

G. 1115

LIBERATION,
P. O. Box 10120,
Johannesburg.
6/3/56

Messrs. Pioneer Press Pty Ltd.,
P. O. Box 4347,
Cape Town.

Dear Sirs,

Please make available to Mrs. Bunting 150
copies per issue of Liberation until further notice.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

R. J. Hodgson

10 MAR 1956

154 Regent St.
Observatory
Hhbg.
14/12/55

G. 1116.

Pioneer Press.

Dear Pioneer,

Would you please let me have a quote on
increasing the number of Liberation printed to 1,200,
and to 1,400.

Please send quote to Mr. Hodgson, 9 Somerset
House.

Yours sincerely,

Hilda Benden

POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS. - POSKANTOORTELEGRAAFDIENS.

This form and envelope should accompany any enquiry.
Hierdie vorm en koevert moet alle navrae vergezels.

1349

No. _____

G.P.-S. 116150 - 1954-5 - 400.000-200. S.

NO. CWK24 JCA138 RISSIA STR JOHANNESBURG 1511000

1870

PIONEER PRESS FORGATE ST WOODSTOCK CARLETON



[Redacted area]

G. 1117

IPEL.
OFFICE: WOODSTOCK
SENT. OORGESEIN.



ANXIOUSLY AWAITING LIBERATION ADVISE IF AND WHEN

DESPATCHED = HODGSON +

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Made and entered into
between:

COMPETENT PUBLISHING & PRINTING COMPANY (PTY.) LTD.

and

PIONEER PRESS (PTY.) LTD.

FRANK, BERNADT & JOFFE.
Solicitors, Notaries & Conveyancers,
85, St. George's Street,
CAPE TOWN.

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5

PIONEER PRESS (PTY.) LIMITED


FORSALE STREET (OFF BEACH ROAD) WOODSTOCK, C.P.

TELEPHONE 5-4704
P.O. BOX 4347
CAPE TOWN

AMENDMENT TO MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

2. (e) The printers shall be obliged in addition to the printing to deliver copies of the publication according to the instructions of the publishers. Delivery shall include the wrapping of the publication for postal subscribers as required by the publishers at the rate of 35/- per 1000 copies over and above 5000 which are allowed free to the publishers.
- (e) The printers shall be entitled to charge a further amount of R2.19.6 for each additional 1000 copies of the publication over and above 30,000, and the publishers shall be entitled to a reduction of R2.19.6 per 1,000, under 30,000, provided that if the number of copies are reduced below 25,000, the price of printing shall be reviewed.
4. The publishers undertake to pay the printers the amounts for such printing not later than the thirtieth day of each month covering issues printed, delivered and listed thereon, failing which, the printers shall have the right to decline to print or deliver further issues of the publication until such arrear payment shall have been made.
5. The printers are agreeable to store on their premises, newsprint for the publishers up to seven tons free of charge and increasing up to fifteen tons if space is available. The publishers shall however, be responsible for insuring this newsprint against risk of fire and burglary.
6. The publishers hereby indemnify the printers against all loss, cost or damages which the printers may suffer or be put to by reason of the publication contravening any law, or of any defamatory matter except in so far as the defamation can be attributed solely to printer's error, for which the printers shall be responsible as between themselves and the publishers. The publishers may refuse to print any copy for reproduction in the publication which the printers regard as defamatory. Such copy shall be referred to the publishers immediately for any alteration, if necessary.

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MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Made and entered into between:

COMPETENT PUBLISHING & PRINTING COMPANY (PROPRIETARY)
LIMITED.

(hereinafter referred to as the publishers)

and

PIONEER PRESS (PROPRIETARY) LIMITED

(hereinafter referred to as the Printers)

W I T N E S S E T H:

1. The printers hereby agree with the publishers to print and deliver in the manner hereinafter set forth, a publication in weekly issues, in two editions both Northern and Southern, known as "ADVANCE", or such other name as the publishers may from time to time decide (hereinafter referred to as the publication), commencing from the 5th March, 1953, for a period of one year and thereafter subject to termination by either side on three months' written notice.

2. The publishers shall pay the printers in consideration of the printing of the publication on the following scale:-

- (a) The publication shall be printed in black and shall be of the size approximately of the existing publication as at date hereof and shall consist of eight pages.
- (b) The price shall be £153. 0. 0. for ~~30,000~~ 30,000 copies, the actual newsprint to be supplied by the publishers.
- (c) The printers shall be obliged in addition to the printing to deliver copies of the publication according to the instructions of the publishers. Delivery shall include the wrapping of the publication for postal subscribers as required by the publishers at the rate of 35/- per 1000 copies over and above 6000 which are allowed free to the publishers.
- (d) The publication shall be printed in two editions, the Northern and Southern edition.

