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**are**

**many!**



## THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

is a free, non-party association of white South Africans who believe in and uphold the principles of the U.N.O. Declaration on Universal Human Rights, and who endorse the aims of the Freedom Charter. It works together with all other groups and organisations whose activities in any way help towards the realisation of these principles. It works in close fraternal relations with the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, and the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation in order to achieve the objectives set out in the Freedom Charter, and to make South Africa a land of democracy, of liberty and of peaceful co-existence of the peoples of different race, colour and tongue.

Membership of the S.A. Congress of Democrats is open to all South Africans, who support these principles and aims, regardless of their party political affiliation.

For further information about the S.A. Congress of Democrats, write to P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg.

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### Other S.A. Congress of Democrats publications still available are:

"Educating for Ignorance" — the facts about Bantu Education as stated by Government Officials ..... Price 3d.

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OBTAINABLE POST FREE FROM THE ABOVE ADDRESS



# We Are Many

*"If the electorate of Hillbrow renews its confidence in me — and I am certain that it will — it will be the beginning of a new epoch in the political life of this country."*

*Dr. Bernard Friedman M.P. in Parliament.  
16th June, 1955.  
(Rand Daily Mail).*

If ever a new epoch were needed in our political life, it is needed now. Not just because letters are opened by secret pryers and telephones tapped by silent eavesdroppers; not just because passports are withheld by anonymous officials and books are suppressed by unseen censors; not just because senatorships are peddled for £20 contributions to the Strydfonds, and racial classifications are being made by inspections of people's hair and investigation into the skin colour of their great-great-grandmothers. These are only the symptoms of the creeping scourge which has overtaken us, and which can only be eradicated with a new epoch.

But the disease is more dread than the surface symptoms. It has been called "the police state". It has been called "dictatorship". It has been called "fascism". Call it what you will — the name is not important. There is a grave disease in our political life. It has eaten deep into the living tissue of our civil liberties; it has undermined the Act of Union, imperilled the honour of our courts; it has fertilised the growth of racial hates and poisons; it has made our country's name a swear word and an execration on the lips of the entire world. It is the disease of fascism; and it is like cancer — fatal, incurable, unless it is surgically removed before the growth has run too far.

It is time for a new epoch. But even now the surgical operation will be far from easy. For the disease has sapped the vitality and spirit of the democratic resistance. It has weakened, split, divided and confused the opposition, and left us unprepared for a new surge forward. There is a danger that the disease will prove fatal to us, unless we find the way to rally all our resistance to it. Somehow, before it is too late, a new surge forward must be made. But where? How? By whom?



## THE TURNING POINT

There are many who believe with Dr. Friedman that his own revolt against what he calls "Mr. Strauss' retreat from principle . . ." marks the turning point. There are others who see the beginning of a new epoch of democracy and liberty in South Africa in the determined courage of the Black Sash Women, the Women's Defence of the Constitution League or the Covenanters. There are others who still pin their faith in the United Party to lead the way to a new recovery.

*"The United Party," says Mr. Marais Steyn M.P., "is the bastion against the Government's continued inroads on the freedoms and liberties of South African citizens."*

(Rand Daily Mail 28.7.55.)

Ten years ago, there would have been many who would have echoed that opinion, and believed in it. They are few who will do so today. Everywhere amongst the opponents of fascism, people are beginning to look away from the United Party bastion of years gone by. The defenders, supporters and members of the United Party grow fewer, split and hive off to strike out independently and separately. Somehow the bastion has been breached. It is time to look at facts before we are overrun by our enemies.

Dr. Friedman is right when he describes the United Party's recent actions as "retreat from principle". And his revolt against that retreat has been widely welcomed. The support which Dr. Friedman gathered in, from people of democratic conviction who belong to a dozen different parties and groups, proclaims that there is a strong feeling that the revolt was due — perhaps even overdue. The United Party retreat had gone too far.

In 1953 there was the United Party vote in favour of the Public Safety Act which empowers the Nationalist Government to proclaim a state of "emergency", to suspend all laws, and to rule openly by decree. Earlier this year, there was the United Party amendment to Mr. Strydom's Senate Amendment Act, designed to make the outrage of the Act of Union "workable". Retreat from principle has taken place all along the line. But let it be recorded that the retreat was not sounded by Mr. Strauss alone, but by the whole United Party, all its members of Parliament, all its committees, all its members.

