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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
FOR THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee held in Bloemfontein on the 1st. August, 1948, a sub-committee was appointed to consider and report upon the practical steps to be taken on the social and economic aspect of African development. As a member of the sub-committee charged with the responsibility of presenting a programme for the economic rehabilitation of our race, it struck me that in order the better and forcibly to present an economic machine, it was necessary that we should examine the background of our position in relation to the Government of this country; and examine also the geographical as well as the physical position of the Native Reserves or their potentialities.

ACCEPTED AND AGREED POLICY OF SEGRAGTION.

Congress in its brochure entitled "African Claims" enunciates its policy. This is directly opposed to the agreed and accepted policy of the white people of this country whatever their party affiliations. Any difference there is among them is only one of degree. They want to be masters in this country for all time and believe they can achieve and entrench that position by and through segregation and apartheid. It is significant, however, that Congress having proclaimed its policy, and finding itself up against a wall of opposition and determined resistance by the majority of European public opinion in this country, has not decided on how it proposes to achieve its aims other than by organisation and its intensification. The weakness of her efforts must therefore lie in its lack of strategy and an elaborate economic programme such as may stampede the illiterate and ignorant masses into active and devoted participation in the struggle for national emancipation.

IMPORTANT AND SERIOUS HANDICAPS.

African leadership, it would appear, relies on its debating prowess as if white South Africans were amendable to reason and capable of persuasion by logic. It does not readily accept its chief difficulties which warp the intellect of industrialists and agriculturalist and make him an unreasoning being, which is that African leadership stands between the cheap labour market provided by inarticulate and benighted masses of our race and the capitalist interests. For that reason African intellectuals have become a menace and a danger to white domination in this country.

It does seem that African leadership cannot fully appreciate the hand of fate stretched out to afford them succour in the struggle for national emancipation characterised in apartheid, in the closing up of labour markets, in the refusal to implement the provisions of the Native Land and Trust Act, and in the loading of the dice heavily against African progress in almost every sphere. Economic pressure and land contraction are already playing an important part in stimulating and awakening a sense of injustice among our people which calls for guidance or direction from a determined African leadership. Heretofore, this guidance or direction has been conspicuous by its absence other than the exploitation of grievances as a means to enrol membership.

### A POWERFUL BARGAINING INSTRUMENT.

To achieve the aims and objects enunciated in the "African Claims", African leadership must without undue delay seek and find a position wherein it can command a favourable bargaining power. Apartheid, as a State policy, already evinces signs of moderation in the fact of the importance of the illiterate Africans in the economic life of this country whose place is however rendered vulnerable to all forms of exploitation because of its mobility and want of guidance or concentration. African leadership must therefore seek and find the means of diverting this labour to attractive channels of employment run, organised and maintained by a national corporation. When mobile labour can be harnessed effectively and the reserves converted into centres of great national self-expression, self-development and self-assertion, it will be the beginning of the end of apartheid and race prejudice.

### FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED.

It is imperative that African leadership should make a careful study of the reserves if it must appreciate the magnitude of available mobile labour and how it renders it difficult for the African race to rise above sub-economic wage levels, and, therefore, for the Congress to achieve its claims. As an illustration of the position obtaining in almost all the reserves in the Natal Province, a selection of two typical cases may suffice. At Estcourt, the total Native area comprises 53,217 morgen. The population is 15,980 souls. Of the 53,217 morgen only 5,373 comprise arable land. The rest, viz: 49,419 morgen are barren, arid and mountainous land. Arable land can therefore provide a livelihood for only 890 persons. It is obvious that about 15,090 persons on this reserve fall in the category of mobile labour, which is the altar upon which African emancipation is sacrificed. At Eshowe, the total area is 96,632 morgen. The population is 30,500. Arable land is only 20,000 morgen which is sufficient to support only 3,334 persons. The rest of the area, measuring 76,632 morgen comprises of mountains and barren land. More than 27 thousand people fall in the ranks of mobile labour for the recruitment of whom Dr. Jansen proposes to introduce a Bill in the next Parliament for the establishment of labour bureaux throughout the country. The closure that has been applied to some industrial areas against entry by Africans is part of the nett cast to encircle this type of labour which the State policy means to create. No amount of argument or protest will change the whiteman's mind into accepting the African Claims or of some form of betterment to benefit the African people.

