

ABX. 440'818



P.S. 6580/44.

Kantoor van die Eerste Minister
Prime Minister's Office,

P R E T O R I A,

18th August, 1944.

Dear Sir,

The Right Honourable the Prime Minister directs me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 15th instant and to say that as he is very fully occupied with other duties at present, he would appreciate it if he could receive a copy of your study of the Atlantic Charter, before an interview is considered.

Yours faithfully,

J. W. M. M. M.
PRIVATE SECRETARY.

The President-General,
African National Congress,
104, End Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

Copy
ABX 440819

NATAL AFRICAN CONGRESS

P.O. Box 154,
D U R B A N.
19th August 1944.

Rev. J. Calata,
General Secretary A.N.C.,
P.O. CRADOCK. C/P.

A.H.C

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a cutting from the "Ilanga Lase Natal" of the 19th instant in connection with the deliberations held at Johannesburg on the 12th Idem. A reading of this article will no doubt show you that this purports to be a report of the discussions and deliberations upon certain questions affecting the organisation of Congress in Natal, and the decisions arrived at thereon by the "Central Executive!"

As Secretary of the provincial organisation I am writing to find out whether the facts as stated in this cutting are a correct record of what transpired at that meeting.

Whether this is a correct record or not, will you kindly send me per return of post a complete copy of the minutes of that meeting, or, if that will be too much for you send a complete detail excerpt of that portion which applies to the subject matter of this cutting.

In view of the very great importance and seriousness of this matter, my Chairman and I, intend to convene a special emergency executive meeting, and if necessary, a special general meeting to consider this report.

I shall be obliged if you would kindly accede to this request immediately on receipt of this letter.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the President General for his information.

Yours fraternally,

(sgd) *A. H. C.*

General Secretary.

ABX. 440821

55 Commission Street
Rosenberg Arcade,
Johannesburg.
2nd Aug. 1944.

Youth League

Dr A. B. Xuma,
104 End Street,
Johannesburg.

Sir

The Congress Youth League
will hold a conference on
the 10/9/44 at B.M.S. at 10 am.

We kindly request you to
speak in that conference on:
Youth in the National Struggle
Your early reply will oblige.

Yours obediently
A. M. Lombard
For Secretary.

A.N.C.

ABX. 440823

P.O. Box 4,

Breyer, Va.,

23rd Aug. 1964.

A. B. Xuma,

In health I am

still moving in good health
please help me to tell me
if I can rent the money
of this people who are joining
or I should bring the money
and their names that is the
thing I am asking from you
to know

Yours the pointed one
of the comint of people

Your faithfully

John Ngwenya

TRUMPET CALL TO YOUTH!

The hour of youth has struck! As the forces of National Liberation gather momentum, the call to youth to close ranks in order to consolidate the National Unity Front, becomes more urgent and imperative.

1944 marks an epoch in the struggle of the Black peoples of South Africa. A dramatic turning-point in the history of mankind, signalled by the global war now being waged, presents a clarion call to the youth of the Sub-Continent, to rally round the banner of the National Liberation Movement, so as to galvanise and vitalise the National Struggle.

The CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE, therefore, summons 'all youth from the Reef, the Transvaal and neighbouring regions, to a mass YOUTH CONFERENCE to be held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Eloff Street Extension, at 10 a.m. on Sunday, 10th September, 1944.

A United African Youth Front should be achieved.

The speakers will be:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Dr. A. B. Xuma. | "The place of youth in the National Struggle". |
| 2. | Mr. R. V. Selope Thema,
M.R.C. | "Origin and History of Congress". |
| 3. | Mr. J. M. Nhlapo, B.A. | "Education in our National Struggle". |
| 4. | Miss Ncakeni, | "The part of Women in our struggle". |
| 5. | Mr. D. Tloome. | "Youth and trade unionism." |
| 6. | Mr. C. S. Ramohano, | "The Anti-Pass Struggle". |
| 7. | Rev. A. Mahabane. | "Christianity and Youth Problems". |
| 8. | Mr. O. R. Thambo. | "Our Congress Youth League." |

The agenda will include

- (a) Discussion and Adoption of Rules and Regulations,
- (b) Election of office-bearers.

