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AFRICAN ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES.

(Political).

STUDY OF AFRICAN REACTION TO OPPRESSION DURING THE LAST 30 YEARS.

A. BACKGROUND.

1. The Period 1929 - 1939. (The Thirties).

Ascendancy of Nats. to power. Triumph of racial doctrines as embodied in the Hertzog Bills.

2. The Period 1939 - '49. (The Roaring Forties).

The Second World War and the industrial revolution. The dominance of industrial and economic forces. The period of greatest economic integration and the partial eclipse of racial doctrines. Smuts: "Segregation has fallen on evil days". 1941.

3. The Period 1949 - '59. (The Fighting Fifties).

Nats back to power. Political incoherence. The recrudescence in a most intensified form of racial theories and policies. The apparent triumph of racism over industrialism. Head-on collision of the forces of racial separation and economic integration.

4. 1959 - 196(?) (The Sad Sixties).

The years of crisis, anxiety, anguish and decision - appointment with destiny during the Sixties. Call for National Convention. Will the call be heeded. Will disaster be averted?

B. AFRICAN REACTION.

1. Period 1929 - 1939. (The Thirties).

(a) In 1919-29: Fall and rise of the I.C.U. Government take action to deal with National Trade Union Movement. Industrial Conciliation Act excludes pass bearing Africans; Nat. Adm. Act 27 and the Riotous Assembly Act give Government powers of deportation of African leaders.

(b) The Hertzog's bills announced in 1929. Africans move to establish a united front to oppose the bills. All African Convention formed. Leaders too cowed by provisions of Riotous Assemblies Act to rouse the masses to protest against Hertzog Bills. They use only the methods of deputation, conciliation and compromise. They fail. The Hertzog . The N. Repr. Council is established. Bills become law

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Some A.N.C. leaders join the N.R.C. Cape African voters placed on separate roll.

The Thirties were a valley period in African political activity - so disappointed were the leaders that Prof. Jabavu thereafter directed that political organizations concern themselves with removing "starvation, poverty and debts".

2. Period 1939 - 1949. (The Forties).

This was the period of "The Roaring Forties" of S.A. industrial revolution. The unprecedented influx of Africans into urban areas. Demands for more and better houses, more and better transport, higher wages. The period of shanty towns, bus and train boycotts, strikes in industry. The people led the way and the leaders of the African people followed.

1946 - Year of crisis: Mine Workers' Strike; the National Anti-Pass Campaign; the N.R. Council adjourns after demanding the abolition of discriminating laws.

The A.N.C. and Reform: Dr. Xuma revises constitution of Congress along lines of a unitary or more consolidated organisation - produces bill of rights called African claims.

Masses dissatisfied with leadership of deputations and appeasement.

The African Democratic Party formed 1943 - the A.N.C.Y.L. formed 1944 the A.N.C. (National minded formed 1946). African Nationalist elements demand expulsion of Leftist elements from Congress.

3. Period 1949 - 1959. (The Fighting Fifties): The Period of Clashes.

1949. The A.N.C. Conference decides to elect a President on the basis of a programme of action to meet the threat of Nationalist Apartheid policies.

Dr. Xuma refuses to be bound by a programme of action. Dr. Moroka accepts the programme and is elected.

1952/3. The Campaign for the "Defiance of Unjust Laws": A.N.C. volunteers. Union-wide arrests of some 8000 persons. Leaders (20) arrested under Suppression of Communism Act.

1953. Chief Luthuli becomes president-general of A.N.C.

1956. Arrest of 156 persons charged with High Treason.

The Government takes counter measures against increasing acts of lawlessness. Passes: Public Safety Act 1953, the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1953. This in addition to other acts e.g. Suppression of Communism Act; the Riotous Assemblies Act and numerous amendments of other laws.

Passes for Women during 1956 - '58 precipitates crises in the A.N.C. Demand for another Defiance Campaign: 1958 Africanistic group in Congress establish the Pan-African Congress. In 1959 they decide on a Union-wide Defiance Campaign.

4. 1959 - '61(?) The Sad Sixties.

1960. For details see Miss Horrell's Fact Paper "Days of Crisis".

Sequel: Leader of P.A.C. and others jailed for 3 years.

Temporary relaxation of pass laws.

Unlawful Organization's Act of 1960 banning the A.N.C. and P.A.C.

16th Dec. 1960. The All-in Africa Conference of leaders to review the events of Sharpeville and after. Police interfere with meeting after the meeting had decided on a National Convention to be preceded by a conference in Maritzburg to protest against the Referendum on the proposed Republic.

The Maritzburg Conference held on 29th March resolves ~~and~~ on a stay-at-home on 29 - 31st May if Prime Minister does not call a National Convention.

20th March 1961 Members of Continuation Committee of All-in Africa Conference.

Case remanded to 15th June and again to 20th July, 1961.

Gen. Laws Amendment Act 1961, allows for detention without bail for 12 days at discretion of Attorney General. Before Republic day thousands of arrests throughout the country. Republic Day passes without incident. Large scale stay aways in certain areas. The Public Safety Act invoked to ban meetings.

5. Students' Unrest: Fort Hare, Lovedale, Headtown, Milnerton, Sekitla, Warmbaths.

6. Bantu Authorities: Zeerust, Lydenburg, Zululand - more recently Pondoland. Transkeian Territories demand "Self-Government".

7. Types of Leadership.

- (a) Conciliatory and Individualistic: 1949 Dr. Xuma
- (b) under control of Executive: Demand for Militant Action: Dr. J.S. Moroka
- (c) Chief Luthuli. Man of Principle: believer in non-violent mass action and in multi-racial partnership
- (d) African Nationalist: Sobukwe
- (e) Nelson Mandela: First leader of the underground movement. What of the future? Can we avoid revolution and disaster?

P.R. Mosaka.

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* Is there an underground movement? If so what amount of pressure can this bring about in the endeavor for change? Is the leadership of this consolidated. What line of action is this group likely to follow. What are the chances of "outburst" control? Can this go on without an arousing of white opinion for a larger mentality? What is the government doing to curb this? In the event of violent outbreak, will the country be able to cope

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