fiasco and the political dividends expected from the Petrovs are becoming liabilities. This is the sensational turn of events since the powerful and dramatic intervention of Labour leader Dr. Herbert Evatt in the proceedings before the Commission.

The three hand-picked judges whom Menzies and the Australian reactionaries expected to return a favourable verdict are now compelled to protect not only the Petrovs but the police witnesses and espionage "experts."

Even before Dr. Evatt's intervention the Petrovs had been severely shaken in cross-examination by counsel. Petrov emerged from the box a self-confessed liar, forger, a neurotic and a man who sold himself to the Australian Government for £5,000.

CRIMINAL RECORD

Since then it has been established that both he and his wife were people whose

criminal record had been forgiven by the Soviet authorities and who had been allowed the chance to rehabilitate their characters. This they failed to do. Mrs. Petrov appears to be the more affected by her conscience and has presented to the world the appearance of a pathetic and distraught woman, inconsistent in her evidence and ready to break down into floods of tears at the mention of her past.

Then came Dr. Evatt's devastating analysis of the Menzies Government's case. Petrov himself forged "Document J" and sold it to the Australian Government for £5,000, he said.

He would show that the man who actually put the document together was Fergan O'Sullivan, his former Press secretary, and the whole concoction was a conspiracy aimed against him (Dr. Evatt) and the Australian Labour Party.

So far the Commission has refused to release "Document J" for publication. The Government alleges it was typed by a Communist journalist, Rupert Lockwood. This Lockwood has denied.

FAKING

One by one Dr. Evatt has brought out the obvious flaws, the faking and cooking that went into Petrov's document until the Government's counsel and the commissioners have been placed in a serious predicament.

These facts have emerged about Document J: It is not an original but a carbon copy; it was typed on two different machines; it does not deal with any defence secrets but with alleged U.S. and Japanese penetration of Australia and with revelations about prominent Australians. Historical facts are incorrect, peculiar expressions are used that no Australian would use.

"It was concocted to make it appear attractive and worth £5,000," Dr. Evatt said.

It now rests with the Commission to say whether or not Petrov sold a fake and betrayed not only his own country but his new employers as well.

A feature of the inquiry is that the Australian Security Police and their director, Mr. George Richards, have been forced to brief a leading barrister, Sir Garfield Barwick, to defend them against the serious charges now made by Dr. Evatt and other counsel. Among other things, Dr. Evatt charged Richards and his police with being a party to "a foul and base conspiracy." Richards, he said, failed to test or examine the faked "Document J" before paying Petrov for it.

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After detailing the various disabilities under which Non-Whites suffer in South Africa, Mr. Sachs went on:

"But prohibiting gatherings, persecuting leaders, censoring books, policing the country, suppressing trade unions cannot and will not stop the peoples of South Africa in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

"Race hatred is the doctrine and the weapon of the Malan Government. But under the leadership of their freedom organisations the African, Indian and Coloured people and democratic Whites have come together to build a great unity in purpose and in struggle, to forge a lasting friendship between their people and to launch common, militant campaigns for full and equal rights for all."

ROLE IN AFRICA

Discussing the international situation, Mr. Sachs said: "In the struggle of the youth for peace and independence Africa occupies an important position. The people of Asia have broken, or are breaking, from the shackles of colonialism. So colonialism is tightening its grip on the African continent. The colonial powers have carved up the continent between them and deprived the youth of a bright and free future.

"Vigorous youth movements must emerge in Africa to cross the barriers set up by the colonial powers, to overcome enforced divisions between the people, to break the isolation of many territories in Africa from events in the world at large and to unite all in the struggle for independence, youth rights and peace. . . .

"The international youth festivals in particular have given brilliant demonstration of the ability of young people of all creeds, colours and religions to work together for the aims they hold in common. The youth of South Africa has taken inspiration from these festivals, and in a country torn by race hatred and divisions a new spirit of friendship and co-operation has taken hold.

"The force of the youth of the world can break down all barriers to friendship and a brighter life and can ensure that our generation grows up in a world of peace."

DURBAN TESTING GROUND FOR SLAVE LABOUR ACT

Workers Fight Back

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN.

REACTION to the local strikes of African workers and the first attempts to apply the Native Labour Act have clearly revealed an insidious plan of the Government and employers to crush the development of the African trade union movement.

The Government, employers and local authorities have combined their efforts to smash the growth of African trade unions, and are using Durban as a testing ground for their tactics.

The Chambers of Industries and Commerce and the Government are alarmed at the different nature of the recent strikes, which were not the usual isolated, spontaneous outbursts of exasperated workers but manifestations of the African workers' realisation of the need for unity, solidarity and trade union organisation.

It is this fervent response to trade unionism, hitherto lacking in the African worker here, that has frightened the Government and the employers even more than the demand for higher wages, especially since the initiative is coming not from office organisers, easily banned, but straight from the factory

For the first time in Durban the basis of an African trade union movement is being laid.

LEARNING QUICKLY

Natal Africans, only recently introduced to large-scale industrialisation, are quickly learning that only the discipline and organisation provided by the trade union can solve their problems, and to go into battle for higher wages without a trade union is to fight unarmed.

In the strikes at Natal Spinners and United Tobacco Company, therefore, trade union recognition was given precedence over higher wages.

Furthermore, the position of the African worker in industry has been enormously strengthened. For there are many thousands who are no longer labourers, easily replaced in the event of strikes. They have become semi-skilled workers, receiving labourers' rates of pay; and more and more factories are being run on African labour alone. Strikes can therefore bring production to a complete standstill, as was proved at Natal Spinners and United Tobacco Company.

STRIKES MAY SPREAD

Determined to maintain the existing wage level of Durban Africans, the Government and the employers are using all their resources to break the tobacco workers' strike and the organisation of the Africans at Natal Spinners.

According to the C.I.D., African workers all over Durban are anxiously awaiting the outcome of these two disputes, while widespread demand for higher wages, to be intensified by the increased rail tariffs, has aroused the fear that strikes will spread from industry to industry if the workers at Natal Spinners and the United Tobacco Company are successful.

Last month the Chamber of Com-

merce was compelled to issue a statement reassuring the public that there would not be "a strike of Natives."

LEADERS BLACK-LISTED

What are the methods being used by the Government and the employers to break the African trade unions?

Firstly, trade unionists and strikers are being black-listed. Officially or unofficially, factories have been told not to employ Africans who have participated in strikes. Foremen have been instructed not to take on workers who were involved in the disputes at Maple Leaf Products and United Tobacco Company.