AFRICAN YOUTH! DO NOT MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY!!
COME IN YOUR HUNDREDS!

"The fault is not in our stars,
But in ourselves that we are underlings."

ABX. 440824

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS

Telegrams: UBUNTU, JOHANNESBURG

Phone: 44-3781, Ext. 78

P.O. Box 97, JOHANNESBURG

*Joint Council
matters*

24th August, 1944.

copy

*I shall be able to address
your council as arranged
at 8¹⁵ pm.*

Dr. A.B. Xuma,
104 End Street,
Doornfontein,
JOHANNESBURG.

Yours, 20/8/44

Dear Dr. Xuma,

I am writing to confirm the arrangements which we made by telephone for you to address the Joint Council at its September meeting on "The African National Congress."

The meeting will be on September 11th at 7.30 p.m. in the usual place.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

P. D. Rouse.

for N.A. Mitchell
Hon. Secretary.

NAM/PDR.

Ans. 440828

A.N.C. Tol.

28/8/1944

File

A F R I C A N N A T I O N A L C O N G R E S S .

(Orlando Branch)

P.O. Box 9317,
JOHANNESBURG.

28th August, 1944.

The President-General,
African National Congress,
104 End Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir,

RE: AFRICAN HOUSING PROBLEMS.

In its Meeting of the Executive, the Orlando Branch of the African National Congress has considered and brought under discussion the question of African Housing Problems, more particularly as related to the provision in the Urban Areas Act of 1923, which empowers Local Authorities to provide housing accommodations to Africans living under family life in the Urban Areas.

After a thorough and careful consideration of the ~~position~~ position of African families in the Municipal Townships and Locations, my Executive is forced to the conclusion that the present conditions under which houses are provided to Africans by local authorities, are no more than a means of keeping the African a tenant in perpetuity. We also recognise the fact that there are Africans who have since been for the last 15 years tenants in the Municipal Townships, during which period they have faithfully met their monthly rental obligations for the purpose of housing protection to their families, but no sooner do they find themselves unemployed and thereby failing to meet their obligations for a period of two months, than they receive a flood of threats which are always followed by total ejection.

Under the circumstances, which are forming our national life in the Urban Areas, we feel that some form of security which leads to the ultimate right of ownership on the part of tenants who have paid their rentals covering the amount of redemption should be guaranteed by Local Authorities. My Executive desires me to request you to be kind enough to arrange an interview between you and its members at any time and place convenient to you for the purpose of discussing and obtaining more information and guidance on these problems.

I shall be grateful to get an early reply,

Yours very truly,

E. M. M. M.
GENERAL SECRETARY.

EEL/EM.

African National Congress

(TRANSVAAL PROVINCE)

All Communications to be
addressed to the Secretary

A.N.C.

Rosenberg Arcade
58, Market Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

29th. August 194.....⁴

The President-General,
African National Congress,
104, End Street,
Doornfontein,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir,

RE : GENERAL CONFERENCE (PROVINCIAL)

I am writing to inform you that the Provincial Executive Committee of the African National Congress, has directed me to kindly request you to officially open the Provincial Conference, to be held in the Communal Hall, Orlando Township, Johannesburg, from Saturday the 30th. September to Monday the 2nd. October 1944.

We have arranged that the official opening be at 2.00.p.m. or as soon as possible thereafter.

Yours faithfully,

Sto Bopape
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

ABX. 4408296

NATIONAL ANTI-PASS COUNCIL (Working Committee).

P. O. Box 5569,
JOHANNESBURG.

Anti-pass Campaign

29th August, 1944.

Dear Friend,

Since the National Anti-Pass Conference, the work of the Anti-Pass Campaign has been going on. Meetings have been held from Cape Town to Sibasa - at many towns and inland areas - at Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Springs, Elsburg, Alberton and Luipaardsvlei.

Fine reports of the activities of Anti-Pass Committees at various areas have reached us. Signed Anti-Pass petition forms are coming in in large numbers. Thousands of Anti-Pass badges have been sold, and orders are coming in for more petition forms and badges. Many little known areas are working. Members of our committee have visited these areas and others are asking for information as to how they may assist or take part in the Campaign.

