A Chronological Account of the Inquiries between the Government and the Native Representative Council. (With Annexures).

1. On August 15, 1946, the Native Representative Council determined to suspend its operation indefinitely until the Government should undertake to abandon its policy of discrimination against the African and secure its active help in such way to enable the African people secure adequate protection of their rights in the land of their birth. The actual terms of the agreement were not made public until 1947.

2. During the same month, Maj. J. K. Mafeking, representing the local area of the Cape Province (excluding the Eastern Province), in his capacity as Chairman of the Census of the African Members of the Union, delivered a speech in the House of Assembly in which he referred to the relationship between the Government and the Council and in particular with the system which led up to the adjournment.

3. In October of 1946, the Chairman of the Council convened a special meeting of Councillors which met at Bloemfontein to discuss the situation arising out of the adjournment and to decide on the line of action to be taken by the members at the next session of the Council. Although the members of the Council did not all manage to attend, the present was preceded with the business of the meeting as indicated on the minutes which were efficiently circulated to the members (see Annexure C).

4. At this time when the Councillors met in Bloemfontein there was an Urgency Conference convened by Dr. A. B. Xuma, President-Designate of the African National Congress, attended by five 50 delegates, two in session. The meeting of the Council was permitted to address the Conference on behalf of the Councillors in...
connection with the adjournment of the Council. That Conference
after the end of its deliberations passed a resolution in which
it endorsed the action of the Councillors in adjourning indefinitely,
advise the Council to attend any further meeting
of the Council convened by the Government for the purpose of
seconding the Government's reply to the Government's amendment
resolution. It be referred to the Government and called
upon the African people to boycott all elections under the
Native Representation Act of 1936. (In the actual letter of the
Emergency Conference resolution see Annexure F.)

5. In November 1946, the Councillors assembled in Britain
to hear the Acting Prime Minister, the Rev. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.P.
give the Government's reply to the adjournment resolution.
His address will be found in Annexure F.

6. At the conclusion of his address, the Council adjourned its
reply (See Annexure F).

7. Upon hearing this statement, the Councillors were asked to
consider the Government for consideration and advising
some of its the late Acting Prime Minister, and who was
unable to appear in person sent the Councillors
the Government's final reply which was read by the
Chairman of the Council (Mr. W. S. Klein, Secretary to Native
Affairs). (See Annexure H)

8. The Councillors thereupon adjourned to consider their
final reply which was submitted read in the Council
by the Chairman of the Council. (See Annexure I, etc.)
This was followed by a brief debate in which the
following Councillors participated: Councillor R. V. Godfrey
Mene, Councillor E. H. Sibisi and Councillor D. J. S. Kota.
Whereupon the Council adjourned a second time without
assuming its normal business.
9. During this session of the Council, the Councilors constituted the Secretary of the Council to send copies to the following Governments, then attending the second part of the first session of the Assembly of the United Nations in New York, to congratulate them on their work in connection with the dispute between India and South Africa regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union and South Africa by the Union Governments, and also regarding the question of South Africa's partial incorporation of the Union's territory into the Union.

10. The Secretary was instructed to send a cable to the Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding the appointment of the Council to the charge, prepared by South Africa, in the status of South-West Africa. The cable was acknowledged by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 4 December 1947.

11. That the second time appointed of the Council, like the first, was with the general approval of the African people was shown by the number of greetings of congratulations which were received from organizations and individuals in different parts of the country. It would be unwise to single out any of these for special mention.

12. Mention must, however, be made of congratulatory address communicated from the leadership of the Union Fraternity by the People's Congress which was brought by a special carrier in the form of a letter of C. J. Dadoo. The content of this letter of the African people's movement's response to the struggle against the South African policy of color discrimination was much appreciated by the Councilors, particularly additional evidence of a growing sense of solidarity between the two.
while groups in this common struggle for human citizenship rights in the best of their common country.

13. In March 1947, the Executive Committee of the African National Congress at its annual conference held in Johannesburg adopted a resolution endorsing the action of the Council in adjourning for a second time (see Minutes 1).

