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(I.C.U.) Industrial and Union of Africa.

The Workers Herald

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The Workers Herald



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Vol. 1. No. 24.

JOHANNESBURG, April 28, 1926.

Price 3d.

gula yini. Inkosi zela kodwa ums abuthi ibuhlungu- emi ukhula ngo abake ngeningoda anu abake nge- O'fresihlani. elo bovala ngo a lize libe nini? s'ona semuntu ivali imini nobu-

FI E DUNDEE. use Dundee u nqoko woku hloka unqokhwa u zehla izihlati lungu base Natal nisa abantu njalo uba hloka imi- umhloa owase bhedhela sakona nesi fasazane. nini lawo apuzu Kuzani madoda kuvela o Mr. imbezele bashise

SE ROMA. Boma baveliwe vakona u Fata a obhala ipepa e delene nentimbu a imishumayeto acwadi ezinama ukopayo. Yini ulilo obengezayo okade wagala ubona senthi isi nyingcwale ti ulu fundisa i Bona-bukolwa Ingane omnyez' amakolwa amana- lina. Abantu i abefundisi abaz- ze nje Baniya bayabona njena i abadinive im- oda asi ngwelo ka ngoba anawo ngama awo. Uma si sibona. Ewe khulu inkuluma na e Natal ayi- so ngoba abantu e Telkom nasa iso pela mchelo

Now or Never! With the growing strength of the I.C.U., which is being felt all over the country, an attack has been made to test the real strength of this new Trade Unionism. The central authorities have placed a ban on the movements of the National Secretary, Comrade Clements Kadalie, but he is allowed to proceed to Cape Town from Johannesburg, the obvious intention being to keep him isolated there, and refuse him passage to any of the other three Provinces of the Union to do propaganda work on behalf of the Organisation. This information was officially received from the Native Affairs Department at Johannesburg. He is definitely prohibited to enter Natal Province. The recent Annual Conference of the organisation held in Johannesburg has decided to test the legality of the Government's action. Funds are now required, and by Conference resolution published elsewhere in this issue all I.C.U. Branches are instructed to raise funds by special contributions, socials and concerts, etc., to provide the National Secretary's Defence Funds.

Trade Union... Mens, arrests, deportations, etc., of its militant leaders. Just seven years ago we launched our new Trade Unionism amongst African workers, and it goes without question that the employers of labour are indignant over this proletarian procession towards economic freedom. It was inevitable that the exploiters of mankind would make a dash to check this pilgrimage towards a fuller life. In all civilised countries white workers made a gallant struggle to keep the flag of Trade Unionism flying. To-day is the National Secretary's fate, to-morrow it may be one of your Provincial

SUCCESS & HAPPINESS How to gain Health, Money and Happiness and to Cure Diseases of PERSONAL MAGNETISM and WILL POWER. A Guide to Success in All Matters Relating to Health, Business, Friend- ship, Love, Marriage, Etc. No matter what your condition or position may be, "SUCCESS & HAPPINESS" tells you how to improve it. "MEDICAL HYPNOTISM" tells you how to cure all ailments. "HOW TO KNOW YOUR FUTURE" tells you how to see what is going on in your distance. How to know and give value of the utmost value. To trace hidden treasure, to find lost friends, animals and property, and so on. Four Books Worth Their Weight in Gold to Ambitious Men and Women. Price 1s 6d each, or the 4 Books for 5s. RUDOLPH SALES COMPANY, 221 W. 42nd St., (Cor. 9th Ave.), New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.

- National Council, I.C.U. 1926
- 1. A. M. JABavu, Senior Vice-President, King Williamstown.
  - 2. H. E. C. JOHNSON, Junior Vice-President, Capetown.
  - 3. CLEMENTS KADALIE, National Secretary, Head Office.
  - 4. J. A. KA GUMA, General Secretary, Head Office.
  - 5. E. J. KHAILE, Finance Secretary, Head Office.
  - 6. J. J. ROOISE, Treasurer, Head Office.
  - 7. THEO B. LUTJEA, Editor, Head Office.
  - 8. ...

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Infants Everything at once will get well and value to make

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Trade Union history is inscribed with tragedy, blood, arrests, deportations, etc., of its militant leaders. Just seven years ago we launched out our new Trade Unionism amongst African workers, and it goes without question that the employers of labour are indignant over this proletarian procession towards economic freedom. It was inevitable that the exploiters of mankind would make a dash to check this pilgrimage towards a fuller life. In all civilised countries white workers made a gallant struggle to keep the flag of Trade Unionism flying. To-day is the National Secretary's fate, to-morrow it may be one of your Provincial Secretaries. Make up your minds NOW or NEVER to resist this bombshell of the authorities. Let your friend know of this; get him to subscribe towards the defence of your rights as citizens of South Africa. Remember that you are the pioneers of the new Trade Unionism in Africa. Send all donations, contributions, etc., to the National Secretary's Defence Fund, 16 Market Street, Johannesburg.

### Propaganda Spreading All The Same

Despite the Capitalist manoeuvre to keep out of Natal the messenger of industrial unionism amongst the African workers, our propaganda is spreading all the same in Natal equally as in other sister Provinces. An African clerk in one of the coal mines in Natal thus wrote to the National Secretary recently—

"Having carefully studied a copy of your Workers' Herald, and since I read your Maritzburg speech, I found that any patriot of the aborigines can do no better thing than joining the I.C.U. Our black people are suffering in the Natal coal mines, and the services of the I.C.U. are essentially required. As I am writing you this letter I hope, as the head-clerk at \_\_\_\_\_ Colliery, I would like you to forward me, at your earliest convenience, the regulations governing admission to membership of the I.C.U., as I have made up my mind to enrol right away; besides, there are hundreds of miners who have also expressed their desire to do likewise. I pledge myself in advance to do everything possible to assist the I.C.U. to recruit fresh members daily, and at the same time to add my efforts to the struggle to get the 50,000 members required by the National Council."

According to our recent Conference decisions, special efforts are to be made to organise mine workers. Let I.C.U. workers, whether officials or rank and file, carry on organisation work into the compounds. Organisation must be your watchword. Effective and efficient Industrial Organisation throughout the Union should be the chief I.C.U. workers' reply to the Segregation Policy. On to the field of Labour.

### SUBSCRIBERS NOTE!

The support of our "Creative subscribers" to the Workers' Herald who make the circulation of this paper is growing gradually acknowledged. The management respectfully solicits their further indispensable patronage.

Check and Postal Orders to be made payable to the Workers' Herald, Johannesburg.

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### National Council, I.C.U. 1926

1. G. GOMAS, President, Cape Town.
2. A. M. JABavu, Senior Vice-President, Kingwilliamstown.
3. M. E. G. JOHNSON, Junior Vice-President, Capetown.
4. CLEMENTS KADALLE, National Secretary, Head Office.
5. J. A. LA GUMA, General Secretary, Head Office.
6. E. J. EHAILE, Financial Secretary, Head Office.
7. J. J. BOOISE, Treasurer, Capetown.
8. THEO. B. LUIZAN, Editor and Border Provincial Secretary, East London.
9. ALLISON W. GEORGIN, Natal Provincial Secretary, Durban.
10. ALEXANDER O.E.S., Durban.
11. JAS. M., Province Provincial Secretary, Elizabeth.
12. H. D. TYANZA, Provincial Secretary, Capetown.
13. JOHN GOMAS, Western Province Provincial Secretary, Capetown.
14. JOHN MZAZI, East London.
15. R. G. DE NORMAN, Capetown.
16. M. P. DUBELA, Port Elizabeth.
17. W. SMITH, Ladysmith.
18. J. M. MOHLOA, Bloemfontein.
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**IT IS DANGEROUS TO NEGLECT YOUR HEALTH.**—If you are suffering from Scurvy, Ulcers, Sores, Scrofula, Loss of Appetite, and all Blood and Body Diseases.

**DOCTOR WILSON'S LIFE MIXTURE will give you NEW LIFE.**  
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**DOCTOR WILSON'S HEALTH COMPANY,**  
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Every man and woman has this desire, but perhaps there is a slight suspicion of colour, accentuated by frizzy hair, and you are barred.

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# The Workers Herald

Editorial and Publishing Offices: 18, Market Street, Cape Town.  
Head Office: 24, Loop Street, Phone No. 5320 Central, Tel. Add. "Laseeyou."

EDITORIAL BOARD:  
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Sub-Editor: H. D. TYAMZASHE, Transvaal Provincial Sec.  
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## The New Trade Unionism.

As is clearly demonstrated in the proceedings of our recent Conference, published elsewhere in this issue, a history of New Trade Unionism has been made in this country. For the first time over 90 accredited representatives of the Native and Coloured Workers of South Africa assembled together at the Workers' Hall, Johannesburg. Unlike the Afrikaner Bond, a political body which dances to the tune that European Nationalism plays, the delegates to the recent I.C.U. Congress at Johannesburg went there as the representatives of the African proletariat from the mines, the docks, the railways, the domestic services, and the factories; in short, they were there as representative of both manual and brain workers of South Africa. Permit us, please, to say, these 90 delegates represented the real toiling masses of this country, who are breeding under the iron heel of capitalism.

