

annually for no other crime than the inability to produce a pass? We have the world of the Deputy Prime Minister that the pass laws are the greatest cause of friction between black and white and that in consultation with the Prime Minister and the Cabinet a way must be found for their abolition to restore good race relations.

#### Native Education.

On Native Education we were able to point out that whereas in 1939 the State spent 10½ million pounds for 41700 white children or £21 4 per caput per pupil, and £965,000 for the education of 165,000 Coloured and Indian children or £5-5-0 per caput, there was only £934,000 spent on the education of 450,000 African children or £2-7-0 per head per child. Since the latter number indicates only 1/3 African children of school going age only 16/- per caput is spent when based on the total population of African children of school going age.

The money spent is direct taxation of the African himself, the poorest of the poor in South Africa.

We urged that since 'Native Taxation' can no longer meet the demands of African education, and the missionaries are no longer able to carry the burden of Native education, it was high time to find a new formula for financing Native Education by introducing a public school system of education controlled and financed by the State on a per caput basis from general revenue, at the same rate per head as for Coloured and Indian children based on the number of African children of school going age.

We urged this as a means of bringing annual increments on the miserable salaries of African teachers and acquiring civil service status for them with pension rights in keeping with modern requirements of their profession and service to the community.

Education, especially in a democratic country is essentially a responsibility of the State especially where poor sections who are unable to pay for their own welfare are concerned.

The adoption of this new formula of financing African education is a matter of urgent necessity and essential responsibility for any democratic and christian State without regard to race or Colour.

#### Wages and African Trade Unions

We approached the questions of wages only indirectly by pointing out that it had been conceded by Municipal authorities and leaders of the Government that in most large towns of the Union an African family of moderate size cannot live on less than £6-10-0 and yet African teachers with families are paid £4-10-0 to £5-10-0 per month. Besides, the average wage paid by Industry, Municipalities, the Government, is somewhere between £3 and £4 a month and the Mines pay about £3 a month.

We pressed for the recognition and registration of the African Trade Unions by the Labour Department under the Industrial Conciliation Act and for the abolition of the pass laws so that workers who are now debarred from benefits of Industrial Conciliation Acts may become employees in terms of that and enjoy all privileges and immunities under the Act.

(a) We made this approach in order to secure for African workers and Trade Unions the "right to bargain with their employers for their labour power; (b) to safeguard the wages and conditions which they may have obtained through Wage Determinations; (c) to have the right to strike if negotiations have failed and circumstances justify; (d) to have a measure of say in the enforcing of agreements.

Incomplete  
change, or else we are not true to our ideals. The Africans through their National Organisation must help South Africa to attain her highest ideals. We owe it to South African and to ourselves to do our part in helping our young country to be truly democratic and Christian, recognising human decency in all our racial elements.

Of late we have heard inspiring words, and words of hope from Ministers of State and other high officials. For instance, the Right Honourable J.C. Smuts has said:

"I challenge you and all men of vision and goodwill of whatever race or colour to abandon the policies of the past for faith, for hope, for trust in each other. Take each other's hand and move forward to the destiny which is yours"

Again the Prime Minister has declared that segregation has fallen on evil days.

Other high government officials have reiterated this expression but no fundamental change has taken place to indicate, in any way, that the old order is changing. If any thing, in certain directions, anti-African attitude is stiffening, and administrative pressure on the African is no less great. Many people since the danger of invasion <sup>is</sup> less great, are already losing their consideration and are renewing their anti-native agitation and urging greater restrictions.

We have also been told that "European opinion has been moving quickly in recent years towards a fuller realisation of what is implicit in an assumption of trusteeship for the Native people, according to Colonel Reitz, Minister of Native Affairs. One is glad to note that the Minister says clearly that the European assumed trusteeship for the African people. They were not invited by the people concerned. This alone negatives trusteeship. Besides, trusteeship is a retrograde step in South Africa because Africans in the Cape had reached citizenship or majority-state through their franchise. Further, the African in the Union of South Africa finds himself denied and deprived of land ownership, franchise rights, full economic benefits, social amenities, freedom of movement, freedom of action, and many other freedoms enjoyed by other sections of our community. The latter rights just mentioned should be enjoyed by many Africans since many wards have come of age, if trusteeship had its real meaning.

We are glad to know that there are many good friends of Africans who are doing their best to foster and hasten this movement (meaning trusteeship). We would rather have 'friends of justice', working more through the Africans, to a less extent with the African and not at all for the African. People who work for the African are killing the Africans through this kindness. They render him hopelessly unable to do anything for himself. He can learn nothing since we learn only by doing. We regard doing things for a people as the most humane method of exploitation because the beneficiary, the African in this case, can never learn to do anything for himself in a thousand years, and generations of friends of Africans, officially and otherwise, must therefore succeed one another working for the African and helping him to be more helpless.