## LAST RETREAT

Dr. Friedman has now revolted, and attempted to cry 'Halt!' There had been a clear and unambiguous promise made by the



United Party to the Coloured voters in 1951. They were to be restored to the common voters' roll by a future United Party government, if the Nationalists breached the spirit of the Act of Union and removed them from that roll. But on June 13th of this year, under heavy Nationalist pressure, Mr. Strauss headed yet another retreat.

*"The question (of restoration to the common roll) is at the present time purely hypothetical . . . When the problem does arise, the United Party will not hesitate to decide its course of action in the light of the new situation that will then have arisen, and of the facts and circumstances then prevailing . . ."*

(Rand Daily Mail 14.6.55).

Only six of the United Party's M.P.'s protested at the retreat and disassociated themselves from it. Mr. Strauss answered the protesters with a new statement, amplifying the retreat, underlining its intentions.

*"All we can promise is that, on our return to power, we will, in consultation with the Coloured people, set right the grave injustice done to them, in the best way open to us at that time, in a form which will serve the best interest of South Africa as a whole."*

(Rand Daily Mail. 15.6.55).

Inside Parliament, only Dr. Friedman remained unsatisfied. He decided to resign his seat in Parliament, and called on "the electorate of Hillbrow to decide the issue". The United Party retaliated by expelling him from its ranks.

*"In plain terms, the United Party has expelled me for standing by the principles of the party, and for insisting that Mr. Strauss should not retreat from the firm pledges he gave the Coloured voters in 1951."*

(Rand Daily Mail 9.7.55.)

If this retreat of the United Party were the only incident of its kind, one could ascribe it perhaps to timidity, to confusion, or to cowardice. But coming, as it does, at the end of a long series of such retreats from principle, the reason for it must be sought much deeper. The retreat from its pledges to the Coloured voters is the latest — but only the latest — symptom of the mortal sickness which has developed in the vitals of the United Party. Mr. Strauss is not, as some people claim, the source of the sickness, but rather an expression of it.

### ROAD TO RUIN

There is a sickness. And those who would find the way to a new democratic advance, to a new epoch in our political life, must diagnose that sickness and its causes, that they may guard against them in their own ranks.



*"The leader of the Opposition has issued two lengthy statements, neither of which says 'yes' or 'no'. It means that, if the United Party deems it expedient, it will acquiesce in the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll."*

Dr. Friedman: Speech in Parliament. (Rand Daily Mail 17.6.55.)  
"IF THE UNITED PARTY DEEMS IT EXPEDIENT".

This is the key phrase of Dr. Friedman's criticism. And rightly so. There can be no middle course for any political party. Either it stands by its principles, and upholds them in the face of every opposition and of every temporary loss of votes; or it guides its actions by what it deems expedient, by what it thinks the voters will like to hear, by what it imagines will make it acceptable to those who would otherwise oppose it. There is no middle course between clear and firmly held principle, and the unprincipled search for quick, expedient support.

Sam Goldwyn, it is said, once hammered home the point to his fellow directors. "Those are my principles, gentlemen," he is reported to have said. "But if you don't agree with them, I've got others". The United Party, too, has principles. But too often in the past it has been afraid that the voters might not agree with them. And so it has, conveniently, found others.

It is argued by United Party supporters that the retreats from principle are unfortunately necessary. How else can elections be won? How else can the wavering, undecided voter be attracted away from the party in power? How else can the United Party win back a section of those who voted Nationalist in 1953?

That argument must be faced. If it is sound, can anyone hope to bring about "a new epoch in our political life" and yet not fall prey to expediency? Can Dr. Friedman's followers hope to sweep the Nationalists from power without Mr. Strauss' expedient appeal to the undecided or near-Nationalist voter? Can the Covenanters? Or the Liberal Party? The argument must be faced. And answered.

### STARTING AFRESH

For within its framework, the argument is sound. If the starting point is that the future of our political life is the exclusive concern of the white electorate, then the argument is sound, unanswerable. If the starting point is that politics is the white man's business, then those who seek to sweep the Nationalist Government from power must seek also to wean a section of the Nationalist voters over to the Opposition. This is the breeding ground of expediency, of retreats from principle and the breaking of pledges. And all who accept the basic premise that politics is the white man's exclusive concern will fall vic-



tim to it, or ultimately become a tiny voice crying out in a wilderness.

