

**Kwi I.C.U.**

apo impi le igxotiweye imisa ukwenza ingxushungxushu apumelela kodwa. Ikhitha e Rautini sabona ingxelo ibabamaki emapopeni aingadi be nekuba ifakwe ngubani na. I Ombi Kukulule ye I.C.U. iyilungise kwoko lonto yakupa eyona ngokwenene nyaniso. Kwi hobo enkulu ye I.C.U. e Rautini kwabakho izilungano enkulu ngombala we 26 ku Desemba nalapo lomandana kunye nabelungu bebo be Communist Party, o Bunting ne Sachs bazame ukupazandisa, hai bo, batabo pantali.

Niyabona ke mzi wakowets o Ntlok'ayivutwa sibacase ngaxana yokuba bashumayela izitraki pakati kwabantu, kwaye bafusa uku laula umhlangano wabat-sundu ngenjongo yokubayelisa eliweni, ukuze ke xa nalapo banishiye kwesika Satana labogo. Namhlanje anisana mhlaba umlung weza njengo mhlobo bantl ngalolonke ixesha uzimisela ukhuni hluta ilizwe lenu anishiye ne Bhabhe yake. Lumkani ka Xhasani i Qumru le I.C.U. mibacite ababulali pakati kwenu.

Sinovyuyo olukulu ukuti oha Mbeki usibonile isiposo saka waze wabhalwa incwadi ecala uxolo eanti akazange abe lilungu lo Ntlok'ayivutwa, kwaye ke angayiqondanga kakuhle ingxone pezu kwalombeni e Bhab. Hai betu, uxolelwe kwa oko wangoniwama embenzini wake kwakona. Kwabanjalo ke maqola ukugxotwa ko Ntlok'ayivutwa pakati kwetu.

enyanga ku mukazi wendhla. Futi lapo kuyaku qutshwa kona izindaba zonke zezisobenzi ezingama lungu. Zinkulu kezindaba madoda bekungo yintoehle impela lonke uhlanga elumnyama pakati kwesizwe zakiti layi hlohloleme indaba enjona. Vukanima Afrika koni lingize izizwe nizibambe nibo manye nikulume swilinye kumbhe ninga hlonipaka pakati kwesizwe, nibe ne Situzini. Sihlangane ziyakuma sahlukene siyawa.

**Bareng**

Bareng: Rare motseng on 2 Location boroko leha gontse bosale bogolo le boosa yaga tsamasa "lipico." Ao! Afrika a No. 2 Location kaitse bo bahu bo apesa "makatana" ha mothe a thooce otlare keretalesee romelan "basali" lipicong kaitse mothe oa lefatase le one otalikingile. Re tahabeng go gos kalinko.

Bake: Bomora le Baralia moncho me No. 2 Location e-gang. Kaitse ha losa cope koa ema ka linao lo tla aga le lupile "Tomo" (bride) yaaka pitse lo hetolea yaaka nama ke ba lichaba. Los rung ka "malomo" a lehatabe ya Africa (mafumagatsana) flowers of the land of Africa (young ladies) gaba na nako ea go ana mo matheng aba tsali haase go coga esale gale go e go berekela ba lekane ba bone. Babano ba lala naganu baitse matlo aba tsali gane ba ka veke. Thalagonyi ha reng moseleng seo ma-afri poloko ya rago emo mabogong a gago. Yanonng oa reng o lirang me Afrika ka go lira phetogo me miamo:ae mo go one a batshabe (economic condition).

Bareng: Bare lo lilos ke me-tshameko me boante lo bilisa ke nako hoetamele ka mothe hare gaokela otlhola obana. Nake ea go tahameka nece yagogo ya tsho heng mo-Afrika (what is your watchword?) Bareng bari-eri ba evangeli bare are xung banna le nasali bare qololeleng mofatsheng yabo tsa lalo ya rona.

[Go ka ba molemo gaska ka koala secuana hela, compene, o senya ka go tsenya "chemi" mo polelong ya gago.—Ed. W.H.]

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**The Workers Herald**

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**I.C.U. Annual Congress**

The 2nd Annual Congress of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa will open in the African Workers' Club, 11, Leopold Street, Durban, on Friday, 15th April, 1927.

A session of the National Council will precede Congress on the 13th and 14th April.

In view of the anti-Native legislation now before the country, all delegates are requested to send strong debaters and men who can read the political situation. All delegates have to bring their own bedding.

**NATIONAL SECRETARY'S TOUR.**

On Wednesday, the 2nd March Mr. Clements Kadalie, National Secretary of the I.C.U., left Headquarters on a tour of the Cape branches. All over where he went, he inspired enthusiasm among the rank and file. He pointed out that the taxation levies of the Government—yet the rank and file are as keen as ever, and the promoters of the Sedition Bill and other bad laws can expect vigorous protests from all parts of the Union.

From the Cape the National Secretary proceeded to Maritzburg to open an I.C.U. Hall there, and en route he was met at various stations by members of the Union and chiefs and leaders from Basutoland. I.C.U. motto in 1927 must be: a million members in course of this year. Workers, don't sleep! Agitate! Agitate! until every non-European worker becomes a trade unionist!

**WAGES AT BLOEMFONTEIN**

As a result of representations made by the I.C.U. on behalf of the non-European workers of Bloemfontein in the brick-making industry in the municipal area, the Wage Board has now issued a proclamation in the Government Gazette notifying all persons affected or likely to be affected by investigation or recommendations of the Board that an opportunity will be afforded them in terms of Section Five (1) of the Act, of making representations, either orally or in writing, on any matter covered by the inquiry.

The proclamation further warns employers, on pain of a substantial penalty, against the dismissal or victimisation of an employee for giving evidence or information on matters dealt with under the Act. The employee will also be awarded such damages as can be proved that he has suffered through the action of the employer.

This is good news to I.C.U. members, and it should inspire every member to compel all black workers to immediately join the I.C.U. so that they can reap the benefit of the wages award when granted.



**THE AFRICAN WORKERS RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION THROUGH THE AFFILIATION OF THE I.C.U. TO THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. THE SOUTH AFRICAN WHITE WORKER IS ANNOYED AT THE VICTORY OF THE BLACKS**

**I.C.U. and Geneva**

In spite of the fact that the Government demanded to scrutinise the books of the I.C.U. and to investigate its administrative and financial affairs generally—a demand which that organisation complied with—it is now clear that the Government intends to ignore the application of the I.C.U. to send a delegate to the Geneva Conference.

At this Conference the position of Native labour in Africa will be discussed, and the I.C.U., representing 75,000 Native and Coloured workers, had prior claim to any other Union in South Africa.

If our prediction is correct, then the forthcoming Annual Conference of the I.C.U., which will be held in Durban during Easter, should decide that its National Secretary and another if necessary proceed to Geneva independent of the Government

nominees, to protest against the high-handed action of the Union Government—an action which we have no doubt is inspired by the anti-Native spirit of the South African white workers and their Unions.

By the last English mail Headquarters of the I.C.U. have received official promise of support from several Overseas trade union bodies, including the Amsterdam International, who have also asserted their determination to put all the difficulties surrounding Native Trade Unions in this country before the International Labour Office at Geneva.

**HOODWINKED?**

Some of our members of Parliament are raving mad about the Indian Agreement. Mr. Nel (S.A.P.) Newcastle, says the people of Natal have been betrayed by the Government. Natal is being presented now with all kinds of unsavoury epithets, such as "Coolie" and

**Native Reserve.**

Mr. Nel and his supporters forget that the so-called "Coolie" has more right to be in this country than the white man. The Indian was invited as a labourer to Natal, and now that he has turned that province into a "garden colony" he is looked upon as an undesirable person and asked to clear out.

We would also like to see the Indian go back to the home of his origin—but not under compulsion, or under laws so unjust and provocative as to compel him to go.

The Native has also got his little quarrel with the Indian, and that is that the latter is politically inclined to be selfish. He seems to be averse to work hand-in-hand with the Native to combat the bad laws. When the Class Areas Bill was contemplated, many intelligent Natives and Native organisations threw in their weight to oppose the Bill. But now that the Natives

are groaning under the iniquities proposed in the Sedition Bill, the Indian sits on the fence. At least so far no protest has been forthcoming from the Indian side. This aloofness of the South African Indian will only earn for him more enemies in this country.

Recently Dr. Williamson Godfrey, a prominent Indian resident of Johannesburg, made a most unfortunate and ill-considered statement, to a representative of the "Star," to the effect that Indians would lower their dignity were they to attend the same schools with Natives. After being hotly attacked, Dr. Godfrey denied the statement, and threw out the hint that he was wrongly reported. Either Dr. Godfrey has gracefully climbed down, or that reporter made a gigantic blunder. Which is it?

