

MINUTES
OF THE
ALL AFRICAN
CONVENTION

December—1937

Price 1/-

By Post 1/3

These Minutes are supplied free to all affiliated organisations, that is, those that have paid up their affiliation dues up to date according to the Constitution.

Officials.

President Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A.
(Lond.)

Vice-President Rev. Z. R. Mahabane

General Secretary H. Selby Msimang

Recording Secretary J. G. Masiu

Treasurer Dr. J. S. Moroka, M.B., ch.B.

Secretary for External Affairs Dr. Max Yergan, M.A., LL.D.

Officer for Protectorates Contact Prof. Z. K. Mathews, M.A., LL.B.

Members of The Executive Committee :—

Transvaal: R. V. Selope Thema, M.R.C.; T. D. Mveli Skota; L. T. Mvabaza; S. P. Merafe; E. T. Mofutsanyana.

Natal: Rev. A. Mtimkulu; A. W. G. Champion; Martin Kumalo; Job M. Kambule; Dr. I. B. Gumede, M.B., ch.B.

O. F. S.: T. M. Mapikela, M.R.C. (Prov. Chairman); T. W. Keable Mote (Prov. Sec.); C.R. Moikangoa; S. M. Elias; D. Chaane.

Cape: A. V. Coto; H. S. E. Bikitsha; S. P. Akena; A. M. Jabavu, M.R.C.; S. P. Sesedi.

Essential Addresses:

D. D. T. Jabavu, Alice.

H. S. Msimang, Driefontein, Besters, Natal.

J. S. Moroka, Box 19, Thaba Nchu, O. F. S.

M. Yergan, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York.

Z. K. Mathews, Fort Hare, Alice.

J. G. Masiu, P.O. Box 1220, Cape Town.

15th Feb. 1938.

MINUTES

OF THE

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by the Revd. J. A. Calata. The President welcomed Senator Dr. E. H. Brookes, M.A., D.LITT., H. Burman, M.P.C., and J. B. Moulton, M.P.C., the new Parliamentary members standing for African interests.

The roll was called and delegates were duly registered under their respective organisations.

35. *Minutes.* The minutes of the conference of June-July, 1936 meeting of the Convention having been printed and circulated for sale, were taken as read. These were unanimously passed and adopted.

Several questions were asked and disposed of under the Minutes and the Secretary circulated typed copies of the Agenda. In the discussions thereunder the following took part: Messrs. Oliphant, Somtunzi, Hoho, Mvabaza, Kotane, Ngojo, Dr. Gool, Mxakato, Elias, Tabata, and Nduna.

36. *Presidential Address.* Professor Jabavu delivered his Presidential address which was subsequently printed in pamphlet form. It dealt for the most part with the question of the transference of the Protectorates to the Union of South Africa, and was received with hearty appreciation by the meeting. It is obtainable at the Lovedale Press for 3d post free.

37. *Economic Uplift.* After some considerable time had been devoted to welcoming the afore-mentioned Parliamentary representatives, who made suitable replies, Mr. Martin L. Kumalo, Managing Director of the Kumalo Stores, Inanda, Natal, who had attended by special invitation of the Committee, delivered an address on Economic Uplift which was punctuated by frequent applause. Delegates evinced considerable interest, especially those engaged in commercial enterprise. Mr.

Kumalo was heartily thanked for his illuminating address. Apposite speeches therein were made by A. M. Jabavu, M.R.C., Coto, Merafe, Tsotsi, Molete, Sising, Mngomezulu, Nyezi, Oliphant and Moikangoa.

38. *Farm Labour and Agricultural Development:* In the evening session, Mr. Msimang introduced the subject of farm labour and agricultural development. A sub-committee to consider the matter was appointed and reported as follows:—

Your sub-committee having examined the problem of African farm labour, finds the following conditions to exist:—

- (a) In the majority of cases (if not general) the terms of employment are vague and exploitative. The employer considers it sufficient if he gives the labourer a building site, ploughing land and grazing rights and the labourer in return to give his labour plus that of the whole of his family as well as his oxen.
- (b) The size of ploughing land and grazing rights given in lieu of labour supplied are never mentioned on the basis of the relative value of cash wages; i.e. the standard of cash wages which are being paid in kind is unascertainable; consequently the labourer can never know what is represented in cash wages by the ploughing land and grazing rights given.
- (c) The hours of labour are never fixed and the labourer scarcely finds opportunity to attend to his lands. In many cases, the labourer's lands are ploughed either late in the season or (as has been found in the Natal District of Ladysmith) on Sundays. The employer forgets that the land represents the labourer's wages and that he should therefore be

afforded reasonable times to so work it as to give him just equivalents of cash wages he otherwise should have earned.

- (d) Some employers give land and in addition pay a bonus ranging from 2/6, 5/-, and 10/- per month for six months. Others who have adopted this system plough the land so allotted to the labourer in lieu of wages with their own oxen. What the value of such land and such ploughing is to the labourer in relation to cash wages is usually a secret known to the employer only and the labourer has to take what he gets. The payment of cash bonuses as wages on a six months contract militates against the economic interests of the labourer and encourages him to look to other industries for the betterment of his economic lot.
- (e) Some employers do not pay wages by means of ploughing land but engage labour at the rates of 5/- for females and 10/- for males per month. Children of the labourer are asked to give their labour free. In addition to this scale of wages following rations are given, viz: 25 lbs of coarse meal per fortnight, 3d worth of tobacco, 6d worth of coffee and sugar plus one sheep for meat.
- (f) Others pay from 10/- to 18/- wages per month for male labourer plus a bucket of mealie-meal. Female and juvenile labour free. Usually the labourer's wages are absorbed by a bill of foodstuffs supplied by the employer during the month.
- (g) Other employers do not pay wages at all and instead of ploughing the labourer's land with their own oxen they utilise the labourer's oxen without

the least compensation therefor but the labourer has to make the best out of the ploughing land given to him.

- (h) Because the labourer never finds time to attend to his land properly he generally finds himself in debt to the employer for the supply of food and therefore obliged to work a further six months without pay. Some employers use this economic weapon with vengeance.
- (i) Housing conditions continue to inflict a sense of injustice on the labourer who has to build his own house in spite of the fact that he has not the slightest security of tenure. Any industry not prepared to give some sort of security of tenure to its labourers must provide housing accommodation.
- (j) The policy in vogue which requires the labourer to contract the services of his children or dependants is the chief cause at the bottom of the disaffection of farm labour. It is a modified form of veiled slavery and serves to disrupt violently family ties among the labourers.
- (k) The non-existence of rural schools for the labourer's children has created a strong inducement for many African families to drift to the towns.

The foregoing conditions can only be adjusted by the introduction of a scientific arrangement whereby neither party should suffer. Your sub-committee therefore recommends the following as a basis upon which the organisation of farm labour may be secured and protected, viz:—

1. The labourer should have a fixed scale of wages based on a yearly contract.

2. He should be provided with a scale or rates of the values of services, both ordinary and optional, for which he would be required to pay. Said services should be defined by schedule.
3. There should be a fixed rate of pay for his adult children.
4. There should be a compulsory system of technical apprenticeship for the minors of a labourer in line with the Apprenticeship Act. No employer should employ juvenile labour other than under a technical apprenticeship system.
5. There should be inspectors of farm labour on the same lines as provided under the Industrial Conciliation Act or the Wage Act. Africans should be eligible for appointment.
6. There should be a fixed rate for the hire of grazing for both large and small stock.
7. There should be a fixed rate for the hire of the oxen of the labourer by the employer or vice versa.
8. There should be a fixed rate for the hire of ploughing land.
9. Hours of labour should be regulated in such a way that where wages are paid in kind the labourer may find time to attend to his interests which stand in place of cash wages.
10. Schools should be provided within a given radius for the education of the labourer's children, and should run concurrently with technical agricultural training under the technical apprenticeship.
11. Employers should provide suitable housing accommodation for their labourers at a rental fixed on a basis set out in the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

On this principle, the labourer, with the advice of a farm labour inspector, will be in a position to demand and obtain the just equivalent of the cash wages if he chooses to accept them in kind. As an instance, if wages are fixed at £4 per month and the labourer chooses to receive them in kind, the position will be as follows:—

10 acres of ploughing land at £1 per ac.	£10 0 0
Grazing 10 head of large stock at 1/- per head	6 0 0
Rent for dwelling house at 10/- per month	6 0 0
Grazing 20 small stock at 6d per month each	6 0 0
Balance cash wages at £1 13 4 per month	20 0 0
	£48 0 0

The balance of cash wages, if the employer wishes and the labourer agrees, may be reduced or wiped out by the increase of either ploughing land or grazing. The cost of farm labour under this scheme will be the same as today. All adult members of the labourer's family if required for labour should be paid a living wage at the rate of £3 per month nett. All domestic labour should be paid at fixed rates on the following basis:—

General House work	£2 10 0 per month
Laundry work	1 10 0 „ „
Nursing from £1 0 0 to	2 10 0 „ „

On the question of working hours, your sub-committee suggests that where a whole family is employed, the labourer should not do more than five days a week or 40 hours a week to enable him to attend efficiently to his own lands and other interests.