*"It is . . . important that South Africans should have the assurance that no major political party should follow a policy which would place South Africa as a home for white civilisation in general, and Afrikaners in particular, in danger."*

Mr. Strauss at Potchefstroom University. (Star 11.8.55.) This is the United Party principle; and those who have been dismayed by United Party expediency should ponder over it. This is the principle that is father to expediency. From *this* principle — and it is the Party's main principle — there has been no retreat. If the bastion has fallen, it has fallen not because it betrayed this principle, but because it upheld it too well, under the leadership of Mr. Strauss no less than under the leadership of General Smuts.

It is time to re-examine this principle. For though it has been steadfastly upheld, and though 'white civilisation' has survived, democracy and liberty have perished; the United Party has compromised, followed the course of expediency and been defeated. It is time to look at our principles with the blinkers off.

*"The principles of the United Party were the same today as those laid down by General Hertzog and General Smuts in 1934."*

Mr. Strauss at Potchefstroom University. (Star 11.8.55.)

*"I abide by the principles by which Botha, Smuts and Jan Hofmeyr stood, and I believe them to be principles of honour."*

Dr. Friedman in Johannesburg. (Rand Daily Mail 27.7.55.) What are these principles upheld so strongly by Botha and Smuts and Hertzog and Hofmeyr, and Strauss and Friedman? Principles of honour?

No doubt. But they are also principles of policy — of white South African policy. They are principles which have arisen from the policy that white men must rule over black, come what may, for all foreseeable time. They are the principles — call them as you will — of white supremacy, of white trusteeship, of white domination. Or perhaps, stripped of their veneer of honour and benevolence, they are the principles stated more brutally by Mr. Strydom:

*"I say that there is only one way that the white man can maintain his leadership of the non-European in this country, and that is by domination. Call it paramountcy, baaskap or what you will, it is still domination."*

Speech in Parliament. (Star 20.9.55.)

Temper the policy as you will with benevolence, with kindness, with justice or with honour, the essence is there. It is the most strongly cherished of all



European South African principles, the most long-established, the most widely accepted. And yet it is not democracy, but its very opposite.

The principle of white supremacy, of perpetual white domination over black, has nothing in common with democracy as it is known and understood throughout the world. It has nothing in common with the meaning of democracy — government by all the people for all the people. It cannot uphold democracy or preserve it, for its very basis is a subversion of democracy, and one which will and must destroy it.

If this is to be the guiding principle of the democratic opposition to the scourge of fascism, then democracy in South Africa is doomed. If this is to be the basic principle of the "new epoch", then the new epoch can be no different from the old. This is the simple truth which needs to be understood by the supporters of Dr. Friedman no less than by the supporters of Mr. Strauss. And if it was not clear before, it has become as clear as a pikestaff today.

*"The principles of the United Party had enjoyed the support of the greatest majority a political party had had in the history of South Africa . . ."*

Mr. Strauss at Potchefstroom University. (Star 11.8.55.) It had once. But it does no longer. Nor can it, ever again. For times have changed, and people and politics have changed with them.

### THE SCENE CHANGES

In days gone by, it was possible to imagine honourably, as no doubt Botha, Smuts and Hofmeyr imagined, that the principles of white domination were compatible with the surface trappings of democracy, with personal and civil liberties, with legally safeguarded rights and inviolable traditions. It was possible to imagine that white domination could walk hand in hand with democracy, at least for whites, and with justice and humanity for non-whites. Those were the days before the non-white people had claimed, powerfully and determinedly, an equal place in the sun.

It is no longer possible to believe so today. An era has come to an end. The non-White people stir, and begin to clamour for *all* the rights and obligations of citizenship, for human rights, for democracy. The Smuts-Botha coupled principles of democracy and white domination begin to split asunder. We are face to face with the decisive choice: either white domination or democracy — not both: either the open rule of force to drown the non-white claim for an equal place in the sun; or democracy — without a colour bar — as all the world understands it. We are



face to face with that choice; blind faith in the stated principles of the past will not enable us to avoid the choosing.

White domination is under heavy challenge, not only by the non-white people, but by a growing band of far-seeing white South Africans who have chosen for themselves democracy. If the upholders of white domination are to defeat that challenge, beat it off and conquer it, they can do so only by force, by naked dictatorial rule, by rigid suppression as in time of war. The challenge cannot be bought off by talk of "honour", by equivocations about "setting right grave injustice", by prattle about "bastions of rights and liberty". For this is a challenge grown out of a deep-seated principled belief and faith in democracy and liberty, which does not bow down to temporary expediency. The challenge must either be suppressed by force or be echoed by the white citizens of South Africa.

