the precarious economic status of the African people and will be prejudicial to the interests of all sections of the African population, the White no less than the African, the Coloured and the Indian. We are convinced that the Poor White Problem cannot be solved by doing what is calculated to lower the economic level of any section of the people.

3. The Representation of Natives in Parliament Act purports to provide, through the Native Representative Council, machinery for the ascertaining of Native Views on legislative measures affecting their welfare. The method of election of the members of this Council will not give adequate scope for the representation of the various interests and aspirations of the African people—an object which can only be achieved by broadening the basis of voting for its members. This convention re-affirms its conviction that the only way in which the interests of the various races which constitute the South African population can be safeguarded is by the adoption of a policy of political identity. Such a policy will ensure the ultimate creation of a South African State in which, while the various groups may develop on different lines socially and culturally they will be bound together by the pursuit of common political objectives. The Convention contends that this object can only be achieved by the extension of the rights of citizenship to all the groups. This latter objective—common and citizenship rights for all—we make no apology for reiterating, and we are determined in no way to relax our efforts in working for this end.

Therefore we instruct our Executive Committee to call upon all organisations affiliated to the Convention to devise ways and means of co-operating with it in this task.

In the struggle for the attainment of these objectives the Executive is authorised to explore all effective avenues of action.

Now therefore this All-African Convention solemnly resolves to pick up the gauntlet thrown before it by the White Parliament of South Africa.

Thursday July 2.

After discussion by Messrs. Mapikela, Ramutla, Mbete, Tunzi, Klaaste, Mrs. Godlo, Mrs. Gool, Mrs. Bhola, Mrs. Lesabe, Mapitsa, Chief Chuene, Mancoba, Nyeezi, Msimang, Leepile, Kabane, the motion was adopted unanimously on the proposal of Mr. L. Mfeka seconded by Mr. Rajuili.

Concluding session—Thursday afternoon.

(25) Finance.

The Treasurer presented his report which, after a full and lengthy discussion, was passed and unanimously adopted.

It is here given with analytic notes by the President for the encouragement of all helpers.

As Dr. Moroka is one of the busiest individuals in the whole Union although he is as trustworthy as the Bank of England, Mr. I. Nhlapo, Box 19, Thaba Nchu was appointed to help him in acknowledging moneys received by periodical publication of the names of contributors in the African press.

The report is as follows:

FINANCE.

Moneys received from the 16th December, 1935 up to the 2nd July, 1936:

£14 8s. in shilling fees from delegates; £1 Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Dippa, Port Elizabeth; 10s. Mr. and Mrs. R. H.
Godlo, East London; 5s. Rev. J. Likheko, Port Elizabeth; 2/6 Mr. J. Coka, Johannesburg; £23 5s. Alexandra Town Standholders Assoc., Johannesburg, per Mrs. Mary Campbell; £2 2s. Western Township, per Mr. L. j. Mfeka; £5 5s. Pimville, per Rev. J. Mahlangu; 13s. Vredefort, Mr. L. Mokoena; £5 Queenstown, per Miss M. T. Soga; £2 8s. 3d. Johannesburg per Dr. Xuma; £2 Brakpan, per Rev. S. Mayekiso; 12s. Small sums; £2 12s. 9d. De Aar, Mr. A. B. Mbolekwa; £1 16s. Tsolo, per Mr. E. Cecil Makiwane; £1 ls. Kimberley, Rev. Z. Mahabane; 10s. Standerton, Mr. A. W. Mali; £1 1s. Villiers, Mr. R. P. Naare; £1 10s. Bothaville, Mr. S. S. Khechane; £1 9s. Fourteen Streams, per Mr. S. B. Nyeki; £12 2s. 9d. Kroonstad, per Rev. J. Lithwa; 1s. Mr. H. Borani; £2 Cape Town, per Mr. A. Gasa; £1 6s. 9d. Cape Town, per Mr. J. D. Mnemeni; £1 10s. Kimberley, per Mr. E. T. Kosani; £4 4s. Jansenville, per Mr. G. C. Peter; £6 4s. 6d. Mphele, per Mr. P. A. Guy; £2 10s. Chief L. K. Montsiho, Mafeking; £5 Healdtown Institution; 6s. Kokstad; 7s. 6d. Adelaide, per Mr. Mpongoshe; £1 3s. 9d. De Aar, Mr. A. B. Mbolekwa; 6s. Mr. Maaje, O.F.S.; £1 6s. Volkarust, Mr. E. Plaatje; 12s. Mr. G. Msimang; 12s. Beaufort West; 3s. Kimberley, Mr. Nyangulake; £6 2s. 11d. Johannesburg; £3 12s. 9d. Kimberley, Mr. Makapela; 15s. 6d. Butterworth; £1 19s. 7d. East London, Mrs. R. H. Godlo; £1 S. A. Native Farmers' Congress, D. D. T. Jabavu; £2 6s. Lovedale, Fort Hare, Alice, per D. D. T. Jabavu; £1 1s., Unity Club, Port Elizabeth; £1 7s. Riverton, J. Gwele; £1 7s. Karoo B. L., Graaff Reinet; £3 8s. 6d. shilling fees by delegates, July, 1936, Bloemfontein; £1 14s. Fort Beaufort, C. A. Sigila; £3 9s. 6d. Durban, per Mr. Bhulose; 16s. Queenstown, per J. A. Sishuba; 13s. 11d. Queenstown, per Miss M. T. Soga; £5 10s. Chief Molete; £1 6s. Venters, per Mr. J. D. Mokoena; £1 5s. Orlando, per Mr. Tshabalala; 16s. Vrede, Mr. Tshabalanga; £1 10s. 6d. Warden; 9s. Langa, Cape Town; 5s. Standerton, Mr. Moloi; 15s. Parys, Mr. Moleke; Total receipts £155 14s. 2d.

