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PROGRAMME OF ACTION

INASMUCH as the Union Government has definitely and unequivocally adopted the principle which affirms that the Africans do not form part of the South African Community and that the interests of the country are distinct from those of the Africans;

INASMUCH as this principle confirms the basis of sentiments which motivated the enactment of such discriminating laws as the Pass Laws, Poll Tax, Masters and Servants Act, Curfew Regulations, the Natives Land Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the Native Administration Act, the Colour Bar Act, the White Labour Policy, the Service Contract Act and others, all of which indicate conclusively that there is no community of interests between the Africans and the Europeans;

INASMUCH as the introduction of the Representation of Natives Bill, which renders impotent and ineffectual any representation of African interests in Parliament, and the Native Land and Trust Bill, which limits the area of land for occupation of Africans to only twelve per cent. of the area of the whole Union, is the climax of the accepted policy of political, industrial, economic, educational, cultural, social and territorial segregation, which carries with it the predominating ambition for political domination over and economic subjection of the African people;

INASMUCH as the machinery designed to bring into effect the consummation of the said principle is (a) to substitute the legitimate form of representation formerly embodied in the Cape Native Franchise by a sham, and (b) to apply all forms of economic pressure capable of guaranteeing the farmers, and other employers of rural labour, a limitless supply of cheap and free labour by the limitation of land to accentuate congestion of and to aggravate pauperism among, the Africans;

AND INASMUCH as the Union Government has declared that it shall for all time consider the Africans as a separate dependent community - which declaration the Africans must needs construe, in the light of numerous prejudicial legislative enactments and regulations against them, as meaning their perpetual subjection, without a hope for realising their natural aspirations and without opportunity or privilege to attain to their natural destiny but to be reduced to a condition of economic slavery, as fully demonstrated in the case of Rex vs. Reid, heard by the Magistrate of Ladysmith, Natal, during September 1935;

NOW, THEREFORE, this All-African Convention, being convinced and wholly satisfied:-

1. that the Union Government has renounced all responsibility of trusteeship for and on behalf of the African people;
2. that it does not seek nor intend to safeguard, promote and secure the best and highest interests, privileges and welfare of the Africans;
3. that it is determined to impose and maintain the White man's supremacy in this country at the economic and political expense of the Africans;
4. that it is resolved to emphasise, irrespective of the consequences on the Africans, the paramountcy of European interests in this country;

hereby resolves, in compliance with the law of preservation, to accept the declaration of the Union Government, namely:-

1. That the African people do not form part of the South African Community;
2. That the interests of the White man's country are distinct from those of the Africans;
3. That the Africans are a separate community (but this Convention refuses to accept dependence of the Africans on a Government which has openly renounced a trusteeship for their interests);

WHEREFORE this All-African Convention does not, in the circumstances, feel called upon to submit its vital interests and well-being to a Government which has declared itself unable to shoulder the responsibilities of a trustee, and is therefore in duty compelled:-

- a. to call upon the Union Government to immediately give effect to a complete territorial segregation, by creating two proportionate territories, namely a White man's territory, and an African's territory;
- b. to refuse any form of representation or limitation of land on the lines set out in the Representation of Natives Bill and the Native Land and Trust Bill, or any other form heretofore in operation;
- c. to refuse to submit to any laws, regulations and other legal authority inimical and opposed to the best interests, and intended to emphasise the inferiority or dependence of the Africans to the Union Government;
- d. to sever all connections and to have interest in and with any form of European institutions, religiously, socially culturally and economically;
- e. to reserve the right, when opportunity arises, to invite any foreign power or government to protect and guard over the interests of our territory.

MODUS OPERANDI

Having declared that we seek independence from European domination, it behoves us to lay down broad lines along which we hope to achieve this grand objective, which has been made possible by the attitude of the Union Government.

In our programme of action, two important points stand out clearly, namely:-

- a. That we seek complete segregation, which will give us a territory of our own in proportion with our population;
- b. That we seek economic independence, so that we may maintain our own culture, education and political institutions.

The first problem which presents itself therefore is how we can raise sufficient money to enable us to achieve economic independence.

If we take the tide of the Convention spirit at its psychological moment, there is every possibility of raising a membership of up to one million within a space of six months. In any event, a half million can be obtained, provided canvassers and organisers are treated liberally and, in addition, given a bonus on the results of their personal efforts.

Members should contribute an amount of one shilling per male and sixpence per female per month continuously. In addition, there should be established a publicity committee, whose business shall be to compile in pamphlet form educative matter which can be sold cheaply. As such pamphlets will be intended for the education of the masses, they should be in the vernacular. With these two sources of revenue, the position

of our finances, or the estimates of revenue and expenditure would be as follows:-

<u>Revenue</u>	
500,000 male members @ 1/- per month,	
Total per annum	£300,000
250,000 female members @ 6d. per month,	
Total per annum.....	75,000
250,000 pamphlets @ 6d. each	6,250
	<u>£381,250</u>
<u>Expenditure</u>	
Administration Fund	£2,000
Organisers and Canvassers @ 25%	93,312.10.0.
Economic Development Fund @ 50%	190,625
General Revenue Account	<u>95,312.10.0.</u>
	<u>£381,250. 0.0.</u>

The figures would appear fabulous, yet they are possible, if there is the will and courage among the leaders. The women-folk have offered to assist. They are very important and should be harnessed everywhere as canvassers.

PROPAGANDA

The line to carry out propaganda should be no more than the explanation of the policy of the Government and the dangers of domination and subjection to economic pressure. But there should be a strong committee or strong under-current movement, the secret of which should be known only to a small committee drawn from the National Executive Council, to be designated "The Secret Council of Action", which may also function as a publicity committee. The dangers of any leakage of information anent the activities of the Council of Action may be incalculable, for it would be unwise to forearm the enemy. This Council should direct operations in each district, and assure itself from time to time of the strength of the organisation. There are very important weapons at our disposal as a race, which are as powerful as any machine-gun, namely:-

- a. Through the establishment of a chain of co-operative or national stores, a non-co-operative movement may be set on foot quietly at first, and then later publicly made known as our first instalment or shot;
- b. By earmarking about fifty per cent. of the General Revenue Account for the maintenance of our national schools and payment of salaries of ministers and teachers, a general cessation from European controlled churches may be ordered with damaging effect. That would not be an attack against the European ministers, but a means of enlisting active and militant support from that quarter.
- c. Through our general stores and the fact that our Economic Development Fund would enable the convention to control all produce and articles of merchandise manufactured by Africans anywhere and everywhere in the country, a general cessation of work may be ordered throughout the country - workers being entitled to obtain rations from our general stores wherever they are.

The object of this line of action is to compel the Government, by antagonising European public opinion or that section of Europeans which will be severely affected thereby, to make terms with us. If however, we shall adopt a line of least resistance, it will make the position more difficult.

The Council of Action should arrange tours of its officials for the purpose of giving canvassers and organisers what may be called vocational training.

At the outset it would be unwise to influence the chiefs to take an active part until the Convention is assured of its strength both numerically and financially. It is then that the Convention can approach the chiefs offering them every protection in case government action is taken against them. The chiefs, like Ministers of religion, can be had quite readily, if they know that they will not only be protected, but may have financial support.

If the suggested Programme of Action is adopted, it will be wise for the Executive Committee to obtain an unqualified mandate from the Convention, giving it power to devise lines of campaign, members agreeing to do anything they are told without question. For it is only when the masses and other leaders agree to be led and ordered by those they have placed in authority that we can hope to give the Government and the European public some effective surprises.

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Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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