

SOUTH AFRICA
 9 SEP 1954
 SWART
 PREPARING
 TO BAN
 ADVANCE
 CAPE TOWN.

NORTHERN EDITION

Advance

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Just as Advance was going to press, C.I.D. officers raided the Advance offices in Cape Town and the homes of several employees of the paper, including the editor and business manager.

They were acting in terms of Section 7 of the Suppression of Communism which authorises the Minister to investigate the affairs of any newspaper which in his opinion ought to be banned.

Draft T.U. Constitution Provides For Apartheid

JOHANNESBURG.

The long-awaited draft constitution of the proposed new "South African Trade Union Council"—upon which it is proposed to merge the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, the McCormick-Downes Federation and the Western Province Federation—has now been issued. As repeatedly foretold in Advance, the constitution shamelessly panders to Nationalist reaction by excluding Africans. Article 1 of the clause on membership reads:

(Continued on page 4)

"DEFEND COLOURED RIGHTS!"

Widespread Opposition To Nat. Attacks

CAPE TOWN.

THE Nationalists' attempt to use their victory in the Provincial Elections as an excuse and a justification to further their assaults on the rights of the people has evoked strong protest from organisations and individuals representing all sections of democratic opinion

The Nationalist attack was launched last week by the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, who announced that the Coloured vote issue must be settled once and for all at the next session of Parliament. This means that unless the United Party capitulates on this issue and agrees to the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll, Malan will proceed with his Appeal Court Bill to set up a new court to validate the Coloured Vote Bill.

In the Cape Provincial Council last week a Nationalist motion was passed seeking to compel local authorities to enforce apartheid in public transport, at seaside resorts and at other public places under their control. Another motion was passed calling for the adoption of the Parliamentary voters' roll in municipal elections—this would mean the disfranchisement of Non-European women and would make it impossible

for Non-Europeans to stand for election on City Councils.

"If there are people—as in Cape Town—who won't accept apartheid after the nation has given its verdict, they must be compelled to accept it," said Nationalist M.P.C. Mr. J. N. Malan.

"In the Orange Free State it is unthinkable that White and Non-White should travel in the same bus," said Mr. P. F. Hugo, Nationalist member for Vryheid, "but, what is more, refined European women from the Free State come here to find it is allowed on the Cape Town buses. It would not be so bad if all the Non-Europeans were neat and tidy, but some of them are not suitable people to be sitting next to refined European women," he concluded.

INTERFERENCE

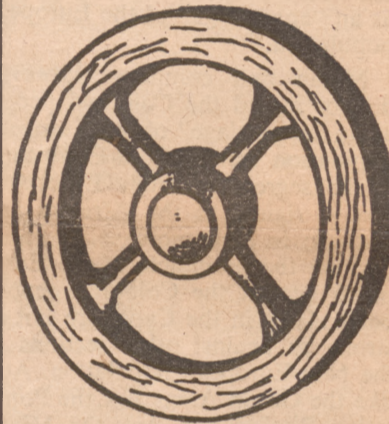
Describing the Nationalist move as "an unnecessary interference with local (Continued on page 7)

THE WHEEL ROLLS ON

JOHANNESBURG.

The Call to the Congress of the People has now been published in the form of a folder, and copies are available from the National Action Council, Box 11045, Johannesburg. This beautifully-worded document—it is understood it is being set to music in its Gujarati version—with its appeal to farmers, miners, workers, teachers and women, and its dramatic refrain, "Let Us Speak Together of Freedom," is set out on one sheet of the folder so that it can be posted up on walls and notice-boards. The back contains explanatory material.

Already the emblem of the Congress of the People, a four-spoked wheel, is beginning to appear on walls in the city and working-class areas as enthusiasts get to work with chalk.



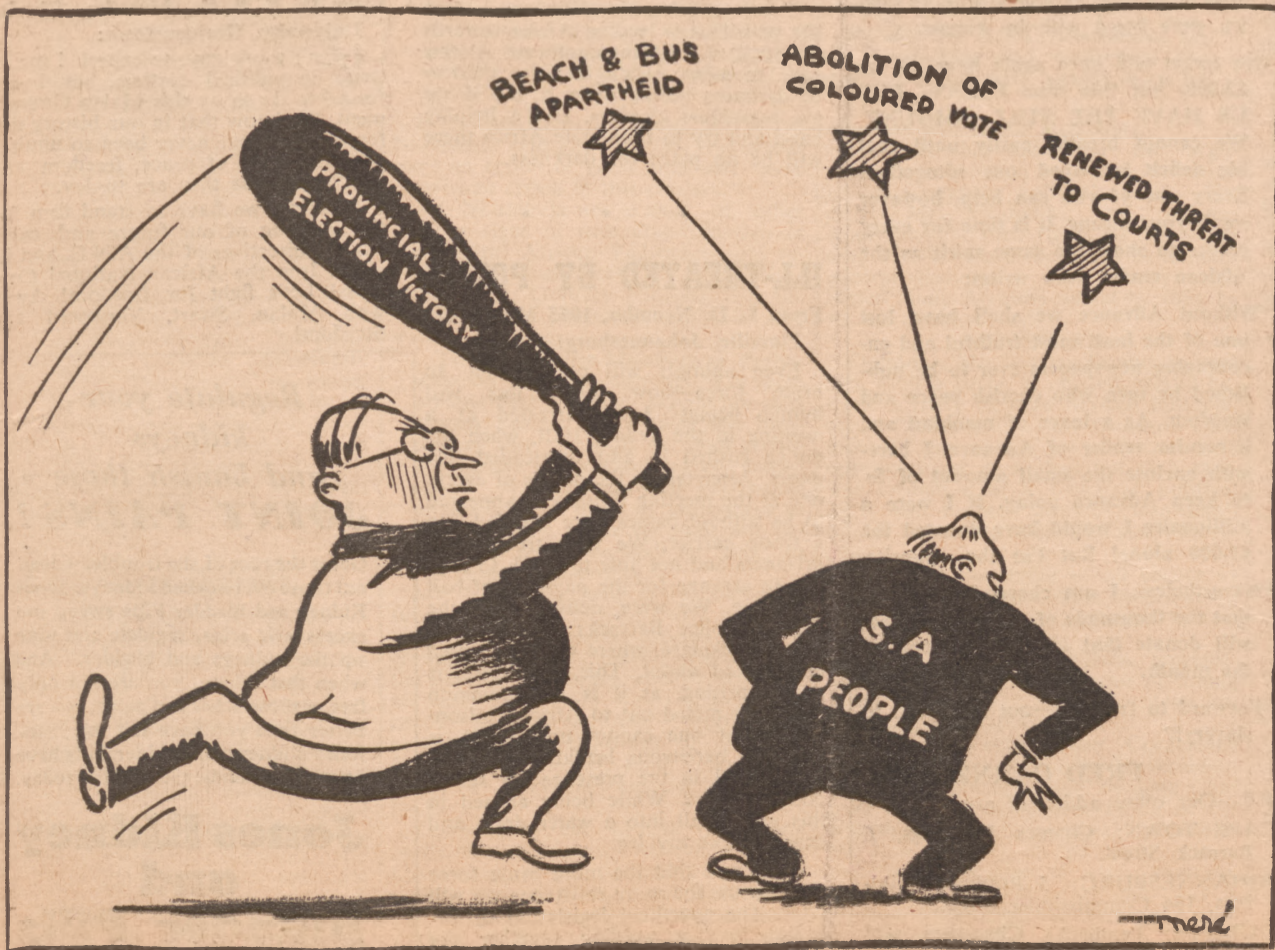
The plan of campaign adopted recently by the convening organisations in Natal envisages three stages. The aims during the present first stage are to make the Congress of the People known and understood throughout the country, to draw in all possible large organisations on a national and provincial level, to recruit the first 5,000 volunteers, to set up provincial committees and to complete the arrangements for the venue.

During the second stage the provincial committees are to establish local committees throughout the country—a minimum of 2,000 such committees are aimed at—to gather in written demands for inclusion in the Freedom Charter, to prepare detailed plans for election procedure and other arrangements and to bring the volunteers corps up to full strength of 50,000. The volunteers will receive lectures and classes about the Congress.

The third stage involves the convening of the Congress of the People, the drafting of the Freedom Charter on the basis of the people's demands and the planning of follow-up activities.

The implementation of the first stage of the plan involves the issuing of tens of thousands of leaflets, pamphlets, posters and other publicity, and a vast amount of detailed technical, planning and explanatory work

Provincial committees are required during this period to present detailed proposals for carrying out the second stage, including the carrying of the campaign into the countryside. Special committees will be set up at headquarters to deal with the special problems of miners, farm labourers, domestic workers, reserves, factory workers and youth.



HE'S AT IT AGAIN!