(e) The/.....

(e) The printers shall be entitled to charge a further amount of £2. 19. 6, for each additional 1000 copies of the publication over and above ~~30,000~~ 20,000, and the publishers shall be entitled to a reduction of £2. 19. 6. per 1000, under ~~30,000~~ 20,000, provided that if the number of copies are reduced to below 20,000 the price of printing shall be reviewed.

3. The printers undertake to complete the printing and dispatch the copies for the Northern and Southern editions in a proper and competent manner and at the times when so required by the publishers. The publishers undertake to supply the copy to enable the printers to print timeously. The parties agree to co-operate with each other to ensure that the publication is printed and dispatched with the greatest expedition.

4. The publishers undertake to pay the printers the amounts for such printing not later than thirty days after monthly statement covering issues printed, delivered and listed thereon, failing which, the printers shall have the right to decline to print or deliver further issues of the publication until such arrear payment shall have been made.

5. The printers are agreeable to store on their premises newsprint for the publishers up to ~~seven tons~~ free of charge and increasing ~~up to seven tons~~ if space is available. The publishers, shall, however, be responsible for insuring this newsprint against risk of fire or burglary.

6. The publishers hereby indemnify the printers against all loss, cost or damages which the printers may suffer or be put to by reason of the publication contravening any law or publishing any defamatory matter except in so far as the defamation can be attributed solely to printer's error, for which the printers shall be responsible as between themselves and the publishers. The publishers may refuse to print any copy for reproduction in the publication which the printers regard as defamatory. Such copy shall be referred to the publishers/.....

publishers immediately for any alteration, if necessary.

7. The publishers further agree to implement the above indemnity by furnishing four sureties approved by the printers who will bind themselves severally for the due fulfilment by the publishers of the above indemnity to the extent of ~~2000~~ ⁵⁰⁰. each. The publishers furthermore undertake to substitute other sureties acceptable to the printers on the death or insolvency of any of the sureties, the total amount guaranteed not to be less than £2000. 0. 0. at any time.

8. The costs arising from and in connection with this agreement shall be borne by the parties in equal shares.

DATED at CAPE TOWN this 28th day of MAY, 1953.

COMPETENT PUBLISHING & PRINTING CO.

(PTY) LTD.

AS WITNESS:

- 1.
- 2.

Witness
Ward
Walls
Ward
Ward

[Handwritten signatures for witnesses]

PIONEER (PRESS) (PTY) LTD.

per: *L. B. Lee-Warde*

L. B. Lee-Warde
[Handwritten initials]

Advance

g. 1119

• THE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Proprietors and Publishers:

COMPETENT PUBLISHING AND PRINTING (PTY.) LTD.

Directors:

Mr. S. Kahn
Mr. F. Carneson

Chames Buildings, 6 Barrack Street

CAPE TOWN

Telephones: 2-3787/8

18th November, 1953.

Attention Mr. Grande.

Messrs. Pioneer Press (Pty.) Ltd.,
Forgate street,
WOODSTOCK.

Dear Mr. Grande,

Our telephone conversation refers.

I enclose herewith the account
referred to.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

F. Carneson
MANAGER.

10/6

Advance

g. 1120

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● THE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Proprietors and Publishers:

COMPETENT PUBLISHING AND PRINTING (PTY.) LTD.

Directors:

Mr. S. Kahn
Mr. F. Carneson

Chames Buildings, 6 Barrack Street

CAPE TOWN

Telephones: 2-3787/8

24th July, 1954.

Messrs. Pioneer Press (Pty.) Ltd.,
Forgate Street,
WOODSTOCK.

For Attention : Mr. Grandé

Dear Sir,

We would appreciate it if you would please
make enquiries and obtain quotations on our behalf
for from 10 to 12 tons of our usual newsprint
requirements ^{for delivery} in January 1955.

Thanking you for your co-operation,

Yours faithfully,

F. Carneson

MANAGER.

Advance

G. 1121

● THE INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Proprietors and Publishers:
COMPETENT PUBLISHING AND PRINTING (PTY.) LTD.

Directors:
Mr. S. Kahn
Mr. P. Carneson

Chames Buildings, 6 Barrack Street
CAPE TOWN
Telephones: 2-3787/8

25th October, 1954.

