

FREEDOM CHARTER ADOPTED

Congress of the People Epoch-Making Success in Face of Police Intimidation

KLIPTOWN, Sunday night.—Beneath the great, green four-spoked Freedom Wheel, the symbol of the Congress of the People campaign, 2,844 elected delegates of the people adopted the Freedom Charter here this afternoon, pledging to strike, sparing neither strength nor courage, to win the democratic changes set out in the Charter for all South Africans.

Each delegate was elected by anything from 10 to a few thousand people, and this was without doubt the most representative convention ever held in South Africa. It was also the most spirited.

NEVER BEFORE HAS ANY DOCUMENT OR CONFERENCE SO CHALLENGED THE PRESENT NEAR-FASCIST GOVERNMENT, AND AS THE DELEGATES WERE CALMLY AND METHODICALLY ADOPTING ITS FINAL CLAUSES, THE GOVERNMENT BROKE INTO THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE BIGGEST POLICE SWEEP EVER SEEN IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY; WITH THREATS OF TREASON PROCEEDINGS, AND WITH A FOUR-HOUR-LONG INTERROGATION OF EVERY SINGLE DELEGATE IN THAT VAST CROWD.

All week-end great numbers of plain-clothes Special Staff men, rushed from every part of the country to the Kliptown conference square, had closely watched the proceedings. The conference was in its final stages this afternoon when at about 3.30 p.m. a large force of police was suddenly rushed to the area in trucks, and then stormed the delegates' enclosure.

The first warning the crowd had of this was an announcement from the platform by Mr. P. Beyelaid: "Armed police are approaching. We don't know what they want. Please keep your seats." Then he asked the crowd to rise and sing the anthem "Inkosi Sikaleli."

As the voices rose, about 15 Special Branch detectives, escorted by a group of police armed with stem guns, mounted the platform. Every document in sight was removed, cameras and rolls of film confiscated, and all those on the platform were searched. It was announced that treason was suspected, and the names and addresses of every delegate were to be taken.

Mounted police sealed off the area backed by the railway line, and constables armed with rifles, which they held at fixed position as they moved through the crowd, threw a double cordon round the conference square, taking up position a few feet apart from one another to prevent anyone entering or leaving the conference site.

CROWD BEHAVES MAGNIFICENTLY

The police came well prepared. Hurricane lamps were standing by so Special Staff men could continue laboriously to record names and addresses as darkness fell; and separate tables were set up for Europeans and Non-Europeans. As each delegate left the conference site, he was interrogated at the police table and searched. Documents found on him were retained and sealed in an envelope with his name. Every single European delegate was photographed by a flash camera. Delegates had their pockets searched, and though the police confiscated documents and publications they gave no receipts. The questioning and search went on until about 8 p.m.

One African taken to the Kliptown police station was assaulted, and by the time he was released his clothing was covered with blood.

The police removed all banners and flags on the conference sites.



Rev. Trevor Huddleston gives the AFRIKA salute after being honoured as Isitwalandwe by Dr. Conco, Acting A.N.C. president.

Members of the Special Staff were also seen entering the small Peace Pavilion and, with a knife, slashing the Peace exhibition to ribbons.

The police also confiscated all monies lying on tables collected from literature sales, and carted away huge quantities of literature. When the delegates saw that all publications and papers were being removed from them as they were searched, some hurriedly made bonfires in the delegates' enclosure to prevent the police having the satisfaction of confiscating literature.

Throughout the police questioning the people behaved as though quite unaware of the presence of several hundred armed police. They

formed into groups to dance and sing, the brass band played, and the dancing went on until only a tiny group was left within the police cordon, and their time came to be searched.

The crowd showed that it was completely fearless in the face of the police invasion, and the shouts of "Mayibuye Afrika" grew louder and more spirited than ever in these last dramatic hours of the Congress.

The crowd raised the meeting if it wished to proceed and when the crowd chaired its assent, Mrs. Helen Joseph rose to introduce the section of the Charter demanding houses, security and comfort for the people.

FROM EVERY CENTRE

DELEGATES came from every centre in the Union of any size, from the reserves and locations, the farms and cities. They came by train, car, cart, lorry and bus, some even on foot, converging on Kliptown from all directions, to speak, as the simple, home-made banners announced, "of freedom."

For one and a half days Kliptown, a quiet little settlement in the Klip Valley, became South Africa in miniature. Old and young, grizzled patriarchs and bright young children, clerks and scholars, doctors and ministers—every shade and facet of South African life was represented.

Delegates entered the enclosed strip of veld where the Congress was held, marching and singing, under their banners and African National Congress flags. One delegation was led by a brass band. Many of the women wore beautiful dresses and shawls, elaborately embroidered in Congress colours. Twenty young Baputatsela, the newly formed Orlando pioneer troupe, dressed in green shirts, yellow scarves and black trousers, were the envy of delegates who sported only a rosette in those colours. But in one way or another, every delegate wore the Congress colours, some the Congress flag flying from their breast-pockets other the tie, yet others the Congress scarf.

The conference site fluttered with

"Shame," shouted the crowd when George Peake, of the Cape Western delegation, announced that his delegation's banners had been seized in the police station at Beaufort West where 50 delegates had been held up and not allowed to proceed to the conference.

Leads from all the provinces snook from the platform to introduce the ten sections of the Charter. Then, one by one, first slowly but later in a deluge, the names poured on to the platform of delegates who wanted to speak. Everybody wanted to speak, and only a sprinkling could, but they spoke for all the others, from their hearts, about the longings and hopes of the people, their hatred for apartheid and their will for freedom. Cries of "Mayibuye" and clapping punctuated every speech.

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NEW AGE

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A view of the immense crowd.

NEW AGE LETTER BOX C.O.P. CAMPAIGN —NATAL EXPERIENCES

In times of stress and strain, men and women of courage, principle and determination usually emerge where none had been expected. The colossal task of organising vast areas and large numbers of people of all shades of political opinion in the course of the campaign for the Congress of the People has thrown us clear perspective the great task ahead for the progressive forces.

The greatest problem which faced us at the early stages was lack of confidence which was noticeable everywhere we touched. When a people has been oppressed for a long time and constantly told of its helplessness by those who benefit by its demoralisation, then it grows to believe that its subsequent station in life has been divinely determined. Almost at every quarter we had first to uproot fear that has paralysed the people's minds. There is a dreadful concern about economic security. Some feared that association with any political organisation, to say nothing of active participation in the political struggle, would bring down the wrath of the governing class. They feared for the loss of employment.