Editorial

A Call To The Coloured People

THE Nationalists had barely won the Provincial Elections when Malan and his cohorts resumed their all-out assault on the rights and liberties of the Non-European peoples. In the near future the main victim, it is clear, is to be the Coloured people.

Malan has announced the Government will attempt once again to have the Coloured voters removed from the common roll. In the Cape Provincial Council, where the Nats. now, for the first time, have a majority, motions have already been passed calling for the abolition of the right of Non-Europeans to sit on municipal councils, the removal of Coloured women from municipal voters' rolls and the enforcement of beach, bus and all other forms of apartheid, even against the will of the City Council concerned.

Up to now large sections of the Coloured people have preferred to identify themselves with the European population rather than join in the struggle for freedom side by side with their African and Indian fellow citizens. They were encouraged in their ambitions by remarks such as that of General Smuts that the Coloured people were regarded as an "appendage" of the European population.

Malan and company, however, do not regard the Coloured people as an "appendage" of the European population but as Non-Europeans, to be segregated from Europeans just as rigidly as the Africans and Indians; in fact, more so, precisely because the prejudices of the Europeans against the Coloured people, particularly in the Cape, are not so strong as against other sections of the Non-European population. Acts like the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Industrial Legislation Amendment Bill (to be considered again next session), and, of course, the Coloured Vote Bill all express the frenzy of the Nationalists to cut all ties binding the Europeans in any way with the Coloured people. That the full impact of these laws has not yet been felt by the Coloured people should not deceive them as to the basic intentions of the Malan Government.

We have said before, and we say again now: the whole future of the Coloured people is at stake. What is more, they stand to lose whatever advantages they have hitherto

Watch those nerves!
take a warning
from Nature

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take
VIRATA
9530-1

enjoyed over other sections of the Non-European population. From now on, clearly, there cannot be freedom for the Coloured people unless there is equally freedom for the Africans and Indians, and, indeed, for all South Africans without discrimination.

This realisation need cause no despair among the Coloured people. Rather it should rouse them to a great effort to maintain and extend their rights and to build a South Africa in which the nightmare of fear and uncertainty which has beset the Coloured people in recent years should be dissipated for ever.

In the struggle for survival there can be no appeasement. The Coloured people must throw aside their hesitations, organise and fight back on every front. Above all, they must play their full part in the forthcoming Congress of the People, where tens of thousands of South Africans of all races and colours are to come together to draft a Freedom Charter. This Congress is not going to be a congress of leaders—it is going to be a congress of the rank and file, of the masses, in which no man or woman is too humble to take part.

Let the Coloured people now join hands with their African, Indian and European fellow citizens who are determined not to let Malan have his way, and through the Congress of the People strike a resounding blow for liberty in South Africa.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

In spite of a good last-minute effort—£361 was sent in last week—we are forced to carry a deficit of £638 forward into September. That amount, plus £900 for a shipment of newsprint due at the end of the month, plus the normal running expenses, puts us in even greater difficulties than we were faced with in August.

Our target will once again have to be £2,000, but this time PLEASE LET US HAVE THE FULL AMOUNT. We cannot breathe easily until that big deficit is wiped out altogether. Every one of you can help, however small your means. It is time for every reader to show the same spirit as the African reader who writes:

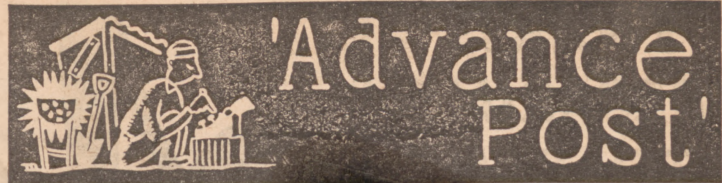
"Without Advance we shall have lost one of the best, most truthful and encouraging newspapers ever to be published by men who cherish peace and freedom. As a lover of mankind and a regular reader of Advance, I herewith enclose the small amount of 5s. to keep Advance going. If I were a millionaire I would have donated the £2,000 alone! But I'm the opposite.

"Nevertheless, I am cheerfully hopeful that the thousands of Advance readers will donate that sum ere the end of the month.

"Forward to freedom—not backward to slavery!"

FRED CARNESON.

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



RESIST EVERY ATTACK

From J. S. A. Mavuso, P.O. Box 4151, Johannesburg:

The most shocking and cowardly actions yet taken by the Government are the banning of Mr. Duma Nokwe, who has never been named or convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, and the arbitrary deportation of Messrs. Gwentshe and Lengisi from East London to the Transvaal without any consideration for their dependants. These acts must not be left unchallenged.

For this reason I am rather disturbed at the passive reaction of African National Congress branches generally to these actions. They are not ordinary actions but a manifestation of the desperate position in which our rulers find themselves as a result of the steady progress being made by our movement, despite the mass banning of its popular leaders, and the President-General's call for 50,000 volunteers to organise for the Congress of the People.

Incidents like these bannings and deportations should be used to arouse the people to protest actively against the Government. The urgent task that faces us to-day is to resist each and every new Government attack on the people's rights and to defend every position on their road to a slave state.

My hope and the hope of the banned and deported comrades for the freedom of speech and of assembly, and the hope of the exploited working masses of this land, lies in the success of the present struggle. We all say—Freedom in our life-time!

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

From Mr. D. N. Singh, 78 Horseshoe Road, Clairwood, Durban:

August 19 was my birthday. As I had no intention of celebrating it I have written to your paper to send my message of goodwill during the hours of my birthday.

Little did I realise in my younger days why it was that great men were raising their voices, but now, as I approach my manhood, there is goodwill and happiness in my heart, for I have confidence in a nation that is always striving to advance and make Africa a real land of sunshine.

Youth of all nationalities must clear the path that is leading Africa towards the spell of a darker continent. At this very moment Africa has the shadow of darkness falling upon it, but if we all, regardless of class, give a helping hand and try to illuminate Africa there will be no place for darkness.

ILL-TREATED BY POLICE

From L. D. Ncombo, 1055 Merafe St., Pimville, Johannesburg:

Even animals will not submit to brute force—how much less will human beings? I was arrested at a meeting in the Trades Hall, when the police rushed in and barricaded the doors. After taking the names of everyone at the meeting those who appeared to be without passes were huddled into a troop carrier. We were treated like prisoners and not able to speak to anyone to arrange for the payment of bail or a fine. We were delivered at the Central Police Barracks instead of at Marshall Square, where we were tossed and kicked about. This, of course, is not surprising, as it is the common treatment meted out to African prisoners. What one cannot understand is that this barbarous brutality could be perpetrated in the presence of senior police officers. While being abused in this way I fell into a water drain and nearly broke my leg.

I am sure that the more brute force used on us, the more resistance we will offer. The apartheid legislation of Dr. Malan is fast welding together the Non-European people.

THE NATS, SHALL NOT SUCCEED

From Mr. Z. T. S. Manyabe, A.N.C. branch secretary, 19 "O" Street, Grahamstown:

On behalf of the African National Congress, Grahamstown branch, I wish to voice a strong protest against the action taken by the Minister of Justice in banning our President-General, Chief A. Luthuli; our Secretary-General, Walter Sisulu; and Dr. Njongwe and R. Matji in the Eastern Cape.

Secondly, our branch condemns the merciless action of deporting the national leaders, Mr. A. S. Gwentshe and Mr. J. Lengisi. These leaders, who have been exiled from East London to the Transvaal, leave their wives and children behind as a result of the S.A. Government of Europeans Only.

For 300 years in our country the Africans have been exploited under the yoke of slavery, but to-day a great vision unites us and fills the people of this country and other countries with the spirit of peace, freedom and international brotherhood.

I would like to assure the apartheiders that they will never turn us away from that direction by banning our leaders and arresting them. Even the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Authorities Act and all other unjust laws of the Malan Government will never prevent us from achieving our freedom in our lifetime.

AN UGLY LANDMARK

From Mr. L. M. J. Ngoasheng, Private Bag, Pretoria:

The exile of Mr. A. S. Gwentshe and Mr. J. M. Lengisi, the giants of Congress in the Eastern Cape, has shocked all right-thinking people. It is an open secret that these renowned champions of liberty will come back and lead their people to the promised land. This exile will remain an ugly landmark in the history of Western civilisation in South Africa. So, Africans, forward to freedom! Forward to the Congress of the People!

STAND FIRM FOR FREEDOM

From W. F. P. G., Mthetho, Rhodes University, Grahamstown:

I don't think anyone expected me to write on political matters, but I am forced to do so by this Malan Government. We know that in our history different races have never been so united with the spirit of peace, freedom and brotherhood as they are to-day.

Africans, we have to stand firm for the building of our future and carry out the directives of the A.N.C. and its allies. Join the African National Congress! Let's fight for freedom! Away with Malan, Swart, Verwoerd and Strydom!