Messrs. Pioneer Press (Pty.) Ltd.,
Forgate Street,
WOODSTOCK, C.F.

Dear Sirs,

We regret to advise you that our publication "ADVANCE" has been banned, and that we, therefore, have no option but to cancel the contract made with you for the printing of the publication.

We thank you sincerely for your past co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

F. Carneson

Director.

NEW AGE
The Worker's Paper

g. 1125
£10,000

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Real Printing & Publishing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
Directors: A. E. Thorne, I. O. Horvitch.

P.O. Box 436,
Cape Town.

*Sit in New Age
Lees. G/S/H/K
22/1/57*

Dear Friend,

We are approaching you in connection with the £10,000 national campaign which has been launched to help keep New Age on the streets. It is the aim of this campaign to raise the sum of £10,000 and to increase the circulation of the paper by 20 per cent (an extra 5,000 copies a week) by the end of June. Only if we reach these targets will it be possible to maintain New Age on its present basis.

We need hardly emphasise the importance of New Age at the present juncture. Of all the newspapers at present in circulation, New Age is the only one which constantly and consistently exposes the tyranny and injustice of racial oppression, which willingly opens its columns to all those individuals and organisations whose views would otherwise be suppressed or ignored.

Week after week our paper, and ours alone, fearlessly voices the demand of the oppressed people for freedom and equality, for peace, for a better life for themselves and their children. While many sections of the Press have allowed themselves to be browbeaten into virtual submission to the dictates of the Nationalist Government, New Age has refused to be deflected from its own freely chosen course.

New Age is the only South African newspaper which has consistently campaigned for the achievement of the ideals set out in the Freedom Charter.

Were New Age to disappear from the South African scene, then indeed would the people be deprived of their most dependable weapon and the task of national liberation be made infinitely more difficult. **And this danger threatens the paper right now.** Costs continue to rise inexorably (it costs us £400 A WEEK to bring out the 25,000 copies of the paper), but revenue does not increase. The big advertisers boycott us, either because they are opposed to our policy, or possibly because they are afraid. We have to depend more and more on donations from our supporters to keep going.

Now we are making this special appeal for £10,000 because that is the only way we can guarantee publication for the remainder of this year. And we hope you will be good enough to support our appeal. There are various ways in which you can help us. You can:

- Make the biggest personal donation you can afford, preferably on a monthly basis;
- Collect money on our behalf from your friends. (Collection lists are available.)
- Organise a dance, party or some other fund-raising function on our behalf;
- Get your trade union or political or sports or social organisation to make us a grant-in-aid and to collect money from members, or organise a fund-raising function on our behalf;
- Keep a New Age collection tin in your home;
- Introduce New Age to new readers, either by selling the paper yourself regularly, getting new subscribers or sending us the names and addresses of those you think may be interested in our paper;
- Talk New Age, think New Age, make yourself and your friends responsible for the continued existence and progress of New Age. Only if the thousands of our readers and supporters accept this responsibility—and that means YOU—will we be able to survive.

We sincerely appeal to you not to let us down in this crisis, but to do everything in your power to help us. We are satisfied that should you, and the thousands of other democratic-minded South Africans whom we are approaching, respond to our appeal, we will be able to weather the storm and look forward to a bright and secure future.

HELP SAVE NEW AGE! SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY!

Yours sincerely,

	L. FORMAN, <i>Editor</i>
	F. CARNESON, <i>Manager</i>
	R. E. THORNE
	I. O. HORVITCH <i>Directors</i>

P.S. Should you wish to help us more directly by serving on one of our campaign committees, contact us. There is plenty to do.

INVOICE

COPY.

2405

45, MARKET STREET.

JOHANNESBURG, 30, November 1953.

Messrs. E. A. Congress Of Democrats,
5, Somerset House,
110, Fox Street,
Johannesburg. (P. O. Box 4088)



4,1127
Express Printing Works

PRINTERS

5,000 Copies Of (The Threatened People)
as per our quotation
4 Pages extra setting
Difference in cover paper
Blocks

8107	-	0	-	0
5	-	0	-	0
12	-	0	-	0
<hr/>				
8134	-	5	-	1

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VALUES

DATE

SIGNATURE

G. 1134-

8597

Congress of Democrats

3-1-10-5

600 "We Are Many"
on Supply

8516

f. C. O. D.
Perkins

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THE FREEDOM CHARTER

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

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

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing 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 right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

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

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

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and 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 re-divided 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;

91135

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

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

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

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

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

All the cultural treasures of mankind, shall be open to all, by 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;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

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

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

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

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

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

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

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

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

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

The 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."