People are aware of the hardships they bear. They have an idea of the cause of these hardships, but they do not have the courage to organise for freedom because it entails sacrifice. There is no doubt but that the liberation movement must work hard to uproot this crippling fear. It is fear of economic insecurity, itself born of economic insecurity, which we have to overcome. It has led to an attitude of despair and fatal acceptance of their lot with consequent loss of confidence in themselves. The people, we found, had first to be led to a point where they could assess their problems and, secondly, to fire them with a zeal to thirst for freedom. Once these had been accomplished we found it comparatively easy to set them on the road to fight for their rights and to state their demands.

A. H. SADAR.

Ladysmith, Natal.

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Alexandra Health Committee

There is a general dissatisfaction amongst the residents of Alexandra about the mismanagement of local affairs by the Alexandra Health Committee.

This dissatisfaction flows from two aspects:

1. That whereas the predecessors of the present Alexandra Health Committee members kept the public informed through its organisation "Alexandra Standholders and Tenants Association," of the financial standing of the Committee and the amount of monies to be invested in the improvement of roads, bridges, streets, cemetery, sanitary, water sewerages, etc., the members of the present Committee have rejected the precedent and decide the fate of the rate- and tax-payers with untrammelled authority.

2. That whereas the predecessors, with the help and support of the Native Commissioner, is gradually whittling down at the invaluable rights of the rate-payers to participate in the formulation of measures beneficial for the smooth-running of its administration.

Rev. A. A. TANCI
Acting Chairman,
Alexandra Standholders and
Tenants Association.
Johannesburg.

Western Civilisation

Every day of the week, month and year, the African is hounded by Swart's Gestapo police: in his home, on the trains, at his work, in the church, and everywhere. Go to one of the African locations, such as Pimville. See the police standing at the barriers searching every African passenger getting off the train. See a white constable searching African women, their personal bodies and their belongings in a public place. This is done in the name of Western white civilisation and by a Christian Government!

K. KUMALO.
Kliptown, Johannesburg.

We Must Win

He who came here, Bible in hand, Who gave us wine and poisoned our mind;
He who lived on the fat of the land,
Shall one day find that Justice Is blind.

As mighty Caesar Strijdom now stands,
But all we know how Caesar did die.

He who thought himself a god
Was laid low when his time was by.

Rome was powerful, you know, for years,
But her power was broken. By whom? Himself.
So if we cannot defeat the Nats, They will defeat themselves, like Rome.

But let's not lay our hope on that.

We must strike a mighty blow—
and it is to see politicians dropping
We must win; it's been proved a fact.

And How? It is to UNITE!
CECIL OHLSON.
Cape Town.

Man's Rights

It may be well to convince ourselves at the outset that the Black man has rights in his country of birth. The rights of man involve not only a right to live, but to develop and grow. This demands opportunity to develop. It is wrong to think that development means denationalisation.

KEKE ED. TOLLIE.
Kwetzzi Location, Worcester.

Christianity

A letter on June 2 by Mr. Moses Rantekane says that Africans have accepted Christian teachings. Christianity is only a thin coating above the inner true African religion and belief.

Let me say of all the registered so-called Christians about 99 per cent. still believe in "balimo/zi-Thixo," and the same number go to a "ngaka/diyanga" to drive away evil spirits. They would rather go without paying for their tithes in church than fail to go to a "ngaka/diyanga" on many times do they use the expression "U-Thixo uyacediswa/Molimo o ea thosoa" in order to justify their going to diviners, etc.

If Africans take Christians tomorrow they will post religiously to Europe stamps to return ONE WHO IS CHALLENGED. Standerton.

Mr. Rantekane says: Our grandfathers were forced to live away with having many wives. Nobody can believe that. Nobody can force anyone to change his ways of life. Many Africans still have many wives, use bones and charms, still practice circumcision, to this day. Those who stopped taking many wives were convinced that it was bad to marry many wives.

My brother Rantekane you scare many decent men and women from the A.N.C., if you deny such things. You are not organising for the A.N.C., but you make us hate it.

We cannot accept everything which our grandfathers did. We choose good customs, keep them and respect them, but bad customs, we say boldly without hesitation, that they were done through satanic inspiration, and we shall regard them as such, so long as we are still under the inspiration of Christianity.

My brother tells us again: "Then they built his lands to the original owners of the land that if they made mistakes they would be punished." Brother Rantekane! Do you suggest that our grandparents never punished evil-doers?

Now tell us: What is wrong to do in punishing rapers, murderers, robbers and thieves?

Which minister or church ever suggested that oppression is a good thing? Ministers, the church, the Bible preaches: "Love." Don't you feel that oppression is the son of lack of love? Don't you think you make many Africans angry? European friends hate the A.N.C. and New Age because you exaggerate things beyond believing point? Do you believe that ministers and teachers don't care for democracy because they don't use your methods to fight for it? Our weapon is the Bible and Prayer. If you don't believe in that please let us alone in our stupidity.

You must submit yourself to ministers to lead you along the path of righteousness.

GEORGE SEPENG,
Minister.
Lutheran Mission, Jouberton Loc. Klerksdorp.

How Bad It Is

I want to know what is behind this Pass Law because things are going from bad to worse. How bad it is to see policemen stopping an African man and his wife or girl friend and asking them for a pass on the streets.

E. K. NDZIBA.
Plumstead, Cape.

EDITORIAL

TREASON!

THE South African people, at the Congress of the People last week-end, have shown their great courage, their unity and solidarity under attack, their unshakable determination to build a new life for all in South Africa. In the most spectacular and moving demonstration this country has ever seen, our people have given proof that they have the ability and the power to triumph over every obstacle and win the future of their dreams.

The mere fact that the Congress took place at all is testimony to the devotion and perseverance of the hundreds and thousands of men and women who spent many long months preparing for it, who travelled hundreds of miles to attend it, who allowed neither police intimidation nor Press blackout to stand in the way of its success. THE HUMBLEST DELEGATE AT THE CONGRESS DISPLAYED VIRTUES OF SELF-DENIAL, DISCIPLINE AND DEDICATION WHICH ARE THE FINAL ANSWER TO THE CHARGE OF THE OPPRESSORS THAT THE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE NOT FIT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES OR TO ENJOY DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.

The whole weight of authority was thrown into the struggle to prevent this Congress ever taking place. Those who first issued the historic Call were hamed, and those who succeeded them were hamed by the Minister of Justice, or exiled by the Minister of Native Affairs, in a futile attempt to strangle the Congress at birth. But new leaders came forward to take over the work, and in the end it was Swart and his minions who were compelled to abandon their banning weapon because they realised they could not cut off the heads of all ten million of their enemies.

Still, last week every effort was made to smash the Congress. All roads to Johannesburg were heavily guarded, and every vehicle was stopped which the police thought might conceivably be carrying delegates. Every delegate who could be arrested on any conceivable pretext was duly arrested. But still they came, in their hundreds and thousands, so that the combined resources of Swart's whole police force were taxed to the limit.