A few days before our Congress opened political prophets declared that there was to be a rupture at the Congress between Natives and Coloured, thus to become the victims of the Pact Government policy of divide and rule. The prophesies were falsified this time. Our President, in his presidential address, told us the story; that on the first day of the Congress, Native and Coloured workers' unity was

## May Day Celebrations.

In accordance with our recent Conference resolution, all Branches of the I.C.U. are instructed to celebrate the first day of May as a Labour Day. The object of May Day is to convince the world at large that the workers when properly organised can demonstrate their power to withhold their labour if they so desire. The white workers in Europe, America and in this country have for many years observed the first of May as a Labour Day. On this date, the white workers of the world assemble together in public places. They hold big meetings, and eminent speakers address them; they pass resolutions of fraternisation. They make further new resolutions pledging themselves to continue the struggle for both economic and political freedom, ignoring any arrests or prosecutions of their working class.

The non-European workers of the Cape have long participated in the May Day celebrations in big cities like Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, etc. Non-European speakers have on several occasions addressed meetings of all workers, irrespective of colour or sex, in the Cape. The recent I.C.U. Congress has been bold enough to decide that all Branches of the Organisation shall celebrate May Day as indicated above. Loyalty to the cause of Labour influenced the delegates to decide this way. May Day is not a white workers' day, it is a day dedicated to the cause of Labour. In India, the Indian workers observe it, in America the Negro workers observe it also, and it is claimed by the I.C.U. that it is an opportune time for our New Trade Unionism to demonstrate to our employers the power we hold.

All members of the I.C.U. should attend meetings during the day as may be arranged by their respective Branch Executives. Meetings must be held under strict orders. Resolutions of fraternisation with other Branches in the Union and the white workers should be duly proposed and adopted at these meetings. There should also be resolutions of greetings and fraternisation to the Negro Workers of America, Indian Workers in India, and to the International Labour Movement in Europe and America. It is not expected that all Branches will realise the importance of the Conference resolution, but in the event of Branches being unable to arrange demonstrative meetings in the day, meetings must be held during the evening, when resolutions as indicated above should be passed. In Johannesburg details of May Day programme will be announced later by circulars, but in any case a big demonstration will be held at the Workers' Hall, 14, Market Street, in the evening.

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONFERENCE

**COLOUR-BARRIERS**  
The Conference resolved that the working classes in measure the removal of the feudal and therefore totally opposed to modern democratic ideals and trend of thought; further, this Conference requests the Government to allow its representatives to give evidence on the subject before the Select Commission on the Colour Bar Bill.

### INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT, 1924

6. This Conference most respectfully requests the Government to acknowledge the injustice of keeping Native miners and colliers outside the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act and to bring in amending legislation accordingly.

### CIVILISED LABOUR POLICY.

7. This Conference disapprobably realises that employment of European labour in State undertakings is a settled policy of the Government, but respectfully submits the injustice of pursuing such policy before giving sufficient land to Natives as a compensating measure and as an extenuating element, also in view of the large revenue derived by the Government from State enterprises, heavily supported by the Native workers, such as Railways; etc., this policy is viewed as the maximum of injustice perpetrated upon an inarticulate people. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the Auditor-General had declared the civilised labour policy to be a breach of the Act of Union, it is the opinion of this Conference that the perpetuation of this policy is entirely illegal and must therefore cease. Furthermore, in view of the sufferings of the expelled workers, this Conference urges upon the Government to initiate measures to alleviate their distress.

### MINIMUM WAGE.

8. This Conference voices its satisfaction at the passage of the Wage Act, in so far as it lays down the principle of a fair and equal wage for all labourers, irrespective of colour, and, further, in so far as it does not aim at eliminating the non-European worker in favour of the European at the same wage. In view of the fact that the Economic and Wage Commission definitely asserts that the wages of the unskilled labourer is too low in comparison with the higher wage of the skilled labourer, this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived that the Wage Board should recommend a minimum wage for the unskilled labourer throughout the country.

9. This Conference is of opinion that the Government should throughout the country, in its Department of Labour, employ a sufficient number of Natives to be employed in the same manner as the European workers, and that the Government should be directed to carry on his official work as usual; and that this be a recommendation to Conference to ignore the ban which has placed him practically under open arrest.

imperative with the object of checking the scandalous exploitation taking place at the expense of the Mine Natives and to the benefit of the recruiters.

Further, this Conference, being satisfied with the evidence at its disposal, calls upon the Government to convene a round-table conference with its representatives with a view to abolishing the recruiting system and substituting another that will afford the Native worker better facilities and conditions than that which at present prevails.

Furthermore, this Conference, recognising the urgent necessity of increasing the organising activity of the I.C.U. among the miners, in view of the fact that they are the most numerous and most exploited section of the non-European workers in South Africa, recommends to the incoming National Council the gradual opening of Labour Bureaux offices all along the Reef and in all industrial centres in the Union in order to speed up the propaganda among the workers in the compounds.

### MAY DAY.

10. Recognising that the African worker is a part of the International Labour Movement, this Conference instructs all branches of the I.C.U. to celebrate May Day as a Labour Day.

### NATIONAL SECRETARY'S BAN.

11. That this National Council of the I.C.U. at its first meeting held in connection with the Fourth African Labour Congress due to open in Johannesburg on Easter Monday, hereby demands from the Minister of Native Affairs and Minister of the Interior a written statement officially authorising the ban placed upon the movements of our National Secretary, which has hitherto been communicated verbally and in the absence of same that his official be directed to carry on his official work as usual; and that this be a recommendation to Conference to ignore the ban which has placed him practically under open arrest.

12. This Conference is of opinion that the Government should throughout the country, in its Department of Labour, employ a sufficient number of Natives to be employed in the same manner as the European workers, and that the Government should be directed to carry on his official work as usual; and that this be a recommendation to Conference to ignore the ban which has placed him practically under open arrest.

13. In compliance with the Conference resolution, this meeting of the National Council calls upon all branches of the I.C.U. to raise funds by any means, such as special contributions, donations, etc., for the purpose of financing the expenses of the

COMRADES BECAUSE

## Nation

Comrade Pro delegates to the Labour Congress the Sixth Annual Industrial and Miners' Union of the I.C.U.:

You will all a year ago when you gathered in this for the first time. White trade unionists were accustomed to refer to Johannesburg as the first time to the Unionism of it. It is historical which that off great industry should have a regime of a pact.

Depending upon the Pact Government of South Africa, black and white faith on these kept in store by big finance.

The goods we to our disapp supporting the Pact bride day the form of the forcement of women in the trenchment of undertakings etc. Thus, in attend the King's son we last April were we vociferous such unjust as our New Govern

### REVISION OF

But what by the Pact Conference fit ments to the International all pledged to including up Labour organ last Conference time that we put our all that nothing

...ing us, please, to see that no workers represented the toiling masses of this country, who are breeding under the iron heel of capitalism.

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## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONFERENCE

### COLOUR BAR BILL

...of the Industrial Workers' meeting assembly its gratitude for unflinching support of the Colour Bar Bill...  
...to what is intended by the passage of the bill, to restrict the right of free movement and speech, and is aimed directly at the working classes, in measure reminiscent of the feudal age, and therefore totally opposed to modern democratic ideals and trend of thought; further, this Conference regrets the Government, to allow its representatives to give evidence on the bill before the Select Committee on the Sedition Bill.

### SEGREGATION POLICY

...Conference of the I.C.U. in London that the Segregation General Herzog is perpetuating a caste of white supremacy, which should be replaced by a system of exploitation of African workers in the country. Besides this, the Conference is deeply disfranchisement, considering the international solidarity of the workers, and will not tolerate any measure intended to bring about any division from other workers who are fighting for the same cause; further, in order to defend the Native worker of Africa against this danger, this Conference pledges the I.C.U. and the African workers as a whole to fight against the Segregation proposals, and instructs the incoming National Council to prepare industrial action to combat this measure.

### SEDITION BILL

...It distracts the minds of the workers from the all-important struggle of their class against the common enemy, the exploiting capitalist, by concentrating their attention on a merely sectional dispute, and thereby hinders the realisation of international working-class solidarity.

### SEDITION BILL

3. That in the opinion of this Conference, the Sedition Bill at present before the Select Committee of the House of Assembly is calculated to have the very opposite effect

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As the delegates have now returned home, we can only remind them to put more vigour into our work, and they must unceasingly bear the torch of New Trade Unionism to the proletariat of Africa, who in course of time must join with the workers of the world to cleanse this earth of ours of capitalist parasites.

view of the fact that the I.C.U. and Wage Commission should be aware that the fact of the unskilled labourer is too low in comparison with the higher wage of the skilled labourer, this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived that the Wage Board should recommend a minimum wage for the unskilled labourer throughout the Union. Further, that this Conference, as at the meetings of the London for a minimum wage of 5s. 6d. per day, and Capetown, asking for the Wage Board to investigate and regulate the hours of labour in the hotels and warehouses are reasonable, and therefore instructs all other branches of the I.C.U. to give moral and financial support to East London, Bloemfontein, and Capetown in any industrial action they may take in enforcing their demands.

### RECRUITING SYSTEM

9. In view of the unsatisfactory evidence given before the Economic and Wage Commission by those representatives of the Native Recruiting Corporation at East London last year, which was strongly rebuffed by the newspapers representing Native public opinion, this Conference is convinced that a drastic change in the regulations controlling the recruiting system

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12. That in view of minute from the Native Affairs Department indicating the permission of the National Secretary to proceed to Natal, this Conference instructs the National Secretary to proceed to Natal to accompany the I.C.U. from Natal through the I.C.U. en route.

