47 D
326.3291(68)
23.1-4
A

INGQUNGQUTELA YAMA AFRIKA ONKE

(Xhosa)

I-Nkulumo yom-Holi

D. D. T. JABAVU

June, 1936

Intengo 3d; nge Posi 4d.

LOVEDALE PRESS

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
REFERENCE LIBRARY

INKULUMO YOMHOLI WENGQUNGQUTELA
(All African Convention).

(1) Wonke umAfrika nezizwe ezingemhlophe zezwe lonke, zibambe ongezantsi ngesenzo samaNtaliyane. Umuntu esezwe okuningi ngamalungelo ezizw'ezincane, ngobu Krestu, nobumilamongo bezivumelwana pakati kwezizwe, nangempucuko eminyakeni engamashumi amabili edhlule ; okwenzeke ngale'zizinyanga ezi isishiyangalombili kwebule lololuntwentwesana kwashiya ubudhlwangudhlwangu bomuntu omhlope buze.

Eminyakeni engamashumi amabili edlule, izinkulungwane zabantu zazi nikelela izwe laseBelgium ; namhlanje kodwa akukho nto eyenziwe ukuba kunqandwe amaNtaliyane ekubulaleni amaTopiya. Izizwe zibe mathikathika ngokweyisa kwamaNtaliyane. Ngo 1914 kwaku lwelwa isizwe esimhlophe, namhlanje ku esimnyama nje !

Njengenhlayenza amasonto ngamasonto alamazwe, athe kweyethu impi sinoNkulunkulu, athi makachumise izifiso zawo zobuzwe. UbuKrestu busehlulekile ukuthoba ubulwane, nokuba ngogqwabelakwesakhe ezinhliziyweni zabantu ababusayo. Ingxubhungxubhu le esezweni namhlanje isafana naleya eyayikhona uJesu engakazalwa. Uma usus'ulwazi lolu esinalo sisa fana nokoko. Abazalwane bakhe baseJerusalema bam'bulala uJesu ngokuhamba ngenkambo eyayingafani neyabo. Abati banga balandeli bakhe namhla, kuthe malungana nempi le bagcina ngokukhuluma nje. Befisa ukuguqula izinto, kodwa behlulekile. Umphathi walelizwe lakithi (*Prime Minister*) uma nginga-

phosisi, yena ke ubulahle pantsi ubukrestu ekulungiseni izindaba zezwe. Sihamba ngalowaya mthetho wezilwane. Into enkulu namhlanje imibuso Enanjengoba nathi siyasolwa ngobukeke babo noma singasafuni.

Kubantu abamhlope ubuntu bokuphatha abantu bwehlile bu laphaya pantsi. Kubuyelwe ebulwaneni.

Amandla angukulunga noma kungasa liwa ngezinkemba sekuliwa ngemishini endizayo, amabhanoyi nezinhlamvu zawo, noshevu ahambe ewachintsa. Impucuko yabamhlope namhlanje izigabisa ngezinto ezinjeke. Okunje kucela inselele kuwo wonke umuntu.

(2) NGEPALAMENTE YALENYONYANA.

Kwati ngo 1926 eCape Town kukhankanywa lendaba yomgoqo webala (*Colour Bar Bill*) ePalamente, omunye wamalunga wasukuma ngesiqholo wati yena uyawusekela lomthetho webala ngoba ukuzibhekela iyona nto yokuqala emtetweni wemvelo yomuntu (*person*). Esho lokhu belu evikela impatho embi, okuphethwe ngayo abantu abangesibo abelungu kuleli. Ekuqaleni konyaka wona lo, iPalamente nayo ibecalalinye nalempato, ngokusekela kwabo umholi wezwe (*Prime Minister*), uma eti:—

" Kangi yazi neze into eniyi khulumayo uma nikhuluma ngezindhlela zobuKrestu yebo, ubuKrestu bu lungile, kodwa ke bu nendawo yabo ukhona wona umthetho wokuba isizwe sizibhekele, yiwoke lona owenza ukuba wonke umuntu azinikele, kanye nempilo yake, ngesikhatihi sempi. Lo mthetho ke iwona mina engiwenza ungqongqoshe ngaphezu kwayo yonke eminye. Yiwona wodwa lo wokuzibhekela, nowokuzivikela, ongase kuthi ngawo, uluntu, lona ngoqobo, nobuKrestu uqobo lwabo bukwazi ukuzipepisa."

