

MINUTES
OF THE
ALL AFRICAN
CONVENTION

December 1940

Price 6d.

By Post 7d.

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OFFICIALS.

- President :* Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu
(Alice)
- Vice-President :* Rev. Z. R. Mahabane
(Winburg)
- General Secretary :* S. Mac. Lepolesa
637 Batho Location
Bloemfontein
(Headquarters)
- Recording Secretary :* J. G. Masiu
(Durban)
- Treasurer :* Dr. J. S. Moroka, M.B., CH.B.,
P.O. Box 37, Thaba Nchu,
O.F.S.
- External Contacts :* Dr. Max Yergan, M.A., LL.D.,
8W 40th St., New York, U.S.A.
- Protectorates Contacts :* Prof. Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B.
Fort Hare, Alice.

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[2]

MINUTES.

ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION. BLOEMFONTEIN, 18th-20th DECEMBER, 1940.

52. *Sederunt.*

The fourth meeting of the All African Convention was held in the Community Hall, Bloemfontein, from the 18th to the 20th December, 1940, there being present: President Professor D. D. T. Jabavu (in the chair); Vice-President, Revd. Z. R. Mahabane; Treasurer, Dr. J. S. Moroka; General Secretary, H. Selby Msimang; Recording Secretary, J. G. Masiu; and the following members of the Executive Committee:—

Cape: A. V. Coto (Cape Town); S. P. Sesedi (Kimberley);
Professor Z. K. Matthews (Alice).

O.F.S.: C. R. Moikangoa (Bloemfontein); D. Z. Chaane
(Heilbron).

Natal: M. L. Kumalo reported by communication his
inability to attend. (vide appendix 6).

Transvaal: Nobody.

There were over 56 delegates representing 27 organisations and communities as enumerated in the appendix, and two Parliamentary representatives of the Africans. The roll was called and delegates duly registered under their respective constituencies.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Revd. R. M. Tunzi (Kokstad) and the President welcomed Advocate D. B. Molteno, M.P. (Western Circle) and Senator J. D. Rheinallt-Jones (Transvaal and O.F.S.). Letters of apology for inability to attend were read from

Mrs. V. M. Ballinger, M.P. (Eastern Circle) and from Senator C. H. Malcomess (Cape) and telegrams from R. H. Godlo, M.R.C., Capt. J. G. F. Moullt, M.P.C. and W. M. Tšotsi, B.A. (Umtata).

53. *Parliamentary Members.*

(a) Advocate Molteno in the course of his address to the convention referred to the work he and the other parliamentary representatives of Africans were doing in face of stern opposition. He had always been a keen supporter, he said, of the All African Convention from its very inception and was looking forward to a great future for it. He dealt with the housing question, wage determination, and other affairs affecting Africans. The Wages Board is confined, he explained, to big industrial centres for the most part, and some slight improvement in wage scales had been achieved. The Government had stopped the purchase of further land under the Native Trust Fund for the duration of the war. There was some little increase in the wages of the 50,000 railway workers but not sufficient to cover their needs. The Government as an employer, he said, was the worst payer.

The Workmen's Compensation Act discriminated between colour and a recommendation had been made to do away with such discrimination in the new Bill now in preparation but without avail. He said he had appealed to Trade Unions to assist in the fight, but the chief obstacle was that the Native Trade Unions were not recognised by the Government who were opposed to the principle of collective bargaining by the Africans. He deplored the lack of closer contact between the leaders of the people and the Parliamentary representatives—it is most necessary

that the people, through their leaders, should know from time to time what is being done in Parliament and to consult on matters of immediate national importance.

The address was greatly appreciated by the meeting. Questions on detail were put to Mr. Molteno by H. S. Msimang, C. M. Kiviet, S. M. B. Ncwana, J. B. Marks and M. M. Kotane and were satisfactorily replied to.

At this juncture Revd. Z. R. Mahabane announced that Dr. A. B. Xuma had been elected President General of the African National Congress—the announcement was received with applause and Dr. Xuma was called upon to take his seat on the platform.

The President then reported that since the last Conference the following members had passed away—he therefore moved as an unopposed motion that the members stand up for one minute as a token of their sorrow. This was done.