TOWARDS A CONGRESS NEWSPAPER

The African National Congress needs a newspaper of its own. For years people have spoken in conferences and in different circles about the need for the establishment of a newspaper - an official organ of the A.N.C. Sympathisers who are not members of the Congress among all sections of the South African population and sympathizers from abroad have all emphasized the important role of a newspaper. At the last conference of the A.N.C. this question was sharply raised and suggestions were made of what could be done.

The lack of such a journal is a source of very serious weakness in the A.N.C. Indeed it is not too much to say that some of the political and organisational weaknesses could have been minimised if this matter was attended to.

How could a newspaper help our organisation?

In the first place our own newspaper, published in the various languages spoken by our people, would be a tremendous help in placing Congress policy before the people in educating and persuading them to support Congress and become members.

Secondly our newspaper could ^{serve} as an organiser for the A.N.C. itself. It would constantly carry news of how the different branches are working, from which others would learn. Around worker door-to-door and factory sales, our members would be drawn into consistent planned activities. The leadership would have a regular channel of contact with every member. The members would have a regular platform for suggestions and criticisms.

These tasks are especially important at the present time. The Nationalist Government has launched a whole series of new assaults on the people; one hateful "apartheid" law follows another. At the same time the freedom-loving people of South Africa, of all races, have come together in the most important meeting ever held in our country. They have adopted the Freedom Charter, an inspiring statement of the basic aims for which we are fighting. In order to turn the Charter into reality we must work as never before to mobilise the people behind the Charter, and to build up the A.N.C., the trade unions and other democratic bodies to a strength where they can go forward to win the Charter for the people. In this task a newspaper of our own becomes a vital necessity.

This bulletin cannot serve that need but can only be a small beginning with the hope of it being developed into a newspaper which we hope will not take long.

The purpose of this bulletin is to give to our readers from time to time the official policy of the A.N.C. We believe that it has a useful role to play. We must not and shall not rest until we have a real mass newspaper of our own.

ORGANISATION - The Road to Victory!

The coming into being of the African National Congress in 1912 was a landmark in South African history. It marked a great political development among the African people.

Many organisations have come and gone but the African National Congress has become a political force in the life of South Africa, and the world looks to the day when the Government of this country will pass from the hands of the reactionary oppressors into the hands of the people - the African National Congress.

The importance and prestige Congress enjoys is due to its correct policies, the consistent lead it has given the broad masses of people, the policy of good will and friendship with other sections of the South African population, whilst struggling ceaselessly against the oppressors: it has followed an honest policy of wanting for others what it wants for itself. It has no design to replace white domination by black domination.

The African National Congress has distinguished itself in recent years in the manner in which it carried all its struggles together with its allies, especially during the Defiance Campaign of 1952, when it forced the white rulers to recognise not only its existence but also the powerful influence the Congress movement exerts over millions of Non-European people.

The purpose of this article, however, is to show the serious organisational weaknesses which hamper our development. Our problems are serious and both the leadership and rank and file must see to their correction.

The last forty years of Congress existence have been almost devoted to agitational and propaganda work to the complete negligence of the organisational aspect. Agitational and propaganda are essential ingredients to our work; they raise the political consciousness of the masses of the people, dispel illusions about the false hope that change will come by change of heart of the rulers. The people have become convinced that freedom does not come as a gift but that they shall pay a high price for it. Our propaganda has led African people to reject tribalism and any form of racialism and has convinced them that salvation lies in their unity in the struggle against their enemies.

Times have changed, therefore our methods must also change. The enemy has perfected its machinery of oppression. It is quite clear that Congress cannot survive unless it changes its present organisational structure. If it is not yet clear, it should be made abundantly clear to all concerned that the Nationalists are determined to deprive us and deny us of the elementary human rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of organisation and freedom of movement. Their aim is to divide the Africans further to prevent us even from uniting and to prevent us from organising.

More than ever the Defiance Campaign, Congress of the 3
people, Bantu Education, the Removal of Western Areas have all
shown that the organisational state of the African National Con-
gress was far below its great political task. THESE CAMPAIGNS
HAVE SHOWN THAT TO DISREGARD THE ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS WITH THE
HOPE THAT THEY WILL SOLVE THEMSELVES IS SAILING INTO TROUBLED
WATERS! It was for this reason that the National Executive report
to the last Annual Conference of the African National Congress
classed the organisational problems as item No. 1.