Regulate your kidneys and banish those JOINT PAINS!

Get at the root of the trouble. Clean out those overworked kidneys. Jones Kidney and Bladder Pills sweep out excess uric acids, regulate and tone up the kidneys and bladder. And when that's done, you are not only free of those aches and pains; you are better than you have felt for years. Jones Kidney and Bladder Pills have helped thousands. Get a bottle today.

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HERE IS U.S. WAR PLAN!

Bonn Deputy Flees To East Berlin, Tells All

LONDON.

BY secret negotiations behind the backs of the British and French and other allies, the U.S. Government has worked out plans for immediately creating a Nazi army in West Germany of 1,600,000—equal in size to Hitler's Wehrmacht when he invaded Czechoslovakia. Accompanying air, naval, paratroop and other "special" units will give Germany military preponderance in Europe. The plans are to be ready for immediate application by November 1.

These are among some of the staggering disclosures made last Friday by the West German deputy Karl Franz Schmidt-Wittmack, member of the inner circle of Chancellor Adenauer's political machine in Bonn. Herr Schmidt-Wittmack has applied for asylum in East Germany in order to fight the terrifying implications of the new German-American war policy. He was speaking to 100 international pressmen at a Press conference, but, despite the sensational nature of his exposures, British and American Press agencies and newspapers have followed the frightened line of the Bonn Government in either suppressing or denying the truth of the statements.

Schmidt-Wittmack said the secret double-cross talks had taken place in June and July this year at Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, between Gen. Alfred Gruenther, U.S. Supreme Commander in Europe, and ex-General Adolf Heusinger, of the West German "Defence Commissioner's Office," actually the shadow German General Staff.

General Heusinger has been designated first Chief of the new General Staff. He was the former head of the Operations Branch of Hitler's General Staff, and planned the attacks on Belgium, Holland, France, the Soviet Union and other neighbours of Germany.

KEPT SECRET

Schmidt-Wittmack said: "Neither British nor French representatives attended the talks, and the whole plan was to be kept secret until France and Italy ratified the European Army treaty."

"It is well known that stores of American material have been put aside for German use for some considerable time in the so-called Kaiserslautern triangle in South-west Germany on the left bank of the Rhine," he said.

The U.S., he added, had stationed about 30 atomic big guns in West Germany.

Dealing with the new Wehrmacht, he said the German contribution to the E.D.C. was to have been 12 divisions, with a strength of 400,000 men. The secret U.S.-Bonn agreement was for an army of 48 divisions, 24 active and 24 in reserve. Although he did not specify the manpower figures, this would amount to 1,600,000 men.

In addition, he said, West Germany is to have an "effective air force," paratroops, "special units," etc. Under the E.D.C. Germany was to have an air force of 80,000 and a navy of 20,000, but, he said, "these figures have now been overtaken."

PLANNING COMMITTEE

"It was decided at these secret negotiations to charge a special committee of German and American military experts with completing the detailed mobilisation plans by November 1 of this year at the latest," he said.

He had been informed of these details not because he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee of European Security but because he belonged to the "inner E.D.C. circle" of Christian Democratic Deputies, to whom the Chancellor, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, told these things.

The Parliamentary Committee had actually been kept in the dark and fobbed off with theoretical discussions for months.

Schmidt-Wittmack, who is a 40-year-old right-wing member of the Christian Democrats and vice-chairman of the party in Hamburg, was closely questioned by journalists present. He knew, he told one questioner, of the secret protocols of the E.D.C. treaty mentioned recently by Dr. Otto John. But he declined to mention their contents. "That would be called treason," he said, "and, furthermore, it is the task of others who are competent to do so."

He had come to East Germany for the simple reason that he could not have made such a statement in Bonn. "I would have been silenced," he said.

He said rearmament was being planned secretly, and the entire selection of high officers of the future Wehrmacht had been made from Hitler's former cadres without any check or consultation by Parliament. He gave examples of notorious Nazi types now in high office, such as Gen. Matzky, Inspector of the Federal Frontier Troops, "whose views hardly differ from those of former times."

He said he had never known Dr. John. He had been forced to his own conclusions. His belief that West German rearmament as a defence against the alleged threat from the East would remain under democratic control had been destroyed "through my committee work in the Bundestag and in the Christian Democratic Party."

He had tried to discuss his "conflict of conscience" with others, including his Parliamentary leader. "Though my ideas found an echo, I could not notice any readiness to do anything about it soon."

THE most important mass political lesson of the West German workers since Hitler came to power 20 years ago has been the great strike movement led by the Bavarian metal workers, who have now been out for over three weeks on a wage demand.

Besides the 100,000 metal workers on strike there is a huge potential force gathering for an industrial struggle with wage demands now presented by trade unions on behalf of over 4,000,000 members.

The strike movement has come at a critical time for the Bonn Government, which is in a desperate hurry to rush through its plan for rearmament and new war preparations.

WAGE RESTRAINT

Up to the present the German workers have been prepared to accept Government policy of restraint on wage demands under the plea that the German economy must be restored from war devastation. Massive unemployment has also weakened the position of the trade unions.

Unemployment is still near the million mark, but this is the lowest figure since the end of the war. In the big industrial areas it is below 2 per cent. and big business is booming.

In comparison with average wages in other countries of Western Europe, German wages are 10 per cent. lower and their working hours at least 10 per cent. longer. With this margin and with the high productivity of the German workers, West German business has made a sensational come-back, crashing into the world market and undercutting foreign rivals.

The price of this "success" has been paid by the German wage-earners. They have utilised the expansion period to build up their unions to a position of strength for the first time in 20 years.

On the one hand, the workers have seen their wages lag far behind prices and production. On the other hand they have watched all the great financial interests that directly financed Hitler and the Nazis rebuilding their giant steel, arms, coal and chemical combines.

These include Krupp, Thyssen, I. G. Farben and other cartels, which have been allowed publicly to tear up the alleged Allied policy of decartelisation.

U.S. COMMUNISTS WILL DEFY LAW

NEW YORK.

Communists in America have announced they will defy the new law passed by Congress outlawing the U.S. party. In a long statement issued by the three leaders of the party who have as yet not been imprisoned, William Z. Foster, Pettis Perry and Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the law is described as "a long step towards a police state."

According to a public statement by the party headquarters in New York, Communist candidates will continue to campaign for public offices, the Daily Worker and other papers will continue to be published and leaders will fulfil their engagements.

In the event of the Government attempting to curtail any political activities the new law would be tested in the courts.

The law has not yet been signed by President Eisenhower, who, with his legal advisers, has opposed it at various stages in its brief and surprising history. The President's hesitation does not arise from any "tenderness" towards progressives but from a fear that it would be unworkable, conflicting with existing witch-hunting laws and would narrow the definition of who is a Communist. At present the word Communist virtually means anyone the Government and police dislike for political reasons.

NAZI UNITS ATTACK GERMAN STRIKERS

LONDON.

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The next stage, the complete takeover of the Bonn Government by the Nazis, the S.S. and the former police formations, is so uncomfortably near that the German workers are waking up to their extreme danger.

The striking Bavarian metal workers have behind them a strong union organisation and are solidly backed by their fellow unions, by the workers in East Germany and by broad sections of the trade union movement in France, Britain and other countries. In the first two weeks the unions have paid out 12 million marks in strike pay, and are ready to continue and widen the strike unless their demands are met. The strike demands are modest—2½d. an hour more for time work and 12 per cent. increase on weekly wages.

NAZI STRIKE-BREAKERS

But the strikers soon bumped headlong into the new Nazi formations: steel-helmeted Bereitschaftspolizei (mobile police) and squads of the infamous "Technical Auxiliary" in "action uniforms."

Picket lines have been charged and batoned by these forces, while the whole blast of the Goebbels-like propaganda has been turned on to represent the strike as Communist-led and a conspiracy.

The Bereitschaftspolizei is now 25,000 strong, fully militarised, and led by the former Hitler General Anton Grasser. It has a high proportion of S.S. and Gestapo in its command and ranks. The Technical Auxiliary is an organised strike-breaking army 70,000 strong, and is a direct revival of Hitler's Technical Emergency Help. It has the same commander who served Hitler, Sturmfuhrer Lummitsch, and its "adviser" is the former S.S. officer Friedrich Etmer, who was on the staff of Himmler.

The striking unions are almost exclusively led by Social Democrats, who bitterly oppose the Communists. But this has not prevented the employers' spokesman, Dr. Hans Paulssen, and the

CYPRUS FIGHTS TYRANNY

LONDON.

Three weeks of open defiance by the people of Cyprus of the repressive British Sedition Law have made the British Administration look futile and forced them to stand aside while their whole scheme to turn the island into an aggressive base against the Soviet Union was challenged.