Africans, beware of people who work for you! Begin now to work for yourselves. Better a failure trying to do things for yourself than a glorious success of some one else doing things for you. Through that failure you are on the way to success because you have learnt something.

We have also been told that "the vast majority of the African people are, however, still uneducated and unable to appreciate or take advantage of all that modern civilisation has to offer." Such a position is no insuperable barrier to African progress. Africans, like other races, respond to a process of education. Therefore, through education the African must be helped to "appreciate and to take advantage of all that modern civilisation has to offer." Unless this ~~advantage~~ trusteeship becomes a euphemistic expression for exploitation.

It is citizenship and not trusteeship that the African asks for and expects in a democracy.

It is well to reflect upon the causes of certain conditions among

our people. Our low economic status is conditioned by the low wages we receive which leads to poverty with its train of symptoms, bad housing, slums, lack of food, ill-health, and a high death rate, juvenile delinquency, crime, and vagrancy such social conditions spelling poverty and destitution to a larger measure.

As a solution we must raise the wages of the African so that he may satisfy his wants. This can be facilitated by registering and recognising African Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Control of African Trade Unions by the Native Affairs Department, as suggested officially, is as wrong in principle as xxxxxxxx it is in practice. The Labour Department is the only logical department for the proper administration of labour problems for all sections.

Recently we have heard a great deal about Social Security. Conceptions differ as to the meaning of this phrase, which is a panacea for all ills so far as many people are concerned. It is a sort of Social Insurance scheme securing one against certain evil days such as unemployment, disablement, old age, illness and so on. It presumes that contributors to, and beneficiaries from, the scheme are for the time being secure.

The Durban scheme of social security has different levels of social security for the Europeans, Coloureds, Indians, and Africans, respectively. In other words, it tends to perpetuate the present inequalities.

No social security scheme appears capable of success unless we increase the productivity of the country as a whole which means education and training of the workers irrespective of race; besides, all people must be raised to a level of security as well as ability to make personal contributions to the scheme. For the African, this implies the removal of industrial colour bars, repealing of all discriminative and restrictive laws against the African before social security can become practical politics.

LIQUOR ACT.

Few laws have a more demoralising and degrading effect on the African people than the present Liquor Act. Through police raids our people are haunted and hunted; tens of thousands of them are annually arrested, imprisoned or heavily fined for possession of native liquors and for drunkenness. During 1939 alone convictions under the Liquor Act were as follows:-

Illegal possession of Native Liquor .....	77,609
Drunkenness .....	39,473

Thus 117,082 Africans were convicted under this Act alone. Illegal possession of Native liquor is a special crime for Natives only. Drunkenness is increasing among the Africans because of the license which the Municipal Beer Hall system gives, so that our youths and young girls are becoming addicted to drink. Africans may not take their drink at leisure; they may not carry or keep it at home as they may be arrested and convicted for possession. The safest way for an African to carry his liquor beyond the limits of illegality is in his stomach, no matter how large the quantity. He thus becomes stone-drunk and staggers into the arms of the police, and is charged for drunkenness.

We must fight for the abolition of Municipal Beer Halls, police raids and for the institution of home-brew and permits for those who desire to acquire liquor.

However, we do not forget to emphasize that our liquor problems will never be solved unless the economic status of the African is raised high enough to make it impossible for the African to yield to the temptation which the restriction of the Liquor Act leads to under the present circumstances.

EDUCATION.

We are grateful to record an increase of about £300,000 on the account of African education for the year 1943, and the a...

of salaries recommended <sup>by</sup> the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education in 1928 with increased allowance for African teachers. We, however, wish to submit that no matter whether 6/6ths. of the Native tax is handed over for Native Education it will not be enough to meet the current requirements of Native Education to say nothing about expansion including adequate staffing, erection of school buildings and provision of equipment from the same tax. We should therefore reiterate our request placed before the government on March 4th., 1942, to the effect that a free public school system of education run by various provincial Education Departments, financed from the General Revenue on a per capita basis, with adequate salaries for African teachers, with pension rights and eligibility of our qualified men for appointment in any vacant positions in our educational institutions, ~~xxxxxx~~ and in civil service be ~~xxxxxx~~ introduced.

We also urged and urge now the training of Africans for skilled work with avenues for appointment and employment in industry according to skill and training on current rates of wages or trade Union wages.