The following suggestions were made. "That to meet these
stringent and hostile conditions, therefore, the Congress must be
on an entirely new organisational footing. Congress leaders and
activists must recognise and accept this basic fact. The organi-
sation should be highly centralised on the provincial and national
planes but highly decentralised on the branch and memberships
levels. It must re-organise along the lines laid down in the "M"
plan".

The following scheme was therefore envisaged..

- a) Congress branches should be based on small manageable units.
- b) Several of these units should be united under and controlled
by a sub-committee consisting of leaders of each unit.
- c) Units and sub-committees to be responsible to branch
committees.
- d) All units and unit sub-committees to be equipped with the
knowledge necessary to enable them to carry out their duties
and functions.
- e) Branch committees to be responsible for seeing to it that all
units and sub-committees are activated and efficient.
- f) Greater use to be made of the printed word, where and when
this becomes impossible to make use of the word of mouth.
- g) Provincial committees to be more alive and to exercise their
supervisory and administrative control strictly and conscient-
iously.
- h) Each member of a provincial committee to be personally
responsible to the provincial committee for the proper and
efficient functioning of a given branch, unit and sub-committees
under control of such a branch.
- i) Each member of the National Executive to take an active and
leading part in the provincial committee in his province".

This report to our last Annual Conference was a departure from all
other reports. It instructed the lowest organs of the African
National Congress to discuss the organisational problems on the
branch level before coming to the conference. To give a clear
analysis of the situation in the country and to place the organi-
sational question as the main issue before the National Conference.
We must criticise ourselves for our treatment of this report. The
conference merely regarded the report as a very interesting docu-
ment but failed to give the attention it deserves or to appreciate
its significance. There was no detail discussion on it nor were
there any practical suggestions from the branches even at con-
ferences, hence, no specific resolution on organisation was
passed. That is why up to the ninth month after the conference,
not the least effort seems to have been taken in the implemen-
tation of the report. It is doubtful whether any study of the
report has been made even at a provincial level.

Now we must put a stop to the attitude of regarding this report and directives as mere formalities in good English. We must realise that we have the entire nation upon our shoulders. To ignore these warnings will amount to deliberate sabotage, wrecking the ship of freedom in the midst of a storm.

APOLOGY.

The Editor of "Congress Voice" wishes to apologise to readers for the delay in the appearance of the first issue due to the confiscation of articles by the police.

Messages from the President-General, Chief A.J. Lutuli; the Provincial Presidents, and the General Secretary of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, Mr. Leslie Masina, were among the articles confiscated by the police.

=====++++=====

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

1. This year the National Conference will be held in Bloemfontein from the 16th to the 18th December. The Women's Section will have their Conference on the 16th December.

It will be remembered that the last Conference to be held in Bloemfontein was in 1951, which Conference adopted the Plan of Action on which the historic Defiance Campaign was based.

This year, the following issues will face the Conference:-

1. The Freedom Charter will be placed before the Conference for its ratification.
2. The Pass Laws will be the most important issue since passes are now being extended to our women-folk.
3. Constitution and Elections.

+++++

2. It is expected that by the time of Conference Provinces will be in a position to report progress in the signature campaign in accordance with the following figures allocated them:-

Transvaal-----	450,000.
Cape Province-----	350,000.
Natal-----	150,000.
Orange Free State-----	50,000.

Get those signatures! Make the Charter a living document!
OOO++++OOO

3. The Transvaal Province of the A.N.C. will hold a fund-raising function at the
OPIN CINEMA,
Good Street, SOPHIA TOWN, on the 30th OCTOBER, 1955.

Proceeds will go towards buying a CAR for the Transvaal Province.

DONATION: 5/- Send your Donation NOW!

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WOMEN DON'T WANT PASSES!

coloured re-classification

The Nationalists are no respectors of the people's rights. No rights, of whatever national group are inviolable. The attack on the meagre rights of the Coloured people is not surprising. It is in step with all the measures they have taken against the people of South Africa. The lesson emerges clear once more: the fight of any group against oppression, is the fight of all the oppressed people of South Africa, an attack on the rights of whatever group is an attack on the rights of all the people. There is no keeping aloof. Democracy is indivisible.

