

ABX. 421102a

N.A. 283.

Telegrafiese Adres  
Telegraphic Address:  
"NATIVES."



UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.  
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEPARTEMENT VAN NATURELLESAKE  
DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,

POSBUS } 384,  
P.O. BOX! }

PRETORIA,

2nd November, 1942.

194

Dear Dr. Xuma,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of 31st October.

I appreciate very much the kind sentiments which you have expressed.

I can only say that I shall always be a great friend to the African people, and I shall do my best for their welfare.

I send you herewith a copy of the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives, which will be of interest to you. The Government is giving very careful consideration to the report and a number of the recommendations will, I hope, be carried out.

Believe me,  
Yours sincerely,

*D. K. Smuts*

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



ABX. 4211026

# 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,  
"Lungalegwaba" Hostel,  
Orlando, Johannesburg.

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

"Nta6ethemba"

CRADOCK

2nd November 194<sup>2</sup>

**Honorary Officers:**  
HOUSE OF CHIEFS.  
**GOVERNORS:**

ANC/42/16.

My dear President,

I thank you for your letter of 29th Ult.  
I agree to the proposal to postpone Conference until the 20th December to begin on that day and close on on Tuesday night 22nd.

I am only sorry that this is going to upset the arrangements and the bookings already undertaken at Bloemfontein and Nkoane is a very sensitive man.

I am writing to him however by the same post making the necessary alterations.

I am writing this letter on my way to Cape Town I hope to be there until Wednesday 11th.

I also agree with Mr. Malanga6i's suggestion that the Cape Congress be summoned to meet at Bloemfontein and I suggest Saturday evening 19th December.

I understand though that the Advisory Boards' Congress will sit from the 17th until the 19th December at Uiten-hage. Unless someone could prevail upon them to close on the 18th. I do not quite know how our Cape Conference could be a success. However we have no other day available. As it is, our dates are too close to Christmas and I shall be greatly inconvenienced with my work at home, but I think I shall be able to manage.

If we had succeeded with a Cape Conference in November we should have had a fair attendance. I knew that Pendla & Co had no following but did not want to abuse them. They got what they wanted and that was what Raubenheimer could give them. I am told to expect anything at Cape Town. I do not fear anything. I love truth and justice. I hate malice and am going to Cape Town prepared to meet everyone calmly and sincerely for the service of Africa and our fellowmen.

I will try and get meetings arranged for me at Uitenhage on 14th Nov., Grahamstown 26th Nov.

I have started a new branch at Cookhouse recently. If you could supply me with 100 membership cards it would assist me tremendously. Send them to the Stakesby Lewis Hostel, 103 Harrington Street Capetown.

With best love to Mrs Xuma and family,

Yours for Africa,

James Abalaha  
Sec. Gen.

### 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.

### PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

#### 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.



A. N. C.

"Cyrene",  
Potchefstroom.

Nov. 14th., 1942.

Dr. A. B. Xuma,  
President-General,  
African National Congress,  
Johannesburg.

Dear Doctor,

When I was in Johannesburg last month, I interviewed Mr. Moretsele about joining Congress. I paid 2/6 and got my Card which I'm afraid is not numbered.

I then asked Mr. Moretsele for guidance as to how to go about ~~it~~ organising a Branch. He promised me that I would get a certificate from the Provincial Secretary a week ago.

In the meantime I discussed things with Mr. A. Kumalo, Editor of "Manteteli".

He advised me to write direct to you about this matter and it is in line with that advice that I now communicate with you.

I wish to organise in Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp if this is possible for I am strongly convinced that these two places are politically fast asleep. After the places are organised to a certain stage, I could then have the honour to invite you, Doctor to come and address Public meetings.

Creetings. Yours respectfully,  
Jas. J. Mdatyulwa.




ABX.421104a

T. 27. POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—POSKANTOORTELEGRAAFDIENS.

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	<p>PM 5 04</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i></p>						

SENATE CAMPBELL N R C SAKWE MOSHESH MABUDI = MATANZIMA MQUEDLWA +

Doubtful words may be repeated. No Repetition Fee will be collected if an error is disclosed. This form should accompany any inquiry.  
Twyfelagtige woorde kan herhaal word. As 'n fout aan die lig gebring word, sal geen koste vir die herhaling gevorder word nie. Hierdie vorm moet alle navrae vergeesal.



TELEPHONE  
YOUR TELEGRAMS  
TO THE  
NEAREST  
POST OFFICE

TELEFONEER  
U TELEGRAMME  
NA DIE  
NAASTE  
POSKANTOOR



ABX. 421106a

A.N.C.  
Cape

6th November, 1942.

A.B.P. Malunga Esq.,  
Core Browne Training School,  
Barkly Road,  
KIMBERLEY.

My dear Mr. Malunga,

Even though belated, I wish to thank you very much for the telegram you sent me after the suspension of the Cape Officials.

Two things I felt, (1) that these men were disgracing our Organisation and misrepresenting the attitude of Congress in public affairs; and (2) that time had come for us to raise Congress into an Organisation of respectability through discipline, or, close shop.

Messages like yours are both encouraging and inspiring and I hope you will extend the same spirit to others in the Cape for the rebuilding of Congress.

We have an opportunity now because most people seem to feel that certain stumbling blocks had been removed.

I wish there could be more new branches before the Annual Conference.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

ABX/pd.



ABX. 9211066

Education - General

6th November, 1942.

Dr. Alexander Kerr,  
Principal,  
South African Native College,  
Fort Hare,  
ALICE, C.P.

My dear Principal Kerr,

re: 'STUDENTS STRIKES' AT FORT HARE.