ATLANTIC CHARTER.

It was at the opening of the first session of the Natives Representative Council that the Hon. the Minister of Native Affairs referring to the cardinal points of the Atlantic Charter for post-war reconstruction said: "They are: FREEDOM FROM FEAR, FREEDOM FROM WANT, AND FREEDOM FROM OPPRESSION". These freedoms are vital and fundamental. They have a special meaning and significance to the Africans in South Africa. With Police raids, mass arrests, landlessness, homelessness, low wages, pass laws, and other restrictions and disabilities, there are no such freedoms for them. It is imperative for our country as a prelude to the adoption of a slogan of these freedoms for South Africa first to remove all the disabilities and discriminations known to exist against the Africans. The Minister, we are glad to say, did not fail to state emphatically in referring to these freedoms that:

"While counselling moderation, I do not fail to recognise, however, that there are certain fundamentals which we must endeavour to secure for the African people."

With the last statement every African must agree. He also must bend every energy to secure this recognised freedom for himself. He must help men of good will, like the Minister for Native Affairs, to achieve this. He can only do this by stating his case at the bar of public opinion for judgement.

This brings me to my last important point - the drawing up of the Atlantic Charter for Africans of the Union of South African and the Protectorates by a group of selected Africans from these areas and submitting the drafts of these deliberations and consultations to a convention of delegates from these areas who may amend and improve the draft in any way considered desirable and then ratify it.

To make this clearer to the Conference, it must be pointed out that when peace is declared the delegates at the peace Conference will no doubt have a statement from the Union of South Africa, delegates as well as private bodies such as the American Committee on the Atlantic Charter and Africa as well as Non-African interested bodies in South Africa.

The activities and interest of these bodies are welcome and will serve a useful purpose as they will indicate the International and Inter-racial implication of the treatment of the African in South Africa. Their representations will be of great value but it will be what others think and not what the African thinks and says.

That is why this Commission of Africans in South Africa is vitally important and necessary.

After their charter of rights is approved, as just mentioned, it should be signed on behalf of the Africans of the Union and the Protectorates by all the members of the Commission who were chosen to draft it. This bill of African rights should then be printed and published and ready for submission to the Union Government as well as to

the/.....

the leaders of the United or Allied Nations and to the delegates at the Peace Conference.

Cessation of hostilities may be upon us any time and we must be ready with our case. The world must know our hopes and our despairs directly from us. In fairness and justice, that is the only case that should matter most.

Our men are dying up north; they have helped to take North Africa and Madagascar and have thus helped to secure us against immediate danger. To many this has been the signal to relax in the war effort as well as to treat the African without consideration as a factor in national defence and safety.

We must do all we can to assure the victory of our side since there can be no Charters if our enemies win. They would of necessity impose their way of life upon us. But for all that the United Nations gain or attain for themselves we have paid in our sweat and blood. And would would have done even more in South Africa if we were not debarred from skilled trades for war production and if we had been armed as befit all brave men who never betrayed their Government in her hour of trial and danger.

Africans, like European South Africans, "prize liberty as an innate right both for themselves and for others". They ask and work for liberty for themselves in South Africa. It is, however, to be feared that in our sunny South Africa there has been "practised within our own boundaries something that amounts to racial imperialism" and it is from that race imperialism within our boundaries that Congress should endeavour to free the African people.

We Africans must realize here and now that time has passed when Africans should look for salvation from outside or expect other people to bring salvation to them. Others may help. But we must realize that the greatest source of strength must be that which comes from within and that "the test of a people is their aim and not their colour."

Fellow Africans, you complain a great deal about your lot in South Africa. You blame anything and everybody for it but yourselves. You do not see that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ you are where you are not because of your labour or your race but because of your status. It is because you are not organized and you are not united. You are not serious enough about your problems your disabilities and your discriminations. You lack faith in your own leaders, in yourself. You have not realised the power of your combined effort. ~~xxxx~~

So far, speaking organisationally, we can say all our provincial officials have failed to organise the people successfully. We must here and now devise ways and means of increasing individual membership by allowing the National African Congress directly and/or in cooperation and collaboration with provincial official or groups and even other persons in the various provinces, to enlist memberships into the African National Congress with due regard to the rights and privileges obtaining to Provinces in regard to monies and control of branches.

We must organize the Chiefs and assist them in their land problems and otherwise. We must bring in our women by reviving the old African Women's League. Our Ministers must be persuaded to realize that the well-being of their members ultimately depends upon the existence of a numerically strong African National Congress. Our Youth must be nurtured in the aims and objects of the African National Congress.