Secondly, the Native Administration Department and the employers have an arrangement whereby the names of "agitators" in factories and strikers are handed to the Influx Control Office for the purpose of ensuring that these workers are denied re-registration after dismissal and deported from Durban.

Thirdly, the Native Labour Act is used to arrest trade union leaders and workers and to attempt to force the African workers to accept the Native Labour Board, instead of the trade union, as a means of settling their disputes.

Workers Dismissed For Refusing To Wear Numbers

DURBAN.

NUMBERED badges instead of wage increases were given to all Africans at a Durban textile factory last week for the purpose of easily identifying those who express the grievances of the workers.

After the workers refused to accept the badges 12 suspected leaders were dismissed and 28 others resigned.

When the dismissed workers and those who had resigned went to the Native Influx Control Office to get their permits renewed in order to seek work elsewhere their applications were turned down and they were driven away. They can now be arrested and deported.

PROMISE BROKEN

Last month the workers at the factory had been promised an increase in their rates of pay, but when pay day arrived they were told that they must work for the existing wages and were told to wear the badges.

It is understood that the badges were given on the advice of the Native Administration as part of their scheme to assist employers to break any organisation of African workers in the factories. The employers are to dismiss the militant workers, and the Native Administration will ensure that they do not receive employment elsewhere.

WORKERS' LEADER GAOLED

DURBAN.

One of the dismissed leaders of the African workers at a Durban textile factory was last week arrested, assaulted and sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

While walking in the location where he lives he was stopped by a policeman and asked to produce his pass. The worker explained that his pass was in his room, whereupon he was arrested, taken to the police station and assaulted.

When he appeared before the magistrate he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The matter is being taken up by the union's lawyers.

The purpose of the Native Labour Board, as exposed during the strikes at Natal Spinners and the Durban Docks, is obviously to coerce African workers by presenting a united front of Government and employers, backed by the police force; to provide a body in which the Government and the employers can work together so as to more effectively suppress the African workers; and to enable the Government to interfere directly with relations between employers and workers by forcing the employers, where some might be prepared to negotiate with the unions, to observe the Government's policy.

The Board does not provide for negotiations between the members and the workers. In the event of a dispute, members of the Board and the employers decide on a policy, and the function of the Board is merely to convey their decisions to the workers.

MORE HELP NEEDED

While it is true that nothing can stop the growth of African trade unions, the most serious defect revealed during the strikes was the absence of a concerted, organised drive to help the workers, and the lack of assistance in the building of these unions.

The time has come for the National Organisations to realise that if greater assistance is not given to the African and Indian workers, who are to-day primarily concerned with the struggle against starvation and poverty, the links between the Congresses and the masses of the people will be severely weakened.

MORE OFFICIALS BANNED FROM ORGANISATIONS

JOHANNESBURG.

LATEST victims of Swart's bans are two national secretaries—Mrs. Rica Hodgson, of the South African Congress of Democrats, and Mr. Harold Wolpe, of the South African Peace Council—and Mr. Isaac Moumakoe, vice-president of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

In a banning notice dated August 12 and delivered last week, Mrs. Hodgson was ordered not to attend gatherings and not to participate in the activities of 36 organisations.

The organisations include the S.A. Congress of Democrats, which appointed her secretary last December following the banning of her husband, Jack Hodgson. The notice departs from the precedent set by previous banning notices to full-time secretaries, in that it does not even allow Mrs. Hodgson a 30-day period of

grace to enable her to put the affairs of C.O.D. in order.

An ex-servicewoman, Mrs. Hodgson served in the WAAF during the war. Her banning, following that of her husband, who was also a full-time employee of C.O.D., means a second member of the family being deprived of employment within a few months.

AGAINST PEACE

The notice handed to Harold Wolpe prohibits him from attending gatherings and participating in 33 organisations, including the S.A. Peace Council.

A former chairman of the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr. Wolpe recently returned from a visit abroad, during which he was Wits observer at the World Youth Peace Festival and at meetings of the International Union of Students.

"Mr. Wolpe's removal is a serious blow to the Peace Movement, already seriously handicapped by previous arbitrary removals of personnel by the Government," Rev. Douglas Thompson, chairman of the S.A. Peace Council, said to Advance.

"The implication is obvious: The Government does not approve of activities directed towards the peaceful settlement of international disputes. We can only conclude that it favours a continuation of the cold war with its disastrous effects on the economy and living standards of the people, creating anxiety in the minds of millions."

Also banned last week was Geoff Green, textile union organiser.

T.L.C. PROTEST

In a letter to Minister Swart the S.A. Trades and Labour Council has protested strongly against the banning of Mr. Frank Marquard, President of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, and Miss A. M. Coe, Port Elizabeth secretary of the same union.

The T.L.C. has demanded the withdrawal of banning notices served on all members and officials of all trade unions, declaring in its letter: "The Government's action is a violation of the right of freedom of association, a right which by its membership of I.L.O. and U.N.O., the Government is bound to protect."

STUDENT BANNED— "SERIOUS INJUSTICE"

CAPE TOWN.

Students of the University of Cape Town, at a mass meeting last week, vigorously protested against the Government's order to Mr. B. C. W. Lutta, of Kenya, a second year B.A. student, to leave the Union within a fortnight.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. E. M. Wentzel, president of the Students' Representative Council, said that since the Government had given no reason for banning Mr. Lutta it was clear to the students that Mr. Lutta was the victim of a serious injustice.

The protest was adopted by 373 votes to 34.

CONCILIATION BOARD FOR ROPE WORKERS

CAPE TOWN.

A Conciliation Board has been granted to settle a dispute between the S.A. Rope and Canvas Workers' Union and four employers in Cape Town regarding wages and conditions of work.

The union has asked for wage rates on the same level as those paid in Johannesburg—at present Cape Town wages are very much lower.

The Conciliation Board affects about 50 workers.

"BOYCOTT BUS APARTHEID"

—S.A.C.P.O.

CAPE TOWN.

Speakers at a meeting organised by the South African Coloured People's Organisation in Salt River last week called for a boycott of the buses should apartheid be introduced on the buses in the Cape Peninsula.

A resolution adopted at the meeting protested against the forcing of apartheid decisions on the municipalities by the Provincial Council, and called on the local authorities "not to be party to a new cause of strife and hardship," and upon the citizens of Cape Town to oppose the introduction of apartheid "by boycotting the separated services to the fullest possible extent."