You may recall that years ago I wrote you a letter of congratulation, from America, for your brilliant address at the opening of Fort Hare College. That letter was inspired by a vision and a dream that most of us had of Fort Hare as a centre of training of real African leaders with original and independent views and inspiring personalities in an atmosphere and environment that is truly university in every sense with mutual respect and cooperation between Staff and students to offset the traditional racial attitudes in South Africa between white and black of ruler and ruled.

However, recent incidents may be the cause of Fort Hare being misunderstood; her attitude being misinterpreted and tend to leave grave doubt whether she, as our leading educational institution where white and black are in close contact, is exemplary in race relations as should be expected.

Those of us who are jealous of Fort Hare status and future as our university, no matter whether we are products of her lecture rooms or not, regret to say, right or wrongly, an impression has been created to the outside world - African and otherwise - that the approach at the solution of these strikes has followed the usual South African pattern of approach in Native Affairs.

We wonder if the case of the Beda Hall students has not been unwittingly slightly prejudiced by reference to last year's strike and to the following statement:-

"In view of the leniency which was extended to students last year in the so-called strike and of the prevalence of unconstitutional action in various Native institutions, the Senate felt that it must establish in this case the fact that students cannot so act with impunity."

The analysis of this statement has many disturbing implications and features besides the status of Fort Hare which seem to leave little room for the benefit of doubt being given in favour of the students involved in the present incident.

(P. T. O.)

Further/....



Further, is there not a possibility that in the procedure followed in dealing with the Beda Hall students miscarriage of justice might have taken place?

Finally, is there not a danger of complicating college discipline by bringing religious, denominational and conscience matters within the scope of the Senate?

Can Fort Hare avert similar future incidents without an enquiry into the recent happening?

I hope, Mr. Principal, you will appreciate that we have no intention of trying to interfere with Fort Hare's internal affairs; but we are personally concerned that Fort Hare shall, as our only University, have a good name.

We have no desire to encourage students to flout the authority of the Senate or to undermine the discipline of the institution.

We must respectfully request the Senate to readmit all the students without victimization.

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

ABX/pd.



1/2 African Study Circle.

ABX. 4211066c

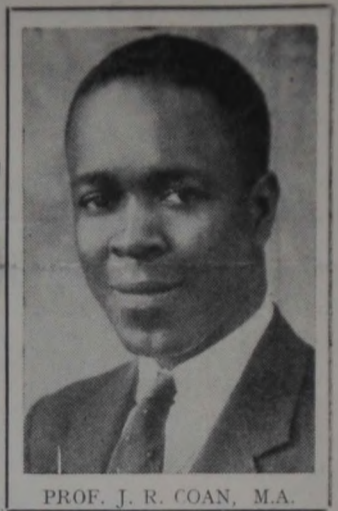
Meeting on Sunday 25/10/42 at 2 P.M. Usual place.

Subject:- "Fort Hare Trouble". Please attend.

J. M. Nhlapo Sec.

**YOU ARE INVITED....**

TO THE **BANTU**  
**MEN'S SOCIAL**  
**CENTRE** ELOFF ST.

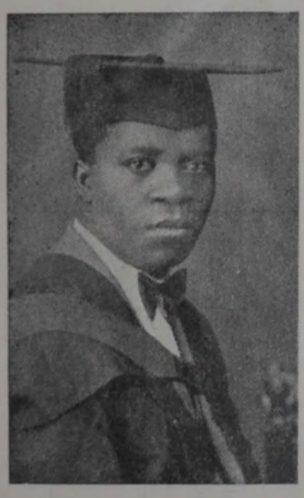


PROF. J. R. COAN, M.A.

Speakers:

- Mr. Abner Nkosi, M.A.
- Prof. J. R. Coan, M.A.
- Mr. J. M. Nhlapo, B.A.

★ **ON FRIDAY, 6th NOVEMBER, 1942**



MR. JACOB NHLAPO, B.A.

# EDUCATIONAL SYMPOSIUM..

**Theme: "Education in Swaziland"**

FUNDS IN AID OF SWAZILAND A.M.E. CHURCH PRIVATE SCHOOLS

★ **Wilberforce**  
**Double Quartette**  
... for **Dancing ...**  
**Merry Blackbirds**



**ADMISSION 2/-**

ABX. 421106c





Dr + Mrs A.B. Xuma,  
"Empilweni"

85, Toby Street  
Sophiatown  
Johannesburg

WORLD BROADCAST  
FOR DANCING

Double Quartette  
★ WIRELESS

FUNDS IN AID OF ZAMBIA AND A.M.E. CHURCH PRIMARY SCHOOLS

THEME: "EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA"

2 AMBOSIM  
EDUCATION

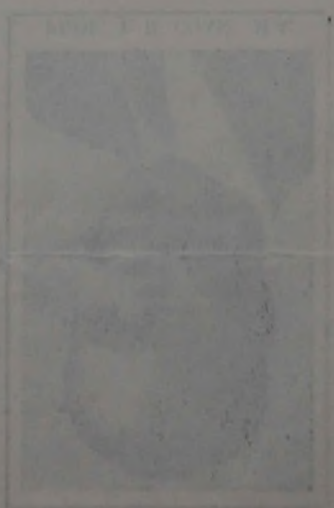
★ ON MONDAY 24 NOVEMBER 1942

CENTRE EDUCATION 21  
Educator - General

WOMEN'S SOCIAL  
BANK  
TO THE

YOU ARE INVITED

MSX. 421106c





ABX. 421109a

politics - General

9th November, 1942.

Mrs. G.L. Tshabalala,  
Daughters of Africa Association,  
5, 13th Avenue,  
Alexandra Township,  
P.O. BERGVLEI,  
Johannesburg.