It was resolved that the foregoing proposal be circulated among the various organisation and Parliamentary representatives for consideration and that on the issue of the report of the present Farm Labour Commission a special meeting of the Convention be summoned, if deemed necessary, to consider the whole question and to review the proposal.

39. *Old Age Pensions.* On the motion of Mr. Mvabaza seconded by Mr. Ngojo it was resolved:

That the Convention recommend to all affiliated, unaffiliated African organisations and sympathetic bodies to start an energetic campaign for old age pensions for aged Africans and that it requests Parliamentary representatives and members of the Native Representative Council to bring the matter before the Government.

Mr. Mvabaza delivered a powerful address in introducing the motion.

40. *African Labour and Wages:* The President introduced Senator Malcomess and Mrs. M. V. Ballinger, M.P., who both made suitable replies and assisted in the deliberations. Mr. E. T. Mofutsanyana introduced the subject which was fully discussed, the following taking active part: Messrs Masiu, Sigila, Mngomezulu, Kotane, Akena, Nduna, Hoho, Radebe, Monaheng, and Mrs. Ballinger. The following resolution was adopted, viz:—

That this Convention is convinced, in spite of many disadvantages, that the advantages of the principles of equal pay for equal work are in the long run greater than the disadvantages and that therefore this Convention urges that efforts be made to bring about the realisation of this principle in every sphere of labour.

[See Appendix 8.]

41. *System of African Education:* An animated discussion led by Mr. W. Tsotsi, B.A., followed in the course of which Mr. Msimang reported that the people of the Free State and particularly of Bloemfontein were at the moment agitated by a policy of the replacement of African teachers by European teachers in African High Schools and that at Bloemfontein one of the teachers was under notice to quit. Messrs. Kekane, Elias, Nhlapo, Mbobo, Akena, Dr. Bunch, Rajuili, Kotane, Hoho, and Radebe took part. As the Bloemfontein incident was considered of particular urgency, especially in view of the same policy threatening to affect other centres and Provinces, it was resolved that the following resolution be forwarded to the Administrator of the O.F.S. Province and a copy to the Hon. the Minister of Education:—

That the All African Convention has learned with great concern and alarm that the present system of administration of African education in the Orange Free State is responsible for growing dissatisfaction among the Bantu in the Province. This situation has been aggravated by the recent employment of European teachers in the Bantu High School, Bloemfontein, and the dismissal of African teachers in the same school. Wherefore this Convention urges very strongly that a Commission of Inquiry be appointed to investigate into the whole administration of Bantu education in the Province in general and into the causes of disaffection in Bloemfontein in particular.

42. *External Relations:* Prof. Jabavu reported on the activities of the Secretary for External Affairs and read Dr. Yergan's report which enclosed a donation of £10 to assist Convention Funds. The report was received with

acclamation. Whereupon the General Secretary reported on the activities in Central Africa and said that the organisations in Nyasaland desired very much to be represented at the Convention but owing to economic difficulties and the fact that the people in Central Africa were economically depressed, these organisations could not even raise an affiliation fee. The discussion on this report brought to light the absolute necessity for extending organisation activities further North to combat the importation of cheap labour which is threatening the Union. On the motion of Mr. Akena seconded by Mr. Kekana the following resolution was adopted unanimously, viz:—

That Dr. Yergan be re-elected Secretary for External Affairs and be congratulated on his inspiring report. Further that it be an instruction to the General Secretary that he communicate with Dr. Yergan on the subject of the feasibility of a Pan-African Congress of Negro and other black people to meet either in Central or North Africa.

Dr. Yergan's report together with an inspiring message from Dr. A. B. Xuma is published in Appendix 4. Fraternal documents have also been received from the All India Congress Committee.

43. *African Youth.* Mr. S. S. Rajuli, B.A., led a discussion on African Youth and Attendant Social Evils which created considerable interest. Several delegates joined in the discussion. Mr. Rajuli's views on the subject will be found on appendix 7.

44. *Native Laws Amendment Act:* Mr. Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B., gave a lucid explanation of the provision of this Law and its implications, after which a strong

protest in the following terms was registered, viz:—

This Convention protests against the principle underlying the Native Laws Amendment Act in that, among other things, it seeks to perpetuate the antiquated idea of regarding urban locations as labour reservoirs and not permanent homes of Africans, hence the withholding of freehold rights from the residents, in spite of a number of developments and trading interests already established in some urban locations. Moreover, the Act places in the hands of local authorities a most dangerous weapon which might be unscrupulously used against any African who for his business ability may be declared "redundant" on the representations of small dealers who might be affected by such competition.

The Convention is strongly opposed to the principle of municipal Councils manufacturing, selling and supplying Kafir-beer as embodied in the Native (Urban Areas) Act. It records the fact that African people strongly ask for home brewing and urge that same may be given another trial.

45. *Organisation and Relationship of the A. A. C. with other organisations:*

The General Secretary read a paper on organisation and the relationship of the Convention with other organisations and he was instructed to take steps to give effect to the scheme set out in the paper and the establishment of a Central organising and Publicity Council. The paper is published in Appendix 5.

46. *National Council of African Women:* In pursuance of resolution 20 of the Convention of 1936 calling for the establishment of a National Council of African Women in connection with the All African Convention,

Miss M. Soga (Queenstown) reported that during the interval several branches had been formed in the Cape, O. F. S. and Traansvaal in consequence of which a conference had been called to formally constitute the body on Friday the 17th December, 1937. Mrs. M. V. Ballinger, M.P., and Mrs. J. D. Rheinallt Jones had been requested to attend and advise.

47. *Report of the Executive Committee* : The Executive Committee gave its report of its activities during the intervening period and it was adopted with approval.

48. FINANCE.

The official Treasurer, Dr. J. S. Moroka, was unavoidably absent attending the obsequies of the late Mrs. Molema (wife of Dr. S. M. Molema who had suddenly passed away on the previous day, at Mafeking). Accordingly, his helper, Mr I. Nhlapo, B.A., who had been approved for this purpose under minute 25 (of the 1936 Convention Meeting) brought the Financial Report with the bank deposit ledger, cheque and receipt books for inspection by the Executive Committee.

Income : Credit balance brought forward to July 1936, £122-10/11; Bantu Welfare Trust donation earmarked for printing purposes, September 29th, 1936, £30; Peelson Community, per A. M. Jabavu, 7/-; Barkly West Community per M. Mkuli, 4/-; Mr Koma, 10/-; collections taken at the 1936 Convention meeting 4/3; Beaufort West Community per H. S. Msimang, 12/3; Riverton Community registration fee, per Mr Gwele, 10/6; Communist Party of South Africa, registration fee, 10/6; Commercial Union of Pimville Traders, reg. fee, 10/6; Workers' Party of South Africa, reg. fee, 10/6; Middleburg (Tvl) Community, reg. fee, 10/6; reg. fees by 1936

delegates, £3-3/-; Bethal collection list no. 411, £1-2/3; sale of programmes, 15/-; sales of Presidential address, vernacular, 2/-; Bantu Welfare Trust donation for printing, 16th June 1937, £50; *Total income* £212-13-8.

Expenditure :- Secretarial office work, £11-6/-; Recording Secretarial expenses, £1-5/5; railway booking wire, 1/6; Honorarium to Secretary, £10; Treasurer's ledger book and postages, 4/-; typing of Constitution, 5/6; printing of 1936 Minutes and Presidential address in three Bantu languages £44; Secretarial expenses from July 10th to December 21st, 1936, £9-0/8; further secretarial work £3-3/7; Secretary's travelling and subsistence £3-5/6; Printing of Convention Stamps £13-10/-; Hire of Bloemfontein Community Hall for four days 13th-16th December 1937, £2-2/-; petty cash, £1-1/9; Credit Balance to be carried forward to 1938, £113-8/2. *Total*, £212-13 8.

*Notes by the President :—

Please note that

(a) an amount of £5 received from the Eastern Grand Temple, I. O. T. T. per Dr L. N. Mzimba and Mr R. H. Godlo is included in the income of 1936. This should have appeared in Minute 25, but was accidentally omitted when the record was being prepared for the printers. The President, who then piloted the printing, tenders his profuse apologies for this unfortunate omission due to his missing a line in the manuscript.

(b) An amount of 10/6 is due to be recovered from the Bloemfontein Community Hall in respect of Hall Hire for the 16th December 1937 as the hall was not used on that day by the All African Convention.

