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HAMBA I.C.U. ULICEDE IZWE

Namhla i I.C.U. ihamba ngase Eastern Transvaal, se i nke kwa Nyamazane, nase Bonjwenti kwa loma hahle, nase Msakate embileni yenditlula e Waterval Boven ngo January 1926, yendhlula no E. Solly Kumalo waya bayo onansi kwehase Swazini e Barberton nase Sable nase Nelspruit, namhla ubheke nayo e Leysdorp, kwelama Katla, asazi ukuti izita zayo zija kutini, ngoba abaholi bayo bati uma bekuluma nec Poetry:—

(1) I am not so very big, and I am not so very old, but every day I try to do the things that I am told.

(2) I can preach the I.C.U. and stand firm on any platform, and bring the water from the well and wash the dirt from the workers' too: for I am just as good all day as a leader of Africa.

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Corry Indigestion Mixture, 4/-.
Corry Diarrhoea Mixture, 4/-.
Dr. Hunter's Headache Powders, 1/9 and 2/9.
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EDITORIAL BOARD: Johannesburg.

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Although this Act bristles with wild freaks, and all that the term connotes, its framers seem to depend almost exclusively on section 29, a portion of which is quoted above. It is the backbone of the Native Administration Act, and all other sub-sections piled up in confusion around this network of political hunbug is mere camouflage.

The solid fact that section 29 of the Native Administration Act, and many other Acts and sections of Acts, defy homogeneity in legislative matters, shows that legislation is being ground out "hand-over-fist" in our legislative chambers. For instance (just as a point in instance), what will happen to a Xosa had he used the same words, or expressions, as Kadalie is alleged to have used, to a Msutu? Why, NOTHING, of course. In other words it means this: A Scotchman can use words against a Dutchman that will lay him open to "sedition," should he use these same words against a Native—or vice versa. By what name can one call such legislation? Into what judicial temper would this lead the judges of this country? The whole

thing is unreasonable, ridiculous, out of order, and we ask that Clause 29 be declared ultra vires. This may be a "blunt" statement from a legal point of view, but facts cannot contradict themselves."

If there is any body that has ever caused hostility between natives and whites, it is those men who constituted the National Convention in Durban at the time of the formation of Union, when they compromised on several vital questions at the expense of the Natives.

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In his book, "Black and White South East Africa," Maurice S. Evans, C.M.G., says: "As the people are so will their representatives be." If this be true, then past representatives of the Natives have sadly failed in their tasks, because they have not shown a spirit of genuine discontent in Parliament, the same as their constituents have shown in the country.

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The strong remarks of the judge are a fitting exposure to the risks Natives run at the hands of a certain class of official in the Native Affairs Department. The learned judge said that the Sub-Commissioner failed to give Kadalie the opportunity which he asked of fully presenting his case, therefore the Sub-Commissioner's decision was not FAIRLY arrived at, and must be set aside on the grounds of "gross irregularity." It must be remembered that the Sub-Commissioner was acting in a quasi-judicial capacity, and it was therefore incumbent upon him to act in a judicial temper. That he woefully failed to do this is expressed in the strong words of the judge that the Sub-Commissioner's action was "grossly irregular."

We are quite entitled to say that a highly placed government official who can act in such a manner as to draw so trenchant an admonishment from the Supreme Court of the land is not only a public danger to those who look up to him for justice, but he is also quite unfit for the post entrusted to him. For that reason we most solemnly ask the Government to create such a position as not to make it possible for a highly-placed official to lay himself open to such strong remarks from the Supreme Court of South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN SCANDAL

The Manchester "Guardian" of the 25th February last, has the following leading article:

The Colour Bar Again.

It has often fallen to the courts to defend the liberty of the individual against invasion by an unrepresentative Government. A recent case in South Africa, where the great majority of the population are natives and unrepresented in either House of Assembly or Provincial Councils, not only provides another example of this function but throws a good deal of light upon the political and economic situation in that country. The Provincial Council of the Transvaal, in the exercise of its constitutional power to regulate the use of vehicles, made an Ordinance last year that, among other things, made it an offence for a native to drive a vehicle in which a European is being carried. The Supreme Court, on an appeal from a conviction under this provision, decided that the section was ultra vires, on the ground both that the Council had no power to discriminate in this matter between different classes or races and that its power of regulation or control did not include the power of prohibition. It was a similar decision that the Provincial Council's prohibition against the employment of non-Europeans in certain skilled employments was ultra vires that led to the unfortunate Colour Bar Act of 1926, restoring and extending the power to exclude non-Europeans from skilled employment. It is to be hoped that the South African Government will not think it necessary to introduce legislation to override this new decision of the courts.

Racial feeling and reason have little in common, but it would be hard to find an instance of racial discrimination so unfortunate as this that the courts have set aside. If natives are deemed congenitally in-

capable of driving motor-cars (an occupation they have followed for years), then it is reasonable to refuse to license them; if, on the other hand, they are deemed capable, they should be licensed on the same conditions as Europeans. But to declare by Ordinance that they are capable of driving cars carrying natives, but incapable of driving cars carrying Europeans, is inevitably to suggest to the natives that in the considered opinion of the Transvaal Legislative Council, it does not matter how many natives are killed by incompetent driving so long as European lives are safeguarded. It is charitable to believe that the Council's motive was different, that they were influenced by a confused idea of reserving all well-paid work for Europeans. In that case their action falls into line with the policy of the Wages Board in fixing rates for motor-car drivers (though not for horse-car drivers) at a level so high as to ensure that no native will be employed. Such a policy might secure the end sought if the natives were still unorganised, primitive tribesmen. But the action which resulted in the setting aside of the objectionable Ordinance was brought by a highly effective native trade union. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, as it is called, was a negligible body three years ago; to-day it is the most powerful trade union in South Africa. Nothing has contributed so much to its growth as the resentment caused by the Colour Bar Act, and nothing could do more to ensure the failure of the policy underlying that Act than the growth of native trade unionism. The Colour Bar Act aims at securing for white labour a monopoly of skilled and well-paid work, but it will not be possible for long to pay skilled work at a rate eight or nine times as high as competent unskilled work if the unskilled workers organise

EIGH

The Eight At-tory as an epoch-m-Bloemfontein.

As the result Committee of the A-9th April, at 4 p.m. rade Clements Kadal-

"Now this jo-chiefs, that in sessi-I.C.U. in matters of-gress of our people-tion with the South-tions (the I.C.U. and-the National Council-

The followin-Patrick's Hall:—

"We are inst-Hall, Batho Locatio-cil of Chiefs wishes-long-felt want.

"It is on th-Council will be adjo-

The letter wa-union of Chiefs).

CO-OPERATION U-The I.C.U. C-

by the African Nat-found in another col-

I.C.U. CONGRESS

Owing to the difficul-ting a public hall on Goo-the simultaneous sitting-can National Congress, ready engaged the only-the I.C.U. was unable-Congress on the date of-the 6th April. On t-day, however, the Afri-Congress officials were-to allow the I.C.U. h-which to open their Co-Community Hall.

Comrade J. G. GUM- of the I.C.U. was in th-

Proceedings began w- wing of the African Nati-"Nkosi Sikelela i A-Bless Africa"), and one-Red Flag.

Comrade Gumbs said- his attention to say t- as time was lim- that valuable time had b-

however, would enjoin- to be calm and grave. Comrade Gumbs, "ke-

used firm and fighting- wanted a policy whic- subject the working cl-

What he meant was re- tum of "Those who c- sword" sometimes per-

ness done, exulteth a nati- righteousness goes fearl- exhorted all to show h-

haviour that they v- thoughts, and show th- them that they were cap-

themselves. Bishop Carey, of Bl-

said he was indeed grate- the opportunity of speak- distinguished gathering-

ing class. In a most hu- Christianly speech, he to- that he had been a labour-

self in England. The spoke of a "Fighting Sp-

hoped, however, that the strain that fighting spirit u-

gone. (Laughter.) For the rest of their

would place at their disp- Patrick's Hall. He was-

the Bantu in their legit- tions. He had found th-

gentleman by nature. other day he had laid the-

stone at Modderpoort of a Bantus, to cost £15,000. Bantu would be able to g-

possible education in Sou- He wished to give the co- blessing in all that they d-

uplifting of their own peo- A man was a fool who-

the Bantu had not the sam- form trade unions as any-

le in South Africa. He b- airplay and justice for al-

ould drop the old game- and say definitely what th-

desired. Once they had f- their reasonable demands th-

stick to them. He knew he- the most unpopular man in-

State for what he was pr-

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EIGHTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE I.C.U.

BIRTH OF A NEW NATION

A UNITED BLACK SOUTH AFRICA.

I.C.U. AND CONGRESS CO-OPERATE

The Eighth Annual Congress of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, held at Bloemfontein during Easter, will go down to history as an epoch-making event. So also will the Conference of the African National Congress and Chiefs, which met at the same time in Bloemfontein.

As the result of a letter sent by the Conference of Chiefs to the I.C.U. Congress the National Council of the I.C.U. and the Executive Committee of the African National Congress met jointly in the Community Hall, Batho Location, Bloemfontein, on Monday afternoon, the 9th April, at 4 p.m., and, after remaining in continuous session until 9.30 p.m., unanimously passed the following resolution proposed by Comrade Clements Kadalie, and seconded by Mr. R. V. Selope Thema:

"That this joint meeting of the Executive of the African National Congress and the National Council of the I.C.U., convened by the chiefs, now in session under the aegis of the African National Congress, agrees in principle that co-operation between the Congress and the I.C.U. in matters of national policy, namely, the Government's Native Bills and the Pass Laws, is essential if the political and economic progress of our people is to be achieved. But it declares that, in pursuing these objects, the African National Congress hereby repudiates its association with the South African Communist Party, which of late has openly identified itself with the Congress. Details of how these organisations (the I.C.U. and the National Congress) can co-operate are to be arranged by both the Executive of the African National Congress and the National Council of the I.C.U. after this formula has been submitted to their respective congresses."

The following is the letter sent by the Congress to the I.C.U. Congress, which met under the presidency of Comrade J. G. Gumbs at St. Patrick's Hall:—

"We are instructed by the Upper House of the African National Congress, the Council of Chiefs, now in session in the Community Hall, Batho Location, to extend its fraternal greetings to your Congress, and wish you every success in your deliberations. Further, this Council of Chiefs wishes us to emphasise the fact that closer co-operation between the African National Congress and your organization has been a long-felt want.

"It is on that account the desire of this Council of Chiefs to meet your National Council to discuss the desired co-operation. As this Council will be adjourning this evening, we shall be prepared to meet your Council in the Community Hall at 4 p.m. to-day."

The letter was signed by Mr. J. T. Gumede (President-General, African National Congress), and Mr. D. S. Letanka (Secretary Convention of Chiefs).

CO-OPERATION UNANIMOUSLY AGREED TO.

The I.C.U. Congress, by an overwhelming majority, accepted the hand of friendship and co-operation extended, so wisely and desirably, by the African National Congress. Thus a "Native Nation" was born. (A full report of the proceedings of the Joint Committees will be found in another column.)

I.C.U. CONGRESS OPENS.

Owing to the difficulties of obtaining a public hall on Good Friday, and the simultaneous sitting of the African National Congress, who had already engaged the only public hall, the I.C.U. was unable to open its Congress on the date specified, viz., the 6th April. On the following day, however, the African National Congress officials were good enough to allow the I.C.U. half a day in which to open their Congress in the Community Hall.

Comrade J. G. GUMBS, President of the I.C.U. was in the Chair.

Proceedings began with the singing of the African National Anthem, "Nkosi Sikelela i Afrika" (God bless Africa), and one verse of the I.C.U. hymn.

Comrade Gumbs said that it was his intention to say much on this subject as time was limited, and also that a valuable time had been lost. He, however, would enjoin the delegates to be calm and grave. "But," said Comrade Gumbs, "keep up your usual firm and fighting spirit." He wanted a policy which would not subject the working class to bend its knee for anything they wanted. What he meant was not the old dictum of "Those who call upon the sword sometimes perish by the sword." His aim was that righteousness alone exalteth a nation, and with righteousness goes fearlessness. He exhorted all to show by their behaviour that they were in deep thoughts, and show those who ruled them that they were capable of ruling themselves.

Bishop Carey, of Bloemfontein, said he was indeed grateful to have the opportunity of speaking to such a distinguished gathering of the working class. In a most humorous, yet Christianly speech, he told Congress that he had been a labour man himself in England. The President spoke of a "Fighting Spirit." He hoped, however, that they would restrain that fighting spirit until he was gone. (Laughter.)

For the rest of their session he would place at their disposal the St. Patrick's Hall. He was a friend of the Bantu in their legitimate aspirations. He had found the Bantu a gentleman by nature. Only the other day he had laid the foundation stone at Modderpoort of a school for Bantus, to cost £15,000, where the Bantu would be able to get the best possible education in South Africa. He wished to give the congress his blessing in all that they did for the uplifting of their own people.

A man was a fool who said that the Bantu had not the same right to form trade unions as any other people in South Africa. He believed in fairplay and justice for all. They should drop the old game of bluff and say definitely what they really desired. Once they had formulated their reasonable demands they should stick to them. He knew he would be the most unpopular man in the Free State for what he was prepared to say on behalf of justice. He stood here to suffer. The Whites would say he was giving them away to the Blacks, and the latter would say he didn't go far enough.

Must be Reasonable.

The Bishop repeated that he was with them in their fair and reasonable demands. But, he added, if their demands were unfair and unreasonable he would resist them as strenuously as he would help them otherwise. His Lordship cited as an instance of what he meant the old cry at the time of Dingaan, "Give us more White men to eat."

The Bishop's speech was loudly applauded.

Mr. J. R. Cooper, the Superintendent of the Location, was the next speaker. He declared that locally the relations between employer and employee was very good. The policy of consultation and sweet reasonableness had borne fruit. They should remember that the Whites would not submit to methods of dictation. Mr. Cooper appealed to his hearers to stem the influx of Natives into Bloemfontein. The flooding of the local labour market could only lead to lower wages.

"The Slave State."

Mr. E. K. Nhlapo, acting Provincial Secretary for the Free State, declared that the Province was misnamed the Free State. "It is the Slave State," he said, "because here man can own no land. We are still sjambokked like dogs, and ejected from locations simply because we are members of the I.C.U." ("Shame.") He hoped the congress would give them fresh aspirations and that from being the grave of the slaves would become their new Jerusalem. (Applause.)

Mr. M. A. Jabavu, senior Vice-President, replying to the sentiments of the previous speaker, said on behalf of the delegates he desired to say that he was pleased with those sentiments. The appreciated the broad-mindedness of the Bishop of Bloemfontein. They were grateful to the Bishop for placing a hall at their disposal free of charge. The Bishop had suggested that the moderates among Black and White should meet each other half way. But the Europeans had stolen a march on the Native, with the result that the latter suffered from land-hunger and economic strangulation.

The Influx to Towns.

Referring to the request of Mr. Cooper, Mr. Jabavu said it would be

CHRONIC CONSTIPATION.

Chamberlain's Tablets can and do cure constipation. One or two of these tablets taken at bed time will keep the bowels open, and while doing so will invigorate the stomach and put the disordered liver in a condition to do its work in a natural manner. For sale by all Chemists.

found that the Natives on the land would soon also come into the towns. Unless the Europeans made up their minds to give the Natives land, the latter could not assist to stem the tide of Natives flowing towards the towns. Neither the Mayor nor the Deputy-Mayor were present, so that he had to place Bloemfontein and Durban in the same category in regard to their organisation. They were grateful to the African National Congress for enabling their (I.C.U.) congress to be held in their hall. That showed the utility of the two organisations. In spite of what their acting Provincial Secretary had said of the Free State, he (Mr. Jabavu) thought the conditions in the Bloemfontein location were on the whole very good. The Council's system of helping them to build houses was excellent.

Comrade Clements Kadalie (General Secretary, I.C.U.), was received with cheers. He reminded them that those who called upon the sword sometimes perished by the sword. His aim was that righteousness alone can exalt a nation, and with righteousness goes fearlessness. He then moved the following emergency resolution:—

"This congress of the I.C.U. sends its fraternal greetings to the South African Trade Union Congress now in session in Johannesburg, and pledges itself to work for the unification of all trade unions, irrespective of colour or nationality, into one trade union congress of all workers."

Last year, he said, they sent an identical resolution to the South African Trade Union Congress. But their application for affiliation was rejected, and according to the press the Minister of Labour was blessing that decision of the Trade Union Congress.

But the time would soon come when the South African Trade Union Congress would be compelled to admit them to affiliation. The I.C.U. was the most representative organisation in the country. He made bold to prophesy that before the end of the year they would have over a million members. (Cheers.)

The S.A.T.U. Congress was only such in name, because many of the strongest trade-unions in the country did not belong to it. The I.C.U. had the backing of the International Trade Union movement, and he hoped that the present S.A.T.U. Congress would reverse the decision of the National Council of that Congress. He desired to see a real congress of all workers in South Africa, irrespective of colour or nationality.

Not Racial or Anti-White. Mr. R. G. de Norman, Secretary for the Western Province, in seconding the motion, said they brought it forward because they had been branded as racial and anti-White. They wished to prove to the world that they stood for the workers' solidarity throughout the world. The S.A.T.U. feared that the I.C.U.

would swamp them. That was the truth. Instead of them knocking at the door of the S.A.T.U. the time had come when the White workers would have to knock at the door of the I.C.U. Theirs was not a purely Native, but a workers' organisation. They should throw away all their racial prejudice. Blacks as well as Whites had racial prejudices. Before long the S.A.T.U. Congress would have to apply for affiliation to them. The ex-Mayor of Bloemfontein had stated what nice things the Europeans had brought to the non-Whites. But that gentleman had exhibited his ignorance of history, for civilisation emanated from the East.

The Chairman, having also commended the resolution, it was adopted with an overwhelming majority. Congress was then adjourned until Monday morning at 10 a.m. in the St. Patrick's Hall.

MONDAY MORNING, 9TH APRIL.

After correspondence was read by the General Secretary, credentials were examined and a Standing Orders Committee elected. Several Branches were challenged as to the bona fides of their delegates in matters financial. After a long discussion an agreement was arrived at wherein the new constitution would be rigidly adhered to as from date. The bone of contention was that as the new constitution was not in print as yet branches and members should be given a chance to study it before drastic measures be adopted. This was agreed to.

It was reported that all members of the National Council were in financial compliance in terms of the constitution—only one member, on account of illness, being in default for a few months. This was accepted.

At this juncture a letter was read from the African National Congress with reference to co-operation. (A full report appears in another column.)

FARM LABOURERS.

Comrade Clements Kadalie, in introducing this matter, stated that the I.C.U. had a memorandum drafted which would probably include items 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 17. He hoped this would give impetus to the discussion.

Comrade DE NORMAN (Cape Town), suggested that in order to speed up matters the debate be proceeded with item by item.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE (O.F.S.), said he had great sympathy with the farm labourers. The wage of £5 per month demanded by the I.C.U. was preposterous, and the one who drew up the formula on farm wages knew nothing about farming conditions.

"Just ask Jan Keyter," said the speaker, "to pay £5 to his farm-

labourers and you would be asking for trouble." If there was to be peace let reasonable demands be made.

No thinking man, he stated, could support £5 a month. In the north-eastern Free State the average wage was 10s. a month and the workers were as well off as their brothers who got £10 a month in the towns.