14. In March 1947, the Executive Committee of the African National Congress (Cape) passed a resolution calling upon the Prime Minister to take steps to end the deadlock between the Government and the Native Representative Council (Vorstand). This resolution was forwarded to the Indian representatives of the African National Congress and was presented to the Prime Minister by Messrs. D. Malherbe, M.B., H. D. Kortright, M.P. and Mr. C. H. Whitelaw, who, among other things, placed before the Prime Minister, a schedule, showing based upon the reports of the Council since its inception, showing the trend of the advice of the Council of various ministers had been received prior to the Government's report. With little or no result, it was submitted to the present Prime Minister of the Government of the Council. (Minutes 19.)

15. In May 1947, the Prime Minister invited one member of the Council to Cape Town to meet him. A full report of the interview was circulated to the members by the Chairman of the Council. (Minutes 19.) On the instructions of the Prime Minister, a resolution was passed in the Council by the Chairman of the Department of Native Affairs (Minutes 19).

16. During the same month (May 1947) the minutes of the Council were read and it was decided by a
a special meeting session to be convened at which
the Prime Minister would address the Council on his
proposals. At that time it was thought that the session
would open in Cape Town before the end of the Parliamentary
session. When the Parliamentary session it was expected
that the Councillors would be called to meet the Prime
Minister in August or at the latest early in November
before the expiration of the life of the Senate Council. Early
in October we learnt to our surprise that the Prime
Minister had found it impossible to arrange to meet
the whole Council as promised and that instead he had
decided to issue for general information a statement
in which he had outlined in somewhat greater detail
his tentative proposals, which he placed before the six
Councillors in Cape Town. This time we were informed the
tentative proposals were the informants of Cabinet
approval (see Manuscript P).

17 Prior to this I had already instructed the Secretary
of the Council to ensure that the members to attend
a special meeting at Bloemfontein to discuss among
other things, (i) the budget proposals (ii) the progress of the
forthcoming elections which has attracted some attention
among the articulate sections of the Native population.
It had originally been planned to hold this meeting
on Saturday October 4 but circumstances compelled us to postpone it to the late date.

18. Before proceeding to consider in detail the only item on
our agenda it seems necessary for me to pause to
make some general observations on the situation in which
we find ourselves.

19. In the first place I want to remind them of the
first instance we did so because of what we called the refusal of the "break of faith" on the part of the Government in its dealing with the Council. It is not necessary for me to remind you that in representation of the number of times the Government has failed to fulfill its solemn promises to the African people. All I wish to do is to show you an attempt to the latest example of the breach of faith.

At the very beginning of the Prime Minister, the head of the Government, promised to call together the whole Council to inform him of what he considered an urgent demand to end the deadlock between the Government and the Council and to launch a new era in national policy. Not only has the Prime Minister failed to fulfill his promise to the accredited representatives of the African people, but the Government has, in the past, and not heard yet to overcome the existing difficulties of the council which was due to have taken place in November to consider drafts of treaties of the Federation, and any draft legislation affecting Africans to be brought before the next session of Parliament. Instead of meeting

which interpellation now place upon
the Council which began the negotiations for a revised policy? The Government has decided to postpone all negotiations until a new Council is formed, and is not entitled to persuade the House that they have done so. If the Prime Minister deems it desirable to take the place that the
new Council will have a substantial, from the present Council, and that the different Councils have a relatively easy passage for the new proposals? It may also be hoped that as a result of the boycott movement, the present
front among the articulate sections of the African people, the so-called "new constitution" will be eliminated from the Council and be replaced by a body of men more amenable to government control and direction. Whatever may have been in the mind of the Government in deciding upon these tactics
we would be failing in our duty if we did not condemn in the strongest terms possible this further example of the contemptuous manner in which the Government treats this body of its own creation, and fail to take appropriate measures to ensure that the primary object of our agreement, namely, to win the confidence of Government to undertake a genuine revision of its native policy, is not defeated by the new Council on which it has appointed, and decided upon in fact.