But in spite of all these little bumps, the I.C.U. is now getting in touch with the All Indian Trade Union Congress in India.

**I.C.U. Evening School**

In these days of selfishness and oppression an uneducated man is a helpless man. In order to assist the workers of the Witwatersrand the I.C.U. has gone into trouble and expense to open evening classes for the workers under the guidance of an able teacher, Mr. A. F. Batty, of Pretoria, who now conducts classes in the Workers' Hall three times a week, viz. Mondays and Fridays for beginners, and Wednesdays "advanced." Mr. Batty is virtually the founder of the I.C.U. It was he who in Capetown, nine years ago, suggested the idea of a Native Trades Union to Mr. Kadalie.

Up to the present the Native workers have taken poor advantage of this blessing, and unless the school is better supported that it pays its own way, this haven of peace and knowledge will have to be closed down. The fees are four shillings monthly or one shilling weekly, payable in advance, and all members of the I.C.U. should join one of the classes immediately.

**INVOKING OVERSEAS SUPPORT.**

Copy of Cable sent to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Independent Labour Party, British Trade Union Congress, and to the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, on Tuesday, by the I.C.U.:

"The Union Government has introduced a Native Administration Bill. The clauses are framed essentially to interfere with the liberty of the subject and aims to prevent Native Trade Union Leaders from conducting legitimate propaganda. Further it aims to restrict Native leaders to prescribed areas which would prevent our men travelling from one Province to another. This is the worse form of slavery, for should the measure become law we may despair of healthy relationship between White and Black in Africa; therefore we ask your active support to fight this iniquitous measure, also request you to direct strong protest to the Union Government, Labour members of Cabinet and Parliament and all white Trade Unions in Africa. Urgent reply requested."

Within thirty-six hours after the despatch above Cable, the following reply came from the International Federation of Trade Unions Amsterdam:—

**"PROTEST SENT TO-DAY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT. COPY TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS. PUBLICATION IN OUR PRESS REPORTS NEXT WEEK FOR INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS OUDEGEEST."**

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## SHADOW OF NEMESIS.

The Seditious Bill, introduced during the last session of Parliament, has reappeared in a new form in the Native Administration Bill. The acts which this Bill seeks to prohibit include those with an intention to (a) incite Natives to commit any unlawful act in order to alter any system of government prescribed by law, or to subvert organised government; (b) to incite Natives to attempt to procure by unlawful methods the alteration of any matter by law established in any part of the Union; (c) to incite any Native to commit any crime in disturbance of the public peace; (d) to promote feelings of hostility between different races of the Union. This Bill further seeks to give the Governor-General powers to prohibit or control gatherings or assemblies held for any purpose whatever, and the observance of decency.

Without going further into the contentious spirit of this Bill, we shall right away give it an appropriate name, viz., "The Shadow of Nemesis Bill." So ridiculous and impracticable are the powers sought by this Bill that it defeats its own objects. Instead of promoting peace it enhances race animosity and Native unrest. The conversion of the Seditious Bill into a Native Bill is the price the Nationalists pay to retain the support of Labour. It is a well-known fact that had this Bill (which first aimed at all His Majesty's subjects) been introduced in its original spirit, the whole army of the European working class would have risen against the Government, and Colonel Creswell and his two Labour colleagues would have been forced to resign their seats, and the Government would have fallen.

Mr. Tielman Roos and his colleagues, however, were not strong enough to face the trouble of their own making. To save their faces the Government has now sacrificed the Native on the cruel altar of this Bill. It is doubtful, however, whether the ridiculous clauses of this measure would ever be upheld by any Law Court. For example, the Bill provides that the Governor-General may control gatherings or assemblies held for any purpose whatever. This means that if the Governor-General is advised that the Native prays too much and works too little, he may order their churches to be closed. No more can the Native assemble to discuss any political matter except with the permission of the Government.

It would be interesting to know what attitude Labour will take up in the matter of this Bill. There is every reason, however, to believe that they will not play the game. It is reassuring, however, to note that several well-known trade unionists on the Rand have made strong statements against the incorporation of the Seditious Bill with the Native Administration Bill.

There is no doubt that the whole Bill is aimed against Native organisations, with a special eye on the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, but whether the Government will be able to muzzle Native trades unionism in this manner is a matter of grave doubt. We refuse to believe that the Natives will indefinitely allow themselves to be bullied, harassed and humbugged in this scandalous manner. There is no doubt that the immediate result of such legislation will be to cement the Native races into a tremendous anti-European camp.

## SELF-RELIANCE.

There is a Dutch adage to the effect that "Ander mensh z'n genaade is hond z'n genaade" (To depend on another person's mercy is to depend on a dog's mercy).

The non-Europeans of the present time—especially the Natives—will do well to think deeply about this Dutch proverb. So used are the Natives to salutary restraints of bad laws, surrounded as they are by a people long used to anarchy and exploiting, and who looked upon a black man in no other light than an animal whose labour was valuable, that they have evidently forgotten that God has created them with the same will power and intellectual faculties as other nations of the universe. It seems incredible to them that they can also achieve what the ex-barbarian (the white man) has achieved. But if they can only remember and believe that "TIME" is a healer of all wounds and a solver of mysteries; then they would not gaze with such a forlorn hope upon what they suppose to be an impossible task. The very fact that all General Hertzog's Bills hit at the heart of Native progress is proof that the white man views with grave concern the flood of Native progress—a flood that he (the white) in his moments of frenzy attempts to stem by means of legislative enactment. The white man is mad! On the one hand he maintains that the Native could never draw up on a level with him. On the other hand he imposes iniquitous laws and admits that this is done for fear of Native competition. Such mentality is the mentality of a lunatic. But a lunatic has been known to run at large for a considerable time before his insanity is detected. Ergo, if the Native buries his talents, like a foolish and bashful man, he will allow these political lunatics to run amok until the whole of South Africa is an asylum of political lunatics. If the Native intends to overcome European wickedness he must retaliate by striking at the Europeans' vulnerable spot with a mighty weapon. The soft spot in the armour of the South African dominant race is

that they have not taught themselves to work, and the weapon of the Native is that he holds the sword of labour. If that labour is withdrawn the white man's castle, built on sand, collapses like a house of cards. But to apply that weapon in this manner would be to give it two edges. It will then cut both ways, and both the attacker and attacked will suffer. In order to give the weapon its real "devil" the black man must make himself self-dependent. Let him work for himself, and the so-called Native "Problem" will vanish like thin smoke. Those who visualise problems now will become wiser and more just and will then preach a doctrine of "Brotherhood" to all men on earth.

But although we realise the danger that accompanies the strike weapon, to both employers and the workers, that horror is bound to come as sure as night follows day, unless a saner political and industrial policy is adopted towards the non-Europeans of this country. An animal at bay cares not for death; similarly will the Native not care whether his labour sword has two edges or two million edges. All he will care about is to free himself or to die in the effort. Before such horrors overwhelm this land, however, our advice to the African workers is that they should become self-reliant. The intellectual material for self-advancement we have in abundance; it is only the will power that is lacking. This is a handicap that can be overcome by relentless and fearless propaganda. Each African sees a future in which he will be a self-reliant man, and not a white man's boy, the dream will soon become a reality, and the exploiter will not only sue for terms but will listen to reason.

## OPPOSITION TO LAWS.

Major H. S. Cooke, Director of Native Labour and Chief Native Commissioner for the Transvaal, interviewed recently by a representative of the I.C.U. expressed the opinion that his opposition to the law, of which he was a member of the Native Administration Bill in the Cape, the other day was a protest, could be expected where the interests of stum landlords were likely to be jeopardised.

This is a most unsympathetic and ill-considered statement by a Government official who holds such a responsible position as Major Cooke. One can see that he is an upholder of gagg law, therefore he would have the Native lie down quietly while his department, in collaboration with the Town Council, cast the spirit and legal requirements of the Urban Areas Act to the four winds of heaven.

The attitude taken up by the mass meeting of Natives, which was held under the auspices of the I.C.U., was in no way in opposition to the law. Rather can it be said that the proclaimers of invalid proclamations were in opposition to the law of their own making, and that in spite of the clear finding of the Court and the trenchant remarks of the judges as to the flagrant injustice of removing Natives for whom there was no room, the authorities have shown scant intelligence in their attempt to proclaim a similar spineless thing again.

There is also another side to this question about which Major Cooke, as Protector of Natives, is very quiet. We have not heard that Major Cooke has demanded, on behalf of the Natives, the refund of the sum of about £283 that was taken illegally from the Natives in fines in connection with the proclamation that was declared invalid by the Courts. Major Cooke is mindful of little things, but he cannot see, or does not know about, the things that really matter with regards to the welfare and the just and sane administration of the Natives. It is officials like Major Cooke who, on account of their narrow outlook, can create unnecessarily difficult situations for the Government, where no difficulty previously existed.