Dr. Abdurahman	Cape Town.
Samuel Hoho	Cape Town.
Chief John Phetogare Moroka,	Chief of the Barolong
	tribe of Thaba Ncho, O.F.S.
Chief Moroka S. Moroka,	younger brother of above.
Chief D. Mogale	Transvaal.

(b) Senator J. Rheinallt-Jones then addressed the meeting, and urged closer co-operation between organised bodies and Parliamentary representatives. It is very important and our efforts in Parliament will go a long way if it is known that at the back of us there are strong organised bodies. He complained that no formal invitation had been extended to them as representatives of the Africans in Parliament and expressed the hope that the omission would be rectified in future.

Dealing with the land question Senator Jones emphasised that the 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ million morgen voted by the Government will not be sufficient for the needs of the Africans and efforts should be made to secure more land. As regards wages, he said, there had been some little increase within the last three years, and he was urging the removal of the colour bar, and the granting of pensions to Africans.

With regard to education he stated that although the Government was spending to-day three times as much as they spent 20 years ago yet out of ten African children only three attended school. The Revenue derived from Poll tax should be allocated entirely for education and educated Natives should be employed as Postal clerks, and also in high offices in the Native Affairs Department. As the result of representations to the Government a full medical course for Africans would be opened in March 1941, and this would save overseas expenses which many families could not afford to meet. He also mentioned the abolition of school fees in African schools as from April, 1941. Replying to Mr. C. R. Moikangoa, Senator Jones stated that the Government did not follow the recommendation of the Welsh Commission which stipulated that the education of Africans should be transferred to Central Government, and financed on per capita basis.

Senator Jones was thanked for his instructive address.

54. Minutes.

The Minutes of the Conference of December, 1937 meeting of the Convention having been printed and circulated for sale, were taken as read. These were unanimously passed and adopted.

55. Presidential Address.

Professor Jabavu referred to the Convention meeting of 1937 when the Native Representative Council had just commenced its activities. Three years have gone by and one wonders whether the Government makes proper use of our Members of the Representative Council as we anticipated. Our conception of its duties made us believe it would have its headquarters at Cape Town, the legislative capital, where closer consultations and co-operation would be possible. On the contrary it has been put up in Pretoria, the administrative capital, where it appears to act in a merely advisory capacity to the Native Affairs Department. The address further dealt with the threat to transfer African education to the Native Affairs Department.

The appointment of Europeans as principal teachers in African High Schools in preference to African teachers, as for instance Bloemfontein and East London was unjustifiable. It went on to say that a deputation went to Cape Town on this matter, and among other things General Smuts had promised to make facilities for appointments of African interpreters and clerks in public offices.

Dr. Max Yergan, our External Secretary, had been in close touch with us and had sent £10 as a contribution towards co-operative purposes. The economic upliftment of our people needs immediate attention and our people should be encouraged to open stores and to circulate their money through African traders and a link should be established between the producers and the sellers or the consumers.

The address also defined what the A.A.C. stood for

and its aims and objects. It is a co-ordinating body that can speak with one united voice.

Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, the Vice-President, continuing the address on the war question said the Union Government had declared war although she had a perfect right to remain neutral if she so desired. As to the question whether we should respond to the call, the answer has already been furnished not only by the leaders but by the people who responded as Military guard, etc. Our womenfolk are knitting, others are sending money contributions and all this means that Africans must have a share in defending the territorial integrity of our land.

The Defence Act must be amended to provide for equal terms of service with all the benefits, allowances and pensions for those whose relatives died or are maimed in war. The A.A.C. should take up cudgels on behalf of our African recruits and their dependents, and should co-operate with our Parliamentary representatives. Wars have been fought before, as in 1899 and 1914, but all we got was slavery in its worse form. We do not know whether we shall get liberation but we must take part in this war so that we may have a voice and take part in the reconstruction and benefits of this world affairs when peace comes.

In the comments on the Presidential address a rather warm discussion ensued revolving around the war question, pointed questions being put as to whether there were two separate addresses and whether the Vice-President was voicing his own or the President's feelings. The President was criticised for not giving a lead on the war problem, while other speakers justified the President on the ground that he had already given this lead last July

when he framed a full statement on the matter in a joint meeting of the Executive Committees of All African Convention and the African National Congress. (See Appendix 4)

The following speakers took part in the discussion :
Rev. J. A. Calata, C. M. Kiviet, Dr. H. Gool, M. M. Kotane, J. B. Marks, S. M. B. Ncwana, Miss Palmer, G. Malefane, J. B. Tabata, S. Oliphant, L. T. Mtimkulu, S. M. Lepolesa, J. Malangabi, J. Nhlapo, H. S. Msimang.