Dear Madam,

I regret to say that Friday is out of question for me, because I spend the afternoon at my clinic at Evaton and return to town rather late for further consultations so that it will be impossible for me to take part in the affair on the afternoon of December 4th.

Wishing you every success,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

ABX/pd.



A.N.C.

9th November, 1942

Rev. J.A. Calata,  
 Secretary-General,  
 African National Congress,  
P.O. CRADOCK, C.P.

My dear Secretary-General,

I must admit that I am a little confused about the dates of the Congress meeting now since you have called my attention to the meeting of the Advisory Boards Congress

If we met as from Sunday, December 20th., the Advisory Board members from the northern provinces and the Free State could reasonably attend our meetings on their way back; but Mr. Godlo is likely to be at the Council meetings so that I do not know how they propose to adjust that difficulty.

If you have any difficulty with Mr. Nkoane, please advise me, as I must take the responsibility for the change of dates.

By the way, I had not suggested Bloemfontein for the meeting of the Cape Congress, even though that would have been welcome if it were convenient to all the members. Mr. Nikiwe thought a central place like Cradock might be most convenient and central for most of the Cape people. However, on this matter I can be advised by you and men like Malanga-bi as to what is best.

The aim should be a good representative Conference as I must attend under the circumstances. That is why I am so anxious about the revival of old branches and the establishing of new ones even at this late date.

After deciding on this point and the question of the National, send me a list of people that I may invite to attend even as observers, as I am anxious to sell our National organisation to all representatives of the people.

I am sending you a hundred tickets. I am sorry your letter came too late for me to be able to send the tickets to Cape Town.

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

ABX/pd.



ABX. 421109c

9th November, 1942.

Mrs. J.S.Jaff,  
Home Front League,  
Springbok Legion,  
P.O.Box 4088,  
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Mrs. Jaff,

I deeply regret that owing to an oversight I did not acknowledge receipt of a copy of the Constitution of the Home Front League of the Springbok Legion; a pamphlet on the "Aims and Objects of the Legion" and the then latest issue of "Fighting Talk" which you were good enough to send me.

I thank you for all these documents which give one food for thought and also for your good letter which was received at the same time.

Yours faithfully,

ABX/pd.



ABX. 42111a

A. H. C.

11th November, 1942.

My dear R.T.,

How are you and yours? I hope all well. I see that 'Sisana' is on the front benches according to a recent report in "Umteteli". We congratulate her.

As you may already know, elections brought in Basner, Moroka, Thema and Mosaka.

By the way, I have finally suspended my Cape Congress officials even long after you suggested; but I thought at that particular stage of the elections, it would lead them into the wilderness and bring Molteno in and thus save Congress prestige, if any is still left.

Bluntly, I want you, Godlo, Matthews, Xiniwe and many others to call upon your friends at King William's town, East London, Alice, Middeldrift, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Utenhage etc., to join Congress and raise the status of this organisation by bringing responsible and respectable people in it so that it may well compete with the Indian Congress in the status of its leadership as the mouthpiece of the African people.

The United Nations at the peace table must have a case of the African people of South Africa by the African leaders themselves.

Congress must be the rallying point.

I can furnish the tickets which are only 2/6d., annual membership fee inclusive of registration.

I hope it will be possible for you people to attend the Annual Conference at Bloemfontein on December 20-22nd.

You will be pleased to know that Drs. Molema and Moroka are now serious about Congress.

Let us take advantage of the present world situation, organise ourselves so that we have something definite and direct to say about the future of our people when peace comes.

I beg of you to get in touch with other men at once and try to  
(P.T.O.)  
organise/....  
(P.O.)



organise the Cape so that in future it may take its natural position of leadership in the affairs of race relations.

Let us make our little personal contribution to the advancement of our people.

With kindest regards and love to all,

Yours sincerely,

ABX/pd.



ABX-421116

JOHANNESBURG SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A MEETING OF THE ABOVE COMMITTEE WILL BE HELD  
IN A SMALL COMMITTEE ROOM, CITY HALL, ON  
WEDNESDAY, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1942, AT 2.30 P.M.

D. N. MURRAY  
HON. SECRETARY.

A G E N D A

1. Consideration of the attached Report.
2. General.

*Social Welfare - General*

*11/11/42*



REPORT OF HON. SECRETARY

TO

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE  
JOHANNESBURG SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE

---

ITEM 1. FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO DEFINE POLICY.

At the meeting of the Johannesburg Social Security Action Committee held on Tuesday, 3rd November 1942, it was resolved that the following members be appointed to an Executive Committee:- His Worship the Mayor, Professor J.L. Gray (Chairman), the Hon. J.D.F. Briggs (Vice-Chairman), Mr. G. Ballenden, Clr. D.H. Epstein, Mr. J. Hersov, Professor R.F.A. Hoernle, Mrs. R.F.A. Hoernle, Dr. G.D. Laing, Mr. J. Fleming Orr, Professor J. Phillips, Mrs. J.K. Robertson, Dr. A.T. Shrock, Advocate Mrs. Bertha Solomon, Advocate H.J.B. Vieyra, a member to be nominated by Mr. V. Kent to represent the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. D.N. Murray (Hon. Secretary).

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE COMMITTEE

ITEM 2. FUNCTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee mentioned above was asked by the General Committee at this meeting held on the 3rd instant to define what was meant by Social Security and to give a general outline of the methods by which Social Security could be achieved in South Africa.