Although much has been accomplished, we feel that an extension of time is necessary to give an opportunity to many people and areas to play their full part in the campaign. We therefore inform members of the Council, Congress Branches, Anti-Pass Committees and our workers to inform the people in their areas that the time of the presentation of the petitions has been postponed until further notice.

We want more Anti-Pass petition forms to be signed with names and addresses and more Anti-Pass Badges sold.

Badges can be sold and Anti-Pass petition forms signed at theatres, working places, during lunch hour, at churches and other public places and functions.

You will be glad to know that the Transkeian General Council (Bunga), representing over a million people, has passed a resolution calling for the abolition of the pass laws. The Native Representative Council, at its last meeting in Pretoria, unanimously passed a resolution for the abolition of the pass laws and registered its support for the Bunga and the National Anti-Pass Campaign.

Yours fraternally,

Dr. A. B. Xuma - Chairman.

D. W. Borape - Secretary.

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ABX-430831-440831

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Founded in 1912)

Motto: RIGHT NOT MIGHT. FREEDOM NOT SERFDOM.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS.

Treasurer-General:
R. G. BALOYI, M.R.C.,
P.O. Box 30, Bergvlei,
Johannesburg.

Secretary-General:
Rev. JAS. A. CALATA,
P.O. Cradock, C.P.
Assistant Secretary-General:
W. B. NGAkana,
"Lungalegaba" Hostel,
Orlando, Johannesburg.

President-General:
Dr. A. B. XUMA, M.D., D.P.H.,
104, End Street,
Johannesburg.

Honorary Officers:
HOUSE OF CHIEFS.
GOVERNORS:

Speaker:
R. V. SELOPE-THEMA, M.R.C.,
14, Perth Road, Westdene,
Johannesburg.

Deputy Speaker:
Mr. S. MAC. LEPOLESA,
637, Batho Location,
Bloemfontein.

Senior Chaplain:
Rev. Z. R. MAHABANE,
Kroonstad, O.F.S.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS:

Cape African Congress:
Mr. A. FRANK PENDLA,
New Brighton,
Port Elizabeth.

Natal Native Congress:
Dr. J. L. DUBE, Ph.D., M.R.C.,
Ohlange Institute,
Phoenix, Natal.

O.F.S. African Congress:
Mr. T. M. MAPIKELA, M.R.C.,
1437, Community Avenue,
Bloemfontein.

Transvaal African Congress:
Mr. S. P. MATSEKE (Deceased).

ADVISORS:

Chiefs:
Dr. P. ka I. SEME, B.A., LL.D.,
Komkulu Pte. Bag,
Mbabane, Swaziland.

Education:
Mr. Z. K. MATTHEWS, M.A., LL.B.,
Fort Hare College,
Alice, C.P.

Locations:
Mr. R. H. GODLO, M.R.C.,
68, St. Paul's Road,
East London.

Lands:
Mr. A. W. G. CHAMPION,
19, Old Dutch Road,
Durban.

Labour:
Mr. E. T. MOFUTSANYANA,
74, Progress Buildings,
Commissioner Street,
Johannesburg.

Social Welfare:
Mr. A. J. SILILO, M.R.C.,
P.O. Box 154, Durban.

Law Advisor:
Mr. LEO. MTIMKULU,
Baunanville Location,
Somtseu Road,
Durban.

Organisational Propagandists:
Mr. J. NHLAPO, B.A.,
P.O. Wilberforce,
Evaton, Transvaal.
Mr. SAM SESEDI,
716, Makenna Street,
Off Barkley Road,
Kimberley.

1944

**The Right Honourable,
The Prime Minister
Field Marshal, J. C. Smuts,
Union Buildings,
Pretoria.**

31/8/ 1944

**Right Honourable Sir,
re Study Atlantic Charter by Africans:**

In compliance with the desire of the Right Honourable the Prime Minister to see a copy of the Africans' Study of the Atlantic Charter before arranging for an interview with representatives of my Congress, I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of that study.