The I.C.U. protest and attitude towards the proclamation is a legitimate and orderly one, and we challenge Major Cooke to state in what way it is subversive to law and order.

## I.C.U. Receives International Recognition.

Members of the I.C.U. are asked to pay more attention to the wonderful strides made by the organisation during the past year. The affiliation of the I.C.U. to the International Federation of Trade Unions with Headquarters at Amsterdam, and the formation of an "Imperialism" Committee of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, who have assured us that they will help us in every possible way to gain full recognition and representation within the Labour and Trade Union movements, to give publicity to our grievances, and to give political support where possible, are matters that will have a far-reaching effect on the status of the organisation. Whereas before we were totally isolated on account of the antagonistic spirit of the white workers of this country, who are inherently a selfish and greedy class, we have now in the Amsterdam International and the I.L.P. worthy and powerful allies, to whom we could appeal in moments of distress. It is the intention of the I.C.U. to make immediate use of its affiliation and appeal for help in smashing the iniquitous Native Administration-cum-Seditious Bill.

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# THE TRADES

The National Sec. I.C.U. has asked for something for the "Herald" about the Union movement in as it has been organ I.C.U.

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**THE ALL-INDIAN TRADES UNION MOVEMENT**

(By C. F. ANDREWS.)

The National Secretary of the I.C.U. has asked me to write something for the "Workers' Herald" about the Trades Union movement in this country as it has been organised by the I.C.U.

It is possible for me to write with some experience, because I have been a worker in the Labour movement for nearly forty years, both in India and in England. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is my personal friend, and he stayed with his wife in my house when he was in India. Another Labour leader—one of the noblest men I have ever known—Mr. Kier - Hardie, stayed with me also. He is now dead, and the whole world of suffering humanity is poorer by his death. As a child he had suffered terrible hardships, in those days when child labour was entirely unregulated and open to all kinds of serious abuses. He never forgot those sufferings of his childhood; and he remained throughout his whole life sensitive to the suffering of the poor and the oppressed of whatever race or religion. I remember so well in India his intense sympathy with the poor Indian agricultural villagers who very often have no more than a single meal of rice and salt in the course of a whole day. A great scientific historian, Sir William Hunter, has said that there are over 40,000,000 persons in India who never know what it is to be without the pangs of hunger. It is such things as these that we hope to overcome by our Labour movement in India and the Far East.

In India I have lived among the very poor for nearly a quarter of a century. They have given me their entire confidence and trust. They have made me their friend. Wherever I go in India they give me a welcome, not as a European, but as one of themselves. This is the reason why, when I come over to South Africa, I have at once the confidence and affection of the Indian community out here, especially the poor people.

In addition to this, I have all the while been connected with the Labour movement in India and have taken part in Labour organisation. Last year I was president of the All-Indian Trades Union Congress, and chairman of the All-Indian Trades Union Council. Twice over I have been president of the All-Indian Railway Men's Federation—a body representing over 200,000 workmen. For a long time also I have been president and chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Labour Association—one of the largest industries in all India, employing altogether over 40,000 men and women. It is necessary at the very outset to explain my own position in this way and to give my credentials fully so that the readers of the "Workers' Herald" may understand my own exact position in the Labour

movement and may be able to give me their confidence also as the Indian labourers have done. It is necessary to add that our Labour movement in India is strictly international. It is open to any race, creed or colour without any distinction whatever, and without any barrier of class or religion or race. Englishmen belong to it as well as Indians. Hindus belong to it as well as Christians.

We have had, as may easily be imagined, constant overtures and requests from Moscow inviting us to join the Revolutionary Communist section of Labour, and the Third International, as it is called. But we have steadily refused to accept any help or money from that quarter, because we wish to keep our entire and full independence from anti-Trades Union propaganda. We also completely believe in non-violence, and do not believe in any revolution by means of bloodshed. Mahatma Gandhi, who is the most revered man in all India, has given us this teaching of passive resistance and non-violence, which has sunk deeply into our hearts and has borne fruit there. For this reason we have no temptation of any kind to affiliate ourselves with any forces which believe in violence, and to seek to encourage a revolution by means of bloodshed. We hope that our All-India Labour Movement will be a model to the whole of the East, on account of its completely non-violent character.

We are, therefore, affiliated with the British Labour movement, so far as it is run on Trades Union lines, and we place a very great deal of reliance upon the International Labour Conference and Labour Organisation at Geneva. We send our representatives there every year, and we find great benefit from this great international labour welfare institution. Indeed, it may be truly said that affiliation with Geneva has brought us more good in India than any other single cause.

If I am able to write, in future numbers of the "Workers' Herald," about our struggles in India, the readers of this paper will now know from the very beginning who we are in India and what ideas we represent in international affairs. We offer fraternal and cordial greetings both to the Bantu and European workers in South Africa. We wish to come into close contact with them—whether they are Bantus or Europeans—for we wish strictly to keep our own international character.

In future numbers I shall hope to describe some of our struggles for freedom, and the difficulties we have had to overcome. It will be a very great pleasure to me if my articles can be translated into the Bantu languages, and not published only in English, for I wish specially to reach the Bantus, who do not understand English.

**RHEUMATISM.**

Have you ever tried Chamberlain's Pain Balm for rheumatism? If not, you are wasting time, as the longer this disease runs on the harder it is to cure. Get a bottle to-day, apply it with a vigorous massage to the afflicted parts, and you will be surprised and delighted at the result obtained. For sale by all chemists and storekeepers.

**TEETHING CHILDREN.**

Children are often subject to diarrhoea when teething. An occasional dose of Chamberlain's Colic and Diarrhoea Remedy will control the trouble. For sale by all chemists and storekeepers.

liberty of the subject if persons can be dealt with in this informal manner," but, he concluded, "as far as Courts of Justice are concerned, our duty is to give effect to the laws enacted by Parliament, no matter whether we approve of them or not." — (Carrie Hashe and Others v. Capetown Municipality and Others.)—"Star."

(It is clear that the Chief Justice does not see eye to eye with this Act, but, as he states, the Judges are bound to give effect to the laws as enacted by Parliament.—Ed. W.H.)

**Hardships of Urban Areas Act**

The policy of native segregation in and from urban areas as embodied in the Act of 1923 elicited some important observations as to its effect on liberty in a recent judgment by our new Chief Justice, Sir William Sofomon, in the Appellate Division.

The effect of the Act is that a Native male or female in an urban area may be brought before a magistrate or other competent authority and required to show that he can "give a satisfactory account of himself." If he fails, the magistrate may "adjudge him to be an idle or disorderly person" and may order him to be removed from the urban area and to be sent to the place from which he came or to be sent to and detained for not more than two years in "a farm colony, work colony, refuge, rescue home or similar institution." The burden of proof is on the Native, who is required to give a satisfactory account of himself. The ordinary rules of evidence do not apply to the proceedings and there is nothing to prevent the magistrate presiding over the proceedings from admitting hearsay evidence, while evidence of previous convictions may be admitted in cross-examination.

In consequence of these new powers some Native women in N'dabeni location were brought before the magistrate under the provisions of Section 17 of the Urban Areas Act, 21 of 1923, and were required to give a good and satisfactory account of themselves. Failing, in the magistrate's opinion, to do this, they were ordered by him to be removed from the urban area of Capetown, to be sent back to the place from which they came and not to return to Capetown within 12 months. They applied to the Cape Provincial Division for a review of the proceedings, but, failing there, they went to the Appeal Court for leave to appeal from this decision.

In refusing leave to appeal, the Chief Justice said the first question for decision was whether under the Act the magistrate acted in an administrative or a judicial capacity. After a review of the law he came to the conclusion that "in proceedings taken under Section 17 of Act 21 of 1923, a magistrate acts in an administrative, not in a judicial, capacity," and that being so, the magistrate's decision was not subject to review by a higher Court under the provisions of the 190th Rule of Court.

But the fact that the proceedings were administrative and not judicial did not entirely dispose of the matter, for, said the Chief Justice, even in administrative proceedings there would be an inherent jurisdiction to review such proceedings, if it could be shown that there had been a disregard of the provisions of the statute or gross irregularity or clear illegality in the performance of the duty imposed. Here, however, there was nothing of the sort.

As to the admission of hearsay evidence, it was impossible to hold that in such an investigation a magistrate was bound by the ordinary rules of evidence in criminal cases or that he was not entitled to take hearsay evidence. If, however, a case arose in which it was clear that grave injustice had been done by a magistrate being influenced by hearsay evidence of such a nature that no reliance should have been placed thereon, it would be quite competent to interfere with the proceedings, but that was not the case here.