For the information of members, the following resolutions were adopted at the National Social Security Congress held at Durban during September 1942:-

- (a) That this Congress adopt the proposed Social Security Code in principle and forward it as a recommendation to the Government as a basis for a Social Security Act after revision by the National Social Security Council, which shall give due consideration to suggestions made at this Congress.
- (b) That this Congress approves of the establishment of a National Social Security Council, consisting of six representatives from each Province to develop the organisation throughout the Union, with a view to better the education of the South African public in the principles of Social Security and its necessity as a basis for reconstruction, and with power to call a regional Congress for this purpose, and, if necessary, a further National Congress; this Council to be appointed by the Social Security Action Committee, who will give careful consideration to any nominations received.
- (c) That a report of the proceedings of this Congress be transmitted forthwith to the Right Honourable Field Marshal J.C. Smuts, Prime Minister, for his consideration.
- (d) That the Durban Social Security Action Committee act as an Executive to carry on the organisational work of Congress until the National Social Security Council is established.
- (e) That delegates to Congress be urged to take suitable steps to establish Action Committees in their areas and where possible on the basis of representation by established public bodies and institutions.
- (f) That the various Provincial Action Committees when duly constituted forward to the Executive the names of their nominees for the National Social Security Council,

this / .....



this to be done as early as possible with the view to making possible a full meeting of the Council before the end of the year.

It will be noted that resolution (a) states that the Social Security Code which was submitted to the Congress was adopted in principle as a basis for a Social Security Act after revision by the National Social Security Council. In so far as the European section of our South African population is concerned, the main principles of the Social Security Code are as follows:-

The Two main purposes of the Social Security Act shall be:-

- (1) To abolish the present system of non-contributory pensions and to substitute therefore a system of monetary benefits on a contributory basis.
- (2) To establish a national system of medical and hospital and other related benefits.

The Monetary Benefits shall be:-

- (1) Age benefit
- (2) Sickness benefit
- (3) Invalidity benefit
- (4) Disability benefit
- (5) Unemployment benefit
- (6) Orphans' benefit
- (7) Widows' benefit
- (8) Family allowances.

The Service Benefits shall be:-

- (1) Medical benefit
- (2) Hospital benefit
- (3) Pharmaceutical benefit
- (4) Maternity benefit.

In so far as the Coloured, Asiatic and African sections of our population are concerned, no detailed principles for Social Security were adopted, but the general principle of providing a measure of Social Security for these sections of the community was agreed to.

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REQUIRED

ITEM 3. GENERAL LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE.

The following letter, which is self-explanatory, has been received from the Chairman of the Central Executive of the South African Social Security Action Committee:-

"Now that Action Committees are being formed in several centres, I think it is necessary to have some co-ordinated policy and procedure.

"In Durban we have gone on these lines:-

1. Form an Executive of 6 or 8.
2. Arrange for Study Circles in connection with constituted Societies.
3. Arrange public meetings in connection with these societies, and otherwise, as extensively as possible.
4. Arrange a panel of speakers.
5. Organise outlying areas.
6. Central Action Committee to meet monthly; Executive weekly or fortnightly.
7. Arrange (a) Finance Committee (b) Publicity Committee (c) Medical Committee.
8. Press to be regularly advised and their help secured.
9. Constant contact with Provisional National Executive in Durban if necessary.
10. Basis of speeches and circles and general discussions to be the outline of the Code as adopted at the national Congress in Durban in September.

"The / .....



"The above will provide a provisional basis for action. We hope to write you more fully in a few days' time after we have completed our Union action plans. Meantime the above will be a guide so that we shall pull in the same direction.

"The Afrikaans version of the Security Book is ready for the press. I have also in preparation a booklet (Afrikaans and English) for circularising to all societies in the Union. It will give the proposed Code in outline and will reach all sections of the people. This is urgently necessary; as now is the time for action and not for academic discussion. That can come later. It will be valuable. We have a fine lead to-day from England. We have the right basis to publicise.

"Let me have notes of your progress. It is essential that we keep the closest touch."

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REQUIRED

ITEM 4. PROCEDURE FOR THE GUIDANCE OF ACTION COMMITTEES.

The following letter has been received from the Chairman of the Central Executive of the South African Social Security Action Committee:-

"The Central Executive of the National Council as far as it is at present constituted in terms of the resolution of the Durban Congress, has drawn up the following procedure for the guidance of Action Committees:-

- (a) That meantime the Head Office be Durban.
- (b) That the National Finance Committee be constituted as follows:- The present Durban members plus 2 from each of the Transvaal, Natal and Cape; these to be appointed by the National Council when fully established.
- (c) That the Johannesburg Action Committee be requested to submit a nomination for the position of Chairman of the National Finance Committee; and that the Mayor of Durban be asked to act as National Treasurer.
- (d) That the Johannesburg Action Committee consider the appointment of Mr. Hersov as Chairman of the Transvaal Finance Committee.
- (e) That all monies collected by the Action Committees be transmitted to the National Treasurer through an Income Account held by each Committee and that each Committee keep a Floating Account to meet expenses, this account to receive its payments on an imprest system from the National Treasurer.
- (f) That a National Fund of £25,000 be aimed at; and that the allocations be provisionally fixed as follows:- Natal £5,000, Transvaal £12,500, Cape £5,000 and O.F.S. £2,500.
- (g) That the Action Committees undertake, (1) To raise funds in their areas; (2) To propagate the idea of Social Security on the basis of the Code as originally drawn up by J.R. Sullivan and accepted in principle as a basis for legislation by the Durban Congress; (3) To attempt to organise every Constituency in their areas with a view to getting practical support through members of Parliament.

"I am forwarding these proposals for the consideration of your Action Committee. Once you adopt them we can go ahead with our drive."

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REQUIRED

7th November 1942.

D.N. MURRAY  
Hon. Secretary



SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF HON. SECRETARY

TO

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE  
JOHANNESBURG SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE

---

ITEM 1. LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE OF  
SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE.