56. *A.A.C. & A.N.C.*

On the relationship between the All African Convention and the African National Congress, the following letter was received from the A. N. C. dated the 18th Dec, 1940, addressed to the Secretary of the A. A. C.:—

AFRICAN POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

Dear Sir,

At the annual conference of the African National Congress held at Bloemfontein on the 16th December, 1940, it was resolved to ask the All African Convention to elect a committee of three representatives to meet in joint committee three representatives from the African National Congress to consider how the two bodies could co-operate to bring about a united effort in the political struggle of the race.

The Committee should be required to report to the All African Convention during this session.

Yours for Africa,

(Sgd.) JAMES A. CALATA.
Secretary General, A.N.C.

On the motion of Professor Matthews, seconded by Dr. Gool the subject matter of the letter was given for discussion in order to give the meeting a clearer view of what is being aimed at and to be able to appoint a Committee with full terms of reference. The following took part in the discussion, Rev. E. E. Mahabane, Dr. H. Gool, Prof. Matthews, J. A. Nhlapo, C. Bennett Ncwana, Rev. Jas. Calata, M. T. Moerane, C. M. Kiviet, W. F. Nkomo, L. Mtimkulu, H. S. Msimang, R. G. Baloyi, J. Tabata.

In the discussion which ensued it was evident that there is some doubt as to the functions of the two bodies. Some said the African National Congress was a federal body and others said it was not; and after the matter had been thrashed out at some length Dr. Xuma moved and Mr. H. L. S. Kekana seconded that a Committee be now appointed. The following members constituted the Committee:

For the All African Convention: Prof. Z. K. Matthews, J. A. Nhlapo and L. T. Mtimkulu. For the African National Congress: Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, J. B. Marks and Rev. J. Calata. The Committee then retired for deliberation, and after an interval of about 1½ hours, submitted its finding. After some discussion, Mr. J. B. Tabata, seconded by Mr. S. J. Oliphant moved that the Report of the Joint Committee be referred back to the various organisations through their delegates for full consideration and to report at the next meeting of the All African Convention. For findings of the Joint Committee see appendix 3.

57. Financial Report.

The Treasurer, Dr. J. S. Moroka, submitted his financial report:—

Income:

Credit balance brought forward from the meeting of December, 1937 (See Minute 48) £113/8/2; Dr. Max Yergan on behalf of the International Committee on African Affairs, New York, £10; Bantu Welfare Trust, for printing Minutes, £36/14/-; Cash £1/3/1, 4/8/38; Dr. M. Yergan, for Co-operative Work, £10; Miss J. P. McCall, Fort Hare, £1/1/-; £10/0/9, cash 16/8/38; £1/11/6 cash 14/11/38; 12/9 cash 22/12/38; 10/6 cash 27/1/39; £1/1/- R. G. Baloyi, M.R.C.; Whittlesea Workers Ass. 10/6; Zenzele African Women's Ass., 10/6; Cape Native Voters' Convention 10/6; 13/6 sale of literature; 10/- Glen Adelaide Co-operative Soc.; Non-European United Front, Durban, 10/6; Cape African Congress, 10/-; Communist Party, Johannesburg, 10/6; Non-European United Front, Cape Town, 10/6; Graaff Reinet Community, 10/6; Winburg Vigilance Soc., 10/6; Communist Party, Cape Town, 10/-; New Era Fellowship, 10/6; Cape Peninsula Central Cte. of the A.A.C. 10/6; Heilbron African Women's Ass., 10/6-; National Business Ass., 10/6; Land Owners Ass., 10/6; Western Province A.N.C., 5/-; N.W. District Teachers' Union, 10/6; Total £195/17/10.