Some of the delegates were stopped en route. But for every delegate who was stopped scores more got through. Not even the final weapon in Swart's arsenal—the provocative raid on the proceedings themselves—had any effect save to raise the spirit of the people to its highest point and redouble their determination to carry on the fight.

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

The police claim to be investigating a charge of treason. One might ask who is Swart, the man whose first act of office was to release convicted traitors from prison, to speak of treason?

But in a way, the very allegation is in itself a tribute to the Congress. For it reveals, not only the fear of the oppressor, but also the nature of his charge against the people: THAT TO SPEAK OF FREEDOM IS TREASONABLE IN STRIJDOM'S SOUTH AFRICA.

In this sense we have no doubt every single delegate would plead guilty to the charge. Yes, we have no loyalty to apartheid and colour bars, to police brutality and oppression, to starvation and misery. WE OWE LOYALTY TO IDEAS WHICH ARE FOREIGN TO THE NATIONALIST TYRANTS; TO FREEDOM, AND JUSTICE, TO PEACE, PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY, AND ABOVE ALL TO EQUALITY FOR ALL, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, SEX, CREED OR COLOUR.

The delegates at the Congress of the People displayed a loyalty to South Africa and to the South African people which Swart and Strijdom will never understand. They showed they think South Africa belongs, not to a privileged handful, but to all who live and work here. They fight, not in the interests of the rich farmers and the mining magnates, but for a better life for all.

The Nationalists, on the other hand, may be loyal to the wool and wine farmers and the profiteers, great and small, who constitute their most ardent supporters. But when it comes to the African miners and farm labourers, the Indian factory operatives, the Coloureds of District Six and Windermere, the lower-paid European workers in the civil service and on the railways, it is the Nationalists who reveal their disloyalty to the highest ideals of mankind, their treason against humanity, their callousness and barbarity, their lack of any of the refinements of civilisation.

Now the Congress of the People has brought the great issues of our day into the proper perspective. Let the tyrants tremble. They may strut and fret their miserable hour on the stage of history, but their rule is doomed. This is indeed the century of the common man, and through the Congress, the common man has spoken.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE IS OVER; BUT THE BATTLE HAS JUST BEGUN. FORWARD TO FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!

LET US CARRY THE FREEDOM CHARTER TO EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN OUR LAND!

"LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM"

Page of Pictures



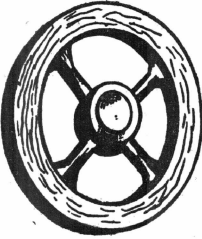
Delegates with demands later embodied in the Freedom Charter.



Benoni delegates with their banner: "We want our leaders."



Free State delegates in colourful national costume.



A lorry carrying Natal delegates publicised the Congress all the way from Durban.

Trade Union Congress leader Leslie Massina addresses the meeting. Next to him is Cape S.A.C.P.O. chairman George Penke.



Plain clothes police of the Special Branch spy on the Congress. Note photographer who took pictures of many delegates. Note also poster advertising Youth Festival of Peace and Friendship in Warsaw.

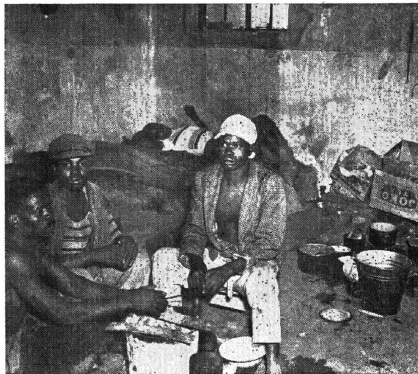
FREEDOM CHARTER—FULL TEXT

WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW

THAT South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

EVERY MAN AND WOMAN SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR AND TO STAND AS A CANDIDATE FOR ALL BODIES WHICH MAKE LAWS; All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country; The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex; All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and



"Compound labour shall be abolished."

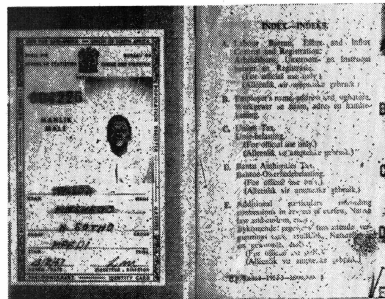
authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

THERE SHALL BE EQUAL STATUS IN THE BODIES OF STATE, IN THE COURTS AND IN THE SCHOOLS FOR ALL NATIONAL GROUPS AND RACES; All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs; All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride; The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

THE NATIONAL WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY, THE HERITAGE OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, SHALL BE RESTORED TO THE PEOPLE; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monop-



"All apartheid laws shall be set aside."

oly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people; All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

RESTRICTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP ON A RACIAL BASIS SHALL BE ENDED, AND ALL THE LAND REDIVIDED AMONGST THOSE WHO WORK IT, TO BANISH FAMINE AND LAND HUNGER;

The State shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers; Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land; All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

NO-ONE shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance; The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

ALL LAWS WHICH DISCRIMINATE ON GROUNDS OF RACE, COLOUR OR BELIEF SHALL BE REPEALED.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

THE law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children; **THE PRIVACY OF THE HOUSE FROM POLICE RAIDS SHALL BE PROTECTED BY LAW;**

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad; Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

ALL who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their

employers; The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits; **MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES SHALL RECEIVE EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK;** There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers; Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work; Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

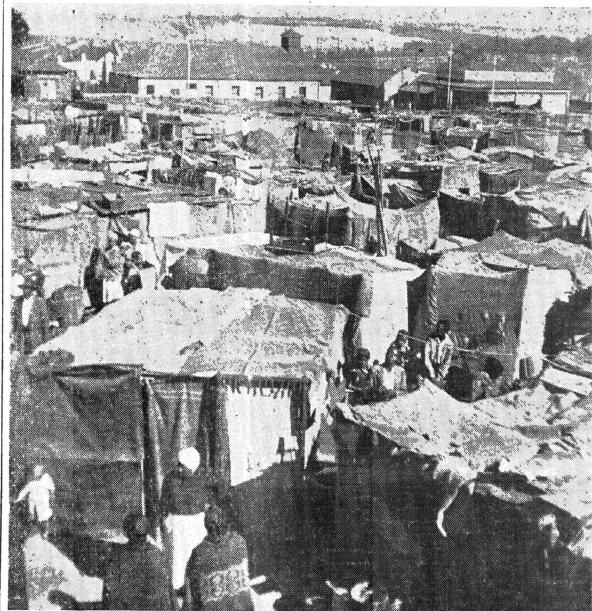
THE Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by the free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

THE AIM OF EDUCATION SHALL BE TO TEACH THE YOUTH TO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE, TO HONOUR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, LIBERTY AND PEACE

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of State allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass State education plan; Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens; The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

ALL PEOPLE SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE WHERE THEY CHOOSE, TO BE DECENTLY HOUSED, AND TO BRING UP THEIR FAMILIES IN COMFORT AND SECURITY; Unused housing space to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;



A preventive health scheme shall be run by the State; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children; Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

"Slums shall be abolished and new suburbs built where all have transport . . ."