I beg to state that the document is an considered opinion of a most representative National Committee of leading Africans and the accepted expression of the Africans' idea of a new world order. It was unanimously adopted by the Annual Conference of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein December, 1943.

I hope the Right Honourable the Prime Minister will see his way clear to grant our request for the interview.

I am,

Right Honourable Sir,
Yours very respectfully,

A.N.C. - Atlantic Charter



ABSX. 440902

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325 ASIATIC BAZAAR,
PRETORIA.

2nd September, 1944.

Dr. A. B. Xuma,
104 End Street,
Johannesburg.

Dear Dr. Xuma,

The Atlantic Charter and
the Bill of Rights will be ready for
delivery next week and we shall esteem it
a great favour to receive your cheque, for
the sum of £160. 15/-.

Yours Faithfully

ABX. 4309046 440904

A.H.C. - Atlantic Charter



P. S. 6580/44.

Kantoor van die Eerste Minister
Prime Minister's Office,

PRETORIA,

4th September, 1944.

Dear Sir,

It is my privilege to acknowledge for General Smuts the receipt of your letter of the 31st of August, and to thank you for the annexure thereto, your study of the Atlantic Charter.

Your letter and the annexure are having attention.

Yours faithfully,

Henry van Coegen

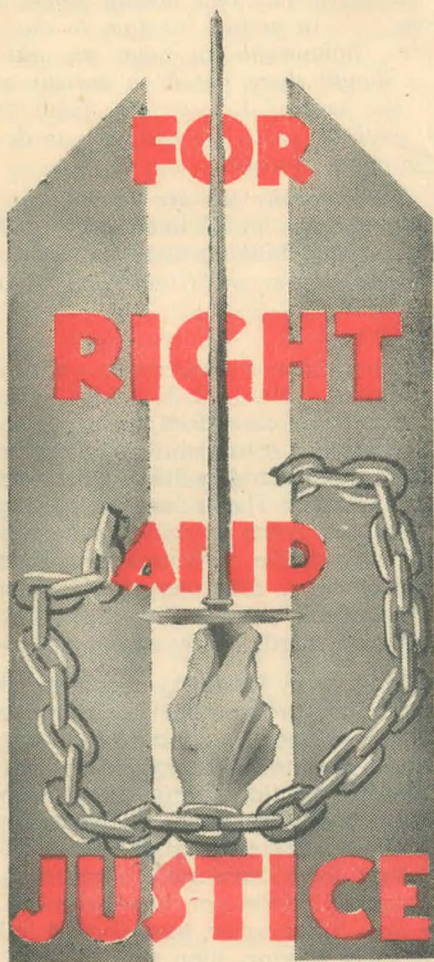
PRIVATE SECRETARY.

The President-General,
African Committee on Atlantic Charter,
Box 104, JOHANNESBURG.

Politics - General
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

30/9/44

**A
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" . . . and do not think that victory in this war will see also the immediate defeat and disappearance of the forces of Fascism" —

Benedetto Croce (In an interview after the fall of Rome.)

CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHT AND JUSTICE

"With malice towards none, with firmness in the Right, as God gives us to see the Right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all Nations . . . In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honourable in what we give and what we preserve . . . Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate Justice of the people? Let us have faith that Right makes Might; and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it"—Abraham Lincoln.

"The tragedy is that while we are seeking to destroy Nazism in its home, we are allowing the German cells of Nazism—intolerance, racial prejudice and thinking with the blood to infect our own National life"—Mr. Hofmeyr (Kimberley, 7th July, 1944.)

DANGER THREATENS.

The statements of such responsible and well informed people as the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, and the Minister of Lands, Sen. Conroy, make it clear that there are forces at work in South Africa which intend to establish the domination of a minority group to the social, economic and political detriment of the majority of peoples in South Africa. These forces working through their parties and organisations, some of which are secret, some open, mean to achieve their objective of State Power by stimulating race hatred, and colour prejudices, disrupting trade union organisations, spreading the doctrine of anti-semitism, and using the bogey of Communism,—the very methods by which Hitler came to power.