The action of the people of Cyprus began when the British announced the abandonment of the Suez Canal base and began to transfer their military headquarters to the island. A totally fascist law deprived the Cypriots of their liberties and described even the unanimously backed policy of unity with Greece, Enosis, as sedition.

Week after week the masses in Cyprus march in demonstrations, shouting for Enosis in the presence of British troops and police. In London last Sunday thousands of Cypriots marched through the streets with girls in national dress chained together and placed a wreath on the Cenotaph before presenting a demand for freedom to the Colonial Office.

In Greece the police have acted brutally against demonstrators staging demonstrations in favour of their countrymen in Cyprus.

FIGHT TO DEATH

The people of Cyprus not only wish to reunite with their motherland but are willing to fight to the death to clear the British out, since the existence of the military base condemns them to the gravest dangers in the event of a world atomic war.

Leading some of the demonstrations has been the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the island, who told a mass of 10,000 last Sunday that Britain had "sentenced them to be born slaves and to die in slavery."

Bonn Government from uniting in proclaiming that the strike is political and Communist inspired.

RED BOGEY

Thus the technique of Hitler is repeated, to strike first at the Communists and follow up by destroying all workers' organisations. Communists are being prosecuted under the American frame-up pattern for "conspiring to overthrow the Government." The West German Communist leader, Max Reimann, was forced by threats of arrest to cross into East Germany.

Lorry-loads of food subscribed by the East German workers for the Bavarian strikers have been seized and confiscated and an East German entertainment group of artists bringing solidarity messages have been arrested, although they carried authorised papers.

According to the independent Bonner Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz, one of the secret clauses in the E.D.C. treaty with America concerns "plans for police supervision of the population of Western Germany after the start of militarisation."

The German workers are getting a taste of these plans already.

CONSTIPATION

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FILTER*

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★ Smoke Max... for the smooth satisfaction of the finest Virginia tobacco—for the coolness of the Max Filter tip. It's a pleasure you wouldn't want to forego...

7d. for 10
1/2 for 20
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MFT23

TOBACCO STRIKERS ON TRIAL

DURBAN.

For five mornings last week (the seventh week of the tobacco strike) African workers packed the gallery of the court, in which 22 tobacco workers and two trade union officials were on trial for contravention of the Native Labour Act. Mr. G. Doorewaard, national organiser, and Mr. P. G. Mei, secretary of the African Tobacco Union, Durban, were charged with incitement to strike and 21 employees of the United Tobacco Co. were charged with striking.

The case was held up for a few days as a result of the defence request for further particulars to the charge sheet.

After the matter was argued the magistrate ordered more particulars be given. When the additional particulars were given the defence submitted that they were insufficient and again excepted to the charge, but the application was dismissed.

The Crown has so far called three witnesses. The defence objected to the first witness stating that the 22 employees were "Natives" in terms of the Act.

The Crown called the personnel manager of United Tobacco to prove the 22 employees were Natives, but the defence objected to the methods used to prove this. The case was adjourned until September 27.

Counsel for defence were Mr. L. Lazar and Mr. Leon.

DR. DADOO'S BIRTHDAY PRESENT

JOHANNESBURG.

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, the famous South African Indian leader, has been receiving a torrent of messages of goodwill from all corners of South Africa on the occasion of his 45th birthday, which falls on Saturday, September 5.

A letter from Mr. Sam Kahn encloses a birthday present of £45—a pound for every year—to be donated in Dr. Dadoo's name to the Congress of the People.

"Dr. Dadoo has a brilliant record as a staunch and determined fighter for the freedom of all the peoples of South Africa," writes Mr. Kahn in a letter to the Birthday Committee. "All democrats, socialists and emancipators will share in the personal joy which Dr. Dadoo will feel on reaching another milestone in what I hope will be a long life devoted to the high ideals of liberty, liberation and equality."

RACING

Following are Owen Tudor's selections for the Clairwood race meeting to be run on Monday:

- First Race: 1 ABOOZEYD, 2 Iris, 3 Liebestraum.
- Second Race: 1 KING'S RHAPSODY, 2 St. Grey, 3 Jotter.
- Third Race: 1 JUGGERNAUT, 2 Face Pack, 3 Mahratta.
- Fourth Race: 1 ACE OF CLUBS, 2 Date Dainty, 3 Derry Down.
- Fifth Race: 1 GOOD HEALTH, 2 Shacky Boy, 3 News Boy.
- Sixth Race: 1 FEVERTON, 2 Magic Link, 3 Kamillen.
- Seventh Race: 1 TENNESSEE, 2 Decanter, 3 Torero.
- Eighth Race: 1 NAURON, 2 King Own, 3 Fighting Fit.
- Ninth Race: 1 BROCCOLI, 2 Catastrophe, 3 Peer Gynt.

RUTHERFORD BLAMES AFRICANS FOR NOT WANTING APARTHEID

DURBAN.

TRADE union principles cannot be placed before expediency, and therefore African workers must be excluded from the proposed S.A. Trade Union Council, declared Mr. T. C. Rutherford, vice-president of the Unity Committee, when he addressed a meeting of registered unions in Durban last week.

Because the African unions were not prepared to operate on a basis of parallel lines and accept apartheid in the trade union movement, Mr. Rutherford said that the Unity Committee must not only fight the Government but also a rearguard battle against the Workers' Action Council.

Mr. Rutherford attacked Advance for encouraging the African workers not to support the disastrous divide-and-weaken policy of the Unity Committee.

REPLY

Mr. B. Nair, a leading trade unionist, replied to Mr. Rutherford's justification of the Unity Committee's attempts to prevent united action against Mr. Schoeman's laws.

Mr. Nair reminded Mr. Rutherford that the African workers and trade unionists representing the true interests of the workers had been compelled to form the Workers' Action Council because the majority of workers had been debarred from participating in the Unity Conference held at Cape Town. Secondly, because the European trade unions had betrayed the African workers by refusing to oppose the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

The formation of the Workers' Action Council had become imperative, he said, because the Unity Committee was not prepared to fight for the preservation of trade union rights for all workers, or for an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act to allow for the recognition of African workers as employees in terms of the Act.

Shortly after this meeting members of the Workers' Action Council were invited to meet the Natal branch of the Unity Committee.

PARALLELISM

The members of the Unity Committee suggested the formation of parallel bodies for European and African workers to oppose anti-labour legislation. They said it would be difficult to achieve unity of the European workers if there were not parallel bodies.

The members of the Workers' Action Council replied that only united action by all workers could prevent the Nationalist Government from smashing the trade unions.

They pointed out that if the new Federation were formed, excluding African unions, it would not be necessary for Schoeman to pass the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill to divide the trade union movement into racial groups, as the Unity Committee would already have done this job for the Nationalist Government.

PROTEST AT INEQUALITY OF SENTENCES

DURBAN.

Representatives of over 16 women's organisations attended a meeting convened on Durban by the Indian Women's League to protest against unequal sentences recently imposed on a European and Coloured in the Cape Province. The cases discussed were those in which a European was sentenced to nine months for a sex crime against an Indian child, and a Coloured man to death for a sex crime against a European woman.

The resolution passed states: "There have been numerous cases in the past when Non-European offenders have been sentenced to higher terms of imprisonment than Europeans for the same offences. In the administration of justice there can be no room for inequality based on racial consideration which can only increase racial tension."

In a statement the Natal Indian Congress says the records of South African courts are full of cases in which unequal sentences are imposed on Non-European offenders. A protest statement has also been issued by the South African Women's Federation.

DRAFT T.U. CONSTITUTION

(Continued from page 1)

"Trade unions other than those of African workers or those which include Africans as members shall be eligible for membership of the Council."

As some sort of sop to trade union principle, the "objects" of the new Council include a clause: "to establish a liaison committee between the N.E.C. or Management Committee and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions or any other such co-ordinating body of African trade unions."

But, as is well known, the CNETU has already rejected any form of trade union organisation which accepts the principle of apartheid, and in any case the so-called liaison committee would have no policy-making or constitutional status whatever.

The first large union affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council to consider the draft constitution is the National Union of Distributive Workers, whose National Executive Council met last week in Johannesburg. The meeting condemned the membership clause outright and resolved to urge the Unity Committee to amend the draft constitution to include the vital trade union principle embodied in the present constitution of the T.L.C., which permits all unions to affiliate.

The union expresses the view that the best way to defeat the Industrial Conciliation Bill and similar legislation is through the combined efforts of all trade unions. The exclusion of African workers, it claims, is unrealistic and not in keeping with the industrial development of South Africa, which so largely depends on the African labour force.

THIS IS APARTHEID

Mr. Morris Kagan, who resigned some months ago from the National Executive of the T.L.C. on the grounds that it was planning to abandon the basic principle of trade union unity, finds his worst fears confirmed in the draft constitution.