He said that in some cases Natives were allowed to keep 40 head of cattle on farms. (Loud cries: "That's a confounded lie.")

Comrade HERBERT MSANE (Greytown Branch, Secretary) agreed in the main with the last speaker. Many farmers in Natal, he said, paid 2s. 6d. a month, or nothing at all. Their National Council should take cognisance of conditions in different districts. He suggested that the minimum wage question be considered from an "all round view."

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Speaker, please make yourself explicit.

Comrade MSANE: I mean, sir, that the whole country be taken into consideration when discussing this question.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA (Johannesburg), agreed with the last two speakers with reference to the £5 minimum. He thought £3 per month was a reasonable demand. It is untrue that (according to Mote's remark) Natives kept 40 head of cattle. The Land Act did not allow it. Natives on farms were quite distinct from their urban comrades in that the former could easily be distinguished by their ragged and dejected appearance—socially, financially and spiritually.

Comrade MASHABA (Washbank) said that Congress should allow those who were acquainted with farm labourers conditions to debate. In his area (Washbank), when a native was employed on farms, he, his wife, sons, and daughters were compelled to work for six months each. If the sons worked for 6 months they might get 2s. 6d. as a

BASELA.

(DOYLE) Hoo! Hoo!

CHAIRMAN: ("There are no owls in this house.")

A HUGE HUMBUG.

Continuing, MASHABA said that Natives have often to sell a beast in order to pay dipping fees. In fairness to all concerned, he said that Natives often "scratched" for themselves on a Sunday, yet they were compelled to properly "plough" for their bosses during the week. That was a true sign to reveal the fact that these people were under the wing of a huge humbug. (Loud cries of "This must be stopped.")

J. GABA (Brandfort), said he did not agree with what Mote said, as the latter knew nothing about farming. He agreed, however, with what Mashaba had said. As a matter of fact families were often under the stress of complete "starvation." A family was given (say) 3 acres, and if the year was bad the result would be that a whole year's work had gone "West." Sometimes if the year was good, Natives were simply ejected. When they make application to the police the latter said they had no authority to act. He said that it was better to be in gaol than to be on a Free State farm. If a man came to one of these farms with ten head of cattle he will depart with so many lice on his head. (Cries: "Shame.")

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOLLA (Griqualand West), said he agreed with the last speaker to a certain extent. Facts were wanted, and HERALD TEN he claimed to have these. It was his duty at one time (for 2 years) to prosecute these farmers. He even now had relatives on the farms, so he knew what he was talking about. For instance, he would place the facts thus: "In Vredefort, a dorp of the Free State, a Native was allowed 3 horses, a team of oxen (12), 3 cows, free of grazing.

Should one be asked to pay for these the fees would be as follows:

3 Horses	£0 7 6
12 Oxen	1 4 0
3 Cows	0 6 0
Mealie Meal (per 100 lbs.) monthly	0 8 0
	£2 5 6

Continuing, Comrade Doyle Modiakgolla said that farm labourers were generally given about 3 acres of ground. If they made good use of the ground by good ploughing. Three acres ought to provide 75 bags, and at 10s. per bag this would give £37 10s. per annum, plus £25 grazing fees and food allowance, the amount roughly comes up to £62 10s. per annum, as far as the Free State was concerned. This worked out at a wage of £5 per month, or about 30s. per week.

Comrade R. TSHANGE (Howick, Natal), said that to get fuller and more intelligence into the debate, the matter should be discussed generally, and not provincially. In Natal the Kraal head made arrangements for lease. Labourers on farms get paid from 10s. to 30s., the whole family, however, is compelled to serve six months at a time each at a wage of

THREE PENCE A DAY.

Those who got sixpence were considered well-off and most fortunate. This was indeed the acme of slavery. In addition to this, the passes of all those who have "served" are endorsed for their freedom only for six months, after which they have to return to their "masters," failing which they are subject to criminal proceedings.

Comrade J. MZAZI (East London): "Why are there no interpreters?"

PRESIDENT: "That's not my job! You can appeal to Congress. Ultimately interpreters were employed."

Comrade T. B. LUIZA (Provincial Secretary, Border and Transkei), said that a big departure from previous conferences was being made. To-day they were being asked to climb down from a minimum wage of £5 to 10s. per month. In Johannesburg in 1925 they had advocated for £3 for male labourers and £2 for female. He thought these were fair wages to be agitated for. He disagreed with a policy of "bluffing," as the Bishop of Bloemfontein had rightly pointed out. By these methods they were only placing the white people in a predicament, because they will not know what the Natives exactly wanted. He soundly admonished Mote for his inconsistency.

NATIVES MUST CREATE A DEMAND OF LABOUR.

Comrade WILLIAM SMITH (Financial Secretary), said that minimum wage for agricultural labourers was premature. Those who had knowledge of conditions on farms will agree that the labour supply exceeds demands at present. There were thousands in Natal who would agree to work on farms for the bare privilege of residing there. If a minimum wage was insisted on at this juncture those who demanded this could be easily replaced. The I.C.U.'s business was to cut off supplies and create a demand. This could only be done by purchasing farms for Natives. If this was done the minimum wage would right itself. He said that his argument was borne out by the fact that at Bloemfontein many white people worked for 3s. per day, just because the supply exceeded the demand.

Comrade SIMON ELIAS (District Secretary, Jagersfontein), said he agreed with the last speaker, because the demand of ridiculous wages would only result in the wholesale ejection of Natives on the farms, which event would be to the detriment of the whole country. He said that some of the I.C.U. National Councillors would not be able to answer questions of the farmers for the simple reason that when agreements were entered into there were present only the farmer on the Native, and the latter, having no land, will agree to any terms advanced by a farmer.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO (Heilbron), reminded Congress that there were two sections of farm labourers, viz., monthly labourers and "squatters." In fairness to all concerned he thought the minimum wage question was a matter of compromise, and the proper way was to gain the sympathy and consultation of the farmers. He would strongly appeal to reasonable farmers to agree to meet the I.C.U. in a round table conference by agreeing to this

and we ask that be a "blunt" state-cannot contradict

hostility between tuted the National formation of Union, tions at the expense

nto operation when et, and also at the "Foreign Adven-

th East Africa," people are so will then past represen- their tasks, because discontent in Parlia- tion in the country. gest "job" to save who can induce the It will destroy will be worse than

Affairs Officials

judgment delivered with reference to an decision of a Judge Sub-Commissioner. connection with the registration under

a fitting exposure rtain class of official rned judge said that lie the opportunity therefore the Sub- rried at, and must egularity." It must as acting in a quasi- mbent upon him to failed to do this is dge that the Sub-

ighly placed govern- nner as to draw so reme Court of the who look up to him he post entrusted to ask the Govern- make it possible for a such strong remarks

CANDAL

driving motor-cars (an they have followed for n it is reasonable to re- nse them; if, on the other are deemed capable, they licensed on the same con- Europeans. But to declare ace that they are capable cars carrying natives, but of driving cars carrying is inevitably to suggest ves that in the considered the Transvaal Legislative does not matter how many e killed by incompetent along as European lives are d. It is charitable to be- the Council's motive was that they were influenced used idea of reserving all work for Europeans. In their action falls into line policy of the Wages Board rates for motor-van ough not for horse-van a level so high as to en- no native will be employed. they might secure the end the natives were still un- primitive tribesmen. But which resulted in the set- of the objectionable Or- was brought by a highly native trade union. The and Commercial Workers' it is called, was a negli- three years ago; to-day it st powerful trade union in ica. Nothing has contri- much to its growth as the t caused by the Colour and nothing could do more the failure of the policy that Act than the growth trade unionism. The Col- Act aims at securing for our a monopoly of skilled paid work, but it will not le for long to pay skilled rate eight or nine times as mpetent unskilled work if lled workers became

I.C.U. Programme for 1928

Introductory.

Opponents of the I.C.U. have frequently asserted that the Organisation is not a trade union in the sense that the term is generally understood in South Africa, but that it is a kind of pseudo-political body. The ground on which this assertion has been based is the fact that I.C.U. has concentrated its attention on matters in which the issues involved have not been "purely economic," whilst these "purely economic issues have been very largely neglected."

The new constitution, which was adopted at the Special Congress at Kimberley in December last, definitely establishes the I.C.U. as a trade union, albeit one of the native workers whose rights of organisation are only now earning recognition. In these circumstances it has become necessary for the organisation to have a clearly defined economic programme, corresponding to the interests of the membership at large. At the same time it must be clearly understood that we have no intention of copying the stupid and futile "Non-political" attitude of our white contemporaries. As Karl Marx said, every economic question is, in the last analysis, a political question also, and we must recognise that in neglecting to concern ourselves with current politics, in leaving the political machines to the unchallenged control of our class enemies, we are rendering a disservice to those tens of thousands of our members who are groaning under oppressive laws and who are looking to the I.C.U. for a lead.

In the past, the officers of the I.C.U. in the field have had no definite programme to follow, and this has resulted not merely in confusion of ideas, but it has led to the dissemination of conflicting politics. This being so, we make no apology for introducing the subject of an Economic and Political Programme for the Organisation at this stage. The I.C.U. is a homogeneous national organisation. As such it must have a national policy, consonant with the terms of its constitution, which will serve as a programme of action by which its officers will be guided in their work. The framing of such a policy or programme is essentially the work of Congress, and we propose to give here the broad outlines for a programme, which we trust will serve as a basis of discussion. In view of what we said above it will be realised that it is not necessary to divide the programme into political and economic sections, the two being closely bound up with each other.

We will further preface the proposals we have to make by remarking that our programme must be largely of an agrarian character, for the reason that the greater proportion of our membership comprises rural workers, landless peasants, whose dissatisfaction with conditions is with good reason greater than that of the workers in urban areas. These conditions are only too well known to you to require any restatement from us. The town workers must not, however, be neglected. More attention must in the future be given to their grievances, desires and aspirations if their loyalty to the I.C.U. is to be secured. At the present stage of our development it is inevitable that our activities should be almost entirely of an agitational character, for we are not recognised as citizens in our own country, being almost entirely disfranchised and debared from exercising a say in state affairs closely affecting our lives and welfare. Our programme will therefore be almost entirely agitational in character.

We now detail our proposals, as follows:—

1. **Wages:** A consistent and persistent agitation for improved wages for native workers must be conducted by all branches of the Union. The agitation must be Union-wide, and regard must always be had to local conditions and circumstances. Improvements, however small in themselves, must be welcomed and made the basis on which to agitate for further advances. Every endeavour should be made to enter into friendly negotiations with farmers' associations, employers' Organisations and individual employers in the towns, with a view to securing improve-

ments. If no results are obtained branch secretaries should, wherever practicable, invoke the aid of the Wage Board. In this connection a study of the Wage Act, 1925, is urged.

As an immediate objective, a minimum wage of £5 per month (plus food and housing in country districts) should be striven for. The reasonableness of this claim cannot be disputed by any one. The attainment of this admittedly low rate, which it must be said few native workers are receiving, is not to be regarded as an end in itself, but as a stepping stone to the ultimate achievement of the full economic rights of the native workers.

2. **Hours:** Insistence should be made on a maximum working day of eight hours and a working week of 5½ days for town and country workers alike. This demand will have the support of all right-thinking and justice-loving people, and members who refuse to exceed this working time should be given every possible support and encouragement.

ILLEGAL PRACTISES.

3. Illegal practises by employers, such as withholding wages, seizing stock, etc., should be reported to the local Magistrate and Native Affairs Department, with fullest particulars. Any refusal by these officials to deal with complaints, or failure to secure satisfaction for the member or members concerned should be reported to the Head Office of the Organisation for submission to the higher authorities.

THE FRANCHISE.

4. The proposal of the present government to withdraw the very limited franchise granted to Natives in the Cape Province should be unequivocally condemned at every public gathering of the I.C.U. Further, on the principle: "No taxation without representation," an extension of the franchise to Natives should be demanded. We would suggest that a monster petition be organised by the I.C.U. against the present reactionary proposal and presented to Parliament during the present session.

In the event of the Bill being passed and the franchise being withdrawn a protest should be made by means of a mammoth petition calling into question the necessity and legality of taxing and legislating for a section of the population and citizens without granting them the same representation as provided for the Europeans, at the same time asking for tangible and unbiased reasons why the Natives should not refuse to pay taxes without representation.

PASS LAWS.

5. The Pass Laws are a legal expression of Native enslavement, corresponding with the dark days of Tsarist Russia. They manufacture criminals and possess no moral or ethical justification. It is therefore the duty of the I.C.U. to oppose them by every possible means at its disposal. We would propose that the government be petitioned to suspend the Pass Laws for, say, a period of six months. If, during that period it is found that there has been no increase of lawlessness among the Natives, but that they are just as law-abiding without passes as with them, then the Government should be asked to repeal the Pass Laws in their entirety, as there will no longer be any reason or justification, either real or imaginary, for their continuance.

In the event of the government refusing to comply with such a petition, Congress should fix a day of national protest against the Pass Laws, to be marked by mass demonstrations at which all natives should be asked to hand in their passports, the same to be buried in public, by the demonstrations. In addition, those assembled should be pledged by solemn resolution to refuse to carry any further passports, or to give any further recognition to the Pass Laws.

LAND.

6. The total area of land set aside for exclusive native occupation in

the Union is notoriously inadequate. Parliament should be petitioned through one or more of its members to increase the Native reserves so as to make provision for the landless native farmers. The assistance of labour organisation overseas should be invoked in this matter. In addition, an agitation should be started against the laws prohibiting native squatting.

FREE SPEECH.

7. Vigorous propaganda must be carried on against those provisions in the Native Administration Act which place restrictions on the right of free speech. Ostensibly these provisions are designed to prevent the stirring up of hostility between the white and black races. Actually they are intended to limit the opportunities for trade union propaganda and organisation among the native workers. These provisions must therefore be strenuously fought against and their legality challenged where wrongful arrests are carried out. In this connection, no opportunity must be lost of stressing the fact that the I.C.U. is not an anti-European organisation, and that where it has occasion to criticise Europeans it is on grounds of their actions (usually as employers of labour) towards the natives and not on account of the colour of their skins.

PROPAGANDA.

8. Members must be kept fully informed of the activities of the organisation, and of all happenings affecting their interests. For this purpose regular members' meetings must be called by Branch Secretaries, and the speeches made thereat must not, as heretofore, be of a vague or general agitational character, but must deal with concrete and immediate problems. Every endeavour must be made to stimulate a direct personal interest in the affairs of the organisation, and to this end questions and discussion by the audience must be encouraged.

The "Workers Herald," our official organ, must be further popularised among the members. If every member bought the paper its circulation could be easily quadrupled and more. The paper could be made to possess an interest for each district if Branch Secretaries would take the trouble to contribute notes concerning local happenings with their comments thereon.

NEW RECRUITS.

9. There are large numbers of native workers to whom the I.C.U. is scarcely known. I refer to the workers on the Witwatersrand gold mines, the Natal Coal Mines and the Railways. Branch Secretaries in these areas should make every endeavour to rope these men in as members of the I.C.U., as they would be an undoubted source of strength. The good work commenced some years ago among Dock workers has unfortunately been discontinued very largely. Renewed efforts must be made during the ensuing year to bring the strayed ones back to the fold.

REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC BODIES.

10. It was decided at a previous Congress that advantage be taken of the laws governing Provincial Council elections in the Cape to run official I.C.U. candidates. Native Parliamentary voters are qualified to enter the Cape Provincial Council, and definite steps should be taken to select candidates to stand on behalf of the I.C.U. in Cape constituencies where there is a possibility of securing a fair vote at least. An instruction should be issued to the National Council accordingly, and full preparations should be made by the branch or branches concerned for a thorough election campaign in the next Cape Provincial Council elections. Propaganda must be the main consideration, although every effort must be made to secure the return of any candidates put up.

The question of candidates in the Parliamentary General Elections forms a separate item on the Agenda. In submitting the above outline, we trust that the delegates will see with us the urgent necessity for a national policy for the organisation. Once a

(Continued foot of next Col.)

A Poser For General Hertzog

COULD A DOMINION JOIN THE ENEMY?

The Birmingham Post subjects General Hertzog's neutrality theory to a particularly destructive analysis. It ridicules the argument that some parts of the Empire can be set at war while others are at peace, and then, considering the problems that have arisen during the discussion in the Union Parliament, says:—"They suggest another question which does not seem to have been asked at Cape Town, yet on the face it would appear equally admissible and equally pertinent: If it be competent for the Government of any self-governing Dominion to declare their country neutral in a war involving other portions of the Empire, is it or is it not equally competent for them while remaining in the Empire to declare adhesion to the other side? The Crown declares war and peace, but a sovereign acts on the advice of his Ministers. Is the constitutional liberty of South Africa so complete that in the case put General Hertzog might advise His Majesty to take up arms in the company of some Power or Powers with which other portions of the Empire were already at war?"

Town Councils were playing the "Big Boss." Many Natives who were exempted from pass laws were convicted under Municipal bye-laws. He was not in favour of wasting money in litigation. "Let us throw these ugly things away," concluded the speaker.

Comrade KEABLE 'MOTE (Free State), advised constitutional action. He said he knew of a school teacher who was convicted purely for his connection with the I.C.U. He also was convicted at Springfield, and the Magistrate told him that his only remedy was the Supreme Court.

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Ultimately the following resolution was moved by Comrade KEABLE 'MOTE, seconded by Comrade ESAU K. NHLAPO, and unanimously carried:

"That this Congress of the I.C.U. having heard with consternation the refusal of various Municipalities, notably in the Free State, to issue lodgers' and visitors' permits to I.C.U. officials and Branch Secretaries, since the I.C.U. in this respect can be recognised as an employer of labour, resolves to instruct the National Council to take legal opinion with a view of instituting a test case."

In the evening several matters of internal interest were gone into, after which Congress rose with the singing of the African National Anthem and the Red Flag.

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policy is adopted, and a programme arranged, it must not be allowed to remain on paper, and every official will be expected to do his utmost to translate the same into practice. Only in this way can the organisation grow and become an effective agency for liberating the African workers from the thralldom of slavery.

Congress Report Continued

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE said the opening of these offices was a big issue. If they did not re-open these offices a precedent would be established for further hooliganism. If mob law is to prevail, and we receive no adequate protection from the Government, we shall have no other course but to protect ourselves in the best manner possible.

Comrade ROBERT DUMAH (Free State): We are not going to be ruled by mob law. We want peace, but we want justice as well. I will be the first to go and address meetings at Greytown—even should my life be in danger. Give me freedom or give me death. I am a peaceful citizen, but I demand freedom and justice.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), suggested that all the raided offices be opened on the 5th May, and he will volunteer to accompany any official to address meetings at any of the raided places. (Applause.)

Comrade GEDDES NOLUT-SHUNGU (Bloemfontein), moved that in view of the contemplated civil action of the National Council against the raiders, these offices be not opened until the matter is finally settled.

Comrade R. SELLO objected to the sweeping statements of Dumah and Mancoe. He maintained that the secretaries at these centres were the only people able to give advice and throw light on the prevailing circumstances. To adopt mob law in retaliation is very wrong, as two wrongs do not constitute a right.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE (Greytown), said he was glad to see so many willing to sacrifice their lives in order to open these offices. He had a very narrow escape with his life. It was a veritable war declared against the I.C.U. on that fateful night. It was now time for the higher officials to come to the fore and establish order. The position was very serious, and did not require rash acts as some people were determined that these offices will not be opened. While he was witness in the Greytown case he had to be put in the prosecutor's office for protection, because the raiders made an attempt to break in and get at him. So they knew not what the position was.