13. In compliance with the Conference resolutions, the meeting of the National Council will be held in the I.C.U. building, 14, Market Street, Johannesburg, on the 15th of the month, at 7.30 p.m. The National Council will discuss the I.C.U. constitution, and the I.C.U. will elect its officers.

14. The I.C.U. has been invited to the African Labour Conference, which will be held in Johannesburg, on the 15th of the month, at 7.30 p.m. The I.C.U. will send a delegation to the conference, and will have every confidence that in the future this impartial attitude will always be maintained.

## The National Secretary at Durban



Addressing an open-air demonstration. Comrade Allison C. W. Champion, Natal Provincial Secretary, interpreting.

## ARE YOU A WORKER?

If so, subscribe to the I.C.U. National Secretary's Defence Fund! The Bosses, through their agents, desire to smash the most formidable Industrial Union in South Africa. There is no Colour question about it, Capitalism is against the organisation of workers, whether white or black. So don't make any mistake about it. Support the Workers' Cause. See article on front page.

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...to get...  
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...once was...



WITH THINGS RATHER THAN EVERMORE.

imperative with the object of checking the scandalous exploitation...

Further, this Conference satisfied with the evidence...

Furthermore, this Conference recognising the urgent necessity...

10. Recognising that the African worker is a part of the International Labour Movement...

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

11. That this National Council of the I.C.U. at its first meeting...

12. That in view of the fact that the Native Affairs Department...

13. In compliance with the Conference resolution...

PRESS

14. That this Conference known as the African Labour Conference...

Secretary at Durban



Comrade Allison G. W. Provincial Secretary, interpreting.

DU A WORKER?

U. National Secretary's Defence Fund! We desire to smash the most formidable...

National Secretary's Report for 1925

Comrade President and fellow-delegates to this Fourth African Labour Congress...

You will all remember that exactly a year ago when we assembled...

Depending upon the slogan of the Pact Government for a 'Civilised South Africa'...

The goods were 'delivered' but to our disappointment...

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

But whilst we were disillusioned by the Pact Government...

The promotion of officials was another matter of great importance...

ACTIVITIES AT HEAD OFFICE

Immediately after Conference I returned to Head Office...

got ourselves to work lobbying in Parliament. Although we did not actually appear before the Select Committee...

We were at present negotiating with the British Trade Union Congress with a view to sending an official to Great Britain...

Several other resolutions dealing with the then pending legislations were placed by us before the various Cabinet Ministers...

TRANSFER OF PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES

It was soon found out that the future of the organisation largely depended upon the Rand. The Board through my recommendations...

PASS LAWS

No sooner were we completed with our lobbying at Capetown than a call came from Macedonia for help.

Our women in the Transvaal were to be placed under the Pass Laws. An old Transvaal Ordinance was to be reconstituted compelling Native women to carry passes.

As soon as the intention of the Government to enforce the old Ordinance was ascertained...

INVITATION FROM AMERICA

I was not more than three weeks in Johannesburg during June of last year when I received an invitation from America to attend the American Negro Labour Congress.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

We are at present negotiating with the British Trade Union Congress with a view to sending an official to Great Britain for the purpose of laying the conditions of the African workers before the British public.

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APPOINTMENT OF PROVINCIAL SECRETARY - WESTERN PROVINCE (CAPE)

Owing to the intensive propaganda conducted by other organisations in the Western Province...

Comrade Gomas, who I am pleased to report has fully repaid the confidence entrusted in him...

INTRODUCTION OF NATIONAL LEVY

During my visit at Head Office in June of last year, the Board of Arbitration deemed it wise to introduce the National Levy for 1925...

EXTENSIVE PROPAGANDA

As has been pointed out in this report, soon after the introduction of the organisation on the Rand...

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for we are aiming at the building up of a mighty labour organisation in Africa...

ECONOMIC AND WAGE COMMISSION

It was about this time that the Economic and Wage Commission was sitting. As you are aware, our organisation prepared a statement and gave evidence before the Commission.

RAMIFICATIONS OF ORGANISING WORK

While I took Johannesburg as the centre for organisation work last year I also made a point of attending the other large centres as well.

APPOINTMENT OF PROVINCIAL SECRETARY - WESTERN PROVINCE (CAPE)

Owing to the intensive propaganda conducted by other organisations in the Western Province...

The banner of new Trade Unionism was hoisted throughout the Eastern Province. Everywhere I visited one noticed a spirit of determination.

Since our last Conference many new branches have been added to the organisation. The system of Provincial Secretaries in each Province has been of great benefit to the organisation.

FORMATION OF NEW BRANCHES

When the midnight bells on December 31st signified the dawn of a New Year one who is closely watching the developments of the organisation witnessed the proletarian in a procession march...

NEGOTIATIONS FOR INCREASED WAGES

We are particularly indebted to the rank and file for making a decisive advance towards real working class solidarity. East London and the Bloemfontein workers ought to be congratulated for this advance.

# Fourth African Labour Congress

## Class Struggle Comes to the Front

### EXPLOITERS OF AFRICAN LABOUR EXPOSED.

#### MINIMUM WAGE DEMANDED.

#### DIFFERENT PARTIES AT CONGRESS.

The recent Sixth Annual Conference of the I.C.U. held at the Workers' Hall, Johannesburg, as from the 5th to 11th April last, should be described as a "Real Trade Union Congress" in South Africa. We make this bold assertion on the strength of its representative character which was drawn from all parts of the Union. For the first time in its history the I.C.U. Congress was attended by over 90 delegates from all the industries and commerce of this country. Every Province was well represented. Unlike all our previous Conferences, the delegates to the recent Congress

discussed all big questions such as the Colour Bar Bill, Segregation Policy, Recruiting System, etc., from the workers' point of view and free from racial strife. The class struggle was realised to be the real issue with the oppressed Natives and Coloured Workers.

This Conference, unlike all its predecessors, contained three different "parties" within its ranks. There was first of all the "Moderates," whose policy was to face facts, and to deliberate soberly and moderately on them. Then there were the "Die Hards," whose policy was that "Nay was Nay and Yea was Yea." Lastly came the "Ginger

Group," composed of all the young bloods; their policy was "Direct Action."

All the debates were run on strictly Parliamentary lines, with one official recorder in the person of the General Secretary, and one "Hansard" writer. The President took up the role of "Mr. Speaker."

The debates were conducted in a serious vein throughout, but at times such humour and twitting were indulged in that the "House" roared with laughter, mostly at the expense of some unwary and inexperienced Ginger Group. In the end, however, the "Moderates" had their way.

Government, but their hopes had been dashed to the ground, and some of them are even now in distress through the acts of the Government, but they are prepared to meet such obstacles. The I.C.U. has no colour bar, and their main object is to free the workers from capitalist exploitation, and secure for them better conditions of labour and wages. He would like to see the workers of the world unite, and hopes that next year both white and black will sit together in conference. He was voicing the opinion of the National Council to urge that the exploiter could only be brought to book by universal unity of all classes of workers. (Applause.)

The President, in supporting Mr. Kadalie, said he was thankful for the encouraging words, and hoped for broadness of mind throughout the session.

#### COLOUR BAR BILL.

The first item to come under review was the Mines and Industries Bill (commonly known as the Colour Bar Bill).

In introducing the matter, the National Secretary said we all knew the history of the Colour Bar Bill. A Committee was elected last year to interview Mr. Beyers, but for some time the Bill was negated in the Senate. The Government, however, again placed the Bill before the House, and this time it was sponsored by one who represents the Labour Party. The Senate again threw it out, and very likely the measure will now be placed before both Houses of Parliament, where a two-thirds majority is required to place it on the Statute Books. But if the Government wants the goodwill of the country it must appeal to the same source for the voice of the people.

Comrade THEBEDI (Johannesburg) said that the Colour Bar Bill was intended to make outcasts of the Native workers. It won't work! We must overcome it by organising in sections and affiliates.

At this stage Mr. W. S. LEFUME (Johannesburg) asked that interpreters be employed, whereupon Messrs. Dippa and Lujiza were appointed.

Comrade A. W. G. CHAMPION (Durban) voiced his thanks to the Senate in kicking out the Colour Bar Bill. Natives are supposed not to have gratitude, he said, but this conference must give the direct lie to that statement. He then moved a resolution, which will be found elsewhere. He furthermore moved that this Conference warn the Government that persistence in passing this Bill in the teeth of opposition on the part of those who know the Native mind and sentiment in the matter will ingrain, to an alarming extent, a sense of grievance and precipitate a rupture in almost all future deliberations between the Government and the Native population.

Speaking on his motion, Mr. Champion dwelt on the lines of boycott, concluding with the dictum that "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

Comrade KEABLE NOTE (who belongs to the Bloemfontein "Ginger Group") said the motion was good, but not quite good enough for him. "I want something revolutionary," he said. "Let us show the Government that we do not only

but can act as well." He supported the Government, during the Bloemfontein riots. He said that if they were given equal opportunity some of them would finally become judges, but they must begin at the bottom of the ladder—as members of the Advisory Boards.