(c) In the absence of the Treasurer the President received the following monies: J. Ngozwana, Flags'aff, 1/-; Nurse Rose Pietersie Papama and her 4 children, 5/-; reg. fee of the S.A. Native Farmers' Congress, 10/6; A. P. Mda 1/-; Miss M. T. Soga, 1/-; Mrs M. E. X. Tyamzashe 1/-; G. Rathebe, 1/-; National Liberation League, Cape Town, reg. fee, 10/6; Batlaping Tribe, Kuruman, reg. fee, 10/6; Winburg Vigilance Cte., reg. fee, 10/6; Western Province Congress, reg. fee, 10/6; Qumbu reg. fee, per P. Jafta, 10/6; Karoo African League reg. fee per A. W. Ranana, 10/6; International Committee on African Affairs, New York, per Dr Max Yergan, £10; Miss N. E. Lumkwana, Athlone Blind School teacher, 1/- . The salary of the General Secretary for 1937 was approved at £10 and the Board and lodging cost at £1 for members of the Executive Committee in attendance.

(d) If any monies have been raised for the Convention and have not been mentioned in any of the reports or Minutes, a communication should at once be addressed to the President enquiring thereafter. We are keen to retain the confidence of the public by meticulously publishing all monies received and expended.

(e) All the shilling collection lists that were numbered and disseminated should now be returned to the Treasurer or the President for report at the next meeting of the Convention.

(f) It will be noticed from the official Constitution given hereunder that the financial basis for organisations affiliating to the Convention has been made extremely simple, easy and cheap, namely, 10/6 for registration covering a year, then 5/- per annum to cover each subse-

quent year. Therefore the greater the number of small organisations joining the Convention, the more representative will the Convention become in character, and the more numerous its delegates. Only properly constituted bodies will henceforth take part in the proceedings of the All African Convention. The day of single individuals representing their own individual opinions here is now a thing of the past. And that is as things should be.

(g) A general collection amounting to £1 13s 6d. was made in favour of a delegate who had walked all the way from Pearston (Cape), a matter of about four hundred miles for the purpose of attending the Convention. This is a remarkable example of loyalty to Africa, and the people of Pearston have since written expressing their appreciation of the goodness that has been shown to their delegate in the circumstances of dire poverty under which they live.

At this stage the General Secretary complained of the burden of work devolving upon him, and requested to be given the assistance of a Recording Secretary. The name of Mr. J. G. Masiu was proposed, seconded and adopted and Mr. Masiu was called upon to assume duties straight away, amid cheers.

Later on the house adjourned for lunch and resumed in the afternoon.

49. *Draft Constitution.* When the question of the draft constitution came up for consideration, several organizations brought up a number of amendments and suggestions for making the machinery effective. It was taken clause by clause and finally it was adopted as follows, and is now the official constitution of the *All African Convention*:

CONSTITUTION.

Preamble : Whereas it is expedient in view of the situation created by the " Native " Policy of segregation, discrimination and other repressive measures definitely adopted by the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa that the African races of South Africa as a national entity and unit should henceforth speak with one voice, meet and act in unity in all matters of national concern,

This Convention resolves that a Central Organisation shall be formed with which all African religious, educational, industrial, economic, political, commercial and social organisations shall be affiliated,

And to give effect to this purpose, the following Constitution shall form the basis of the organisation to be and which is hereby established, namely :—

1. *Name* : The name of the organisation shall be the All African Convention.

2. *Composition* : (a) The Convention shall be composed of accredited organisations and organised bodies duly registered with the General Secretary and which organisations and organised bodies shall be represented by accredited delegates at all meetings of the Convention.

(b) Any duly organised body with a constitution that expresses its objects shall be eligible for registration.

3. *Objects* : (a) To act in unity in developing the political and economic power of the African people.

(b) To serve as a medium of expression of the united voice of the African people on all matters affecting their welfare.

(c) To formulate and give effect to a national programme for the advancement and protection of the interests of the African people.

(d) To assist in rehabilitating dormant and moribund African organisations and bringing together unorganised Africans into societies, communities or bodies affiliated to the All African Convention.

4. *Officers* : (a) The Officers of the Convention shall consist of a president, a vice-president, a general secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer and an assistant treasurer.

(b) The General Secretary shall be a paid official whose salary shall be determined by the Executive Committee, from time to time.

5. *Executive Committee* : (i) The Executive Committee shall consist of (a) the officers, (b) five representatives from each province.

Chiefs and, in their absence, their duly accredited representatives shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.

(ii) The Executive Committee shall have power to meet any further organisational needs of the Convention.

(iii) In case of emergency the Officers shall have power to act on behalf of the Convention subject to review by the Executive Committee.

(iv) If a member of the Executive Committee fails to attend two consecutive meetings without giving satisfactory reasons for his absence he shall forfeit his position.

6. *Election* : The Officers of the Convention (a) shall be elected by ballot at an ordinary general meeting of the Convention ;

(b) shall hold office for three years, and

(c) shall be eligible for re-election.

The other members of the Executive Committee nominated in special meetings of provincial delegates at the Convention shall be elected at the time of the election of the officers.

7. *Vacancies* : The Executive Committee shall be competent to fill any vacancy occurring between meetings of the Convention.

8. *Finance* ; (a) The general funds of the Convention shall be made up of (i.) an initial registration fee of ten shillings and six pence (10/6) payable by each affiliating organisation for the first year ; (ii.) an affiliation fee of five shillings (5/-) per annum payable by each registered organisation for every consecutive year thereafter ; (iii.) public or private donations and funds raised by such other means as the Convention may deem fit to devise.

(b) All Convention moneys shall be deposited with the treasurer.

(c) The treasurer shall deposit all Convention funds in an approved bank in an account styled the " All African Convention."

(d) All cheques in favour of the Convention funds should be crossed " All African Convention."

(e) All disbursements from the Convention funds shall be made by cheque payments and must be signed by the treasurer, the general secretary and the president, or, in the absence of the President overseas, the Vice-President.

(f) The budget of expenditure must have been previously approved of by the Executive Committee.

(g) The travelling expenses of the executive committee shall be paid out of the Convention treasury when funds permit.

9. *Audit* : The Executive Committee shall arrange for an audit of the Convention books by an *ad hoc* committee of the Convention, and shall present a report to the Convention.

10. *Conference* : The Convention shall meet every three years, provided :—

(a) That the Executive Committee shall have power to convene a special meeting of the Convention whenever it deems it fit and necessary so to summon it.

(b) That on the requisition of at least three registered organisations submitted to the general secretary at least three months before the date suggested for the meeting and embodying the subject matter for discussion, the Executive Committee, at their discretion, shall convene, through the president, a special meeting of the Convention.

(c) That the Executive Committee shall meet at least once a year and may at its discretion invite each registered organisation to send one representative to a meeting for purposes of consultation.

11. *Quorum* : The quorum of a Convention meeting shall be one third of affiliated organisations and that of an Executive Committee meeting shall be eight members.

12. *Venue* : The venue of the Convention shall be Bloemfontein unless the Executive Committee or the Convention itself especially decide otherwise.

13. *Amendments* : This Constitution may be amended at any ordinary Convention meeting by a two-thirds vote of the members in session, provided that twelve months notice of such amendment shall be given by the

general secretary to all registered organisations prior to the Convention meeting at which such amendment is to be registered.

The constitution was concluded during the evening session.

50. *Election of Officers* : Immediately after the adoption of the constitution, the election of officers followed and resulted thus:—

President	Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.)
Vice President	Revd. Z. R. Mahabane
General Secretary	H. Selby Msimang
Recording Secretary	J. G. Masiu
Treasurer	Dr. J. S. Moroka, M.B., Ch.B.
Secretary for External Affairs	Dr. Max Yergan, M.A., LL.D.
Officer for Protectorates Contact	Z. K. Matthews M.A., LL.B.

Members of the Executive Committee :

Cape :	A. V. Coto, H. S. E. Bikitsha, A. M. Jabavu M.R.C., S. P. Sesedi and S. P. Akena.
Transvaal :	R. V. Selope Thema, M.R.C., T. D. Mveli Skota, L. T. Mvabaza, S. P. Merafe, E. T. Mofutsanyana.
Natal :	Revd. A. Mtinkulu, A. W. Geo. Champion, Martin Kumalo, Job M. Kambule and Dr. I. B. Gumede, M.B. Ch.B.
O. F. S.	C. R. Moikangoa, T. W. Keable 'Mote (Prov. Secy.), Simon M. Elias, T. M. Mapikela, M.R.C., (Prov. Chairman) and D. Chaane.

51. *General* : (a) Revd. J. Marela was reported to have travelled approximately 400 miles from Pearston to attend the Convention and walked the greater part of the distance on foot. Delegates decided to pay his return fare and collected £1 11s. 5½d. plus 2/- contributed by a European lady, Mrs. Rhodes Harrison, who saw the account in the press.

(b) On the motion of Mr. Mxakato seconded by Mr. 'Mote it was resolved that the Convention go into the matter of the Lodger's Permit which local authorities impose upon African children of 18 years of age and married daughters whose husbands have either deserted, divorced them or died.

(c) Mr. R. V. Selope Thema requested the President to attend the Jubilee celebrations of the African National Congress and convey the felicitations of the Convention. The President regretted his inability to do so as he had to leave immediately. Whereupon the Convention appointed Messrs. Mosaka, Mofutsanyana, Keable 'Mote, Kekana, S. Elias and S. Sesedi.