10. Come up to the people themselves. I want to remind you about what I said to you in my report in the Cape Town Congress. I quoted: "But although we may have succeeded in getting the Government through the back door, to agree to set our native policy upon a sounder course different from that of the past, we shall have to continue with the utmost care any specific proposals designed to give effect to the recalled new policy. We must be in our guard against being foiled off and swindled which is frequently has the appearance of change when in fact it is substantially the same as what we have already condemned. Change is not always in the direction of progress and we are not interested in change for the sake of change. Nor must we allow ourselves to be satisfied with promises unaccompanied by tangible evidence of how when and whether they will be fulfilled. The Xhosa people have experienced so many disappointments in the history of their relations with both Union governments that a certain amount of scepticism on their part must be expected. This is not in much a question of losing a gift horse in the mouth, as one ofJamaicu the* Books says when they appear to be coming landed only with gifts.

On the other hand we must not allow the caution dictated by ordinary prudence to divert into a mere obstinate refusal to consider proposals just before us in their right. We are it to the people we represent, to state without fear or favour briefly what it is we intend to oppose in schemes intended for them. We are engaged in delicate negotiations...
on behalf of our people and we must conduct them with due care
of responsibility."

This in the light of these considerations that we must examine
the proposals which the Prime Minister has placed before the country
as a whole, and to decide whether they provide a basis for a fair
trust with the work of the Council.

At a basic for discussion I would like to place before
for the defect, as I see it, of the Prime Minister's draft
approach and for the purpose I should like to consider
the scheme under the following headings:

1. The chairmanship of the Council. We are informed that in
online the Council is to have as its chairman an
African elected by the members from among themselves. This
is going to be represented as a great advance on an
present position. Now 1 am aware of the fact that the members
of the Council have at different times expressed their
satisfaction with the chairmanship of the Council, but
the programme of this complaint has not been concerned
with the choice of the chairman but his status as a civil
servant who by the nature of his office cannot be associated
with the execution of details with questions of policy rather than with its formulation.

The new change in the office of the chairman is not going to
bring about the transformation in the objectives of our policy
by which we have been the voice of the people as it is the moment
interested. Nor is what used to be the nature of the African
chairman in the government's scheme of things. Will the have
access to the minister individually or to the cabinet
as a whole on matters affecting the African people, or will he
be subordinated to the secretary for native affairs. Indeed
of the latter his position will be intolerable, and of the former
which is being the base of this relationship with the other
section of departments. Finally it must be remembered that the
Chairman of the Council is its chief Executive Officer, who must
carry the plans and carry out the decisions of the Council.
He is not like the speaker of the House of Representatives
or the President of the Senate who has primarily to guide and control
the debates of the House or the Senate as these might be during
the session. His office approximates more to that of an
Administrator of a Province. Consequently there is a danger
of overreaching in his duties, and an unnecessary
expenditure of the funds of the Province of a contemplated for the
improved N.R.C.

2. Membership of the Council. The membership of the new Council
is to be all African. What advantages will be gained
by this arrangement? As far as I can see the only advantage
is that while there will be that of many senior officials
concerned with native affairs the embarrassment of having
to listen to criticism of their administration as they are
required to do today. However, I agree with that advance.
The new arrangement is simply calculated to make these
officials who have the training of the African people in their
hands more responsible to the demands of the people
than they are today. As for the Council it will become
even more a mere talking shop than it is today.

The case here has been some point in the exclusion of these
officials of the future had been taken by the people
who in the last analysis are responsible for the shaping
of the present, namely the ministers. Our complaint has
been that we had the ears of the government but not its
head in the Council. Now even the most ears are
from being taken as voice

be satisfied with the scheme of its voice future to be
watered fed on the echo of their own voices. But if right
out of mind isn't the policy to be followed in future
Admittedly there are two points about the new membership of the new council which can be said to be definite improvements, namely the elimination of nominated members and the increase in the number of members. From this it follows to me to make any disparaging remarks about the nominated members who have up to now given the elected members splendid support in all their endeavours, in spite of the fact they were all chiefs holding their position at the pleasure of the government. But I feel sure that our chiefs would be the first to admit that the new all-elected council is much more democratic than much more representative than one which is partly elected & partly nominated. As regards the increase in the membership of the council, that it is necessary, if only on the side of generosity.