### TIME FOR CHOOSING

The Nationalist leaders have understood this vital choice which is the kernel of all the politics of South Africa. And they have made their decision. They are *for* 'dictatorship', *for* 'the police state', *for* 'fascism'. They are *for* white domination, regardless of the costs. They are ready and willing to reject all concepts of humanity and justice, to destroy even the rights and liberties of white South Africans themselves, in order to uphold white domination.

But what decision has been made by the democratically-minded opposition to the Nationalists — by the supporters of the United Party, of Dr. Friedman, of the Covenanters? The decision cannot now be long delayed. *Their* rights and *their* privileges are being trampled underfoot; their organisations temporise, and proceed steadily towards defeat and disintegration. The time has come for their choosing. The old principles that once led to "the greatest majority a party had had", now lead only to defeat. Between the main contenders, between the millstones of those who have decided for white domination and those who have decided for democracy, the waverers and the undecided can only be ground slowly into dust.

Life is forcing all South Africans to the decisive choice: and those who cling to the old policies and refuse to face the choice can do nothing to bring about a "new epoch", nothing to preserve our democratic liberties and traditions.

"Do you believe in white civilisation?" asks a heckler at a meeting of the Covenanters.

"I believe in civilisation," says the speaker.



It is a neat verbal parry. But it is not good enough. For or against? That is the question which no serious opponent of the Nationalist scourge can sidestep or parry. If there is a fatal weakness in the United Party which will cause its sure defeat, it is that it still, at this late hour, tries to answer "yes" to both questions — it tries to talk of upholding democracy, while acting to uphold its opposite, white domination.

The Labour and Liberal Parties have understood something of the real issue of our time. In a joint Liberal-Labour leaflet, issued in Johannesburg, to protest against the Senate Bill they say:

*"It is not enough to remove the Government  
We must destroy everything the Government stands for:-  
Baasskap — Baasskap of Nationalist over non-Nationalist,  
of white over black, of man over man.  
Racialism — hatred between Afrikaner and English, Afri-  
can and Indian, man and man.  
Dictatorship — rule by power, rule without the consent of  
ALL the people".*

Dr. Friedman too has perceived something of the vital problem with which the whole United Party is face to face.

"The United Party has not yet learnt the fundamental truth that you cannot have freedom if you deny it to others".

Speech in Johannesburg. (28.7.55. Rand Daily Mail.)

True it has not. But who has? Has Dr. Friedman? Have any of the European opposition who support him, or who support Mr. Strauss? It is time for them all to decide, and to speak out.

For this "fundamental truth" does not square with the Botha, Smuts, Strauss policy of white supremacy and black suppression, no matter how honourable its upholders, no matter how agile their verbal parries. White South Africa cannot have freedom for itself, and deny that freedom to its non-white compatriots. That is the fundamental truth. And no consideration of what is expedient, of how popular such a truth will be amongst the voters, can change it.

### THE NEW DEMOCRACY

The fundamental truth that freedom and democracy is not divisible by bars of colour has been understood and accepted fully and wholeheartedly only by one section of the South African people — by those who call themselves "The Congress Movement". This Congress Movement is certainly the largest of all South African political bodies and the most representative; yet many white South Africans have never heard of it. This is be-



cause its main strength lies across the iron curtain of colour separation — amongst the African, Coloured and Indian people, amongst the segregated four out of every five who call this country "home". There the principled, democratic beliefs of the African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress and the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation are unchallenged. There the fundamental truth is understood, accepted and acted on.

But the Congress movement — the upholders of the fundamental truth that South African democracy must be for all or it will perish — does not exist amongst the non-white people only. There is a section of it drawing its membership from amongst white South Africans who are not afraid to face the truth — the S.A. Congress of Democrats. The Congress movement speaks today not only for non-white South Africa, but for all South African upholders of democracy and liberty; it speaks for the white South Africans, whose liberties face extinction, no less than for the non-white, whose lack of democracy and liberty has paved the way for the present scourge of fascism.

**"We are against all forms of inequality and discrimination, and repudiate as false the doctrines of racial inequality, of white supremacy, apartheid and trusteeship and segregation. We advocate the principles of equality and the brotherhood of man."**

Extract from the Constitution of the  
S.A. Congress of Democrats.