(d) The Convention expressed regret at the misfortune of Mr. C. N. Citashe of Capetown who had lost his return portion of the railway ticket and requested the officers to attend to the matter.

(e) Owing to the matter of the draft policy of the Convention having been brought up late in the session, it was referred back to the Executive Committee for further consideration. (See Appendix 3).

(f) The Convention was closed with the singing of " Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika," fixed by Constitution to meet on the 16th December 1940.

(g) It was generally felt throughout the proceedings that the Africans, despite numerous handicaps and hurdles, were forging with patriotic determination towards the common goal of unity, mutual appreciation and tolerance in a solidly constructive effort.

(h) All outstanding organisations will kindly remember to join up by sending 10/6 to Dr. J. S. Moroka, P.O. Box 19, Thaba Nchu, O. F. S.

T. G. MASIU,
Recording Secretary.

Appendix 1.

ORGANISATIONS REPRESENTED

1. Keiskama Hoek African Chiefs' Council
2. Cape African National Congress
3. Western Province African National Congress
4. African Karroo League
5. Batlaping Kuruman Community
6. Beaufort West and Nelspoort Community
7. Middledrift Farmers Association
8. Pearston Community
9. Naauwpoort Taxpayers Association
10. Colesberg Advisory Board
11. Burghersdorp Community
12. National Council of African Women of Capetown
13. Herschel Farmers Association
14. Herschel Local Council
15. Cape African National Congress of Kimberley

16. National Liberation League of S.A.
17. Spartan Club of Capetown
18. Mount Fletcher Community
19. Tsomo Community
20. Fourteen Streams Community
21. Glen Adelaide Workers Society
22. Iso Lomzi of Capetown
23. Transkei Voters' Association
24. Winburg Vigilance Association
25. National Council of African women of Winburg
26. Bloemfontein Traders Association
27. Kroonstad Community
28. Transvaal African Congress
29. African National Business Association
30. Pimville Native Advisory Board
31. Pimville Traders Association
32. Communist Party of S.A.
33. Mothers Union of Kimberley
34. Hopetown Electoral Committee
35. Cape Native Voters' Convention
36. Ciskeian Chiefs' Convention
37. Transkeian chiefs' Convention
38. South African Native Teachers' Federation
39. South African Native Farmers' Congress.

Appendix 2.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Cape

1. M. W. Somtunzi Keiskamahoe
2. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. Alice

3.	S. P. Akena	Cradock
4.	A. W. Ranana	Graaff Reinet
5.	A. Monaisa	do
6.	P. J. Matlare	Beaufort West
7.	J. G. Gqoloza	Nelspoort
8.	L. O. Gaitsewe	Kuruman
9.	M. S. Kitchen	do
10.	H. S. T. Mtshemla	Alice
11.	Rev. J. M. D. Marela	Pearston
12.	B. W. D. Mwanda	Naauwpoort
13.	J. J. Mkhosana	Colesberg
14.	S. C. Mxakato	Krugersdorp
15.	A. E. T. John	do
16.	Mrs. Bhola	Capetown
17.	Chief H. L. Phooko	Herschel
18.	G. D. Molete	Herschel
19.	S. McD. Lekhela	Kimberley
20.	Dr. G. H. Gool, M.B., CH.B.	Capetown
21.	Miss Jannet Gool, B.A.	do
22.	J. A. La Guma	do
23.	J. B. Tabata	do
24.	V. V. T. Mbobo, B.A.	Mt. Fletcher
25.	W. M. Tsotsi, B.A.	Tsomo
26.	S. B. Nyezi	Fourteen Streams
27.	J. Morimane	do
28.	J. D. Mfenyana	Lady Frere
29.	Joel Nduma	Capetown
30.	A. J. Segie Kekane	do
31.	A. V. Coto	do
32.	J. D. Ngojo	do
33.	S. Oliphant	Capetown
34.	Rev. Jas. A. Calata	Cradock

35.	Chief H. Bikitsha	Butterworth
36.	S. P. Sesedi	Hopetown
37.	N. P. Bulube	Transkei
38.	Mrs. M. Sesedi	Kimberley
39.	Moses M. Kotane	Capetown
40.	S. S. Rajuili, B.A.	Alice
41.	Miss. Mina T. Soga	Queenstown
42.	C. A. W. Sigila	Fort Beaufort
43.	A. M. Jabavu, M.R.C.	Kingwilliamstown
44.	James Thaele, B.A.	Capetown
45.	R. H. Godlo, M.R.C.	East London
46.	Miss Lumkwana	Athlone Blind School, Faure, C.P.
47.	Miss Mary Soga	Queenstown
48.	Samuel Hoho	Capetown
49.	Rev. C. Cithashe	do
50.	Miss Daisy Tabe Peters	East London
51.	J. G. Masiu	Capetown

Orange Free State

52.	J. B. Sesing	Bloemfontein
53.	J. M. Seleke	do
54.	S. Molatlou	do
55.	J. Nthatise	do
56.	S. Senyane	do
57.	J. Lobere	do
58.	M. Lekalake	do
59.	C. R. Moikangoa	do
60.	Rev. Ben C. Litchaba	do
61.	Paul Mosaka, B.A.	Thaba Nchu
62.	D. Z. Chaane	Heilbron
63.	J. Lobere	do

64.	Rev. Z. R. Mahabane	Winburg
65.	Mrs. Z. R. Mahabane	do
66.	J. G. Nhlapo, B.A.	Thaba Nchu
67.	J. Ntja, B.Sc.	Modderpoort
68.	Mrs. Letrila	Winburg
69.	A. A. Litheko	do
70.	J. Jesemola	do
71.	T. M. Mapikela, M.R.C.	Bloemfontein
72.	T. Keable Mote	Kroonstad
73.	S. Elias	Bloemfontein

Transvaal

74.	T. D. Mveli Skota	Johannesburg
75.	L. T. Mvabaza	do
76.	S. P. Merafe	do
77.	A. H. W. Dhlamini	do
78.	A. T. Mofutsanyana	do
79.	A. P. Mda	Germiston
80.	M. A. Banise	Johannesburg
81.	Y. Radebe	do
82.	R. V. Selope Thema, M.R.C.	do

Natal

83.	H. Selby Msimang	Ladysmith
84.	Martin Kumalo	Inanda, Durban

Parliamentary Members.

85.	Senator Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, M.A. D.Litt.	Adams, Amanzimtoti
86.	Senator C. H. Malcomess,	Berlin, King W.T.
87.	Senator J. D. R. Jones, M.A.	Johannesburg

88.	J. B. Moulton, M.P.C.	Kimberley
89.	H. Burman, M.P.C.	Port Elizabeth
90.	Mrs. V. M. Ballinger,	Johannesburg
	M.A., M.P.	

Unfortunately many other names of delegates who were present have been missed out as they were not communicated to the Secretary; otherwise the actual roll was well over 130.

Appendix 3.

POLICY OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION

1. *Segregation* : (a) Segregation in all its forms is to be opposed.

(b) All Colour-Bar laws are to be fought.

(c) Africans demand the freedom to organise trade-unions, unemployed councils, the right to strike, the abolition of racial barriers in existing trade-unions and in industry, as well as race prejudice generally; the stoppage of police terrorism against African workers.

(b) Opposition must be organised against those sections of the Urban Areas Act and the Native Laws Amendment Act that provide for the compulsory removal of Natives from towns merely by reason of unemployment and of being "redundant." The position of those Africans whose homes are in the towns and have never been in touch with rural areas must be safeguarded.

2. *Political Rights* : A vigorous agitation must be conducted for (a) the right to the franchise for the Africans; (b) representation by indigenous Africans in all

State councils, particularly the House of Assembly ;
(c) the appointment of an African member on the Native Affairs Commission as well as other commissions that are periodically appointed to inquire into various aspects of Native affairs.

3. *Land Rights* : (i) The allocation of land sufficient for the needs of an ever-growing African population.

(ii) Acceleration of the acquisition of the "released areas" and of the economic development of existing reserves.

(iii) Opposition to the eviction of Africans who are called "squatters," or who are dwellers on lands outside of reserves and released areas.

(iv) The settlement of Africans on the land under such favourable conditions as will obviate the necessity to leave their land and seek employment on unjust terms.

(v) Maintenance of the right to purchase land on freehold title for those African individuals or communities that desire so to do.

(vi) The abolition of all restrictions placed in the way of Africans in purchasing land anywhere.

(vii) The multiplication of agricultural schools for Africans in order to foster adaptability to make a success of rural life.

(viii) That the appointment of a Native member to the Land Board for the released Areas be made legally compulsory instead of being left optional as at present in the Native Land Trust Act.

4. *Unemployment* : Government financial relief, freedom from Poll Tax and abolition from rent dues for all unemployed Africans must be pressed for.

5. *Wages* : The All African Convention demands

(a) equal pay for equal work irrespective of race or colour.