Every African, man or woman, must be a member as well as an organizer for Congress and pave the way for our freedom.

Above all remember, with Wendell Wilkie, that "the test of a people is their aim and not their colour."

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Cessation of hostilities may be upon us any time and we must be ready with our case. The world must know our hopes and our despairs directly from us. In fairness and justice, that is the one case, from the African point of view, that should matter most. Other interested parties should be ready to support.

We must do all we can to assure the victory of our side since there can be no Charters if our enemies win. They would of necessity impose their way of life upon us. But for all that the United Nations gain or attain for themselves we have paid in our sweat and blood. And we would have done even more in South Africa if we were not debarred from skilled trades for war production and if we had been armed as befit all brave men who never betrayed their Government in her hour of trial and danger. We wish our brave soldiers were being encouraged by higher pay and better allowances for their dependants equal to, at least, the allowances given Coloured and Indian soldiers' dependants. We also deplore the refusal of the Government to exempt African soldiers from special Native poll tax for the duration, as we had requested.

Africans, like European South Africans, "prize liberty as an innate right both for themselves and for others." They ask and work for liberty for themselves in South Africa. It is, however, to be feared that in our sunny South Africa there has been "practised within our own boundaries something that amounts to racial imperialism" and it is from that race imperialism within our boundaries that Congress should endeavour to free the African people.

We Africans must realise here and now that time has passed when Africans should look for salvation from outside or expect other people to bring salvation to them. Others may help. But we must realise that the greatest source of strength must be that which comes from within.

Fellow-Africans, you complain a great deal about your lot in South Africa. You blame anything and everybody for it but yourselves. You do not see that you are where you are not because of your colour or your race but because of your status. It is because you are not organised and you are not united. You are not serious enough about your problems, your disabilities and your discriminations. You lack faith in your own leaders, in yourself. You have not realised the power of your combined effort.

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Above all, Fellow-Africans, remember with Wendell Wilkie, that "the test of a people is their aim and not their colour." I challenge you, therefore, to aim high, have faith in your leaders, yourself. Work hard for the advancement and progress of your people and you will have served South Africa, white and black.

maintaining all the unsatisfactory conditions experienced by Africans working for the Industry.

The European mine workers' Union was established in 1902 composed of course, of skilled Europeans. In fear of competition of African workers who have shown skill whenever given an opportunity to do skilled work, European Mine workers Union began to try to improve the pay and the working conditions of white workers. In 1915 the Chamber of Mines recognised them and negotiated with them. They supported the Colour Bar and exclusion of Africans from skilled and better paid activities. They have never been anxious to include Non-Europeans in their Unions or championed the cause of the African mine worker. No wonder the Africans everywhere, especially in trade union ranks, were up in arms when they heard that a certain prominent Trade Unionist had been made a member of this Commission. His appointment was a question not because of what he personally had done but for the policy and practice of his Trade Union and affiliated bodies.

Notwithstanding the recognition of the European mine-workers Union by the Chamber of Mines and by the Government, all these bodies have been opposed to the recognition and registration of African mine workers Unions. In fact, our Congress has met this official opposition twice. The first occasion was when our delegation met the Government on March 1942. The Government was to recognise Non-European Trade Unions, if the Mines and Agriculture were excluded. The second time was when the leader of this evidence was a member of the Crime Wave Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. S.H. Elliot. It was argued there that the Commission should not recommend recognition and registration of African Trade Unions as that would include African mine workers who were considered not fit to be members of the Commission.

We wish to point to the Commission that every group of Europeans engaged in the Gold Mining Industry is organised to protect its own interests. The Gold Mining Industry is organised into the Chamber of Mines and its subsidiary organisations of the W.N.L.A. and N.R.C. and others. The European employees, the mine workers, the Compound Managers and others are organised for the protection of the interest of their members. We are therefore asking for no special privilege for African workers. The interests of the African worker will never be properly protected unless the African mine workers have a recognised and registered trade Union. The Native Affairs Department has to administer the Government Native policy expressed in the provisions of the Mines and Works Act 1911 as amended in 1926, the Native Labour Regulations Act, the Pass Laws and the regulations framed thereunder. Even the inspectors appointed under the Regulations of the Native Labour Regulations Act can never function properly until they deal with leaders of the African mine-workers Unions when complaints by their members arise instead of dealing with individuals who may be victimised.

It has been stated before the Commission that African workers can lay complaints before the highest official of the Mines. We do not doubt the truth of this statement but we have grave doubts about its practicability.

