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social welfare services are given, are given on the basis of family requirements and not of the individual worker. There is no chance for the spreading of venereal diseases. If they develop they stand a better chance of control; besides, workers who develop occupational diseases or environmental diseases can be followed up and can be treated or compensated for as the case may be. At present the industry may be pleasing; one forms the impression that Africans do not develop Silicosis as frequently as Europeans. Such impressions may be only due to the fact that the mines lose track of most of their African workers after they leave the work at the termination of their contract. It has been said that women are not wanted here by the men; naturally no man would be willing to bring his wife here when no definite plans and arrangements have been made for his family; where that is done, as in the case of clerks and the indunas, they take advantage of the provision made and others even hire rooms in a location or in townships for their wives. In other words, one of the deterrants to Africans agreeing to bringing their wives and children here is that they imagine these people being brought to the compound and you can realise what any man thinks. In fact the Chamber of Mines provides accommodation for workers they consider essential for the industry, such as the Indunas, clerks, policemen, because they wish them to remain longer. Further, what must be understood is that many natives have no choice but to return to town; they have no land, they live only on wages for their subsistence. What prevents them now from remaining is lack of proper provision for accommodation for families. We hope that the evidence before this Commission will bury

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forever the myth that all Africans supplement their wages with produce from the land. The advantage of the village system is that the Gold Mining Industry would develop a contented, stable, mining community, efficient and skilled in their calling. Such workers would be entitled to higher scales of wages. It may be argued that the Gold Mining Industry is a wasting outfit and a time may come when the mine will have to close down. Our reply is that the European who is working in the mines will be equally affected, yet nothing is said about him. Anyway this argument has been used since the industry opened and opportunities have been lost when gradual plumbing could have taken place and a reasonable amount of capital applied to the project without straining funds, especially during periods of unprecedented booms and profits in the industry such as the abandoning of the gold standard. It is suggested that mines may last for 10, 15 or 25 years. Well let us establish the villages and plan for a change. If we pay Africans a living wage they can buy a good accommodation in some of the townships nearby and Municipalities could take over the villages should the mines close down. We are, however, aware that the Chamber of Mines would not welcome such conditions of labour, as such labour would develop skill, intelligence and be entitled to skilled wages, proper working conditions and other privileges as well as the consideration of their families. In these villages we do not envisage the dog shacks, of the sugar can area, or the dotted huts which we are told obtain in the coal mines of Natal. We envisage a modern, well-planned scheme of homes for miners with all modern amenities for promoting health of body and mind and bring about happiness, well-being, a full life, an intelligent, responsive and responsible citizenship.

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We have on this point a disinterested opinion. Senator Dr. Brookes says "the extension of native village systems could do much to ease economic pressure on the reserves and ameliorate social conditions in urban areas. This is in Colour Problems of South Africa, page 65. The Native Economic Commission, 1930 - 32 para. 500 clinches the point by saying "In the interests of efficiency of urban industries, it is better to have fixed urban native population to the extent to which such population is necessary than the present casual, drifting population." I now come to the question of recruiting. In order to give effect to their policy of reducing native wages, the Chamber of Mines established the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association in 1900 to replace the Native Labour Supply. Its regulations, according to Dr. Sheila T. van der Horst, in Native Labour in South Africa, provided that "No company whilst a member of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, will be allowed under any circumstances to engage any but white labour except through the agency of the Association". This will apply (1) to all natives who, from having previously worked on your mines or who from any course, may come forward and seek such work voluntarily. (2) To those who have been recruited within or without the Transvaal, in fact all natives or coloured men employed either above or below ground or near their property; this is in the Transvaal Chamber of Mines report for 1900 - page 112. It was not a profit-making concern but an association of the various mines for the purpose of engaging and distributing native labour among themselves, thus it was admittedly a voluntary monopoly, and in addition it had obtained an official monopoly of recruiting within