Lesi sigigaba sokukhuluma okunye sithatha ubuKrestu sibukhiphele ngapandle kude le, kuzo zonke ezom'buso. Ngani, ke na, ngenxa yamazwi omunye umbhali owaziwa kakhulu owathi,

" Izingqapheli kwezombuso (*Politicians*) zi ngabantu bakhona lapha emhlabeni, base mhlabeni, ngumhlaba oseduze kwabo nabawujwayele ngendlela eyenza bangabe besakubona nokumangalisayo kuwo, nokwenza isisu sigcwale amanzi." Lokhu kujwayela kugubuzela okuyizona ziqu nezimpande zeqiniso. Kuthatha kugcwalise nalowo 'moya okwaziyo ukulibona iqiniso. Akukho lutho ke oluyivelakanci kubantu abanjalo ukuba bathathe iqiniso balenze okungesilo bacabange ukuti inkululeko isendaweni lapho zingekho khona izingxabano."

IPalamente yase Nyonyana iso layo li laphaya ekuzibhekeleni. Kusukela kunyaka ka 1909 yenze imiteto engamashumi amathathu anesithupa ebandlula umuntu omhlophe komnyama. Isize ya kwejwayela ke iPalamente ukwenza imiteto efana nale, esuke isiphathe kabuhlungu. Kungathi kulesis'enzo ke sebehla ngomsele kuhl'okwamanzi. Sekuthe ngokujwayela bacabanga ukuti imithetho ebeka umuntu omnyama buqamamana nomhlope, ilunge nalapho amalungelo ethu emanye. Bhekani izimali zokuthela eziza bucala (*indirect taxes*) ezisiza ukuba kuqoqwe izimali ngezimali ezi setshenziswayo kulelizwe, nathi esinawo wonke amalungelo kuzo ngomthetho wokulingana (*equality*) kodwa ke izinto kazenziwa ngomthetho. Ukunganikelwa amalungelo afanayo ukuba si sebenzise imali esiyi kupa ngokufanayo sonke kuyindlela eyisigwegwe yokusi qwembula kubelungu. Ngenxa yebala letu, nangenxa yokuba umuntu azibhekele, nangenxa yokuzama kwabo ukuba siqwenjulwe (*segregated*) asisena kuba

nangamalungu emigwamanda (*Provincial Councils*) ephatha amazwe lapa eNyonyana.

Ekuhambeni kwethu ke siyo bonana nomphathi omkhulu (*Prime Minist r*) sithunywe yini, nina be*Convention* konke enani situme ngakho kwaliwa ngesizathu sokuthi iPalemente ifuna lokhu nalokhu, kayiku funi lokhu. Isinqumo nezimpendulo zethu esazenza eMgungundlovu, ePitoli, eMafeking, eQonce naseMtata kazi zange zilalelwe muntu, phezu kokuba izwe lonke lase lichithe imali engu £4,000 malungana naloludaba, lokuba kuzwiwe ukuthi thina bantu abantsundu sizophendula sithini na.

Sacela isinkwa sapiwa inguqunga yetshe. Kuthe ke nxa sesicela ukuthi izinto kazisale seziyekwa njengoba bezinjalo sasesitola lomthetho ke omusha, oti tina singapantsi kwezinye izizwe ezilapa, nokuba futi siqenjulwe kwenezelwe futi nasemgoqweni webala ngokuba sidudulelwe ngapandle le kwemikhandlu epete ezamazwe onke (*Provincial Councils*).

Sithe nxa siti qha okungcono make beme ke nalomthetho bangawuphumelelisi size sizibonele lamazwe okuthiwa silungiselwa wona, wasuke uMpatimandla (*Prime Minister*) wangati uya vuma. Sithe siti site nje waphunyeleliswa wona lomteto singa satshelwanga.

Akukho muntu owakewa zihlupa ngesicelo sethu sokuthi makukhishwe kulo mteto indinyana yesine epatelele abantu bamapulazi. Ingcosanyana yalabo abasi mela ngazo zombili (abalishumi nanye, bafanele ukubongwa ngesibindi sabo ekulweni nalento engasiwo umteto omhle) kwa suke akwaba kona nokuke bezwiwe, kute kusukwa kwaku gajuzwa kuqedwa. Kwakusukwa njalo kutatwa izitombe kwenziwa nezidhlo ezinkulu.

Umuntu into ayibonayo kule Palamente yalelizwe, ile ukuti iningi lamalungu ePalamente libheke abamhlope kupela. Yonke ke enye into iza emva kwale. Kubantu ke umuntu ufunyanise iqembu elikulu lalabo abebesi sekela litula nangokukuluma emapepeni, nasezinhlanganweni, nokuya kolalela uma kuxoxwa ePalamente.