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The debate then closed.

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The reply of the Rhodesian Prime Minister banning the I.C.U. from Rhodesia was published in the "Workers' Herald."

Sunday Morning (10 a.m.)

Owing to heavy rains and the impossibility of getting the Community Hall on Saturday, owing to a function, the business of the Congress was further held up until Sunday morning.

PASS LAWS.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), said that probably delegates were not aware of the National Council decision regarding Pass Laws. He said it was agreed that a deputation wait upon the Government asking it to suspend the pass laws for 6 months as a test to ascertain whether these laws were a deterrent to crime. Failing compliance, they recommended that all passes be burned in a public place.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA (Pretoria), said that he noticed many delegates were absent, and when a decision was arrived at they would afterwards make many excuses of ignorance, but he can assure them that whatever course was decided upon would be carried out in their names as delegates of this Congress whether they were present or not. He understood that at Pretoria several members had already thrown

away their passes and had reported to the police for arrest, but they were told to wait for the decision of this Congress. He urged that this Congress pass a resolution supporting the Pretoria comrades.

Comrade THEO B. LUJIZA (East London): Mr. Chairman, to prove that these laws were sheer humiliation and oppression, the women folk were also expected to carry passes, yet he had never heard of a Native woman charged with house-breaking.

Comrade CECIL SEHLABO (Pretoria), said he was surprised that they were still talking about resolutions. In Pretoria they have already started to put words into action, and many of them have thrown away their passes.

Comrade K. C. H. FREDERICKS (Port Elizabeth), thought they were going rather too fast. There should be no half-hearted measures in this matter, therefore they should first of all get the support of the whole country behind this movement. To hurry and fail is both dangerous and undignified. Let them fix an emancipation day so as to get united action. At Waihoek years ago this question was considered, but without results. He agreed that the pass laws were wholly unnecessary and most disgraceful.

Comrade ANDREW FREDERICKS (Kimberley), said this question had been discussed at many conferences, and they were tired of fruitless resolutions and deputations which receive no sympathy from the Government. He supported Comrade Maduna's resolution.

Comrade DIXON MOGAECHO (Bloemfontein): The recommendations of the National Council were quite in order. Passes were one of the most deceitful and degrading things ever introduced in South Africa and in the world for that matter. In the country districts of the Free State I.C.U. members were held up by the police on their way to meetings and searched for passes. I say away with them, but let us have one spirit. The rank and file were ready—in fact they have been ready a long time ago.

Comrade MAHOMED (Sabie), spoke in favour of doing away with passes.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), told the delegates that the African National Congress had failed to deal with the pass laws effectively. He agreed that the rank and file were ready for direct action, but were only waiting for word from the leaders. Maduna told them last Sunday to do away with passes, yet they were now still discussing.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Capetown), reminded them of their agreement with the African National Congress in matters of national importance. He therefore moved that before anything decisive is done, the I.C.U. National Council be authorised to meet the Executive Council of the African National Congress.

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Comrade KEABLE 'MOTE (Free State), asked that the refusal of Municipalities to grant residential permits to I.C.U. officials be considered in conjunction with the pass laws.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), said that the matter was an easy one. All they had to do was to put up a test case and order one of their officials to enter a location without a permit.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg): Comrades, you have to go slow in these matters. Municipalities argued that the locations were their private property, and even Europeans were arrested in these locations after nine o'clock. Further, Municipal bye-laws were covered by Acts of Parliament, and he believed that some of these regulations had already been put to the test during the past.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE insisted on a test case, and said that they were allowing too many of these ultra-vires phantoms to stalk rampant through the land destroying all signs of justice.

Comrade SIMON ILIAS (Jagersfontein), said that although his namesake of biblical fame once played the coward, he was not afraid to say that in the Free State the

(Continued in Col. 4)

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would not degrade themselves would rise in the estimation of whole civilised world. (Louise, and "We hope wisdom will prevail.")

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Western Province with off Cape Town), said he noticed that a memorandum they invoked assistance of the Wage Board, was his duty to remind Congress of agricultural and domestic labour. Unfortunately did not fall to Wage Board. Although the Act was introduced by the leader of the Labour Party, a most inspection of the country's worker included. This was due to the fact that Nationalists were mostly payers of farm labourers, and Labour Party were employers of domestic servants. Before a minimum wage was asked for they should get farm labourers and domestic servants included under Wage Act. Until this was done was futile to insist that farmer consider a minimum wage.

Comrade KUMALO (Natal) that the minimum wage question had been discussed year in and year thus wasting unnecessary time the matter. He attempted to a vote of no confidence in the National Council, but only received four supporters.

A. W. G. CHAMPION (O.S.S. Secretary), said he would like to hear what argument is put forward by those who favoured written contracts for farm labourers. His experience was that these contracts were against the labourers. He thought that the I.C.U. policy was always condemn these contracts. It is now that they were going to that the N.R.C. and Mr. Ta were right in imposing these contracts. He had asked farmers' conditions for a round table talk in connection with the contract system they flatly refused to meet him. It was an indication that there something wrong to hide.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), maintained that Champion had completely failed to do his duty. He simply made bare assertions, but could not substantiate these. In urban areas labourers safeguarded by these contracts, rural areas Natives were simply a mercy of unscrupulous employers. For those reasons he would have some intelligent reason forth by those who are against written contracts.

Comrade KEABLE 'MOTE (O.F.S.), here complained that Chairman gave Champion too much latitude, and because Champion considered the "holy angel" of his house, he was allowed to speak the motion had been placed on table.

The CHAIRMAN explained reason for doing this, at the time telling 'Mote to be circum in his language.

Comrade J. DIXON (Bloemfontein), moved a counter motion for the establishment of labour bureaux all over the country, agreed with Champion that written labour contracts were detrimental to the interests of workers. If labour bureaux were established these conditions would safeguard the workers without the necessity of burdening them with cumbersome and onerous labour contracts.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), seconded the motion and said that in spite of the fact that the I.C.U. millions of workers were still disorganised, and should strike be called, the strikers could be replaced by territory natives. He said that I.C.U. strikers wasted time in big town eating puddings, and the likelihood of going to the rural areas to organise the real workers of the country.

Comrade A. W. G. CHAMPION (O.S.S. Secretary), said there were now two motions on the table and he would like to speak on the first. As regards the first motion, he said that written contracts, he considered the good in them, and he would oppose the bad. He had seen at various times as policeman, store labourer and miner, he knew what a contract was. In his opinion, the General Secretary, and Sub-Editor of the "Workers' Herald" gave evidence before the Economic and Wage Commission to oppose contract system on behalf of

I.C.U. Programme for 1928

A Poser For General Hertzog

Congress Report Continued

Productory.

Opponents of the I.C.U. have frequently asserted that the Organisation is not a trade union in the sense that the term is generally understood in South Africa, but that it is a kind of pseudo-political body. The ground on which this assertion has been based is the fact that I.C.U. has concentrated its attention on matters in which the issues involved have not been "purely economic," whilst these "purely economic" issues have been very largely neglected.

The new constitution, which was adopted at the Special Congress at Kimberley in December last, definitely establishes the I.C.U. as a trade union, albeit one of the native workers whose rights of organisation are only now earning recognition. In these circumstances it has become clearly the Organisation to have a clearly defined economic programme, corresponding to the interests of the membership at large. At the same time it must be clearly understood that we have no intention of copying the stupid and futile "Non-political" attitude of our white contemporaries. As Karl Marx said, every economic question is, in the last analysis, a political question also, and we must recognise that in neglecting to concern ourselves with current politics, in leaving the political machines to the unchallenged control of our class enemies, we are rendering a disservice to those tens of thousands of our members who are groaning under oppressive laws and who are looking to the I.C.U. for a lead.

In the past, the officers of the I.C.U. in the field have had no definite programme to follow, and this has resulted not merely in confusion of ideas, but it has led to the dissemination of conflicting politics. This being so, we make no apology for introducing the subject of an Economic and Political Programme for the Organisation at this stage. The I.C.U. is a homogeneous national organisation. As such it must have a national policy, consonant with the terms of its constitution, which will serve as a programme of action by which its officers will be guided in their work. The framings of such a policy or programme is essentially the work of Congress, and we propose to give here the broad outlines for a programme, which we trust will serve as a basis of discussion. In view of what we said above it will be realised that it is not necessary to divide the programme into political and economic sections, the two being closely bound up with each other.

We will further preface the proposals we have to make by remarking that our programme must be largely of an agrarian character, for the reason that the greater proportion of our membership comprises rural workers, landless peasants, whose dissatisfaction with conditions is with good reason greater than that of the workers in urban areas. These conditions are only too well known to you to require any restatement from us. The town workers must not, however, be neglected. More attention must in the future be given to their grievances, desires and aspirations if their loyalty to the I.C.U. is to be secured. At the present stage of our development it is inevitable that our activities should be almost entirely of an agitational character, for we are not recognised as citizens in our own country, being almost entirely disfranchised and debarré from exercising a say in state affairs closely affecting our lives and welfare. Our programme will therefore be almost entirely agitational in character.

We now detail our proposals as follows:-

1. **Wages.** A consistent and persistent agitation for improved wages for native workers must be conducted by all branches of the Union. The agitation must be unflinching, and might must always be had to local conditions and circumstances. Improvements however small in themselves, must be welcomed and made the basis on which to agitate for further advances. Every endeavour should be made to enter into friendly negotiations with employers' associations and individual employers at the same time, with a view to securing improve-

ments. If no results are obtained branch secretaries should, wherever practicable, invoke the aid of the Wage Board. In this connection a study of the Wage Act, 1925, is urged.

As an immediate objective, a minimum wage of £5 per month (plus food and housing in country districts) should be striven for. The reasonableness of this claim cannot be disputed by any one. The attainment of this admittedly low rate, which it must be said few native workers are receiving, is not to be regarded as an end in itself, but as a stepping stone to the ultimate achievement of the full economic rights of the native workers.

2. **Hours:** Insistence should be made on a maximum working day of eight hours and a working week of 3 1/2 days for town and country workers alike. This demand will have the support of all right-thinking and justice-loving people, and members who refuse to exceed this working-time should be given every possible support and encouragement.

ILLEGAL PRACTISES.

3. **Illegal practises** by employers, such as withholding wages, seizing stock, etc., should be reported to the local Magistrate and Native Affairs Department, with fullest particulars. Any refusal by these officials to deal with complaints, or failure to secure satisfaction for the member or members concerned should be reported to the Head Office of the Organisation for submission to the higher authorities.

THE FRANCHISE.

4. The proposal of the present government to withdraw the very limited franchise granted to Natives in the Cape Province should be unequivocally condemned at every public gathering of the I.C.U. Further, on the principle "No taxation without representation," an extension of the franchise to Natives should be demanded. We would suggest that a monitor petition be organised by the I.C.U. against the present reactionary proposal and presented to Parliament during the present session.

In the event of the Bill being passed and the franchise being withdrawn a protest should be made by means of a manifesto petition calling into question the necessity and legality of taxing and legislating for a section of the population and citizens without granting them the same representation as provided for the Europeans, at the same time asking for tangible and unbiased reasons why the Natives should not refuse to pay taxes without representation.

PASS LAWS.

5. The Pass Laws are a legal expression of Native enslavement, corresponding with the dark days of Tsarist Russia. They manufacture criminals and possess no moral or ethical justification. It is therefore the duty of the I.C.U. to oppose them by every possible means at its disposal. We would propose that the government be petitioned to suspend the Pass Laws for, say, a period of six months. If, during that period it is found that there has been no increase of lawlessness among the Natives, but that they are just as law-abiding without passes as with them, then the Government should be asked to repeal the Pass Laws in their entirety, as there will no longer be any reason or justification, either real or imaginary, for their continuance.

In the event of the government refusing to comply with such a petition, Congress should fix a day of national protest against the Pass Laws, to be marked by mass demonstrations at which all Natives should be asked to hand in their passports, the same to be burned in public by the demonstrators. In addition, the assembly should be petitioned by a deputation to refer to the Government further passports to give effect to the recognition of the Pass Laws.

LAND

The total area of land set aside for the exclusive native occupation is

the Union is notoriously inadequate. Parliament should be petitioned through one or more of its members to increase the Native reserves to as to make provision for the landless native farmers. The assistance of labour organisation overseas should be invoked in this matter. In addition, an agitation should be started against the laws prohibiting native squatting.

FREE SPEECH.

7. Vigorous propaganda must be carried on against those provisions in the Native Administration Act which place restrictions on the right of free speech. Ostensibly these provisions are designed to prevent the stirring up of hostility between the white and black races. Actually they are intended to limit the opportunities for trade union propaganda and organisation among the native workers. These provisions must therefore be strenuously fought against and their legality challenged where wrongful arrests are carried out. In this connection, no opportunity must be lost of stressing the fact that the I.C.U. is not an anti-European organisation, and that where it has occasion to criticise Europeans it is on grounds of their actions (usually as employers of labour) towards the natives and not on account of the colour of their skins.

PROPAGANDA.

8. Members must be kept fully informed of the activities of the organisation, and of all happenings affecting their interests. For this purpose regular members' meetings must be called by Branch Secretaries, and the speeches made thereat must not, as heretofore, be of a vague or general agitational character, but must deal with concrete and immediate problems. Every endeavour must be made to stimulate a direct personal interest in the affairs of the organisation, and to this end questions and discussion by the audience must be encouraged.

The "Workers' Herald," our official organ, must be further popularised among the members. If every member bought the paper its circulation could be easily quadrupled and more. The paper could be made to possess an interest for each district if Branch Secretaries would take the trouble to contribute notes concerning local happenings with their comments thereon.

NEW RECRUITS.

9. There are large numbers of native workers to whom the I.C.U. is scarcely known. I refer to the workers on the Witwatersrand gold mines, the Natal Coal Mines and the Railways. Branch Secretaries in these areas should make every endeavour to rope these men in as members of the I.C.U., as they would be an undoubted source of strength. The good work commenced some years ago among Dock workers has unfortunately been discontinued very largely. Renewed efforts must be made during the ensuing year to bring the strayed ones back to the fold.

REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC BODIES.

10. It was decided at a previous Congress that advantage be taken of the laws governing Provincial Council elections in the Cape to run official I.C.U. candidates. Native Parliamentary voters are qualified to enter the Cape Provincial Council, and definite steps should be taken to select candidates to stand on behalf of the I.C.U. in Cape constituencies where there is a possibility of securing a fair vote at least. An instruction should be issued to the National Council accordingly, and full preparations should be made by the branch or branches concerned for a thorough election campaign in the next Cape Provincial Council elections. Propaganda must be the main consideration, although every effort must be made to secure the return of any candidates put up.

The question of candidates for the "General" is on the Agenda. In submitting the above we trust that the delegates will see with us the urgent necessity for a national policy for the organisation. One a

COULD A DOMINION JOIN THE ENEMY?

The Birmingham Post subjects General Hertzog's neutrality theory to a particularly destructive analysis. It ridicules the argument that some parts of the Empire can be set at war while others are at peace, and then, considering the problems that have arisen during the discussion in the Union Parliament, says:—"They suggest another question which does not seem to have been asked at Cape Town, yet on the face it would appear equally admissible and equally pertinent. If it be competent for the Government of any self-governing Dominion to declare their country neutral in a war involving other portions of the Empire, is it or is it not equally competent for them while remaining in the Empire to declare adhesion to the other side? The Crown declares war and peace, but a sovereign acts on the advice of his Ministers. Is the constitutional liberty of South Africa so complete that in the case put General Hertzog might advise His Majesty to take up arms in the company of some Power or Powers with which other portions of the Empire were already at war?"

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Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), said that the matter was a test case, and said that they were allowing too many of these ultra-vires plaintiffs to stalk through the land destroying all signs of progress.

Comrade MON ELIAS (Johannesburg), said that although his constituents of official time only had to be considered, he was not afraid to say that in the Free State the

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(CONTINUED)

would not degrade themselves but would rise in the estimation of the whole civilized world. (Local applause, and "We hope wisdom will prevail.")

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KEABLE 'MOTÉ (O.P.S.), gave a complaint that the Chairman gave Champion too much latitude, and because Champion was considered the "holy angel" of the house, he was allowed to speak after the motion had been placed on the table.

The CHAIRMAN explained his reason for doing this, at the same time telling Moté to be circumspect in his language.

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Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), seconded the motion, and said that in spite of the activities of the I.C.U. millions of workers were still disorganised, and should a strike be called, the strikers could easily be replaced by territory Natives. He said that I.C.U. secretaries wasted time in big towns—eating puddings, and the like—instead of going to the rural areas and organising the real workers of the country.

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I.C.U. People who worked under contract were placed in the position of convicts, and could be arrested at any time should they absent themselves from work, even as a result of illness. On the mines contract labourers were compelled to eat what they were given, and to sleep where they were told; all that was due to the written contracts. There were delegates present who, on their return, may find their passes at the pass offices, and that meant jail just because they over-stayed their leave for a few days.

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Comrade J. S. MAZAI (East London), pointed out that it was difficult for I.C.U. organisers to get into the mines. That was a result of the contract system.

The original motion was carried.

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PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL ELECTION.

A memorandum was put in by the National Council with reference to the Franchise and the next general election. After a special session of the National Council, the memorandum was finally adopted by Congress.

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After a most inspiring letter was read from Dr. A. B. Xuma, of Johannesburg, Congress resolved itself into a Committee on internal affairs, and sat in camera.

The discussion lasted for two days and culminated in the suspension of Comrade A. W. G. Champion as the result of enquiries into the Durban Branch affairs.

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PURCHASE OF FARMS.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), explained that the special Congress held at Kimberley in December, 1927, had decided to endorse the National Council recommendations of Kingwilliamtown. At that meeting, which was held at Kingwilliamtown in August, 1927, it was decided to negotiate for the purchase of farms in Natal, and at the Kimberley Special Congress the National Council was given full powers to act and report by the end of February, 1928.

At a meeting of the National Council held at Johannesburg in January, 1928, it was found that the funds were very low. It was then decided that Comrade Kadalie be empowered to visit branches with a view of raising more funds, and Comrade Champion meanwhile to proceed to Natal to make negotiations for the purchase of farms.

Delay was further caused by being unable to get the sanction of the Government. They had a fixed deposit in the bank, but did not deem it expedient to raise a loan, as interest would naturally be required. He left during the latter part of February and raised a loan of about £200 some branches. They had several offers of sale of land in Natal and Zululand, but most of these proposi-

tions did not meet with the approval of the Governor-General. Another farm in the Waschbank district was offered, but the terms were not favourable. They had, however, received favourable terms for the purchase of the farm "Monsi" in the Harding district, and had paid a nominal deposit of £1 for the option to purchase. No Government sanction was needed for this farm because it was within a Native area.

A letter was also read from the Government with regard to the proper control of land should the I.C.U. purchase same.

Continuing Comrade Kadalie said the extent of the farm was 1,349 acres, at £1 15s per acre. He thought that should be able to pay down a deposit of £800. It was very difficult to get suitable farms, but if they succeeded in acquiring farms he was certain the people themselves would substantially contribute towards the purchase price. As a matter of fact many were even now prepared to contribute livestock. (Applause.)