This is the voice of the Congress movement, challenging not only the foundations of the Nationalist Party, but also the principles of Smuts, Botha, Hertzog and Strauss.

And yet it will be asked: Is it possible for any white South Africans to proclaim this policy with all its implications, and yet be able to rouse South Africa against the Nationalists? Will the proclamation of these principles not split the anti-Nationalist opposition and drive away the more reasonable, undecided voters, and the more responsible, moderate Nationalists?

Where are we looking for our forces and our allies?

*"I address a word to the men and women of the Nationalist Party, to whom I take off my hat . . . I ask them to come forward and express themselves clearly and unambiguously . . . to tell their own leaders: 'You are going too far. We can't accept it.' In this way they can bring their Government to the right road, and strike a blow for democracy."*

Mr. Strauss at the Johannesburg City Hall. (16.5.55.)

Mr. Strauss cries for the moon. The 'men and women of the Nationalist Party' strike no blows for democracy. They have made their choice. They strike their blows for white domina-



tion; and whether they understand the fact or not, they therefore strike their blows for the creeping scourge of fascism. What is the purpose of the flattery — 'I take off my hat to them!?' We are back at the roots and sources of United Party retreats and expediency. We are back at the old process of trying to wean the men and women of the Nationalist Party from their allegiance to Mr. Strydom.

Perhaps it can be done. But not by flattery. Only by retreats from principle; only by expedient back-peddalling on the democratic content of our policy; only by moving closer and closer to the fanatical, white-supremacist racialism and reaction of the Nationalist Party. We are back to the sources of the vital sickness that has overtaken the United Party.

### THE WAY OUT

But where else can allies, supporters and friends be found, except in the ranks of the Nationalist Party? This is the dilemma of the European opposition to fascism today. And there is no way out, so long as all our thinking is confined in the cast-iron fetters of a prejudice which declares politics to be the exclusive business of white South Africans.

It is time to break those fetters of prejudice. The cancer of fascism gathers pace, and there is not a long time left to make the surgical operation which can eradicate it. It is time to understand that the political future of South Africa is the vital concern of everyone who calls this country "home".

Let us look away from 'the men and women of the Nationalist Party'. Let us look another way.

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**T**o the South West of Johannesburg city, amidst a waste-land of slimes dams and abandoned surface workings, lies the township of Kliptown. Usually there are some few thousand people here, a cross section of the country's races, Africans, Indians, Coloureds, a few Europeans.

But on the weekend of June 25th of this year, it is different. From all parts of the country, people flock to Kliptown. There is an empty site on the outskirts, where boys play football after school. By midday of this Saturday, there are some ten thousand people here, speaking all the tongues, and representing all the races, colours and creeds that make up South Africa. Three thousand of the ten have been sent here to speak for groups of men and women scattered through the four provinces. The rest are spectators, drawn here to watch an assembly which has been several months in the organising. Three thousand elected representatives are here to draw up a Freedom Charter. **THIS IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.**



There are faces here that are known throughout the land, and names that are as familiar as old friends. There are trade union leaders and clergymen, doctors and farm labourers, mechanics and school teachers, students and social workers, domestic servants and politicians. There are some — if anyone asked their affiliation — who would reply Liberal, Labour, Torch Commando, Christian, Muslim, Democrat. There are thousands who would reply: "Congressman!" They are here to speak for others, for ordinary people of a hundred different slum towns and garden suburbs, of factories and farms and villages, for perhaps half-a-million people who have elected them.

As they pass into the delegates' enclosure they are handed a draft Freedom Charter. They have not seen it before, but yet it rings familiar. For the Charter has been drawn from hundreds of suggestions which have been made by meetings large and small throughout the land. At these meetings, there has been talk of the life the people would like to live, of the changes they would seek in their way of life. There has been talk of freedom; and the talk has been recorded, gathered and summarised here in the Freedom Charter.

Three thousand delegates are here, sent by those meetings, to see that the Charter speaks of freedom as the ordinary citizens of South Africa understand it, and long for it. There is a spirit of unity and amity here which could not be found anywhere else in the whole of South Africa. The delegates meet together and speak together as equals, with respect for each other despite their race and social differences, treating each other simply as citizens.