Sesiya bonake ukuti ePalamente lapa okuyiyona nto epambili abamhlope. Loku kukanya nke uma kuya ngoba usubheka ezimalini lezi ezinkulu zikaHulumeni. Kwamanye amazwe ufumanisa ukuti abantu abatela kakulu ilabo abanemali eningi. Kodwa kuleli lakiti, into emangalisa noma ubani, ile yokuba kuti laba abampofana bakohliwe kanti ibona bantu abatela benga vungami bengatoli nambuyiselo kuko konke ukuceba asebekwenzele leli lizwe. Empeleni umuntu omnyama ugcina ngokutshala ukuvuna pinde, kuvuna abanye.

Inkulumo yezimali zalelizwe ayisitokozisi neze. Kusuke kutatwe imali ipiwe izicebi. Abanye balaba babanamahloni ukwamukela imali enje, ngakoke baningi asebeyalile. Undunankulu wesikwama salelizwe, ute ngokwehluleka ukuti imali le uzo yicita ayibhekisepi ngenxa yobuningi bayo, wabe eseti ca izicebi kuhle manje zinga bezisatela nempela nje. Okute lomisile lapa izulu, abantu befa indlala wati amabhunu kuhle atenge isaka lombila ngesihlanu sosheleni apakele izinkomo zawo kanti ngapa abantu ababulawa indlala kutiwa mabatenge isaka lombila ngeshumi eli nosheleni abayisishiyagalombili. Kanti futi bekuvunyelwe abalimi laba bama Bhunu batengise umbila pesheya ngofagolweni isaka, kube lapa umuntu ekoka u 18/-. Kutiwe nokusho lento ingumteto, umteto awunaku guqulwa. Lempato esipetwe ngayo ituneke ngokunga pezu kokwenza.

Akumangalisi ke uma omakelwana betu bakwaMzilikazi (Rhodesia) beti lesisenzo asibonakalisi ingqondo epakamileyo. Aka nibheke nje uHulumeni imali engango £6,000,000 ayenza ngenxa yomsebenzi wabantu ezinkomponi eGoli. Lomsebenzi uma ungase wenziwe izisebenzi ezimhlope uHulumeni anga ngena ezindhlekweni ezinzima. Kanti napezu kwako konke loku abavumi ukuba kuyekwe lemali yamakanda beba bona abantu ukuti bayi tola kanzima, ebumpofini obubuhlungu. EPalamente angi kezwa namunye okuke kutiwe uke wayixoxa la. Kanti ke ngokwami okubona nangemfanelo kufanele umuntu otelayo atele njengo kwamandhla ake nenjengo bungako bemali ayitolayo. Imali yama kanda iyinxemu ukuba yonke uwonke atele upondo (£1) kanti abanye abantu beswele ngokumangalisayo.

Utini ke ngabelungu abadala abatola amapenseli (*pensions*) kanti bebe ngazange bakipe nendibilishi le eluhlaza ekuteleleni amakanda abo. Kanti ontsundu uma enganawo upondo utata afakwe ejele.

Kusengati uHulumeni akazi ukuti kwabanye abantu upondo lo utolakala emva komsebenzi wezinyanga ezimbili. Lento ke iPalamente iyoyazi mhla nati saba namalungu asimeleyo embusweni walelizwe. Simelwe amalungu ethu amnyama njengoba sebekona baningi namhla abantu abangase babe amalungu ePalamente.

(3) INGQUNGQUTELA YECONVENTION.

NgoDecember odhlule sasi nokukulelangoqo womhlangano lapo kwakukona abemele zonke izinhlangano zabantu bevela kuzo zonke izindawo zalapa eNyonyana. Sasi hlanganele ukuba sikipe eletu izwi mayelana nemiteto

le emisha ebekelwe abantu namhla. Kwenziwa ke lapo isinqumo sasinye. Amanxusa ahamba ke eyobona abakulu njengokutunywa inhlangano leyo. Poke uma izinto sezinjena sekufanele siyeke okudhlule silungisele okwa ngomso, okuzayo—ngalendhlela :—

(a) Sizo yitini ke lemiteto emisha.

(b) Kufanele sizame ukufuna indhlela yokusekela, nokwenza lomhlangano (*Convention*) ube njenge bumba likasemende.

(c) Kufanele sizame futhi izindhlela zoku buyisa izwe ngemisebenzi yetu esizoze nzela yona tina abantsundu.

Kusobala ke ukuti simelwe umsebenzi onzima, ongafuni indhluzula kodwa ofuna ukuba sihlangane senze into ibenye ebonakalayo. Ngetemba ke ukuti isinqumo senu sizoba sinye enizwana nonke ngaso mayelana nale miteto emisha, namayelana nokuquba kwalomhlangano eminyakeni ezayo.