Comrade T. MBEKI ("Ginger Group," Pretoria) said he agreed with the resolution, but Mote does not seem to realise the I.C.U. views. It is the policy of this Union that every resolution passed here will be carried out faithfully and fearlessly. Passive resistance, as Mr. Champion had said, is the only cure, and they in the Northern Transvaal are ready for it. Pretoria is ready for anything.

Comrade J. GOMAS (Capetown) held the opinion that the resolution was too mild. The Natives, he said, had every reason to be dissatisfied, and the Senate's action in rejecting the Colour Bar Bill cannot be considered as having restored any confidence at all. The bad and embarrassing laws of the Government have created in the minds of non-Europeans a spirit of revolt. The Senate threw out the Colour Bar Bill because they want to open further avenues for exploitation. They represent big finance, and the Colour Bar Bill stands in the way. They know that the Colour Bar Bill emanates from those who want to "keep the Nigger in his place," so that the Nigger may wash their clothes and dishes. This is deplorable.

Comrade J. DIPPA (Eastern Prov.) urged that they should be grateful to the Senate. He was not prepared to say that every white man was an enemy, and objects to those who see so. We all have decided views, but he hopes that some discussion may alter many a fixed opinion. The Bill was obviously born of fear of progress of the Native workers. It is a sign of weakness to attempt to enslave a free people, and to refuse competent Natives and Indians the right to touch machinery of any description. He would like both white and black workers to realise that South Africa was a "double bed" on which workers of both classes had to be bed-fellows, to flourish or perish. It is more likely, however, that both sections will flourish if equal opportunity be afforded. In the case of the Colour Bar Bill efficiency is no certificate, because a man's colour brands him as an inferior. He wished the White Labour Conference had moved a resolution condemning the Bill, because if the European is superior now, he cannot rise any further if he keeps down the black man. If the black man is kept in the mud, as the late Dr. Booker Washington philosophically declared, the white man has to lay down beside him to keep him there. The Colour Bar Bill keeps us all in the mud.

Comrade E. KHAILE (Capetown) in seconding Mr. Champion's motion, said it was necessary for members of the I.C.U. to become members of the Bantu so as to enable them to be in touch with the authorities of the land. The workers of the world to-day object to be exploited, and they are out for reconciliation between employer and employed. The Europeans of the present era have reached a high standard of civilisation and efficiency, but they cannot climb higher unless social am takes place.

Comrade B. R. C. MAZINGI (Johannesburg) supported Mr. Khaile, and pointed out that the Government is bound to be impressed by the resolution.

Comrade M. E. JOHNSON (Junior Vice-President, Capetown) emphasised that the Colour Bar Bill was a measure adopted by the present Government to solve the many Native problems, which they will never succeed in doing unless racial prejudice is removed. This iniquitous Bill is designed to exempt on colour lines. But he strongly objected to the terms "Native and Coloured," because they tend to divide the African race still further. The Government sorts out the fair ones and denounces the dark ones in order to have a certain group by their side. He believes in an "eye for an eye" policy, and characterised the "good boys" as a mild term for "traitors." He knew of a big "good boy" in Johannesburg through whose agency the rank and file have suffered grievous wrongs. We must be represented in the Bantu—the enemy camp, but our representatives should be reliable and fearless persons.

Comrade A. W. G. CHAMPION (Durban), replying to the debate, said he was misunderstood when he used the word "boycott." What he meant to say was that if the Government persists in passing class legislation, we shall boycott Advisory Boards, and all other such obscure bodies. He agreed that the Senate may have been influenced by the capitalists, but at the same time we should show our sense of duty and thank that House.

At this stage the Chairman read a telegram from Mr. Gaba, a former chairman of the I.C.U. at Bloemfontein: "Fellow-comrades with greetings wish you god-speed in good work. Be fruitful in your good work, and may conference see better days."

Before the telegram was unanimously accepted and recorded, it was explained that Mr. Gaba was one of those martyrs who were imprisoned during the Bloemfontein riots.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE then moved the adjournment of the House until 2.30 p.m.

#### TUESDAY AFTERNOON SITTING. 2.30 p.m.

#### PREVENTION OF DISORDERS BILL.

On resumption, Mr. J. DIPPA (Eastern Province) moved the following resolution:—

"That in view of the rapid development in the introduction of fundamental changes in the Native policy under consideration, and in view of the seemingly compromising attitude of the European population as a whole, particularly as regards the Prime Minister's Smithfield declarations, this conference instructs the National Council of the I.C.U. to enter into negotiations for the affiliation of this organisation to the British Trade Union Congress, with the further object of bringing the case of the African worker before the League of Nations and public opinion in Europe."

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE explained that this Bill and the Colour Bar Bill had the same aim in view, and might have been discussed together. In this matter we have the support of both the English and the Indian communities. Mr. Kadalie then pointed to the vast difference between the black and white workers and the Labour Party in Parliament. This resolution aims at affiliation to the British Trade Union Congress, which is composed of the white workers of Britain, who are not narrow-minded like most of our South African white comrades, and who have great influence universally. We can safely predict that should the non-European workers declare a strike the white workers could side with the Government. Our biggest run was the black mine labourers, whom we can divide into sections and affiliate to the British Union. Events in this country compel us to go elsewhere for help. The Seditious Bill is clearly directed at the operations of the I.C.U. and to cripple the movement as a whole, because should it become law all its active officials would be arrested for sedition. We can congratulate ourselves however that the Government has felt our weight.

Comrade J. A. LA GUMA (General Secretary, Capetown) moved a motion on Segregation, which is produced elsewhere.

Speaking in support of his motion, he said a protest was not an act of rebellion. There were two classes of people in this country, viz.: workers and exploiters. For over a hundred

years a strenuous fight has raged around the banners of these two classes. The Russians have succeeded in wresting from the capitalist into their labour's worth, and they now enjoy these fruits. In South Africa the position was the same as in other countries. Parliament will never protect the workers because they are placed in office by the capitalists. By segregation all opportunities are withheld from the Native race, and the Government, by introducing its obnoxious measures, attempts to kill two birds with one stone by promoting race prejudice and disfranchisement of the Native. It is here where the white workers sell their principle for the little favour they receive from the capitalists. Economic forces are uncontrollable until production be placed in the hands of the workers.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown), who seconded, said solidarity was needed to fight General Hertzog's legislation. Today there was a chance of linking up with the white workers, but while the white miners of this country are favoured, there seems to be no chance of success. Segregation fosters the separation of workers, and the white workers look upon themselves as an aristocratic class in comparison with the blacks, who, when segregated, cannot use their talents. It is important to note, however, that the black workers have a supreme claim because they are the builders of the industry of this country. The "Capo Times" supports this view. This legislation is dangerous to both white and black, but it will not, and cannot, at this stage stifle our civilisation. Unity, however, will stop all this kind of humbug.

Mr. KEABLE NOTE ("Ginger Group," Bloemfontein) here let go some of his hot air again, but he was sharply pulled up by the Chairman, and severely rebuked by Comrade Jabavu.

Comrade THOMAS MBEKI ("Ginger Group," Pretoria) said that the National Council should be congratulated for the resolution, which indicated the workers' determination. He bluntly condemned the Annual Conference of Natives at Pretoria, and stated that the delegates to that gathering had no mandate from the Natives.

The debate, on the proposition of Comrade Kadalie, seconded by Comrade Maduna, was then closed.

At this stage the Chairman read a telegram from Mr. Barnard, of Johannesburg, as follows: "Deeply regret unable to attend. Best wishes delegates and workers."

AFTER DINNER.

Comrade J. DIPPA ("Moderate," Port Elizabeth), continuing the debate, said this was a very difficult question because of the mixed population of the Union of South Africa. Just as the Colour Bar Bill was created by a sense of fear, so is this measure also. At the same time he believed that General Hertzog had high motives, but his legislation, by fits and starts, is actuated by the extreme left of his party (or, in I.C.U. language, by the Nationalist Ginger Group). The only way for the Government to succeed is to consult the Natives, and the former will be convinced that there was not a grain of justice in segregation. Territorial segregation is not actually the Government's aim, it is economic segregation that they want in order to keep the black man down. The solution of the whole question, however, is equal justice. The Native is the sacred trust of the white man, and General Hertzog should have asked himself whether he would have liked to stand in the boots of the Native as far as his Government's legislation was concerned.

Comrade JABUVU (Senior Vice-President, K.W.T.) urged that the discussion should be held on a high level, and pointed out that the Government's policy threatens to ostracise all black workers. Touching on the land question, Comrade Jabavu said the Government gave no guarantee of land to Natives, and that aspect should be attacked at present. The industrial side of the question should be considered before anything else.

At this stage a telegram was read from the Capetown branch of the Communist Party, which read as follows: "Wish Conference every success. Protest against Kadalie's ban."

Another telegram was also read from Mr. De Norman, a member of the I.C.U. at Capetown (now a

did not like us to come in touch with our overseas brothers." In Natal, where he was stationed, he was persecuted because he invited all non-Europeans to rally round the banner of the I.C.U. He was optimistic about the proposed affiliation to the British Unions, and he would like to see a delegate sent overseas. Money, however, is what is wanted.

Comrade MOTE ("Ginger Group," Bloemfontein) proposed that the resolution be forwarded to the British Trade Union Congress.