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the State;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all; Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

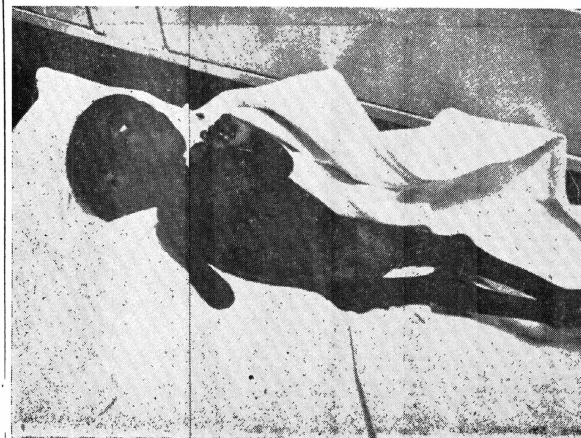
SOUTH AFRICA shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations; **SOUTH AFRICA SHALL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN WORLD PEACE AND THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY NEGOTIATION—NOT WAR;**

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY, AS WE SAY HERE: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."



"No one shall go hungry."

Resolution Adopted by the Congress of the People

We who have come from every corner of our land, chosen by our people to meet together in this great assembly, believe that the Freedom Charter we have adopted contains in it the true and most just desires of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

We proclaim that in this land, where the mass of the people own nothing and know only poverty and misery, this Charter will become the most treasured possession of all who are oppressed and of all who love liberty.

Wherever there are people living or working together, they must be told of this great Charter so that they may see and understand the sweeping changes that will come from their every-day struggles against indignity, inequality and injustice.

We declare that all true sons and daughters of South Africa will work, from this day on, to win the changes which are set out in the Freedom Charter. Those who are in the forefront of this struggle will for ever hold an honoured place in our history. Those who work against it will be isolated and scorned.

We pledge that when we return from here to our homes we will at once make known to all our neighbours and workmates what we have done here, and we will win support for the Freedom Charter.

We pay tribute to the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACPO for the service they have rendered to South Africa in starting and organising the campaign for the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. We mandate these bodies to continue to work together and campaign for the achievement of the demands of the Charter and to get the Freedom Charter endorsed and accepted by all democratic organisations and people.

LET THE FREEDOM CHARTER LIGHT OUR WAY TO LIBERATION!

CONGRESS SNIPPETS

● The Congress of the People was an impressive feat of voluntary organisation. The Transvaal Region of the Federation of South African Women and A.N.C. women's branches found accommodation in Johannesburg homes for 2,500 delegates. Kiptown provided accommodation for 500 delegates. Mrs. Helen Joseph told New Age that a tribute should be paid to all those who responded so generously to the appeal for accommodation and to the hard work of those who organised this side of the Congress.

● Among those who watched the proceedings were Mr. A. Heppie, parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, and Mrs. Jessie MacPherson, the national chairman of the Labour Party.

● Representatives from the Basutoland African Congress were present at the Congress.

POLICE THROUGHOUT COUNTRY ALERTED TO INTERFERE CONGRESS

Interference on Unprecedented Scale

A PART from its extremely provocative police swoop on the conference proceedings, the Government used the full might of the Political Branch of the police force to try to smash the Congress of the People. These attempts all failed.

For days beforehand Minister of Justice Swart had a large section of the force throughout the country on special duty to waylay delegates on their way to Kliptown.

At the conference itself there were scores of detectives clustered in groups, some taking notes of the speeches, scanning the faces of delegates and others. They moved in with flashlight and micro-film cameras, binoculars and recording equipment. They photographed hundreds of delegates as they presented themselves at the credentials table. Non-White detectives, exceeding the White detectives in number, according to some reports, mingled with the crowd.

The whole police campaign was on a scale hitherto unknown in South Africa. The police said openly they were out to "get information."

FIFTY ORGANISATIONS
Shortly after the Congress began, the detectives, who had been hanging around outside, marched in with a warrant authorising them to "investigate" the Congress of the People and to search for documents. The warrant also stated that they were investigating more than 50 different organisations.

These detectives lined up at the rear of the delegates and seated themselves on empty lemonade boxes, "breathing down the neck of the meetings," as one delegate put it.

They were in time to hear Rev. Huddleston declare from the platform: "We are meeting openly, not behind closed doors, to plan a

charter which will be the basis of our action in future years."

HUNDREDS STOPPED
Hundreds of delegates travelling to Johannesburg from all the provinces were stopped by the police and their names and addresses taken.

The police were particularly active at Standerton, where they stopped lorry-loads of delegates and demanded transportation permits and tax receipts from Africans. Indians were told to show their Transvaal entry permits.

One lorry was delayed at Standerton by the police for three hours and a car carrying delegates from the Ventersburg A.N.C. was held up for 24 hours. The minute books were seized.

Of the Cape Western's 90-odd delegates, 60 travelling in two lorries were detained at Beaufort West and only about half a dozen of them managed to get through to Johannesburg. The drivers of the lorries were charged under the Motor Transportation Act. The delegates were told they would have to appear as witnesses the following Monday.

On many national roads police road blocks were established to stop all cars. The main road between Bloemfontein and Johannesburg was blocked at most of the main towns.

INVITED TO HOMES
When the two lorries were stopped at Beaufort West, the

police said: "We were told to keep a look-out for you." There were about 15 policemen in the police station when the names and addresses of delegates were taken.

The morale of the Cape Town delegates remained magnificent throughout the three-day-long delay. After spending the first night sleeping shivering on the lorries they were approached by many of the people in the town who invited them into their homes, provided food and hospitality and listened with great interest to talks on the Congress of the People.

Durban delegates travelled in two lorries and a van. One lorry was involved in an accident, and the other lorry and the van were stopped at Volkstrust on the Transvaal border, where the occupants were instructed to show their entry permits.

A lorry that left from Clarewood was stopped at Perdekop and again at Heidelberg. The occupants were checked at both towns for their entry permits. At Heidelberg they were told that they would be "stopped and charged" at every town they entered.