Expenditure:

Executive Committee subsistence, Dec., 1937, £20/10/6; Letterheads, £1/11/-; Printing of Dec., 1937 Minutes, £36/14/-; Secretariat, 18/6/38, £3/1/-; Printing £2/18/2,

7/7/38; Secretarial Stationery and Correspondence £2/0/6; 21/12/38; Honorarium to Secretary, 1938, £10; Secretary rail fare to Bloemfontein 25/6/40, for Executive Meeting, £2/9/-; Honorarium to Secretary, 1939, £10; Duplicating machine, £9; Exec. Cte. mtg., 8/9/40, subsistence, £5/6/-; Credit balance, £92/7/8; Total £195/17/10.

Mr. S. M. Bennett Ncwana in moving the adoption of the Report thanked the Executive Committee and especially the President for the efforts and influence which brought about such a result. Mr. Tsenyego seconded and added a rider that the Convention should provide light refreshments to which the President replied that that had been done before but the expense involved did not warrant a repetition. In view of the fact that the only source of income to the Convention is the affiliation fee from interested organisations, and in view of the war conditions Mr. Ncwana moved and seconded by Mr. R. G. Baloyi that the Honorarium of £10 to the General Secretary be reduced at the discretion of the Executive Committee. Agreed. It was further moved by Revd. E. E. Mahabane seconded by Mr. S. M. B. Ncwana that a minimum balance of £50 in the account of the A.A.C. should be kept intact. Agreed after discussion.

58. *Election of Officers.*

The election of officers then followed and resulted thus:

President: Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., (Lond.)
 Vice-President: Revd. Z. R. Mahabane.
 Treasurer: Dr. J. S. Moroka, M.B., Ch.B.
 General Secretary: S. Mac. Lepolesa.
 Recording Secretary: J. G. Masiu.

Secretary for External Affairs } Dr. Max Yergan, M.A., LL.D.
 Officer for Protectorates Contact } Prof. Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B.

Members of the Executive Committee.

Cape:

J. B. Tabata, 80 Harrington Street, Cape Town.
 J. O. Sitela, P.O. Cradock.
 S. P. Sesedi, P.O. Hopetown.
 Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Fort Hare, Alice.
 Revd. R. M. Tunzi, P.O. Kokstad.

Transvaal:

R. G. Baloyi, P.O. Box 30, Bergvlei, Johannesburg.
 J. B. Marks, " " "
 Revd. E. E. Mahabane, P.O. Box 182, Randfontein, Tvl.
 A. M. Madiba, 74 Progress Bldgs., Commissioner St., Johannesburg.
 C. M. Kiviet, P.O. Box 69, Benoni, Transvaal.

Natal:

H. S. Msimang, P.O. Driefontein, Besters, Natal.
 A. W. G. Champion, P.O. Box 1657, Durban.
 Philemon Tsele, P.O. Box 700, Durban.
 M. L. Khumalo, P.O. Inanda, via Phoenix, Natal.
 Dr. I. B. Gumede, 137 Queen Street, Durban.

O.F.S.:

C. R. Moikangoa, 2831 Bochabela Loc., Bloemfontein.
 Rev. J. S. Litheko, Methodist Church, Kroonstad.
 Rev. Jos. Mochoko, P.O. Box 93, Harrismith.
 D. R. Chaane, P.O. Box 120, Heilbron.
 J. Lloyd Lobere, 727 Batho Location, Bloemfontein.

59. *Farm Labour.*

This subject was introduced by Mr. H. S. Msimang, who mentioned that a Government Farm Labour Commission had been appointed in 1937, and the report had just recently come out. The conditions of farm labour were most unsatisfactory and in Natal African farmers were being crowded out by people who could not tolerate the inhuman treatment on European farms. The price of the Report is 5/- and Mr. Moerane moved seconded by Mr. Tsele that the Executive Committee should take up the matter.

60. *Town Labour.*

This matter was also introduced by Mr. Msimang, and from the outset the discussion was of a most instructive and constructive nature. Several speakers took part in exploring avenues that could solve this burning question. Messrs. Ncwana, Msimang, Tsenyego, Baloyi, Kotane, G. H. Gool, Tabata, Miss. Ahmed, Miss. Palmer, and Phil. Tsele took an active part in the discussion which resulted in the following Resolutions:—

That this Conference has learned that African people in various places have made representations for an increase in their wage levels but have met with no satisfaction.