Comrade THEBEDI ("Ginger Group," Johannesburg) seconded and the motion was carried.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (National Secretary) intimated that the local Trade Unions thought the acceptance of a fraternal delegate to their Conference was premature, and they also declined to send an official to open this Conference. But we want to show the South African white people that if they don't move with the times we shall apply for affiliation overseas. We are already in touch with British workers, and our application would probably be discussed at their next conference. If that application materialises the South African whites would have to meet us on even terms.

At this stage Comrade A. M. JABAVU, Senior Vice-President (King Williamstown) urged that the Segregation Bill should be proceeded with before the Seditious Bill is discussed any further. This was agreed to. The subject matter of the debate thereon will be found further on in these columns.

Continuing the debate on the Prevention of Disorders Bill.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown) now became the mover, and said that he would be the first to be arrested. He said it was not their intention to stop agitation, but they will continue until they get their labour's worth, and this can only be achieved by solidarity. The Bill was a public danger, and Mr. W. H. Andrews, secretary of the Trades Union Conference, was right when he said it was a kind of permanent martial law.

Comrade THEO. LUIZA ("Moderate," East London and Border) said this was the most dangerous piece of legislation ever contemplated. He had calls from Queens-town right up to Kokstad, but if he went there when this measure was in force, he would undoubtedly be arrested. He characterised the Bill as "diabolically iniquitous."

Comrade A. P. MADUNA ("Die Hards," Bloemfontein) strongly supported the motion, and said that Mr. Barlow was right when he said that had this Bill been passed in 1914, Mr. Roos and many others would have been the first to be arrested. The Bill would stir the feelings of the whole country, and people would not know how to speak.

Comrade KEABLE NOTE ("Ginger Group," Bloemfontein) said even Jesus Christ would have been arrested under the provisions of this Bill. Furthermore, the Colour Bar Bill would have to go now because its subject matter was seditious.

Comrade P. MTSHOAKAE ("Die Hards," Johannesburg) moved that Mr. Tielman Roos be arrested for inciting the workers of South Africa to public violence, and for promoting hostility between different races.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA ("Die Hards," Bloemfontein) opposed, and said that it was the object of the workers to constitutionally overthrow capitalism.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE seconded, and said the motion should be withdrawn.

Comrade MTSHOAKAE flatly refused, and said it was obvious that Mr. Tielman Roos had incited the country to public violence, and he is guilty. But eventually he withdrew with the remark, "Then it must not occur again!"

Comrade KADALIE then moved the adoption of the resolution (which will be found in another column), and Comrade Jamela ("Moderate," East London) seconded.—Carried.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 10.30 a.m.

SEGREGATION.

Comrade J. A. LA GUMA (General Secretary, Capetown) moved a motion on Segregation, which is produced elsewhere.

Speaking in support of his motion, he said a protest was not an act of rebellion. There were two classes of people in this country, viz.: workers and exploiters. For over a hundred

years a strenuous fight has raged around the banners of these two classes. The Russians have succeeded in wresting from the capitalist into their labour's worth, and they now enjoy these fruits. In South Africa the position was the same as in other countries. Parliament will never protect the workers because they are placed in office by the capitalists. By segregation all opportunities are withheld from the Native race, and the Government, by introducing its obnoxious measures, attempts to kill two birds with one stone by promoting race prejudice and disfranchisement of the Native. It is here where the white workers sell their principle for the little favour they receive from the capitalists. Economic forces are uncontrollable until production be placed in the hands of the workers.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown), who seconded, said solidarity was needed to fight General Hertzog's legislation. Today there was a chance of linking up with the white workers, but while the white miners of this country are favoured, there seems to be no chance of success. Segregation fosters the separation of workers, and the white workers look upon themselves as an aristocratic class in comparison with the blacks, who, when segregated, cannot use their talents. It is important to note, however, that the black workers have a supreme claim because they are the builders of the industry of this country. The "Capo Times" supports this view. This legislation is dangerous to both white and black, but it will not, and cannot, at this stage stifle our civilisation. Unity, however, will stop all this kind of humbug.

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Continuing the debate on the Prevention of Disorders Bill.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown) now became the mover, and said that he would be the first to be arrested. He said it was not their intention to stop agitation, but they will continue until they get their labour's worth, and this can only be achieved by solidarity. The Bill was a public danger, and Mr. W. H. Andrews, secretary of the Trades Union Conference, was right when he said it was a kind of permanent martial law.

Comrade THEO. LUIZA ("Moderate," East London and Border) said this was the most dangerous piece of legislation ever contemplated. He had calls from Queens-town right up to Kokstad, but if he went there when this measure was in force, he would undoubtedly be arrested. He characterised the Bill as "diabolically iniquitous."

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Comrade P. MTSHOAKAE ("Die Hards," Johannesburg) moved that Mr. Tielman Roos be arrested for inciting the workers of South Africa to public violence, and for promoting hostility between different races.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA ("Die Hards," Bloemfontein) opposed, and said that it was the object of the workers to constitutionally overthrow capitalism.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE seconded, and said the motion should be withdrawn.

Comrade MTSHOAKAE flatly refused, and said it was obvious that Mr. Tielman Roos had incited the country to public violence, and he is guilty. But eventually he withdrew with the remark, "Then it must not occur again!"

Comrade KADALIE then moved the adoption of the resolution (which will be found in another column), and Comrade Jamela ("Moderate," East London) seconded.—Carried.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 10.30 a.m.

SEGREGATION.

Comrade J. A. LA GUMA (General Secretary, Capetown) moved a motion on Segregation, which is produced elsewhere.

Speaking in support of his motion, he said a protest was not an act of rebellion. There were two classes of people in this country, viz.: workers and exploiters. For over a hundred

years a strenuous fight has raged around the banners of these two classes. The Russians have succeeded in wresting from the capitalist into their labour's worth, and they now enjoy these fruits. In South Africa the position was the same as in other countries. Parliament will never protect the workers because they are placed in office by the capitalists. By segregation all opportunities are withheld from the Native race, and the Government, by introducing its obnoxious measures, attempts to kill two birds with one stone by promoting race prejudice and disfranchisement of the Native. It is here where the white workers sell their principle for the little favour they receive from the capitalists. Economic forces are uncontrollable until production be placed in the hands of the workers.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown), who seconded, said solidarity was needed to fight General Hertzog's legislation. Today there was a chance of linking up with the white workers, but while the white miners of this country are favoured, there seems to be no chance of success. Segregation fosters the separation of workers, and the white workers look upon themselves as an aristocratic class in comparison with the blacks, who, when segregated, cannot use their talents. It is important to note, however, that the black workers have a supreme claim because they are the builders of the industry of this country. The "Capo Times" supports this view. This legislation is dangerous to both white and black, but it will not, and cannot, at this stage stifle our civilisation. Unity, however, will stop all this kind of humbug.

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Continued from page 4.

Comrade COUNCILLOR ("Rest wishes conference. Appeal membership effort uplift Africa. We prepare face imprisonment for not being allowed to...")

These telegrams were unanimously adopted and recorded.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE (Ex-Gingerist, Bloemfontein) said that he was serious as we represent thousands of African workers put our forces together we can the Government that we can a revolution.

Comrade A. M. JABAVU (Senior President, K.W.T.) said he dismissed Mr. Mote's hot-air bubbles.

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jects on the agenda. The Chairman was quite right to open discussion.

Comrade A. W. G. CHAMPION (Durban, Natal) supported Comrade Ngcobo's contention that there was no resolution on the table at that very particular moment. [Although the segregation policy was still under discussion.—Ed., "Workers' Herald."] He said all texts of Bills should be on the table for guidance. Many of the Bills we propose to oppose have good points.

Comrade NGCOBO (Moderate, Natal), explaining his contention, said that before Bills are submitted to Parliament they are generally discussed by the Cabinet, and before such Bills are introduced to the House all members of Parliament are furnished with a copy, and a Cabinet Minister introduces and sponsors the Bill through both Houses. He thought that the same procedure should be followed.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (National Secretary) said that Mr. Ngcobo must have been asleep! These Bills were explained, and many motions were now ready on the table.

**INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT.**

Comrade KADALIE (National Secretary) explained that this Act, which was in the first instance brought forward at last year's conference, had its birth from General Smuts's Government. It "provides" that all those who come under the pass laws cannot, and will not, derive any benefit from its operations. To make his contention clear, Comrade Kadalie referred to the case of Maytham's, when the Inspector of Native Labour, Mr. Welsh, allowed the strikers to be threatened with police prosecution, and had it not been for the intervention of Mr. R. H. Miller, Inspector of White Labour, Maytham's men would have been PROVIDED with the PROVISIONS. Under the Act the men had no right to strike, but they broke this law which forbade strikes of any description. At the European conference this matter was also discussed and criticised. It was a gross injustice to keep thousands of workers in the "cold."

Comrade A. P. MADUNA ("Die Hards," Bloemfontein) speaking to the motion which he had moved and which is produced elsewhere, said all those who are subject to pass laws are defenceless; the only remedy was the industrial weapon. As long as this Act operated industrial movement will be hampered.

Comrade A. M. JABAVU (Senior Vice-President) said, in seconding the motion, that it was most cruel that people in the country of their birth should be treated in this manner. The pass laws provide every loophole for oppression, and should be brought to an end.