### THE LAW OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

In the light of these facts, it behoves African leadership to strike out in its way along lines of self-determination based on the unalterable law of self-preservation; to accept as a fact that white South Africa has nothing in common with the African and that the Union Government is determined to deny the African the comity of interests in the fields of economics, education and politics. Any efforts on our part directed towards compelling white South Africa to admit us into the institutions of democracy, short of an independent thrust we can by joint action devise, would be toying with time or dissipating energy without any hope of achieving anything within a reasonable period. It must be recognised that to fight apartheid should not be to accept or reject it but to divert its course by a method that its effects may act as a boomerang on

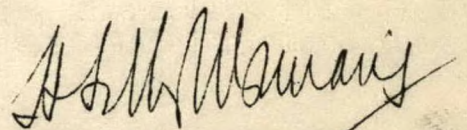
the sponsors thereof yet foster the spirit of self-help, self-reliance and complete economic independence for our race.

HOW TO ACHIEVE THIS.

Natal, thanks to the awakesness of some chiefs, has launched a scheme for the raising of a national fund. A modest beginning was made in 1945, but progress has been so slow that it became imperative to devise other means likely to meet the exigencies of the situation. Early this year I published a pamphlet in which I advanced certain ideas which I later improved and revised in a series of articles in the Ilanga lase Natal. During my recent cross-country tour with Senator Dr. E.H. Brookes I took the opportunity of urging the raising of a mammoth fund by means of cattle. At a meeting held at Nongoma, on the motion of the Princes of the Zulu Royal House, application was made to the Government for Prince Cyprian ka Solomon to convene a meeting of chiefs at the Royal Place. The meeting held on the 22nd and 23rd October, 1949, accepted in principle the raising of a big national fund for the establishment of industries and for the general economic development of the reserves. A constitution therefor is being drawn which will be submitted to the next meeting of chiefs next year. There were 118 chiefs, and with the indunas the meeting was attended by more than 500 people.

Behind the scheme is the idea of raising a representative deputation to the Government to appeal for the opening up of Maputaland reputed to be malaria infested, which at the moment appears to be no-man's land. I cherish the hope that the whole of this vast country may be turned into a big sugar-cane field with its own mill and ancillary businesses. By this means we hope to absorb a large population and thereby relieve congestion in some of the reserves. Our eyes are cast in the wheat growing areas which could be encouraged to produce more wheat for our mills. From this brief indication it will be seen that to succeed we must raise millions of pounds, we must get around us a body of experts to assist and guide our efforts. We do not believe in the non-collaboration idea. We believe we can succeed only if African leadership can form a formidable team and work as one man in the interests of the whole. We do not favour the spirit of hate; rather do we believe in goodwill towards all save those who would exploit us for their own ends.

I commend these ideas to my co-leaders in the hope that they may get out of the tendency of dancing to Mr. Whitemen's tune everlastingly. Let us seek salvation in our own way and by our own means with such assistance as our shortcomings may require.

  
H. Selby Msimang

13th. December 1949.  
 P.O.Box 155,  
 Pietermaritzburg.

A. N. C. 10/12/1949

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VOORTREKKERS MONUMENT CELEBRATIONS : THE POINT OF VIEW  
OF THE AFRICANS.

This Conference of the African National Congress held at Bloemfontein on the 16th December, 1949 desires to place on record its judgment on the Voortrekkers Monument Celebrations and the meaning of Dingane's Day to the Africans.