For these reasons leave to appeal was, as stated, refused. But, said the Chief Justice, though this was the law, he concurred with what the Judge-President of the Cape Provincial Division had said in another similar case about "the grave dangers that may arise to the

(Continued at foot of previous)

**Macdonald Lawrence Fund**

Thus writes a Nyassaland Native to the National Secretary:—

"Dear Brother Comrade,—I am encouraged on the imprisonment of Brother Comrade Lawrence (I.M.L.), at present at Zomba suffering for the African Cause, and beg to allow me to address that I have confidence in the I.C.U. as the only erected deadly weapon of which the whole of Africa is to depend upon. So then I beg you to see if we Nyassaland Natives who are abroad (those who are interested to free their country) can have a column in the I.C.U. books and the "Workers' Herald," that we must raise a special fund to meet the obstacles laid by the Nyassaland Government on the movements of the Workers' (I.C.U.). The "Nyassaland Workers' Fund" is required at any means; this should be a special fund not to interfere with any levy, etc.

The above monies should be sent to the Headquarters of the Workers at Johannesburg, till we have money enough to launch into Nyassaland the unchallengeable blow!

Please tell me what are the fees for publishing such a circular in the "Workers' Herald."

It is our duty to raise the fund while we are out, because we can hardly manage it inside Nyassaland, as they have employed all sorts of detectives to visit us day and night out there. I understand they have employed Native girls also as detectives to go around in the beer-drinkings and all the doors of educated Natives, looking for trouble.

In Nyassaland we have hell as Civilization."

**Urban Areas Act**

**NATIVE ULTIMATUM TO CITY COUNCIL.**

During the last week the officials of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, in conjunction with standholders, have been securing the signatures of Natives living in areas proclaimed under the Urban Areas Act with a view to presenting a joint application to the Municipality for accommodation in the locations for the Natives concerned.

So far several hundred Natives have signed the application, which will be handed to the authorities within the next day or two.

Should the application not be immediately complied with it is intended to contest at law any action taken by the authorities to remove the Natives from the proclaimed areas, or to prosecute the owners of property occupied by the Natives.

**I.C.U. at Hendrina**

The Secretary of this branch writes stating that the Acting Provincial Secretary, Mr. Thomas Mbeki, visited the branch.

It was desired to employ a permanently paid Branch Secretary, but owing to present financial circumstances it was deemed expedient to leave the matter in abeyance.

On Sunday, the 20th February, a big meeting was held, which was addressed by Mr. Samuel Hoffman, Branch Secretary of Middleburg. The meeting was attended by both black and white workers. During the course of his speech, Comrade Hoffman told his hearers that, owing to the influence and strength of the I.C.U., Native workers on the farms are being more and more ill-treated. This, although at present an unfortunate circumstance, is a clear admission of fear.

There is no doubt that if all towns take as keen interest as Hendrina, the freedom of the African race cannot be longer delayed.

**A POT POURRI OF IGNORANCE**

We cull the following from the "Star" being a speech delivered at Cape Town recently by Mr. A. S. van Hees, M.L.A., Chairman of the Transvaal Nationalist Party:—

"We white men," he said, "cannot face the unfair competition of Natives at uncivilised rates of pay. My Nigger on £3 a month is richer to-day than I, because he can save the whole of his wages."

"Even we Transvaalers, however, realise that the coloured person can never be put into the same camp as the black. The Nationalists are going to give the coloured person his vote throughout South Africa. We have removed the false colour bar of the South African Party Government and now the position is that Asiatics and Natives are grouped together, and whites and coloured. The coloured man can compete with the white man and can do his work. Only Natives and Asiatics are prohibited from responsible work in industry. Segregation of the Native, political, social and industrial, must take place. For the sake of the Transvaal the Native vote in the Cape must go."

An uncivilised and barbarian vote could not be allowed any say in the development of the country and its future. Without segregation Native labourers would become craftsmen and later the professions would be crowded by Natives, always in unfair competition with the whites and coloured.

To prevent this was the aim of the Nationalists, who had specially excluded the coloured person from the provisions of the Colour Bar Bill—the Magna Charta of the coloured man.

It was an absolute lie that the National Party wished anything else but co-operation between the white and the coloured person on an entirely equal basis.

Mr. van Hees was dilating on the work done for the coloured people, who would now replace Natives in liquor establishments, when a man called out: "What about the white man?"

The question was ignored by Mr. van Hees.

Mr. van Hees, of course, is one of those half-cooked politicians who believe that the progress of the Natives could be retarded or totally held up by methods such as entered his fuddled mind when he made the above stupid remarks.

It is, however, not wholly through rank ignorance that Mr. van Hees made these remarks; there is also an ingredient of political humbug in his remarks because there was an election of the Provincial Council on at the time, therefore he crawled all the way from the Transvaal to go and throw dust in the eyes of the Coloured people. He knew that he had not the ghost of a chance from the Natives on account of his big boss's Native Bills, there-

fore he went and sought "witvootjie" from the Coloured people. Of course political muggwumps like Le Grange and his followers will easily swallow Mr. van Hees's sugared pill because they, in their stupidity, believe that the Colour Bar Bill is their Magna Charta.

Mr. van Hees did not tell the Coloured people that it was the intention of his Government to give all the Coloured people of the Union only one dummy representative in Parliament for the next seven years. The "employ whites" policy of the Government was "given away" when Mr. van Hees told the Coloured people that they would now replace Natives in liquor establishments. But when he was asked "What about the white man?" he became as dumb as the dummy he offers the Coloured people—which reduces all his blurtings into a "white elephant."

Mr. van Hees did not speak of the absurd and arbitrary definitions of "Coloured" which show that the Government are really doubtful of the Coloured policy they are recommending to the country. A Coloured person born before the passage of the Coloured Persons Rights Bill is a Coloured person, and one born after the Act is a Native unless Parliament specially declares him a Coloured person. Thus, those who blindly follow Mr. van Hees and his "boss" are such political babes like Willie Le Grange and his Africander Bouders, who cannot read the political horoscope.

"Without segregation," says Mr. van Hees, "Native labourers would become craftsmen, and later the professions would be crowded by Natives, always in unfair competition with the whites and coloured."

Nonsense! pure nonsense!! What has become of the Wage Act? Mr. van Hees had evidently a very low estimate of the intelligence of his audience on that occasion. If he genuinely feared unfair competition the Wage Act was there to prevent such, and if he meant to convey that this Act did not operate on Natives, then he was dreaming. But "unfair competition" was not the term Mr. van Hees meant to give expression to. It was "fear and injustice" that dominated his make-up when he said those words!

He further displayed his crass ignorance and low political principles when he said: "My nigger on £3 a month is richer to-day than I am, because he can save the whole of his wages." Perhaps Mr. van Hees's "nigger" wears no clothes and pays no taxes, and if he (van Hees) can pay a richer man than himself £3 per month, then Mr. van Hees must be an exceptionally poor M.L.A., and he had better ask for a job from his pals!

No! it was election time, and he had to say something—whether it was a damned lie or consummate nonsense. That is the position.

**TIT**

A white man from the Lichtenburg Diamond Diggings was held up by Natives, seriously assaulted, and relieved of cash to the amount of £26. The injuries received by the victim necessitated his removal to the local hospital.

**FOR TAT.**

A lorry conveying fifteen Natives from the Lichtenburg Diamond Diggings on the Mafeking Road was held up by five armed Europeans, who started to assault and rob the Natives. A fracas ensued, and the Natives were getting the better of the white men when the latter drew revolvers and fired, apparently to frighten the Natives away. Naturally the Natives cleared out. The robbers must have had a good haul, as one of the Natives alone had £15 stolen. It is estimated that more than £100 was stolen.

**AND ANOTHER TIT.**

A young digger of Grasfontein was set upon by two of his own Natives, knocked out, and robbed of £27. Police dogs are now after the "Titters."

(We purposely put this regrettable matter in this form to show that the Europeans, instead of being an example to these Natives, actually lead them in matters of the above description. Not only on the diggings, but in almost every sphere of life, a certain class of European thinks that God has created the Native to serve as a football, and when these Natives retaliate the whole country asks, "What is wrong with the Natives?" Sometimes the blame is laid on so-called "agitators."—Ed. "W.H.")

# Prime Minister's Native Bills Analysed

By F. S. LIVIE-NORLE.

III. Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill.—We turn now to the last of these Bills—one which aims at the institution of a uniform system of political representation of all Natives throughout the Union. The franchise exercised by Natives in the South has long been a source of great annoyance to the Europeans of the North—while the Natives in the North had no direct representation at all, and were not particularly satisfied with that indirect representation which was supposed to be vested in those members of the Upper House specially appointed for their interest in Native Affairs. It is the intention of the present Bill that Natives everywhere shall be treated uniformly. We have already thought of the discouragements offered to progressive individual Natives by the other Bills; and this is a fresh example. The system of uniform treatment, considered theoretically might have some slight justification, but there is no justification in achieving that uniformity by taking away the small rights of one section of the people so as to bring them into line with those who have none.