In a resolution on the Group Areas Act the meeting called on the people of Cape Town "to demonstrate their unswerving opposition to this attack on their freedom."

Speakers included Mr. S. M. Rahim and Miss Hetty McLeod, who spoke on the Congress of the People.

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INTERNATIONAL SUMMARY BY COMMENTATOR

ALL EUROPE FEARS REVIVAL OF GERMAN ARMY

THE rejection of E.D.C. by the French Assembly last week was a foregone conclusion. The natural hostility of the French people to the idea of a remilitarised Germany, their lack of conviction that they are threatened by the Soviet Union, their reluctance to be a junior partner in the Washington-Berlin Axis, their deep longing for peace and security all combined to make them reject the United States plan for reviving the Wehrmacht as a spearhead for an anti-Communist war.

Naturally the Americans are furious. Yet another of their plans has gone astray. Dulles rushes out a statement expressing his indignation that "in one country nationalism, abetted by Communism, had asserted itself so as to endanger the whole of Europe"—a blundering piece of foolishness that can only further alienate the French.

The fact is, it is the revival of German nationalism in its most extreme form, Nazism, which is endangering the whole of Europe and, indeed, the peace of the world. More than anything else it was the revelations of Dr. John and the Bundestag Deputy Schmidt-Wittmack about what was going on in West Germany which finally made up the mind of France.

The horrors of the Nazi occupation are too recent for the victims to forget and forgive.

Secret Pact

The main point on which Dr. John and Herr Schmidt-Wittmack were agreed is that there was a secret agreement between West Germany and the United States providing for the re-creation of the German Army this year, no matter what the fate of E.D.C. (See last week's Advance for details.)



Dulles: "A fine fit."

that a stock-pile of U.S. arms was already available in Germany for handing over to the German Army.

It is the knowledge of this agreement which has made Adenauer so arrogant in his dealings with France in recent months. Far from behaving like the representative of a defeated power asking favours from his conqueror, he has been issuing ultimatums right and left almost like Hitler in the old days.

He used to say to France: "Ratify E.D.C. or else..." Now that E.D.C. has been rejected he has "demanded" full sovereignty and "participation without discrimination in Western defence" and an immediate conference with Britain and the United States. Clearly, in his mind it is now Germany, and no longer France, which forms one of the Big Three of the Western Powers.

In this he sees eye to eye with the United States, whose officers are, as usual, making no secret of their intentions. The U.S. Foreign Aid Director, Mr. Harold Stassen, said last month that the rearming of Germany would be "one of the fastest jobs of building an army in modern history."

According to the diplomatic correspondent of the London Observer, General Gruenther, the Supreme Commander at S.H.A.P.E., was informed after the recent Anglo-American discussions in London that the job of rearming Germany must be tackled this year "even if France does not ratify the E.D.C. Treaty."

Thus the present Anglo-American-German moves are no more than the implementation of a plan laid down some time ago.

Undercurrents

On the surface it would appear that, with France now isolated in Western Europe, nothing stands in the way of the re-creation of the Nazi monster and that the United States can now go ahead with her war preparations without bothering about the reactions of "timid" or "decadent" allies like France and Italy (the latter of which is not even to discuss E.D.C. now that France has abandoned it).

But to take such a view would be merely to see the surface of events, without appreciating the strong currents which are flowing in the opposite direction underneath.

The position of Adenauer in West Germany is now weaker than it has ever been. He staked everything on E.D.C. as the one means of being able to rebuild the German Army and State machine with the consent of Western Europe. The longer E.D.C. hung in the balance, the more not only Frenchmen and Italians but even Germans began to have doubts about the value of their alliance with Washington.

The defection of the Johns and Schmidt-Wittmacks and others in recent months has been no accident. More and more West Germans have come to realise that under American leadership they were heading not for unity of the two halves of Germany but for war.



It has been Soviet policy on Germany to propose unity and demilitarisation. It has been American policy on Germany to demand militarisation first and unity after.

The implications have been clear—that "unity after" could only flow from war and the reconquest of Eastern Germany and Poland—and, in fact, it was this very aim which was outlined by Adenauer when he first embraced the idea of E.D.C.

Thus the recent Soviet proposal for another Four-Power meeting on Germany not only unsettled opinion in France and Italy—it unsettled opinion in Germany, too. In fact, it can safely be said that, no matter what their Governments may do, the whole of Europe would prefer to see another conference on Germany rather than another Wehrmacht and another war.

Atomic Power

In recent issues of the New Statesman Professor P. M. S. Blackett, the famous British physicist, has been discussing the relative military strength of the United States and the Soviet Union, with special reference to atomic power. Pointing out that many politicians and soldiers in the West still seem to think that the West has an overwhelming preponderance of strength vis-a-vis the Soviet Union (only two weeks ago Mr. Robert Murphy, U.S. Deputy Under-Secretary of State, making a policy statement, said: "There is increasing and convincing evidence that the Communist strategists have in their own secret councils tacitly acknowledged the superiority of American air and atomic power"), Professor Blackett weighs the available evidence and comes to the conclusion that this assumed superiority is entirely mythical.

He says that the U.S. stock of conventional atomic bombs might be higher than that of the Soviet Union, since they had a start of some years, but "the U.S.S.R. has probably now attained equality in H-bomb development... and also approximate equality in the power of delivering them."

This means, he concludes, that the West must revise its political strategy. "There is now no possibility of success for any tough diplomatic policy aiming at rolling back without war the Soviet power to the Russian ethnic frontiers and so liberating the satellite States. Still more is a preventative war off the map, in spite of the efforts of some vociferous advocates."

A change in policy is most important in so far as Germany is concerned, he says. "A few years ago, while the A-bomb superiority of the West was a fact, there were three possible ways by which Western Germany could seek unity with the Eastern Provinces—by a NATO victory in a third world war; by the success of a roll-back policy achieved through the threat of a preventative war; and by a bargain with the U.S.S.R. Now, with H-bomb equality a fact, there is only the last way."

Europe Wants Peace

Europe is afraid of war, and it is afraid that war will come, not from the Soviet Union but from America. For it is the American and not the Russian politicians who mouth threats of war and the dropping of H-bombs.

During August alone two U.S. generals, Mark Clark and James A. Fleet, called for the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, while U.S. Navy Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific, Admiral Felix Stump, announcing he was ready to drop atom bombs on China, added: "No commander likes to sit back and wait. Sometimes you have to go out and start shooting."