Comrade GEDDES NOLIT SHUNGI (Bloemfontein), moved that at the Congress accept the report, seconded by Comrade ROBERT SELLO.

Comrade MASHABA said the position was very bad, and Congress should empower individual branches to act for themselves at once, as thousands were under notice of being evicted in June, and will therefore be absolutely homeless.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg) supported the last speaker, and said that in the Free State many people were being evicted and thousands in his district (Winburg) have been asking him where they should go to. (Shame.) He urged that Transvaal districts should be explored for the purchase of farms.

CHAIRMAN: Remember that your Special Conference had recommended the purchase of farms in Natal first.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), was very glad that the matter of Natal had been brought up, and the position there was very serious, and needed prompt action. He strongly advised that the matter should be left in the hands of Natal officials. It was true that Champion accomplished nothing, but that may be due to the state of his health. Each branch should be authorised to collect monies. There was no time for resolutions now; practical steps were required because the people were homeless and starving especially in Northern Natal. Head office staff of the I.C.U. had much to do, and should not be saddled with the extra burden of negotiating for the purchase of farms. That should be left in the hands of Natal officials. The farms should be in the name of the I.C.U. and its trustees.

Comrade Z. C. NGUBANE (Natal) said that two many promises were made during the past, and those who resided in towns did not realise the gravity of the position in rural areas. As a matter of fact in his part members were refusing to pay up their subscription cards, because the I.C.U. made promises and did not fulfil them. He did not like to go back to his branches with nothing to report, so he asked for authority to go back to the people and ask them to contribute towards a farm. He knew of over thirty well-to-do men in his district who were willing and able to make up a substantial contribution. In his district also, all have been served with notices to quit the farms in June.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO would like to know how blank Mr. Ngobane said Head Office should not have a hand in the purchase of farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: Champion, who was from Head Office, failed, because the matter needed someone on the spot.

Comrade SELLO: Do you want powers to collect monies, negotiate and buy farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: I want local officials to negotiate, report to Head Office, and then collect monies.

Comrade SELLO (bawling his fist): I do not favour the system.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), said that while he agreed with Comrade Ngobane, he felt that there were extraordinary powers given to Natal that would be a departure from the consti-

tution. The National Council were the governing body, and had no right to delegate its powers to branches, and, further, branch or provincial secretaries may make bad contracts, therefore he would like one official of Head Office to be present when collections and transactions are made so that he could bring a report to the National Council for review.

Comrade NGCOBO: Speakers forget that Head Office officials were not always on the spot. Provincial secretaries were responsible for all negotiations on behalf of the National Council.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West): My friend is telling the house that I wish to usurp his powers. Let him cut off the word "branches," and substitute the word "provinces," and his motion will have my blessing. (Loud laughter.)

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE agreed with Ngobane to some extent, but he objected to the statement that Head Offices interfered. There was no excuse for the failure of Clampon to negotiate for farms in Natal, because while he was Acting National Secretary, he spent very little of his time at the Head Office.

With regard to the collection of funds, London had already sent some money to Head Office. He had no objection to the collection of funds by branches, but duplicate receipts must be sent to account for monies collected.

Head Office was ever prepared to authorize an overdraft in the bank, but there must be a spirit of co-operation and sacrifice. When we authorized the buying of farms at Kingwilliamtown we had funds in the bank, but had difficulty with the Government. No one will prevent Secretaries from collecting monies and making negotiations, but Head Office must be advised and consulted.

CHAIRMAN: You have all the information now. All that is necessary is to act, but report to Head Office.

Comrade J. DIXON MOGA (Bloemfontein) suggested that by a resolution be elected.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg) said that the motion we embarked on—a fund-raising scheme—invited the attention of the Minister, therefore we must keep records and accounts that will stand the light of day. Therefore very responsible, able and trustworthy officials should be at the head of affairs so as to devise clear and scrupulous methods.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: It seems that the last speaker suggests that monies would not be safe in the hands of Natal officials. It was wrong to cast such insinuations. It now seemed that Provincial Secretaries were to be made mere boys who were compelled to refer every mortal thing to Head Office (Up roar).

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Amidst uproar): Mr. Chairman, I would not reply to a fool according to his folly.

Comrade Msane, continuing, said he was kept in the dark when negotiations were contemplated for the purchase of a farm in his district (Greytown). Apart from these insinuations he told Congress that the position in Natal was indeed serious. He cited a case where a man was severely assaulted merely because he was a member of the I.C.U.

At the time of the Kimberley Special Conference his district could have offered over 100 cattle, but they did not do so because they were told that there were sufficient funds in the bank.

Comrade R. TSHANGE (Hortensia), said the General Secretary had been three times to Natal to collect monies for farms, but these monies had been spent on some other matter.

Comrade KEABLE MOKE: You must withdraw that because you cannot prove it. You insinuate that the money had been mislaid.

Comrade TSHANGE: I am very sorry. I withdraw. What I meant was that the money had been used by the deputation that toured Natal to inspect branch book.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (who had just come in), said it was very unfair and mischievous to attack a man behind his back.

means be devised for the protection of land scheme funds.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: Mr. Chairman, the last speaker continues to cast uncalculated reflections. CHAIRMAN: It is stupid to say that. Order! Sit down!

Comrade A. P. MADUNA (Pretoria), agreed that the position was very grave in Natal, therefore operations should start there. But people in other provinces must be made to understand that they were not forgotten.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary) said, arising out of the question as to whether farms should be bought out of reserved general funds, he would suggest that any fund should be used providing such account is transferred to the land scheme fund.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town), maintained that Provincial and Branch Secretaries were only empowered to collect funds and negotiate, but the National Council was the only constitutional body empowered to do the actual purchase.

A Natal delegate (whose name the reporter failed to catch) suggested that after funds had been collected they should be banked in that particular province, and further, that each branch is informed what amount it was expected to contribute.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West) the last speaker asks Congress to violate Rule 14, Sub-section 1, of our constitution, which expressly states that all funds of the organization shall be banked with the Standard Bank, and transferred in the name of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union to the Commissioner Street Branch of the Standard Bank in Johannesburg.

Saturday Afternoon (4 p.m.).

CHAIRMAN: I think sufficient hot air has been thrown off. Let us now be brief and come down to actual business.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA: Before we proceed, sir, I think it would be wise to determine once and for all how the land scheme funds are to be stored.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that's right. We want this house to leave with one mind.

Comrade KADALIE: Well, how would it be if funds were sent to Financial Secretary at Head Office, and he be instructed to bank same in the usual way, but with a distinctive mark indicative of the province to which the funds belonged?

Comrade ELIAS (Jagersfontein), was strongly opposed to the funds being sent to Head Office.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO: Do not make sweeping statements! We are not going to violate our constitution in order to please you or any branch. These funds must be sent to Head Office and administered from there.

After further discussion it was eventually resolved that all land scheme funds be sent to the different Provincial Secretaries under control of Provincial Committees.

RAIDS ON I.C.U. OFFICES IN NATAL.

The GENERAL SECRETARY fully explained the circumstances surrounding the raiding of I.C.U. offices in Natal. He said that not only were these offices raided, but some of the officials were assaulted.

A communication had been sent to the Minister of Justice demanding that justice should be done to those who had been harmed. The result was that the accused men had been fined £1, £2 and £3 in the different places—Weenen, Krantzkop and Greytown.

A letter was then read, which the I.C.U. had sent to the Minister of Justice, and also the reply thereto. It was plain that all the delegates were totally dissatisfied with the reply of the Minister of Justice.

Continuing, Comrade Kadalie said that only delay or two ago the I.C.U. had voted £31 for the bail of Comrades Mote and Dumah, who had been charged under the Native Administration Act.

At this juncture the General Secretary asked the victims of Greytown and Krantzkop to stand up in order to be seen by the delegates. They were Comrades Herbert Msane and James Ngobane.

Continuing, he said that at Greytown over £200 were lost, and at Krantzkop a considerable sum of money, as well as personal effects and office furniture.

The National Council Sub-Committee recommends that civil action be now taken, but they would leave Congress to decide that point.

Comrade JOSEPH MABLANE (Johannesburg) said this was a serious matter, and he blamed Head Office for not lodging an appeal immediately after decision of these cases. When a prisoner was convicted the papers were generally sent to the Attorney General, proving that this officer had power to investigate a Magistrate's decision. He thought the Magistrates concerned in these cases could be applied to and asked to give exact and full reasons for their finding.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), also blamed Head Office, and said the Research Secretary (Comrade Gladstone Kah) should have inquired what charge was laid against the accused persons by the Crown. Had these people been charged with arson their cases would have gone to a higher court, but since they were charged with public violence they were in the fortunate position of having to face a lower court.

There was another remedy, however, and that is to sue them civilly for damages. But competent men should be employed to make a correct estimate of damages and injury.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), said he was present at one of the trials when some of the accused addressed the Magistrate and pleaded justification, they also blamed the press. He did not believe they could have been charged with arson because they took out the office furniture and burned it outside. He understood that at Greytown only £200 were seized among the ruins.

While at Greytown he had reported to the local commandant of the Police that he had information that their offices would be raided that day. The commandant replied that he would have a large squad of police ready to move in the morning, and he thought that should have been ample time to provide protection before nine o'clock at night.

The man, Gozela, who was arrested on suspicion of deserting the graves was nearly lynched, but he was saved owing to the fact that he was disguised and dressed up as a policeman. There was a very strong anti-Native spirit at the time—especially against I.C.U. members. He thought it was impossible, however, for one man to pull down approximately 100 tomb stones in one night—or, rather, in a few hours' time. It is also freely rumored that a "Black-hand" gang has been organised with a view to do serious injury to some person or persons.

This is mere rumour, of course, but it would not be out of place, but these things to be brought to the notice of the Government.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA, in reply to the last speaker, said that arson meant destruction of any property by fire, therefore he thought that there was a possibility that these people, or some of them at any rate were wrongly indicted.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town) agreed with the last speaker. He also thought that the time had arrived to educate our people. As present thousands of people were spent unnecessarily on lawyers for work that could have been done by union officials.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary) withdrew, but I want to point out that Head Office communicated with the Government before the case was taken to court. The Government replied by wire strongly disapproving of the raids. So it can be seen that Head Office acted properly and promptly.

RAIDED OFFICES TO BE OPENED.

A motion calling upon the Government to reimburse the matter was unanimously carried. It was further suggested to open all the raided offices at all costs.

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passes and had reported police for arrest, but they wait for the decision of the press. He urged that this pass a resolution supporting the comrades.

THEO B. LUJIZA (London): Mr. Chairman, that these laws were sheer oppression, their folk were also expected to pass, yet he had never heard of any woman charged with taking.

CECIL SEHLABO (Pretoria): He was surprised that they were talking about resolutions, as they have already started words into action, and many have thrown away their

K. C. H. FREDERICKS (Zabth): thought they were there too fast. There should be hearted measures in this, therefore they should first of all support of the whole country in this movement. To fail is both dangerous and let them fix an emergency so as to get united. At Waaihook years ago this was considered, but without. He agreed that the pass were wholly unnecessary and graceful.

ANDREW FREDE (Kimberley): said this question had been discussed at many places, and they were tired of resolutions and deputations receive no sympathy from the men. He supported Comrade DIXON's resolution.

DIXON MOGAECHE (Pretoria): The recommendations of the National Council were in order. Passes were one of the most deceitful and degrading ever introduced in South Africa and in the world for that. In the country districts of the State I.C.U. members were by the police on their wayings and searched for passes, say with them, but let us have it. The rank and file were in fact they have been ready time ago.

MAHOMED (Sabie), also in favour of doing away with

JOHN MANCOE (Pretoria): told the delegates that the African National Congress had to deal with the pass laws. He agreed that the rank and file were ready for direct action, and only waiting for word from leaders. Maduna told them last night to do away with passes, yet were now still discussing.

R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town): reminded them of their mess in matters of national importance. He therefore moved that anything decisive is done, the National Council be authorised to meet the Executive Council of the African National Congress.

MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS. Comrade **KEABLE MOTE** (Free State) asked that the refusal of municipalities to grant residential passes to I.C.U. officials be considered in conjunction with the pass

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JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg): Comrades, you have to show in these matters. Municipalities argued that the locations were private property, and even peasants were arrested in these locations after nine o'clock. Further municipal by-laws were covered by the Parliament, and he believed some of these regulations had been put to the test during the last.

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would not degrade themselves but would rise in the estimation of the whole civilized world. (Loud applause, and "We hope wisdom will prevail.")

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Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), maintained that the National Council had completely failed to provide a plan. He simply had to hold a meeting, but could not substantiate these. In urban areas labourers were safeguarded by these contracts, but in rural areas Natives were simply at the mercy of unscrupulous employers. For those reasons he would like to have some intelligent reason put forth by those who are against written contracts.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE (O.F.S.), here complained that the Chairman gave Champion too much latitude, and because Champion was considered the "holy angel" of the house, he was allowed to speak after the motion had been placed on the table.

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A letter was also read from the Government with regard to the proper control of land should the I.C.U. purchase same.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE said the extent of the farm was 1,349 acres, at £1 15s. per acre. He thought they should be able to pay down a deposit of £800. It was very difficult to get suitable farms, but if they succeeded in acquiring farms he was certain the people themselves would substantially contribute towards the purchase price. As a matter of fact many were even now prepared to contribute livestock. (Applause.)

Comrade GEDDES NOLUTSHUNGU (Bloemfontein), moved that the Congress accept the report, seconded by **Comrade ROBERT SELLO**.

Comrade MASHABA said the position was very bad, and Congress should empower individual branches to act for themselves at once, as thousands were under notice of being evicted in June, and will thereafter be absolutely homeless.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), supported the last speaker, and said that in the Free State many people were fleeing about, and thousands in his district (Winburg) have been asking him where they should go to. (Shame.) He urged that Transvaal districts should be explored for the purchase of farms.

CHAIRMAN: Remember that your Special Conference had recommended the purchase of farms in Natal first.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban) was very glad that the matter of Natal had been brought up, as the position there was very serious, and needed prompt action. He strongly advised that the matter should be left in the hands of Natal officials. It was true that Champion accomplished nothing, but that may be due to the state of his health. Each branch should be authorised to collect monies. There was no time for resolutions now; practical steps were required, because the people were homeless and starving especially in Northern Natal. Head office staff of the I.C.U. had much to do, and should not be saddled with the extra burden of negotiating for the purchase of farms. That should be left in the hands of Natal officials. The farms should be in the name of the I.C.U. and its trustees.

Comrade Z. C. NGUBANE (Natal) said that two many promises were made during the past, and those who resided in towns did not realise the gravity of the position in rural areas. As a matter of fact in his past members were refusing to pay up their subscription cards, because the I.C.U. made promises and did not fulfil them. He did not like to go back to his branches with nothing to report, so he asked for authority to go back to the people and ask them to contribute towards a farm. He knew of over thirty well-to-do men in his district who were willing and able to make up a substantial contribution. In his district also, all have been served with notices to quit the farms in June.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO would like to know point blank why Ngcobo said Head Office should not have a hand in the purchase of farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: Champion, who was from Head Office, failed, because the matter needed someone on the spot.

Comrade SELLO: Do you want powers to collect monies, negotiate and buy farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: I want local officials to negotiate, report to Head Office, and then collect monies.

Comrade SELLO (banging his fist): I do not favour the system.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), said that while he agreed with Comrade Ngcobo, he felt that were extraordinary powers given to Natal that would be a departure from the consti-

tution. The National Council were the governing body, and had no right to delegate its powers to branches, and further, branch or provincial secretaries may make bad contracts, therefore he would like one official of Head Office to be present when collections and transactions are made so that he could bring a report to the National Council for review.

Comrade NGCOBO: Speakers forget that Head Office officials were not always on the spot. Provincial secretaries were responsible for all negotiations on behalf of the National Council.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West): My friend is telling the house that I wish to usurp his powers. Let him cut off the word "branches" and substitute the word "provinces," and his motion will have my blessing. (Loud laughter.)

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE agreed with Ngcobo, to some extent, but he objected to the statement that Head Offices interfered. There was no excuse for the failure of Champion to negotiate for farms in Natal, because while he was Acting National Secretary, he spent very little of his time at the Head Office.

With regards to the collection of funds, East London had already sent some money to Head Office. He had no objection to the collection of funds by branches, but duplicate receipts must be sent to account for monies collected.

Head Office was ever prepared to authorise an overdraft from the bank, but there must be a spirit of co-operation and seriousness. When we authorised the buying of farms at King Williamstown we had funds in the bank, but had difficulty with the Government. No one will prevent Secretaries from collecting monies and making negotiations, but Head Office must be advised and consulted.

CHAIRMAN: You have all the information now. All that is necessary is to act, but report to Head Office.

Comrade J. DIXON MOGAECHE (Bloemfontein), suggested that a Panels Committee be elected.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg) said that the moment we embarked on a land-buying scheme we invited the attention of the Government, therefore we must keep records and accounts that will stand the light of day. Therefore very responsible, able and trustworthy officials should be at the head of affairs so as to devise clear and scrupulous methods.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: It seems that the last speaker suggests that monies would not be safe in the hands of Natal officials. It was wrong to cast such insinuations. It now seemed that Provincial Secretaries were to be made mere boys who were compelled to refer every mortal thing to Head Office. (Up-roar.)

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Amidst uproar): Mr. Chairman, I would not reply to a fool according to his folly.

Comrade Msane, continuing, said he was kept in the dark when negotiations were contemplated for the purchase of a farm in his district (Greytown). Apart from these screeches he told Congress that the position in Natal was indeed serious. He cited a case where a man was severely assaulted merely because he was a member of the I.C.U. At the time of the Kimberley Special Conference his district could have offered over 100 cattle, but they did not do so because they were told that there were sufficient funds in the bank.

Comrade R. TSHANGE (Howick), said the General Secretary had been three times to Natal to collect monies for farms, but these monies had been spent on some other matters.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE: You must withdraw that because you cannot prove it. You insinuate that the money had been misused.

Comrade TSHANGE: I am very sorry, I withdraw. What I meant was that the money had been used by the deputation that toured Natal to inspect branch book.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (who had just come in), said it was very unfair and mischievous to attack a man behind his back.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg) insisted that proper

means be devised for the protection of land scheme funds.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: Mr. Chairman, the last speaker continues to cast uncalculated reflections.

CHAIRMAN: It is stupid to say that. Order! Sit down!

Comrade A.P. MADUNA (Pretoria), agreed that the position was very grave in Natal, therefore operations should start there. But people in other provinces must be made to understand that they were not forgotten.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary) said, arising out of the question as to whether farms should be bought out of reserved or general funds, he would suggest that any fund should be used, providing such account is transferred to the land scheme fund.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town), maintained that Provincial and Branch Secretaries were only empowered to collect funds and negotiate, but the National Council was the only constitutional body empowered to do the actual purchase.

A Natal delegate (whose name the reporter failed to catch), suggested that after funds had been collected they should be banked in that particular province, and further, that each branch be informed what amount it was expected to contribute.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West): The last speaker asks Congress to violate Rule 10, Sub-section 1, of our constitution, which expressly states that all funds of the organisation shall be banked with the Standard Bank, and transferred in the name of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, to the Commissioner Street Branch of the Standard Bank in Johannesburg.

Saturday Afternoon (4 p.m.). **CHAIRMAN**: I think sufficient hot air has been thrown off. Let us now be brief and come down to actual business.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA: Before we proceed, sir, I think it would be wise to determine, once and for all, how the land scheme funds are to be stored.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that's right. We want this house to leave with one mind.