The Conference therefore respectfully request the Minister of Labour to instruct the Wages Board to visit not only the large industrial centres but also the small towns to make investigations into wage levels in so far as Africans are concerned with a view to making wage determinations in regard to these wage levels in the smaller towns.

Also that this Convention requests the Government to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act in such a way that

the Africans come under the definition of "Employee" as used in the said Act.

In the discussion there came to light that in other centres like Johannesburg there was a Co-ordinating Committee of Trade Unions for Europeans and non-Europeans and that by getting into touch with them much useful data could be obtained. It was also urged that workers should organise according to their industries as that would obviate the difficulty of assessing different scales of pay. The meeting stressed very strongly the question of African trade unions being recognised by the Government and that until that position is attained very little progress could be achieved by African workers. The following resolution was moved and adopted:—

That this Convention communicate with the Co-ordinating body of the existing African Trade Unions with a view to co-operating with them and inducing them to affiliate to the All African Convention.

Also that in view of the fact that there is such a crying need for co-ordination or organisation and effort among our people, in as much as there is so much political and economic ignorance and bankruptcy the time is ripe when we should have a full time organising paid Secretary with full powers to act, and to that end the Convention consider ways of raising and guaranteeing funds for the salary and travelling expenses for a suitable African to undertake the task.

61. *Trading Rights.*

The discussion was led by Mr. Msimang who stated that municipalities did not give full trading rights to

Africans in terms of the Urban Areas Act. This is a serious matter and this Convention should see that its Resolutions are implemented by practical militant steps to show the Government that Africans need redress for their grievances. A decision of the Supreme Court was quoted in connection with African traders of Bloemfontein in which it was stated that they could trade provided they did so on sites selected by the Municipality. Deputation after deputation has been to see the Minister of Native Affairs without avail. In the O. F. S. trading rights are refused in the locations, an exception to the rule was mentioned in the case of an African who owned a butchery in Petrus Steyn. Instances were quoted at East London and other centres where Africans' trading rights were restricted and heavy sums of money were required as a deposit before one's application could be considered. Those who took part in the discussion were Messrs. H. S. Msimang, C. R. Moikangoa, J. L. Lobere, Rev. J. Calata, E. Tsenyego, L. T. Mtimkulu, J. Malangabi, A. Malunga, etc. Mr. Mtimkulu moved and was seconded by Mr. Tsenyego that a strong deputation consisting of Dr. J. S. Moroka, S. Mac. Lepolesa and another member the two may decide upon from the Transvaal should wait on the Minister for Native Affairs, and Minister of Commerce, and urge immediate redress. Agreed.

Mrs. C. Kuse (Kimberley) moved and was seconded by Mr. H. S. Msimang : that this Convention expresses its deep concern and consternation at the marked degeneracy of civilisation in this country under the name of which are perpetuated impossible and miserable conditions for the African people and that the White govern-

ment is perpetuating a policy of political, economic, industrial and social warfare against the Africans through the Native Bills, Land Acts, Native Wages, Salary scales and multifarious artificial disabilities ; this Convention therefore requests the Government of South Africa as a defender of democracy and Christian civilisation to

- (a) grant full democratic rights to Africans and all non-Europeans.
 - (b) abolish segregation and discriminatory laws.
- Agreed.

62. *Land and Landowners :*

Mr. Msimang in opening this subject mentioned that the land bought by the Trust Fund in Thaba Ncho was so small that the tenants could hardly do anything, and not only that but they were hemmed in by obnoxious regulations. In Natal there are syndicate farms owned by Africans and these are now congested as the result of Natives who are being expelled from towns as being redundant—Natives who originally resided on European farms but were forced by harsh and inhuman treatment meted out to them to move out. The Native Service Contract Act is an instrument of dire slavery and efforts should be made through our Parliamentary representatives and otherwise to have it repealed. Again in Thaba Ncho the Trust Fund bought out small holdings off their owners and promised them better land—These residents are now made to pay £3 a year, and an identical instance was given near Alice where the Trust bought six areas of land and were renting it at £2 per annum to residents. It was mentioned that had it not been for the untiring efforts of Dr. J. S. Moroka, the position in Thaba Ncho would

have been much worse, that he is still continuing with the struggle and making representations to proper quarters.