"This is apartheid, naked and unashamed," he told Advance. "I trust that every genuine trade unionist will follow the lead of the N.U.D.W. in rejecting it. The trade union movement was not built up by pandering to racialism. As for the liaison committee, I don't think it will ever be established—and if it is it will not last long in this atmosphere of appeasement of the Nationalists."

The next move lies with the trade unions affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council. It is understood that even some of the more conservative among the older trade union leaders are finding the abandonment of the firm basis upon which the T.L.C. has stood all those years too much for them to accept.

In particular, it is pointed out that the draft constitution amounts in practice to an unconditional surrender to the S.A. Federation, who weakened the whole fabric of the movement when they left the T.L.C. because they opposed an all-embracing trade union centre. Moreover, the prestige of the T.L.C. among trade unionists abroad—already not too high—will sink to zero in the light of this patent concession to apartheid.

TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY

In order to accomplish the dissolution of the Trades and Labour Council—an essential part of the whole plan of the "Unity" Committee—a two-thirds majority of affiliated bodies will be needed at the Durban conference early next month.

The vital question facing the T.L.C. is whether the right-wing will be able to muster the necessary majority to destroy the T.L.C.

INTERNATIONAL SUMMARY BY COMMENTATOR

ANOTHER DICTATOR COMES TO A SORRY END

THE suicide last week of President Getulio Vargas has brought to the surface the crisis which has been developing in Brazil ever since the end of the war.

Vargas, Brazil's strong man and dictator, shot himself in the heart after a delegation of air force officers had visited him to demand his resignation. The air force was annoyed with Vargas because of the assassination three weeks earlier of air force Major Vaz, which was alleged to have been perpetrated by members of Vargas' bodyguard.

The bodyguard had intended to kill Carlos Lacerda, editor of the Opposition paper *Tribuna de Imprensa*, which had been conducting a virulent campaign against the President, alleging corruption and nepotism. Vargas publicly admitted he regarded Lacerda as "my greatest enemy."

Lacerda and Vaz were sitting together in a car outside Lacerda's home when the attack was made by Vargas' gunman. Lacerda was shot in the foot; Vaz was killed.

This sort of thing is commonplace in Latin America, not least in Brazil, where Vargas maintained himself in power for many long years by a mixture of diplomacy, bribery, patronage and political terrorism.

But the murder of Vaz was different from all the others—it was the last straw which broke the camel's back.



His Career

Vargas was 71 years old when he died. Born into a land-owning and cattle-raising family in 1883, he first appeared on the political scene when he was elected a deputy to the National Congress in 1909. By 1926 he had risen to the post of Minister of Finance; in 1928 he was elected Governor of his home state.

In 1930 the world-wide slump hit Brazil hard. The economic position was bad, the price of coffee (Brazil's most important product) had fallen on the open market, there was great poverty and unrest throughout the country. Vargas seized the opportunity to spark a revolt of army officers and men from his state and marched at their head into Rio de Janeiro to declare himself "provisional President."

He maintained himself in power by launching what he and others have often referred to as Brazil's New Deal, but which was in reality Brazil's Big Fraud. To the representatives of the world of business who were prepared to sponsor new industrial projects he offered every incentive and advantage. To the impoverished workers and peasants he promised schemes for public health, housing, social security and education which never materialised. The workers were given little opportunity to complain, because Vargas clamped down stringent Government control of trade unions.

The Presidency

In 1934 Vargas became the elected President of Brazil under a new Constitution providing for elections and popular representation, but his flirtation with democracy didn't last long.

Faced with the growing strength of the Communist Party, led by Luis Carlos Prestes, and inspired by the example set by Hitler and Mussolini in Europe, Vargas in 1937 declared the nation was in danger from "foreign ideologies," dissolved Congress, outlawed the Communist Party, arrested and gaoled as many of its leaders as he could lay hands on and proclaimed himself "dictator."

He drew up a new constitution modelled on that of Salazar's Portugal, giving himself power to rule by decree. He built up a secret police force with extraordinary powers to gaoil and exile his opponents and trained and armed shock troops, modelled on the Nazi S.S., specially to hunt down "Communists."

In public speeches during the early days of World War II he expressed his admiration for the totalitarian rulers of Germany and Italy.

Change of Front

It was at this stage that the United States—now involved in the war as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbour—began to show concern at his activities. Tremendous political and economic pressure was exercised on Brazil, and brought about a sudden switch of allegiances.

Vargas first of all granted the Americans air bases all along the Brazilian coastline, from which preparations were made for the U.S. invasion of North Africa. In return Brazil received U.S. economic, military and technological aid. War-time "prosperity" and the defeats of the German and Italian forces in the field finally convinced Vargas he had backed the wrong horse, and in 1945 he sent Brazilian forces to take part in chasing the Germans out of Italy.

He even went all democratic again, agreed to elections after the war and lifted the ban on the Communist Party. His reward was to be quietly deposed by the army. But that time he did not shoot himself in the heart. He retired to his home town and ran for the Senate, remaining quietly in the background during the regime of his successor, President Dutra.

Dutra clamped down the dictatorship again and ruled blatantly in the interests of the wealthy classes. The Communist Party, which had polled 600,000 votes in the 1946 elections, was again outlawed.

Vargas ran for the presidency again in the 1950 elections and, posing once more as the friend of the workers,

won by 3,849,040 votes out of a total of 7,898,083 (the remainder of the population of 55 million do not qualify for the vote, as they are still illiterate).

But Vargas' second term as President proved to be no bed of roses. He found economic problems confronting him which right to the end he found himself unable to solve.

A Load of Trouble

The whole Brazilian economy had been distorted by the war, when some industries, like rubber, for instance, were greatly developed with U.S. aid, only to find after the war that world markets were closed to them. Furthermore, the U.S. was strongly opposed to further industrialisation in Brazil, preferring to keep her as a reservoir of raw materials and a market for her own industrial exports.

In 1948, for example, the Herter Committee of the United States Congress

declared that "the success of the European Recovery Programme depends in part on the successful mobilisation of Latin America's capacity to produce and export increased quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials."

It is this attitude of colonialism on the part of the U.S. which has stimulated economic and political nationalism and anti-Americanism throughout Latin America.

In Brazil Vargas now found that the war-time boom had benefited only the handful of the upper classes, the masses remained too poor to buy the products of their own industry, inflation had reduced the value of the Brazilian currency to an all-time low; above all, Brazil had a heavy dollar deficit.

Just how poor are the masses of the Brazilian people may be gauged from the statement in July, 1953, of Dr. Paul Prebisch, former Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, that it would take Brazil, at the present rate of development, 250 years to reach a level of per capita income equal to one-third of the present level in the United States.



Stop-gaps

Vargas tried a few stop-gap measures to improve the situation, and all of them proved unpopular, not only with the local bourgeoisie but also with foreign investors. In 1951 he introduced a new tax law by which individuals and businesses were liable to a special 15 per cent. surtax and a special 3 per cent. levy on undistributed profits to help finance further industrialisation, especially electrification.

In January, 1952, a Vargas decree tightened up control on the repatriation of interest, profits and dividends from investments of foreign companies in Brazil. The country could not afford, he said, the steady draining away of 50 million dollars monthly which was caused by this repatriation.

In October, 1953, Vargas set up a Government-controlled corporation to produce and refine oil, and the anti-U.S. bias was revealed by a clause specifying no foreigner, and not even a Brazilian married to a foreigner, could hold any shares in it.

New markets were sought in non-dollar areas in Europe.

But it didn't help. By mid-1953 prices were 50 per cent. above the 1948 level, while wages remained well behind. The crushing burden on the workers brought out 200,000 of them in Sao Paulo during 1953—they stayed on strike despite every intimidation until they had won a 32 per cent. wage increase.

The Tide Turns

The tide was turning against the Brazilian dictator. At the beginning of this year 82 senior army officers submitted a memorandum to Vargas criticising the Government's economic, labour and defence policies, protesting against corruption in political life, neglect of the army, inflation and "subversive agitation" amongst the working classes.

Unable to tackle the problem at its source, Vargas replied simply by forcing the resignation of his War Minister because he had supported the memorandum. From that moment he was squeezed by forces, both inside and outside his country, which in the end proved too powerful for him.

His last letter complained that "his struggle to liberate the people had been continuously opposed by the machinations of foreign interests, allied with certain Brazilian interests, bent on preventing the emancipation of the masses." He referred to "foreign pressure—for instance, to devalue coffee," and quoted opposition to his decreed increases in wages. He mentioned the great profits of foreign firms and organised opposition to his plans to nationalise the oil and electricity industries.

"Hour by hour I fought for you," he wrote. "I led a popular revolt. I introduced measures to liberate the people, and I was obliged to resign. returned to power in the arms of the people. The people are now defenceless."