DETAINED
Another lorry was stopped at LadySmith at 3 a.m. on Saturday. Police in a pick-up overtook it and forced it to stop. The Indian delegates had to show their inter-provincial permits, and the Africans were asked to show their outward passes. They were detained for two hours at LadySmith, where all their names and addresses were taken, and were later also delayed at Standerton for a few hours, where they had to produce the same documents.

According to Mr. Robert Resha, one of the A.N.C. organisers of the Congress, African delegates from the Northern Transvaal were refused rail tickets. Other Africans, particularly in Port Elizabeth, had the same trouble. The Johan-

nesburg Non-European Affairs Department put no difficulties in the way of issuing permits to African delegates to enter Johannesburg.

Forty-five delegates who hired a bus at Ermelo could not obtain the necessary transportation permit and were stranded.

MADE NOTES
For two or three days before the Congress opened on Saturday, police were seen hanging about the Transvaal Indian Congress office and also the A.N.C. office. Police photographers took pictures of delegates calling at the offices and detectives made notes of names and registration numbers.
Detectives from several of the large centres, including Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, were seen in Johannesburg and at Kliptown. Several European delegates from the City of Johannesburg were taken in by City detectives. Some of these detectives were from Cape Town themselves.

SOVIET-IRANIAN trade agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union will supply Iran with cotton textiles, rolled metal, cement, machinery, motor vehicles, chemicals, timber and other goods in exchange for Iranian rice, cotton, wool, hides and skins, fish products, dried fruits, oilseed, ores and other commodities.

SPEECHES TO THE CONGRESS

CHIEF LUTHULI (His speech was read to the Conference): "For everyone working for freedom for all in South Africa this assembly will be a crowning climax to a long period of organisational work in concentrated action. We will rally the people of South Africa to participate in this historic and unique gathering."

"Why will this assembly be significant and unique? Its size, I hope, will make it unique. But above all its multi-racial nature and its noble objectives will make it unique, because it will be the first time in the history of our multi-racial nation that its people from all walks of life will meet as EQUALS, irrespective of race, colour and creed, to formulate a Freedom Charter for all people in the country."

"June 25 and 26 will go down in history as a significant landmark, a turning point for the better, in the struggle to make South Africa a paradise of freedom for all its people regardless of their geographical and racial origin. Generation to come, who I trust will then be enjoying freedom, will thank the Almighty for this occasion."

The task of gaining freedom in our multi-racial society is of considerable magnitude and will tax severely the determination and courage of the best of us. If the movement of the people should fail, it will be you and I who will have shamelessly let down the cause and the people."

B. TUROK (Cape Western): "Often we are told that the African is lazy and doesn't work hard. If Strijdom thinks so, let him go down a mine and see for himself. Let the whole Cabinet go underground and sweat it out like the miners. And if they caught a few of the miners' diseases while they were down, I wouldn't mind either."

M. A. E. PATEL (presenting the report of National Council of Congress of the People): "The main political parties showed by their refusal to co-sponsor that they were afraid of the movement for real democracy among the people. From some people there was the suggestion that the Con-

gress of the People should take the form of a formal convention of political groups and their leaders. This has never been our idea of the Congress. The Non-European people have had enough of indirect representation. Our conception of the Freedom Charter is not an amalgam of the different programmes of different political groups, but a charter of the people, the people based on the demands sent in directly by the people themselves."

"Our delegates assembled here are not the spokesmen of only one organisation, but groups they have been elected from the factories, from the streets and blocks in the locations and townships, by small groups of housewives, by farm squatters, by miners. They are compounds, by people gathering in large numbers and small."

"Our delegates assembled here speak with the voice of the people everywhere who have taken part in real democratic direct elections and have spoken out their demands from their hearts."

"The authorities tried from the organisation to split the groups. Leaders were banned, conferences invaded by the police, individuals intimidated. We were planning sedition," they said. But we have been planning freedom. And the campaign for the Freedom Charter gathered strength."

"As fast as leaders were banned, new ones came forward. This conference is a tribute to the spirit of determination in all of you in the face of intimidation and police terror; and a tribute to the young organisers for freedom, for which this campaign has thrown up."

Mr. P. BEYLEVELD (chairman, Congress of Democrats): "A people is never free unless it can express its aspirations and desires through its own government."

Mr. T. MOOSI (Newclare): "If you say this or that Nationalist law is no good, you are then persecuted and called a Communist. Mr. T. Moosi said that Nationalist law was called a traitor."

Mrs. SONIA BUNTING (Cape Town): "The Cape Town delegation travelled 1,000 miles to be at

the Congress of the People. But we would have travelled 10,000 miles if necessary to speak of freedom."

"The Government are banning our tried and trusted leaders. But we would have travelled 10,000 more miles to take his place. For every leader exiled, there must be 1,000 more from where he came."

DR. LETELE (speaking on "All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights"): "Apartheid is now really anything new. It is a policy that has existed for the past 300 years, turning up under a variety of names, all meaning the same thing. Although it is a policy that apartheid means separate development, we find that in effect it means inferior status for non-Whites, for example, Bantu education."

"Attempts to suppress Press criticism of apartheid will not succeed, because the whole world knows what is happening here."

Mr. N. T. NAICKER (general secretary, Natal Indian Congress): "Those people who have political rights in South Africa and are now in a position of having those rights snatched away unjustly and surreptitiously by the Nationalist Government are constrained to choose between the narrow, dangerous, chaotic and suicidal road towards a perpetual tyranny and dictatorship on the one hand and a broad enlightened path towards an enlightened democracy, based on the free and unfettered will of the people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed."

Mr. E. MPHAHLELE (introducing the Charter on Culture and Education): "We are not interested in what Parliament calls Bantu education. I speak as a parson and as a parent. I refuse to have my children taught from opposing Bantu education. I refuse to tell my classes that Moshesh was a cunning rascal, and that Dingane was a murderer. I refuse to tell my children that they are inferior."

A representative of the **SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S FEDERATION** said it is a pleasure to have police with us, for we know that they can take our documents away, but not our spirit.

A Glimpse at S.A. History

JUNE 26, which fell last week, will go down in South African history as the PEOPLE'S DAY OF UNITY AND STRUGGLE. It was no accident that the C.O.P. was called to take place on this date.

Monday, June 26, 1950, was observed throughout South Africa as a national day of protest against the Suppression of Communism Bill (then passing through its final stages in Parliament). The call to protest came from the African National Congress, S.A., Indian Congress, A.P. and the Communist Party of South Africa.

June 25, it was said at an emergency conference in Johannesburg, marks the beginning of our all-out struggle for freedom and liberty. "And never before did the country witness such a demonstration of fraternal solidarity and unity of purpose by all sections of the Non-European people in the struggle to secure economic and political emancipation."