No comparable threat has ever been uttered by a Soviet leader. On the contrary, an impression has been made on European and world opinion by the remarks on August 17 of the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Bulganin, who at a reception at the Indonesian Embassy in Moscow in honour of Indonesia's national day, called the Western envoys to his side and proposed a toast "against war and for peace."

He said: "I say, as a Marshal of the Soviet Union, commanding general of all forces of the Soviet Union, that those who want war do not know what it is. We are ready for war. If the time comes—with all our hatred of war—we should not turn away."

Soviet Deputy Premier Kaganovich on the same occasion added: "If governments do what people want, then war will not happen."

Most Europeans, and not least rank and file Germans, think it is better to make a bargain with the U.S.S.R. than to be H-bombed out of existence. And the more the U.S. blusters and the more the Nazis strut about in Bonn, the more the mass of Europeans will press for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

DEFEND YOUR PAPER!

Swart, the great Dictator from the Platteland, is at it again. He hates your paper for its unswerving opposition to his fascist methods of rule by police and intimidation, for its resounding demand for equal rights and justice for all. By singling out our paper for attack he pays us a compliment and confirms what everyone already knows—that Advance is the finest democratic paper in South Africa.

The gang of petty politicians who are mis-ruling our country know very well that Advance is one of the mainsprings of the democratic movement; that freedom fighters draw courage and inspiration from our columns. Hence their efforts to crush us and thereby prepare the ground for a more general attack on the freedom of the Press.

Mr. Swart underestimates the strength and tenacity of the progressive forces in our country. The voice of truth and reason will continue to be heard as long as there are men and women who are willing to listen to it—and the eyes and ears of the people are wide open to-day.

THE ATTACK ON ADVANCE IS AN ATTACK ON YOU — ON YOUR RIGHT TO THE TRUTH. DEFEND THAT RIGHT BY DEFENDING ADVANCE!

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U.N. ATTACKS COLD WAR

NEW YORK.

Some hard hitting at America's policy of keeping up international hostility was contained in the report of the United Nations General Secretary, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, to be placed before the 9th Session of the Assembly opening on September 21.

He says those Governments who refuse to recognise "the necessity of co-existence" are hampering the work of U.N. He also criticises the failure to admit other countries to U.N., a failure which is caused by the United States refusal to accept the Soviet proposal that all applicants for membership, at present 14 states, should be admitted.

Referring obviously to American determination to keep out China, he says: "This consideration applies also to the peoples in other parts of the world who do not yet have the representation in the U.N. to which their role in world affairs entitles them."

Mr. Hammarskjöld warns that at the present he is faced with a blank wall on the question of disarmament and he appeals for further efforts in view of the threat of atomic war.

Feeling on edge?

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It's time to take action, when you start getting jumpy for no apparent reason. It's time to realise that there is a reason—that you are exhausting your nervous energy. You need Virata's help. Virata is not just a tonic, but a nourishing food for the nerves. Its unique restorative properties are specially processed in these pills, so that they can be completely absorbed by the system. Start today! Take Virata every day for a few weeks. You will not only get back all your old drive and energy. You'll have more than ever before!

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CIVIC GROUP BEATEN IN CAPE TOWN ELECTIONS

CAPE TOWN.

ALTHOUGH there were contests in only three wards in the Cape Town municipal elections last week, the results will affect the whole Council, as they spelled defeat for the Civic Group, whose inner circle has virtually ruled the Council for the past two years.

In Ward VI Mrs. Z. Gool, Mr. E. A. Deane and Mr. A. Moosa, standing jointly on an anti-Civic Group ticket, were elected with big majorities. Two of their opponents, Messrs. S. Dollie and W. D. Collins, were members of the Civic Group.

In Ward X three non-Group members were re-elected: Messrs. H. J. M. Holmes, R. E. Viljoen and J. J. Schroeder.

In Ward XV one Civic Group member was re-elected, while two other councillors, who had resigned from the Group only a few days before the election, lost their seats.

The position after the elections is, therefore, that the Civic Group's membership was reduced to 20, while 25 councillors are not members of the Group.

A SHAKING

Commenting on the election results, Mrs. Gool, who has been a city council-

lor for 16 years, said the elections had certainly succeeded in shaking the Civic Group and might help to bring about its disintegration.

"This is a great achievement in the interests of the city as a whole," said Mrs. Gool, "because no city can be run by a narrow core.

"Members of the Civic Group just turned a deaf ear to any argument or proposal a non-Group member would put forward, no matter how sound such proposals were. Now the non-Group members will be able to use their working majority in the best interests of the city."

"The election result in Ward VI is the real pulse of the people of Cape Town—they do not want the Civic Group," said Mr. E. A. Deane, one of the newly-elected councillors for Ward VI, trade unionist and national president of the South African Coloured People's Organisation. "We are proud our anti-Group ticket did so well."

WORKING CLASS STEPS OUT IN NIGERIA

LAGOS, Nigeria.

THE Nigerian working-class movement centred in the new All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation is being tested in the two-fold struggle against the British policy of splitting up Nigeria and against the betrayal of the reactionary nationalist groups. The Federation is campaigning against the introduction of the new Constitution in a few months' time, and is faced with serious Government attempts to smash its unity.

The Government is using a splinter body going under the name of the "Committee of Trade Unionists" in its efforts to break up the Federation. On matters of Labour policy it refuses to recognise the Federation.

A clear example was the appointment of a workers' delegate to attend the I.L.O. conference in Geneva. Instead of accepting a delegate elected by the Federation, on which 99 per cent. of the established trade unions are represented, the Government selected four names from the splinter organisation and informed the Unions by telegram they could indicate which they preferred.

This move was repudiated by the unions.

The Federation was formed only a little over a year ago and is the first trade union co-ordinating body completely independent of the reactionary nationalist organisations.

UNIONS EXPLOITED

In the past 10 years three union bodies

have collapsed through the intrigues of the nationalists: the Nigerian T.U.C., the Nigerian National Federation of Labour and the Nigerian Labour Congress. All of them in turn were affiliated to the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, of which the present Minister of Labour, Mr. M. T. Mbu, is a leader.

Mr. Mbu is also behind the creation of the splinter committee, which, however, appears to have little actual following among organised workers.

The All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation has the affiliation of 25 unions, with a membership of 63,000. In spite of the attitude of the British authorities, it is making steady progress. Its member unions have unanimously condemned the splitting of the country under the new "Constitution" and the role of the nationalist politicians who sold themselves at the Lagos and London conferences. It is demanding a centralised Government and the representation of the Labour movement on public boards.