Their plan is clear. By creating dissatisfaction among the people and by preventing progressive plans of reconstruction being put into effect, they hope to create sufficient economic and political chaos and ill-feeling to be able to gain control of the Government at the next election. Hence they propagates the idea that economic chaos arises because of the war, attributing the blame to the present Government and the Jews. Once in power they will contend that they have no obligations or promises to fulfil towards the returned soldiers or those who are responsible for supporting the war. If, however, they should fail to obtain their control by constitutional means, then they do not consider it beyond the bounds of possibility to take control by means of a coup d'état. For this they have organised themselves on a fascist basis. The menace is real. Important Government positions are occupied by their members. Churches and Schools, cultural and youth organisations are being made the vehicles of racial doc-

trine and untruthful propaganda, fostering prejudice and animosity amongst different sections of the community. They have the support of powerful financial interests. Their propaganda is widely circulated through their press and by means of pamphlets and books which are published in great number and distributed throughout the length and breadth of the country. Political mass meetings are held regularly and every possible and available opportunity is taken to spread their ideology. Among the Afrikaners they stress colour and race prejudices, narrowness of nationalism and raise the Communist bogey. Among the English-speaking people their propaganda lays stress on anti-semitism and the growth of Jewish commercial concerns. Attempts are being made to disrupt existing legal trade union organisations. Their hypocritical and false slogans of national socialism and anti-capitalism are constantly used in order to gain support of the workers.

"Poverty and fear are the enemies of ordered progress, and the breeding ground for racialism, anti-semitism and internal strife, which, reinforced by propaganda, could assume menacing proportions in South Africa. They are the products of a decade that is closing, and constitute a threat, not only to established living standards but to religious freedom, to the trade unions, and to other democratic institutions. Science and industry can now be said to have transformed the problem of scarcity into a problem of abundance, and it should be our aim to develop to the full all our human and industrial resources. Only then shall we be able to find our way forward to peaceful reconstruction and social advance.

If we are to achieve this, the initial tasks of reconstruction must be undertaken NOW, and the facts of the present situation must be faced with determination."*

Unfortunately Government circles, while well aware of the danger, are doing little to counteract it, by constructive measures. Commissions of enquiry are held, control boards are set up, schemes put into blue print, but little is done to carry any plans into effect. The Government's failure to act in order to avert danger, only aggravates the situation and is fostering the growth of this danger.

The Government's attitude towards industrial legislation and non-European trade unions, its policy of mass arrests of hundreds of workers, which disorganise the delivery of social necessities, add greatly to the already existent dissatisfied element within the ranks of the people. The standard of living of masses of Europeans

*Extracts from declaration by the Campaign for Right and Justice, the S.A. Trades and Labour Council and the Transvaal Teachers' Association convening a Conference on National Reconstruction 1944:—

and non-Europeans is rapidly deteriorating. The wave of crime is increasing.

Conditions for the anti-democratic elements are becoming more and more favourable. Temporary squabbles among the subversive forces are not to be taken seriously. It is only to be remembered that similar squabbles existed in Nazi Germany but that did not prevent Nazism from obtaining power.

Complacency and lack of militant action on the part of liberal minded people are equally responsible. The old idea of "it can't happen here" is prevalent in internal politics and merely serves to hasten disaster. The menace is great. Urgent united action is necessary.

A NEW UNITED FRONT.

Detailed scientific analysis has been made to determine why the forces of Progress failed in 1932 Germany in the fight against Nazism. The verdict is unanimous: There was no methodically organised central direction; there was no political and propaganda General Staff competent to fight with intellectual weapons; it seemed impossible to achieve ideological unity among the leaders of the different movements.

All felt the need for an immediate, common, co-ordinated campaign of action. But in the heat of ideological dispute and speculation that action programme was never formulated.

In South Africa attempts to set up a United Anti-Fascist Front failed for the same reasons.

If the mistakes of that period are repeated there will again be inevitable failure in the Post War struggle against Fascism.

UNITY OF DOCTRINE:

It is not an immediate possibility—and it is not necessary—to secure complete unity of political philosophy for all the forces of progress, ranging from the Communist Party on the extreme Left, through the Socialist, Labour, Trade Union and Liberal ranks to the liberal elements of the United Party on the Right. The most that can be hoped for now is criticism, discussion and understanding of the ideological foundations of the different forces and organisations in the Anti-Fascist Front.