Another dictator has come to a sorry end, not because he fought too hard but because he fought too little for his people. His last words make fine reading, but it required more than fine words to shield the Brazilian people from oppression—and to save Vargas from his fate.



CAPE ANC EXECUTIVE BACKS C.O.P.

PORT ELIZABETH.

Confidence in the decision of the four Congresses to convene a Congress of the People was expressed by a resolution passed at a recent meeting of the Cape Provincial Executive Committee of the African National Congress Youth League held in Kingwilliamstown.

"This committee pledges itself to do all in its power to rally the youth and align its liberatory forces in the movement for the People's Congress and to bring their demands as citizens of South Africa to be written in the Freedom Charter," reads the resolution, which was adopted by the meeting.

A resolution condemning the deportation of the A.N.C.Y.L. president, Mr. A. S. Gwentshe, and Mr. J. M. Lengisi was also adopted.

Police trailed delegates attending the executive meeting, some of whom came from Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Queenstown.

While in Kingwilliamstown these delegates ate their meals at the Temperance Hotel. Thinking they were staying at the hotel, the police raided it on the night of Saturday, August 21. Armed with bayonets and sjamboks, they forced open doors, but failed to find any delegates in the hotel.

Bad Morals and Bad Teeth

JOHANNESBURG.

Referring to the "frenzy" of criticism aroused by Canon Collins' comments on South Africa, the latest issue of *Fighting Talk* recalls Bernard Shaw's epigram—"A nation's morals are like its teeth. The more they are decayed, the more it hurts to touch them."

Extracts from Ruth First's letters to her family about her experiences in the Soviet Union also appear in this issue, as well as articles on Guatemala, student affairs and a commemorative comment on the great African miners' strike of August, 1946.

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"FIGHT UNTIL THE DAWN OF FREEDOM"

Sisulu's Farewell Message

JOHANNESBURG.

IT is a month since Mr. W. M. Sisulu, general secretary of the African National Congress since 1949, was given 30 days by Minister Swart to resign from the organisation he has given all his strength and courage to build. In a moving farewell message to Congress members he writes:

"I am forced to resign from the African Congress, but I wish to assure you that I shall be entirely at your disposal and will not hesitate to answer any call which may be made by the African National Congress."

Emphasising that the Suppression of Communism Act has been used by the Government to suppress all opposition, as the African National Congress correctly forecast in 1950, Mr. Sisulu adds:

"We are, nevertheless, confident, placing our faith in the invincible spirit of the broad masses of the people, that they cannot succeed in their oft-proclaimed intention to crush the people's movement."

Whilst the crippling effect of the bans on the people's leaders could not be denied—almost the entire National Executive of the African National Congress has been removed from office and the provinces and numerous branches affected—"yet despite all this the movement is growing in strength, gaining new adherents and reaching new levels of effectiveness and determination."

PEOPLE'S ANSWER

What should be the people's answer to the forced removal of their beloved leaders? They must carry out unreservedly the policies of the national organisations, says Mr. Sisulu, carry out more effectively the work they have been engaged on, be loyal to the principles and ideals for which the leaders have expressed themselves, prevent opportunism, sabotage and careerism and fight vigorously the penetration of spies and Government stooges planted in their organisation.

"You are called upon to intensify your campaign in the fight for freedom and to build the most powerful organisations; and to produce even more efficient leadership, even more illustrious sons of the soil. You are called upon to recruit our fine youth and women for the struggle in a manner never before achieved.

"You are called upon to resist apartheid, to defeat the Western Areas removal scheme, the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act, the Schoeman anti-trade union measures and many others. You are called upon to make the greatest sacrifice in the preparation for the Congress of the People, in the building of a united South Africa, by which means you can crush finally and

for all time the reactionary rulers of the present day . . .

"Honesty, selflessness, vigour, initiative, determination and faith are some of the qualities you require.

"The Government has already been shaken; the time has passed when they could rule the country as if we, the people, did not exist. The time is against them, the world is against them!

"We, on the other hand, are encouraged by the great spirit of the people of South Africa, by the growth of the national liberatory movement, by the unprecedented political consciousness of the people and by the fact that the truth is with us.

"We enjoy the confidence of the entire world in this noble and just task, for which we are pledged to fight until the dawn of freedom."

Colour-Bar Snub

LONDON.

The World Youth Hostel Association meeting near Saarbruecken last week rejected South Africa's application for membership because of the Union's colour bar.

"WE SHALL NOT BE TERRORISED"

Canning Workers Protest Against Swart's Bans

PORT ELIZABETH.

"I WOULD like to let all the workers with whom I have been associated in the last 10 years know that I am proud to be numbered among those people who are fighting against the apartheid policy of this Government," said Miss Gus Coe, banned secretary of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, in a statement to Advance.

"In using the fascist measure, the Suppression of Communism Act, to remove me from the position to which I have been properly elected by the members of the union, the Minister of Justice is merely exposing the barren and negative policy of his Government, which can find no solution to the difficulties that beset it. Rather, in order to draw the people's attention away from their justifiable grievances and complaints, the Government attacks the very persons who are concerning themselves with the problems of the people.

"But as long as there are people they will always desire improvement. Nothing remains static—everything changes. The people will insist on change, too—change for the better.

"Whatever hindrances and obstacles this Government places in the way of the people's forward movement will be brushed aside. The people of South Africa will not be left behind in the struggle for freedom. The workers will play their part through their unions by building them stronger and stronger—even in the face of opposition. They will carry on the fight for equal economic, social and political rights for all," con-

cluded Miss Coe.

AFRICAN VIEW

Protesting against the removal of Miss Coe from her position in the Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr. W. Mapangwana, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, said—"Our brave lioness Ray Alexander was banned by the same man who has now banned our branch secretary, Gus Coe, a good fighter and a steady and clear-minded person. She was served with the banning notices while she was preparing the proposals for a new agreement. Like Ray Alexander and others, she has been fighting for better conditions of work, better wages, better houses and for people's rights.

"We, the workers, shall never allow our secretaries to be removed by a person who did not elect them, and we shall not be terrorised. These Nationalist dictators will not stop the people's struggle. Now it is everybody's duty to work hard and organise the unorganised workers to belong to trade unions. Let us stand together as one body. Unity cannot be defeated by any weapon of the Government."

THE BEND IN THE ROAD

By KATIE HENDRICKS

SYNOPSIS

Katie and Willie are holding a party to celebrate their wedding. Katie's father has already caused a disturbance by arriving drunk and being involved in a brawl with his wife. Now another disaster overtakes the celebration.

To escape from the tense atmosphere of the dining-room, I slipped into the front room and walked over to the bed to ask mother how she was feeling. She seemed to have recovered. I remembered father's distracted "Thank you, thank you," and I was bitterly sorry that I had not gone into the road to offer him some assistance or sympathy when no one had lifted a finger to help him. But father had said "Thank you" to me, and I felt very close to him then.

Mother did not feel inclined to talk, and I sat idly on the edge of the bed looking over the presents. With a shock I saw that Uncle John's Parker pen was missing. I searched the table and went on my knees to examine the concrete floor. There was no sign of the pen.

"Mother," I said softly, "have you seen the fountain pen that came from Uncle John?"

"No," she whispered; "ask the other people."

Unthinkingly, I crossed to the door of the dining-room and said loudly: "Has anyone seen the Parker fountain pen that was lying with the other presents?"

As if the words had snuffed out the party's last feeble spark of life, a hush descended over the room.

"Has it been stolen?" Aunt Mattie asked shrilly.

I could have bitten my tongue off. "No," I said in a panic, "I didn't say that it had been stolen."

Aunt Daphne leapt up so quickly that her wooden chair clattered to the floor. She pointed dramatically to Robert, her mouth working spasmodically to find words to speak. Then she spilled over uncomprehensively and

she repeated them over and over until they made sense.

"There—there is the thief. Robert is the thief."

There was a murmur of disbelief in the dining-room and everyone looked at Robert.

"Ja, ja," Aunt Daphne stormed, "that skollie took the pen. I saw him when he carried your mama into the room." She shook her fist. "Ja, I saw him. He is the thief, that one."

For a moment Robert was taken aback by Aunt Daphne's accusation. Then he lunged forward, holding his unbuttoned jacket wide open. His head jerked from side to side before he found words to beseech the guests.

"Come, come and search me," he cried passionately. "Asseblief. Please come and search me. I am not a thief. I am not a thief. Here, look in my pockets, take my coat." Robert peeled off his jacket and flung it on the table. Then he turned his trouser pockets inside out.

"Come, all of you come; see if I am a thief," he shouted hysterically.

The guests were deeply shocked and they remained silent and motionless. Only Aunt Daphne continued to jabber—"Ja, he is the thief. Ja, he is the thief. I saw him."