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Portuguese East Africa from the Government of that Country. In addition to controlling the engagement and distribution of native labour, the Association decided to reduce the rates of pay to a maximum of 35/- and a minimum of 30/- per month of 30 working days subject to certain exceptions. This is on page 164 in Native Labour in South Africa. The W.N.L.A. and the N.R.C. divide the country between themselves in the recruiting of native labour for the Transvaal Gold Mines and they can manipulate the labour supply and wages rates for Africans as well. We wish to make it clear to the Commission that the low wages for African mineworkers are not an accident, but are the result of a deliberate and calculated plan since from the beginning the combination for the reduction in wages has been one of the chief aims of the Chamber of Mines. It is admitted that organised recruiting can often transport labour more efficiently and make better provision for it than any private recruiter. They can supply stations and provide better organised physical examination. The man who has no money does take advantage of the system but these advantages are out-weighed by the disadvantages on his part. For instance the recruiting companies have the monopoly of the mines labour supply in the Union and outside. The worker cannot and may not bargain for wages. The capitation fees paid to recruiting agents are an indirect burden on the worker. Mines that have bad working conditions need not improve such conditions as they can get their compliment of workers from one of the recruiting companies. Through the system of recruiting the labour supply can be manipulated as well to the elimination of the law of supply and demand in the labour market. The ability of the mine to recruit from extra Union areas, killed all chances for improved labour

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conditions and wages because the mines can, through their agents, import all the cheap labour they need from areas beyond the Union. Under the system, labour can be used wastefully and without regard to developing intelligence and efficiency. At the present time the industry or the recruiting agents pay travelling expenses for the outward journey and it is said to amount to something like £3, but the worker must pay for the return journey. We must forbid that the industry should be responsible for both journeys but if, as we are suggesting, this was done away with and good regular wages paid instead, all men would be able to pay for their journeys. It is our considered opinion that the recruiting is a most undesirable system of securing labour. It renders the labourer a victim of the most pernicious system of employment and working conditions. They are left with no freedom of choice as to the conditions of work, wages, or living conditions. It should be done away with at the earliest possible opportunity. (It would naturally fall away if labour is stabilised in the village system which we propose to recommend later. Anyway, low wages are a corollary of recruiting compound system with restricted freedom of movement and choice on the part of the worker. There is no doubt where high wages are paid, labour will find ways and means of reaching the area of employment. The diamond mines of Kimberley are an example; they never recruited but they have plenty of labour. Recently, a military project that was held in 1943, at Saldanha Bay, recruited labour, and asked for labour at 6/- per day. Native Commissioners were informed and no recruiting was necessary. In no time the Commissioners had to be told to stop the flow of workers seeking employment at Saldanha Bay.

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Reasonable cash wages had attracted more than the required number of workers there. Travelling expenses were not difficult to find, as they could be easily repaid from cash wages. You have, in your terms of reference, Sir, requested the opinions of witnesses on the question of housing and improved conditions of residence in urban areas. The problem of housing for us in urban areas is the scarcity and the availability of land that should be acquired for occupation by the Africans, i.e. the problems, the land is scarce and it is not available both in rural and in urban areas. The Native Land Act has restricted land acquisitions for Africans in the rural areas so that many Africans are forced by lack of land to occupy and to plough and to run stock into towns. There is also the impact of industrialisation which is driving more and more Africans from the country and drawing them into town where better opportunities appear to be possible. There is nothing wrong about the townward migration. It follows natural inclinations and certain economical laws which cannot be changed. The problem is that when Africans arrive in town they find, like those who already live in town, that another law - the Urban Areas Law - gives the local authority, the Municipality, the sole right of accommodating workers who had to come in these areas. Africans are debarred and restricted from acquiring property in or near the town freehold. They are bound by law to wait for the local authorities, if they live in that area. The only few freehold land - townships like Alexandra, Kliptown and Everton, are areas which were released some 20 or 30 years ago. In other words, there is no new land that is being made available for freehold