Expenditure, recommended by the Executive Committee and passed by the Convention:—£10, travelling expense of General Secretary, January, 1936, Johannesburg to Cape Town for Deputation work; £3 2s. 6d. General Secretary, travelling expense, June, 1936, to Bloemfontein Convention; £7 4s. 3d. Working official expenses of General Secretary December 1935 to June 1936; £7 for copies of book *Findings of the All African Convention* supplied to M.P.'s on the opening of Parliament January, 1936; £2 8s. 6d., President's Working official expenses; £3 3s. 6d., items of printing and duplicating; £10 Honorary to General Secretary.

Total Expenditure £43 3s. 3d., leaving Credit Balance, £112 10s. 11d. At this point some enthusiastic speakers added contributions of 17s. 2d., bringing the Total Credit Balance to £113 8s. 1d.

**Notes**

An analysis of the contributions shows that (1) in round numbers the £155 odd was Provincialy obtained thus, £72, Cape; £52, Transvaal; £24, Orange Free State; £6, Natal. Including special local efforts of £68 to send a deputation to Cape Town, the figures, totalling £223, are £108, Cape; £52, Transvaal; £33, O.F.S.; £30, Natal. (2) Only two chiefs contributed. We hope more will follow. (3) Most organisations that sent delegates twice to Bloemfontein have not yet started to support the All
African Convention with cash. But we trust they will now be reminded to bring happier reports next December, 1937. (4) The Women's section has made a good beginning (£8 14s. 6d.) and we except more. (5) We request those who habitually take up most of the time of the Convention in delivering frequent and long speeches to work up big funds at home. (6) Our strongest single-district contributor is Alexandra Township (£23), followed by Kroonstad (£12). There should be keener competition by December, 1937. (7) The rail fares of the officers (President, Vice-President, General Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer) cost £15, but the entire Executive Committee will cost £100 at least.

Therefore the Convention needs substantial funds before it can be regarded as being on a working business basis; and "funds will permit" only when the Treasurer can show a sum of £350 in order to allow of a salary of £150 per annum for a full time paid secretary, £100 for the rail fares (excursion) of the Executive Committee, and a regular working balance of £100 constantly available for critical exigencies. This can be easily achieved if everybody pulls his weight and does his duty in raking in the individual shillings required for the liberation of Africa in this great war of liberation (8) Let everybody ask himself this question:—

"What are you doing to render the Convention an efficient machine?" "Are you only indulging in big talk to draw attention to yourself, or are you doing real spade work that produces money results?"
That is the acid test of your loyalty to Africa.

(26) *Interim Finance.*
This resolution was unanimously passed:—

(a) That this Convention resolves that the members of the Executive Committee drawn from each province conduct an intensive propaganda of organisation on behalf of the Convention including the raising of funds for convention purposes.

(b) All funds raised on behalf of the Convention must be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Convention (Dr. J. S. Moroka) in accordance with section 8 (e) of the draft Constitution, in favour of the Standard Bank, Thaba Nchu Branch, Thaba Nchu, O.F.S.

(c) In connection with the expenses of members of the delegation to Cape Town, the provincial group referred to above is empowered to examine the claims of the delegates concerned for refund.

(d) Documents relating to *bona fide* claims are to be filled or forwarded to the Convention Treasurer who is hereby authorised to meet such claims out of Convention funds.

(27) *On Abyssinia.*

(a) The All African Convention hereby expresses its utmost condemnation of the savage, unprovoked and unwarranted attack made by Italy upon Abyssinia and declares as its considered opinion that the ruthless action of Italy can only be regarded as large scale violence against fundamental human rights.