The re-classification of the Coloured people is best understood in the context of the Population Registration Act and the entire "Apartheid" policy of the government. The Act aims at dividing - documentarily - the people of the country into rigid racial compartments. It is a technique, time-honoured, of oppression - that of divide and rule. Division is the soul of Apartheid, the meaning of Apartheid. For Apartheid thrives, and can only thrive, on the division of the people. Unity is fatal for Apartheid.

The stand of the Coloured people against re-classification is inspiring, heroic. In the face of their anger and opposition, even the Nats, in their ruthlessness, have had to call a halt. It was not what they expected. But the Nats will press on with their scheme of re-classifying the Coloureds.

Why this attack on the Coloured people? After all, the Coloureds have done very little to earn the displeasure of the government - we might say. Baaskapism remains one master - and the rest servants. The few rights and privileges enjoyed by the Coloureds do not conform to the pattern of Baaskapism and there might be some truth in the statement that re-classification aims at classifying the Coloureds "out of existence". The Nats have waged a bitter struggle to remove the Coloureds from the common voter's role. They have met set-backs but this has not stopped them. In the Senate Act the machinery for removing Coloureds from the common Voters roll has been set up.

Racialism is not limited to the Nats. It is to be found even among Non-Europeans. Some Coloureds have tried to keep Africans at arms-length, to be different from them. The racist utterings of some Coloureds in the press are proof of this. The Nats are quick to exploit race sentiments, sentiments of race purity, etc. Some of the fairer-skinned Coloureds have swallowed the Nat bait. They have aspirations of being the "pure" Coloured, would spurn their darker-skinned brothers. The Nats give no quarter. Their turn will come too.

There are Africans who have hailed re-classification as a "good lesson" to the Coloureds. This is wrong. It savours of malice. It is politically incorrect. It is true that Coloureds have enjoyed a higher economic position than Africans. It is true that they have been free of some of the insults and legislations to which the Africans are subjected. The pass laws are an example of one of the many indignities from which Coloureds have been free, Africans desiring to move freely;

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Africans desiring opportunity to do skilled work, should be the last people to hail deprivation of these rights from others. There is nothing humiliating in being an African. It is the conditions under which Africans are forced to live that are humiliating. It is childish to desire equality with others in misery. It is noble to strive for the attainment of freedom and equality for all.

Freedom and equality for all, irrespective of colour, race, or creed, is the creed of the liberatory movement. The African National Congress, in keeping these ideals, has made its stand on this re-classification issue clear. It pledges its support to the Coloured people in their fight against re-classification. It stands with the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation in its courageous fights for the rights of the Coloured people - and inseparably, for the rights of all the people of the country.

If re-classification has been a shock to the Coloured people, it has brought with it the lesson: the Coloured people cannot remain aloof from the struggles of the people to free themselves. The place of the Coloureds is with the struggling masses, masses waging a bitter struggle against Fascism, now at our door-step. The place of the Coloured people is with all the freedom-loving peoples of our country, and marching and fighting together to build a free South Africa for all.

STATEMENT ON PASSES BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

A bitter struggle will be conducted against the extension of pass laws to African women, says a special statement issued by Mr. Oliver Tambo, acting Secretary-General, African National Congress, following a statement by Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, at a Nationalist Party congress that African women will carry passes from 1956.

Verwoerd's statement, says Mr. Tambo, has aroused the greatest indignation among Africans and an unprecedented struggle against the evil pass laws must now ensue. "In the past all attempts to make African women carry passes have failed because of their determination and uncompromising opposition," Mr. Tambo said. The campaign against pass laws must run not in isolation from, but alongside the campaign against Bantu Education and many other notorious Nationalist measures, and in conjunction with the Freedom Charter.

Mr. Tambo calls upon branches of the A.N.C. to mobilise the country against this new onslaught -- the extension of passes to our women-folk. It is particularly necessary to build up a powerful Women's League and African National Congress Youth League.

AWAY WITH BANTU EDUCATION ---SLAVE EDUCATION!
THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!
FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER!

BOYCOTT OF BANTU EDUCATION IS POSITIVE.

It cannot be over-emphasised that while strong opposition to the repressive measures of the Nationalist Government is most welcome from all quarters, that protests and mass demonstrations are useless and meaningless if they are not a prelude to a sustained and protracted struggle against the entire policy of Apartheid. For it is in that way, and that way only, that the people of South Africa can destroy the Nationalists' tyranny and make this a free and democratic country for all. It is against this background that we must look at the Bantu Education Act, for it is the cornerstone of the Apartheid policy.