In June, 1951, the African National Congress executive issued an invitation to the head committees of the national liberatory movements to discuss a campaign of civil disobedience and on

June 26, 1952, the Defiance Campaign for the Repeal of Unjust Laws was launched.

The opening shots in the campaign were fired by people's leaders Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Johnson Ngweni, David Bopape, J. B. Marks, Sam Kahn, Michael Harmel and others who defied the

Minister of Justice's orders banning them from attending meetings, with the slogan: "We can never give in to fascism and we shall never give up the struggle for freedom."

Altogether over 8,000 South Africans of all races and from all corners of the country defied the unjust laws during the Defiance Campaign, winning sympathy for their people's cause all over the world, and uniting freedom fighters into a stronger and more determined resistance than ever before.

June 26, 1953, following a call by Chief Albert Luthuli, president general of the African National Congress, was observed as a national day of commemoration and dedication to freedom.

IN 1954, "On June 26, all fighters for freedom must renege to fight and die together and never turn back until freedom is won," was Chief Luthuli's inspiring message in 1954.

"The significance of June 26 is that it enshrines the determination of the oppressed people in the Union of South Africa to fight untidely for their liberation from oppression; it enshrines their hope for the realisation of a Government of the people, by the people and for the people, and not for 'Europeans Only'." he continued.

ON JUNE 26, 1955, THE EPOCH-MAKING FREEDOM CHARTER WAS ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE IN KLIPTOWN, TRANSVAAL. N.S.

CONGRESS CALLS FOR OPPOSITION | Congresses Will Determine TO NEW GROUP AREAS ACT | Union's Future —Aims at ruining Indians —C.O.D. Conference

DURBAN.—The Natal Indian Congress has called upon the Indian people and all democratic organisations in the country to oppose the Group Areas Development Act with all their might.

"The recent debate in Parliament and the passing of the Group Areas Development Act make it clear to the Indian community that the Durban City Council" declares a statement issued by the Congress.

"We have known in the past how laws ostensibly enacted for the purpose of clearing slums or for providing houses have been used to expropriate Indian-owned land. The Development Act will be another instrument in the hands of authorities to make our people landless.

"What is most shocking is that the Mayor of Durban and the City Council have acted without any Christian conscience by giving this measure their full approval.

"WHITE CITY"

"There is no doubt that apartheid as conceived by the Nationalists, with the full support of the Durban City Council, is for the purpose of making Durban a 'White city'. The amending Bills serve to emphasise the tremendous economic loss totalling millions of pounds which the Indian community will suffer, and the fact that the Act will give the authorities unfettered power to secure vast profits through the so-called 'development schemes' raises the presumption that the Durban City Council is anxious about these profits.

"Congress reiterates its warning that the Indian community should not be misled by anyone in regard to the Act, which is primarily an anti-Asiatic measure, its chief objective being the ultimate expropriation of the Indian people resulting from economic ruin. Congress has called upon all its branches to convene special conferences in their areas of all organisations with a view to organising a determined opposition to the declaration of group areas and the expropriation of Indian-owned lands.

9,400 U.S. SERVICEMEN have committed crimes in Japan during the past 18 months, the Japanese Minister of Justice announced in Parliament recently.

Sabotage of Chinese Plane "A Ghastly Crime"

—Says British Police Chief

LONDON. The Hong Kong Government is offering a reward of 100,000 dollars for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the persons responsible for the sabotage of the Air India International Airliner "Kashmir Princess" which crashed into the sea on April 11 while carrying a party of Chinese and European journalists to attend the Bandung conference.

"It has been established beyond doubt that the Kashmir Princess met its end through an act of sabotage by some form of time-bomb," said the Commissioner of Police, A. C. Maxwell, in a statement last week. "It is regrettable that the exact nature of that time-bomb was placed aboard the aircraft in Hong Kong.

"No effort is being spared to bring to justice the perpetrators of this ghastly crime which must offend the conscience of all humanity. The Hong Kong police are dealing with this crime as one of carefully planned mass murder. All our investigations point this way."

LEE-WARDEN ATTACKS BILL IN PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN.—"When it comes to any measure under the Group Areas Act, the dice has always been loaded against the Non-European peoples, for in nearly every case it is the Indians and Coloureds who have been called upon to make sacrifices," Mr. Len Lee-Warden said in the closing sessions of the House of Assembly last week when the Group Areas Development Bill was under discussion.

"In practically every case it has been the Non-European who has been called upon to give up his hearth and his home in order to bolster up our growing bureaucratic system. He may well lose what little wealth he may have accumulated by the sweat of his brow."

Mr. Lee-Warden said that the state, by virtue of the powers vested in it by this Bill, has become a dealer in immovable property.

"It prevents the owner from selling the property at more than the basic value and it takes 50 per cent. of the money that the owner might be able to obtain over and above the basic value if sold on the open market."

"Clause 20 of this Bill is merely the means to enable the Group Areas Board to enrich itself, and at the expense of the community that is less able to defend itself."

"The Bill is a means to oust the Non-Europeans out of their areas with the least possible delay, not by paying the owner what is legitimately due to him, but by paying him a token of the true purchase price."

"The Indian and the Coloured people, who will be most affected by this Bill, have not been consulted, and there is no reference anywhere in this Bill to them having any say on any of the boards that are to be appointed," Mr. Lee-Warden said in conclusion.

PORT ELIZABETH local committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions has recently been established. The committee has already had several meetings. Mr. D. Telling, one of the joint secretaries, informed New Age. The newly-formed Eastern Cape African Chemical Workers' Union has also applied for affiliation to SACTU.

U.S. RUNS AWAY FROM CHINA'S PEACE PLAN

Delay 'completely unjustifiable,' say Indonesians

LONDON.

PRESIDENT Eisenhower recently declared that he "would do anything—meet with anyone, anywhere" in the interest of peace. But he has shown a marked reluctance to accept Premier Chou En Lai's repeated offer to negotiate a settlement of the dispute over Formosa.

Chou's offer was first made at the Asia-African Conference. The United States' response was the impertinent demand "for guarantees of Chinese sincerity." Then, as a further gesture of goodwill, the Chinese released a number of American airmen who had been imprisoned after being forced down when they were flying unlawfully over Chinese territory.

U.S. reaction was to demand the release of the remaining American airmen who had been imprisoned for espionage!

But still the Government of People's China continues to show its willingness to negotiate a settlement. Far from taking umbrage, Premier Chou, in a broadcast over Peking radio, renewed his offer.

"RUB ELBOWS"

"The Chinese Government is anxious to 'rub elbows' with the U.S. Government in order to alleviate the tense situation," he said. "There is no need for the people of China to enter into war against the United States."