We are told, however, that this is not what is to happen. In return for the yielding up of the franchise, certain huge steps forward are to be made in Native policy and administration as a compensatory measure. For example, there is to be the provision of extra land—which we have considered, and, in addition, means are to be provided for the wider representation of Native people all through the Union instead of only in the Cape as at present. Surely that is a tempting promise!

The Bill provides for the election of seven M.L.A.'s, to be elected by Natives "designated by the Government"—both the number of these electors and their selection rests entirely with the Government in terms of this Bill. In other words, those who are elected to be a small minority in a House run on party lines, and those who elect them, will be entirely at the mercy of the Government to which they owe their status.

The machinery for the election of these members is very hazily stated, and in the strict terms of the Bill, which ignores the precautionary measures emphasised by the Electoral Act of 1918, it is difficult to see how "packing" and other forms of corruption are to be avoided. It is not at all clear why the precautions found to be necessary in the conduct of European elections should have been ignored when providing for elections by those very people, who—in the drafting of the Union Council Bill—were assumed to incline towards disorderliness.

When elected to the House, the members representing Native opinion and interests will not have the same status and functions as ordinary members. Section 6 imposes such restrictions as, in effect, make all suggestion of representation merely a ludicrous caricature. In that section it is provided that members representing Natives may "sit, speak or vote" on subjects

- (1) the extent of Native representation in the House,
- (2) the qualifications for Native voters,
- (3) proposed changes in the present Act (Bill),
- (4) such subjects as the Government chooses to describe as matters on which a vote of confidence or no-confidence will be taken.

The fourth restriction mentioned above is certainly withdrawn in respect of certain matters specified as affecting

Natives; but—and this is important—the matters so specified in the schedule are not likely to be put before Parliament for some time to come, and they affect the white man as well as the Native, and could therefore easily be removed as occasion seemed to warrant, from the schedule of subjects exempt from the restrictions. What chance have seven members against a not necessarily sympathetic House?

One might well ask at this stage if, indeed, it is a good principle to have members specifically representative of Native interests only. Does not this imply that the interests of the Native are either opposed to or different from those of the white man? This suggestion must be strenuously denied: for the welfare of this our country is bound up in the interests and welfare of each and every section of its widely diversant community. In addition, we know that the work of the missionary and the professional social worker suffers greatly from the fact that he is "a professional." The M.L.A. who represents Native opinion will be faced with the same difficulty, and his proposals and opinions will carry less weight both in the House and in the country if he is regarded as a "professional."

The restrictions imposed throughout the Bill clearly show that the drafters desire to isolate Native interests from measures affecting the country as a whole; in other words, there is a tacit refusal to acknowledge that the black man has any rightful share in the responsibility of the country of his birth and in which he is a not inconsiderable taxpayer. So far as can be seen from the Bills, there is no evidence of any effort at all to give the Native a serious share in the control of the country. He is to have no opinion as to the economic value of a customs proposal which will render his blankets and boots prohibitive, if the Government decide to make its tariff question "one of no-confidence."

CONCLUSIONS.—From this very rough outline survey, we have seen some of the effects which will result from the passing of the proposed measures; and instead of making the Natives the possessors of the land which is their heritage, and encouraging them to develop along lines of Bantu culture, these measures can only be productive of great and grave disharmony. The white people will not be satisfied with the distrust and resentment which alone can result from the imposition of chapter 2 of the Land Bill; and one fails to see how any part of the intention of the Prime Minister's Native Policy can in fact be realised if these measures become law.

In the interests of the country, and the peace and happiness of both Black and White, it is imperative that these measures be withdrawn; and it should be possible to arrive, by consultation with individuals and organisations devoted to Native welfare and the improvement of race relationships, at some constructive scheme which could be tried out with safeguards for a limited period and then entirely reviewed.

We feel that the fundamental error committed in the drafting of these Bills was to make them appear as a final solution of a problem every facet of which is daily undergoing alterations. In dealing with human beings, we must remember that their needs, aspirations, hopes and fears are all based upon a foundation largely emotional and fluctuating; the only thing static about a human person seems to be his name, in which respect the Native is not unlike the dog. Certainly a bad name once given

is not easily lost; and the prejudices existing in this country are not easy to overcome. But it is certain that, if we are ever to live together in harmony, and if the enormous resources of this vast land are to be developed and utilised to the full, then sooner or later we must begin to break down our preconceived notions which hinder race-relationships. The unprogressive fondness of cheap labour must give place to a more civilised standard of economics; and reasonable wage-earning must be encouraged as a means of increasing the supply and demand of commodities. The human consumer must be treated with respect if he is to develop any real and deep-seated self-respect; and a real share in responsibility must be allotted to all those—whether Black or White—on whom the economic welfare of the country depends. Adequate provision of land on reasonable terms must be made for the vast masses of Natives being driven from the towns by economic pressure and legislation; and a definite place in the political life of the State must be assigned to them. The days of camouflage are over; and the white man must learn that no good purpose can ever be served by making promises which are not fulfilled in actuality.

The present Bills are a source of grave disappointment, and have alienated a great deal of sympathy and trust; it remains to be seen how the Government will redeem the situation on constructive lines.

## How White Miners Spend Their Working Hours

Before the Mining Industry Arbitration Board the miners complained that their duties underground were so excessive that they could not properly carry out the mining regulations.

According to Mr. W. Gemmill's evidence, this is how miners spend their time underground. We only take the developers of the Nourse Mines as an example:

- (1) Time spent at stations and in travelling to and from working places, 50 minutes.
- (2) Inspecting working places, walking, and generally supervising at faces, 235 minutes.
- (3) At miners box, where for the most time the men rested and took their lunch, marked the tickets and prepared fuses sitting for the most part, 135 minutes.
- (4) Charging up and lighting up, 65 minutes.

Thus it will be seen that they take three hours going to work, taking lunch and marking tickets. The remainder of the day is spent in inspecting working places, walking and generally supervising at faces, charging up and lighting up. The dust inspectors, under cross-examination, admitted that at the miners' box, where about two-and-a-half hours were spent, most of the time is occupied in resting.

It would be interesting to know how poor "Sixpence" and "Half-bottle" spend their time. It would be safe, however, to say that their shift runs from "point to point," otherwise they are presented with a loafer's ticket.

## Cannot See the Wood for the Tree

The learned editor of the Communist Party journal, "The Worker," seems to think that I.C.U. leadership is made up of muddy-headed fellows like himself. Without commenting on his recent leading article, we may as well tell him that the I.C.U. has no branch at Vereeniging. We think that will settle his hash for him.

## Letters to the Editor

### FROM OVERSEAS

National Secretary, I.C.U.

Dear Comrade,— Kindly excuse my belated reply to your letter of December 3rd. I have been very busy with sectarian work, etc., and latterly have had a bad attack of influenza, but am feeling much better again.

I was very pleased to hear of the efforts of Miss Holtby on behalf of yourself and comrades. I have written her a note and expect a reply at an early date.

I have been very interested with regard to the ban placed upon your movements, and beg to congratulate you on your victory over the forces of oppression. It is monstrous that one's liberty should be so interfered with, and yet it is not surprising that such crimes should be perpetrated under this ungodly system of Capitalism. I think you and I, and many others, know this foul creature only too well—this creature that knows no country, whose sole business it is to crush and exploit the workers of all lands. Comrade, we must drive this truth home on every conceivable occasion, for we have either to crush this monster or be crushed to abject slavery.

As you observe, it is saddening when the Labour Party is up against you in your own country, but do not be disheartened, for they think along with their masters that they have the right to dominate your country, and until their minds are purged of this iniquity you can expect little consideration from that quarter. Therefore, without losing a chance to promote unity for all workers, "black or white," you must concentrate on consolidating your own brethren.

Even in this country we are imposed upon by many of our Labour leaders who sabotage the Movement. This fact brings home the folly of placing too much trust in the hands of leaders, or rather the mistake of not having them under proper control; therefore they become dictators instead of servants to carry out the wishes of their members. I think good leaders are essential, but they must not be allowed to usurp their powers.

So many of our leaders have climbed to social prosperity on the backs of the workers, and then have adopted the attitude of advising the workers to try and arrive at mutual understandings with the employing class. We must all give and take, and all such tush. Some of us happen to know what sheer hypocrisy this is. We know the workers must do all the giving while the others take.

How can you compromise with a tiger? The capitalist is a man, woman and child eating tiger, and the destruction of the beast is the only safety possible from his depredations.