(b) an eight-hour day in all industries ;

(c) a more liberal wage-scale for African labourers in all classes of urban and rural employment ;

(d) that Native workers be brought legally within the protective scope of the Wage Act and Industrial Conciliation Act because much of the prevailing poverty, under-nourishment and low degree of health is directly traceable to the deplorable low rates of wages obtaining universally among African employees.

6. *Taxation* : (a) The abolition of the Native Poll Tax.

(b) The reduction of the Poll Tax as a first step towards its abolition.

(c) The substitution of a tax based on a reasonable proportion of a man's income in place of the Poll Tax.

7. *Pass Laws* : The radical abolition of all Pass Laws and of the substitution thereof of an income tax receipt as proposed in 6 (c) above.

8. *Education* : The All African Convention endorses the resolutions and statements issued by the South African Native Teachers' Federation in December 1936, and specially stresses the axiomatic fact that the education of the African is essential to his efficiency in employment and his progress in agriculture.

The first step towards improving the present inadequate system of Native education is to put into force the recommendations made in the Inter-Departmental Report on Native Education (1936) as analysed and criticised by the South African Native Teachers' Federation, especially the points suggesting

(a) that Native education be financed on a per caput basis, instead of the present fixed and inadequate subsidy ;

(b) equal pay for African and European teachers in Native schools or colleges whenever qualifications are equal ;

(c) and a general improvement in the salary scales of African teachers.

9. *Health* : (a) The widest publicity and inquiry into the present appalling state of malnutrition and incidence of disease among Africans generally ;

(b) the employment of more nurses in urban areas and reserves ;

(c) scholarship facilities to enable promising young Africans to enter the medical profession and improve the health of their people ;

(d) the establishment in the Union of South Africa of a fully equipped medical school for Africans granting a recognised and registrable medical certificate.

10. *Chiefs* : The improvement of status and financial allowances for African chiefs and headmen in view of their serious responsibilities in maintaining law and discipline in extensive and populous districts.

11. *Protectorates* : In re-affirming Minute 29 of its 1936 session, the All African Convention decisively opposes all proposals to incorporate the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland into the Union of South Africa on the ground that such incorporation will not be in the best interests of the Africans in those Protectorates, especially while the Native policy of the Union Government continues to be that of Segregation,

Colour Bars and all sorts of political and economic discriminations at the expense of the Natives.

12. *Economic Policy* : The Convention stands for :—

(a) The advancement of the economic interests of Africans in the belief that this is the key to all progress ;

(b) encouraging Africans to serve Africans in mutual exchange of living stock and agricultural products by means of central depot links that will bring producers and consumers into touch with one another.

(c) developing associations of farmers, credit societies and cooperative systems of buying and selling agricultural products ;

(d) inculcating individual thrift and frugality in every community, especially by means of deposits in Saving Banks accounts ;

(e) training Africans in founding trading shops, grain stores, and factories to supply goods to African centres and communities or reserves, thus incidentally widening the scope of the employment of Africans by Africans in all phases of work ;

(f) stressing the need of an education on the lines of book-keeping and business methods, thereby promoting economic uplift, initiative, and efficiency ;

(g) and urging successful business men and women to provide frequent public lectures calculated to rouse the national conscience and to stimulate African latent gifts in trading and business capacity.

13. *Representation* : (a) All the candidates returned as members at the elections held during June 1937 under the 1936 Representation of Natives Act are hereby recognised as the accepted mouthpiece of Africans in their various representative State Chambers of the (i) Senate ;

(ii) House of Assembly, (iii) Provincial Council, and (iv) Native Representative Council.

(b) These representatives will be expected to attend the plenary sessions of the All African Convention at Bloemfontein for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of African views on various questions, securing a mandate for expressing African views on matters arising from time to time, and of giving an account of their stewardship.

(c) The following publications are recommended for perusal and study:—

(i) *Criticisms of the Native Bills*, Lovedale Press, 1/2.

(ii) *Native Views on the Native Bills*. do

(iii) *Findings of the All African Convention*. do

(iv) *Minutes of the All African Convention 1936*. do

(v) Other documents to be issued by the All African Convention from time to time.

For a catalogue of Colour-Bar repressive laws consult

(i) *The Colour Problems of South Africa* by E. H. Brookes (Lovedale Press, 3/6)

(ii) *Native Disabilities* by D. D. T. Jabavu (Lovedale Press, 1/6)

(iii) *Bantu Grievances* by D. D. T. Jabavu, (being chapter XII of the book *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa*. (Routledge, London, 15/-)

(iv) *New Anti-Colour Legislation*, an article by John Gomas in the *Negro Worker* of issue June 1937, 6d.

(v) Johannesburg Joint Council booklet on Colour Bar Laws, 6d.

Note: The Executive Committee of the All African Convention has drafted the foregoing declaration of policy for the purpose of information and guidance to all interested intimately or remotely in the All African Convention, and for public discussion, amendment and ratification.

(Signed)

H. SELBY MSIMANG,
Secretary.

D. D. T. JABAVU,
President.

Appendix 4

To the Delegates to the All African Convention assembled at Bloemfontein December 12-16, 1937.

To My Brothers, Greetings!

It is with the deepest regret that I have had to inform our President of my inability to be present at this meeting of the Convention. I am unable to come, because, among other reasons, the immediate work which I am trying to do in the interest of our entire cause makes it impossible for me to leave America just now. I wish you to know how deeply I have desired all along to be present at this particular meeting for I recognize the importance of your deliberations and of the action which you will take following your deliberations. May I, therefore, be permitted to express my views in what I believe to be in the best interest of our cause in South Africa.

I am more than ever convinced that our chief need now, as was true a year ago, is to build a people's movement.

By this I mean to make possible the largest amount of united action on the part of our people in South Africa. This means clearly that our task is to continue in our effort to federate existing organizations. This, of course, means that we must find at this moment, principles and tasks to be accomplished, around which it will be possible to unite the great mass of the people, including those *in* organizations and *outside* organizations.

To do this, of course, we must begin first with the existing organizations. We must let nothing stand in the way of making it possible for the leaders of the various organizations to see the importance and desirability of united action as will be made possible by a federation of the existing organizations. This I believe to be our supreme task at this moment, and I am convinced, from my observations here in America and elsewhere, that we must prepare to pay whatever price is required in order to accomplish this particular end of a united people struggling for ends which are common to us all.

It seems to me that our second task is to give consideration and expression to the immediate political and economic goals towards which we must move. This means that we must define clearly and simply so that every man and woman can understand the things which we desire and demand immediately. Fortunately, this has been done in the statements of policy with regard to political matters. The agitation for land rights must, by all means, be made the very basis of the struggle. It is, of course, well recognized that there is no issue around which the people can be rallied to a greater extent than around the land question. This question involves one of the basic rights of our people and we should never cease

keeping it to the forefront and letting it become the very heart of our struggle there.

In the next place, it seems to me that the Convention is well advised to keep also before the people the absolute necessity for acquiring full political rights. Everybody knows the difficulties that are in the way. Everybody recognizes the determination on this acquisition of political rights on the part of our people; but, at the same time, every person should know that until there is increased political power, we are severely handicapped in the struggle which must be made for bread; for land; for the right to grow and be happy.

Then, the emphasis upon increased wages is a well-placed emphasis. The whole world is beginning to-day to be aware of the scandalously low-wage scale which exists in South Africa. In the most conservative circles both in Europe and in America I have found horrified amazement amongst people when they learn how poorly paid, how terribly robbed, the South African worker is. This question of wages, therefore, is one around which practically all of the people can be united; and I believe we should put forth every effort to unite the largest possible number of people in the struggle for better pay. Better wages will affect our whole community and the demand for increased wages should be heard from one end of the country to the other.

Space does not permit me to comment further on other details of policy upon which great emphasis should be placed. Fortunately, your Executive Committee has given careful attention to the most important needs, and the documents which I have seen convince me that the Convention has an Executive Committee and a body of

officers who are well aware of the immediate needs and who have outlined a program calculated to deal with these immediate needs.

May I in closing again urge the necessity for united effort through the federation of existing organizations. May I call upon the various leaders to learn the lesson of present-day history as revealed in so many parts of the world, and *see* that only through a coming together of the people can they hope to gain for themselves the blessings of democracy and to prevent the ravages of war and ruthless Fascist destruction, which the exploiters of man the world over will surely bring upon us if we do not unite and *resist*. Our struggle, then, is the struggle *for democracy ; for freedom ; for bread, for better wages ; for better living conditions*. The struggle is *against* the denial of political rights ; against the exploitation of workers on the farms and in industry, as well as in domestic service ; against the suppression of manhood rights, such as freedom of movement ; against the denial of adequate educational, health and housing facilities ; against the continued robbery of the people by a few who are clever and powerful.

Unity with all the Bantu ; unity with all Whites whose needs are the same ; unity with the liberal forces in the trade union movements ; unity with all liberals and progressive-minded people ; unity with those in the churches who are social-minded ; unity with all who struggle for a freer and happier South Africa, for all the people.