Such work should tend to greater unity of doctrine, but **only as a long-term development.**

UNITY OF ACTION:

An alliance of popular and progressive forces in the Union of South Africa can best be achieved by all the constituent bodies uniting in action for the achievement of a short term programme upon which all are agreed.

Since the Campaign for Right and Justice is a co-ordinating movement, it will not attempt to canvass a large membership or to set up a mass organisational structure of its own. The work will be through the machinery provided by the constituent bodies attending the Annual Conference or subscribing to the Programme as formulated from time to time.

The unifying factor is the Immediate Programme of Action—the agreement of all the organisations and their members that there is a certain job to be done and that they can stand together in doing it, or, on the negative side, that there is an enemy to be defeated by united action.

The programme and the proposed action will be formulated by the Planning Committee elected by the Executive and submitted through the Executive to the constituent bodies.

Only such bodies as agree to the programme will participate in the subsequent Campaign which the Council will organise.

In drawing up the Programme the Planning Committee will attempt to make it of such a nature that the largest number of bodies can participate. Since the programme is **immediate** in its aims it will be of such a nature that with adequate propaganda and organisation to back the demands the Government at present in power will be able to accept its recommendations.

This aspect of the work will give definite tasks to allied bodies and individuals in furthering specific advances.

But unity of action must also be secured in defence. Any member attacked e.g., a trade union will notify the Council and have the right to demand united counter-action by the whole of the Campaign organisation in all the appropriate fields.

Planned action, however, needs militants to carry it into effect. It will be the duty of the head office organisation of the Council, therefore, to keep records of the most enthusiastic individual members in the organisations allied to it, and also the technical means necessary to make immediate contact with them when mobilisation for a particular plan is decided upon.

ORGANISATION:

PLANNING

Propaganda	Action	Executive	Research	Finance
5	5	20	5	5
		Central Council		
		1		
		Conference		
1.	2.	3.	CONSTITUENT BODIES ETC.	1016
				1017
				1018

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE:

The main object of the Annual Conference will be to provide an opportunity for the expression of mass opinion to guide the Council and elected Committees; to facilitate popular criticism; to test membership opinion on systematically selected political problems and thus to lay down **a general line for the executive and working Committees to follow during the ensuing year.**

THE COUNCIL:

The Conference will delegate to the elected Council the power of carrying on the campaign when Conference is not in session.

THE EXECUTIVE:

The Council will elect an Executive of eleven members and give it the power of co-opting nine additional members, who need not be members of the Council, for the purpose of forming the five working committees, providing that no executive decision will be valid if the majority consisted only of nominated members. Any of the working committees may consist entirely of nominated members provided only that its decision will be subject to approval by the Executive.

SUB-COMMITTEES:

The Planning Committee will be responsible for the formulation of the Programme of Action for approval by the Executive, and submission to the member organisations. The propaganda committee will use all technical facilities at its disposal for the publicising of the Programme and the Action Committee will provide the workers necessary for putting it into force. The work of the Research Committee will be to provide the Executive with factual information and expert advice. The Finance Committee will collect donations from constituent bodies and individuals and will recommend expenditure to the Executive.

THE PROGRAMME TIMING:

The first part of the programme will run from the beginning of October to the end or middle of December; the second part from the beginning of January for three or four months into the next parliamentary session.

It is essential to remember that during this time the end of the war in Europe and the beginning of the Peace settlement are likely to be dominant events in the public mind.

PART I:

It is possible to carry on powerful propaganda without violating the moral principles which are the basis of human society"
—Chakotin.

In view of the general trend of events as analysed in the first

part of the booklet, it is obvious that any programme of action on the part of such a Campaign must be to achieve economic stability to promote racial harmony and goodwill among all the peoples destined to live in South Africa.

Every sane thinking person will have a part to play and a duty to perform in this country in the coming critical period. The Campaign for Right and Justice will, therefore, devote itself to the following tasks:

(1) A propaganda drive to focus attention on the Campaign for Right and Justice itself, with a view not only to exposing the danger, but to mobilise the people to combat the danger.