Kokunye bekufanele senze into ezobonisa abalungu ukuti lemiteto asingeni nokuyingena indaba yayo. Lokoke kuzodinga ukuba singati sitata ngamawala ukuze izwe lonke libone nokuba ababusi laba babone nabo ukuti lento izigcina ngengozi, negazi.

Kanti ke ngolunye uhlangoti loku kungase kugcine ngokulimaza tina unompelo singabuye sibenamandhla ngisho nawokuti pefu. Ngoba uma sizo kwenza into enje kufanele sibe nawo amandhla okulalelwa iwo wonke uwonke, siti masiti makwenziwe loku, kwenziwe iwo wonke umuntu. Kusenzima ke ukuba sizwane kahle tu, okubonisa ke ukuti singaba sizifake obishini esingenayu kupuma kulo.

Eyona nto engi bona ingapezulu kokuba sitate izinto ngendhluzula eyokuba sizame izindhlela zokuba nemise-

benzi yetu sibenemali, ngoba ngapandhle kwemali ngeke sikwazi ukupumelela. Kuhle sisukela zona lezo zinto esizibona ukuti zinga siletela ubucebi nemali. Labo abetu abango tishela mabayeke ukucabanga ngobutishela bodwa kodwa bazame nezinye izindhlela zokungenisa imali.

Iso lesi isikati sokuba sifundele ubummeli, nokuba izinyanga ezinkulu, nokuba abalimi abate tutu, nokuba sibe nayipi ke enye into yokusikupula. Kuhle sisekele abantu bakiti abaquba imisebenzi yabo akukatalekile noma kuwumsebenzi onjani, sizame ukubaxasa beme baqine.

Niyazi nani ukuti kutiwa asikabi isizwe nemisebenzi yetu ayi kabonakali. Nakoke esifanele ukulwa nako. Sihlangane, sipasane, sikupulane, nobani nobani abone ukuti nati sinawo amandhla okwenza eyetu imisebenzi. EAmerica ngafica amaNegro enesiga esiti, " Gcina imali yako ingapumeli ngapandhle kwabantu bakini." Beshoke ukuti, tenga esitolo somnyama uma enaso. Into yomuntu omnyama noma kungesiyo eyako yiba negunya nayo uzame ukuba ime ingawi. Bekuti edrobheni uma kukona iNegro elitengisa ushukela omuhle, wonke amaNegro azotenga kulo aziyeke zonke ezinye izindawo. Uma nati ke singenze nje, singenza ukuba bande abantu abanezitolo, nabanamasilara, nabenza izicatulo, nabasika izingubo, nabanezimoto, amateksi, namabhasi, nabalimi, nabo bonke abanemisebenzi yabo.

(4) IHLO ELIBANZI.

Omunye wemi sebenzi yetu ilo wokuba sifundise ababusi ukuti izinto siyazi bona ngehlo elibanzi, asigcini

ngokukalela amalungelo etu kupela. Siyazi bona izinto ezenzekayo kuwo wonke umhlaba, ezenzeka ezizweni ezibuswa ezinye. Izizwe ezibanjwe ngompimbo njengati nje. Kufanele ke imicabango yetu siyi hlunge kahle sinokwazi ukuti nakwamanye amazwe abantu bahleli ngokungemtoti. Nati kuti esikwenzayo kube iloko ezinye izizwe ezingati mazikubuka ziti sidodile.

Ingqikiti yemicabango yetu ifanele ukuba nezimiso ezinje :—

(1) Ukuqenjulwa, nomgoqo webala makupele, okukanye ke masi nikwe eyetu indawo sodwa sizihlalele sizi buse kona.

(2) Masi nga vinjelwa emisebenzini esifuna ukuzenzela yona, siholelwe kahle. Kodwa ke loku nati singa kwenza ngokwetu ngoba namhlanje izwe lonke leli lisetshenzelwa itina. Uma singase sime ngezinyawo sifune amaholo angcono singa watola, okukanye kufe imisebenzi yabo. Into esihlupayo yile yokuti asazi ukuti amandhla wona sinawo. Kudinga siwa sebenzise kupela.

(3) Kuhle kupele ogqwabela kwesake. Lisa busa leli lakiti, umuntu owa yebonakalisa ukuti utanda ukuqoqa yonke into ize kuye sasimsusa. Ngalendhlela ke abantu bonke babesuta, kungeko okala ngendhlala abanye besuta.