I have been glad to serve the All African Convention as its Secretary for External Relations, and if it is

the desire of the Convention that I continue in this capacity, I shall be happy to do so.

I have sent a report of my activities to the President and to the Secretary.

Yours faithfully,

MAX YERGAN

Secretary for External Relations

Here follows the report referred to

REPORT OF MAX YERGAN TO THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION

Assembled in Bloemfontein, Dec. 12-16, 1937

*To the Officers, Members of the Executive Committee
and Delegates—Greetings!*

I have the honour to submit to you a report covering my activities since my election by the All African Convention as Secretary for External Affairs

Shortly after my election to this post I sailed from South Africa on my way to America. A number of weeks in Europe made it possible for me to acquaint people in England as well as on the Continent with our organization. In this way I could show that in South Africa we are trying to organize so as to carry on our struggle in the most effective manner. You will at once recognize the desirability of making it known that we are interested in our own welfare. In London, as well as in Geneva, I met and talked with a number of officials, and also private individuals, who are acquainted with and interested in

our work, some of them from our own point of view, and in those phases of South African life which particularly bear upon our section of the population.

Notably in England was I able to make contact with a number of press representatives. The importance of this will at once be recognized. While we cannot always count on favourable press reports, it is a good thing for us to be able to send information to the press which reflects our point of view. This I have done to some extent.

From England I came on to America where I began to give myself at once to the task of setting up an international committee, and after several months I succeeded in forming The International Committee on African Affairs, whose members at present are as follows: In the United States, Mr. Raymond L. Buell of the Foreign Policy Association, New York City; Dr. Ralph Bunche, Professor of Political Science, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Hubert T. Delany, Attorney, New York City; Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Director of Industrial Research for the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., New York City; Mrs. John F. Moors of Boston, Massachusetts; Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Mr. F. E. DeFrantz, Executive Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., Indianapolis; in Canada—Professor Norman MacKenzie of the Toronto Law School, Toronto; abroad—Professor Leonard Barnes, Liverpool University, Liverpool, England; M. Rane Maran, Paris; and Mr. Paul Robeson of London.

The purposes of the Committee may be briefly stated as follows: 1. To conduct research and publish reports

on various phases of life and conditions within Africa and on relations between Africa and those European powers which exercise governmental control over African territory and African people; 2. To find and facilitate the education of a number of carefully chosen Africans, having in mind that such men will take their places of leadership within Africa and will also cooperate with progressive-minded people outside of Africa interested in the welfare of the peoples of Africa; 3. To encourage the promotion of the cooperative movement in Africa, having in mind that such a movement will facilitate the organizing of Africans around vital subjects and will provide a channel through which trained Africans may serve their people; 4. To help develop interrelationships between separate communities of Africans or peoples of African descent including inhabitants of Africa and Negroes living in the United States, the West Indies and elsewhere.

It will be clear from the above that there is a possibility of gaining the attention and support of a large number of people in the United States and in Europe in the plans described above. I am happy to report to you that this Committee is doing effective work in educating public opinion, in drawing attention to the facts of South African life and life in other parts of Africa, and in helping to shape public opinion which, in the great democratic countries like England, France and the United States, have a great deal to do with the developments in our present-day life.

One of the first undertakings of this committee will be to participate in a conference which will be held in the U.S. next month. This conference will deal with the

production of raw materials and standards of living. By this I mean that it will consider the life of the worker, what the worker produces, what wage he is paid for what he produces, and the conditions under which he works and the way he lives; that is to say, his ability to live decently on the wage which he receives; his ability to provide for his family with a minimum of decency and opportunity. In other words, this conference will think of the life of the great mass of the people of the country. This conference will include in its consideration, South Africa and possibly a portion of West Africa, the West Indies and the Southern States of America. You will recognize at once that these are areas inhabited very largely by Africans or peoples of African descent. It is for this reason that this conference is of great importance to us in South Africa. We hope, among other results, to obtain a basis for comparisons.

This information should be of great help in stimulating an even more intelligent struggle on our part in Africa, in the West Indies and in the Southern States of America, to secure a decent minimum standard of living for people. You will remember that South Africa and other parts of Africa are not isolated from the rest of the world—indeed, I may report to you here that there are conditions in the West Indies and in parts of the Southern States equally as bad as conditions which obtain in South Africa. Hence the necessity for knowing one another's conditions, of utilizing the facts relative to one another's conditions and for struggling together even though separated by the seas.

I shall be glad to send you detailed information from

time to time with further regard to developments leading up to this conference.

The National Negro Congress in the United States is another important organization with which I have established contact on behalf of the All African Convention. This Congress undertakes to federate various Negro organizations in America, just as the All African Convention does in Africa. The Congress has just held its second annual meeting which was a very great success. There was tremendous but quiet enthusiasm, and there also was outlined a practical minimum program, in the achievement of which we believe it is possible to secure the united action and support of the existing powerful organizations already at work amongst Negroes in America. Here, as ever, our struggle is for improved working conditions, increased wages, more political rights, better housing and health conditions, and improved educational facilities.

Thus, will you see that the struggle of man the world over is precisely the same. I should further report to you that I was asked to become one of the Vice-presidents of the National Negro Congress of the United States, with responsibility for outside relations, particularly those in the West Indies, Africa and South America. It should also be stated that this American organization thought such an arrangement desirable because of my relation to the All African Convention. This official connection with the Congress gives me contact with the broad popular base upon which the Congress here is being erected and should result in a closer working relation between the rank and the file of the organization here and our organization in Africa.

I think it worth while to report further that in addition to my activities as outlined above, I have agreed to serve as lecturer at the College of the City of New York. This responsibility does not require a great deal of my time, but it does make it possible for me to acquaint an important group of graduate students with certain definite facts relative to the Negroes in America and their African background. The course which I am giving at this college is on "Negro History and Culture"; and, as you will see, makes it possible for me to deal at length with the African background of Negro culture. All of this is of importance when we take into consideration the amount of educational work to be done in order to dispel many of the inaccurate and prejudiced views which people on this side of the Atlantic entertain with regard to Africa.

One of my desires is to see to it that the International Committee on African Affairs makes available a sum of money, particularly for the development, which the All African Convention includes in its program, of the co-operation movement. It is possible, in a letter which I have written to the President, to send a small sum as an indication of our interest on this side of the Atlantic in a particular need South Africa. I hope it will be possible to increase this gift from time to time and thereby aid materially in a practical activity in South Africa which every one of you must recognize as being tremendously important.

I desire to arrange for the largest possible exchange of papers and literature between America and Africa. Already I have coming to our office here all papers published in South Africa, and I shall take steps to see that American papers of interest to you there, which are

being received, shall be available. In this connection I am particularly anxious to have a number of all of the reports of the All African Convention, and I shall see to it that you will receive a number of the reports of the meeting of the National Negro Congress which was recently held; likewise, any documents which we find here relative to the South African conditions or which contain information about American conditions which in our judgment will be helpful to you, we shall make available for you. In this exchange of information is one of the services which I am inclined to think is worth while, and I shall try to develop it as affectively as possible.

May I here again express my deep regret over my inability to be present at this particular meeting of the All African Convention. I have made it clear in letters to the President and the Secretary, as well as other members why I am unable to leave America at this time. Also I have made it clear that I shall let nothing stand in the way of my coming to the meeting which will be held six months from December meeting. I recognize that the meeting now in session is important, and I hope that the delegates will take such a serious view of it that no great mistake will be made, on the questions upon which they are to act.

I have already made it clear that in the event you desire me to continue the work which I am trying to carry on in the interest of our larger cause, I shall be glad to do so. I do not need to tell you that though I am separated from you by ten thousand miles, I feel none the less close than was true when I was actually amongst you. Let us, then, in unity go forward against

oppression, against starvation wages, against hunger and nakedness, against landlessness, against the violation of human rights; let us unite for freedom; for the right to live and grow; for a happier South Africa; for the good life for all.

Yours faithfully,

MAX YERGAN

Secretary for External Relations.

Dr. A. B. Xuma also writes thus:—

London, England

December 2, 1937

Delegates of the All-African Convention and Fellow Countrymen

Greetings:

You will find before you the Constitution of the All African Convention for ratification. In the articles of the constitution you will find much that you can criticize with justice.

I want, however, to emphasize to you that the Constitution will develop in time through your reasonable amendments and suggestions provided they are made in the right spirit and right attitude with a sincere desire to help build the unity of our people. You must realize that this constitution is merely the basic authority for our united action. It calls for a united front, a common objective.

You do not have unity because you write a beautiful constitution on paper. Unity must be written in your hearts and minds. It must mean unselfish service for your people. It must mean faith in yourselves, faith in your people and their leaders.

All of us must surrender personal ambition for national unity.

By speaking with one voice, acting unitedly, we will be serving South Africa as a whole.

Anyone who will endeavour to wreck the principle of unity that gave birth to the All African Convention will be doing so for personal reasons and will be a traitor to Africa.