It was suggested that a Joint committee of six should meet the African National Congress next December, and that the Convention should also try to deliberate on these matters before the expiration of three years. It was then moved by Mr. Tabata and seconded by Mr. Kotane :

63. Next Meeting.

That in view of the present state of international and national emergency created by the war, and in order to facilitate necessary consultation among the affiliated organisations, this Conference of the All African Convention resolves to instruct the Executive Committee to summon a meeting of the Convention for the 16th December, 1941. Agreed.

64. D. Z. Chaane.

The President then read a report from Mr. D. Z. Chaane, member of the Executive Committee, dealing with his activities in Heilbron, Villiers, Vrede, Tweeling, Frankfort and Harrismith from which centres he collected a total sum of £1. 19. 11. Mr. Chaane was duly thanked for his efforts but it was also remarked that the policy of the Convention was not to cater for individuals as such such procedure would bring it into conflict with the various organisations affiliated to it.

65. African Women.

Mrs. C. Kuse (Kimberley) was called upon by the President to address the meeting. After conveying the greetings of the National Council of African Women (Kimberley branch) which she represented she outlined

the aims and objects of her organisation and referred at length to the upbringing of African children which her organisation felt was not receiving the serious attention it deserved. Her organisation did not take part in political controversies, but at the same time it wanted to enjoy equal rights with their men-folk. It did not affiliate to the All African Convention because the latter body did not like or encourage her organisation to make direct representations to the Government except through the Convention. Continuing, the speaker said in reply to questions, that Miss Soga who organised the women's section in 1935 under the aegis of the Convention nearly lost her post on the Women's Council as the result of those activities. Further that her organisation was not at all against the All African Convention but it did not see its way clear to affiliate to it as her organisation was founded years ago before the All African Convention came into existence. The discussion which pivoted around the question of non-affiliation occupied the rest of the afternoon, and the greater part of the following morning. The following speakers took an active part: C. R. Moikangoa, Miss H. Ahmed, Miss Gool, Mrs. Mohlakoana, Rev. J. Calata, J. B. Nhlapo, J. Tabata, A. M. Lepolesa, E. Tsenyego, M. M. Kotane, J. Malangabi, M. Moerane, and H. L. Kekana

66. Report from the Executive Committee.

A joint Executive Committee of the All African Convention and the National Congress met in July 1940 and passed a Resolution shown in Appendix 4. The resolution was read and, on the motion of Mr. H. Msimang, seconded by Mr. Tsele, it was adopted. It was further agreed upon

that this Resolution be presented personally to the Minister of Defence by Revd. Z. R. Mahabane.

67. *H. S. Msimang.*

Mr. S. M. Lepolesa moved as an unopposed motion that this Convention places on record its thanks and deepest appreciation of the services of its energetic retiring General Secretary, Mr. H. Selby Msimang during the last, five years and that this Convention wishes him all success in his new venture.

68. *The President.*

Revd. James Calata moved as an unopposed motion that this Convention wishes to place on record its sincere thanks to the President for the wise manner in which he presided over the deliberations of this Convention.

In response to this vote of thanks, Professor Jabavu delivered a touching homily in closing the meeting.

The great majority of people represented by this Convention, he said, eighty-four per cent, were those living away from towns, far from newspapers and wireless sets and far behind some of the ideas expressed here in their behalf. To organise them was very hard, and harder still for them to send delegates here every year, while for those in the huge urban areas it was fairly easy to make the trip to Bloemfontein, hence these constantly clamoured for unbroken yearly meetings at Bloemfontein regardless of the inability of the landed folk to keep local societies going and to raise funds for Bloemfontein conventions. It is necessary for us to sympathise with the lot of all these groups if we mean to keep them loyal to us and to support us in our proposals.

He earnestly exhorted all present to work with the utmost sincerity for the enlightenment of our fellow Africans by (a) teaching the humblest to understand the importance of being indentified with one organisation or another, and to be loyal once registered ; (b) working assiduously for increased membership, (c) enduring all the storms of detraction and ill-founded criticism with a tough rhinoceros hide of imperturbability, and (d) by being content to be followers of leaders in place of being all leaders.

The convention was then closed by the Revd. J. Calata with the benediction.

APPENDIX 1.

ORGANISATIONS REPRESENTED.