THE BEND IN THE ROAD

BY KATIE HENDRICKS

SYNOPSIS

At the party to celebrate Katie's marriage to Rhodesian Willie Marangha a disastrous fight breaks out. Katie's brother Robert attacks Willie viciously.

I sprang forward to separate them and Willie's friend from the boarding house jumped on Robert's back. In a minute the party was transformed into a heaving, struggling crowd, surging backwards and forwards across the dining-room, upsetting tables and chairs and smashing crockery in all directions. The uproar brought mother rushing from the front room, and she hopped about anxiously on the outskirts of the rough and tumble, looking for Robert.

Only one person could stop this brawl. I shouted hysterically for Aunt Mattie to come. Then she rushed in with a great stick and, with thrashing, indiscriminate blows, cleared an area around Willie and Robert, who were sprawled on the floor.

Robert was on top and he still held Willie locked in his left arm, while his right fist pounded Willie's head pinned beneath him.

"My God, he is killing him," I screamed. Aunt Mattie brought her stick down heavily on Robert's head. He rose slowly to his feet, staggered through the debris of upset furniture and broken crockery and walked dazedly through the door into the courtyard.

"Wait, my boy. Wait, my boy," said mother, "you have forgotten your jacket." She followed him into the little lane and did not return to the dining-room.

Everyone was leaving now, and Aunt Mattie was saying:

"Go—don't come back here. That is enough. Go—go." She shoed the guests out of her door and prodded them with her stick so that they might go the faster.

Willie's friend and I helped him into a sitting position on one of the chairs and we mopped the blood from his face.

Aunt Mattie prodded us with her stick. "Everybody, everybody, out of my house."

Then she turned to me. "This damage. It will cost you a lot of money." She pondered for a moment. "It is fifteen pounds. Look, that table is also broken."

"I will help you to clear the mess,"

I said, "but that table is mine, not yours. I will give you five pounds." "Give it to me," said Aunt Mattie, and she held out her hand.

CHAPTER 15

Perhaps Willie and I were rash to come to the greatest decision of our lives on the morning after the fracas at Aunt Mattie's house, but we made up our minds almost simultaneously. We would go to live in our house in Rhodesia, near Rusapi. I believe that a quick decision is very often a good one, and we never had any reason to regret ours.

Willie and I had talked about Rhodesia in the evenings as we strolled down Adderley Street, but we were never serious enough to get down to the details of living there—there was far too much money to be earned in Cape Town to think of moving away. Perhaps we had imagined that we should be able to retire to Rhodesia with enough money to buy a business in Rusapi. Willie did mention a dream like this once or twice. Sometimes he spoke of buying a lorry and becoming a cartage contractor. There is always plenty of business to be had, transporting mealies and other farm produce from the country districts to Salisbury.

But now we decided to wait until we came to Rusapi to see what we should do there. Willie was a good waiter and he had good references. He could find a job easily enough in the Salisbury hotels.

Two days after the wedding I took the train to Wynberg and then walked to the Indian shop where father was living. The proprietor was a thin shadow of a man whose head barely showed above the counter. He moved grudgingly around his shop and approached his customers with a weary "Huh?"

"Is Martin in his room?" I asked.

"Huh?"

"Martin, my father, and the little boy—ate they in their room?"

"They've gone."

"What time will they be back?" I asked uncomprehendingly.

The little man shrugged his shoulders with an air of mystification, "I don't know—maybe never."

"What do you mean—never?" I demanded. "Where have they gone?"

"I don't know," the proprietor said resentfully. "They went in a hurry."

"But why?"

"I don't know. I go through life

mind my own business."

"The little boy—was he all right?"

But the man had trudged over to a customer with another enquiring "Huh?"

I raised my voice. "May I go into the yard to see?"

He granted his assent, and I slipped behind the counter and hurried down the corridor to the backyard.

The door of father's room, pressed against the iron bedstead, was open. Chaminuka, the wizard, was gone and the place was dirty, desolate and altogether lifeless. I pressed past the door and stood beside the bedstead—there was just the bed and an empty wooden box which had contained father's few possessions and Naartjie's.

A little stub of candle stood in a lump of congealed wax on the box. I stepped over the bed and pushed the box aside. Under the bed was a cardboard box, and gingerly I bent down to draw it out. It contained two bottles of Vaal Japie—unopened . . .

At the convent the Mother Superior had been expecting my resignation for some time, and she had taken steps to engage another teacher for the new term. She knew that I was pregnant, and she was most happy to learn that I had married Willie.

Willie gave notice to leave his work at the end of August, but I was to keep on teaching until the school holidays in September.

I had the afternoons free, and was able to arrange for the travelling permits and permits to re-enter the Union in case things did not go well with us in Rhodesia. I had some difficulty with my travel permit to Rhodesia, as that Government is not anxious to have Coloured immigrants, but as my father was a Rhodesian I managed to overcome this difficulty. The fact that Willie is a Rhodesian helped, too.

We then took stock of our financial position. Willie had saved two hundred and eighty pounds in his Post Office savings account and I had two hundred and ten pounds. In reality my share was less, because I decided to put aside thirty pounds for clothes. I would be going into Salisbury at times, and I was determined to keep up appearances. I would also take the precaution of giving mother twenty pounds to keep for me. In the event of anything going wrong between Willie and me I would not have burned my bridges, and would at least have my return fare to the Cape.

The train fares would take forty pounds, and we would need at least

another hundred to furnish the house.

So one evening we took a reckoning of the capital we would have available in Rhodesia. Willie put his two hundred and eighty pounds into the pool with my one hundred and sixty pounds. After paying for the furniture and the fares and some incidental expenses we would have two hundred and ninety pounds in Rhodesia "to play with," Willie said, which was rather inapt, because Willie was hardly the person to play with money. It was not enough to start a business but was sufficient to buy a lorry on the instalment plan. With a lorry Willie could set up as a cartage contractor.

By the end of August everything was in readiness for our departure for Rusapi, in Southern Rhodesia, but we had to wait until the middle of September before we could leave, for only then would I have finished my school term.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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WHITHER AFRIKANER NATIONALISM?—2

The Main Plank — Racialism

AFRIKANERS are haunted by a nostalgia for an imaginary, idyllic life of the old-time farming community. The theme pervades their poetry, fiction and other literary pieces. The yearning is largely sentimental romanticism; the writers have no intention of forsaking their city haunts and well-paid jobs for life on the farm. But the ideal serves as a standard by which to measure the present.