(2) The exposure of every move made by the anti-democratic and reactionary forces aiming at post-war power.

(3) Criticism of the present Government's failure to take immediate action against subversive and disruptive organisations.

(4) To call upon the people to bring pressure to bear on the Government to take immediate steps to prohibit the holding of meetings by organisations which have as part of their programme organised race hatred, the destruction of democracy, and/or anti-democratic measures to establish the domination of one group over the whole.

(5) To call upon the Government to enforce legislation making it criminal for any organisation or individual to stir up race hatred and ill feeling between different peoples and races in South Africa.

(6) To call upon the Government to revise industrial legislation so as to provide machinery for industrial conciliation and trade union organisation for all workers, European and non-European alike.

(7) To urge the Government to rid itself of the bureaucratic and anti-democratic officials in certain Government departments, more particularly Control Boards, and to establish planned control of commodities in the interests of the people as a whole.

(8) To bring pressure to bear upon the Government to take up immediately recommendations made in regard to education, housing, health services, etc., by the various commissions such as the Smit Commission, the Elliott Commission, the Coloured Fact Finding Commission, the Mine Wages Commission, the Social and Economic Planning Report, etc. The S.A. Trades and Labour Council has also incorporated in its Workers' Charter recommendations of far reaching importance in these spheres.

(9) To stimulate the establishment of Consumers' Co-operatives in rural and urban areas, more particularly among the poor people.

(10) Stimulation of prompt action on the Government's post-war plans and demobilisation schemes, especially on the lines of the first report of the S. & E.P.C.

PART 2.

Stimulation of action by the Government on plans for post-war reconstruction calling upon both the people and the Government to develop to the full all our human and industrial resources.

(a) Exploitation of national material resources

The national resources of the Union of South Africa include gold, base metals and products of agriculture. The present economy is built up largely on gold deposits which are a wasting asset. In view of this it is necessary to develop progressively:—

(i) the primary industries based upon coal, iron and other minerals.

(ii) the secondary industries utilising new scientific processes and industrial materials.

Particular attention must be given immediately to the land, and to the development of agriculture on a scientific basis in order not only to increase the production of food but to uplift the general standards and productivity of the Native rural areas and of the impoverished sections of the European community.

(b) Human resources and the internal market

To remove the disabilities which are at present preventing the full utilisation of human resources in South Africa and thus increase the productive capacity of the Nation.

To increase the earning capacity of the workers, more particularly unskilled workers so as to ensure the efficiency of production and to increase the purchasing power of the people.

The following are extracts dealing with this subject from the Anglican Synod Commission's report "The Church and Nation", 1943:—

"The great mass of the people are very poor, the average income per head being only 2/- per head of the population per day—The fact that there are great inequalities of wealth causes the incidence of poverty to be heavier than this would suggest.

A mere redistribution of the present material income cannot in itself solve the problem of the poverty of the mass of the people. There is an imperative need to increase the productiveness of our economic efforts.

Our least developed but most promising resources are our human resources. But these are being unnecessarily wasted. Thus we deprive the community of vast resources of skill and intelligence by confining our native population and a large proportion of other non-Europeans to unskilled work; and the extreme poverty of the great mass of the people is resulting in their progressive moral and physical deterioration.

It has been calculated that apart from the Reserves, between two and three million natives are engaged in agriculture, most of whom are working for European masters, and that these are for the most part underpaid and badly housed. ...Their wages have not been affected by any recent determinations or agreements. Such conditions are uneconomic and are therefore an obstacle to a necessary increase in production. Further, their inevitable tendency is to divert natives from farms to urban areas, with unfortunate results to both.

AN ESSENTIAL INITIATIVE

Government and local authorities should lead the way in the improvement of wages and conditions of employment; and no employees in the Government Service, agriculture, the gold or any other industry should be excluded from the operation of legislation designed to improve standards of wages and working conditions.