"As a means of settlement, we support the 10-power conference proposal suggested by the Soviet Union. However, we are not averse to considering other forms of settlement as well."

Chou declared that the United States has taken an "evasive and equivocal stand" on the offer to negotiate he put forward at the Bandung conference.

"CHINA'S TERRITORY"

He reiterated his Government's conviction that Formosa is "China's territory" and that "the liberation is China's domestic affair." But he said "the Chinese people are willing to strive for the liberation of Formosa by peaceful means so far as possible."

Chou also took the position that United States occupation of Formosa was "an international problem involving both China and the United States," and required international negotiations to achieve a settlement.

His speech, however, has been greeted with stony silence in Washington, and there is no indication that the United States Government is willing to enter into negotiations with People's China on any issue.

OFFENSIVE AIR BASE

Main reason for the U.S. reluctance to negotiate is that she has

already turned Formosa into an offensive air base against the Chinese people. According to a report in the New York Times two weeks ago, Formosa has become a major U.S. air base with at least five airports on its western coast from which American pilots could mount operations within hours of any "emergency."

In addition, several minor airfields are equipped to ensure full logistic and operational support for American aircraft.

The report added that the arrival in Formosa of Brigadier-General Benjamin O. Davis, Vice-Commander of the newly created U.S. air task force with headquarters in Formosa's capital, Taipei, underlined the emphasis being placed on Formosa as a po-

THE anti-fascist movement now has its heart outside Parliament, in the mass movement of the people of all colours. It is the mass movement of the people, headed by the Congress, which today determines the future of South Africa. This was the conclusion arrived at by the annual conference of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, held here on the eve of the Congress of the People last week.

JOHANNESBURG.

"The 'Parliamentary Opposition,'" said C.O.D., "withered away." The United Party, the most lukewarm of the anti-fascist bodies, with its hands largely tied by its acceptance of the doctrines of European "baaskap," is without policy or prospects for the future.

Fascism, continues the report to the conference, has a logic of its own which cannot be kept in a carefully separated and "Non-European" camp. The destruction of the liberties of the Non-Europeans is the forerunner of the destruction of liberty for the European. Already the process has gone so far

that the rights of the European community are vanishing rapidly.

There has never been a time when the European population had so clearly before them the stark fact that the Congress and the Democrats policy alone can offer them an alternative to the dark future of fascism.

The C.O.D. conference condemned the rigging of the parliamentary system so as to give the Nationalist Party a two-thirds majority in Parliament and reaffirmed its view that the only effective safeguard against fascism is a fully democratic government based on universal franchise.

Meanwhile the United States' unwillingness to settle its differences with People's China has evoked unfavourable comment from Asian nations.

Indonesian Comment

The Indonesian paper Berita Indonesia urged the United States to show sincerity to ease tension in the Formosa area. The Chinese people, said the paper, had already expressed their goodwill, but sincerity must come from both parties in order to create a favourable atmosphere for negotiations.

The paper stressed that the United States had no reason to remain in the Formosa Strait, nor to give its influence to prevent the admission of People's China to the United Nations.

The paper Bintang Timur also declared: "On the Formosa question, the only issue now left is the American attitude. All the eyes of the world are on Washington. It is completely unjustifiable for the United States deliberately to delay a settlement."

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MOTLOHELOA ADDRESSES CIVIL LIBERTIES COUNCIL

LONDON.

An appeal to the British Government to bring the question of "freedom attacks" that have been made recently on the civil liberties of the South African people to the attention of the House of Commons Committee of the United Nations was made at the annual meeting of the National Council for Civil Liberties, which was addressed by Mr. John Motloheola, former secretary of the Cape Western A.N.C.

An emergency resolution expressed "considerable alarm" at the way the Urban Areas Act was being enforced in the Cape Province. The resolution pointed out that under the Act unemployed Africans who have lived for less than 15 years in a city could be forcibly removed.

Furthermore the wives of Africans employed in urban areas could be evicted, "thus giving sanction to the forcible separation of husband and wife and the breaking up of families," and the Government had the power to proclaim any urban area a "proclaimed area" and to make it

illegal for any African to remain in it for more than 72 hours without the permission of the local authority.

Mr. John Motloheola, former secretary of the Cape Western region of the African National Congress, told the meeting that under the Act "women have been turned into widows while their husbands are alive, and their children have been made orphans."

The National Council of Civil Liberties is also to protest directly to the South African Government against the operation of the Act.

PRIME MINISTER OF SUDAN'S MESSAGE TO C.O.P.

JOHANNESBURG.—"The realisation of the national aspirations of all peoples and groups in South Africa is indeed a legitimate right which is commensurate with the Charter of the United Nations, and which was positively affirmed by the Asian-African Conference," Mr. Ismail el Azhar, Prime Minister of Sudan, said in a message to the Congress of the People.

Messages from Chou En-Lai, Prime Minister of China, the Dutch United Council of Trade Unions, British Guiana People's Progressive Party, World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Youth, the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth and the President of the Indian National Congress were reported in New Age last week.

Here are additional messages:

Paul Robeson, famous American freedom fighter, wrote:

"Claimed by her people, liberated Africa shall soon—yes, in our day—rise to greatness in the world; and the flowering of her culture from the ancient roots of glory shall enrich the culture of the world."

The International Organisation of Journalists:

"We firmly believe that your Congress will help to bring about an improvement in the conditions among the South African population."

Howard Fast, outstanding American progressive writer:

"Let me assure you that thousands of other Americans stretch out their hands toward you and open their hearts to you."

Canon John Collins, London:

"I assure the Non-Europeans of South Africa of my continuing support in their struggle for freedom and justice."

All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Peking:

"The Chinese workers and entire people express deep sympathy and concern to the South African people for their just struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination."

The Democratic Algerian Youth:

"We young Algerians who are engaged in a merciless fight against foreign imperialists who oppress our country, salute with fervour the important successes which you will

attain in your just action. We are sure that that great assembly of South African people will be a decisive step in the courageous battle you are waging."

Messages of support and congratulation also came from: Vietnam

Peace Committee, Civil Rights Congress, U.S.A., International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Brussels, Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, Moscow; National Assembly of Women, London; American Labour Party, New York; Czechoslovak Union of Youth, Prague; Committee Non-Partisan Committee for Negro Representation; Studentensamfund (progressive students), Copenhagen; University Ligo, The Hague; Kenya Indian Congress; Rhodesian Industrial and Commercial Union, Salisbury; Indian Association, Mombasa; Professor Robert M. Maciver, Dr. Albert Simar, Boris Gourevitch, New York, Desmond Buckle, London, Leslie Plummer, M.P., London.

Garment Workers' Unity Nearer

CAPE TOWN.