1. Non-European United Front of S.A., P.O. Box 369, Cape Town.
2. Non-European United Front (Durban), P.O. Box 700, Durban.
3. Communist Party of S.A., P.O. Box 1176, Cape Town.
4. Communist Party of S.A., Johannesburg.
5. Graaff Reinet Community.
6. Winburg Vigilance Society.
7. Zenzele African Women's Association.
8. African Traders Association, Bloemfontein.
9. O.F.S. National Congress.
10. National Council of African Women, (Kimberley branch).
11. Cape Voters Association, Fort Beaufort.
12. New Era Fellowship, Harrington Str., Cape Town.
13. Glen Adelaide Co-operative Society, P.O. Lady Frere.
14. Natal Native Congress, 79 North Street, Durban.
15. Whittlesea Workers Association.
16. Central Committee A.A. Convention, 81 Harrington Street, Cape Town.
17. Heilbron African Women's Association.
18. National Business Assoc. of the Rand, P.O. Box 30, Bergvlie.
19. Landowners' Association of Cape Town.
20. Cape African Congress, Lwana Street, Cradock, C.P.
21. S.A. Native Teachers Federation.
22. Iso Lomzi (Cape Town).
23. African National Congress, (Western Province Branch)

24. N.W. District Teachers Union, Kimberley.
25. Ciskei Chiefs Convention, P.O. Box 25, King Williams Town.
26. S.A. Native Farmers' Congress, P.O. Box 8, Alice.

APPENDIX 2.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Cape.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Ismail Baboo, | Cape Town. |
| 2. M. M. Kotane, | Cape Town. |
| 3. Miss H. Ahmed, | Cape Town. |
| 4. Miss J. Gool, B.A. | Cape Town. |
| 5. Dr. G. H. Gool, M.B., Ch.B. | Cape Town. |
| 6. S. M. B. Ncwana, | Cape Town. |
| 7. A. V. Coto, | Cape Town. |
| 8. I. B. Tabata, | Cape Town. |
| 9. S. Jayiya, | Cape Town. |
| 10. H. L. Segie-Kekana, | Cape Town. |
| 11. S. J. Oliphant, | Cape Town. |
| 12. J. Malangabi, | Cape Town. |
| 13. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., | Fort Hare, Alice. |
| 15. Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B., | Fort Hare, Alice. |
| 15. Rev. Jas. Calata, | Cradock. |
| 16. Rev. H. Fassie, | Cape Town. |
| 17. Rev. J. Marela, | Pearston. |
| 18. J. O. Sitela, | Cradock. |
| 19. Mrs. C. Kuse, | Kimberley. |
| 20. Mrs. J. Matthews, | Kimberley. |
| 21. Mrs. Sibeko, | Kimberley. |
| 22. E. Tsenyego, | East London. |

- | | |
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| 23. C. Kobese, | Cape Town. |
| 24. J. D. Mfenyana, | Lady Frere. |
| 25. S. M. W. Peme, | Kimberley. |
| 26. A. B. F. Malunga, | Kimberley. |
| 27. C. A. Sigila, | Fort Beaufort. |
| 28. Rev. R. M. Tunzi, | Kokstad. |

Orange Free State.

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| 29. C. R. Moikangoa. | Bloemfontein. |
| 30. S. Mac Lepolesa, | Bloemfontein. |
| 31. J. L. Lobere, | Bloemfontein. |
| 32. Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, | Winburg. |
| 33. Wm. Malefane, | Winburg. |
| 34. Dr. J. S. Moroka, M.B., Ch.B., | Thaba Nchu. |
| 35. Rev. J. S. Litheko, | Kroonstad. |
| 36. Rev. Jos. Mochoko, | Harrismith. |
| 37. D. Z. Chaane, | Heilbron. |
| 38. Mr. J. Motshumi, | Healdtown. |
| 39. G. Letele, M.A. | Modder Port. |

Transvaal.

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| 40. Dr. A. B. Xuma, M.D. | Sophiatown, J'burg. |
| 41. R. G. Baloyi, M.R.C., | Bergvlei, J'burg. |
| 42. Mrs. E. R. Baloyi, | Bergvlei, J'burg. |
| 43. J. B. Marks, | Bergvlei, J'burg. |
| 44. J. G. Nhlapo, B.A., | Wilberforce, Evaton. |
| 45. W. F. Nkomo, B.Sc., | Pretoria. |
| 46. Rev. E. E. Mahabane, | Randfontein |
| 47. Miss. J. Palmer, | Johannesburg. |
| 48. M. Madiba, | Johannesburg. |
| 49. C. M. Kiviet, | Benoni. |
| 50. A. T. Seele, | |
| 51. M. Ngakane, | |

Natal.