(b) Further this Convention sees in this action of Italy a continuation of the game of grab which the imperialist nations of Europe have played in this continent whereby millions of inhabitants have been deprived of their land, exploited and robbed of their labour.

(c) This Convention hereby declares its conviction that imperialism which has thus resulted in the ruthless
destruction of life, in violent acts of robbery, in increasing
exploitation and in the destruction of African culture is an
evil force to be exposed, condemned and resisted.
(d) The All African Convention recognises the value
and desirability of establishing contacts with Africans and
African organisations in other parts of the world. To this
end the All African Convention believes that a call to
international conference of Africans and overseas peoples
of African descent should receive the serious considera-
tion of the Executive Committee.
(28) Overseas Contacts.
Having in mind the desirability of establishing and
maintaining contacts with other African peoples and
organisations and overseas peoples of African descent and
other races, the Convention hereby instructs the Executive
Committee to appoint a secretary for their purpose in
terms of its authority provided in Clause 4 section (c) of
the Constitution and that the committee make the appoint-
ment.—passed unanimously.
(29) The Protectorates.
With reference to the Protectorates of Basutoland,
Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the following resolution
moved by Miss Janub Gool, B.A., seconded by Mr. C. R.
Moikangoa, was unanimously adopted:—
(a) That the Convention heartily supports the struggle
of the Africans in the Protectorates against incorporation
in the Union, as such incorporation would not be in the
best interests of the people of the Protectorates.
(b) This Convention pledges itself to supply all in-
formation to the Africans in the Protectorates through the
press and otherwise, giving facts regarding conditions and
the Native policy of the Union Government, with a view
to assisting them to come to a proper conclusion if and
when they are consulted by the British Government with
regard to the question of their inclusion in the Union.
(c) In terms of Clause 4, Section (c) of the Draft
Constitution, the Executive Committee is instructed to
arrange for the secretariat necessary for the prosecution
of this resolution (Number 29) as well as that of Number
(28), and that the appointment of the secretariat be effected
immediately.
(30) Executive Activity.
This resolution was carried unanimously:—
That the Convention authorises the Executive Com-
mittee, pending the next meeting of the Convention,
to conduct the work of the All African Convention such as
the raising and disposal of funds in terms of the Draft
Constitution as well as carrying into effect the programme
of action agreed upon at this Convention.
(31) Date of next Convention.
After a long and interesting discussion it was moved and
unanimously decided that the next meeting of the All
African Convention be held in December, 1937, beginning
on Monday 13th and terminating on Dingan's Day 16th.
The object is to ratify the Draft Constitution, as well as
to give the ample time of eighteen months for the delegates
to conduct intensive work in their constituencies in the
interests of the Convention. This will allow time for our
work to percolate in all the rest of Africa and oversea countries where we should work hand in hand with people of African descent, other non-White folks and all White people who, being in sympathy with our cause, have identified themselves with our objectives.

(32) The term “non-European.”

During the discussions, a rather novel idea of designating Europeans in South Africa was mooted, with appreciable effect. One delegate strongly contended that it was erroneous to describe the Africans in South Africa as “Non-Europeans” when to all intents they formed the indigenous population of the continent of Africa. He urged the Convention in all sincerity to adopt the nomenclature of “Non-Africans” for all Europeans as distinct from Africans, arguing that here they lived in Africa, and not in Europe where the term “Non-European” is conceivable and tolerable for strangers in the continent of Europe. This sign of an awakening race-consciousness may well be discussed next year in December.

(33) Closure.

In closing the Convention, the President gave an exhortation saying the delegates must bear in mind the motto “No cross, no crown” which meant they must be prepared to face hard work and cast away racialism. The only evidence we can see from anyone professing sympathy with us is the arrival of his shilling or more as proof of his loyalty. By this Convention we may create as many friends as enemies, but let us not look to the right or left but go onward undaunted till we reach our goal.

The Convention was finally closed at 6.30 p.m., Thursday 2nd July with the singing of the African National song Nkosi sikelel’ i-Afrika.

ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION.

CONSTITUTION.

Preamble: Whereas it is expedient in view of the situation that has been created by the “Native” Policy of segregation, discrimination and other repressive measures that has been definitely adopted by the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa that the African races of South Africa as a national entity and unit should henceforth speak with one voice, meet and act in unity in all matters of national concern,

This Convention resolves that a Central Organisation shall be formed with which all African religious, educational, industrial, economic, political, commercial and social organisations shall be affiliated,

And to give effect to this purpose, the following Constitution shall form the basis of the organisation to be and which is hereby established, namely:

1. Name: The name of the organisation shall be the All African Convention.

2. Composition: (a) The Convention shall be composed of accredited organisations and organised bodies duly registered with the General Secretary and which organisations and organised bodies shall be represented by accredited delegates at all meetings of the Convention.

