

We welcomed the ^{victory} coming in of the Nationalist Party at the elections in May 1948 because we felt that (a) a change ^{of government} had to be expected in a democratic government when the Government had failed or was failing to satisfy the aspiration of some of the voters and (b) the change was a natural consequence in a democratic system which permitted opposition party system.

(c) the change was salutary for the outgoing party to prevent from ~~presuming~~ assuming an attitude of permanence and to give it a chance for reflection and for review of its own actions or lack of actions in calm atmosphere of political wilderness in the opposition (d) the change above all would give the Nationalist Party the opportunity to put into practice for good or for ill its "master ~~plan~~ ^{plan} of ~~extermination of all~~ ^{extermination of all} ~~Colours~~ ^{Colours} - apartheid. Although we never had faith in and ~~doubted~~ doubted the efficacy of apartheid as a ^{any possible} social instrument of solution of social problems, we decided to keep an open mind. We felt that most people refuse to heed warnings. They persevere in trial and error. They have no regard for basic principles. They favour ^{efficiency} ~~efficiency~~. We felt in short that little could be done or said with any chance of success until the theory of apartheid has been put into practice.

Unsorted.

Theory and Practice

~~As~~ Africans we have no interests in the whiteman's party politics but we have interests in all that that concern the welfare and progress of South African ^{or states} nation. The place of the African and other non-European is ^{the axis} pivot ^{of} the ^{central} progress — we had ~~no~~ ^{had} no fears when the United Party lost the election in 1948. We felt that they ~~had~~ ^{had} opportunity after opportunity to make a new deal by their so-called Middle Course policy. It satraped no body and it led to nowhere. Especially after 1948 election, I appealed to the late General Smuts to do and dare for South Africa as a whole. I acknowledged in that letter his achievement for his people as ^{General} General, his contribution to South Africa as a leader in War and politics. I warned him ~~that~~ that his overwhelming majority at the election was his last God-given opportunity, his test of sincerity to translate his deeds the war ideals for the World — we fight for world freedom by bringing the African the non-European ^{immigrants} within the orbit of that freedom. The answer was neither no nor yes. I was non-committal and the opportunity was

We deny the competence of the Union Parliament composed as it is at present: ^{to} settle the question of Colonial relations even with a two-thirds majority of the two House sitting together. The Union Parliament is ~~not~~ ^{not} elected by the ^{common} white minority and a few Coloured voters in the Cape Province. It does not ~~therefore~~ represent the majority population of the Union and can in no way represent or express the will of that majority. We believe that ~~no~~ ^{no} section can settle the relations for the other sections. We believe that the only just, proper and equitable settlement of any national question in South Africa can only come out of ~~free~~ ^{free} deliberations between a National Convention composed of Whites and non-Whites as citizens of the Union.

We reject domination of any kind. We claim self-determination in South ~~as~~ ^{of} the land of our forefathers, & we deny that South Africa ~~is~~ and can ever be, a White man's country. We claim it to be our country - a Black man's ^{and determined} country, and we are resolved ^{and determined} to ~~that it shall~~ ^{become} such that it gradually returns to its own notwithstanding the present set back and domination by Europeans.

Africans must and will be rulers of the continent of Africa. Others will share but will not be permitted to dominate for all time.

~~This is our reply to the~~
We desire cooperation with all men and women of goodwill. We reject the Wellesme Baaskab White domination, European leadership, with justice, European trustee ship. We do not accept self appointed trustee ship which

must be white, permanent and must alone enjoy
all the benefits in the estate of the Ward. A trustee
ship that in which the ward remains forever
a minor and never ~~yet~~ comes of age. We
do not recognize that ~~white leadership~~ all white
men are superior to all men of other colours.
Leadership must be a matter of qualification
ability and moral worth with equality of opportu-
nity of all. We admit that the Whiteman has
all the technological leadership and ^{scientific} ~~the control~~
knowledge. We, however, claim that given
the opportunity, full facilities to ^{acquire} the
knowledge and ~~full opportunity~~ ^{to gain the} knowledge
and ~~full opportunity~~ ^{to put this} knowledge into practice, leadership will not
be a matter of colour of the skin but
but a matter of natural ability ^{or aptitude} which is a mono-
poly of no particular colour or race.