With reference to the last miners' struggle over here, well it ended very much as we might have predicted had we realised the unpreparedness of their leaders with the exception of the miners' leaders. They never conceived the logical outcome of a successful general strike, viz., the taking over and controlling of the key industries in the interests of the workers, consequently they made success impossible by their overtures to the enemy.

Well, friend, our work is to educate the people and serve them with zeal.

I often think of that fine American who said:

Mankind are my brethren. The world is my country. To do good is my religion.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours faithfully,  
H. G. SWINDELL.  
Nottingham, Feb. 5, 1927.

P.S.—Am forwarding you a weekly paper which I subscribe to. I think it will interest you. I consider it the goods.—H.G.S.

### THE SEDITION BILL

The Editor, "Workers' Herald."—Sir.—Will you allow me to make a few remarks about the Sedition Bill, which has now turned a complete somersault—thanks to Nationalist weakness and Labour intrigue.

Primarily, the Bill was a common one, but now it has been merged into the Native Administration Bill. Both these measures teem with injustice and folly, almost bordering on national suicide. The back-wash of this ill-considered measure will have a detrimental and everlasting effect on the Dutchman's status in this country. If the Bill unfortunately goes through and carries with it clauses a, b, c and d, then South African progress will have been put back another hundred years again.

Some of the Rand European trade unionists are crying crocodile tears over this measure, but I know full well that they do not mean what they say. They are only too glad to be out of it, and they will not have the courage or decency to oppose the Bill, because all their Unions and political societies are based on colour prejudice. Mr. Bill Andrews is also one of those who shed crocodile tears. In an interview with the "Star," he said: "The dropping of the Sedition Bill and, whether from design or not, the inclusion of similar provisions in the Native Administration Bill provides a convenient means whereby the opponents of the Sedition Bill can save their faces." This is quite true, but the spirit in which the statement is made is not genuine because this same Andrews is opposed to the overseas affiliation of the I.C.U. We have numerous such fuddle-minded political humbugs in the country, and now is the time to expose them thoroughly.

The Sedition Bill, Sir, has not got a leg to stand on. Directly it is put into effect the whole country will be thrown into the reddest of red revolutions, because no sane people will submit to such flagrant injustice. It has quite become second nature to the South African Europeans now to legislate in this callous manner for the African Natives. But such tactics cannot hold water under any circumstances, because no nation has ever yet been known to succumb to political oppression. The attempt to gag Native trade union is futile and will cause nothing but trouble and remorse for the promoters of such callousness.

It is not too late yet for the Natives to endeavour to persuade the Government to withdraw the whole Bill. I am one of those who stand for law and order, and whenever I hear a Native make an irresponsible and irritating statement, I always endeavour to put him right if I can. There are many decent and law-abiding Natives who will now become criminals on account of the rashness of the Sedition Bill. In view of this danger, therefore, it behoves all Native societies to co-operate and take immediate steps and enlist the aid of all right-minded Europeans in order to impress upon the Government the dangerous step it contemplates.

PERCIVAL ROSS  
TYAMZASHE.  
Kingwilliamstown.

In declaring their loyalty and support of the National Council of the I.C.U. the meeting sent a message to the effect that "We will stand by you, and you stand by us." It is further understood that all the resolutions will be forwarded to the Government in due course.

## Elizabeth Bay Demonstration

### NATIVE AND COLOURED BILLS.

At a demonstration meeting of the Elizabeth Bay Branch of the I.C.U. held on the 31st January in conformity with the I.C.U. National Council resolutions appearing elsewhere in this issue, the local chairman and several Executive Committee members made strong speeches.

One speaker stated that it was obvious that the Government was out to ruin the country, and the Natives in particular. If the Government was incapable of ruling the Natives with any show of intelligence or justice why do they not allow the Natives to manage their own affairs. Ever since the advent of the white man to this country the Natives, in spite of their loyalty and docility, have been scandalously treated.

Another speaker said that since the Colour Bar Bill, and also other Bills, seek to separate the whites from the blacks, the only other just alternative was to give the Natives ample land and freedom where they would be free from any interference. The early messages of the missionaries were being thrown overboard now, and the Natives were told that they were not fit to live and work in their own country. The constant impracticable and unjust legislation of the Government was clear proof that the white man harboured an inherent hatred towards his black brothers.

In the evening the meeting was continued and the speakers again waxed hot in protest against the Premier's Bills. "After we have made these people rich," declared one speaker, "they now forget all about our usefulness and they pass legislation calculated to ruin us and to divide and sub-divide us by all kinds of unchristian manoeuvres."

(Continued at foot of previous column.)

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## THIS I.C.U. OR THE NATIONAL S

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THE DANGER IN TH "So," proceeded Mr "when I read these o the Bill, I said, 'It do affect us.' But here is in the Bill. By proclan Governor-General ma and define pass areas words, for the first South Africa in this democracy we find that to introduce govern proclamation. That is danger comes in. Gove proclamation means th general secretary or politically opposed to b the present Governm may criticise the spe certain Cabinet Min may criticise the Pass would be proclaimed man. That is what I of—that so much pove to be vested in the G I know the Governm majority in the A Assembly, and I have that they are going troller this Bill throu ment. But as sure a rises in the east and s west those people resp the passing of such will create trouble Africa."

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**Elizabeth Bay Demonstration**

**NATIVE AND COLOURED BILLS.**

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(Continued at foot of previous column)

**THIS WICKED BILL**

**I.C.U. Organising Union Protest**

**THE NATIONAL SECRETARY OPENS THE ATTACK.**

In denouncing the Native Administration Bill—which embodies most of the provisions of what was known last year as the Sedition Bill—at a crowded meeting of natives recently, Mr. Clements Kadalie, national organising secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, announced that international support would be invoked if the Government persisted with the measure, and that on March 26th Union-wide demonstrations of protest against the Bill would be organised.

Quoting that provision of the Bill designed to defeat the promotion of hostility between different races, he said the proposal sounded like Satan rebuking sin, and that had there been such a law in existence in the past Mr. Tielman Roos and other Nationalists would have been in trouble. He also declared that the object of the measure was to deport him.

Mr. Kadalie declared that under the provisions of the Bill the future of the I.C.U. and of the natives of South Africa was at stake. When he had first read those provisions he had said to himself, "There is nothing in them." For instance, it was proposed that the acts which may be prohibited by regulations under the measure shall include those done with an intention to "incite natives to commit any unlawful act in order to alter any system of government prescribed by law or to subvert organised government."

"Now we are not afraid of that," asserted the speaker. "It is only Tielman Roos and company who do that. We do not incite natives to alter any system of government. Our constitution in the I.C.U. lays it down clearly that what we are interested in is the bread and butter of the non-European workers of South Africa."

Other acts which would be prohibited were those based on an intention "to incite natives to attempt to procure by unlawful methods the alteration of any matter by law established in any part of the Union; to invite any native to commit any crime in disturbance of public peace; or to promote feelings of hostility between different races of the Union."

The speaker was understood to say that under such a law Mr. Tielman Roos would have been one of the first to get into trouble, and he asked where under such a law would stand Dr. Van der Merwe in view of his speech in the Assembly the other day.

**THE DANGER IN THE BILL.**

"So," proceeded Mr. Kadalie, "when I read these clauses of the Bill, I said, 'It does not even affect us.' But here is a danger in the Bill. By proclamation the Governor-General may create and define pass areas. In other words, for the first time in South Africa in this age of democracy we find that they want to introduce government by proclamation. That is where the danger comes in. Government by proclamation means this: Your general secretary or I may be politically opposed to the views of the present Government, or I may criticise the speech of a certain Cabinet Minister or I may criticise the Pass Laws. I would be proclaimed as a bad man. That is what I am afraid of—that so much power is going to be vested in the Government. I know the Government have a majority in the House of Assembly, and I have no doubt that they are going to steam-roller this Bill through Parliament. But as sure as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west those people responsible for the passing of such a measure will create trouble in South Africa."

He claimed that the Governments of South Africa had done little or nothing for the natives,

but that in spite of this the natives had made progress. It was proposed that they should not have meetings in the locations. Then where were they to have their meetings? They must carry out their propaganda.

"If this Bill is passed," declared the speaker, "I am prepared to die a martyr for the native races of South Africa." But what he Government were now doing was really helping them. He thought they had had a lesson last year, when they had helped the I.C.U. membership by placing a ban on his movements in Natal, and with their present numerical strength the I.C.U. could not be prevented from marching forward.

**WANT TO AVOID TROUBLE.**

"We want to avoid trouble in South Africa," asserted the speaker. "That is why we ask the Government to withdraw this Bill." Why should the Government suppose they could prevent the natives organising industrially. Speaking of members of the present party in power, Mr. Kadalie said: "They used to preach sedition in this country, and they used to speak against the British flag. For 14 years they were privileged. They went throughout the country preaching the gospel of nationalism. They preached secession from the British Empire, and there was not a Sedition Bill passed by the Government of that day to prevent the Nationalists distributing their propaganda. I appeal to the English-speaking people of South Africa."