Comrade KADALIE: Well, how would it be if funds were sent to Financial Secretary at Head Office, and he be instructed to bank same in the usual way, but with a distinctive mark indicative of the province to which the funds belonged?

Comrade ELIAS (Jaggerfontein), was strongly opposed to the funds being sent to Head Office.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO: Do not make sweeping statements! We are not going to violate our constitution in order to please you or any branch. These funds must be sent to Head Office and administered from there.

After further discussion it was eventually resolved that all land scheme funds be sent to the different Provincial Secretaries under control of Provincial Committees.

RAIDS ON I.C.U. OFFICES IN NATAL.

The **GENERAL SECRETARY** fully explained the circumstances surrounding the raiding of I.C.U. offices in Natal. He said that not only were these offices raided, but some of the officials were assaulted. A communication had been sent to the Minister of Justice demanding that justice should be done to those who had been harmed. The result was that the accused men had been fined £1, £2 and £5 in the different places—Weenen, Krantzkop and Greytown.

A letter was then read, which the I.C.U. had sent to the Minister of Justice, and also the reply thereto. It was plain that all the delegates were totally dissatisfied with the reply of the Minister of Justice. Continuing, Comrade Kadalie said that only a day or two ago the I.C.U. had voted £51 for the bail of Comrades Mote and Dumah, who had been charged under the Native Administration Act.

At this juncture the General Secretary asked the victims of Greytown and Krantzkop to stand up in order to be seen by the delegates. They were: Comrades Herbert Msane and James Ngcobo.

Continuing, he said that at Greytown over £200 were lost, and at Krantzkop a considerable sum of money, as well as personal effects and office furniture.

The National Council Sub-Committee recommends that civil action be now taken, but they would leave Congress to decide that point.

Comrade JOSEPH MABLANE (Johannesburg) said this was a serious matter, and he blamed Head Office for not lodging an appeal immediately after decision of these cases. When a prisoner was convicted the papers were generally sent to the Attorney General, proving that this officer had power to investigate a Magistrate's decision. He thought the Magistrates concerned in these cases could be applied to and asked to give exact and full reasons for their finding.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), also blamed Head Office, and said the Research Secretary (Comrade Gladstone Kili) should have enquired what charge was laid against the accused persons by the Crown. Had these people been charged with arson their cases would have gone to a higher court, but since they were charged with public violence they were in the fortunate position of having to face a lower court.

There was another remedy, however, and that is to sue them civilly for damages. But competent men should be employed to make a correct estimate of damages and injury.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), said he was present at one of the trials when some of the accused addressed the Magistrate, and pleaded justification; they also blamed the press. He did not believe they could have been charged with arson because they took out the office furniture and burned it outside. He understood that at Greytown only £7 were recovered among the ruins.

While at Greytown he had reported to the local Commandant of the Police that he had information that their offices would be raided that day. The Commandant replied that he would have a mobile squadron ready at nine o'clock that night. He reported the matter in the morning, and he thought there should have been ample time to provide protection before nine o'clock at night.

The man, Gwaza, who was arrested on suspicion of desecrating the graves was nearly lynched, but he was saved owing to the fact that he was disguised and dressed up as a policeman. There was a very strong anti-Native spirit at the time—especially against I.C.U. members. He thought it was impossible, however, for one man to pull down approximately 100 tomb stones in one night—or, rather, in a few hours' time. It is also freely rumoured that a "Black-hand" gang has been organised with a view to do serious injury to some person or persons. This is mere rumour, of course, but it would not be out of place were these things to be brought to the notice of the Government.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA, in reply to the last speaker, said that arson meant destruction of any property by fire, therefore he thought that there was a possibility that these people, or some of them at any rate were wrongly indicted.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town) agreed with the last speaker. He also thought that the time had arrived to educate our men. At present thousands of pounds were spent unnecessarily on lawyers for work that could have been done by union officials.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE: It seems that some of these critics were looking for jobs at Head Office. (Cries: Withdraw!) I withdraw, sir. But I want to point out that Head Office communicated with the Government before the case was taken to court. The Government replied by wire strongly disapproving of the raids. So it can be seen that Head Office acted properly and promptly.

RAIDED OFFICES TO BE OPENED.

A motion calling upon the Government to re-investigate the matter was unanimously carried. It was further suggested to open all the raided offices at all costs.

(Continued page 4, Col. 5)

(Continued in Col. 5)

(Ke R. V. Selope Thema.)

Ga go belatse gore sechaba se tla thaba go utlwa gore baetapela ba I.C.U. le ba Congress ba dumellane go sebetisa ka kutlano tabeng tse kgolo tsa namng sechaba sena. Tumelloana ena e entsoe koa Mangang ga Pitso ea Congress le ea I.C.U. dine di kopane teng. Ke tumellano e hlalileng kabaka la kope ea Marena gomme ea amogeloa ka moea o phodile ke bongata ba baetapela ba Makgotla ana. Empa go ile ga eba teng ba ileng ba seke ba rata ga gothoe Congress e tshuanetse gore e thube setshualele sa cona le Communist Party. Mr. J. T. Gumede, mo-okamedi oa Congress gomme le Professor Thacle le Mohlophagi D. S. Letanka, ga ba ka ba utluisisa gore setshualele sa Congress le Communist Party se thubioe. Empa moea oa Pitso o ile oa dumellana le mahutlo a-reng Congress e ka sebetisa hantle lethuso e tsuang koa Rashia.

Pheho ea tumellano ena e hlalilile soc ke Mohlophagi Clements Kadali gomme a tlatsa ke Mohlophagi R. V. Selope Thema. Banna bana ba ile ba bontsha gore tschibetso-mogo gara ga Makgotla ana a mabedi a magolo a Ba-Afrika e ea batlega, gaekaba sechaba se tla fumana tokologo le tsulopele. Ntho e thabisang ke gobane ka mahlakoreng ohle gobe gole takatso ea kopano magareng a Makgotla ana.

Tumellano ena ke mathomo a ntho tse kgolo tse tlang, ge eka sebedisoa ka tshuanelo. Ke mathomo a go phagama ga sechaba sena; ke mathomo a tokologo ea rona. Gomme ke tshaba gore baetapela ba rona ba tle emä neteng ea tumellano; go rialo ke gore ba tla etsa gore ba pheho sechaba dumellaneng ga sona. Moetsepele ea robang tumellano ena o tshuanetse gore a ahlooe ke sechaba gobane ke sera sa tsulopele le tokologo ea sona. Marena a laetse gore Congress le I.C.U. yualekaga ele makgotla a sebetang ka batho ba oona di tshuanetse gore di sebetse mogo, go loanela ditshuanelo tsa batho ba oona. Taelo ena e tshuanetse go holokoa ke baetapela. Ga ke belatse gore kutluisano ena e tla tsula tse kgolo I.C.U. le Congress di tsebe.

Ke sa pheho thabisa babali ba Congress le I.C.U. Ke ile ra kopana mane Mangang-mohla letsatsi la paseka leha empa ese nako e ntle ho batho ba ba lumeli ho phuthcha ka Paseka. Ehlile makhotla a mabelli ba African National Congress le I.C.U. Ke hlile ke rata ho qoqa le ba huli ba basebetisi hobane re batla kutlano le tsulopele. Taba tsa rona tsa buloa ke Bishop Carey oa Bloemfontein leha empa sechaba sa heso se ile so soaba ho se bone ntlati rona Canon Walter Mochoco oa Mafeketele eo re ratang hore ebe mookanani me: atle a tsebe ho lisa bashanyana ba kang Keable Mote, Simon M. Elias, le ba bang ba sehlopha. Hangata ho bile ho bontshise hore ba bangata ba khathetse.

Ho bile teng batho hao rona re ba bitsang Mampetje ke hore ba mona hao o ka funanang motho oa bona a rata ho ipontsa. Re ile ra bona mori Alex. Ped. Maduna le ba bang ba loantsa mekhoa e mebe le hore Mr. A. W. Geo. Champion ka e phomotsoc ho fihlela haka tsa hae li hlakhoje empa ha agata rona re lumela hore Champion ha na moelato feela re rata ho ruta ba sa tsebang hore sechaba se tla hula ke batho ba kang eina. Ke soanelo, ea bahuli ho na ba nyefoale, ho hlapoloe joaleka Champion ka ho boima ho tsamaisa sechaba. Re sa hopola lecto la Molreste hore le bile bohloko me le tsetse litheko tse sa feleng. Re ile ra khahloa ke boemo ba Comrade Clements Kadali. Re ile ra buoa ho loantsa liphosa me ho ea urloalcha hore ka kholi se ngolere tla etsa hlaphetho.

Hape rona re bona hore moputso ea mona Transvaal le Free State mapolasing ha ese hore ebe pondotse pedi ka kholi ele hore re tle re tsebe ho utloana le Maburu. Re tseba hore mori Mote a ka utloana hantle le Maburu, re tla lebella sechaba sa heso ho thusa hore mosebetsi oa sechaba o qoqe ka soanelo. Re ile ra thabisoa ke puo tse matla

tsela ea tsulopele le tokologo e bulatile; gomme go batlega gore re e tsamae ka kutlano.

KUFUNEKA KAMSINYANE. I HAFGORWENI (2/6) EZINGAMA WAKA ALISHUMI.

Amalungu e I.C.U. kumzantsi we Afrika angapezu kwamawaka ali kulu ke ngoko sibe-nela zuwo ngesilo sokuti ancede nge hafgorweni ezingamawaka alishumi lupela ukunceda indleko zetyala lika Kadalie kunye nabanye be I.C.U. ababanjwe ngenxa yalo metso urara kubantu bakowetu. Amagama abo bonke abase barola ayakupapashwa kwi pepa labasebenzi "Workers' Herald."

NGOKU OKANYE UNGABE. Komnye umhlali uyakufumana inqaku elichaza ngesisimemo. Imali itunyelwa kunobhala wemali u: Financial Secretary, I.C.U., 16, Market Street, JOHANNESBURG.

P.S. Bonke abo batumela imali zabo kwabanye ngapandle kwalo uxelwe ngentla apa abayi kupapashwa. Amapepa aseposini (Postal orders) ziyafunyanwa nge 1/-. Ke ngoko M'Afrika, nokokuba ninga ba lipi ihlelo, NIKEL ANI NGENKULULEKO OKANYE NINI-KELE KONKE. "MAYIBUYE."

YENZA LONTO NGOKU.

I kamva ye I.C.U. ise baleni ngoku, ngenxa yentshutshizo..

THUSO KAPELE.

HO BATLEHA LIKETE TSE LESHUMI TSA MASHELENG AMABELI LE SEKESEPENSE.

I.C.U. enale litho tse mona Afrika tse ka fetang likete tse kabang lekhulu. Feela re-icela reqela thuso ea 2/6 feela holoantsa litshinyehelo tsa molato oa Comrade Kadalie le babang ba tsoeroeng kabaka la molao ona hotoeng obaka hohloyana mahareng abatho babatso le makhooa (Sedition Bill) Batho kaofela ba romelang chelete mabitso abona atla ngoloe pampiring ea basebetsi "Workers' Herald."

JOALE KAPA TLOELLA.

Ka nqa engoe utla fumana moo ho hloeketsoeng mabape le kopo ena. Chelete eromeloa ho ralichelete: Financial Secretary, I.C.U., 16, Market Street, JOHANNESBURG.

P.S.—Bao ba romelang chelete tsa bona hobatho besele mabetso abona akeke hlalisoa pampiring. Pampiri tsa Poso (Postal orders) le ka litola ka 1/- posong. Juale ke M'Afrika, lehoja lele balekhotla tseng, NEHELA KATOKULOHO uneha KAUFELA. "A EBUEE."

ETSA JOALE.

Linato tsa I.C.U. limpi kabapa tsa ho xhenoa hoaba Holi.

Tsela ea tsulopele le tokologo e bulatile; gomme go batlega gore re e tsamae ka kutlano.

MEQOOO LE I.C.U.

Ke sa pheho thabisa babali ba Congress le I.C.U. Ke ile ra kopana mane Mangang-mohla letsatsi la paseka leha empa ese nako e ntle ho batho ba ba lumeli ho phuthcha ka Paseka.

Ehlile makhotla a mabelli ba African National Congress le I.C.U. Ke hlile ke rata ho qoqa le ba huli ba basebetisi hobane re batla kutlano le tsulopele. Taba tsa rona tsa buloa ke Bishop Carey oa Bloemfontein leha empa sechaba sa heso se ile so soaba ho se bone ntlati rona Canon Walter Mochoco oa Mafeketele eo re ratang hore ebe mookanani me: atle a tsebe ho lisa bashanyana ba kang Keable Mote, Simon M. Elias, le ba bang ba sehlopha.

Hangata ho bile ho bontshise hore ba bangata ba khathetse. Ho bile teng batho hao rona re ba bitsang Mampetje ke hore ba mona hao o ka funanang motho oa bona a rata ho ipontsa. Re ile ra bona mori Alex. Ped. Maduna le ba bang ba loantsa mekhoa e mebe le hore Mr. A. W. Geo. Champion ka e phomotsoc ho fihlela haka tsa hae li hlakhoje empa ha agata rona re lumela hore Champion ha na moelato feela re rata ho ruta ba sa tsebang hore sechaba se tla hula ke batho ba kang eina. Ke soanelo, ea bahuli ho na ba nyefoale, ho hlapoloe joaleka Champion ka ho boima ho tsamaisa sechaba.

Re sa hopola lecto la Molreste hore le bile bohloko me le tsetse litheko tse sa feleng. Re ile ra khahloa ke boemo ba Comrade Clements Kadali. Re ile ra buoa ho loantsa liphosa me ho ea urloalcha hore ka kholi se ngolere tla etsa hlaphetho. Hape rona re bona hore moputso ea mona Transvaal le Free State mapolasing ha ese hore ebe pondotse pedi ka kholi ele hore re tle re tsebe ho utloana le Maburu. Re tseba hore mori Mote a ka utloana hantle le Maburu, re tla lebella sechaba sa heso ho thusa hore mosebetsi oa sechaba o qoqe ka soanelo. Re ile ra thabisoa ke puo tse matla

tsa banna ba kang Mr. C. Doyle Modiakgotla oa Kimberley le bahale bo Simon M. Elias oa Bloemfontein. Batho ba tsebe hore Keable Mote, Simon M. Elias, le ba bang ba sehlopha.

MOELATO LE I.C.U.

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Transvaal Provincial Secretary. Mohla tsatsi la 24th April e bile mokete o moholo mona Gaudeng ntle e tsetse re ho e bileng re hatanang holimo re bona bahlophagi heli ho Mr. R. V. Selope Thema, le ba bang ba sehlopha.

MOELATO LE I.C.U.

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koa ke ntere ea hore Marena, a heso a nyala basali ba bangata-ngata me ka hoo u tla utluisisa hore bona barna ba tsoaloang ka khona ba be bangata ba tsoaloang ka khona ba be bangata.

MOELATO LE I.C.U.

Ke sa pheho thabisa babali ba Congress le I.C.U. Ke ile ra kopana mane Mangang-mohla letsatsi la paseka leha empa ese nako e ntle ho batho ba ba lumeli ho phuthcha ka Paseka.

Ehlile makhotla a mabelli ba African National Congress le I.C.U. Ke hlile ke rata ho qoqa le ba huli ba basebetisi hobane re batla kutlano le tsulopele. Taba tsa rona tsa buloa ke Bishop Carey oa Bloemfontein leha empa sechaba sa heso se ile so soaba ho se bone ntlati rona Canon Walter Mochoco oa Mafeketele eo re ratang hore ebe mookanani me: atle a tsebe ho lisa bashanyana ba kang Keable Mote, Simon M. Elias, le ba bang ba sehlopha.

Hangata ho bile ho bontshise hore ba bangata ba khathetse. Ho bile teng batho hao rona re ba bitsang Mampetje ke hore ba mona hao o ka funanang motho oa bona a rata ho ipontsa. Re ile ra bona mori Alex. Ped. Maduna le ba bang ba loantsa mekhoa e mebe le hore Mr. A. W. Geo. Champion ka e phomotsoc ho fihlela haka tsa hae li hlakhoje empa ha agata rona re lumela hore Champion ha na moelato feela re rata ho ruta ba sa tsebang hore sechaba se tla hula ke batho ba kang eina. Ke soanelo, ea bahuli ho na ba nyefoale, ho hlapoloe joaleka Champion ka ho boima ho tsamaisa sechaba.

Re sa hopola lecto la Molreste hore le bile bohloko me le tsetse litheko tse sa feleng. Re ile ra khahloa ke boemo ba Comrade Clements Kadali. Re ile ra buoa ho loantsa liphosa me ho ea urloalcha hore ka kholi se ngolere tla etsa hlaphetho. Hape rona re bona hore moputso ea mona Transvaal le Free State mapolasing ha ese hore ebe pondotse pedi ka kholi ele hore re tle re tsebe ho utloana le Maburu. Re tseba hore mori Mote a ka utloana hantle le Maburu, re tla lebella sechaba sa heso ho thusa hore mosebetsi oa sechaba o qoqe ka soanelo. Re ile ra thabisoa ke puo tse matla

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Re kile ra na ra rata ho phe Babali hore "Tau" ea "Free State" eleng mangoli Keable Mote oona moea ka nqa leboea ho bona le eka hoja a rata ho tsebe le ba huli ho tla qala ho tsamaisa ho bona khohli e ch' thosa ho a boea oeng ea hae Mame Baruchana Sophia Town ho isa Pochestere le Klerksdorp hohle ho isa Vaseeng. Re kopa hore bohle ba bangata ba makala a hufaa ba tse eina Thabo me o tla surama mo mane oa hae. Re utluke hore tala li mosenkeng ho le ba besei kamoo ho tsamaisa baetapela ba bong ba tsamaisa teng. Makoata a bhele a imphahlela re sa tsebe hantle moe li teng. Eka hoja motse kaofela, Lepole-Putsoe o tla chokela mongoli oa heso. Taba e ka qoqa ke bashemane ba sen ag rade Bernard Gwabeni mane le keng me a thusa ke moeletsi Selope Thema oa Congress eo e taba-taba joale ke ho loantsa pan ena ea Pasa eo o ka funanane hoja baheso ke liphosole. Re lebella tiro tsa hae yona Transvaal.

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KOTSI LI TLA HLAHA

Mohlomong ho boima ho koto, empa ha ho thata ho itokotona. Pili tsa Chamberlain le Kogola, me ho bohloko ea me e oona o loketse moele. Re rekia mabenkele ohle.

HO HATSELA HOSASA.

Elolloa serame ka nako ena ea selemo. Se atisa kotsi. Ha o lesela mohatsela ho tla baka bohloko ba maraha. Nka lipilisi tsa Chamberlain o phekoletsa kapele. E rekioa ke mabenkele ohle.