Comrade THOMAS MBEKI ("Gingerist," Pretoria) complimented Mr. Jabavu, who said that the trouble lies with the pass laws. A few weeks back he was at Middelburg and received a letter from the Resident Magistrate that he had no right to organise Natives, drawing his attention to the provisions of the Act. The seconder and mover of the resolution had placed the matter in a nutshell. The whole Act is based on the civilised Native policy of the Government, which is a gigantic plot to ostracise Native labourers.

[The debate was then closed upon the proposition of Comrade B. R. C. Mazingi, seconded by Comrade M. F. Johnson.]

**MINIMUM WAGE AND CIVILISED POLICY.**

Comrade A. M. JABAVU (Senior Vice-President, K.W.T.) then moved a resolution (which is produced in another column).

Speaking to his motion, Comrade Jabavu said that it was most unfair that after the Natives helped to build up the industrial machinery of this country that they should now be replaced by "can't works" and "won't works." Government revenue from Natives shows a large figure. For instance, on the Railway: New Brighton, Natal Coast, Nancefield, Springs, Randfontein, Maitland and Bembela. These were the best paying trains in the whole of the Union, and compared more than favourably with the European traffic. The Government takes (and admits) Native money and taxes in the same light that European money is held, and to tell the Natives that there was no work for him is gross injustice. Natives should be employed where they had been employed before. On the cargo boats and in all parts of the land labour (the Native

is easily the best man, and, taking labour circumstances all round, it could safely be said that where European muscles have failed the Native has stepped in—and succeeded, too. The Government, said Mr. Jabavu, had no moral, or even civil, right to interfere in this matter. The case of the poor whites was solely a Government issue, and the Natives of this country had every right to claim employment in State enterprises, and that should be "rubbed in."

Comrade ALLISON G. W. CHAMPION (Durban, Natal) said he was very serious on this matter, but he will reserve his steam for another item. He did not feel well, and perhaps the House exploited him.

Another speaker said that the Government promised that Natives would only be replaced in case of "wastage," but that was not true because those Natives who were employed for many years in offices of the S.A.R. and elsewhere, were now being replaced by white youths, and the Natives transferred to heavier work. These Native clerks were compelled to come back (after hours) and sweep the very offices from which they were ousted. Many of the Natives who were so "displaced" finally gave notice and left the service. There are a lot of complaints from the Native railway employees, because in many cases men are asked to perform what is NOT their duty. It was also strange to notice that hardly will a white man be seen at work without a Native "boy" by his side, and, whereas the white man gets pay for overtime, the Native seldom does—and has the right—to claim such remuneration!

Comrade BLAAUW ("Die Hards," Adelaide) speaking in Afrikaans, said he came from a place where he knew for certain that Natives were being displaced to an alarming extent by white people. In the Fort Beaufort district Natives, whites and Coloureds are employed on construction works, but when the inspectors and engineers arrive, the Natives are told to "Run away." In the farming centres the wages are very low—in fact, a disgrace. Here we have men working for 5s. to 10s. per week, and these same men are being displaced by white men. This was a serious and most deplorable thing.

Comrade JONAS (Moderate, Port Elizabeth) said that long-windedness was not needed at that juncture. The first thing to be done should be to petition the Government. From Humansdorp to Knysna Natives were being ruthlessly dismissed from the railways. At Port Elizabeth, where Natives were being paid about £1 per week on the Railways, the same scheme of wholesale dismissals is being carried out. He, as a delegate for Port Elizabeth district, has been specially delegated to ask the conference whether these poor Natives would be able to pay their taxes under such circumstances. He found it difficult to pass the Bill, and now that the figure has been raised to 20s., the position is still more serious. As a matter of fact, the magistrate has informed them that they would only be given three weeks to pay this tax.

Comrade CLEMENTS KADALIE (National Secretary) said that it was about time to adjourn now. He said that the Auditor-General had condemned the Government's civilised labour policy as "unconstitutional," to make industrial outcasts of those who contributed towards the revenue of the country. This was a political crime, and had such a position occurred in Great Britain, the Cabinet would have been forced to resign. He urged that the Auditor-General's condemnation should be embodied in the resolution.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE ("Gingerist," Bloemfontein) held that the resolution was too mild, and suggested that the "Ginger Group" should be allowed to introduce a resolution.

The House then adjourned until 2.30 p.m.

**WEDNESDAY, 2.30 p.m.**

Comrade M. E. JOHNSON (Junior Vice-President, Capetown) said that the Government's civilised labour policy was a gigantic plot to divide the workers of the world, starting in South Africa, where there were two classes of workers, namely, white and black. It was a crime to divide the Native and Coloured workers (although he did not like the term "Coloured"). He vehemently condemned the pass system, and said that a drastic resolution should be drawn up to abolish these iniquitous laws. The pass was no protection to

the South African Natives; if it was any protection then all these white foreign blood-suckers in the country should be made to wear an identification badge round their necks. At any rate the pass is a shameful thing, and should not be taken lightly by this House. It must go, otherwise we shall reluctantly be compelled to adopt passive resistance.

Comrade J. GOMAS ("Die Hards," Capetown): It was the Government's action that compels the people to speak immoderately, and when that happens the Government turns round and introduces such stone-age laws as the Seditious Bill. Strong organisation was necessary to nullify all these iniquities. These laws, far from restoring peace and goodwill, create criminals. The Government creates ill-feeling between the Coloured and Native people, by recruiting Coloured loafers from the country to replace the Natives at the docks. These loafers are misled into thinking that they were white people. Veldman, who draws a princely salary of £20 from the Government, goes round the country glorifying the Government and recruiting Coloured wags to work at the docks. Both Le Grange and Veldman confuse the issue by running down the I.C.U. and Congress, and the people at present do not know where they are. Most of the Natives employed at the docks are members of the Bantu Union; I.C.U. officials only became aware of these displacements when the Bantu Union petitioned the Government. The I.C.U. struggle was at the stevedores, where men were receiving from 8s. to 12s. per diem. I.C.U. officials had consulted the Bantu Union with a view of co-operation, but the overture was ignored. The Natives at the docks were doing hard work that could not be done by either Coloured or white labourers. One day I impressed on these men that now was the time to demand higher wages, but unfortunately they were not members of the I.C.U. as yet.

Comrade W. S. LEFUME (Moderate, Johannesburg) spoke as a railway worker, which was a very dangerous occupation. Almost every article of merchandise or commerce that comes to Johannesburg passes through the hands of the Native railway employees, who were only paid at the rate of 2s. 2d. per diem. (Here Comrade Lefume was pulled up by the Chairman calling his attention that the subject on the table was "Civilised Labour"). Continuing his exposition, Comrade Lefume pointed out that even in Johannesburg Natives were replaced by poor whites. In the Stables Department, if an accident takes place to a train, the Native driver is put out of the picture, and a white man only is allowed to take up the job.

Comrade KEABLE MOTE ("Gingerist," Bloemfontein) said that ever since the civilised labour policy of the Government was introduced practically the whole of the Orange Free State Natives became unemployed, and he (Mote) thought that whites and blacks were at war. At Bloemfontein about 180 Natives were dismissed. These Natives were not permanent residents of Bloemfontein, and poor whites took their place. Looking deeply into the matter it will be found out that these poor whites were paid from the very taxes paid by those whom they replaced. He would suggest a movement of passive resistance. The Government's policy was like that of a snake in the grass, and was a disgrace to civilisation, aiming, as it does, to keep the Native in the gutter. He passionately urged for a movement of passive resistance. "Let us all be arrested," concluded Comrade Mote.

Comrade J. MZAZI ("Die Hards," East London) said he would like to remind the House that the Africans were a race—though defeated. They had not committed any breach of international peace. It was the white man who forcibly and hypocritically entered the Native's domains. He wanted to know now what our war debt was, because all defeated nations had to pay and then they were given equal rights and freedom. Let the white man name the figure of our war debt, and let us pay it in order to be free men.

Comrade THEBEDI ("Gingerist," Johannesburg) pointed out that the discussion had now generated into repetitions.

Comrade H. JOHNSON ("Die Hards," Capetown) said it seemed that we have now to contend with the Dutchmen and the Veldman-wingers of the National Bond. He wondered how many of the delegates

know Veldman? If Veldman was a true African why did he support the Government's white labour policy? This point was a very serious one, because here we have Le Grange—a man who got his education at the Lovedale Native Missionary College—the Union, including Johannesburg.

Comrade Samuels ("Die Hards," Capetown), in supporting previous speakers, condemned both Veldman and Le Grange. At the docks and S.A.R., said Comrade Samuels, one must be a member of the National Bond before any avenue of employment was opened. Recently at the docks fifteen Coloured men were replaced by poor whites; the latter received 15s. per diem as against the former's 4s. 6d. Veldman recruited Coloured men to replace Natives at the docks, and the Natives were sent to farms to work for a mere song.

The President, Mr. J. G. Gumb, then read a telegram from the President of the Congress at Gum Tree, Rev. Mahabane, wishing the workers at Conference success, and urging them to organise the African workers.

A telegram was also read from the Chairman and Executive of the Potchefstroom Branch, wishing the Conference success, adding that they were emphatically opposed to the ban placed on Mr. Kadalie's movements, and promised their wholehearted support in any measure that may be taken.

The debate was then closed.