The emergence of class distinctions are seen as a menace to Afrikaner unity. The worker in the city is tempted away from church and volk; he joins un-national organisations like trade unions, and in association with Non-Europeans he loses his traditional race prejudices. Under the influence of Communism and other anti-social or anti-national propaganda, complains J. H. Coetzee, the poor Afrikaner develops enmity against his fellow-Afrikaners who have managed to maintain an economic and social foothold in the urban society (*Verarmen en Oorheersing*, 1942, p. 47).

The leaders of the movement have, therefore, conscientiously applied themselves to the task of winning the Afrikaner worker and poor White for the cause of nationalism. Sustained attacks are made on "alien" institutions, whether trade unions or independent religious sects like the Apostolic Church and Adventists; social welfare and poor relief among Afrikaners is made the exclusive province of the Afrikaner churches and allied organisations like the F.A.K. and A.C.V.V.; and Afrikaner parallels to English institutions are created, like the Voortrekkerjeug corresponding to the Boy Scouts.

The External Enemy

But these are only synthetic substitutes for the real thing and have no power of their own to bind the worker or salaried employee to a movement so hostile to the beguilements and liberating influences of city life. Internal unity can be achieved only by denouncing the external enemy, by arousing in the Afrikaner hostility to everybody and everything not Afrikaans.

British imperialism is such an enemy. The prominence that it receives is not, however, constant. Attacks on the British are less frequent and violent now than they were during the early war years, when Britain's downfall at Nazi hands seemed certain. Then Afrikaner intellectuals like Coetzee, echoing the Nazis, described capitalism as the economic aspect of democracy, which in turn was the instrument of British-Jewish imperialism. The victors, having defeated Afrikanerdom, have delivered it to the forces of capitalism.

Another writer, D. F. Malherbe, setting out the "disruptive" and "denationalising" factors menacing Afrikaner unity, gave priority to "capitalist imperialism" and the "imperial ties" with Britain on a list which included "marriages of educated, spineless young Afrikaners into upper class English families in the cities," the bioscope, imperialist Press and the ideology of internationalism. (*Afrikaner-Volkseenheid*, 1942, p. 86.)

It is impossible to gauge the extent and intensity of anti-British sentiment or its corollary, republicanism. The failure to make it an election issue suggests that the leaders do not rate it highly as an appeal to the voters. But other explanations are equally plausible. There may be reluctance to antagonise the British and the English-speaking South Africans, there may even be reluctance to cut adrift from the Commonwealth and face a hostile world alone.

This must not be understood to mean that republicanism will always remain a secondary issue. If circumstances are favourable the politicians will elevate it to the rank of a first principle. The literature suggests that, in this event, the struggle will be waged not only for a republic but for a republic of a certain kind—one which will be free of "liberal democracy" and which will embody the

authoritarianism that is claimed to have been characteristic of the Boer republics. The state must be Christian-National, and the Afrikaner must occupy a privileged place in the state.

"We totally reject the conception that all South Africans must be counted as one people," wrote Professor L. J. du Plessis in 1941. "Afrikanerdom is for us the *volk* of South Africa, and the rest of the South Africans are, in so far as they are white, either potential Afrikaners or foreigners." (*Transvaler*, 30.4.41.)

Such a vision is bound to repel every South African who is not a member of the chosen people or who rejects authoritarianism and prefers a parliamentary democracy. In fact, the Nationalists have not yet found a republican formula acceptable to all Afrikaners, let alone the English. Apart from the language issue, their main appeal to the Europeans has been based upon race and colour prejudice.

Racialism

The racial consciousness of the Afrikaner is so strongly developed, so easily aroused and inflamed, that he and many others believe it is an innate quality, inherited with the whole range of physical traits belonging to the "white" skin. Race prejudice is not, however, inborn; it results, like other prejudices, from training and adaptation to a particular environment.

The original Dutch settlers who came here were not racially prejudiced, and marriages between Europeans and Non-Europeans were common throughout the period of Company administration. Of the first five marriages entered into at the Cape, one was between a White man and the daughter of a Black. Of the marriages registered at one of the oldest churches in the period 1700 to 1795 10 per cent. were undeniably between White and Non-White persons.

Race prejudice was built up in the slave-owning society of the Cape and in the long struggle between the colonists and the indigenous peoples. This legacy is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Afrikaner nationalism and constitutes its chief instrument for binding Afrikaners together.

Indeed, colour prejudice is an integrating factor among the English as well, and Nationalist politicians have used it with effect to discount the suspicion with which the English section regards the egocentric and republican tendencies in Afrikanerdom.

The myths and ideologies surrounding and reinforcing race prejudice play an important part in providing it with an ethical justification. For this purpose appeal is made to scripture, to divine will, to biology and human nature.

Disagreement

But there is disagreement about the interpretation of the ideology of White supremacy as between Afrikaans and English religious sects, and even among members of the Afrikaans churches themselves.

Orthodox Calvinism, Professor L. J. du Plessis tells us in *Koers in die Krisis*, recognises the unity of humanity in the mystical body of Christ, but respects, as divinely ordained, the diversity of mankind in its temporal manifestations. Nationality, race and discrimination are ordained by God.

Professor B. B. Keet, of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, however, believes that Christianity places stress on unity, whereas apartheid wrongly represents separation. "Christian unity, I know, will include diversity, but it must never be seen as separation; and apartheid is separation." Following this thought through into the secular field, he argues:

"If, therefore, it is true, as has sometimes been stated, that the State has followed the lead of the Church in its policy of separation, then the time has now arrived for the Church, in accordance with the principle of the Gospel, to lead the State in the direction of unity. . . . Surely inequality, which is undoubtedly seen in all spheres of life, can never be used as

an argument for permanent subordination. . . . Such an argument would be an echo of the pleas in defence of slavery, of former years." (*Christian Principles in Multi-Racial South Africa*, 17-20.)

These breaches in what might seem to be an impregnable citadel of faith are revealing symptoms of an inner crisis in the racial doctrine matching the crisis in the field of cultural values. For most of the history of Afrikanerdom, relations between Black and White consisted of either a state of war between independent societies or a hierarchical order of the master and servant type in a single society. The epoch of universal White domination to which this pattern belonged is now drawing to an end, and traditional values built up on its basis are no longer felt as valid.