The following letter has been received from the  
Chairman of the Central Executive of the South African  
Social Security Action Committee:-

"In view of the meeting of your Action Committee,  
I think I should give you an outline of the position  
in Natal at present.

"Our Durban Committee, being appointed by the  
Congress as the provisional National Committee, pending  
the setting up of the National Council, has taken  
active steps in this province. Strong Action Committees  
have been set up in various towns and several others  
are in prospect. A tour, probably by myself, of  
Northern Natal in December is being considered.

"These sub-Action Committees are forming study  
groups in their areas and are also arranging for the  
collection of funds. In this matter they are falling  
in line with the proposed plan for organising finance as  
sent forward to you recently.

"In Durban itself we are carrying on intensive  
propaganda and will shortly be organising public meetings  
in each parliamentary constituency. We feel that we  
must really get going in order to give impetus to  
public opinion. At the meetings the public will be  
invited to indicate by signing a special form that they  
are in accord with the proposal to press for Social  
Security legislation.

"We hope that the organisation as outlined above will  
be whole-heartedly supported at your end. In that  
event the plan of campaign will become national. As  
far as I can gather as to happenings in Cape Town I  
understand that the Committee there is very representative  
and is going to co-operate on the basis planned.

"The question of a Social Security Bulletin is  
important. A two-page news and information sheet is  
necessary for the members of various committees to be  
set up and for the public they represent.

"I am awaiting your decision in Johannesburg. The  
question of appointing a National Secretary has been  
considered, but has been held over until we can get an  
assurance that the National Finance Committee will have  
the requisite resources.

"I shall greatly appreciate advice from you as soon  
as possible."

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REQUIRED

D. N. MURRAY

Hon. Secretary

11th November 1942.



ITEM 2, MEMORANDUM FROM PROFESSOR AND MRS. R.F.A. HOERNLE.

The following memorandum has been received from Professor and Mrs. R.F.A. Hoernle, who were unable to attend this meeting:-

1. According to the estimates of economic experts, the national income of the Union - out of which, after all, every social security scheme will have to be financed - is one of the lowest among States with a "White" civilisation. Calculated per head of the total population of all races, it is insufficient both for social security and for social welfare. Any reasonably adequate scheme of social security, therefore, presupposes as a complementary measure, and, indeed, as a fundamental prerequisite the largest practically achievable increase in the national income by means of the largest possible increase in national productivity. Otherwise, all schemes - not least the Durban one - amount only to a superficial re-distribution of a national income admittedly inadequate for all the purposes to be satisfied in the name of "Security", let alone in the name of "welfare".
2. It is not the function of this Sub-Committee, or of the larger Action Committee, to make proposals for raising the national income. Other bodies have been appointed to study, and make proposals for, the best ways of achieving this end; e.g., the Economic Advisory and Planning Council; the Industrial Development Corporation; the Industrial Development Corporation; the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission. But, all Social Security organisations must insist on the fact that no adequate social security scheme is realizable, nor is even a partial approach toward an adequate scheme possible, without a rise in the national income.
3. It is, however, relevant to urge, in this connection, that the solution of the problem calls, not merely for the more efficient utilisation of our natural resources, but also for the fullest development and employment of our human resources; and that this is possible only by the abolition of all colour bars of a kind which prevent Non-Europeans from making the fullest contribution to the national income of which they are physically and mentally capable. So long as the productivity of Non-Europeans is kept by artificial restrictions below what it might be, it will always be argued that "the country cannot afford social security for Non-Europeans or only on so low a scale that it hardly deserves the name." The truth, of course, is that under the present system the country cannot afford genuine social security for anyone, whether White, Black or Yellow.
4. Again, in another direction our Committee ought not to duplicate work done by other bodies. E.g., there is a Health Services Commission now taking evidence: it would be as foolish for us to attempt to do this work over again as not to avail ourselves of their findings and recommendations. By all means, if Health Services are rightly included under the heading of "Social Security", let us endorse the principle of Health Services, whilst waiting for details of recommendation and finance until the Report of this Committee is available.
5. It follows from what has been said in paras. 1 - 3, that a full Social Security programme or "code" can be realised only step by step, as national income grows. But, it is important to make beginning now, and our choice will have



to fall on some "service" or "benefit" which satisfies the following conditions:-

- (a) That it relieves a genuine and urgent need or "insecurity";
  - (b) that it is financially practicable, remembering always that a war and the re-integration into civil life of the men and women in the army have to be paid for, as well as pensions, dependants' allowances, etc., arising out of the war;
  - (c) that it is applicable without, or with a minimum of, discrimination or differentiation to members of all races. (This does not mean all members of all races, but only all those who require this sort of "social security".) As our official slogan is: "Social Security for members of all races", it is important for its psychological effect (as a guarantee, so to speak, of our honesty of purpose), that the first instalment should be such that members of all races benefit by, or can participate in, it.
6. Another application of the preceding principle is that there should be only one Social Security Fund, even if the benefits paid out of it should be differentiated according to the recipients' race. The Durban Code principle that each racial group - except the Africans who are left to the tender mercy of a White Parliament - should wholly, or partly, ("partly" in so far as the "Coloured" and "Asiatic" funds are to be supplemented by grants made by Parliament), raise its own Social Security Fund, means simply that the poorer - and therefore the more greatly in need of security - the members of a group are, the less security shall they receive.
7. Racial considerations apart, the need for Social Security is felt in a modern industrial society, which is not organised on socialist or communist principles, mainly by the lower income groups of the wage-earning workers. It could, therefore, seem right to plan with the aim of providing social security first and foremost for wage-earning workers of every race. In other words, those Indians, Coloureds and Africans who are urbanised wage-earners, and who in this respect are comparable to European wage-earners (except that, their wages being so much lower, their need for security is correspondingly greater), should qualify in principle, for the same types of benefits or services as European wage-earners.
8. This principle automatically provides for the necessary distinction between the detribalised and urbanised African wage-earner on the one side, and, on the other side, both the rural African on White farms and the Native Reserve population. Where tribal life is still intact, it provides social security, according to the tribal mode of life, for all its members. Again, rural African workers are often maintained by their employers after their working-days are over. The point of this argument is not that these groups of Africans do not need many improvements in their economic condition: they do. The point is rather that the problem of providing social security according to their needs is different from that of providing it for urbanised African wage-earners. And this is the most immediately pressing problem (for Indians and Coloureds as well), especially in view of the fact that, both by spontaneous development and deliberate planning, the Union is headed for increasing development of, and reliance on, secondary industries in towns.
9. The Sub-Committee will, of course, do well to distinguish clearly between social security and social welfare. Tentatively, it may be suggested that by social "welfare" we should mean the normal level of life of an efficient worker