**MINIMUM WAGE FOR UNSKILLED LABOUR.**

The National Secretary, in introducing the measure, said the policy of Trades Unionism the world over stood for minimum wages. The time has arrived for a minimum wage, especially now that the Economic and Wage Commission had declared that the wages in unskilled labour circles were too low. Bloemfontein and East London had already made a start. The first demand for increased wages was made at the Capetown docks in 1919, and again after ten months when the workers secured a wage of 8s. per day. To-day, however, the Pact Government, aided by its Coloured dupes, Le Grange and Veldman, are recruiting Coloured labourers at 4s. 6d. per day. A minimum wage was wanted for the whole Union. Unfortunately, however, the Coloured National Bond feverishly endeavoured to undermine the influence of this Union. All over the country, on the farms, labourers were paid a scandalous wage. Sometimes one bullock is paid for a whole year's work, and the Economic and Wage Commission had bluntly condemned this. He would suggest that the Bloemfontein, East London and Capetown positions be discussed automatically with the minimum wage question. As a matter of fact, the Bloemfontein position was confused through the disregard of the Provincial Secretary, A. P. Maduna, to obey instructions.

Comrade EDDIE KHILALE ("Die Hards," Capetown) read a motion on the Minimum Wage, which will be found grouped with other resolutions elsewhere. Speaking to his motion, Comrade Khilale said the National Council had already said much on this question. He was at Capetown when the Wage Board was established there. The Chairman of the Board, Advocate Lucas, said that the Board would enquire into conditions of labour, hours of work, wages, etc. The Act had no colour discrimination and the Commission would keep within those terms. There was a fear, however, that the Colour Bar Bill would clash with the Wage Act. At any rate, the Wage Board would start with the lowest paid occupations.

Comrade A. P. MADUNA ("Die Hards," Provincial Secretary, O.F.S., Bloemfontein), in seconding the motion, said it was high time to institute a minimum wage. After the Bloemfontein demand, they discovered that the Act requires members of the Union (I.C.U.) to be divided in sections representing different trades and occupations, so as to satisfy the board that the people were really represented by the I.C.U. He urged that all I.C.U. Provincial Secretaries and Branch Secretaries should demand higher wages all over the country so as to face the position with a united front. It was no use waiting till we were all organised. His citation at Bloemfontein gave him hundreds of members. Workers were entitled to a reasonable wage. Unfortunately, however, the Wage Act was a complicated measure. It should be clear that the workers want better pay.

otherwise he would advocate for a Union strike throughout the country. At Bloemfontein, where he was stationed, he could engineer a strike at any time. Mere resolutions do not always carry weight, direct action was sometimes wanted. Reading from Trade Union literature, he said that "Good Wages and Good Profit ought to march hand in hand." The mines made Lionel Phillips a multi-millionaire, who travelled style do luxe round the world. He was enabled to do this because on the mines "Good Wages and Good Profit did NOT march hand in hand." In this country we have worked for merchants who were rich to-day, but who were as poor as a church mouse when they came here. The Native and Coloured workers who made these men rich were poorer than ever to-day.

Comrade P. MTSHOAKAE ("Die Hards," Johannesburg) speaking on behalf of Nancefield and Johannesburg, said we have been taught by East London and Bloemfontein that unity was strength. Perhaps Comrade Lujiza, with his ten thousand members, may be able to achieve success to a certain extent, but the Government will call troops to East London and Bloemfontein to deal with the strikers. He had bitter experience of a passive resistance move in Johannesburg in 1913, when he, and two others were sentenced to a term of five years' imprisonment. The whole force of the Union Police was employed to counter their passive movement, when they had only struck for a shilling rise in wages, and the elimination of the pass laws. Should the East London branch declare a strike let the whole Union declare a sympathetic attitude, morally and financially.

In connection with Mr. Kadalie's ban, the speaker assured the Conference that Johannesburg would be the first—and the most effective centre—to move.

Let both East London and Bloemfontein officials know that Johannesburg was ready to support them.

Another speaker said he wanted to know whether this conference was going to lay down a minimum wage, or would they wait for the Wage Board to do so?

Comrade B. R. C. MAZINGI ("Die Hards," Johannesburg) to the last speaker that when the National Secretary introduced this measure to the House, he stated that East London, Bloemfontein, and Capetown affairs would be dealt with together, so that Comrade Maduna was not in order.

Comrade THEBEDI ("Gingerist," East London) said he wanted to enlighten the House on the position at East London. It was about six months ago since they demanded an increase of wages, but had received no satisfactory reply, and large employers had even refused them an interview. The City Council, however, had agreed to an interview, but he believed they had something up their sleeves. Their demand was for an increase of 2s. above the daily wage because they wanted to arrive at a fair minimum, knowing that East London wages ranged from 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d., and the latter would have been the minimum according to their demands. But, as he has stated, they got no reply, and the people were quite ready for a strike, and the "good boys," who always like to view trouble from behind the wall, were very disappointed when that strike did not come off. He urged an all-round demand of increase of wages so that if they were shot down, they were merely using constitutional means, they would be prepared to die in a heap or be free men. As much as he was against a strike, if ever one is called, it should be a general strike. What is wanted first of all, however, is strenuous propaganda, and soon after conference he has made up his mind to go to Kokstad and Baatland, and from there right down to the sea. But before we call for a strike let us first consider whether the time was ripe for such action.

At Cathcart, when they applied for an increase of wages, the Town Council, expelled Comrade Lamani, and ordered him to clear from the location. He (Lujiza) interviewed the Council, and found that it was a clique of several employers and Co-Quillors who had pressed for the expulsion of Comrade Lamani, but he succeeded in stopping it. (Applause.) His advice was that all these irregularities of the authorities should be tested legally. He was told that at East London all "good boys" can get an increase of 4d. per day, if they do not make their demands through the I.C.U., but they managed to show the employers that the





# Maulani Amatikiti Enu Ukuze Niwafumane Amalungelo

## Namhla Ku Namhla.

Njengokuba ikhala uja I.C.U. Intshaba zoti zizimisile ukusigena ngomva. Izipata mandla zikupe umteto wokuba Unibhala Wesizwe, Mnuumzama Clements Kadali, akavuyelwa ukuba ahambelo e Natal, kodwa kuvuliwe ukuba aye e Koloni, ngoku ke kufunyenwe okokuba xa ngaba usukile apa o Transvaal u Rulumente angomvalela e Koloni, angabi sahamba kwezinye indawo. Lon-toto ke sylimfene kwi Sobeloudaba Zabantsundu e Rautini. I Komfa ye I.C.U. Iqgibe okokuba lomcimbi mawusiwe ematyaleni kukangelwe ukuba u-Rulumente use mtetweni na ngokumvalisa u Mr. Kadali. Kufuteka ihali ngoku ukusigalala lomcimbi. Abalesi bobona isigqibo se Nkomfa mayela nalomcimbi komnye umhluli kulo eli pepa. Onke amasebe e I.C.U. ayacelwa ukuba kokulekwa imali ukulwa lomcimbi ka Mr. Kadali ematyaleni. Emabaleni kuqokilele ukutshutshisa abasebenzi xa sukuba belwela inkululeko. Olu-mazyano lugalwe ngo 1919 nje, kodwa kumhlepe ukuba abaqeshi nonxowa Nkulu abahutandi, yilente bezama ke ngoku ukusinqanda ngumteto ka Rulumente. Namhla ngu Kadali otshutshiswayo, ngomso mhlambi nguwe. Vuka ke m-Afrika, ixesha liphile, NAMHLA KU NAMHLA, xeleta nomzalwano wako ngalomcimbi, ukuze nitumele imali zenu ku, "National Secretary's Defence Fund, 16, Market Street, Johannesburg."

## Ingxikela Ye Komfa.

Kumabali elilwe ayizange ibeko intshukumo efana neyo: nziwo ye I.C.U. e Rautini, kwi akungqatela ebikona yabasebenzi be mlombolo zone, zom dibaniso. Ngenxa yontshukumo enkulu kubeko nama hum-hum okuba o ngxowa nkulu abasala kulo yika. Iqumru elongamelayo loizwe pambi kokungena kwe Komfa lilo ludibana ukugawula izigawu. Ngomhla wo sibini kwe miyo wonke umi wase Rautini waye yingqina into yokuba akuko matindana-fazo i I.C.U. ilihlaselo ilizwe. Kuba izitonywa ziguleleke zi puma kwa Goleka eun Mpomadanyi, kwa, Sikuluni, kwa Zulu e Swazini, e Lusutu nase-Butshwana. Yake-into esisimanga wonke umntu e-chambe isifuba ukukuba indinbane yabantu abazokumalela inteto ze zintonywa ze ndawo nge ndawo. "Yeha namhlanje kutsinat umagangwulu" zantsho intokazi zase Goli waye ngelinye lena Ungweny obonwu evela emagadini apuue ngendilo yawo. Kwaza gode nase bukwini bezinja ukuba intinjana, nomhlabi wellizwe uya yigqala imifuneko yokuqawuka am kamandela obukoboka.