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acquisition by Africans. As a consequence, the prices of land in these areas are very high - £1800 an acre was stated to be the case before your Commission in reference to Alexandra Township. In Everton the stands are up to £400. Lady Selborne and other areas have similar sky high prices. These prices are paid by the Africans because the people have a natural instinct of the price of ownership. They want places that they can call their own. They desire freedom which develops self respect and dignity as well as responsibility on the part of the person. The problem of providing the houses for a huge labouring force as the Africans provide, especially on the Reef, is or should be beyond the capacity of most local authorities. It has totally broken down in Johannesburg and some of the Reef towns. Tens of thousands of Africans are living in shanties. The City Council of Johannesburg, for the past 12 months or so, has been flying between Johannesburg and Cape Town; they have taken the problem to be their private concern, largely excluding the Africans, the people most concerned in the deliberations. They have had schemes on paper and for public consumption in the press reports; these schemes change with the change of political parties. In the last three years we have had the ratepayers, then the Labour Party and now the United Party, toying with the problem. Several aeroplane flights have been made to Cape Town, but no successful plan to meet the need is at hand. Finally, the Council has sought, not for schemes that will provide houses, but for powers that will crush any people who would rather risk their health by exposure than the inconvenience of two or three or four families in one room, as is the case not only in Sophiatown or Alexandra Township, but in some of the municipal locations. There seems to be satisfaction by authorities in Johannesburg in the prospect of handing over the

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housing problem to the Police through the standing legislation which will make it a criminal offence for one to begin squatting.

The squatters should not be made to pay for their shanties as is suggested in this scheme, so that they will be taxed by the Municipality 15/- a month, as was suggested. The local authority must provide their accommodation. We will compensate any of those people who have provided the material that has been used. The influx of Africans will not be stopped by any restricting legislation; there are economic and natural forces which no man can stop. The redistribution of population is natural and necessary. It is good, both for industry as well as for agriculture on a commercial and business basis. But the problem is how that labour is used. This country is not big enough to carry our present population and their offspring, self-contained and self-supporting in the rural areas, as the population now is distributed. To try to stop the profits of townward migration is to act like Canute attempting to set back the tide in the 20th century. What is required is intelligence, foresight and humanity in dealing with the housing problems of Africans in urban areas. The problem must be approached rationally and practically, by removing all land restrictions for Africans in both rural and urban areas, allowing Africans to acquire properties wherever their means will permit, opening up of freehold acquisition for purchase and occupation by Africans, assisting Africans to acquire land or buildings in freehold areas for persons who can repay capital and interest and whatever charges are necessary, allowing present occupants of municipal location houses to own a freehold after paying for redemption of capital

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and interest and certain reasonable expenses; the training of Africans - all those who are inclined towards building - as many as can be trained. This might help to increase the efficiency and speed of other workers as builders. What we wish to say is that it is impossible for this country ever to catch up with the housing needs until all the available labour and people who desire to be builders are trained, so that they can provide accommodation. By the time they will be about to catch up and in fact, according to the production of houses now in Johannesburg, it will be impossible, it will take years and years. Some of the people who are now alive will not enjoy that accommodation; it would be better to let down the barriers and allow technical training for Africans as skilled workers so that they can take part in providing services for the country. Technical training for Africans in all spheres of industry will offer such training for other sections, and paying of an economic wage for African workers not based on colour or race, ^{but} as a person, training of Africans for civil service and administration and their employment in civil service. We are making a broad statement without nibbling at the question of whether or not individual Africans can be employed in locations, but that the Africans, -as South Africans and citizens which they have an inherent right to be - should be trained and participate in the governing of the areas where they live. That is the only thing that can bring about co-operation and dignity in carrying out of administration of the country, and then the direct representation of Africans in all legislative bodies. The proper distribution of labour will be possible if there is less Government interference in native employment. That is to allow the laws of supply and demand to take care of the situation. The bottlenecks that we experience now and then are the breakdown at certain

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stations of the present restricted native affairs policy. I had mentioned, Sir, before the question of native workers, i.e., your question 18, "should native workers have an unrestricted right to sell their labour in the best market, what, in your opinion, would be the effect of this upon the labour supplies for the mines, agriculture, other industries, commercial, distributing, domestic and other normal area services, and the proper development of native rural areas". I would say then that the distribution of labour would answer to the laws of economic supply and demand. I think I should just say a word or two on the question of kaffir beer, and I think that, Sir, I would like to say the best way of approaching urban areas is home-brewing and the closing down of beer halls. Beer halls to us, are demoralising. We admit that they are profitable and we feel that that was the real attraction, but they are demoralising to our people. They have given licence to drink and we, as a people, had certain restrictions and regulations customary, i.e. to drink. Young fellows did not drink with their fathers, the pitcher was held for them and they were just allowed to drink, but with these beer halls young fellows rush into them and are drinking with their fathers so that there is even loss of respect and other things. They actually increase the taste for drink and they have hardly done anything to reduce the taste and the desire for stronger drink. (Book handed to Secretary on Beer Halls).