On the 16th of December 1838 the African people in Natal under the leadership of their King Dingane, made supreme sacrifice in defence of their homeland and their inherent and their inalienable rights. Since then not only in Natal but in other parts of South Africa, the African people have continued a ceaseless struggle against the same forces for the same cause and in the same spirit which inspired their forefathers, namely, African self-determination and independence. On this day it behooves all Africans to rededicate themselves to the same cause as a people.

The motive behind the Voortrekkers Monument Celebrations became clear some weeks ago, when Dr. E.G. Jansen, the Chairman of the ~~Monument~~ Voortrekkers' Monument Celebrations announced that "All Europeans were welcomed at the Celebrations," clearly indicating that the African people had no share in these celebrations. In this characteristic <sup>maxim</sup> Dr. Jansen disclosed that the Europeans of South Africa are determined to enshrine in marble and stone their spirit of racial and colour exclusiveness and white domination, their disregard of the wishes of the majority population, and their contemptuous philosophy contained in the ~~ground~~ Grondwet that "there shall be no equality between black and white in Church and in State". Under these circumstances the Voortrekkers Monument stands as a reminder to future generations of Europeans of the struggle and strife between Europeans and Africans. In the minds of the Africans, this monument stands as a <sup>symbol</sup> for a determined perpetuation of the hateful memory of past clashes between white and black in South Africa and as an incentive for the maintenance of the unnatural, detestable, and anti-Christian spirit of white domination over, discrimination against, and denial of full democratic and human rights for Africans.

Congress deplures the perpetuation of this spirit of colour exclusiveness and white domination, notwithstanding the fact, that nothing of permanent value or of any ~~significance~~ significance in South Africa was ever done by the Voortrekkers or their descendents without the assistance or participation of the Africans.

Congress is convinced that as long as this spirit or attitude prevails amongst the Europeans in this country there cannot be any permanent peace between the races in South Africa. Any nationhood which the Europeans attempt to establish by themselves to the exclusion of the majority of the inhabitants will always rest on a shaky foundation and will be doomed to fall.

The Africans cherish a fervent hope that the Voortrekkers Celebrations will be used as a means of effecting a permanent settlement of what ever wrongs and differences which have existed to impair the good race relations so essential for the progress of the country.

In view of the attitude shown during these celebrations this Conference of the African National Congress calls upon all Africans henceforth to seek in their own way under Congress leadership methods of self-advancement of self-defence and of self-preservation by allying themselves with all the forces of Democracy and good-will in this or any other country.

The President  
African  
Dr. B. Duma.

A.N.C  
18/12/1949  
National Congress  
Bloubaart

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Std 9, 1159 Orlando Township  
Johannesburg  
16. Dec. 17. 18. Dec. 1949.

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I happily Congratulate your Statement in the Press R. D. Mails. that  
"South Africa is on the Road of Suicide" It has struck my mind and felt high that  
I even wrote articles to the <sup>Press</sup> Star & Star about your Article that it is true.  
They may or not published the Article Contains no Opposed language but <sup>Confirms</sup>  
and expressing views that to be. As I said to the Press that when is South Africa  
going to be given its full rights to rule itself" that is when is it a blackman  
going to be a Statesman of his own people and rule with modern rule  
Although Leading Newspapers ~~Carries~~ Carries big heading the "Blackman is not  
ripe for what soever even a Trade Union, Oppression Laws have been Applied  
Such as Apartheid etc. South Africa was made Apartheid by God.  
Africa to a Black man because to a white man. South Africa shall never  
be a Whiteman's land. South Africa is standing on its feet today we have  
at various degrees amongst a Blackman B.A.S. to Professor those who can  
be the head of the Bantu State" The Conqueror of the three Centuries ago  
must see today that we have to give a government of our own and rule people  
of our own. A Blackman is claiming his Country of birth, Country of his  
fore father ancestors and his Government - time marches fast than a human  
can see unlike the lapse of time, rivers and air they move although they steal  
away.