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UKUKULUWA KWE PA Mhleli. Make nditete abe mbalwa ma sisikokelo singasentla, ilizwe amoya wokuba urulumente n kulule pantsi kwesitituko siyi Enyanisweni i pass sisituko yin ana ehamba ixela, ishunyela likhokha elo. Yaye ubukhokha nomntu ontsundu apa e Africa ku denge baka. Akukomntu angafika akwa khokha endlini ka nyoko ati ngenewadi endlini ka yihlo. Ezintu emlungu uzendzele kwelizwe eli ibfa lezi denge viwa zizulanko. Kwakona le Pass akwaneli wala kodiwa ibatadi i 2/ in zokupala kwako emhlabeni kul ukuba ungi obomvu nawaseske abashumayeli nabafundisi no Barje ilive ngumntu wonke len Akuko metso umafunwayo si uyumlekileyo ukuba usetyende Enikomponi, eiddopeni, ezi kuzo zonke teawa ezinomntu sundu masizama ukulwa naloo Isidlanga nekuba sidala siya kut ne zinyo liya-otulwa xa libu iba lada'wa nomntu ngu Sor singatini ukuyela lomteto mbi bubende alanakusityisa ukutya siqumbelayo asingomteto eingar d'ca kanye nina mpi yetyalike sibulawa ngabandlope betata dila kuni ngabafundisi betu abafusayo ngenxa ye qokeza lesomi Ndiyalubela Mhleli. J.T.

ISIZATU SORUBA LITENG

Iyeza lika Chamberlain Lokholo lokona yona ohtenzwa k elizweni, kubi lena lonto ifun Liphisi zambokhela ngoku peli qela, laye lena ezonto kamisi nangoku am-kileyo. Liteng alomisi zofa.

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Lipilisi tsena litsokile khathatong tsa Sebete lema amahle, moea cnkhang lu ithibelang tseli, kore hose kaofela hoseronteng dijo ha hamala lehosenteng dijo ha tipilisi tsena liphokula mhl tipilisi tsena ebe motsolale e tsebetseteng ke 8/- kaposo

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Ngaso sonke inkhosi wobuza oka BANKS UMAKOCULUZA PILLS OWONA WEQOBO UMUTI WOKUGEQA ISISU NOKUHLANZA INGAZI. UTENGWA NGO 1/6 IGHABA Uma ufana imiti ezandhla ebal' ela ku F. C. BANKS, Box 88, Durban. Elona Kemisi legobo la bantu abantsundu.

(Ke R. V. Sciope Thema.)

Gomo beletse gore sechaba se tla... go utlwa gore batapela ba I.C.U. le ba Congress ba dumellane go sechaba...

Phebo e tumellano ena e hlalositse ke Mohlonphagi Clements Kadale...

Tumellano ena ke mathomo a ntho tse kgolo tse tlang...

Tsela ea tsuolopolele le tokologo e bulegile; gomme go batlega gore re e tsamaisa ka kutlwano.

KUFUNEKA KAMSINYANE. I HAEGORWENI (2/6) EZINGAMA WAKA ALISHUMI.

Amalungu e I.C.U. ezmantsi we Afrika angapezu kwamawaka ali kulu ke ngoko sibe...

NGOKU OKANYE UNGABE. Komnye umblati uyakufumana inqaku elichaza ngesimemo. Imali itunyelwa kunob...

Financial Secretary, I.C.U., 16, Market Street, JOHANNESBURG.

P.S: Bonke abo batumela imali zabo kwabanye ngapandle kwalo nxelwe ngenitla apa...

YENZA LONTO NGOKU.

I kamva ye I.C.U. ise baleni ngoku, ngenxa yentshushizo.

THUSO KAPELE.

HO BATLEHA LIKETE TSE LESHUMI TSA MASHELENG AMABELI LE SEKESE-PENSE.

I.C.U. enale litho tse mona Afrika tse ka fetang likete tse kabang lekulu. Feela rek...

JOALE KAPA TLOELLA.

Ka nqa engoe utla fumana moo ho hloekesetsoeng mabape le kopo ena. Chelete cro...

Financial Secretary, I.C.U., 16, Market Street, JOHANNESBURG.

P.S.—Bao ba romellang chelete tsa bona hobatho bebele mabetso abona akeke hlalisoa...

ETSA JOALE.

Linato tsa I.C.U. limpi kabapa tsa ho xhenoa hoaba Hofi.

Tsela ea tsuolopolele le tokologo e bulegile; gomme go batlega gore re e tsamaisa ka kutlwano.

MEQOOO LE I.C.U.

Tsa ba na kang Mr. C. Doyle Modikgola on Kimberley le bahale ho Simon M. Elias oa Bloemfontein.

Transvaal Provincial Secretary. Mofha tsatsi la 24th April e bile mokete o moholo mona Gaudeng...

kna ke nete ea hore Marena, a hese a nyala basali ba bangata ngata...

a tshuarano ka diatla, a tla sebetso go feta ga ana a arogant.

Ke leholo molo le i golo gore kutlwano ena e tse tlang ka nako ena...

Kajeno ke hloka moo re ka ahang metse ea nna teng; re tsamaisa lefathe lena...

Ho hile teng batho hao rona re ba pitsoeng Mampete ke hore ba mona...

Ntho ena e eba nna gore kopano ke masta. Kabaka leno batapela ba rona...

empa me rako e ntle ho batho ba ba lumeli ho phuthaha ka Pasaka. Elahi...

Ho hile teng batho hao rona re ba pitsoeng Mampete ke hore ba mona...

Hape rona re bona hore mputso ea mona Transvaal le Free State...

Ng. 30 sonke isihlali wobum oha

tsa ba na kang Mr. C. Doyle Modikgola on Kimberley le bahale ho Simon M. Elias oa Bloemfontein.

Sechaba sa hese le tseba ho. La selomo se fetileng Muso oa Kanyo...

Ho feta moo lefa tseba hore ka khoeli e September ka lemo se fetileng re...

Hape rona re bona hore mputso ea mona Transvaal le Free State...

Ng. 30 sonke isihlali wobum oha

Molisa oa Likhoele. Mongkali, Schakana pampiring ea hau, ea Moifo le ropa re ke re hlalitse a rona...

Ngana ho rona ea ngotseng pampiring ea la 17 bona khacheng ena...

Empa moa re re: Taba ena e ntle e sechitsoe ka...

Re thaba ho bona hore leale le tseba pele. E ka khona ba tsoe...

PRO HATSELA HOSASA. Elleloa serame ka nabo ena e selemo...

Re kile ra na rafa rafa ho phele babali hore. Tau ea Free State...

Lepolesa ena e bolelang ho re ke ea mali; u tla fumana hore ha se...

Re thaba ho bona hore leale le tseba pele. E ka khona ba tsoe...

PRO HATSELA HOSASA. Elleloa serame ka nabo ena e selemo...

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Re thaba ho bona hore leale le tseba pele. E ka khona ba tsoe...

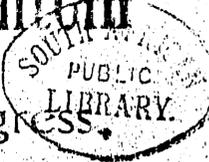
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BANKS NMAKOCULUZA HILLS. OWONA WEQOHO EMUTI WOKUBONA IBISU NOKULANZA INGAZI. UTHENWA NKO...

Inkomfa Ye I.C.U. E-Bloemfontein

Umanyano Pakati Kwe I.C.U. Ne Congress.

MAYIBUYE KE NGOKU



Intlanganiso ye I.C.U. ebe miselwe ukhlangana e Bloemfontein ngonitla we 6th April e Bloemfontein, abanga nakudibana ngenxa yokuba bekuko intlanganiso ye Congress kwaye ke kungoko enye indawo enye indawo ibinoku hlanguka kona. Kute ke ngenxa yovelwano i Kongressi yavumela i I.C.U. ukuba ivale umsebenziwayo ngongqibelo ngomhla we sixenxe ku April. Nakuba nayo ingokaugqibi umsebenzi wayo.

UKUVULWA KWE NTLANGANISO YE I.C.U. 7TH APRIL, 1925.
Yayitwa ke intlanganiso ye I.C.U. ngongqibelo ngu President J. G. Gumb, oyena Mongameli welibandla. Ote ukuvula kwake umsebenzi wati kwintlanganiso yabuntunye bonke abavela kwindawo ngenawo:—Namhla nje sidebene kwakona pambi kwe mpembelelo ze I.C.U. kweli lase Bloemfontein, ndinga ke ukudibana kwetu nje ngokuba sidhile kuma nqanaba anzima kwexesha eligqitileyo, singati kanti namhla nje sidebene ngenawo enye injongo yetu eyeyokuba sifumane impumelelo, zonke izinto zokungqibela kwetu, nentivano engaba zilko pakati kwetu, ngokuba singa singa zibeka pantsi okanye sizilibale injongo yetu ke indawo eyona ndlela iyakuti isipumelelise ngomoya omnye nje ngaba sebenzi kweli lomzantsi we Afrika. Ayikabi yiyo inteto yam nje ngomoya kece into yokuba tina basebenzi kwelilizwe asi za zimisele ukuba sibilamele intshutshiso ngongxowa nkulu siza kufuna amalungelo etu nje ngaba sebenzi isivuno kweli lizwe lakowetu Singa ke ngoko singa hiala ngokonwaba nokuvisisana nezipati mandla. Masingaphelelwa mandla. Masizimisele ukunikela izipo ngeyona mfaniso singa vumeli okohhutwa imfaniso zetu ngokungapandle kwomteto wobuntu. Ngokwenjenje ndentabha ukuti siyakulungana ke siqube umsebenziwayo ngentizwayo enye nangovisisano sine njongo enye kupela yokufumana amalungelo etu, Ndiyabulela ke ngoko, odisitsho ndisiti ndiyayi vula lentlanganiso.

U BISHOP CAREY wase Bloemfontein: Wati ukuvula kwake umlomo wati kuqinisekile ukuba ndingunhlobo wabantu abantsundu ndibatanda kana njako, ndinga ke nabo banqa fumana amalungelo abo nje ngokuba mna xa sukuba ndibakangele ndibafanisa nawo wonke umntu obhile kweli limiweyo. Umntu oti ontundu alanamalungelo, okanye akafanele ukuba afumane amalungelo nje ngalupina okanye ukuba lomntu ngenxa ngqiti, siye ngokubakangele, okanye akazi bulwazi. Nje nje mna endinga y into ngomoya kece into ukuteta izimvo zam nje ngoko kufanele. Ku kuba umntu ontundu ati ufuna into angena kuyifumana, kufanele ukuba ngalo lonke ixesha yena enze ukubayonke into ayifumayo ibe semlinga niselweni. Kuba nam ndingui Bishop nje ukuba ndibonile ukuba into kwamanda am, kuqinisekile ukuba ndiya kutabata izala lomntu omhlope, ongowa lowetu ke ngoko. Kodwa ukuba ngaba isicelo somntu ontundu sokuba naye anile sisenlinganiseneni nje ngokutona, kwake, nanje ngokubela kwake pambili, ndingomnye oya kumisa inyawo zombini ukusadla ontundu.

Ndaye ke ngesosenzo ndiqinisekile ukuba ndiyakutiwaya ngumawetu abamhlope. Oka Kadalie ulingqinisa ukuba ndingomnye otanda abantu abantsundu, kwaye ke ukubonisa kwam utanda kwaye kubo ndinifumanele i Hall eyama lingu St. Patrick's Hall, ngapandle, kwentlalo. Ndenze imisebenzi emikulu malunga nokunceda uhlanga oluntsundu. Kwaye nase Fort Hare kuyaziwaya imisebenzi endiyenziweyo kwaye kwakona nase Amerika ndatunyelwaya imali enqa amakalelu amane endayinikela kwiziko: zabantsundu, okanye ndifumane imali enganga mashumi ukumyamaka evela e Merika lomali ndayitabata ndayinikela ukuba yenze umsebenzi wesikolo sabantsundu e Modderpoort Make okanye ndinipe oluwazi lokuba nam ndike, ndayayo inkokeli okanye ilungu le qela labasebenzi kwela Poshya e England, apo abasebenzi bati baku diwa kungabiko ukuyamaka bala ukukupi imromo yabo. Lonto ke namhla ndiyifumana ukuba injabeni kolweni kunye nakuti apangaxa yokungafakeki kwezinto. Masizifundise ukuti ngoko ke ixesha sitime into enye, situsele ukama kuyo de kuye ekupeleni. Ukuba ngaba sifuna imali engange Isteri, ke zish-leli ezintlatu makube y into kupela inyenti beka apa, ngokudleli kuqinisekile ukuba nyalalwalela. Into yokuti umlungu akanabalingisa, lonto ayititi bulwazi, kuba nam ndingena anabali akwa Zulu indlela ayebona nayo abantu kwakunye nezinye izizwe ezintlatu. Adiditsho ke kwa ukuba izizwe esihlope singwele. Kweli lase Afrika kuhleli amangeli nama-

kulu we Pondo lase Free State; Ote ukususa inteto yake wati: Ndinovyuyo ukuba ndifumane elituba lokukuba ndi tete pakati kwetu batunywa abavela kwindawo ngenawo ukuba apa e Bloemfontein kule ntlanganiso. Tina singa ma Free State, indawo ekutiwa yeyenkululeko ngokwegama, okanti enyanisweni lizwe lama-hoboka. Ndibulela noko ukuba tina kweli lase Free State singababetele noko kono ka Champion owayofumene ubunzima malunga ne Mayor yase Tekwini, tina noko apa sine Mayor elungileyo kunene. Kodwa ke nokuba kunjalo mandibonise ibandla eli ukuba nakuba kusitwa nje sipumile ebukobokeni kweli singawapindiweyo wona: Akuko mntu untundu onendawo yokuhlala. Kodwa ke kwelase Natala nase Koloni abantu bane ndawo ekutiwa zi Reserves (indawo zabantsundu) apa ke akunjalo. Yindawo apo abantu bebetwa ngezabokwe, nemvubu nje ngezinja, Onobhala betu abavunyelwe kuhlala ezilokishini ngonolokishi kuba bengabantu be I.C.U. Amapolisa anganda abantu ukuba bangazi ezintlanganisweni Ndinga ke lentlanganiso yesibozo ye Congress yetu iyakungela ngeso elibanzi ibe namandla okulwa sifumane impumelelo kwazi zinto zisime ngapambili. Ukuba obubukoboka bupelisiwe apa e Free State siyakufumana i Jerusalem entsha.

A. M. JABAVU: Umcedisi omkulu ka Mongameli: Wati yena ngumntu otanda ukuba inteto yake ibesemxolweni kwase ntloko, wayisitsho, esiti ubulela kakulu inteto eyenziwe zizititi zokugala ezinama kwe angentla apa ngakumbi inteto ka Bishop wase Bloemfontein, ukuti bantu bantsundu ukunikela ezicaweni ngokukhululekileyo. Kwaye kunjalo abantu abaninzi ezicaweni ngabantsundu: Kodwa ke icawa zona zikolelwe kukuti zamkele kodwa zinginikeli. Sibulela ke ubulungisa obenziwe ngu Bishop ngokusifunela i Hall ngapandle kwe ntlalo. Kwaye ke kuyinto engena kupikwa bani yokuti okoko kwafika umntu omhlope kweli lizwe, umntu omnyama usoloko etobele umteto elulamile. Ngoko ke elungilela omhlope kwemisebenzi yake yomcila. Kwaye ke ngalo lonke eloxesha omhlope ube ezandleni zontsundu, namhla nje umntu omnyama ubulawa yindlela ngokungqibeli nalizwe. Malunga ne Lokishi, nokuteta kuka no-lokishi, esiti silinge uku qanda abantu ukuba ezidolopini, abavela pandle, kuyakufumaniseka ukuti sifanele tija bantu bangapandle ukuba ezidolopini kuba ngapandle: kungoko luncedo nanto yokupila, ke ngoko kunyanzelekile ukuba size ezidolopini ukuba kufuna ukukusela. Ngoko kuyimfuneko ukuba benze bona (abamhlope) indawo ngapandle yaba bantu. Ke malunga nenteto ka Nhlapo ngokwenza umahluko ngo Mayor yase Natal, ndicinga ukuba lo Mayor nayo yabeka isizato, kwaye ke nangoku siteda. i Mayor yase Bloemfontein ayiko, ke lonto yalata ukuba abantu bayafanya nje bonke. Ndibulela kakulu ukwamkelwa kwetu ngama Free State kunye nezitunywa ezivela kwindawo ngendawo nakuba zibe nodano. Ixesha limshakele kakulu ngokujikeleza ezitratweni Ndaye ke ndingazimisele ukuti ngubani lo owenze lonto. Sibulela kakulu ke ngesenzo esenziwe yi Congress ngokusinika elituba loko kuba sivule umsebenzi wetu. Ndaye ndicinga ukuba bekuyakuba nzima kubo abantu be Congress ukuba cela ukuti basi nike usuku lwayi zolu kuba nabo ibilusuku labo lokuvula umsebenzi wabo. Ndinqinisekile ukuti intlatu yalapa e Bloemfontein malunga ne lokishi intle iyabukeka, ngakumbi ndakuya ukuti nemali yezindlu ipantsi ngohlubo. Kwaye kuvakala ukuba umntu xana egula unikwa ituba lokuba ahlele endlini leyo engahlubi ngoko ke ndibulela ndibuyekela inteto yezititi zoku qala.

KEZI SITUBA Kwasuka Oka CLEMMENTS KADALIE, Unobhala-banzi wezizwe wafunda incwadi esiqabibo sokungqinisekile isebe labasebenzi abamhlope be South African Trade Union Congress ababe hleli kwintlanganiso yabo e Johannesburg ngelo xesha. Yafundwa ke yamkelwa ngovuyo yindlu yonke. Ekuqubeni kwake inteto oka Kadalie wati niyakukumbula ukuba e Tekwini kunyaka opelileyo senza kwalento yesigqibo esinje kwelisebe labasebenzi, nabo hati xana bebe hlangele e-Kapa niyazi ke into eyenzekayo. Iqumru lenu lesizwe lafuna ukuba simanyane nalo elibandla kodwa ke bala. Okanye nifundeli emappeni ukuti Injengele Yemisebenzi ivuyisekile yakubona ukuti lamadoda akavumi kuhlanguka nati. Kodwa ke iqumru letu alizimisele kuba pantsi kwala madoda kuba kucafile kumhlope ukuti ekugqibeleni lamadoda e T.U.C. aya kuzinikela kwi I.C.U. (Kwahlokoma izandla). Lenteto ke iyakutetwa apa kule Congress. Kwaye ke abatunywa beyakuvunyelwa ukuba batabate inxaxeba kulenteto ukuze kuvakale ukuba ngaba baya vumelana na nesi gqibo se qumru lesizwe. Asidananga konkena kukwaliwa ngalamadoda. Qondani ukuba i I.C.U. yiyona inamandla kunene kweli lomzantsi we Afrika jikelele, kwaye ndisenza okukuteta ngapandle kokoyika, ndisti ngokuqinisekileyo pambi kokuba lonkya upele i I.C.U. iyakuba namalungu anga-pezu kwamawaka alikulu. Sifanele ke ngoko ukuba sitala nzima nakuba tina sineratshi ngokuba sidebene namadoda apesheya e Geneva. Lamadoda e S.A.T.U.C. ngegama. Kusenokwenzeka ukuba i Kongressi isiguqule isigqibo sabo. Kuba tina ma I.C.U. sixaswe ngamadoda apesheya.

ISIZWE ESITSHA.
Into ebalulekileyo kulonyaka kukubona i Congress kunye ne I.C.U. ihlangene ngomoya omnye: Lonto yalata ukuvuka nokwakiwa ngokutshata kwe AFRIKA. Vuyani M' Afrika.

UKUTENGWA KWE FAMA (FARMS).
Kule Ntlanganiso kugqitywe ukuti makutengwe i Fama zababantu bakowetu abachitwe ezifama, ke zonke indawo kufuneka zifumane i fama kodwa kuqalwe nge Natal. Luvuyo ke olo mawetu.