MIGRATORY LABOUR:

The wages situation is complicated by the fact that on the average one third of the total number of natives employed on the gold mines are imported from outside the Union and Protectorates. This has a depressing effect on the wages of all Union natives in all employments. At the same time we suffer in the Union from an under-employment of labour. The alleged shortage of labour is mainly a shortage at low wages. The system of migratory labour in industrial and urban employment is generally wasteful, being damaging to the native in the reserves, and leading to a very wasteful use of labour, so that workers are prevented by this system from being worth a higher wage. The amount of such labour should be progressively reduced.

We do not overlook the fact that this system of labour is the cause of grave moral evils attendant upon the separation of men from their women-folk, and the grouping of them together in compounds. These evil results in themselves are enough to condemn the system."

SOCIAL SERVICES:

Housing, Education and Health Services, must be rapidly extended for all the peoples of South Africa, European and non-European alike.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

Political representation of non-Europeans in the Councils of the State should be increased. Until constitutional provision is made for this; in all matters affecting non-Europeans, they should be consulted through their various organisations.

Within the broad outlines of such a social and economic programme scope could be found for the exercise of the legitimate rights and human aspirations of all sections of the people.

It is therefore to this end that the Campaign seeks to promote the widest possible alliance of all the popular and progressive forces throughout the country in face of a growing danger. There is an urgent challenge to all right-minded people at this crucial moment in our history to co-operate actively in finding a way forward from a past which has been darkened by prejudice and fear; and to open up a new era of mutual understanding and reasoned respect on the part of the peoples and races of South Africa.

Knowing what the inevitable consequences of failure must be, the Campaign appeals for the active support of all whose minds and consciences are moved to want to begin building now a happier and more enlightened future for our country. Whatever their religion, their race or philosophy of life may be, there is a responsible part to be played by all in securing the scientific measures and means necessary to realise the great possibilities which the future holds.

Organisations wishing to take part in the Nation-wide programme of action which is now being planned are asked to communicate immediately with the Executive Committee and to state whether they wish to be formally affiliated to the Campaign which is being organised for this purpose. Financial contributions are urgently required for the work of the Campaign, but no financial conditions of affiliation are imposed. This is felt to be a matter for the discretion of the Executives of the organisations concerned having regard to their membership and resources.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHT AND JUSTICE pledges all who associate themselves with it to continue the struggle against Fascism and all forms of organised race hatred and to honour in action the sacrifices of those men and women of all nations and races who have suffered and died in this world-wide struggle.

"From these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom; and that Government of the people by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Issued by The Campaign for Right and Justice,
710, Surrey House, Rissik Street,
Johannesburg.

CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHT AND JUSTICE.

P.O. Box 1713,
Johannesburg.

NAME (in block letters).....

Organisation

Address

*I/we, pledge *myself/ourselves to support the establishment of the widest possible alliance of all the popular and progressive forces throughout the Country and to do all in *my/our power to promote the formation of an alliance of all organisations and individual people who are prepared to accept the principles and programme outlined by the Council of the Campaign for Right and Justice.

*I/we undertake to co-operate in the following ways for the purpose of propagating and furthering the principles and aims adopted by the Council, and would like to be enrolled as an affiliated member of the Campaign.

Underline any tasks that you may be able to undertake.

1. LECTURES. State subject and type of audience preferred, viz.: University, School, European, African Coloured, Indian, Labour, Trade Union, Youth, Womens' Organisations, etc.
2. PUBLIC SPEAKING. (a) Indoor. (b) Outdoor.
3. ORGANISING. Exhibitions, Conferences, Lectures, etc.
4. ADVERTISING. Writing, drawing, display work, wall newspapers, etc.
5. FUND RAISING. By means of social functions, concerts, collecting etc.
6. OFFICE WORK. Shorthand, typing, bookkeeping, etc.

*I/we enclose a subscription of £ s. d. as a token of *my/our support for the principles which the Campaign is seeking to uphold.

*I/we will do *my/our best to contribute £ s. d. per year towards the funds of the Campaign.

*Cross out whichever is inapplicable.

(Subscriptions, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Campaign for Right and Justice, P.O. Box 1713, Johannesburg).

BE VIGILANT !

THE CAMPAIGN FOR RIGHT AND JUSTICE

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