Press hard we are behind you

We want our Government

and ruled by our own people

Countries of Eastern and Western have been given governments  
after being conquered why can we not be given since is three hundred  
years ago. ~~Slave~~ <sup>slavery</sup> business must come to a stand still. Prisoners  
used on farms as none blood creature must cease even an iron  
wears out but human beings in farms is more worse than an iron.  
Work hard Dr. Duma we are behind you

The Bantu Star is behind you

die with you

'Apartheid has made them one ~~Big~~ Concrete Stone'

Yours faithfully  
James George Mankwane

Introduction:-

Chairlady, their worship the Mayor and mayoress, Honourable guests, friends. I have been called upon to give a brief report on the activities of the above club.

HISTORY AND BIRTH OF CLUB:-

This club though less than a year old dates back as far as April 1946. Strange though it may sound yet it is simple. In the year 1946 the T.E.D. deemed it wise that we at Germiston should start an "Adult's Domestic Science Course" which should last for a duration of a year after which we were left to the best of our abilities.

At the expiration of that period we then re-applied for the continuation of these classes and we were granted permission hence the "BIRTH" of the "GERMISTON ZENZELLE CLUB".

Never-the-less we did not affiliate with the Central Club until late October 1948. Since, however, we have become very active and the number of members likewise has increased tremendously (consisting of 22).

HOLDING OF SILVER TEAS:-

We occasionally hold what we call "SILVER TEAS" and it is at such gatherings that we are able to absorb lectures that are morally and intellectually educative. The first Silver Tea for the current year was held at the residence of Mrs Ngema and Mrs Bottoman acted as 2nd hostess to Mrs Ngema.

These Silver Teas are opened to the public and held at the residence of the members and the hostess has the opportunity of receiving guests and catering for them and keeping them intellectually and socially entertained.

Within the current year we have had no less than 10 such gatherings.

REFRESHERS COURSES:-

In addition to these Silver Teas we again meet with all other branches at the Refreshers Course. At these courses there are members selected from each of the various clubs to demonstrate on whatever they think will be beneficial to us all viz:- Cookery....(i) Icing of cakes such as "Wedding cakes etc., Preserves... (ii) Fruits, vegetables etc.,

SUMMARY OF CLUB WORK:-

Club-work I feel is of very great importance and above it all beneficial in that it encourages self-help and self-reliance, and in that alone you find pleasure and take pride in being able to create something and turning out a success and personally feel that it should be compulsory that every woman should at least join some club or other for by so doing one is able to exchange ideas and thus preserve not only foods but also one's knowledge

We at Germiston, I must say, have made a mark on the map and it goes with out saying that we are really making what I would term, History, in that Germiston has been a popular centre for the Refreshers Course, being patronised by all the clubs.

It is a pleasure when we get together at these meetings and it is suprising at the amount of work one can put in, in such a short time, for we only meet twice per week i.e. Wednesdays is set aside for cookery. Fridays for Needle-work. Our Motto at Germiston is:- Only the Best is Good enough.

In closing I would say, thanks to you one and all and to all other fellow members:- "Let's keep on keeping on". Again a big THANK YOU.

# Zenzele Club

## Roodepoort

### Annual — Report

### 1949

During the year, we have not done any work according to the club's programme, because we were out of touch with the mother club. We began to know of the programme on the 27th August 1949.

During this quiet time, we kept ourselves occupied in charity work of European and African Women of Margaret Salinger home, for which we raised a sum of Fifteen pounds four shillings and ten pence. (£5. 4s 10d)

We further tried to solve certain problems in the Location, i.e. (a) Shortage of water. (b) Ill-treatment in the local hospital.

Therefore we regret to say that we have no handwork to show this year, but we sincerely promise that we shall give all the branches a very big surprise next year.

E. Ramoupi  
(Secretary)

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