This is the most truly national convention in all South African history. No group has been debarred; no citizen has been refused the right to vote, or to be a delegate. True, only one adult in every five or six has voted; but the election on a common vote has been carried by the inadequate machinery of four allied organisations — the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. The elections have been held without a state budget allocation, without state assistance, indeed in the face of heavy opposition and harassment by the authority of state. And yet the elections have been widespread, perhaps more successful than any who started it off had dared hope.

The delegates bear a heavy responsibility. For great sacrifices have been made by those they represent to send them here. It has taken £12, collected painstakingly from the voters in threepences and sixpences, to send a delegate here from the Cape Peninsula. And there are 150 of these. There are over a hun-



dred from the Eastern Province, several hundred from Natal. They have made their way, with difficulty, by lorry, car, train and many on foot. This is a serious, an historic occasion. And everyone who is here treats it so.

This is the Congress of the People. And from it has come a statement of democratic faith worthy of the occasion and of the good citizens, black and white, who together wrote it.

## **THE FREEDOM CHARTER**

**WE**, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

### **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !**

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

### **ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS !**

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

### **THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH !**

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.



### **THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT !**

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

### **ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW !**

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

### **ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS !**

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all others laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

### **THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY !**

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

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

### **THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED !**

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

### **THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT !**

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently



housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;  
Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;  
Rents and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;  
Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

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

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

#### **THESE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP !**

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

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

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

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

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:  
**"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE,  
THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."**

**ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, KLIPTOWN,  
JOHANNESBURG, ON JUNE 25 AND 26, 1955.**

Here in ringing terms is proclaimed the "fundamental truth" that there can be no freedom for any section of South Africans unless that freedom is shared equally by all. Here, for those who have grown weary of the unprincipled, expedient retreats of the past, is the democratic programme of a new advance, shorn of the sickness of compromise and of white supremacy which has been the undoing of all European opposition parties.

But the Freedom Charter is more than that. It is a clarion call to all who call this country theirs, that here are allies for democracy, here are men and women ready to strike a blow for democracy and liberty, men and women who need not be won to our side by flattery or retreats from principle, but who are on our side if — and only if — we choose decisively for democracy, decisively against white supremacy, "domination, paramountcy, baasskap or what you will".

Here are allies, perhaps half a million of them; and they are only forerunners of the millions more who have yet to hear the Freedom Charter to join with us. We are not alone. We are not a small, disintegrating band. We can be an army of millions of South Africans who can strike the decisive blow together for



democracy, and root out the fascist cancer from our political life. We have no need to retreat from principle, to find expedient appeals to the 'men and women of the Nationalist Party'. We have need rather to proclaim, courageously, the truth that is in the Freedom Charter, the truth that democracy is not divisible by bars of colour.

Here is no party programme, but a statement of basic democratic faith to which all who uphold liberty and freedom can adhere. Here is a statement of principles for the United Party and for Dr. Friedman, for the Covenanters and the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, for the Congress movement and the Labour Party, for the Torchmen and the Liberal Party. Here is a statement of principles to replace the outworn principles of Smuts, Botha and Hertzog which have paved the way to present disaster.

Here is the statement of the faiths and beliefs of the Congress Movement, which has moved into the front of the ranks of the opposition to fascism. It is made on behalf of the majority of articulate non-Europeans of South Africa. It is made on behalf of that small band of forward looking, courageous European South Africans who have declared themselves decisively, unequivocally, for democracy, for liberty for all our fellow citizens.

It is made on behalf of those white South Africans who have broken decisively with the disastrous white supremacist principles of the past. It has taken courage to make that break. **BUT THEY ARE NOT ALONE.** They are part of the greatest inter-race alliance our country has ever known; and with them rests the future of all our liberties and rights.

And they will not be alone, even amongst white South Africans. The creeping scourge of fascism proclaims for all their fellow Europeans that the time has come to face the truth that freedom is not divisible. Every white South African is now at the moment of his choice.

It will take courage for European South Africans to break with the principles of white supremacy to which they have clung for so long. It will take courage to speak up for the Freedom Charter, and to seek alliance with those democrats of different colours who believe in it.

But the fight against fascism has always taken courage. None should know that better than the people whose sons and relatives fell at Alamein and Cassino that we, the survivors, should preserve our freedom.

The time to act with courage has now come, for all of us. And with it, the time to proclaim aloud the principles of the Freedom Charter!



Issued by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg,  
and printed by Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., Jeppe, Johannesburg.



**Collection Number: AD1137**

**FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN 1954-1963**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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