The Bantu Education Act has been condemned by the people of South Africa of all racial groups, religious beliefs and political affiliations, with, of course, the exception of the Nationalists and the Dutch Reformed Church, not only as the worst piece of legislation ever to be inserted in the statute book but also as the clear and definite indication that South Africa is fast becoming a full-fledged fascist state.

To understand fully the implications and the inherent evils of the Bantu Education Act, we need only refer to the statement of policy on Bantu Education made by Dr. Verwoerd. He said: "...The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him.... There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.... Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

It is this declaration among all other statements made by Dr. Verwoerd and officials of his Department and indeed the Bantu Education syllabus itself which have cleared whatever doubts existed in the minds of the people as to what Bantu Education is, for the people realised that this statement was made by Dr. Verwoerd - the architect and best exponent of Bantu Education.

Simply put, Bantu Education is intended, in defiance of nature and history, to make the African a sub-human being that will accept inferiority without question and willingly deny himself all human rights, an African that will be poverty-stricken and landless in the land of his birth. Yes, an African that will not reject baaskap and "white supremacy". Through Bantu Education the Nationalists hope to solve the labour problems of this country by producing a docile and subservient cheap African labour for the mines and murderous farmers of Bethal and Rustenburg districts; an African that will be satisfied with low wages and not object to sleeping on the cement floors in mine compounds; an African that will not resist digging potatoes with his fingers, wear sacks and receive mealie meal porridge as a staple and his only meal as well as wages.

Having realised the real intentions of Bantu Education, it is no wonder that the African National Congress, the premier national organisation in this country and the vanguard of the liberatory struggle, took the decision at its last annual conference held in Durban, December, 1954, to boycott Bantu Education. This means that the African children must be withdrawn from the Bantu Education primary schools and that the parents should boycott the school boards and committees. Congress is perfectly convinced that it is only the withdrawal of children from these schools that can effectively bring Bantu Education to standstill, and that the boycott of school boards and committees will expose the lie that the Africans have accepted Bantu Education and that they themselves are in control of this type of education.

It may perhaps be surprising if not amusing to the simpletons, disgusting and annoying to the serious-minded, to learn that inspite of the fact that Bantu Education has been rejected by the people and it is realized that the only positive action on their part can defeat Bantu Education. There is a certain school of thought which, however, maintains that this form of struggle against Bantu Education is negative, and the reasons adduced in support of this argument are:-

1. that the withdrawal of children from Bantu Education schools is a means of assisting the Government in denying education to the African children;
2. that it is sufficient to boycott school boards and committees as these are the pillars of Bantu Education;
3. there is no fundamental difference between Native Education and Bantu Education, hence there is no need to withdraw the children from the schools;
4. to withdraw the children from Bantu Education schools is to rob them of the knowledge of the 3R's;
5. that to withdraw the children from Bantu Education schools is to put them in the forefront of our fight against Bantu Education.

The above argument is quite clearly misleading and mischievous and reflects either a poor understanding of the machinery of Bantu Education, in that this system of education is bad only for what it lacks rather than for what it is, or a deliberate manoeuvre on the part of pseudo-intellectuals, who place personal gain and security before the welfare of the masses. To the African National Congress, indeed the African people, like the right thinking people the world over, education is fundamental. It is a method universally accepted of moulding the child to develop to the fullest of his ability not only to take his rightful place in society but also to be an asset to humanity. The African people believe in and cherish the noble and fundamental principle of free, compulsory and universal education for all, and therefore demand same for their children.

Knowing fully well the importance and value of education, the African people reject Bantu Education because it is different from the education received by other sections of the South African community, not that the Africans want to imitate anybody but as human beings they have the same desires and aspirations, and also because Bantu Education is not real education. Bantu Education is not only a denial of education to the African but also diabolic indoctrination, and hence no sane or good-intentioned parent, who has understood the sinister motive can argue that to withdraw the children is to assist the Government in denying the African child education, least of all, that it is to deprive the children of the knowledge of the 3R's; because the 3R's, essential as they are, form an insignificant part in this vast pool of mental poison. Under Bantu Education, Std. II will be gauge of the intelligence and mental ability of a child to follow either an academic or technical training. Thus, for example, there will be no examinations whatsoever from the sub-standards to Std. I. Examinations will begin at the Std II grade. According to the regulations of Bantu Education the child who fails more than once will be compelled to leave school. We maintain that Std II is too low a standard to determine the ability and future of a people. Thus to plunge the children in this filthy mess for the sake of the 3 R's is to under-estimate the real dangers of Bantu Education - it is to leap in the dark with the hope of coming out unharmed.