Robert yelled in anguish as if to drown her accusations. Nobody took Robert's coat from the table and no one came forward to examine his pockets.

"Come, come, come," Robert screamed. He was now altogether beside himself. In a rage he picked his jacket up from the table and flung it at Willie, who was nearest to him.

All the time Aunt Daphne kept on with her insistent drone—"Ja, he is the thief. That bloody skollie is the thief. He's a skollie, that one."

This whipped Robert into a greater and greater fury.

I was crying ineffectively that I did not want the pen. That it did not matter to me, but I hardly heard myself in the uproar that developed.

Robert's shrieks seared into me, and I loudly implored him to stop, but he had now entirely lost control of himself.

Shrieking and panting, Robert planted himself before Willie, who was making a pretence of looking through the coat. With trembling hands he forced Willie's fingers into his trouser pockets.

"I am not a thief, you kaffir bastard."

With flashing eyes and a cry of protest Willie jumped back. "You must not say those words. You will be sorry for those words," and, taut with rage, he thrust out a threatening fist.

Robert rushed at Willie and locked one powerful arm around his head. He began to pound Willie's face with his free fist.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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Whither Afrikaner Nationalism?

Afrikaner nationalism conforms closely to type and contains in greater or lesser degree the constituents of classic nationalism: the struggle against an alien nation for political and cultural rights, the forward thrust of a maturing commercial and industrial class, leadership by intellectuals and imperialist domination over other peoples. Its distinctive features result from the exaggeration of some features and the underdevelopment of other features.

This malformation is to be explained in terms of a conflict which the Afrikaners maintained on two fronts—against the English, inferior in numbers but stronger in terms of culture and economic position; and against the Africans, who were the reverse, being numerically superior but culturally and economically weaker.

The Afrikaner developed during this struggle a quality of aggressiveness which is symptomatic of inner uncertainty, resulting from a sense of inferiority and the prospect of ultimate defeat. His two-fisted combat for cultural and racial survival bred in him strong and sombre qualities, which have never had a chance to mellow and acquire the restraining influences of a true humanism.

The mature and established nation or individual has no need to extol its virtues or declare its claim to existence. These it can take for granted as self-evident phenomena which other and lesser peoples must necessarily acknowledge as natural. Self-assuredness and poise have been characteristic of all the great imperialists in their hey-day. It is the parvenu which becomes stridently self-assertive in order to overcome a deep-grained feeling of weakness and uneasiness in the presence of cultural superiors.

Struggle for Survival

The struggle for survival, both as a cultural and racial group, has been conducted primarily through political organisations, but it has drawn into its orbit and has given form and content to every cultural agency—language and literature, church and school, the Press, dance and song. Encompassing all these forms of social life, and giving the Afrikaner movement purpose, direction and material strength, has been the economic drive, thrusting the Afrikaner into key positions in Government service, railways, municipal administration, commerce and finance.

How successful have the Afrikaners been in preserving a distinctive way of life marking them off from other Europeans as well as from the Africans, Coloured and other Non-White groups? To what extent is there an Afrikaans culture?

It not only exists but flourishes—in one of the most vital aspects of a culture, namely, language. The deliberate cultivation of Afrikaans and its elevation to the status of an official language have been the centre of the national movement in the last 50 years. Afrikaans is the basis of the nationalist appeal to the people through the Press, in the schools and universities, in the Civil Service and commerce. It is also the main insulator, cutting the Afrikaner off from ideas alien to the traditional values.

Apart from language, however, there is little distinctively Afrikaans in the culture of the Afrikaners. The patriarchal, rural, classless community typified by the "Boereplaas" no longer exists. Its place has been taken by an urban, industrialised civilisation characteristically English rather than Dutch. The three volumes of Afrikaanskultuurgeskiedenis fail to reveal any significant aspects of a uniquely Afrikaans culture.

As Seen From Outside

An American observer of Dutch descent, Professor Barnouw, of Columbia University, has described the situation in striking terms:

"The effect of this anglicising process is a strange anomaly, of which the Afrikaners are apparently unaware. Their outlook on life, their conceptions of the world abroad, their methods of Government and business administration, their ideas of sportsmanship, even their manners and forms of social intercourse, bear the trade mark 'Made in England.' A foreign observer will notice the similarity more easily than an Afrikaner,

How is it that the Nationalist Party, despite all the troubles it has brought to all sections of our population, continues to win election after election? Why are the Nationalists so full of hatred towards everyone who opposes them, particularly the Non-Europeans? What is the future of Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa?

These and other questions are answered in a series of expert articles written for Advance by
A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

who, intent on being and proving himself un-English, is more keenly aware of the little differences that mark his Afrikaans individuality. . . . As a social animal the Afrikaner belongs to the species called Briton." (Language and Race Problems in South Africa, 1934, 40-1.)

These features are matters of common observation, though for the reasons stated by Professor Barnouw their significance is usually overlooked by South Africans. Some Afrikaners have recorded the trends, however, as appears in the following passage from the Nienabers' *The History of the Afrikaans Movement* (46-47):

"And is not the whole Afrikaans way of life a reflection of the English way of life? Our amusements, our meals, our table and social manners, our customs of greeting and parting, our Christmas and New Year wishes, and so on? Does not the Afrikaner feel more at home in London than in Amsterdam?"

With a cry they complain: "We have no people, no fatherland, no State in the fullest sense of the word—even though we desire them. These values we possess only in half measure, in partnership."

The cities, say the Nienabers, are rich, powerful and progressive—and the cities are English citadels. The farm, the country town, the church are the sanctuaries of the Afrikaner, but the plaas and dorp are stigmatised

as backward and boorish in contrast with the city.

The Afrikaner, they add, cannot achieve a full life through the medium of his language and culture. Therefore he feels inferior and must engage in a ceaseless struggle to convince himself and renew his faith in his people and the future. He is compelled to turn his eyes again and again to the farming population as a source of hope.

Reaction to Change

The process of "anglicising" the Afrikaner represents a social change such as occurs when two groups of different cultures come into close and abiding contact. A corresponding change is taking place, for the same reasons, among the Africans, Indians and Coloured. The Non-Europeans, on the whole, welcome the change as a step towards a more efficient adaptation to the social environment. Afrikaners, however, deplore the loss of traditional values and seek to revive them by cultivating beards, wearing Voortrekker dress on ceremonial occasions, encouraging volkspeletjies and substituting jukse for cricket.

Yet rugby remains the national game, and nothing can be done to stem the tide of Hollywood stars, comics, jazz, nail polish, brassieres, cocktails and Cadillacs that constitute the high-water mark of contemporary Anglo-American civilisation.

AFRICAN PARTY "FOR LITTLE BUSINESSMEN" IN RHODESIA

LUSAKA, Northern Rhodesia.

THE sixth session of the A.N.C. of Northern Rhodesia, which ended in Lusaka on August 20, was dominated by wishful thinking about the Moffat Resolutions. These resolutions adopted by the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council favour the lowering of qualifications for Africans to become voters in the territory.

In spite of a few warnings to the contrary, the A.N.C. Conference accepted the "good faith" of the Moffat Resolutions and committed the African leadership to a policy of agreeing to stiff property qualifications on electors.

In his presidential address, Mr. H. N. Nkumbula said the Moffat resolutions were an action of good faith and "have created an epoch in this country."

Mr. Nkumbula was critical of other obvious signs of race discrimination in the Central African Federation and re-stated the statement by the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, that the Africans were immature, unstable and were barbarians.

To the racialist Members of Parliament he gave this warning: "Let them pretend that we black people are sub-human beings, but I must tell them that as sure as death we shall secure our human rights which we are denied today. We shall run that Parliament or some other form of parliament in time to come. But we shall not behave like them; we shall be true to the cause of humanity."

Mr. Nkumbula, who is a moderate supporter of the Labour Party point of view, was nevertheless treated like a criminal in his own country shortly after the Lusaka Conference when he made an air visit to Salisbury with Congress secretary Mr. K. Kaunda. Both were served orders to clear out of Southern Rhodesia "within one hour." Such was Southern Rhodesia's action of good faith.

Theoretically, the Moffat resolutions mean that any urban African earning £16 a month or occupying property valued at over £300, may become a voter. In practice, Mr. Nkumbula said, there is little justification for the belief

that they will be put into effect.

However they influenced the argument in connection with the formation of a Congress political party. The mover, Mr. Sikalumbi, said Africans would achieve their rights by the beginning of 1959 when there will be another general election in the country. He hoped many Africans would by then be on the common roll.

OPPOSITION

Opposing, Mr. Nephas Tembo, warned that such a party, if created, would become a party of little African businessmen. "Party politics are based on class interest," he said. "We Africans are oppressed not as a class but as a race. The formation of a Congress political party will frighten away African small traders from the true liberatory movement."