As your vice-president and chairman of the Executive of the All African Convention, you have always given me your ear and your full co-operation, for which I thank you.

Six thousand miles away, I appeal to you to ratify the Constitution and show the world that you mean to stand together at all costs.

Besides, you must decide upon a definite practical policy and programme of action upon which all elements can join hands in putting it over.

A. B. XUMA

Vice-President A.A.C.

Chairman of the Executive of A.A.C.

Appendix 5.

(By the General Secretary)

The problem, of organising the All African Convention is essentially a question of how to strengthen, vitalise and consolidate existing organisations. The Convention depends for its existence on the active participation and co-operation of the various organisations in that it is the central body which provides a common platform for exchange of views and mutual helpfulness in matters national in character. It recognises the right of each

organisation to exist and to enjoy an undisturbed autonomy, provided that each organisation in turn appreciates and lives up to the ideal that it is a part of an organism or a lever in a mechanism where it contributes its vital share to the life of the whole. The principle involved is that every organisation exists for a definite purpose the ultimate end of which is to serve the best interests of the people it represents and who compose it. But all organisations, whatever their objectives, are so interdependent and so closely connected in matters of daily life and other material opportunities that they need and require a central platform for a fair exchange of views and mutual consultation in matters affecting the whole.

The question of how to organise the All African Convention would not have arisen if we were sure that the existing organisations do actually exist and that they are what they affect to be. I believe it is an admitted fact that existing organisations, on the point of actual membership and scope, exist only in name. If we mean business we must face facts and admit them and then proceed to devise ways and means of putting our house in order. What I find in actual practise is a number of enthusiastic workers for unity who instead of doubling their individual efforts towards the strengthening of their organisations spend their energies in vilification, acrimony and mud-throwing at the next man, squabbling over mere names and leadership to the detriment of the cause of which the organisations stand. The Convention, created with the consent and approbation of various organisations, provides a bridge over this gulf of misunderstanding and vilification, so that each organisation may concentrate as never before on proving its existence and playing its part in the

organism of our national life harmonising with the aspirations of all other organisations.

The African people, taken as a whole, are a working class of the type popularly spoken of as proletariats. By the laws of the country they have been reduced to a rank of a citizen of the sixth or lowest class. Their closest problems are economic problems. Their politics are essentially bread and butter politics. The diversity of the channels through which they eke out a kind of existence amounting to keeping the wolf away from the door, opens up numerous fields for organisational work which call for specialised efforts on the part of organisers to treat each group as a separate entity concentrating on the problems germane to its peculiar sphere. To my mind, our people do not fully understand such high politics as involve individual rights or political disabilities. I make bold to say that in actual fact the masses do not understand what is meant by political rights, but they are easily susceptible to any form of agitation or instruction dealing with their immediate needs and requirements. If they are workers they want to know how they can improve their earnings. They understand the Colour Bar not in its political significance but as a means designed to close all avenues for better pay. The Convention, therefore, seeks to neutralise high politics for the concern of the highly intelligent, that is, the leaders of various organisations acting as a unison on a common platform, and to leave well alone matters affecting individual groups except give such counsel and to lend its material and moral support where required.

Similarly, a section of our people is gradually awakening to the recognition of the potentialities of a much im-

proved modern system of agriculture and others are keenly interesting themselves in commercial undertakings, usually very risky and intricate. Their politics consists of the problems of how to make good. These people are a great asset and of incomparable benefit to the working class in that by their industry as farmers and storekeepers they relieve the glut on the labour market. But they have been thrown on their own resources, all without education, guidance or any kind of assistance. They are crying out for organisers and instructors. They want new markets for their produce and the storekeepers seek supplies. This reminds me of a passage in the Great Book which says "the harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few." In every sphere of occupation our people are thrown on their own resources to make or mar their progress. They seek advice and guidance. The Convention is committed to a policy of lending a helping hand to these people by evolving a system of organisation capable of strengthening all existing organisations and to organise other essential groups. I have already said that the Convention does not intend nor is it there to compete for membership with any other organisation. All it asks is that organisations should identify themselves with it.

While the Convention may desire to keep out of any competition for membership, there are several delicate problems in connection with organisational work which it must solve. There are today several communities and individuals who have a conscientious objection to some of the older organisations by reason of past experiences and yet want to belong to some organisation. I do not believe that the Convention would be justified to compel these communities and people to join the

organisations they disapprove. It seems to me clearly obvious that these communities and individuals should be organised somehow and given some form of guidance. I have already said that the Convention seeks to neutralise high politics for the concern of the more intelligent and that the politics of the masses is bread and butter politics. It follows therefore that the Convention should organise the people occupationally and to insist upon a group engaged in a particular occupation to join an affiliated group representing that occupation; and if none exists to constitute one. For example, the Farmers Association of the Cape and operating in the Reserves may through the agency of the Convention spread its activities so as to embrace all African farmers throughout the Union Reserves, private and Trust lands. Similarly, the farm labour organisation, if non-existent, should be organised and spread throughout the Union.

To do this, the Convention must establish a Central Organisation and Publicity Council consisting of not less than fifteen Divisional Organisers and Publicity Officers under the chairmanship of the General Secretary. This means that the Union should be divided into 15 Divisions, each to have a Divisional and Publicity Committee composed of district organisers within its jurisdiction. All officers of the Council to be paid on results. Enrolment of members to be effected by means of application forms giving the full name and address of applicant, his occupation and desires as to organisation. Receipts for enrolment fees to be given by means of Convention 2/6 Stamps duly numbered. Applicants seeking membership in affiliated bodies to be transferred thereto forthwith, and, if in unaffiliated bodies, they should be linked up

with their affiliated occupational organisations. Where an occupation has no organisation same may be organised independently. Applicants should pay an enrolment fee of 2/6 to be distributed as follows:—

1/- for the Convention.

1/- for affiliated organisation or occupational organisation formed.

6d. Commission for canvassing.

The African people cry for education and enlightenment. No organisation can be maintained if its members are kept in ignorance of their interests and rights. If the Convention seeks to lead an intelligent and well-informed public, it must create one by embarking upon a form of publicity capable of infusing knowledge on the various aspects of our lives. This can be done effectively by means of leaflets and pamphlets printed in the vernacular and any other language understood by the people. The revenue derived from such literature, if any, to be devoted to organisational work and grants to weak organisations. I feel that publicity of this kind will greatly enhance the prestige of our official representatives in Parliament, Senate, Provincial Council and Representative Council who need the backing of a strong intelligent African public opinion behind them to counterbalance prejudiced European public opinion. In the circumstances, I suggest that the Convention make an appeal to them for a liberal contribution towards a publicity fund and that a similar appeal be made to African chiefs and leaders.

In conclusion, I suggest further that the Convention appoint a small Committee of three to define the boundaries of the fifteen divisions of the Union and to recommend a

method by which Divisional Organisers and Publicity Officers may be appointed.

H. SELBY MSIMANG

Appendix 6.

Telegrams received:—

R. G. Baloyi, Johannesburg: "May God bless Convention in struggle for African National emancipation. Regret inability to attend."

Siwundla, Qumbu: "Armadillo for ethical rights."

James Molebaloa, Cape Town: "President's fearless and manly address received with applause in Peninsula."

Communist Party of South Africa, Johannesburg: "Greetings and good wishes; build Convention into mighty mass movements; unite all African people."

African Workers Union, Johannesburg: "Best wishes deliberations, fight for right to organise and for increased wages."

National Liberation League, Cape Town: "Hold the torch of truth so that those in darkness can see the light for equality, land and freedom."

Gomas, Cape Town: "Cape Town Communists, wish Convention becomes National Liberation leader."

P. Jafta, Qumbu: "Regret unable to attend through ill-health, wishing Convention success; have wired 10/- registration fee Qumbu Community."

G. Makabeni, Clothing Workers Union, Johannesburg:
"Owing to unavoidable circumstances unable send delegates support you morally; workable programme most essential."

Paramount Chief Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu, Pretoria: "In spirit am with you; and may God Bless your deliberations which have Bantu interests at heart. The Native Representative Council here are in turn looking after welfare of Africans in general."

Dumakude, Queenstown: Greetings still interested in your affairs."

And a letter from Advocate D. B. Molteno, M.P., Cape Town, who regretted being unable to attend as he was inextricably detained by pressing business but was still going to come before Convention dispersed if freed. Then he says "I desire, in case I am unable to attend, to express through you my greetings to the delegates and my sincere good wishes for the success of their deliberations. As you are aware, I have wholeheartedly supported the All African Convention from its inception. Its tasks and its responsibilities are greater than any that an African organisation has ever before been faced with; because by its work it has earned itself the title to speak for the African People as a whole. In the days that lie ahead of us wise leadership will be the factor that will count more than any other in the future of the African People. Please assure the delegates of the deep interest and sympathy with which I regard their work."

The document of the Executive Committee's report somehow got lost at the Convention; while several

speakers who had been specially requested to address the Convention and had done so with much acceptance have failed to send in their papers to the Secretary in time for this publication. If these happen to reach us late, they will, under the circumstances, be published in the next record of the Convention.