in good health and steady employment - a level maintained by his earnings or wages, together with a variety of social services (e.g., free education for his children) which belong to normal welfare, but are provided out of public funds raised by taxation for this purpose.

Social "security" would then mean the provision, for himself or his family, against various contingencies (of variable incidence in different lives) which may interrupt, or destroy, this normal welfare - e.g. unemployment due to technological changes (such as new inventions of "labour-saving" - really "labour-saving" devices) or trade depressions; unemployment due to ill-health - short or long, but curable; "permanent" unemployment (i.e. unemployability) due to injury, chronic illness, old age; death of the wage-earner, leaving widow and children without income; death of both parents, leaving orphaned children; etc., etc.

If "security" means protection against the disadvantages or handicaps resulting from the incidence of one or more of these contingencies, then "social insurance" is, perhaps, the most elastic concept to cover the various benefits or services which constitute security - including, in the case of illness, not only the making good of wages lost, but also relief, by "free" medical services, from the heavy additional expense otherwise entailed by illness.

So defined, security presupposes welfare, or at least a tolerable minimum level of welfare, as its basis.

10. The argument of the preceding par. requires to be supplemented in two directions:-

(or welfare)

(a) Social "welfare" had been defined as level of life/maintained by wages. This implies that the wages of a worker in good health and of average efficiency should be sufficient for a tolerable minimum level (sometimes called "civilised"). For very many workers in the Union, the majority of whom belong to the Non-European groups, this is notoriously not the case. That is why, at the Non-European meeting, Dr. Dadoo and others, not unjustly, demanded the raising of Non-European wages (scil. for urbanised Non-European workers, leading - or trying to lead - "civilised" lives) as the basis for social security measures. This is why they protested that, as long as wages are too low and employment unsure and haphazard, the social security benefits offered (especially on the reduced scales proposed for Non-Europeans in the Durban Code) are mere palliatives which do not go to the root of the economic troubles of the Non-European workers. Should we, perhaps, say that the fundamental security which a worker wants is security of employment at a money-remuneration so adjusted to changing prices that it secures a stable (invariant, or little varying) level of life? If so, this is a kind of "social security" which under our economic system cannot be carried by the "insurance" concept, and must be otherwise provided for.

11. (b) The second supplementary remark is that in the Union's racial-caste society, we have not only different wage-rates (and, hence, different levels of life) for different kinds of work, but also, different wage-rates (and different levels of life) for the same kind of work according to the race of the worker. An African with his family in an urban location is expected to live at a level secured by the purchasing power of £5 or £6 per month, whereas even an unskilled European worker demands this amount for himself alone. The concept, employed in par. 9, of a "normal" level of life, (or "welfare"), secured by the wages of a worker in employment thus has to be interpreted, and applied, elastically, if it is to fit the facts of our racial-caste society. Moreover, not only have we different levels of life for members of different racial groups, but - speaking generally - Whites tend to disapprove of isolated Non-



- Europeans achieving a level greatly above the average of their racial group. Unless under the banner of "Social Security" we intend to reform this fundamental feature of the socio-economic structure of our society, we shall have to accept it as our working basis, and, therefore, vary our social security benefits in accordance with the different levels of life which prevail in each race group.

A simple example of how fundamental identity in type of benefit is compatible with considerable variety is afforded by food. Scientifically, the quantities of different chemical substances required to maintain a human boy of a given size and weight in good health, and to restore the energy used up in work, can be accurately determined. But, there are a great many different combinations of foods which can supply the required substances in the required amounts, or in other words, a great many different diets, all equally satisfactory. Some of these foods, however, will be much more expensive to purchase and prepare for eating than others. Hence, different diets (or menus), physiologically equally satisfactory, may none the less differ widely in price, in appeal to the palate, in social prestige. In other words, foods which differ economically and socially, may be physiologically identical in value. From the point of view of health and bodily efficiency for work, an individual or group living on a "cheap" diet, provided it meets scientific requirements, is, therefore, not at a disadvantage compared with another individual whose more expensive food also meets the same requirements. The difference only becomes serious when the cheaper diet is also scientifically inadequate.

Analogous arguments apply to housing, clothes, etc. The more "expensive" is not always also "better", as measured by satisfaction of essential needs.

The moral of all the preceding reflections may be summed up by saying: If by "Social Security" we mean protection against the occurrence, or the consequences, of contingencies interrupting or destroying normal "social welfare", let us be clear about:

- (a) what falls within the province of "Social Security" and what into that of "Social Welfare";
- (b) what we propose to take for granted, without seeking as part of our campaign for social security, to alter it; e.g., different levels of welfare for workers of different races;
- (c) what must be altered, if we are to have a proper setting and basis for social security, though it is not part of our function, as apostles of social security, to work directly for such alteration; e.g. increase of national income, and continuous employment at a wage sufficient to guarantee to the worker an adequate minimum level of welfare according to his racial group.