The appeal for total apartheid must be understood as a symptom of this crisis, which manifests itself in the actual superiority of large numbers of Africans, Coloured and Indians over large numbers of Europeans in terms of every standard other than that of a legally enforced status. Since co-existence in one society gives rise to an irresistible and ethically justifiable demand for legal equality, and since the implementation of this demand would destroy White and Afrikaner hegemony, the solution is to undo the work of three centuries and destroy the common society.

Human beings are no doubt capable of the prodigious amount of self-deception required to make the latter perspective appear even slightly plausible, but it would not be surprising if there lurked a grain of doubt in the inmost recesses of the Afrikaner consciousness which, like the pea buried underneath the 20 mattresses in the story of the legendary princess, makes itself felt through the layers of tradition and dogma and disturbs the peace of at least the more receptive members of the community.

U.S. OUTLAW BILL
A MONSTROSITY

NEW YORK.

CHARGES throughout the democratic world that the U.S. Congress acted almost unanimously in an atmosphere of political hysteria and irresponsibility when it passed its Bill to outlaw the Communist Party are now admitted even in right-wing circles.

The New York Post says the passing of the Bill was a "retreat without honour," and says to a reasonable mind "the Bill would generally be recognised as a monstrosity."

"What happened was an almost total failure of nerve among men who had heretofore resisted the know-nothing crusade," the paper says. "They have now won the right to boast in a public place that they engineered a more extreme, ill-considered and repressive statute than Joe McCarthy ever proposed."

MEDIEVAL NOTION

Reactionaries are mainly concerned that the monstrosity Bill will not work, that it is unconstitutional and that nobody knows in actual legal practice what it means.

Thus the news magazine *Time* says: "This kind of outlawry, stripping away all legal protection, is a medieval notion, inconsistent with post-feudal legal concepts and beyond the constitutional power of Congress."

It continues: "So what does last week's Bill do to the Communists? Probably nothing. It was not aimed at them but at another group, the Republicans. . . ."

"When it came to the final vote the Senate passed the Bill 79 to nil and the House 265 to 2. When Congress is that close to unanimity it is usually either declaring war or being frivolous. Last week it was not declaring war."

PEACE APPEAL FROM
AMERICA

NEW YORK.

All Christians must make peace "categorically their main aim," the outstanding American churchman and theologian, Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, said in a speech to the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois, last week.

He declared, as a first step, "we must accept co-existence as a point of departure." Dr. Nolde is a secretary of the World Council and director of its International Affairs Commission.

He explained that he did not mean a co-existence implying a world divided into separate compartments.

Both "free democracy" and "Communist society" had demonstrated themselves as dynamic forces which could not be confined to rigid compartments.

Maintaining that Christians must be in the forefront of those proclaiming that a third world war was not inevitable and could and must be prevented, Dr. Nolde said:

"From the standpoint of the Christian faith, there are no geographical compartments. There is one world."

FRANCO GAOLS SPAIN'S
YOUTH

LONDON.

Five Spanish youths who had already served sentences on charges of organising resistance to Franco in the United Socialist Youth of Catalonia were re-arrested in Barcelona a month ago, it is learnt here, and secretly sentenced to savage terms of 20 years each.

The five, headed by Joe Sendros, were among 38 young Spaniards arrested by the fascists in 1949.

At their mock trial the prosecution demanded sentences of 15 years, but the presence of international legal observers rushed to Spain and the thousands of protests made in Britain and other countries succeeded in reducing the sentences to a maximum of four years.

Continued representations forced the Franco regime to release the youths in January this year. Now they have been re-sentenced without further trial or hearings by the so-called "Supreme Tribunal of Military Justice."

In addition to the 20-year sentences on the five, the others have been given prison terms of from four to 18 years.

SAAMTREK ATTACKS
SPLINTER SWEET UNION

JOHANNESBURG.

Saamtrek, organ of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, has now published a strong editorial condemning the break-away union established by Mrs. Bergsteed for African workers in the sweet industry and urging the workers "to remain loyal to their existing union and show the new organisation a cold shoulder."

Analysing critically the split-away union's manifesto, which said it "would attempt to further harmonious relations between employers and employees," and further that it "shall in its affairs have due regard for the laws and traditions of the country," Saamtrek says such points "raise serious doubts."

It is difficult to understand Mrs. Bergsteed's claim that there was a need to establish "closer relationship with the European union," the paper declares. "If ever there has been an example of close co-operation and unity between workers of various racial groups, to the mutual benefit of all, that has been the case with the Sweet Workers' Union and the African Sweet Workers' Union."

Atomic Danger

LONDON.

Popular protests by local inhabitants have forced the British Government to drop its plan to use old coal pits in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, as dumps for radio-active atomic waste.

From Ring And Track

BY GUS



MATCH BROKEN UP

The Moroka-Baloyi Cup final at the Wembley Stadium, Johannesburg, ended in a free-for-all when the so-called "Russian" gang invaded the field after Transvaal had scored its eighth goal against Basutoland. The "Russians" are notorious on the Rand for their constant attacks on innocent people.

The Moroka-Baloyi Cup is to the Africans what the Sam China is to the Indians and the Stuttaford Cup to the Coloureds.

The "Russians" appeared to be supporting the Basutos, who were hardly a match for the fast-moving Transvaalers. The Transvaalers were all over their opponents, who resorted to the switching of players during the course of the game.

The Transvaal goals were scored by Moloi (2), Mosotho (4) and Khomo (2). Tilala scored both the Basutoland goals.

Just after Khomo had secured the eighth goal for his side the "Russians" invaded the field. Brandishing knives and guns, they chased the referee and a well-known official, Dan Twala, who were forced to take refuge in the dressing-room.

Efforts were made to smash up the cup, which was saved in time by a quick-thinking official.

Despite the fact that the game had to be abandoned, the cup was awarded to Transvaal.

Transvaal Indians failed to wrest the Godfrey Cup from the Bantus when they were beaten 2-1 in a stirring game at the Johannesburg Indian Sports Ground.

BOXING

At the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Johannesburg, the 18-year-old matriculation student Enoch Nhlapo added to his laurels with a devastating 10th round K.O. over game Sailor Mlambo.

Nhlapo, weighing 123½ lb., tore into Mlambo (125½) from the first gong.

The fans went wild as the schoolboy treated them to round after round of all-out action. The Sailor did his best to stem the vicious two-fisted attack of his youthful opponent, and the fact that he stood his ground for 10 rounds speaks eloquently of his courage and fortitude.