IMITETO YAMAPASI.
Kugqitywe kulentlanganiso ukuba iqumru lesi zwe lidibane no Rubulubende benze isigqibo zokuba kapelisiwe i pasi, okanye kuke kulingwe nokuba zinyanga ezintandatu ukuba abantu babambe bengena mapasi. Ukuba lonto yenze kwakuhle, apeliwe konkena. Isigqibo ke senziwe.

OKANYE KWACQITYWA
nento yokokuba Nje ngokuba e Nolokishi besala ukunika bantu betu indawo zokuhlala, lonto nayo kafuneka ukuba ibhekiswe kwizipati mandla ukuba ikangelwe ngeso elibanzi, kuba kuqinisekile ukuba i I.C.U. nayo ikwa ngumqeshi, ke ngoko akuko sizatu esibangel' a ukuba abantu bayo bangafumani zindawo zokuhlala kwe ndawo zono lokishi.

Ukungu fundi kwenu eli pepa, noku ngangeni kwenu kwi I.C.U. nince disa ababulali benu
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PREFESSOR BROOKES UHLABA IGALELO (RAID) YAMA POLISA E PITOLI.
Kule nyanga ipelileyo inkosi yama Polisa e-Pitoli ikupela i Patroli ukuraula i lokishi yase Pitoli ngenjongo yoku bamba obava abangena pasi naba ngarolanga i rafu.
Kekaloku u Professor Edgar Brookes uti kulungile ukubamba ana-sela nolova, kodwa asi ngumteto ukungena nje ezindlwini zabantu bonke, kuba abobantu basebenza nzima haye bawugcinile umteto ngoko ke asingumteto ukubangeni ezindlwini zabo ebusuku okanye ekuseni.
Wonke umntu umlungelo lokuba abe yinkosi yendlu yake nokuba ngumntu omhlope nokuba ngumntu ontvelisa ipasi okanye ilasiti ye rafu ngeloxesha, kanti mhlambini lamapapa ase luginweni kwenye indawo, elo polisa lisenako, ukusukela kakubi emtrentweni.
Abanye bantu, kuyo le Patroli babanye benganzama sono, kabuye bakulwala e Orange O.C.A. Lonto yodwa lityala.
Impendulo ka Colonel Sir Theodore Truter, Inkom' jikelele yama Polisi, ayivakali kakuhle konke ngant' lenkosi olova, nasezela akaziwa apo balila kona, ngeso girati amapolisa anyanzelelede ukukupi i patroli ngalendlela.
Siti ke tina okokuba naba abava namasela kubelungu bandla lwayo ngalendlela kusaba imfazwe embi pakati kwabelungu kodwa baya-

TYINILE!
Izimanga zimazi apa emhlabeni Kanipulapule into ekutiwa pepa ngomnye u Kushi apa e Pitoli.
Omnye umlungu wase Pitoli alit' yuka ekamileni yake kusasa way kuvusa ukwaka kwenye ikamile kwa lapa endlwini. Kgele, banna, yintoni le kaloku? Nanku umkake ulele ubutongo, ecaleni lake kulele um-Afrika pantsi kwe ngubo, emhlabeni 'zok' impahla zake kunye nezihlungu. Ulele ubutongo bentwana, kulele imshebe kupela.
U baas umyusile kancinane umkake wati makayoku biza ungawa ayipuzwa. Ukhile Unongqayi wavyuswa u Kushi. Uyabona ke, akalwa umdaka wase Tunze, wade woyiswa noko ekugqibeleni.
Pambi kwomhlekazi uti umlungu lo udibene naye pandle wamgenisa endlwini ngamandla kuba u bava lo ubo bava abanyanga ubi yake Unongqayi akakolwanga yintoni wamamama entyala, akame noko kuba kusafunwa i nce yade.
Asazi ke, kuba kinto noko ukangeleka ngati ngumamangalo. Ngati ngoko ne nanga ikwapakati kuyo yoke lento.
Nina naye naye u ka Professor Brookes, ka... (text is cut off)

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Vol VI. No. 52.

PARS
The Rev. St. G. Stead writes in Grocott's "Daily Mail" Do let us stop this un-... (text is cut off)

(Continued at foot of next column)

I.C.U. Programme for 1928

A Poser For General Hertzog

Congress Report Continued

factory.

Opponents of the I.C.U. have frequently asserted that the Organisation is not a trade union in the sense that the term is generally understood in South Africa, but that it is a kind of pseudo-political body. The ground on which this assertion has been based is the fact that I.C.U. has concentrated its attention on matters in which the issues involved have not been "purely economic," whilst these "purely economic" issues have been very largely neglected.

The new constitution, which was adopted at the Special Congress at Kimberley in December last, definitely establishes the I.C.U. as a trade union, albeit one of the native workers whose rights of organisation are only now earning recognition. In these circumstances it has become clearly the Organisation to have a clearly defined economic programme, corresponding to the interests of the membership at large. At the same time it must be clearly understood that we have no intention of copying the stupid and futile "Non-political" attitude of our white contemporaries. As Karl Marx said, every economic question is, in the last analysis, a political question also, and we must recognise that in neglecting to concern ourselves with current politics, in leaving the political machines to the unchallenged control of our class enemies, we are rendering a disservice to those tens of thousands of our members who are groaning under oppressive laws and who are looking to the I.C.U. for a lead.

In the past, the officers of the I.C.U. in the field have had no definite programme to follow, and this has resulted not merely in confusion of ideas, but it has led to the dissemination of conflicting politics. This being so, we make no apology for introducing the subject of an Economic and Political Programme for the Organisation at this stage. The I.C.U. is a homogeneous national organisation. As such it must have a national policy, consonant with the terms of its constitution, which will serve as a programme of action by which its officers will be guided in their work. The framings of such a policy or programme is essentially the work of Congress, and we propose to give here the broad outlines for a programme, which we trust will serve as a basis of discussion. In view of what we said above it will be realised that it is not necessary to divide the programme into political and economic sections, the two being closely bound up with each other.

We will further preface the proposals we have to make by remarking that our programme must be largely of an agrarian character, for the reason that the greater proportion of our membership comprises rural workers, landless peasants, whose dissatisfaction with conditions is with good reason greater than that of the workers in urban areas. These conditions are only too well known to you to require any restatement from us. The town workers must not, however, be neglected. More attention must in the future be given to their grievances, desires and aspirations if their loyalty to the I.C.U. is to be secured. At the present stage of our development it is inevitable that our activities should be almost entirely of an agitational character, for we are not recognised as citizens in our own country, being almost entirely disfranchised and debarré from exercising a say in state affairs closely affecting our lives and welfare. Our programme will therefore be almost entirely agitational in character.

We now detail our proposals as follows:-

1. **Wages:** A consistent and persistent agitation for improved wages for native workers must be conducted by all branches of the Union. The agitation must be unflinching, and might must always be had to local conditions and circumstances. Improvements however small in themselves, must be welcomed and made the basis on which to agitate for further advances. Every endeavour should be made to enter into friendly negotiations with employers' associations and individual employers at the same time, with a view to securing improve-

ments. If no results are obtained branch secretaries should, wherever practicable, invoke the aid of the Wage Board. In this connection a study of the Wage Act, 1925, is urged.

As an immediate objective, a minimum wage of £5 per month (plus food and housing in country districts) should be striven for. The reasonableness of this claim cannot be disputed by any one. The attainment of this admittedly low rate, which it must be said few native workers are receiving, is not to be regarded as an end in itself, but as a stepping stone to the ultimate achievement of the full economic rights of the native workers.

2. **Hours:** Insistence should be made on a maximum working day of eight hours and a working week of 3 1/2 days for town and country workers alike. This demand will have the support of all right-thinking and justice-loving people, and members who refuse to exceed this working-time should be given every possible support and encouragement.

ILLEGAL PRACTISES.

3. **Illegal practises by employers,** such as withholding wages, seizing stock, etc., should be reported to the local Magistrate and Native Affairs Department, with fullest particulars. Any refusal by these officials to deal with complaints, or failure to secure satisfaction for the member or members concerned should be reported to the Head Office of the Organisation for submission to the higher authorities.

THE FRANCHISE.

4. The proposal of the present government to withdraw the very limited franchise granted to Natives in the Cape Province should be unequivocally condemned at every public gathering of the I.C.U. Further, on the principle "No taxation without representation," an extension of the franchise to Natives should be demanded. We would suggest that a motion be organised by the I.C.U. against the present reactionary proposal and presented to Parliament during the present session.

In the event of the Bill being passed and the franchise being withdrawn a protest should be made by means of a manifesto petition calling into question the necessity and legality of taxing and legislating for a section of the population and citizens without granting them the same representation as provided for the Europeans, at the same time asking for tangible and unbiased reasons why the Natives should not refuse to pay taxes without representation.

PASS LAWS.

5. The Pass Laws are a legal expression of Native enslavement, corresponding with the dark days of Tsarist Russia. They manufacture criminals and possess no moral or ethical justification. It is therefore the duty of the I.C.U. to oppose them by every possible means at its disposal. We would propose that the government be petitioned to suspend the Pass Laws for, say, a period of six months. If, during that period it is found that there has been no increase of lawlessness among the Natives, but that they are just as law-abiding without passes as with them, then the Government should be asked to repeal the Pass Laws in their entirety, as there will no longer be any reason or justification, either real or imaginary, for their continuance.

In the event of the government refusing to comply with such a petition, Congress should fix a day of national protest against the Pass Laws, to be marked by mass demonstrations at which all Natives should be asked to hand in their passes, the same to be burned in public by the demonstrators. In addition, the assembly should be petitioned by clean resolution to refuse to give any further passes or to give only the recognition to the Pass Laws.

LAND

The total area of land set aside for the exclusive native occupation is

the Union is notoriously inadequate. Parliament should be petitioned through one or more of its members to increase the Native reserves to as to make provision for the landless native farmers. The assistance of labour organisation overseas should be invoked in this matter. In addition, an agitation should be started against the laws prohibiting native squatting.

FREE SPEECH.

7. Vigorous propaganda must be carried on against those provisions in the Native Administration Act which place restrictions on the right of free speech. Ostensibly these provisions are designed to prevent the stirring up of hostility between the white and black races. Actually they are intended to limit the opportunities for trade union propaganda and organisation among the native workers. These provisions must therefore be strenuously fought against and their legality challenged where wrongful arrests are carried out. In this connection, no opportunity must be lost of stressing the fact that the I.C.U. is not an anti-European organisation, and that where it has occasion to criticise Europeans it is on grounds of their actions (usually as employers of labour) towards the natives and not on account of the colour of their skins.

PROPAGANDA.

8. Members must be kept fully informed of the activities of the organisation, and of all happenings affecting their interests. For this purpose regular members' meetings must be called by Branch Secretaries, and the speeches made thereat must not, as heretofore, be of a vague or general agitational character, but must deal with concrete and immediate problems. Every endeavour must be made to stimulate a direct personal interest in the affairs of the organisation, and to this end questions and discussion by the audience must be encouraged.

The "Workers' Herald," our official organ, must be further popularised among the members. If every member bought the paper its circulation could be easily quadrupled and more. The paper could be made to possess an interest for each district if Branch Secretaries would take the trouble to contribute notes concerning local happenings with their comments thereon.

NEW RECRUITS.

9. There are large numbers of native workers to whom the I.C.U. is scarcely known. I refer to the workers on the Witwatersrand gold mines, the Natal Coal Mines and the Railways. Branch Secretaries in these areas should make every endeavour to rope these men in as members of the I.C.U., as they would be an undoubted source of strength. The good work commenced some years ago among Dock workers has unfortunately been discontinued very largely. Renewed efforts must be made during the ensuing year to bring the strayed ones back to the fold.

REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC BODIES.

10. It was decided at a previous Congress that advantage be taken of the laws governing Provincial Council elections in the Cape to run official I.C.U. candidates. Native Parliamentary voters, are qualified to enter the Cape Provincial Council, and definite steps should be taken to select candidates to stand on behalf of the I.C.U. in Cape constituencies where there is a possibility of securing a fair vote at least. An instruction should be issued to the National Council accordingly, and full preparations should be made by the branch or branches concerned for a thorough election campaign in the next Cape Provincial Council elections. Propaganda must be the main consideration, although every effort must be made to secure the return of any candidates put up.

The question of candidates for the National Council is also on the agenda. In submitting the above it is to be trusted that the delegates will see with us the urgent necessity for a national policy for the organisation. One a

COULD A DOMINION JOIN THE ENEMY?

The Birmingham Post subjects General Hertzog's neutrality theory to a particularly destructive analysis. It ridicules the argument that some parts of the Empire can be set at war while others are at peace, and then, considering the problems that have arisen during the discussion in the Union Parliament, says:—"They suggest another question which does not seem to have been asked at Cape Town, yet on the face it would appear equally admissible and equally pertinent. If it be competent for the Government of any self-governing Dominion to declare their country neutral in a war involving other portions of the Empire, is it or is it not equally competent for them while remaining in the Empire to declare adhesion to the other side? The Crown declares war and peace, but a sovereign acts on the advice of his Ministers. Is the constitutional liberty of South Africa so complete that in the case put General Hertzog might advise His Majesty to take up arms in the company of some Power or Powers with which other portions of the Empire were already at war?"

Town Councils were playing the "Big Boss." Many Natives who were exempted from pass laws were convicted under Municipal bye-laws. He was not in favour of waiving money in litigation. "Let us throw these ugly things away," concluded the speaker.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE (Free State), advised constitutional action. He said he knew of a school teacher who was convicted purely for his connection with the I.C.U. He also was convicted at Springfield, and the Magistrate told him that his only remedy was the Supreme Court.

Comrade J. M. NHLAPO (who is hardly distinguishable from his twin brother, Esau), also criticised the Municipal bye-laws, and said that he once saw a Native mercilessly flogged for merely contemplating one of these regulations.

Comrade GEDDES NOLUTSHUNGU (Bloemfontein), held that a man can only be convicted for vagrancy and other common crimes, but not for a mere Municipal permit—after having applied for such permit too. He thought that the Municipal regulations would go overboard at the same time when the pass laws were scrapped.

Comrade R. DUMAH said he was once arrested under these regulations, and then discharged because his prosecutors knew they had not a leg to stand on. The locations were specially set aside for Native usage, therefore it was ridiculous to debar Natives from entering their own domain. He would continue to address meetings in any location without a permit.

Ultimately the following resolution was moved by Comrade KEABLE MOTE, seconded by Comrade ESAU K. NHLAPO, and unanimously carried:

"That this Congress of the I.C.U. having heard with consternation the refusal of various Municipalities, notably in the Free State, to issue lodgers' and visitors permits to I.C.U. officials and Branch Secretaries, since the I.C.U. in this respect can be recognised as an employer of labour, resolves to instruct the National Council to take legal opinion with a view of instituting a test case.

In the evening several matters of internal interest were gone into, after which Congress rose with the singing of the African National Anthem and the Red Flag.

(This report is compiled by Comrade HENRY DANIEL TYAM ZASHE, Sub-Editor, "Workers' Herald," 16, Market Street, Johannesburg.)

policy is adopted, and arrangements arranged it may not be allowed to remain on paper, and every effort will be expected to do his utmost to make the same more practical. Only in this way can the organisation grow and become an agency for liberating African workers from the third-class slavery

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE said the opening of these offices was a big issue. If they did not reopen these offices a precedent would be established for further hooliganism. If mob law is to prevail, and we receive no adequate protection from the Government, we shall have no other course but to protect ourselves in the best manner possible.

Comrade ROBERT DUMAH (Free State) We are not going to be ruled by mob law. We want peace, but we want justice as well. I will be the first to go and address meetings at Greytown—even should my life be in danger. Give me freedom or give me death. I am a peaceful citizen, but I demand freedom and justice.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), suggested that all the raided offices be opened on the 5th May, and he will volunteer to accompany any official to address meetings at any of the raided places (Appause).

Comrade GEDDES NOLUTSHUNGU (Bloemfontein), moved that in view of the contemplated civil action of the National Council against the raiders, these offices be not opened until the matter is finally settled.

Comrade R. SELLO objected to the sweeping statements of Dumah and Mancoe. He maintained that the secretaries at these centres were the only people able to give advice and throw light on the prevailing circumstances. To adopt mob law in retaliation is very wrong, as two wrongs do not constitute a right.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE (Greytown), said he was glad to see so many willing to sacrifice their lives in order to open these offices. He had a very narrow escape with his life. It was a veritable war declared against the I.C.U. on that fateful night. It was now time for the higher officials to come to the fore and establish order. The position was very serious, and did not require rash acts as some people were determined that these offices will not be opened. While he was witness in the Greytown case he had to be put in the prosecutor's office for protection, because the raiders made an attempt to break in and get at him. So they knew not what the position was.

Comrade J. S. MZAZI (East London), said it seemed that Mancoe had too much concerned about his present life. They had every right to organise the workers in their own land, and if Msane was afraid let him stand down, and the I.C.U. will get another official to replace him. (Laughter).

The debate then closed.

A RHODESIAN DEPORTATION.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), referred to the deportation of Robert Sambo from Rhodesia and Natal. He said that he did not dismay them because there were many members in Rhodesia even now, and many were still joining, and were only waiting for officials to come and organise them.

The reply of the Rhodesian Prime Minister banning the I.C.U. from Rhodesia was published in the "Workers' Herald."

Sunday Morning (10 a.m.).

Owing to heavy rains and the impossibility of getting the Community Hall on Saturday, owing to a function, the business of the Congress was further held up until Sunday morning.

PASS LAWS.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), said that probably delegates were not aware of the National Council decision regarding Pass Laws. He said it was agreed that a deputation wait upon the Government asking it to suspend the pass laws for 6 months as a test to ascertain whether these laws were a deterrent to time. Failing compliance, they recommended that all passes be burned in a public place.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA (Pretoria) said that he noticed many delegates were absent, and when decision was arrived at they would afterwards make many excuses of absence, but he was sure that what was agreed upon would be carried out in honor named as a member of this Congress, whether he was present or absent. He said that in the Free State the

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), Comrade, you have to go slow in these matters. Municipalities argued that the locations were their private property, and even Europeans were arrested in these locations after nine o'clock. Further, Municipal bye-laws were covered by Acts of Parliament, and he believed that some of these regulations had already been put to the test during the past.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE insisted on a test case, and said that they were allowing too many of these ultra-vires plans to stalk rampant through the land destroying all signs of order.

Comrade MON ELIAS (Johannesburg), said that although his knowledge of actual time only yesterday he was not afraid to say that in the Free State the

away their passes and had reported to the police for arrest, but they were told to wait for the decision of this Congress. He urged that this Congress pass a resolution supporting the Pretoria comrades.

Comrade THEO B. LUIZA (East London): Mr. Chairman, to prove that those laws were most humiliating and oppressive, these women folk were also expected to carry pass, yet he had never heard of a Native woman charged with house-breaking.

Comrade CECIL SEHLABO (Pretoria) said he was surprised that they were still talking about resolutions. In Pretoria they have already started to put words into action, and many of them have thrown away their passes.

Comrade K. C. H. FREDERICKS (Port Elizabeth), thought they were going rather too fast. There should be no half-hearted measures in this matter, therefore they should first of all get the support of the whole country behind this movement. To hurry and fail is both dangerous and undignified. Let them fix an emancipation day so as to get united action. At Waaihoek years ago this question was considered, but without results. He agreed that the pass laws were wholly unnecessary and most disgraceful.