He urged that unity of all classes of the oppressed people must be preserved in the present liberatory struggle against imperialist exploitation.

The resolution was carried, however, as also a resolution in favour of toning down the language used in protests addressed to the Government.

Other items before the Conference were resolutions against the Government action in deposing chiefs, banning Congress in some areas, deportation of the Nyassaland A.N.C. general president, Mr. J. F. Sangala; on the pass system and the intimidation of civil servants, white and black. Another item was a proposal to integrate the three congresses of Central Africa.

"Defend Coloured Rights!"

(Continued from page 1)

government autonomy, Mr. A. G. Gearing, veteran member of the Cape Town City Council, told Advance: "We are quite competent to look after ourselves in Cape Town as far as these things are concerned. There is no justification for this interference."

"Local government is the foundation of democratic government. If you interfere with the right of citizens to govern their own towns you are undermining the foundation of what we call democratic government," he concluded.

"I have always battled against apartheid in the City Council," Mrs. Z. Gool told Advance. "Not only is it unjust but it is completely unworkable. By their interference the Nationalists are seeking to throw discord among people who have lived and mixed freely together. We must rally in defence of our rights."

"We strongly protest against the persistent attempts to impose upon the people of the Cape a policy of colour discrimination which is alien to our traditions and contrary to our way of life," says a statement by the Federation of South African Women.

NO CLAIM

"The Nationalist Party cannot claim either on the basis of Parliamentary or Provincial Council election results that they represent the majority of the voters—let alone of the inhabitants of the urban areas of the Western and Eastern Cape. The Federation calls upon all sections of the population to reject this attempt on the part of the plateland to dictate policies in the municipal areas.

"European and Non-European citizens have lived together in the Cape for the past 300 years, and it is the intrusion of racism from outside that has led to a serious deterioration of the relationship between races."

Describing the attack on the franchise rights as "part of the Nationalists' cruel and irrational attempt to humiliate the Non-Europeans and to force them into a state of serfdom in all spheres of public and private life," the statement adds:

"Our Federation believes that the proposed introduction of racial discrimination in our Cape municipal franchise as well as on the buses is contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the people and will bring untold suffering and humiliation.

"We therefore call upon the people to organise meetings of protest and to send deputations to the Provincial Council and the Government to express their disapproval."

MUST BE FOUGHT

The Nat. moves have also been condemned by Mr. C. F. McArthur, Mayor of Port Elizabeth, as an attempt to force politics into municipal affairs. "It is a matter which should be taken up and fought by all municipalities at the next congress of the Cape Province Municipal Association," he said.

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From Ring And Track

BY GUS



BOXING

The Tiger Kid Shaik boxing tournament at the City Hall last Tuesday was not much of a success, despite the fact that all the preliminaries went the scheduled distance.

In the main bout of the evening, Ace Chocolate's handlers threw in the towel in the eighth round of his fight with Julius Caesar. Harry Makela, Chocolate's trainer-manager, told me afterwards that Chocolate had sustained a cut lip during training and that as the wound was getting worse he decided to call it a day. Chocolate wasn't doing badly until then, and Makela's action was followed by boos from the audience.

With a weight advantage of ten pounds, Johnny Stansfield showed up very poorly against a newcomer, Wilson Siyongwane, who was as hard as nails.

Johnny appeared to be bothered by the all-too-evident flab on his body. He moved awkwardly and never really hurt his lighter opponent. Wilson had Johnny in trouble several times and fought a good fight. He possesses a rather unusual style and is able to punch from almost any angle! The decision in favour of Stansfield was greeted with boos.

This Siyongwane is a boy to watch. Young Roberts, of Port Elizabeth, made me eat my words when he not only lasted more than six rounds against Aaron Selepe, as I had predicted, but went on to win the fight, thus retaining his provincial light-weight title. Selepe fought awkwardly, clinching, holding and stumbling about the ring. Roberts was keen to mix it but Selepe marred the fight with his spoiling tactics.

Abraham Setsed (135 lb.), of the Transvaal, recovered from a first round battering to beat A. Busstler Keno (138 lb.) on points in a dull fight. Gerry Naidoo (127 lb.) beat Hubert Manjela (127 lb.) on points in another dull fight.

In Bloemfontein, S.A. Amateur Welter king-pin Max Morgan (147 lb.) was surprisingly beaten by Johannes Kgompiri (143 lb.), while the S.A. Light-welter champion Ed. Mats-elise (138 lb.) beat John Botlhoko (136 lb.)

Jolting Joe Maseko is reported to

be having eye trouble. Holder of the S.A. middle and cruiser titles, Maseko is rated third in the Empire. Eye specialists who have attended to him at the Johannesburg Hospital say that Joe will soon be fit to enter the ring again.

It has been further disclosed that Maseko is planning to leave for America in the near future.

How about giving Elliott Arnold a crack at your cruiser title before you leave Joe? After all, he has beaten you in a non-title fight.

SOCCER

Transvaal West beat Natal 2-1 in a semi-final for the Moroka-Baloyi Cup which is the Blue Riband of African soccer.

Before the match R. Dhlomo, Natal's manager said there should be a neutral referee. But he was disregarded and a referee from the Transvaal Association continued to officiate.

It was a poor game, marred by rough play. Nkuta scored for Transvaal just after the interval. Soon after Mooketsi made good a penalty for Natal. The winning goal was secured by Grant Khomo in the last few minutes of the game.

TENNIS

The Transvaal Coloureds won the inter-race tennis tournament under the auspices of the Transvaal Tennis Federation at the Indian courts, Johannesburg.

In the final they beat the Bantus by 6 matches to 4.

ATHLETICS

The great Czech athlete, Emil Zatopek, retained his European 10,000 metres title at the European Games in Berne, Switzerland, last week, turning in a wonderful performance which was only a few seconds outside his own world record for the distance. He was surprisingly beaten in the 5,000 metres by Russia's Vladimir Kutz and Britain's Chris Chattaway. Kutz set up a new record for the distance.

Background to Zatopek's achievement is that a week before the games it was doubtful whether he would be able to run at all. He had injured a muscle on the inside of his left thigh on July 13 and the corresponding one in the right leg only a week before the games were due to start.

Just before the games opened a correspondent wrote: "He has been literally crawling round the track in training. Only his indomitable will has kept him going. But no one will know what the effort has cost him in sheer nervous energy."

Result of the games was:—Russia took 16 gold medals and first place with 269 points; Britain was second with three gold medals and 100½ points.

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Our picture shows delegates to the conference of the Food and Canning Workers last week-end.

HARDEST-HIT UNION GROWS IN STRENGTH

Canning Workers Condemn Anti-Communist Act

CAPE TOWN.

DELEGATES from as far afield as Port Nolloth, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth attended the 13th annual national conference of the Food and Canning Workers' Union in Cape Town last week-end. In all, 68 delegates representing 16 branches were present, including Mr. Frank Marquard and Miss Gus Coe, both of whom have been ordered by the Minister of Justice to resign from their positions in the Union by September 9.

"We know that your union has been hardest hit and yet is growing from strength to strength," said Mr. R. Altman, vice-chairman of the Western Province local committee of the Trades and Labour Council, when he opened the conference.

Mr. Frank Marquard, in his presidential address, told the delegates the Government had banned him, Ray Alexander and Gus Coe because of their work in organising the food and canning workers. He reminded the delegates of their past conditions, when their wages were 8s. 6d. and 12s. 6d. a week. There were no cloakrooms, protective clothing, annual leave or sick pay. During the fruit seasons the workers worked with little rest from early morning till late at night.

"These were our conditions up to 1941, but to-day we have different conditions. Because we have to-day achieved higher wages and better conditions, and because we are firmly rooted in the country areas, this Government, representing the interests of the rich farmers, is doing all it possibly can to break our union so that the farmers can get high prices for their fruit and the workers low wages."

Mr. Marquard said he was confident, despite the attacks made by the Government, the union would never be broken and the workers would take up the challenge and fight for the right to be organised, for the right to have their leaders and for a free and democratic South Africa.

Conference unanimously re-elected their banned president and general secretary, Frank Marquard and Ray Alexander. Mr. C. Kilowan was elected acting president and Miss R. Lan acting general secretary.

RESOLUTIONS

Conference unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the Suppression of Communism Act as a means by the Government to suppress and destroy the trade union movement and the people's movement for democracy. It condemned the banning of its five leaders—Frank Marquard, Ray Alexander, Gus Coe, S. V. Reddy and Betty du Toit—and re-

solved to take part in a nation-wide campaign for the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the banning orders against its leaders.

Other resolutions were passed demanding decent houses to be built for the workers and condemning the decision of the Central Housing Commission and the Government to increase rentals and rail fares and rates. Conference further demanded the repeal of the Bantu Education Act, the building of more schools and free and unfettered education for all children.



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