J. G. MASIU.

Appendix 7.

THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH AND ATTENDANT SOCIAL EVILS.

Being an address given by S. S. Rajuili, B.A., to the A.A.C. at Bloemfontein, December, 1937.

As a result of the Native Bills which have now become the law of the land against the strongest opposition of this Convention and the Natives of this country, the All African Convention assembled here to discuss ways and means of political salvation and economic self help by the Native people. Consequently the Convention and its followers launched upon a huge but noble task of educating the people about methods of self uplift. This year encouraging reports of what has been done since 1935 and what is hoped for are being given. While the Convention is thus fully occupied battling against political policy of segregation and suppression, it has not forgotten the foundation stone of a peoples' life and status, namely the Youth and its problems, a question which is causing a great deal of anxiety and distress among the people. It is impossible for one to give in the limited space allowed, a full and detailed analysis of cause and effect of

these problems ; but a few salient features may give a ray of light and guidance as to what might be done for the salvation of Native youth.

The problem of youth and its consequent social evils is rooted, in the first place, in the present state of organisation of Native tribal life. The present Native tribes are terribly disorganised and chaotic ; the chiefs have lost their ancient social status ; and in truth they have come to be regarded as figure heads and puppets who minister to the desires of the Government to the total neglect of what is really the good of the people over whom they are supposed to exercise jurisdiction. They have lost control of the people ; and that almost divine respect which encircled chiefs and indunas has become a thing of the past, and with it the power which controlled tribal life and youth. The advent of European rule with its policy of detribalisation has further increased the problem.

Secondly, the tremendous increase of population ; the coming in of European farmers into Native areas, taking extensive portions of fertile land and thereby dividing and scattering the tribes into smaller groups independent of each other ; all these factors have decreased the land and compelled poverty to lay its merciless grip upon the very souls of the people, forcing fathers and mothers to scatter to work centres, to an atmosphere which does not make for the good moral upbringing of their children. While the parents are busily engaged doing the will of their employers the children find themselves parentless and their unguarded footsteps find their way into hovels of sin, and immorality. Furthermore the small wages paid to Native labourers of every description,

particularly to Native women servants, a wage not sufficient to keep body and soul together, has forced the young women to fall into sin in order to eke out their earnings. In some towns municipal regulations do not allow women who have no husbands to live in locations, and if such are discovered by the location superintendent they are locked behind prison bars or heavily fined. Urged by hunger to leave their country homes, and to escape the inhuman regulations operating in some work centres, young Native girls are compelled to seek protection under any willing man, and together they live temporarily as husband and wife, Alas ! I need not tell you what family atmosphere there is in such a home. The man may be a youth come to work or a father of a family left away in the reserves.

Then there is the prison system. Both young and old are huddled together into the same cell ; the age-long criminal whose every blood-vessel is full of crime lives side by side with an innocent boy who forgot to carry his pass when he went into town that morning ; and what is more the punishment meted out for such a case, has in several cases no relation with the wrong committed.

Native tribal life, its customs and ritual, its tribal institutions which gave training for social life to the youth ; the sanctity of maidenhood and the pride of youth ; the chief and his personification of Native tribal law and order ; all these have become things of the past and are labelled uncivilized and barbarous !

To me it seems the Convention must fight for better wages for Native labourers ; for the repeal of evil municipal regulations such as that mentioned above ; for the re-organisation of the prison system ; the Convention must

demand more land for the people; reinstate the chiefs and restore their power; organise the people and create national pride and self-consciousness; and take full interest in the education of its youth.

Appendix 8.

AFRICAN LABOUR AND WAGES.

(By E. T. MOFUTSANYANA.)

In order to draw a positive picture of the African labour and wages it is necessary to analyse the conditions obtaining amongst the Africans and point out the existing differentiations in our society. South Africa being an agrarian country, the majority of our people even amongst those who are living in the industrial areas still have some ties with the country. We have no homogeneous proletariat; those who for a number of years have not been between town and the agricultural are characterised as "detrribalised Natives," by the rulers of this country. These so to speak are the people who have acquired the urban methods of living and are rapidly becoming National conscious. As a result of this the South African Government fears the growth of this section in as much that they have to force them to renew their connection with the country by means of segregation, Native Laws Amendment Act and other laws of discrimination. The reserves, kraals, etc., have to be turned into camps of supply for cheap labour for the farms and mines more and more.

On the other hand we have the overwhelming majority of the semi-peasant proletariat always between the industrial centres, and the country. This is so because we are

deprived of our land and all forms of taxation are imposed upon us which compel all to leave the congested reserves and protectorates to work for low wages. As the towns pay better than the farms, naturally the majority choose the towns as places of work. Of late years there has been an influx of African labour into towns and as a result the farmers, whom the Government represent, began to complain that their monkey-nuts were rotting in the fields, so that they forced the Government to rush through parliament the most unreasonable law in the form of the Native Laws Amendment Act.

This conference of the All African Convention meets at a psychological moment when the government is putting into operation the Native Laws Amendment Act. Through the urban authorities the government intends carrying on a wholesale deportation of the African people from the industrial areas. The Africans everywhere are looking up to this conference for a lead.

Speaking about the African labour and wages we have to consider first and foremost the basic industries, and mines in particular. South Africa is a country that produces more gold than the rest of the world put together. But what are the wages of the African mine worker? In 1897 the mine magnates arrived at an agreement fixing the wages at 1/- to 2/- a shift. (Report of the Industrial Commission 1897). Before that the average wages were 3/- per shift. In 1913 this average wage was 1/11½d. per shift, in 1930 it was 2/1½d. in March 1936 it was 2/1¾d. Production, however, shows a considerable development of the African in doing the work. In 1914 the production figure was 250 tons and in 1930 it was 800 tons. The miners have to pay transport from the various reserves

and protectorates to the places of work. After they have paid for this transport and for their underground miners' boots and lamps, they generally remain with 33/7 to 40/-. The international labour conference which met at Geneva in 1936 adopted a resolution that in the case of recruited labour the employers have to pay for transportation, but this has not been followed up yet in any part of the British Empire. The conditions under which the African workers live in mines are shocking. They have no freedom of movement, sleep on cement floors, they have no sick pay and so on.

In other occupations we find the African earning in domestic service from 10/- to 20/- a week with food, while the unskilled manual workers' wages range from £3 to £4 a month. The total number of Natives employed in the whole of the Union in 1933-4 was 850,000 of whom 52 per cent were earning from £27 to £30 per year, 46 per cent from £40 to £44 and the remaining 8 per cent were earning from £52 to £62 a year. The highest paid Africans earn £5 a month. The railway workers earn 15/9d, per week.

Those Africans who live in the locations, for instance in Johannesburg, three thirds to half of their wages go for rent, that is 25/- a month and in some cases more. This it must be understood is out of the average wages of £3-10-0. As the locations are far from the towns 12/- a month goes for transport. In order to meet tax an African worker has to save 1/8d. a month. After paying all these he is left with £1-11-4d. for himself and his family. The minimum for food can be estimated at £3 per month.

The farm labour.

In 1900 the wages for the Africans (the shepherds) were 10/- to 20/- a month with mealie ration. The 1932 Economic Commission shows that cash wages for the farm labour vary from £2 to £27 per year in different districts. Many people get their wages partly in money and partly in kind. Can it be surprising that the idle rich farmer has no Africans to exploit?

The facts we have before us are a clear proof that there will never be any improvement in the conditions and wages of the Africans until we learn how to unite as a race. What are the obstacles in organising the mass of our people politically and industrially at the point of production? In the urban areas the workers cannot have a victorious struggle against their employers for a living wage and better working conditions, because the employers are safeguarded by the Government against the workers. The minute there is industrial dispute the police with pick-up vans are immediately on the scene, and the first pretext of arresting the workers is the Master and Servants Act, which prevents them from leaving the place of employment without taking a discharge. In this way the workers are encouraged by the laws of the country to have no confidence in themselves and their trade unions. In the reserves in order to stop the growing desire for unity it is contravention of the law for more than 10 people to meet together and discuss matters affecting the people without first obtaining permission from the magistrate. We have the Native Administration Act of 1927 in the Union, the Riotous Assembly Act. All these laws are made with the sole aim of putting as many obstacles in

the way of organising and uniting the African people. In the mines where the Africans live like the animals in the Zoo no organiser dare enter the Compound. Does this mean that the Africans cannot be organised? Certainly not. I mention this in order to show the amount of sacrifices we have to undergo.

It is the task of the All African Convention to encourage the Africans to form trade unions everywhere. In order to build up the All African Convention which will have a real support of the Africans, it is necessary that local committees should be formed in every locality composed of members of every organisation and influential individuals, which will deal with the immediate burning demands of the people and win them over to the existing organisations which will turn the All African Convention from an empty shell into a representative of the whole nation. We have to pass from a group of leaders of pious resolutions into an active body representing the interests of our oppressed and exploited people.

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