UNITY of all garment workers came a step nearer last week when the general members' meeting of the Cape Peninsula Garment Workers' Union a resolution was adopted that a consultative committee of the three unions (Cape, Transvaal and Natal) be set up.

The meeting ratified an agreement reached earlier between representatives of the three unions at a meeting in Pretoria.

It was also reported that the meeting will also deal with all the demands submitted by the Cape union for higher wages and improved conditions.

After a number of angry interjections, the workers voted that the employers be approached again, and that if the union were still unsuccessful in obtaining a satisfac-

tory agreement the matter be taken to arbitration.

Here a worker from the floor shouted "Strike!"

Earlier in the meeting another union member, speaking from the floor, said that it was only because of the activities of the Transvaal union that the officials of the Cape union woke up.

"Our officials were asleep all the time," the worker said. "Now the workers, too, are taking an added interest in their union."

ROYAL COMMISSION REVEALS KENYA'S MISERY

'Lowest Living Standards in all African Territories'

INTOLERABLE slums, starvation wages, lack of educational opportunities, under-nourishment and endemic disease are the lot of the African people in Kenya, according to the report of the East African Royal Commission published two weeks ago.

THE SURVEY, WHICH COVERED TANGANYIKA AND UGANDA AS WELL AS KENYA, CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE INHABITANTS WAS "AMONG THE LOWEST IN ALL AFRICAN TERRITORIES."

The commission was appointed in 1953, after the "emergency" in Kenya had begun, to examine measures necessary to achieve an improved standard of living in East Africa.

In Kenya the wages of "approximately one half of the urban workers in private industry and approximately one quarter of those in the public services are insufficient to provide for their basic, 'essential needs of health, decency' and working efficiency."

Half the workers in Nairobi last year received less than £5 a month, whereas £10 a month was the minimum needed for a family of five to live in decency.

BED ONLY. In Mombasa 60 persons were found sleeping in a single-storey temporary house; in Nairobi, if you are an African, you do not rent a room or a house, just bed space on the floor. Town conditions, says the commission, are deteriorating.

Africans in the rural areas earn even less than those in the towns.

desert of the Crown lands.

"Economic mobility is the watchword of the report, which says the African must "strive to adapt himself completely to the modern economic order."

GOOD FOR CAPITALISTS

What this means in fact is that suitable conditions must be created for the capitalists, who must be given incentives for investment, particularly in the sphere of mineral exploration and development, which the Commission sees as the key to progress in East Africa.

Similarly the continuation of "White immigration" is essential for the infusion of capital and enterprise."

On the other hand, the Commission is suspicious of the development of the African people and their organisations. "White admitting that the increase in real wages in the last 20 years has not kept pace with the increase in other real incomes, the Commission recommends minimum wages in the three territories only slightly above the below-poverty-minimum wage in Kenya, and says it is a "wasteful effort" to encourage "trade unions on the British model."

The result is that 43,000 Whites share the 12,000 square miles of the Highlands—much of it not even under cultivation—while Kenya's 5,300,000 Africans are crowded into 52,000 square miles of inferior land in the Reserves, or scratch for a living in the semi-

desert of the Crown lands.

"WASTE OF TIME"

Similarly, while stressing that "better and more widespread education is a prerequisite of a higher standard of living," the Commission says arguably that teaching of Swahili is a "waste of time."

The publication of the Commission's report has had a mixed reception. The White settlers in Kenya have set up a howl about the proposal to open up the White Highlands to the Africans. In the same week that the report was published, the Kenya Legislative Council was passing a law providing for the confiscation of the land and livestock of all Kikuyu who had had any connection with the Mau Mau.

"OBSERVER" COMMENT
The British Government has

Natal Inter-race Soccer

Currie's Fountain, Durban SUNDAY, 3rd JULY, 1955

NATAL COLOURED v. NATAL INDIANS

1 p.m. (Juniors)

ST. JOHNS v. CRIMSON LEAGUE

(Cape Town) (Durban Indians) Coloureds 2.15 p.m.

NATAL COLOURED v. NATAL INDIANS

3.30 p.m. (Seniors)

SUNDAY, 17th JULY

NATAL COLOURED v. NATAL INDIANS

2 p.m. (Juniors)

NATAL AFRICANS v. NATAL COLOURED

3.30 p.m. (Seniors)

SUNDAY 31st JULY

NATAL INDIANS v. NATAL AFRICANS

2 p.m. (Juniors)

NATAL INDIANS v. NATAL AFRICANS

3.30 p.m. (Seniors)

SEE NATAL'S BEST IN ACTION!

GEO. SINGH, Secretary.

Arnold's Xmas Hampers

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO CUSTOMERS

- If your agent has not called on you for some time, please notify the office so that arrangements can be made for you to make regular payments on your parcel.
- If you have been retrenched from the factory where you are working, please call in and see us so that we can make arrangements for an agent to call on you.
- If your agent has been retrenched from the factory, please let us know so that we can get another agent to take her place.
- Customers are reminded that payments must be completed by November 15. It is the duty of agents to call on customers regularly.

TUDOR'S SELECTIONS FOR THE DURBAN "JULY"

- GOOD HEALTH.
- PRETOS' CROWN.
- SPEY BRIDGE.
- LABBY.
- Danger, GYPSY HEATH.

DURBAN RACING

First Race—1 FAVOURITE.

Second Race—1 BEST OF LUCK, 2 Piety, 3 Highboy.

Third Race—1 SPUR, 2 Idealist, 3 Tote Rush.

Fourth Race—1 TEANATA, 2 Flushing, 3 Astrite.

Fifth Race—1 CONFORMATOR, 2 Comus, 3 March Past.

Seventh Race—1 DOWRY, 2 Juggle Law, 3 Jungle Boy.

Eighth Race—1 STOUT EFFORT, 2 Ann's Cat, 3 Bravely.

Ninth Race—1 INHERIT, 2 Battle Chant, 3 Nuptial.

taken steps to make it plain to the Africans that they must not expect immediate implementation of even the moderate recommendations of the Commission. As the London Observer commented in an editorial: "There is probably less danger that this report will be hastily implemented than that it will be shelved."

The Observer's Nairobi correspondent wrote: "It is known that the Kenya Government holds strong reservations about a sudden opening up of the White Highlands to Non-Europeans, and the three Ministers responsible to European electors, led by Mr. Blundell, are definitely committed to opposing any change in land policy before 1960 . . .

"But the Kenya Government equally fears African reactions to the report. Throughout the emergency moderate Africans have been against violence, preferring to await the outcome of the Royal Commission report for solving grievances. Great expectations have been aroused by the Commission, and if the proposals are merely pigeon-holed the effect on loyal tribes would be serious, for the Government has relied on their support in the fight against Mau Mau."

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