Umsebenzi okuyi wona omkulu namhla kule ngqungqutela esibutene ngayo namhla, ukuba sibe nomganga kuzo zonke izinto zomAfrika sizame ukusekelana. Angisho lapa eNyonyana kupela ngisho kulo lonke iAfrika. Kufanele sizwelane nalabo abasemazweni asabuswa pesheya, ukuba sikumele ukuhlala kwabo banga ngeniswa lapa eNyonyana. Baze bangene mhla izinto zonke nemiteto yombuso isilungile.

Omunye wabelungu bamapepandaba odumileyo kuleli wake wasi faka ingcina emehlweni ngo February ngokubhala ati :—" Lengqungqutela yenhlangano yamaAfrika namhla ifana neIndian Congress kubantu baseIndia. Iyaziwa futi iyahlonishwa iPalamente yalapo, ngoba iyona emele imoqondo yabantsundu balapa, uma ke yenza isinqumo mayelana nezindaba zabantu, iyolalelwa nomakanjani ngabantsundu bonke lapa eAfrika kanye futi nombuso walapa nalowa waseNgilandi."

Lento ke eyakulunywa ilo mlungu kufanele sizame ukuba ibenjalo. Ukuze sipumelele ekwenzeni njalo kufanele tina esinga baholi izingqondo zetu zihlale zipapeme. Sifunde kakulu izincwadi ezikuluma ngoku quba kwabaholi bamanye amazwe ekuzameni kwabo ukulungisa izindaba zamazwe abo ezinjengalezi esilwa nazo namhlanje.

Nanka amazwi ake akulunywa umnuzane waseNdiya ongumholi we" All Indian Congress " evula umhlangano wati ; i*Congress* ayiko into engayenza uma ingenawo amandhla. Waqinisa ngokuti okuyibona bantu bangasi nika amandhla ilabo abayi zisebenzi nawo wonke ke umuntu. Wati kufanele labo abangabaholi bakusele labo abahlupekayo, ngoba okuyi yona nto ikataza du ubupofu. Ngako ke kufuneka abaholi bezwane kahle nabo bonke abantu.

Lenkulumo yake osengati yayi kulunywa iqondiswe kiti. Nanso ke nati into oku fanele siyenze kuleli. Sibambane sibe munye nezisebenzi, nabampofu nabo bonke. Sesi fikile isikati sokuba sonke tina baholi silwele into ibenye ukuhlangana nabantu bonke kuliwe nendhlala nobupofu.

Wati ke lomnumzane waseNdiya esepotula ukukuluma ke, " Kuhle siyeke konke ukukuluma okuyize, sisukume

silungiselele esizo kwenza ezinsukwini ezizayo," Naso-ke iseluleko esilungule, oku fanele nati sisilandele.

Uma nje sike saba nawo amandhla okukipa abantu bakiti kulolu tako lobupofu siyoba nawo amandhla okwenza izinto ezinkulu. Izikubekiso lezi ezibekwe endhleleni yetu zibekelwe tina ukuba sizisuse, sikwazi ke ukuhamba kahle. Uma singa zami ngako konke esinako ukuba sizisuse, sohla siyiloku esiyiko. Uma sipumelela ekuzisuseni nati soba naso esetu isipo esiyosipa umhlaba wonke saziwe ngaso ukuti singamaAfrika.

IZI-NCWADI ZE-NGQUNGQUTELA.

(1) **CRITICISMS OF THE NATIVE BILLS**, 1/-, postage 3d.

(2) **NATIVE VIEWS ON THE NATIVE BILLS**, 1/-, postage 3d.

(3) **FINDINGS OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION**, 1/-, postage 3d.

(4) **Presidential Address to the All African Convention**, by D. D. T. Jabavu, June, 1936, 3d., postage 1d. (Sotho version published at Morija, and a Zulu version published at Lovedale, at the same price).

(5) **MINUTES OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION**, (June 1936, Bloemfontein) 1/-, postage 3d.

—All the above are obtainable at the Book Department, P.O. Lovedale, C.P.

(6) **THE CRISIS**, 6d., by H. S. Msimang, 10 Adam Arcade, 37, Commissioner Str., Johannesburg.

(7) **USIHLANGANISILE**, 6d., by A. W. G. Champion 261, Grey St., Durban.

(8) **ISITA SOMUNTU OMNYAMA**, 2/- by J. L. Dube, Ohlange, Phoenix, Natal.

(9) **NKOSI SIKELEL' I-AFRIKA** (African National Anthem), 6d., Lovedale.

(10) **DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE NATIVE BILLS**, 1/-, from J. D. R. Jones, Box 1176, Johannesburg.

(11) **Criticisms of the Native Trust and Land Bill, and the Representation of Natives Bill**, 6d.,—from D. B. Molteno, 4, Wale St., Cape Town.

P779

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**
©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.