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ARE REQUIRED

11th November 1942.

D. N. MURRAY

Hon. Secretary



ABX. 42111c

Political - General  
(N.R.C.)

PAUL R. MOSAKA, B.A.

URBAN AREAS CANDIDATE,  
NATIVE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

PHONES 22-4292 & ORLANDO 18

172, MARSHALL ST.,

Stand 1515 Orlando Township,  
JOHANNESBURG.

11th November, 1942.

Dr. A. B. Xuma, M.D.;  
President African National Congress,  
Toby Street,  
Sophiatown,  
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir,

You will have received by now news of my success in the Native Representative Council. That success, though it is the cause for some jubilation, is certainly not the source for self-elatedness on my part. In seeking the "Honour" of the Native Representative Council I have sought to place myself at your service and at the service of the African people generally.

Unfortunately I have cause to think that during these elections, notwithstanding your promise to me, you have denied me the encouragement and support which ~~had~~ I received I would much have valued. There are no doubt personal and cogent reasons for your attitude towards me.

You as President of the African National Congress whose paramount interest is the welfare of the African people ~~I feel~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> no doubt realise ~~that~~ <sup>as</sup> much as you wished otherwise, ~~that~~ I have been elected to serve that same people and in order that I might be an instrument in your hands for the furtherance of the cause which is as much yours as mine. For that reason I should like to assure you of my willingness to receive your advice and assistance and indeed to act on the instructions of your Congress so that at all times I act as one who enjoys the confidence of his people and the backing of the one and only organisation that can serve and save the African people the African National Congress.

You need no further assurance from me of my good-will towards you and of my readiness to place the interests of my people above matters of personal and selfish gain than this request for free and helpful cooperation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Paul R. Mosaka



ABX. 42112a

# THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Founded in 1912)

Motto: RIGHT NOT MIGHT. FREEDOM NOT SERFDOM.

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**Assistant Secretary-General:**  
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"Lungalegwaba" Hostel,  
Orlando, Johannesburg.

**President-General:**  
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**Honorary Officers:**  
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Cradock C.P.  
12th Nov 1942

ANC/42/19

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**PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS:**

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**Natal Native Congress:**

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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).

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**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.,  
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East London.

**Lands:**

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

**Labour:**

Mr. E. T. MOFUTSANYANA,  
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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.

Dear President,

I have tried my best while at Cape Town to save the situation and to exploit the Molteno Victory for Congress ends.

The majority of the leaders who were organised to fight the electoral campaign on behalf of the All African Convention have now swung over and joined the Congress. I find a schismatic movement just beginning on behalf of Pendla and Co. to form a Cape Congress which will not be controlled by the National and at a public meeting I warned those people of the danger of contravening a resolution passed at Durban in 1939 authorising the nationalisation of Membership Cards so that only cards issued from the National office could be valid for membership.

I have seen Oliphant, Tladi, Papu, Nongauza, Mlambo and others individually. I am of the opinion that the opposition will not last.

A large organisation under the temporary leadership of Malangabi, Ntshinga, Kekana, Ngwevela and Welcome all very strong men, leaders of strong local organisation has been started and a good number paid their 2/6 at the meeting.

An office in the centre of Cape Town has been obtained which will serve as Congress Office and Club.

I am entraining for Cradock to night then will pass on to Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. I feel more happy over the Cape situation now.

You will soon hear from Kekana who is the ~~sup~~ secretary of the District or as they prefer to call it the Regional Congress.

I feel my visit here was just in time.

Yours for Africa,

*James A. Calata*

*PS  
An early advent of the proposed  
Cape session is essential.*

*JAC*



ABX. 4211126

Telegrams: KERR, Alice.

Telephones: { College 20  
Principal's  
Residence 43

P.O. Box 8

PRINCIPAL:  
ALEXANDER KERR



FORT HARE,  
ALICE,  
CAPE PROVINCE.

12th November, 1942

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

*Education - General*

Dear Dr. Xuma,

It has not been our intention to attempt to defend the action we have been driven to take in regard to the suspension of certain students other than by issuing a copy of the letter in which the Senate explained to the student body the necessity for the action taken. It may be that the Governing Council which is due to meet this week will authorize the issue of such a statement, and anything I say in this letter must not be held to prejudice any decision of the Council. But your letter was couched in such friendly terms and exhibited such real concern over future policy that I feel impelled to depart from our self-denying ordinance and to discuss the position with you, if I may, in the same friendly way.

At Fort Hare we have endeavoured from the beginning to build up a constitutional system which would allow no room for resort to methods of violence to secure redress of grievances. The Council is constituted under Act of Parliament and has included from the start African members who are fully conversant with the business. We have also lately made an arrangement, as provided in the constitution, for the election of a representative of former students to the Council. Then under the Council and appointed by them we have a Senate composed at present of twenty-one members to whom is entrusted the discipline of the College and the regulation of instruction. The hostels are integral parts of the College and the Wardens of Hostels ex officio members of Senate. On this body there has been no distinction made between European and African staff members, nor has the racial element ever been intruded. Under the Senate there is the Students' Representative Council composed entirely of students and elected upon a constitution framed by the Senate and approved by the Council. The object of the S. R. C. is two-fold mainly: (a) to give students training in constitutional procedure and (b) to provide for students a channel of communication with the Senate.

There is absolutely no excuse for students under such a system to resort to methods of violence or intimidation, and it is one of our prime duties to train them out of such practices. A student generation is very short — only three years, of which the first is vacant of any office — so that a continual process of education is required during the remaining two years. It cannot be hoped that this process will be equally successful with every batch of students, and some S. R. C.s are much wiser than others.