(b) Any duly organised body with a constitution that expresses its objects shall be eligible for registration.

(c) A fee of 10/6 shall be payable on registration.

3. Objects: (a) To act in unity in developing the political and economic power of the African people.

(b) To serve as a medium of expression of the united
voice of the African people on all matters affecting their welfare.

(c) To formulate and give effect to a national programme for the advancement and protection of the interests of the African people.

4. Officers: (a) The Officers of the Convention shall consist of a president, a vice-president, a general secretary and a treasurer, who shall be members of the Executive Committee.

(b) The General Secretary shall be a paid official whose salary shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

(c) The Executive Committee shall have power to meet any further organisational needs of the Convention.

(d) In case of emergency the Officers shall have power to act on behalf of the Convention subject to review by the Executive Committee.

5. Executive Committee: The Executive Committee shall consist of (a) the officers, (b) five representatives from each province.

Chiefs and, in their absence, their duly accredited representatives shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

6. Election: (a) The Officers of the Convention shall be elected by ballot at an ordinary general meeting of the Convention;

(b) Shall hold office for three years, and

(c) Shall be eligible for re-election.

The other members of the Executive Committee nominated in special meetings of provincial delegates at the Convention shall be elected at the time of the election of the officers.

7. Vacancies: The Executive Committee shall be competent to fill any vacancy occurring between meetings of the Convention.

8. Finance: (a) The general funds of the Convention shall be made up of collections of shilling subscriptions, registration fees, affiliation fees, public or private donations and funds raised in such other means as it may deem fit to devise, such collections being effected by a special one shilling Convention stamp.

(b) All subscription lists shall bear the Convention stamp imprimatur and the president's and treasurer's signatures.

(c) All Convention moneys shall be deposited with the treasurer.

(d) The treasurer shall deposit all Convention funds in an approved bank in an account styled "The All African Convention."

(e) All cheques in favour of the Convention funds should be crossed "All African Convention."

(f) All disbursements from the Convention funds shall be made by cheque payments and must be signed by the treasurer, the general secretary and the president, or, in the absence of the President from the country, the Vice-President.

(g) The budget of expenditure must have been previously approved of by the Executive Committee.

(h) The travelling expenses of the president, the vice-president, the general secretary, the treasurer and the executive committee shall be paid out of the Convention treasury when funds permit.
9. **Audit**: The Executive Committee shall arrange for an audit of the Convention books by a registered accountant and shall present a report to the Convention.

10. **Conference**: The Convention shall meet every three years, provided:

   (a) That the Executive Committee shall have power to convene a special meeting of the Convention whenever it deems it fit and necessary so to summon it.

   (b) That on the requisition of at least three registered organisations submitted to the general secretary at least three months before the date suggested for the meeting and embodying the subject matter for discussion, the Executive Committee, at their discretion, shall convene, through the president, a special meeting of the Convention.

   (c) That the Executive Committee shall meet at least once a year and may at its discretion invite each registered organisation to send one representative to a meeting for purposes of consultation.

11. **Venue**: The venue of the Convention shall be Bloemfontein unless the Executive Committee or the Convention itself specially decide otherwise.

12. **Amendments**: This Constitution may be amended at any ordinary Convention meeting by a two-thirds vote of the members in session, provided that three months’ notice of such amendment shall be given by the general secretary to all registered organisations prior to the Convention meeting at which such amendment is to be registered.

13. **Quorum**: The quorum of a Convention meeting shall be fifty members and that of an Executive Committee meeting shall be ten members.

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**DELEGATES.**

The total attendance was 206, made up thus, Cape Province 106; Transvaal 56; Orange Free State 36; Natal 8. As absolute accuracy is impossible in such big gatherings, errors will be pardoned.

**Officers**:—President, D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.), Fort Hare. Vice-President, Dr. A. B. Xuma, M.D., B.Sc. Johannesburg; General Secretary, H. Selby Msimang, 10, Adam Arcade, 37, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg; Recording Secretary, R. H. Godlo, East London; Official Draughtsmen, Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B., Fort Hare; Selby Ngcobo, B.A., Amanzimtoti, Natal; Treasurer, Dr. J. S. Moroka, Standard Bank, Thaba Nchu Branch, P.O. Box 37, Thaba Nchu, O.F.S.


**Other Delegates**—Lionel T. Mtimkulu, Lady Frere; Chief Walter Kumalo, Driefontein; Chief O. Gasemeloe, M. Melore, I. N. Masinda, Kuruman; C. A. Sigila, Fort