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Small proportion of the young people
spend their leisure time at society which
is only for the purpose of sport.

The younger section of youth plays
golf, which is an expensive form of
recreation that is very popular.

2. Few enclosed grounds for soccer -
save the Bank's Sports Club which is
not municipal owned & which
within is municipal owned.
These are available to several
+ people must go into expense to conduct
them.

Greater recreation facilities must
be provided near homes of the people
Other forms of sport must be encouraged
- Golf, tennis, rugby football,
bicycles, recreation halls for the
young, parks for children with
equipment.

3. We want provision of an employment
insurance on contributory basis,
sick benefit funds, old age pensions &
pensions against indigency. A removal
of differential legislation which removes
head of family from home for long
periods. Abolition of poll-tax, application
to African of principle of taxation based
on capacity to pay. Raising of taxable age.

4. Very few crèches & two primary schools for pre-school population. Schools are in a low provision for population. They have their own books.

Education - girls = 10. Compulsory for girls up to 12 years. In China, up to 12 years of board, training & girls' affairs. Probation staff to distribute ~~with~~ training staff to deal of social workers. All these appointments to be based on cost of living & services revenue. All a pensions to be based

5. Manpower grants are not paid to Africans who have paid their own. Inadequacy of institutional care, a probation staff, inadequate a should be placed on preventive rather than on corrective work. More hostels should be built & few children should be committed to hostels that to reformatories.

6. Mothers should work from choice not from compulsion, husbands must be adequately paid.

If they survive this age period, they are beset with a set of new problems. Malnutrition or starvation continues. Their body-resistance is reduced and they are victims to various diseases that make them seek admission into hospitals in greater numbers than would be if their economic standard allowed enough to keep body and soul together. Those of school going age find themselves starved bodily, mentally and morally. They can have neither the guiding influence of their mother and father, as these must go to work.

Over sixty per cent of them cannot find school facilities and accommodation which would give them the necessary discipline, since man of all animals must be taught. Most of these children, therefore, get their education on the streets and back alleys of our slum yards. They graduate into detention homes, reformatories, and gaols which are the logical goals for such students. If education and school discipline is necessary for the European children how much more urgent is it therefore for the African children who must adjust themselves under new and foreign conditions. Is it any wonder then that there is an increasing wave of crime which both white and black deplore. Must the African be blamed for inherent criminality or must the blame be laid at the door of those who dictate the course of his life or destiny.

Are increased police forces and "Pick-up vans", increased magistrates courts and gaols the proper, intelligent, and fair answer to this question.

Shall we build schools or gaols? Shall we develop contented, law-abiding citizens or criminals?

Boers, Britons and Bantu have got to live together in South Africa notwithstanding. Let us, therefore, one and all endeavour to follow the just and honest way of dealing with one another. We must increase their economic standard as well as their social and moral standard.

In so saying, I thank His Honour, the Administrator and His Worship, the Mayor for their presence and what they have said.

conditions are universal in South Africa among natives including Johannesburg areas. The real crime is that to some Europeans, Alexandra is a "Black island in a white sea" and that the township has a form of self-government in which the Non-Europeans are directly represented. ~~It must~~ ^{It seems to be the ardent prayer and hope of some} must be brought under white control in keeping with tradition and policy.

There is no doubt that all thoughtful and fair-minded people wish and hope to see a reasonable, constructive, and equitable solution for Alexandra.

In the past, for good reasons and sound judgement the Government and the Province ^{had} through impartial Commissions of eminent experienced Administrators rejected abolition as a solution because no valid case, except racial and colour prejudice, had been made. To-day, with the Non-Europeans dying to protect the little they have and what they hope to gain in reward for their supreme sacrifices, we can imagine no responsible Government yielding to this unjustified demand for the removal of Alexandra township and thus causing the Non-Europeans to lose faith and confidence in the Government.

*dispute

Incomplete.

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