The speaker asked how they could reconcile the proposals in the Bill with the fact that on the Government benches to-day was a man who had taken up a rifle to fight against the British Empire; and he asked what restraint was placed on the men who were rebels in 1914. It was cowardice for the Government to bring in this Bill. Why did not the Minister of Justice proceed with the Sedition Bill as it was drafted last year? Because he was afraid of Labour opposition. "But," added the speaker, "if the Labour Party are going to be responsible for the passing of this Bill they are going to reap what they are sowing. Tomorrow we are going to make efforts to see that if the Nationalists do not listen to the opposition of Labour it will be goodbye for the Pact Government."

We are going to invoke the international Labour movement to stop the passage of this Bill, and tomorrow I shall cable to the Imperial Advisory Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions to ask for their support. For the present Government to talk of prohibiting the incitement of one race against another sounded like Satan rebuking sin. The I.C.U. was not out to set the Native and coloured people against the Europeans. They had more brains than to do such a thing.

In concluding, Mr. Kadalie announced that in addition to asking for the support of the I.L.P. and the Amsterdam International, a series of demonstrations throughout South Africa from morning until evening would take place on March 26th to protest against "this wicked Bill" because it would interfere with their liberty. The Bill was directed against the I.C.U., and its object was to deport him. For the love of South Africa and of humanity they appealed to the Government to withdraw the Bill.

Mr. S. Dunn, general secretary of the I.C.U., who presided, stated that the Government were concerned over the rapid strides which the I.C.U. had made, and they were trying to arrest the progress being made. "The Star."

**THE BOOK SHELF**

I have been reading an interesting article in "Scribner's Magazine," an American monthly published in New York.

The article is entitled "Singing Soldiers," and is written by an American Flying Corps lieutenant who was with the Expeditionary Force in France in the Great War. This young lieutenant made it his pleasure to collect songs sung by Negro soldiers. For wherever they were, this great army of black workers always sang. If they were unloading trucks of war material they sang. If they were doing canteen work they sang. If they marched they sang. And each song they made reflected some love of an American home, some horror of war, or some gay philosophy likely to help them over the bad days. When they were wounded they made "spirituals" for their comfort. If a well-loved officer was dying they did the same for the white man. Their own hospitals were full of what the writer calls "crooning singers" bringing peace to themselves and others by that strange aptitude for music which is the black man's great gift in Africa before it went over to America.

In one of those field hospitals this writer had to spend a night listening to the wanderings of men who were perhaps to die before morning. One of these was a Negro who thought he had killed his sergeant; he belonged to a convoy which had had to lie doggo at the side of a road while the German shells swept over, and as the sergeant in charge stepped out into the open to see if all was safe again a shell killed him. This wounded Negro driver saw the dreadful incident and could not get it out of his head that in some way he had caused it. All night he lay explaining to God that he hadn't really done it, and sang his hymns in between his ravings. Here are two of the hymns he sang:

For I see weary,  
Oh, Jesus, so weary,  
Sweet Jesus, so weary  
In body an' soul.

Don't close dose gates, 'cause I'm  
sure comin' in—  
Peter, take your hand off de handle  
ob dat gate,  
'Cause I'm sure comin' in.  
Jesus said He didn't mind if I wuz  
a little late  
When He pardoned me my sin.

Some folks say dat heaven town is  
a white man's place,  
But I'm sure comin' in.  
Good Book says it doesn't matter  
'bout de colour ob yo' face,  
So I'm sure comin' in.

Peter, take your hand off de handle  
ob dat gate,  
I'm sure comin' in—  
Jesus said He didn't mind if I wuz  
a little late  
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a white man's place,  
But I'm sure comin' in.  
Good Book says it doesn't matter  
'bout de colour ob yo' face,  
So I'm sure comin' in.

Don't close dose gates, I'm sure  
comin' in—  
Don't close dose gates, I'm sure  
comin' in.

In the morning his troubles were over. He had "sure gone in" through the gates.

In the next bed to the singing Negro lay a badly hurt white boy who couldn't get it out of his head the look of "that poor Heinie" (the American slang meaning a German) who had been writing so peacefully in a little book when "my grenade got him." Under the same roof lay a dying German who could only mutter, "Warum, heilige Gott, warum?" ("Why, holy God, why?") A question we are still asking, but which God can only answer through man's slow-maturing wisdom in the fullness of time.

Some of the Negro soldiers knew nothing about the sea when they went to the war. They would go into a "big ware-

house" on the edge of the water and while hard at work there be startled to feel the "warehouse" floating away:—

Everybody in Hoboken town—  
everybody an' me,  
Hopped upon a warehouse that was  
swingin' around  
An' went to sea.  
Oh, all day long I've lookin' for  
trees.  
Lookin' for sand, lookin' for land,  
'Cause I've got dose awful weepin',  
sleepin',  
Got dose awful sadlin', wallin',  
Got dose awful deep sea blues.

In the kitchen of an American Red Cross hospital in France the cooks, walking cases (i.e., invalids) and orderlies used to sing this song, each a verse in turn and then the chorus:—

When you feels dat you must go—  
weepin' days for Jesus,  
Leave your burden here below—  
weepin' days for Jesus.

Chorus.  
For He's a burden bearer, a burden  
bearer, a burden bearer.  
For He's a burden bearer, a burden  
bearer, a burden bearer.

I done halt my head too high—  
weepin' days for Jesus,  
Goin' to let my pride go by;  
weepin' days for Jesus.

Chorus.  
When He climbed up Calvary,  
weepin' days for Jesus,  
Totin' his cross for you an' me—  
weepin' days for Jesus.

There was even a song made for grave-digging:—

I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart—  
I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart—  
I shivers and shakes in my soul  
When I looks in dat big black hole—  
I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart.

I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart—  
I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart—  
Don't bury dose boys so deep in de  
ground—  
Dey has to hear Gabriel's reveille  
sound—  
I've got a grave-diggin' feelin' in  
my heart.

And a rather gruesome song which was always done in white masks, representing ghosts speaking. Here it is:—

My mama tole me not to come over  
here—  
But I did, I did, I did.  
My mama said they surely would  
shoot me dead,  
An' they did, they did, they did.  
I tried to keep my secret from every  
shot and shell,  
But 'long came one that made me  
tell.

My papa tole me not to come over  
here,  
But I did, I did, I did.  
My papa said not for me to get  
myself shot,  
But I did, I did, I did.  
Draft came along—in I went,  
When de war got hot, I was sent.

My pastor tole me not to come  
over here,  
But I did, I did, I did.  
He said, "Now, Sam, they surely  
will get your ham,  
An' they did, they did, they did;  
When de whole German army  
passed over my head  
I knew I was lying on my death bed.

The last example is one of home-sickness:—

When I came over I wuz mama's  
pride and joy,  
Now I'm just one of de Hoy-poly.  
I don't want any more France,  
Jesus, I wants to go home.

If you don't want your bones to be  
used for fertilize,  
Better sing out your prayers and  
don't tell God no lies—  
I don't want any more France—  
Jesus, I wants to go home.

The article concludes with these words:—"After all, the singing of our coloured soldiers wasn't exactly singing, it was more like crooning. It was the legend of a suppressed race whispered to an obligato of unbelievably fervent music, energized with the yearnings of a soul. No one can deny the fact that the Negro's music had some part in the success gained by American arms in the past war."

And where did the American Negro get his good voice and his

(Continued at foot of next column)

**SPORT NEWS**

**BOXING**

**"Tiger" Flowers Loses Middleweight Championship of the World**

(From a Correspondent.)

Mickey Walker, European, won the middleweight title from "Tiger" Flowers, American Negro, in Chicago, on points. The referee's verdict is disputed, but stands. The black boxer repeatedly was guilty of slapping and flicking with his gloved hand open, the referee declared.

When the decision was announced there was a powerful chorus of "boos" from the vast audience all over the building. "Tiger" Flowers, however, took it like a good sportsman, and, smiling gamely, he crossed the ring and shook hands with Walker, congratulating him on his victory. A score of policemen then swarmed into the ring and escorted both boxers to their dressing-rooms. Feeling ran high, as there had been much betting on the bout, with the black man the ruling favourite.

The Coliseum, the venue of the contest, has become famous as the scene of many political conventions. Including those who saw the nominations of McKinley, Taft, Roosevelt and Harding, there was a capacity crowd of 11,000 who paid something like 90,000 dollars to witness the fight.