Comrade ANDREW FREDE RICKS (Kimberley), said this question had been discussed at many conferences, and they were tired of fruitless resolutions and deputations which receive no sympathy from the Government. He supported Comrade Maduna's resolution.

Comrade DIXON MOGAECHEO (Bloemfontein). The recommendations of the National Council were quite in order. Passes were one of the most deceitful and degrading things ever introduced in South Africa and in the world for that matter. In the country districts of the Free State I.C.U. members were held up by the police on their way to meetings and searched for passes. I say away with them, but let us have one spirit. The rank and file were ready—in fact they have been ready a long time ago.

Comrade MAHOMED (Satie), also spoke in favour of long away with passes.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), said the delegates of the African National Congress had failed to deal with the pass laws effectively. He agreed that the rank and file were ready for direct action, but were only waiting for word from the leaders. Maduna told them last Sunday to do away with passes, yet they were now still discussing.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Capetown), reminded them of their agreement with the African National Congress in matters of national importance. He therefore moved that before anything decisive is done, the I.C.U. National Council be authorised to meet the Executive Council of the African National Congress.

This was unanimously agreed to.

MUNICIPAL BYELAWS.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE (Free State), asked that the refusal of Municipalities to grant residential permits to I.C.U. officials be considered in conjunction with the pass laws.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), said that the matter was an easy one. All they had to do was to put up a test case and order one of their officials to enter a location without a permit.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), Comrade, you have to go slow in these matters. Municipalities argued that the locations were their private property, and even Europeans were arrested in these locations after nine o'clock. Further, Municipal bye-laws were covered by Acts of Parliament, and he believed that some of these regulations had already been put to the test during the past.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE insisted on a test case, and said that they were allowing too many of these ultra-vires plans to stalk rampant through the land destroying all signs of order.

Comrade MON ELIAS (Johannesburg), said that although his knowledge of actual time only yesterday he was not afraid to say that in the Free State the

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(CONTINUED)

would not degrade themselves but would rise in the estimation of the whole civilized world. (Local applause, and "We hope wisdom will prevail.")

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Western Province with office at Cape Town), said he noticed that in their memorandum they invoked the assistance of the Wage Board. It was his duty to remind Congress that agricultural and domestic labourers unfortunately did not fall under the Wage Board. Although the Wage Act was introduced by the leader of the Labour Party, a most important section of the country's workers was excluded. This was due to the fact that Nationalists were mostly employers of farm labourers, and the Labour Party were employers of domestic servants. Before a minimum wage was asked for they should agitate farm labourers and domestic servants included under the Wage Act. Until this was done it was futile to insist that farmers consider a minimum wage.

Comrade KUMALO (Natal), said that the minimum wage question had been discussed year in and year out, thus wasting unnecessary time over the matter. He attempted to move a vote of no confidence in the National Council, but only received four supporters.

A. W. G. CHAMPION (Organising Secretary), said he would like to hear what argument is put up by those who favoured written contracts for farm labourers. His experience was that these contracts were always against the labourers. He thought that the I.C.U. policy was always to condemn these contracts. It seemed now that they were going to admit that the N.R.C. and Mr. Taberer were right in imposing these contracts. He had asked farmers' associations for a round table talk in connection with the contract system, but they flatly refused to meet him. That was an indication that there was something wrong to hide.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg) maintained that the contract system had completely broken down. He said the supply of labour in the rural areas had completely broken down. He could not substantiate these figures. In urban areas labourers were safeguarded by these contracts, but in rural areas natives were simply at the mercy of unscrupulous employers. For those reasons he would like to have some intelligent reason put forth by those who are against written contracts.

Comrade KEABLE 'MOTÉ (O.P.S.), gave a complaint that the Chairman gave Champion too much latitude, and because Champion was considered the "holy angel" of the house, he was allowed to speak after the motion had been placed on the table.

The CHAIRMAN explained his reason for doing this, at the same time telling Moté to be circumspect in his language.

Comrade J. DIXON (Bloemfontein), moved a counter motion urging for the establishment of labour bureaux all over the country. He agreed with Champion that written labour contracts were detrimental to the interests of workers. If labour bureaux were established these institutions would safeguard the workers without the necessity of burdening them with cumbersome and one-sided labour contracts.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg), seconded the motion, and said that in spite of the activities of the I.C.U. millions of workers were still disorganised, and should a strike be called, the strikers could easily be replaced by territory natives. He said that I.C.U. secretaries wasted time in big towns—eating puddings, and the like—instead of going to the rural areas and organising the real workers of the country.

Comrade A. W. G. CHAMPION (Organising Secretary), said there were now two motions on the table, and he would like to speak on them. As regards the first motion, which advocates written contracts, he challenged the good in them, and would now expose the bad. He had been employed at various times as policeman, store labourer and waiter, so he knew what a contract was. In 1924 he was the General Secretary, and the Sub-Editor of the "Workers' Herald" gave a contract to the Economic and Wage Commission to operate the contract system on behalf of the

I.C.U. People who worked under contract were placed in the position of convicts, and could be arrested at any time should they absent themselves from work, even as a result of illness. On the mines contract labourers were compelled to eat what they were given, and to sleep where they were told; all that was due to the written contracts. There were delegates present who, on their return, may find their passes at the pass offices, and that meant jail just because they over-stayed their leave for a few days.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), said this was an unfortunate waste of time. The last speaker was merely beating the air, as he had not yet revealed good enough reasons in favour of written contracts. He emphatically stated that written contracts gave labourers a firm hold on employers, and if the latter violated these agreements, that was a criminal offence.

Comrade J. S. MAZAI (East London), pointed out that it was difficult for I.C.U. organisers to get into the mines. That was a result of the contract system.

The original motion was carried.

ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), said that a great deal of injustice was done to Native labourers on farms, and he urged that Natal should receive special privileges to deal with these cases. If the General Secretary's recommendation was agreed to, Natal would suffer, as the legal weapon was the only means of fighting a certain class of farm employers in Natal. He was aware that Natal was accused of spending a lot of money on lawyers, but he held that that was absolutely necessary.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), declared that the last speaker was under a misapprehension. The procedure recommended in his memorandum was the usual one adopted by I.C.U. officials all over the country, viz., by reporting all cases of mistreatment or injustices done to Native Sub-Committees or Administrators. Should they be dissatisfied with the decisions of these officials, then and only then should they call in legal assistance.

PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL ELECTION.

A memorandum was put in by the National Council with reference to the Franchise and the next general election. After a special session of the National Council, the memorandum was finally adopted by Congress.

THURSDAY MORNING.

After a most inspiring letter was read from Dr. A. B. Xuma, of Johannesburg, Congress resolved itself into a Committee on internal affairs, and sat in camera.

The discussion lasted for two days and culminated in the suspension of Comrade A. W. G. Champion as the result of enquiries into the Durban Branch affairs.

SATURDAY MORNING.

PURCHASE OF FARMS.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary), explained that the special Congress held at Kimberley in December, 1927, had decided to endorse the National Council recommendations of Kingwilliamtown. At that meeting, which was held at Kingwilliamtown in August, 1927, it was decided to negotiate for the purchase of farms in Natal, and at the Kimberley Special Congress the National Council was given full powers to act and report by the end of February, 1928.

At a meeting of the National Council held at Johannesburg in January, 1928, it was found that the funds were very low. It was then decided that Comrade Kadalie be empowered to visit branches with a view of raising more funds, and Comrade Champion meanwhile to proceed to Natal to make negotiations for the purchase of farms.

Delay was further caused by being unable to get the sanction of the Government. They had a fixed deposit in the bank, but did not deem it expedient to raise a loan, as interest would naturally be required. He left during the latter part of February and raised a loan of about £200 some branches. They had several offers of sale of land in Natal and Zululand, but most of these proposi-

tions did not meet with the approval of the Governor-General. Another farm in the Waschbank district was offered, but the terms were not favourable. They had, however, received favourable terms for the purchase of the farm "Mona," in the Harding district, and had paid a nominal deposit of £1 for the option to purchase. No Government sanction was needed for this farm because it was within a Native area.

A letter was also read from the Government with regard to the proper control of land should the I.C.U. purchase same.

Continuing Comrade Kadalie said the extent of the farm was 1,349 acres, at £1 15s per acre. He thought that should be able to pay down a deposit of £800. It was very difficult to get suitable farms, but if they succeeded in acquiring farms he was certain the people themselves would substantially contribute towards the purchase price. As a matter of fact many were even now prepared to contribute livestock. (Applause.)

Comrade GEDDES NOLIT SHUNGI (Bloemfontein), moved that at the Congress accept the report, seconded by Comrade ROBERT SELLO.

Comrade MASHABA said the position was very bad, and Congress should empower individual branches to act for themselves at once, as thousands were under notice of being evicted in June, and will therefore be absolutely homeless.

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Winburg) supported the last speaker, and said that in the Free State many people were being evicted and thousands in his district (Winburg) have been asking him where they should go to. (Shame.) He urged that Transvaal districts should be explored for the purchase of farms.

CHAIRMAN: Remember that your Special Conference had recommended the purchase of farms in Natal first.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), was very glad that the matter of Natal had been brought up, and the position there was very serious, and needed prompt action. He strongly advised that the matter should be left in the hands of Natal officials. It was true that Champion accomplished nothing, but that may be due to the state of his health. Each branch should be authorised to collect monies. There was no time for resolutions now; practical steps were required because the people were homeless and starving especially in Northern Natal. Head office staff of the I.C.U. had much to do, and should not be saddled with the extra burden of negotiating for the purchase of farms. That should be left in the hands of Natal officials. The farms should be in the name of the I.C.U. and its trustees.

Comrade Z. C. NGUBANE (Natal) said that two many promises were made during the past, and those who resided in towns did not realise the gravity of the position in rural areas. As a matter of fact in his part members were refusing to pay up their subscription cards, because the I.C.U. made promises and did not fulfil them. He did not like to go back to his branches with nothing to report, so he asked for authority to go back to the people and ask them to contribute towards a farm. He knew of over thirty well-to-do men in his district who were willing and able to make up a substantial contribution. In his district also, all have been served with notices to quit the farms in June.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO would like to know how blank Mr. Ngobane said Head Office should not have a hand in the purchase of farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: Champion, who was from Head Office, failed, because the matter needed someone on the spot.

Comrade SELLO: Do you want powers to collect monies, negotiate and buy farms?

Comrade NGCOBO: I want local officials to negotiate, report to Head Office, and then collect monies.

Comrade SELLO: (Bawling his fist.) I do not favour the system.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), said that while he agreed with Comrade Ngobane, he felt that there were extraordinary powers given to Natal that would be a departure from the consti-

tution. The National Council were the governing body, and had no right to delegate its powers to branches, and, further, branch or provincial secretaries may make bad contracts, therefore he would like one official of Head Office to be present when collections and transactions are made so that he could bring a report to the National Council for review.

Comrade NGCOBO: Speakers forget that Head Office officials were not always on the spot. Provincial secretaries were responsible for all negotiations on behalf of the National Council.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West): My friend is telling the house that I wish to usurp his powers. Let him cut off the word "branches," and substitute the word "provinces," and his motion will have my blessing. (Loud laughter.)

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE agreed with Ngobane to some extent, but he objected to the statement that Head Offices interfered. There was no excuse for the failure of Clampton to negotiate for farms in Natal, because while he was Acting National Secretary, he spent very little of his time at the Head Office.

With regard to the collection of funds—London had already sent some money to Head Office. He had no objection to the collection of funds by branches, but duplicate receipts must be sent to account for monies collected.

Head Office was ever prepared to authorize an overdraft in the bank, but there must be a spirit of co-operation and sacrifice. When we authorized the buying of farms at Kingwilliamtown we had funds in the bank, but had difficulty with the Government. No one will prevent Secretaries from collecting monies and making negotiations, but Head Office must be advised and consulted.

CHAIRMAN: You have all the information now. All that is necessary is to act, but report to Head Office.

Comrade J. DIXON MOGA (Bloemfontein) suggested that by the branches be elected.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg) said that the motion was embarked on a half-hinting scheme which invited the attention of the reporter, therefore we must keep records and accounts that will stand the light of day. Therefore very responsible, able and trustworthy officials should be at the head of affairs so as to devise clear and scrupulous methods.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: It seems that the last speaker suggests that monies would not be safe in the hands of Natal officials. It was wrong to cast such insinuations. It now seemed that Provincial Secretaries were to be made mere boys who were compelled to refer every mortal thing to Head Office. (Up roar.)

Comrade JOHN MANCOE (Amidst uproar.) Mr. Chairman, I would not reply to a fool according to his folly.

Comrade Msane, continuing, said he was kept in the dark when negotiations were contemplated for the purchase of a farm in his district (Greytown). Apart from these insinuations he told Congress that the position in Natal was indeed serious. He cited a case where a man was severely assaulted merely because he was a member of the I.C.U.

At the time of the Kimberley Special Conference his district could have offered over 100 cattle, but they did not do so because they were told that there were sufficient funds in the bank.

Comrade R. TSHANGE (Howick), said the General Secretary had been three times to Natal to collect monies for farms, but these monies had been spent on some other matter.

Comrade KEABLE MOKE: You must withdraw that because you cannot prove it. You insinuate that the money had been mislaid.

Comrade TSHANGE: I am very sorry. I withdraw. What I meant was that the money had been used by the deputation that toured Natal to inspect branch book.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (who had just come in), said it was very unfair and mischievous to attack a man behind his back.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA (Johannesburg), pointed that propo-

sitions be devised for the protection of land scheme funds.

Comrade HERBERT MSANE: Mr. Chairman, the last speaker continues to cast uncalculated reflections.

CHAIRMAN: It is stupid to say that. Order! Sit down!

Comrade A. P. MADUNA (Pretoria), agreed that the position was very grave in Natal, therefore operations should start there. But people in other provinces must be made to understand that they were not forgotten.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary) said, arising out of the question as to whether farms should be bought out of reserved general funds, he would suggest that any fund should be used providing such account is transferred to the land scheme fund.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town), maintained that Provincial and Branch Secretaries were only empowered to collect funds and negotiate, but the National Council was the only constitutional body empowered to do the actual purchase.

A Natal delegate (whose name the reporter failed to catch) suggested that after funds had been collected they should be banked in that particular province, and further, that each branch is informed what amount it was expected to contribute.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West) violated Rule 14, Sub-section 1, of our constitution, which expressly states that all funds of the organization shall be banked with the Standard Bank, and transferred in the name of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union to the Commissioner Street Branch of the Standard Bank in Johannesburg.

Saturday Afternoon (4 p.m.).

CHAIRMAN: I think sufficient hot air has been thrown off. Let us now be brief and come down to actual business.

Comrade JOE KOKOZELA: Before we proceed, sir, I think it would be wise to determine once and for all how the land scheme funds are to be stored.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that's right. We want this house to leave with one mind.

Comrade KADALIE: Well, how would it be if funds were sent to Financial Secretary at Head Office, and he be instructed to bank same in the usual way, but with a distinctive mark indicative of the province to which the funds belonged?

Comrade ELIAS (Jagersfontein), was strongly opposed to the funds being sent to Head Office.

Comrade ROBERT SELLO: Do not make sweeping statements! We are not going to violate our constitution in order to please you or any branch. These funds must be sent to Head Office and administered from there.

After further discussion it was eventually resolved that all land scheme funds be sent to the different Provincial Secretaries under control of Provincial Committees.

RAIDS ON I.C.U. OFFICES IN NATAL.

The GENERAL SECRETARY fully explained the circumstances surrounding the raiding of I.C.U. offices in Natal. He said that not only were these offices raided, but some of the officials were assaulted.

A communication had been sent to the Minister of Justice demanding that justice should be done to those who had been harmed. The result was that the accused men had been fined £1, £2 and £3 in the different places—Weenen, Krantzkop and Greytown.

A letter was then read, which the I.C.U. had sent to the Minister of Justice, and also the reply thereto. It was plain that all the delegates were totally dissatisfied with the reply of the Minister of Justice.

Continuing, Comrade Kadalie said that only delay or two ago the I.C.U. had voted £31 for the bail of Comrades Mote and Dumah, who had been charged under the Native Administration Act.

At this juncture the General Secretary asked the victims of Greytown and Krantzkop to stand up in order to be seen by the delegates. They were Comrades Herbert Msane and James Ngobane.

Continuing, he said that at Greytown over £200 were lost, and at Krantzkop a considerable sum of money, as well as personal effects and office furniture.

The National Council Sub-Committee recommends that civil action be now taken, but they would leave Congress to decide that point.

Comrade JOSEPH MABLANE (Johannesburg) said this was a serious matter, and he blamed Head Office for not lodging an appeal immediately after decision of these cases. When a prisoner was convicted the papers were generally sent to the Attorney General, proving that this officer had power to investigate a Magistrate's decision. He thought the Magistrates concerned in these cases could be applied to and asked to give exact and full reasons for their finding.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA (Griqualand West), also blamed Head Office, and said the Research Secretary (Comrade Gladstone Kah) should have inquired what charge was laid against the accused persons by the Crown. Had these people been charged with arson their cases would have gone to a higher court, but since they were charged with public violence they were in the fortunate position of having to face a lower court.

There was another remedy, however, and that is to sue them civilly for damages. But competent men should be employed to make a correct estimate of damages and injury.

Comrade A. B. NGCOBO (Durban), said he was present at one of the trials when some of the accused addressed the Magistrate and pleaded justification, they also blamed the press. He did not believe they could have been charged with arson because they took out the office furniture and burned it outside. He understood that at Greytown only £71 was recovered among the ruins.

While at Greytown he had reported to the local commandant of the Police that he had information that their offices would be raided that day. The commandant replied that he would have a wide search, but really assume a search party. He reported the matter in the morning, and he thought that should have been ample time to provide protection before nine o'clock at night.

The man, Gozela, who was arrested on suspicion of deserting the graves was nearly lynched, but he was saved owing to the fact that he was disguised and dressed up as a policeman. There was a very strong anti-Native spirit at the time—especially against I.C.U. members. He thought it was impossible, however, for one man to pull down approximately 100 tomb stones in one night—or, rather, in a few hours' time. It is also freely rumored that a "Black-hand" gang has been organised with a view to do serious injury to some person or persons.

This is mere rumour, of course, but it would not be out of place, but these things to be brought to the notice of the Government.

Comrade DOYLE MODIAK-GOTLA, in reply to the last speaker, said that arson meant destruction of any property by fire, therefore he thought that there was a possibility that these people, or some of them at any rate were wrongly indicted.

Comrade R. G. DE NORMAN (Cape Town) agreed with the last speaker. He also thought that the time had arrived to educate our people. At present thousands of people were spent unnecessarily on lawyers for work that could have been done by union officials.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (General Secretary) withdrew, saying he was looking for jobs at Head Office (Cries: Withdraw.)

Comrade SELLO: I withdrew, sir. But I want to point out that Head Office communicated with the Government before the case was taken to court. The Government replied by wire strongly disapproving of the raids. So it can be seen that Head Office acted properly and promptly.

RAIDED OFFICES TO BE OPENED.

A motion calling upon the Government to reimburse the matter was unanimously carried. It was further suggested to open all the raided offices at all costs.

(Continued page 4, Col. 3.)