Lately/ . . . .



Lately we have witnessed the introduction of methods of agitation which in our view are inconsistent with the system of College life.

The position of the suspended students is as follows:

Forty-five were suspended in all. Of these, twenty who were not concerned in last year's similar incident were allowed to return without further penalty after a brief interval, provided they were prepared to sign the document accepting the authority of the Senate. The remaining twenty-five were suspended in the first instance for the rest of this year. These were all people who had been reprimanded and fined last year and who had made promise of obedience. We have been unable to have them back this year to write examinations but we have intimated to the University that we would be prepared to assist in their examination in February next year provided this were agreed to by the University. I fear, however, that several of these students who have been found unsatisfactory either in work or conduct will not be allowed to return.

It is inevitable of course that hardship will result: it cannot be otherwise and we regret this as much as any; but these students were warned that serious consequences would follow. They refused to listen to or even to hear Mr. Matthews, an old student of their hostel, who might have induced them to see where they were going; but they preferred to follow their own leaders and must just learn by experience that in a College methods of intimidation cannot obtain for them what has been refused by constituted authority.

I repeat that we are sorry that the careers of a few students should be interrupted or even diverted, but we cannot overlook the fact that expense, anxiety and disappointment have been caused to a very great number of parents many of whom sent their sons here for the first time with high expectations. It is to obviate such anxiety and disappointment in the future that this action has had to be taken. We are convinced that the majority of parents wish their sons trained in character as well as in learning, and we believe firmly that we should be doing a great disservice to the community which in one way or another bears the greater part of the cost of their training, if we allowed these young men to grow up in the belief that unconstitutional behaviour is the easiest and surest way of obtaining any chance desire.

There have been one or two disquieting features about these recent happenings which should be the concern of all responsible people. One is that students who have reached Matriculation stage show little independence of judgment. It is hardly credible but fifty-three students put their names to a blank sheet of paper and allowed a small committee to frame a document above their signatures which included an ultimatum to the Senate asking for expulsion if their demands were not conceded!

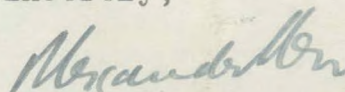


Another is that those who have been proved to be most prominent in this recent affair were some of those who were suspected of being ring leaders last year and who might have been expected to have learnt their lesson.

A third is the great anxiety shown by some to carry into the public press distorted and even libellous statements <sup>about</sup> of the officers of the College. If the domestic policy of the College is to be exposed to the public gaze on each and every occasion it will not redound to the future well-being of the students. I am glad to say that the responsible Native Press has been decidedly discreet about this affair.

I hope we shall have seen the end of this type of folly and that these young men, many of whom would not be at College were it not for public benefactions, will realise that there are many outside who have not been granted their opportunities, though qualified to avail themselves of them.

Yours sincerely,



PRINCIPAL

AK:JTM



*RR*

*Politic - General - N.R.C*

12th November, 1942.

Councillor B.B.Xiniwe M.R.C.,  
King William's town, C.P.

Dear Councillor Xiniwe,

Accept my congratulations for your election to be a member of the Native Representative Council for your area.

A great responsibility has been placed upon you and you are expected to help solve our many native problems so-called.

The African National Congress welcomes you in your sphere of activity and asks you to participate in its task of organising and uniting our people under its banner in order to speak with one voice in national affairs.

I hope you will use your influences directly and through your friends to have established immediately branches and sub-branches of the Congress in every magisterial district.

The African National Congress needs you and calls on all other men, with similar talents to yours, to come into its ranks to work together for that day which must come sooner or later when peace shall be restored and readjustments made in racial, national and international relations. When that time comes, we hope, with your help, that the African National Congress will be ready with the case of the African, prepared by Africans themselves and presented to the United Nations or those who must shape the destiny of our world.

The African must have a voice to plead his case before that International Court of human justice. That cannot be done unless our rallying point is the African National Congress.

Our present circumstances demand that everyman do his ~~gully~~ share in the liberation of our people.

I invite you and other Councillors to attend the Annual Conference of the African National Congress from December 20th to December 22nd., where we shall begin preparing our case for African freedom during and after the war.

Wishing you every success and offering you any assistance you may need in your difficult task,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

ABX/pd.

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.



ABX. 42112d

*Politics - General N.R.C.*

12th November, 1942.

Councillor Z.K. Matthews M.R.C., M.A., LL.B.,  
Fort Hare College,  
ALICE, C.P.

Dear Councillor Matthews,

Accept my congratulations for your election to be a member of the Native Representative Council for your area.

A great responsibility has been placed upon you and you are expected to help solve our many native problems - so-called.

The African National Congress welcomes you in your sphere of activity and asks you to participate in its task of organising and uniting our people under its banner in order to speak with one voice in national affairs.

I hope you will use your influences directly and through your friends to have established immediately branches and sub-branches of the Congress in every magisterial district.

The African National Congress needs you and calls on all other men, with similar talents to yours, to come into its ranks to work together for that day which must come sooner or later when peace shall be restored and readjustments made in racial, national and international relations. When that time comes we hope, with your help, that the African National Congress will be ready with the case of the African, prepared by Africans themselves and presented to the United Nations or those who must shake the destiny of our world.

The African must have a voice to plead his case before that International Court of human justice. That cannot be done unless our rallying point is the African National Congress.

(P. T. O.)

Our/....



Our present circumstances demand that everyman do his full share in the liberation of our people.

I invite you and other Councillors to attend the Annual Conference of the African National Congress from December 20th to December 22nd., where we shall begin preparing our case for African freedom during and after the war.

Wishing you every success and offering you any assistance you may need in your difficult task,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

ABX/pd.



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