Nhlapo never seemed to tire, and was out to knock out his man. The eighth and ninth rounds saw Mlambo tottering about the ring, trying vainly to keep out of reach. It was a sorry spectacle to see him collapsing a few minutes after the gong went for the 10th and last round. He had stood all he could against an opponent who has been described as the "Fighting Phenomenon."

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TITLE RETAINED

On the same bill Gabriel Seleke beat Baby Day on points over 10 rounds to retain his Transvaal lightweight title. It was a good fight, with Seleke advancing his claims for a shot at the national crown.

Homicide Hank, on the come-back trail, showed up poorly, although he managed to defeat on points Kid Cobra, who had substituted at the last minute for another veteran, Congo Kid. Perhaps you had better take heed of that maxim, "They never come back." Hank. There is an awful lot of truth in it. Besides, the lightweight division is crowded with top-class fighters.

Other results were:—Rusty Russia outpointed Small Joe in the welter division. W. Seku beat Stanley August over six rounds, while Joas Mahoto gained the decision over Yankee Sebolaola, both in the featherweight division.

FIREWORKS EXPECTED

In Durban Promoter R. Mistry will be back in business, when he promotes the much-awaited return between Durban's colourful Rocky Ramiah and the Rand's formidable Black Hawk at the Durban City Hall on September 10.

Last year the Hawk K.O.d the Rock in exactly three rounds. Since then the Rock has fought his way back into the picture, and is now a force to be reckoned with. His handlers claim he was not in his best condition the last time.

On paper Ramiah does not stand a chance of winning. The Hawk has beaten the best in the country and is one of the most devastating punchers in the game. Rocky is a great crowd-pleaser, whose "hell-for-leather" attitude has made him a firm favourite with Durban's hard-boiled fans. Like his famous namesake Rocky Graziano, the former world middleweight champion, Ramiah is an "up and down" fighter and can bring off a victory when he is least expected to do so. I'd go a long way to see this fight.

On the same bill local favourite King Alfred is billed to meet the Transvaal lightweight champion, Gabriel Seleke. This fight should prove a good test for Alfred, who is a boy to be watched.

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DEMOCRATS OPPOSE RENT INCREASES

JOHANNESBURG.

The S.A. Congress of Democrats has expressed in a letter to the Town Clerk of Johannesburg its "strongest opposition to the proposed increase of rents in Non-European townships. We are opposed to the increases because we are of the opinion that the present cost of living is far in excess of the average income of the residents, and any further increment would cause great hardship and distress to those who are already unable to meet the essential requirements for a minimum standard of living. It is both unjust and illogical to demand economic rentals from the residents and yet to impose numerous legislative restrictions on their earning power and their right to seek employment in the best market. . . .

"We therefore call upon the City Council to voice its objection to the increases and to take no further part in this cruel proposal of the Government."



Dr. Sheila Batey, from Newcastle, England, was married last week to Mr. Kwamina Amoah, a West African dental surgeon, at St. Thomas Church, Newcastle. The bride is a house physician at Newcastle General Hospital and her husband is studying medicine at King's College, Newcastle. Mr. Amoah, who comes from the Gold Coast, was married in his full ceremonial robes.

American Sportsmen Told: "You Cannot Win"

LONDON.

THE new American outlook on international sport is tinged with gloom and has been expressed in the six-million-circulation magazine Life with an editorial headed "One Red Challenge We Should Not Meet." Dealing with the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, the paper and its sporting experts consider, "We can't possibly win. It may sound like an alibi, but we say to hell with it."

This damaging opinion of the once-unchallenged American sportsmen was not written or published for export and was cut out of Life's international edition.

The editorial says: "The Russians and their satellites have broken a dozen Olympic records. They are winning practically every international sporting event they enter."

It then lists some of the Soviet triumphs in rowing, skating, ice-hockey, and adds:

RED WINNERS

"In recent months also Red skiers won 6 international events: Red weight-lifters have beaten the champion Americans; Red gymnasts won half of all the medals and the team title in this year's 23-nation meet at Rome, and a Red-basketball team is the current champion of Europe."

The doleful conclusion of the millionaire publishers is not that the U.S. sportsmen should in any case do their utmost on the Olympics principle: "The important thing is not winning but taking part." Life's advice is that the Americans should not even try for first place. It advises its athletes to be satisfied with competing for second place.

The paper appeared before the final result of the European games in Berne when the Soviet sportsmen came first with nearly three times the scoring of their nearest rival, and six Socialist states averaged more than nine times above the average of 15 non-socialist competitors.

Another international sporting event was last week's European mens' rowing championships at Amsterdam where the Soviet Union won top place and the Carlo Montu Trophy with 34 points followed by Denmark, 23½; Switzerland 23; Britain 14½.

Cold War Bubble

NEW YORK.

Answering an appeal for aid to be used in rehabilitating South Korea, the Flier Corporation of Philadelphia has donated a quarter million pieces of Choc'm, its new chocolate-flavoured bubble gum, says a trade paper, explaining this is one of the ways Americans can help those who fight Communism.

PROTEST AT P.E. RENT INCREASES

PORT ELIZABETH.

News that the Port Elizabeth City Council has decided to again increase the rentals at New Brighton has met with an indignant protest from the New Brighton branch of the African National Congress Youth League.

"This increase in rentals further lowers the purchasing power of New Brighton residents," says a statement issued by the secretary, Mr. T. Qota. "In the past the rentals were increased by more than 50 per cent. despite the protests of residents. There has been no increase in wages for many years, yet the City Fathers, who are mostly industrialists, persist in further increasing the rentals. "We warn the City Fathers to heed our protest," concludes the statement.

NIGERIAN PRESS PERSECUTED

LAGOS, Nigeria.

The Nigerian Press has recently come under severe attack by the Government in a series of prosecutions for alleged "sedition," in which newspapers have been mulcted to the tune of £8,232.

The charges were based on criticism of the British action in Kenya, of Mr. Lyttelton's policy as Colonial Secretary, the handling of a riot in Northern Nigeria and the capitalist exploitation of the country.

CANOE RIDE TO HOSPITAL

LAGOS, Nigeria.

After a nine-mile canoe ride from their home on a river creek to the Port Harcourt Hospital in Eastern Nigeria, siamese twin boys were successfully separated 24 hours after birth. The operation was performed by 38-year-old African Dr. B. E. Ikpeme and 32-year-old European Dr. J. E. Holgate. The twins, said to be progressing, with a good chance of survival, are the children of fisherman Daniel Bokoko and his wife Amiso.

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