## Umgangameli Omkulu Wonyaka we I.C.U. E. Goli

Anjadoda abemele i Natal kulomhlangano bekungamadoda oqobo. Nanka amagama awo. Mr. A. W. Geo. Champion, nguyena nobhali omkulu we I.C.U. e Natal. Indoda emmandhile amakulu ekuzozeni izindaba zezwe Indaba emadli. Bonke abanyazi sahanaka ukuba bayingabaze umzekulu ywa ezizwe. Indoda (Kingwilliamstown), Thomas Mbeki (Pretoria), A. P. Madjufa (Bloemfontein), J. Gomas (Capetown) yaba ngumongeri kuba sebenzi base Rautini. Into eyabukokayo kukubona abantwana belilizwe beyi teta inyano ngapandle kokungangenzela. I Komfa yavulwa ngomvulo kwi-holo ye I.C.U. Abantu ababeko kulohlo babengumangaliso ukuba bamnzi. Aye amahenekazi etaho ngobu newumvu. Ukuyivula kwake i-Komfa umongameli Mr. J. G. Gomas weza isiqaliso senteto. Esihlalweni waye ngongwe ngoku Jabavu u Mac cingumkheli we "Imvo" nabu mdaka-ka Kadali, Ute akukova ulentshila umongameli wapakama oka Kadali wenza i Rekoti yake. Iqumru lesizwe live-ise isigqibo sokuba oka-Kadali aye e Natal ayokubamba intlanganiselo kuba singabonakali izizatu sokubani Rulumente amintele. Ingoxozo yaba nezipakamileyo, pakati kwezizigqibo nazi ezinye.

Mr. Abel Ngeobo nguyena okungu mpoti sishalo se I.C.U. e Tekwini. Indoda, eselokuyaqala ukusebenza isibhenzi emaceleni. Manje isingq nomolela ngokwayo "agent" Uyelona, oxuzuzelisa ko izovu. Abetwafisi ubamisa buzo ko lizevu. Mhla kulungene i mhangano ka Dambuzwa e Amanzimtoti wabe eyate u Dloviyi ovimba amasango into yakwa Ngeobo yanguna ngapakati. Mhla kuvula izwi elihlokiwayo lokuti AKUKO ZIPUNU lapa hba neisiba ukudhla. Awa kuyancintshanya e Manzimtoti. Kuboyi kuyancintshanya e Meleko naloko akulungile wenzayiti kubokwaka lowo owaingo njalo.

U-Mr Ngeobo wabona kahle ukwazi kwake indlela yokuxosa emadodoni kulomhlangano. Indoda ekuluma isingq esipolweyo.

Mr. Caleb Myali. Longu tisha emdala osewifundisi waze wabona ukuti lokukufundisa kunqunqa abantu amangadisi. Manje uyena nobhali we I.C.U. e Mgununi-lhlovi. Yizolezi izinziswa ezabonisi mihlope o Maromeni ukuti zona izineenge imbanzhi ukujija mhla zidiba isikole so Dr. Lorain nabefundisi.

Indoda enonele ngapakati okwenzoni.

Mr. William Smith, Umfo. wase Mrambithi. Umfo onnandi ofanele abufundisi. Olazi lona i Bible sengati walincela ebekini. Uyena ongum-bhala wo I.C.U. e Ladysmith. Ute ofika nje kwi Conference waye ketelwa ukuba abu ngomunye we Komiti enkulu etiva National Council ye I.C.U. Sitemba lamadoda ayoba namandla okupakamisa udumolwe I.C.U. e Natal. U Mr. Smith kanye no Mr. Champion bebekela bengabasebenzi base zi nkompole. Bakwazi kahle ukubulwela homuntl e zinkompole. Kukubo ukuba maba kulume loko abakwaziyo.

VIMBA PAMBILI. Sisambona futi lowo mitakati owagada abantu esakengumhlela umkosi ezi Vimba Pambili. Manje ingi amaqili akuleli izwe ngangobu sekulike lupu kufanele sili onke amadoda mayimbe pambili. Ezinkompole ezinobani nase malahoni azwahlaba siyavulawula sili sekufike lapa kunzimakona bantu bukiti kuba niyimbe pambili omhlepe angatoli ituba lokuba avimbele amadoda unikulumelayo ezindabeni zenu. Masenze umfela ndawonye. Masiviv-nano Noma kunjani akusiso isikati kokuba ununtu onnyama anikele igazi lakwabo no mple no hlobo. Lowo owenza lelo hlazo igama lake u Judas ngempela. Abibuyi labe o Judas beze ekaya batandaze bapenduke ngoba banazono uhlobo lwabo.

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ipumlo oheni ihamba pezulu iwaty ayeloko amadoda, ke-mzi ontshutshisi masilo sitetile mawafake em-bizenzi ebilayo sine zwi letu. Kanti jolingo nxhla kumano uku qingwa irafu noniteto isenzelwa tina bantu bunyanzile, kodwa tina asizange siwele sakwenza miteto e England. Kusoko amadoda elinye ilizwe azo kweleka imitotwana epa esenzela amanye amadoda, kanti noko sibilile siya bona. Unga fumana kuko im-bizo zezizizela o Pitoli ezi ketayo abantu amabayakuzo, ze bnti abubantu bakufike apo babengo yuma-zonke. Ngoku kuzakwene ne rafu eya-vinywa ngobo, into etsho ngokiti leyo yelo rafu abantu banga rinywa ukuba maba hambu miano loliwe ufike ke-buzwa am, pasi kodwa base lizweni labo.

Yini ukuba umzi kubo nakul kufakwe umfelo utshishe. Kodwa ukubo uzakuvalelwa enxingweni kuko amadoda. Siya kuba ne tyala naku amandla ngokotama kwetu kodwa siya bona. Quba mifan ka Kadali zekuti ukuba kuko into egekakeyo ikekeke utjonge pambili silambhi nawe injongo.

Umabeni wa rafu otsho nemaze. Uku hlutwa kwo Voti otsho nemaze Ukungu runywa ukukhanya abantu amabikeli okukwela beyakufuna le-rafu kuziwe yiza nepepa lo mantyi

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He knew the Eastern Pro-  
brought, and would not be  
by anyone about the psycho-  
the people of that province;  
so knew that they were op-  
He would give an illustra-  
reply to Comrade Jabavu's  
like talk. The I.C.U. was  
at Capetown in 1919, and 19  
after its formation a demand  
in for an increase of—(here  
adalie was interrupted, on a  
of "privilege").

rade B. R. C. MAZINGI  
Hards," Johannesburg): Mr.  
nt, no speaker shall be al-  
to speak more than once on  
ie subject—according to the  
ons of the constitution.

"equal pay for equal work."  
A Voice: Mr. Chairman, ask that  
man to sit down, or ask the Ser-  
geant-at-Arms to bundle him out,  
head first!

Comrade NTONTELA (Moderate,  
Cathcart) said that he came from a  
distressed centre. The wage ques-  
tion was what he was delegated to  
discuss. Since last conference op-  
pression in his district among the  
farm labourers had increased. As  
an instance he mentioned that in  
February last a farm labourer was  
arrested for the loss of sheep  
(he being the shepherd). After his  
arrest the sheep appeared. Instead  
of being released the same man was

Capetown affairs because he was in  
the Transvaal for the best part of  
the year. He was, however, fully  
conversant with the position at East  
London and Bloemfontein. Confer-  
ence should now seek full informa-  
tion about these places, and decide  
what to do in case the demands  
failed.

The House then adjourned.  
(Continued in our next issue)

The Editorial Board is indebted  
to Mr. H. D. Tyamzasho, Sub-Editor  
of the "Workers' Herald," for re-  
porting the proceedings of the Con-  
ference.

but the matter is not at all  
hopeless. I shall place before  
all the correspondence pertaining  
this case when Conference re-  
visits this item on the agenda.

**NATIONAL INFLUENCE.**

Now that we have proved  
selves to be the real guardian  
our inarticulate people, we fit  
some quarters that our movement  
under criticism. Our demand  
increased wages have been influ-  
by the fact that South Africa  
civilised country. Our politi-  
and statesmen insist that the  
sion is to build in South Africa  
civilised nation, and we are eq-



**DELEGATES TO THE FOURTH AFRICAN LABOUR CONGRESS.**

rade A. W. G. CHAMPION  
Hards," Durban and Natal  
the House was now quite out of  
and he asked the chair to rule  
the National Secretary shall  
no further. They were there  
to discuss the question of a mini-  
wage.

rade KADALLE (National  
ary), continuing, said his  
has been questioned, and it  
is suggested that he encour-

charged for the recovery of a sheep  
that fell in a donga in 1925, the loss  
of which the shepherd had reported,  
and also another animal which the  
jackals killed in 1924. (At this  
stage he was pulled up by the Chair-  
man and told to adhere to the mat-  
ter in hand.) Continuing, he said  
this man was sentenced to two years  
hard labour, and his five horses and  
nine cattle were seized. He was also  
strongly in favour of a minimum

**Attachment of  
Col. Creswell.**

Some Natal farmers have applied  
to the Supreme Court for an order  
for the arrest or "attachment" of  
Colonel Creswell for unlawfully  
establishing a poor-whites colony on  
Government ground and polluting a  
certain river. The case was heard

awakened us pioneers of  
trade unionism in this country  
we contribute our share to  
national prosperity. With  
object in view demands for  
increased wages both in East L.  
and Bloemfontein have been  
In Parliament, pulpit, platform  
Press we are now accused as  
"agitators." Legislative me-  
are now before our Union  
ment to check this agitation.