ugust 1989

Studyng histry o country u hve nevr seen, dont knw. Importance o ths.

Also wll find answrs to questions: why blk majority in SA hve submittd so long. Why lst country o Af continent to hve W minority rule.

To knw answrs mst knw reasons, to knw reasons mst knw history.

1. BEFORE 1910 THERE WS NO SA

Whn colonists came to Sthn A, fought & conquered separate tribes. No SA nations. Hw nations are formd (everywhere).

Conquest poss boos fought & conquered separate tribe. Col conquered Xhosa, Tembu, 1877 Pondolnd annexd, 10 yrs latr, Zululnd.

Tribes defeatd by sophisticatd weapons bt also by own divisions - by tribalism. Only Basuto under Moshoeshoe unitd quarrelng tribes into a nation - altho eventually forcd to seek Brit Protection, Leso

At same time, colonialsts changing nature o rural agricultrl society, forcing tribesmin to wk on diamnd diggings, gold mines o Reef. So separate tribes came to recognise selves in only as Zulus or Xhosa, bt also as Africas.

4 colonies (nw provinces)
CAPE limitd numbr Afs o votrs role -qualifications
OFS & TV - 'no equality i Church or State'
NATAL: Natal farmras to N Affairs Commission:
T ntve is t most tractable man going, as long as he knws u hve yr foot o hs neck . . .I think t thing tt shld b used very freely is t lash, fr it is bodily pain tt t ntve fears.'

By 1909 clear Brit preparng to hnd ovr blk popul to W minority rule.
3 editors: Rev Waltr Rubusana, Jon Tengo Jabavu,

Rev Jon Dube + various Af orgs met & while they approved union o 4 states, protested ag colourbar i proposed consitution - restrictt vote to Ws, evn depriving Afs i Cape o right to b elected to Parl.

2 UNION OF SA IS FORMED

1909 All-W nationl convention rep 4 provinces mt i bfx, did nt evn considr Af protests. Finl responsibility restd wth Brit parliamnt, so Af deputation went to Brit to protest. Told decision restd i SA - did nt evn considr Af protests.

Brit parliamnt passd bill establishng Union 'respectfully & earnestly' begging W SA, soonr or #latr to modify its provisions.

Process o deprivn Afs o rights thn begn. Colonial

greed. New SA cabinet: 1 o 1st acts prevent Af employmnt i certain jbs, restricting thm to low-paid labr, protecting W wkrs. Soon, breaking contracts or striking illegal.

Anothr Act disarmd Af constabulary, pt thm i short trousrs & Af mounts police retitled 'police boys'. Proud, independnt Afs thrown into 'fantastic nw wrld o kitchn boys, mine bys, gardn bys, cleanrs, pass-bearers, vagrants, forcd to earn wages to pay tax, turnd into criminls if faild to pay or produce a pss. their chiefs turnd into

servnts o W gvt, sons o Chiefs oftn into domesto servnts. In essence, their humanity ws denied.'

Process of mug inferiority - culture, art, instory — analogy with Women

3. FORMATION OF ANC - THE PEOPLE UNITE BUT LAND IS LOST

Pixley Ka I Seme- attorny - returnd to SA frm USA, dreamd o rebuildng Zulu nation, nw forcd to think i widr terms.Calld 3 othr Af lawyrs.

'The demon o rqcialism, t aberrations o t Xhosa-Fingo feud, t animosity tt exists btween t Zulus & t Tongasm, btween t Basuto & evry othr natve mst b buried & forgotten . . . We are one people.These divisions, these jealousies, are t cause o all our woes & o all our backwardnss & ignorance.'

T 4 young lawyrs calld a conf. See MB 24 'In Juan 1912' to p. 25 Origin o Nkosi Sikelele

& Subsequently (25/26)

Nearly 100 delegates mt o Jan 8 1912to form t SA Nationl Natve Congress (renamd ANC). Delegates includd Chiefs, deference shown to traditionl rulrs & Chiefs by provision o Uppr Hse, ws norml at tt time. They were i process o amalgamtng scores o independnt & oftn antagonistc ethnic societies into single nation. Intellectuals cld nt isolate thnselves frm majority o Afs by rejectng traditionl leadrs.

4. COMPOSITION & AIMS

Chiefs dualism: defendg people against colonists bt also servng as minor functionaries i W bureacrcy Educatd leadrs were restraind, religious, tactfl, tolerant. Rubusana declard hs people acknowledgd superiority o W race. All they wntd ws equal opp & opn door. Aims were moderaste bt considerable: to seek redress fr grievances by constitutionl means, agitate fr remvl o color bar i education & industry, Parl & administration. They hopd to educate W parliamnt, enlist sympathy o E's, teach Afs to undrstand their rights & duties & to b industrious, clean & thrifty, & to encourage establshmnt o national colleges.