Now, also the Municipality is being given a chance to extend their trading rights by having certain services that are rendered there as part of the services that are given by the Municipality for the profit. In other words, ^{they} have also taken such things as milk bars in some places to be near the beer hall and that is a bad thing because our women and

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children have to go to these places and it seems to us that these beer halls are put there to attract them and to demoralise them. There is no argument that can support the existence of beer halls except profit. We don't want to have to drink more beer in order to get milk for our children; we would like to be paid so that we can buy milk for our children and not to be supplied, even subsidised milk bars by the Municipalities because they are provided with these beer halls. And then we are opposed to beer halls as a municipal monopoly because we are opposed to trading in native affairs by the Municipality, thereby taking away the only openings and opportunities for Africans even in supplying restaurants, or even soup kitchens and other things. As I have suggested, if people are paid good wages they will take care of all these apparent beneficial grants from the Municipality.

On the question of illicit liquor, I will just make a brief statement; there should be one law for all persons, because the present law restricting others in giving licence to other sections, creates criminals of both. The person who has a right to get the liquor becomes a private liquor seller in many cases and supplies the person who is debarred by law from getting such. So that one is a criminal because he or she supplies and the other becomes a criminal because of possession. It also leads to drunkenness because the only safe place for a native to have his liquor, if he has no cupboard, is in his stomach. Town's laws are useless; the disadvantages outweigh any apparent advantages. They are factories of crime - about a hundred thousand persons convicted a year. If they have to go to gaol for seven days this is a loss to industry and employment. When they come out, they have been in contact with people who know the ways of crimes and they become unemployable in many cases if the

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employers know that these people have been in gaol. It wastes the time of police; thousands of police could be released if they didn't have to deal with the pass laws, so that our police shortage is apparent and not real. Restrictions between the police and the Africans; the police are not bad, but they have to administer so many laws which cause overcrowding in courts and lead to miscarriage of justice because magistrates have to rush through their cases; they are a loss to industry, to the African and to the State. They have been condemned by several Government Commissions, beginning in 1883, in 1920 the inter-departmental commission, in 1930/32 the Commission and the Young Commission and the Smith Commission. And in fact those are the things which strain race relations. If, Sir, there is a question in the mind of anybody, the Cape and Natal have provided us a good example for the experiment. There are no pass laws operating there as there are in the Transvaal and in the Free State, and yet criminality is not as high; there is no difficulty about Africans having difficulties about their contracts with employers and there are no people who are lost and not recognised because there are no pass laws. I would therefore recommend total abolition of the pass laws, in the interests of race relations, because they are absolutely no good for the country. I thank you, Sir, and I must apologise for the length of time taken - I didn't know what time limit you have. If I had known I might have changed my approach.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, I can't say we have a time limit. It is only that we have a time table, that is the only way in which we can run the Commission in an orderly way, and that

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that other witnesses are waiting. If you can wait this morning and see whether there is a chance to come on again. I am afraid, if not, we will have to do without a discussion. Everything you said has been mechanically recorded and it is going to be typed out, so we shall have an opportunity of not only remembering it, but also reading everything you said. It only means that there will be no chance of a discussion, if you are not able to come this afternoon. Tomorrow we have got the others again. Mr. Welsh has got a question which he would like to put; perhaps we could just finish that quickly, then it might be that as you can't easily come again, we will have to do without a further discussion.

MR. WELSH: Dr. Xuma, you made a great point of the differentiation of laws affecting the natives, as compared with those that affect the rest of the community. You are at the high point of the ladder in the civilisation of the non-European; you are well up the latter, you concede that? --- Yes.

Would you also concede that there are many people of your race who are low down on the latter? --- That I concede, Sir, and with that I would say that these laws have tended to keep those people down; the important thing is to have no restrictions but to provide ways and means as is done in all communities, and Sir, I will mention one thing if you allow me. I am just one step from the noble savage myself. My mother and father were married according to native custom; it was only just when they had two children before my birth, that they became Christians. I want to make this point, that I am the first generation in my family that can read, so people can be developed if the long view is taken, and immediately all steps were taken to improve the people, there would

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