We make bold to say that conditions of African Mine workers can never be what they should be until they have a recognised and registered Trade Union and the Mines and Works Act, the Native Labour and Regulations Act and the Pass Laws have been repealed. We feel that with recognition of the African mine workers Union as a trade union, the industry will be able to function properly.

EMPLOYMENT OF ABSENT

where the industry depends for the carrying out of their work on labour, imported from long distances there can be no efficiency on the part of labour because labour does not stay and cannot remain long enough. Most men who compose the army of workers have obligations at home. They have families whom they love and who depend upon them. They have, therefore, to go home to see their families. The system, therefore, does not give men time enough to remain until they become skilled and efficient. However, where labour is plentiful, the industry may prefer the less skilled, as such labour has no legitimate claims to high wages. Such labour is used wastefully intentionally with little reward to the worker with his consequent inability to meet obligations to himself and his dependents.

The long separation between husband and wife exposes both to temptation of immorality and infidelity. It encourages a new illicit unions on both sides and tends to spread Venereal diseases. Parental control over children is weakened. In many cases broken homes are its results. Professor Coulter in Modern Industry and the African and the area

Much of the worker's money is spent away from the family which suffers as well as the territory from which he comes. The family

does not get regular support from the bread winner. *He says do what he will he can irregularly*  
 From the Agricultural point of view the system is indefensible. It renders the men expert neither in agriculture nor in industry. During his absence plowing and other activities that are generally the work of the men are left to women and children. What plowing they do is neither sufficient nor efficient. The consequence is that the lands are abused and deteriorate. Continuous starvation as a result of poor harvests is the rule. The worker has to buy all the food he requires like an urban worker. *Heragan Coulter says*

To say the system is intended to maintain tribal integrity is to talk carelessly and thoughtlessly. We are definitely destroying such integrity when we engage these men in the present unplanned economic system.

We must, therefore, stop to deceive ourselves and follow a rational plan of

*Remnant*

VILLAGES FOR MINE WORKERS. The Compound system and absentee labour lead to the same results and conditions. They can only be offset by establishing villages where workers, who choose mining as their life work, may remain. The benefits to be derived from such a system is that family life, standards, and morals can be developed and maintained and ~~morals can be developed and maintained~~. Children are brought under proper parental control. The conditions of the workers and their families are evident to the employers and whatever social welfare services are given are on the basis of family requirements and not the worker's requirements as an individual. There is less chance for the spread of venereal disease. Besides, former workers who develop occupational diseases or environmental diseases can be followed up and be treated or compensated as the case may be. At present the Industry may be clinging on false impressions such as that Africans do not develop Silicosis as frequently as European workers. 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. *occupational*

It has been said that women are not wanted here by the men. Naturally no man will bring his wife here when no definite plans and arrangements has been made for families. Where that is done as in the case of clerks and Indunas they take advantage of the provisions made and others hire rooms in locations and townships for their wives. Many Africans have no choice but to come to towns. They have no land. They depend wholly on wages for their subsistence. What prevents them now from remaining is lack of proper provision for accounts.

The advantages 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 scales of wages whose ceiling would be the industry's ability to pay.

It may be argued that the Gold Mining Industry is a wasting asset and a timemay come when the mines may have to close down. Our reply is that the European who are working in the mine will be equally affected but nothing is said about them. Anyway, this argument has been used since the industry opened and opportunities have been lost when gradual planning could have taken place and a reasonable amount of capital applied to the project. *especially during periods of unprecedented*

It is suggested that the mines may last another 10, 15, or 25 years. Well, let us establish the villages and plan for a change should the worst come.

If we pay Africans a living wage they can buy good accommodation in some of the township nearby. *and Municipalities should take over the village such conditions of labour as such labour would develop skill, intelligence and be suited*

FAMILY BUDGET. The Commission has asked witnesses to present a family budget to keep a family of five in health and decency. In the first place, we wish to observe that for an African a family of five under normal conditions is the minimum. However, we wish to state that in view of the fact that most of the people for whom the budget is to be made come from rural areas, we propose to adopt the family budget prepared by the Native Representative Council which is based on conditions in the Ciskei based on the current-rate of prices. We append a copy of that budget by courtesy of the members of the Council. We, however, wish to state that we can arrive at the same figure in two ways.

(1) We understand that Native Commissioners said it required £67 to keep such a family. We suggest that £30 which the mines estimate it costs them to feed a worker for 313 shifts.

or (2) If it cost the mines £30 a year to keep a worker then, under 11. mine/.....

*Further that much...  
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*And...  
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 such as...  
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*He says do what he will he can irregularly...  
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