Raebdytorastraeegyearstraegtedxattsogseateathpolemnt

Congress faild i early period to arrive at a consistnt pol. theory or strategy o struggle. It s great achievemnt ws to develop a national consciousness thru joint action & thru its paper, Abanthu Batho. The SA Native National Congress (ANC) ws establishd more thn a decade b4 similar orgs i Nigeria, t Gold Coast (Ghana), Kenya & othr colonies.

Issues were endless: new dog tax i area where dogs were necessary to keep down vermin, inadequate compensation fr miners injured or killd, poor acc o railwys, pass laws, etc.

Formation o ANC on Jan 8 1912 signified nt jst t birth o a new org, bt also t developmtn o a new nationl consciousness - t idea o nationhood. Frm t day o t inaugration o t ANC Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos etc wld begn to develop loyalty o new type. ANC expressd collective interests o Af people subject to

collective oppression.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

In 1912, W completely peripheral.

Pixley ka Seme, who hd playd leading role in conveng ANC conf,
"Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race . . ."

1912 call was for equal rights for all civilised $\underline{\text{men}}$. Not until 1940s did ANC come out unequivocally in support of a universl suffrage tt wld include women.

Importance o use o language - 'the new man' (10th annsry)

Bt i 1913 Af wmn burst onto t public political stage in a fierce campaign against passes. Wmn's exemption until 50s bt nt in OFS. Loc1 authority instututd systm o permits. 6th June 1912, 600 women marched to Town Hall. "We hve done with pleading. We now demand".

34 convictd & givn jail sentence wth option o fine. They chose nt to pay fine. Action followd i othr centres - jails bcame too full.

Ths ws first large-scale entry o blk wmn - in terms o modern, non-tribal structures, into pol. arena.

T struggle continued until 20's, whn passes fr wmn ws droppd. (until 56)

Resultd i emergence o Bantu Ws League, Charlotte Maxek affiliatd to ANC, bt wmn nt accordd equal rights i ANC

6 THE LAND ACT MB 20 30

T Natve Land Bll, 1 yr aftr formation o ANC, ws to pt an end to right o Afs to their land i their own country. 1 m Ws givn 90% while 4 m Afs wld hve 7.3% - rights o freehold ownrshp only in t reserves.

ANC organsd protest meetngs, deputation to t ministr & appealed to Brit Governor-General. Petitions representg 100s of 1000s were rejected by parl. On 20th June, 1913'the Af awoke to find himself

a pariah i t land o hs birth' (Plastje)

Congress decided nthg left bt to appeal to HM Gvt & apprise t Brit public o t kind o gvt rulng SA' Many attempts to dissuade dep frm going. Invitd by G-G i Capetown to meet hm - to b urgd nt to go. General Botha hmself condescended to meet dep. Whn they told hm o hardshps, he replied tt he & hs friends hd refraind frm evictng their own ntves.

In Ldn, saw Colonial Sec who said PM o SA hd assurd hm ntves hd too mch land already He told thm to speak to their own Parl.

7. THE TACTICS OF THE TIME

Cant judge their tactics by today's knwledge & undrstandg. They were reformist & oftn unrealistic, tryng to obtain humane ideals i a wrld o powr. Ideologies develp out o their own era, & nationl & clss consciousness develpd i t course o t struggle In 1912, ANC leadrs at 1st actd on assumption tt Brit meant wht they said, & tt evn a qualified vote in all provinces wld enable thm i time to achieve just society without violence. They thought t numbr o 'educated' & 'civilisd' Afs wld increase. Bt their aim o creatng a single unified people out of many ethnic grps ws t greatest challenge - to build one nation. Multilinguad papr, Abantu-Batho (discontinued 1930) carried message o unity & freedm thru out land.

And leadrs were mostly professionls chiefs & gvt servnts, they had eithr known or seen defeat o kingdms & chiefdoms. Constitutionl methds were logical at tt time, while stll creating unity b4 ANC hd bcome effective force. T *spear* ws nt t solution - they hd usd spears ag guns & faild. They saw only solution in learng & knowledge.

They cld nt yet comprehend nature o new society. It ws t nature o tt society, of t social & economic forces brought into being, tt pushd ANC frm its reformist principles, wth hesitatn vision & no clear goals, into a radical & revolutionary body. And to take Uppressers, obe assain with a stand want feet to be pressers, obe assain with a stand want feet to be pressers.

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