It was a strenuous battle and in the first round Walker sent Flowers sprawling with a right to the chin. Spurning a count, Flowers was up and at his opponent, keeping Walker away with long rights and lefts. This form of attack and defence con-

tinued until the seventh round. Then Walker became enraged and began to bore in. He plastered Flowers with rights, which left the black fellow in doubt as to whether he was coming or going. In the eighth round, however, Flowers contrived to get in a few stiff long-range shots which materially slowed up Walker. Up to this stage there were no real fireworks. The tenth round found Walker attacking vigorously. He shot over a beautiful right to the chin, which made the title-holder's knees sag, and a few seconds later Flowers was the recipient of another right in the same place which dropped him for the second time.

Flowers was promptly on his feet and he shook his head as if nothing had happened. From this to the close Walker tried hard for a knock-out, but he failed to penetrate the defence of the Negro.

Walker weighed 154 lbs., while Flowers scaled 159 lbs.—just a pound under the middleweight limit.

I have been to great pains to study and analyse the details of the above fight, and I am bound to say—after the supporting evidence of the spectators—that the probability is that had Flowers been a white man he would have got the verdict. Unlike many in the "profession" Flowers is a well-conducted fellow and a sportsman of the best type.

**I.C.U. PENETRATES TO SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

An enthusiastic supporter of the I.C.U. writes from Cement Siding, Quarry Stone, as follows:—

"I may express from this day that I am determined to carry on as an organizer of the Africans in this territory, and mould them into one solid mass under the flag of the I.C.U. I am quite aware that whatever may befall me as a result of this movement, you will not desert me, and that you will appeal to the Home Government in protest against any illegal action the authorities here may take."

I have kept myself very busy since I last wrote you; I have had two meetings in town which resulted in the enrolment of fifteen members. I am expecting more men to be present at our next meeting, which will take place on the 5th March. The movement is highly favoured in town, and we are looking to the near future when the Rhodesian workers will be imbued the I.C.U. spirit and fight for their rights. At a meeting we had in the compound here, under the leadership of my cousin, about 140 men attended, and the gathering was most enthusiastic throughout. They all agreed to join, from the Induna right down.

At first some of our people were sore that you should go and organize strange people, and leave the sons of Nyasaland in the dark; but this narrow-minded spirit has been overcome. I have written all our friends at home from Chintechi, Ngomtana and Kawuya districts, showing to them what you have done, and I have urged

instinct for expressing everything in music? From his ancestral tribes on the West coast of Africa, where, just as natives show us here to-day, manual labour is often lightened by the rhythm and beauty of song.

READER.

upon them the dire necessity of having our own printing press in Nyasaland, in order to enable us to print our own literature—at present the Missionary and Government presses refuse to give us access to their presses.

The letter further goes on to urge the African workers to be self-reliant, and to determine that they will not indefinitely remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water of the white man.

**THE CONTRAST**

The "South African Outlook," published at Lovedale, makes the following scathing comment on the report of East London's Medical Officer of Health on the conditions at the East Bank Location:—"The location is very possibly not worse than others in South Africa. There has been some outlay, we believe, on street paving and lighting and two Native visiting nurses, we are glad to know, are employed by the Council. But the conditions described by the Medical Officer of Health are a grave discredit to a progressive municipality which, as regards its European inhabitants, has a reputation as a health and holiday resort and spends money freely to maintain and increase that reputation. While the white children are playing on the beach, the picture of health, the poor Native children up in the locations are dying of the combined effects of malnutrition, bad housing and insanitation."

**Trade Union Liberty at Stake.**

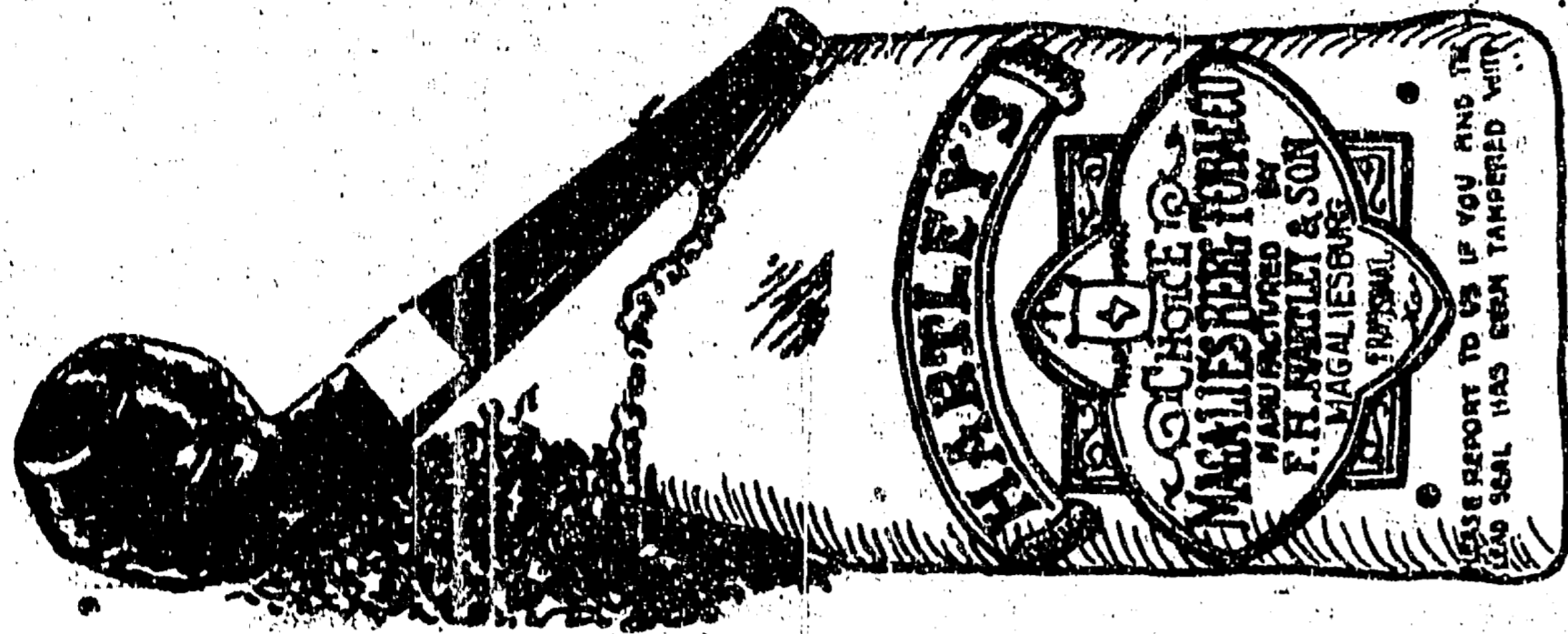
National Demonstrations of Protest against the Sedition Bill are arranged by the I.C.U. Headquarters for on the 27th March (Sunday). Branches of the Organisation throughout the Union are instructed to stage these Demonstrations throughout the day.

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Here's Joy!



HARTLEY'S LEAD SEAL TOBACCO

Free State I.C.U.

Ho mongoli "Workers Herald"—

Mona nahathota, moo matlaka a neng a ja litopo tsa bo...

I.C.U. "Kea u bona" uena lekhoa mekhona le maqeka...

meokho 'na ke u falimehetse. Ba re; ke tsona lithoko tsa talima oena mobali u tla ithuta...

utluoale ke Ramethuhelo. Ba lla Llo same sa Mosali eame ea hanang ho tselisoa, bakeng sa bana ba hae, eo selo sa hae se ileng sa utloahala Ranna—oa phomomela.

Ke u ka ipalla ena melao 'ea Hertzog eo ho thoeng ke Minister of Natives, u tla fumana hobba etletse mano a hobolaea motho e motso mona South Africa.

Ke mongoli oa rona. Mona motseng oa Kroonstad ho fihlile maoba ka 22nd February moshemane oa setsoha-mesong oa 'ma -Nkopanc-**E** Mathunya e leng ea bitsong **E** Jameson oa Mposi Bloemfontein ho tla ba mongoli oa Lekala mona Kroonstad.

Le re: Nako e otile, a o rata kapa ha u rate eona e tsamea hore ngoana a khase e leng I.C.U.

Ke ona fela o kgonang kapa sebolai, gopipitlhoa kapa le molikoane thogong le matsh gore ke moalafi e mogolo oa m kumotse ka meli oa felisa.

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LACTOGEN makes babies HEALTHY

MOST MOTHERS would naturally prefer to feed their babies themselves as long as possible, but to do this it is necessary for the mothers to look after their own health. If mothers take "LACTOGEN" themselves they are able to feed their children much longer than would be otherwise possible.

START YOUR BABY ON "LACTOGEN" TO-DAY AND HE WILL BE HEALTHY.



DOCTORS AND NURSES ALWAYS RECOMMEND "LACTOGEN." IT IS BEST FOR BABIES.

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