Let it be clearly understood that the boycott of school boards and committees can only cripple the machinery of Bantu Education but cannot destroy it. The sole purpose of these boards and committees is to make Bantu Education more acceptable to the Africans by deceiving them into believing that the education of their children is in their own hands. These bodies are designed to perfect the machinery of Bantu Education but Bantu Education can continue without these boards.....

boards and committees. To say, therefore, that these boards and committees are the pillars of Bantu Education is false as saying that Bantu Education can be rendered ineffective by joining these bodies to wreck Bantu Education from within. It is equally false to say that the teachers can be relied upon to defeat Bantu Education by following a different syllabus. In any case this idealistic thinking has already been exposed in actual practice, as the present school boards and committees have proved to be mere tools in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs, and the teachers, who under the Act, are prisoners of the state, are themselves carrying out Dr. Verwoerd's instructions word for word. 9

Bantu Education is not meant for the parents but for the children and for the fight against Bantu Education by refusing to serve in the school boards and committees while on the other hand the children assimilate this mental poison is an unrealistic method which is bound to defeat its own ends. The withdrawal of the children from Verwoerd schools is a protective measure, safeguarding the children from assimilating this evil, for it is indeed the duty of every devoted parent to see that his child dwells in the right paths in every sphere of life. To say that by withdrawing the children from these schools it is to put them in the forefront of our fight is a malicious lie and a statement as sinister as its advocates. It is a line put across by Government agents serving in the school boards and committees and pseudo-intellectuals who want to divert the attention of the people from the real fight against Bantu Education. These Government stooges, reactionaries, escapists and traitors must be exposed and finally crushed.

Barren and dishonest as the argument against the withdrawal of children from Bantu Education schools may be, it will be folly for the progressive forces to ignore this argument or treat it with contempt. This is a line of least resistance and people can easily be swayed by it, more so when it is realised that the Africans in this country have never taken the education of their children into their own hands nor have they ever determined the type of education their children shall receive. The future of the African child has always been left in the hands of the teacher and other intellectuals, so that what the intellectuals say carries a lot of weight.

The stand taken by the African National Congress against Bantu Education is the only correct method of defeating this system of education. Correct and effective as this weapon is, we should, however, not lose sight of various and enormous difficulties and problems which it entails. Its implementation will certainly be an arduous task that will call for a great deal of sacrifice on the part of the parents. Here lies the essence of our fight. For us to succeed and for Bantu Education to be crushed, the campaign against Bantu Education must be intensified. There must be house-to-house drives to educate the people on the correctness of the Congress stand, for once the struggling African masses can understand the evils of the Bantu Education Act that will be the end of it.

Having successfully withdrawn our children from Verwoerd's schools, what next is to be done? Before embarking upon the answer, let us make it clear, that the withdrawal of children even without any alternative provided, is sufficient in itself, to defeat Bantu Education. It would be a grave mistake to think that because there is no alternative education, therefore Bantu Education is good. Bad education is at all times worse than no education at all. The withdrawal, therefore, is a positive, self-sufficient weapon to

defeat Bantu Education.

Once the people have rejected Bantu Education they will find an alternative to Bantu Education and to the entire slave education of this country. There are various alternatives to Bantu Education, some of which are happily being implemented in the East and, Transvaal and Eastern Cape. These methods, devised by the people, have even at this initial stage struck such fear in the Government that some of the organisers are facing trial. This should show how effective these methods will be when implemented throughout the country.

What is really more positive in the fight against Bantu Education is the creation of cultural clubs in every part of South Africa, not just as an occupation for the children who have been withdrawn from Bantu Education schools but as a method of moulding these children to see life in its true perspective; the establishment of private schools not under Bantu Education, to give the children the real education. We know that there are difficulties such schools but they are not insurmountable. Home education is undoubtedly the best method of them all, for it caters for children as well as adults. Steps are now being taken to bring this form of education to the African masses.

We must, however, make it abundantly clear, that Bantu Education is an indispensable part of the Apartheid policy and cannot therefore be isolated from the general struggle of the people against Nationalist tyranny. The fight against Bantu Education is inextricably interwoven with the fight against, the Pass Laws and other oppressive measures. In this fight for free and compulsory education for all in our country, let us ^{remember that the people} always have clearly asserted their sacred right to universal education which is their heritage, in these solemn words: "THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!"

In the next issue we shall deal with the progress of the Cultural Clubs, Private schools and Home Education.

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