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| 52. Mrs. J. L. Dube, | Ohlange, Phoenix. |
| 53. H. Selby Msimang, | Driefontein. |
| 54. J. G. Masiu, | Durban. |
| 55. L. T. Mtimkulu, | Durban. |
| 56. Philemon Tsele, | Durban. |
| 57. D. G. S. Mtimkulu, M.A. | Adams, Natal. |
| 58. M. Moerane, B.A. | Mapumulo, Natal. |

Parliamentary Members.

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| 59. Advocate D. B. Molteno, M.P., | Cape Town. |
| 60. Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones, M.A., | Johannesburg. |

APPENDIX 3.

**RECOMMENDATION OF THE JOINT
COMMITTEE OF THE A.A.C. & A.N.C.**

Whereas it would appear that there exists some overlapping of activities and misunderstanding as to the status and position of the two bodies, the A.A.C. and the A.N.C., in the organisational life and activities of the African race both of which claim to be the co-ordinating body of the different organisations in the country.

This committee recommends :—

1. That the two bodies be requested so to amend their Constitution that they will clearly define their respective spheres of labour.

2. That the definitions of their scope should as far as possible be on the following lines :—

(a) The A.N.C. shall confine itself to the political aspirations and constitutional rights of the Africans and to other cognate matters.

(b) The A.A.C. shall be the co-ordinating and consultative committee of African National organisations dealing with social, educational, economic, political and industrial matters.

(c) Wherever possible the representatives of affiliated national organisations on the consultative committee shall be the President, Chairman and Secretary of such organisation.

3. Except in special circumstances organisations of a mainly local character shall not be eligible for direct affiliation to the A.A.C.

APPENDIX 4.

THE WAR.

The Executive Committee of the All African Convention and the African National Congress in joint meeting held at Bloemfontein on the 7th July, 1940 gave their considered opinion and expressed concern at the developments that have taken place in the war that is now raging in Europe. The Executive expresses loyal sympathy with the British Commonwealth of Nations in the difficult task that has been thrust upon it as a result of recent developments. The Executive notes with deepest concern that the struggle has now entered Africa and that African soldiers are being employed by some of the combatants.

The Joint Committees desire to place on record their conviction that the time has arrived when the Union Government and Parliament should consider the expediency of admitting Africans of this country into full citizenship in the Union with all the rights and duties appertaining to that citizenship.

With this end in view the Joint Committee consider that the territorial integrity of the Union of South Africa can only be effectively defended if all sections of the population were included in the defence system of the country on equal terms, and that those who are, or may be, eligible for service should receive full military training in all its aspects, and be fully armed. Further, that those who are being recruited for whatever military service should be placed under regular conditions of such service involving adequate support for their dependants during and after the war. In this regard we would urge the authorities to enlist the services and co-operation of African leaders in addition to those of Chiefs and headmen.

With regard to subversive propoganda the Joint Committees are convinced that the removal of grievances such as pass laws, low wage levels, industrial colour bars, the refusal of trading rights to Africans, and so forth, will go a long way to counteract mischievous doctrines that are being disseminated among Africans.

Further the Joint Committees respectfully urge the Government to take immediate and adequate steps for the guidance, organisation, discipline, and protection of the people against any emergency that might arise out of, and as a result of the present conflict.

APPENDIX 5.

Telegrams received :—

R. H. Godlo, Grahamstown : " Thirteenth Annual Conference Advisory Boards Congress now in session Grahamstown wishes you fruitful conference and conveys fraternal greetings ."

Martin L. Khumalo, Durban : " Unavoidably, detained,
best wishes."

Tsotsi, Umtata : " Umtata wishes Convention successful
deliberations guided by honesty of thought, sincerity,
courage to carry out resolutions."

Capt. J. G. F. Moulton, M. P. C., Kimberley : " My best
wishes for a very successful Convention, stop. Am
unable to attend as I am on full time service."

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