women and children to sights of drunkenness, particularly where milk-bars and restaurants are housed under the same roof as beer halls. One wonders whether this is suggested in the hope that women and children will be tempted to buy liquor to increase the profits.

Municipal beer hall policy has succeeded in encouraging the drinking habit on the part of African youth. Since their advent, it is difficult to attend an African gathering and not to find many young men showing signs of irresponsibility or being half drunk. Many Africans seems to feel that since municipal beer halls are public institutions established by law, they are expected to patronise them.

TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE OF KAFFIR BEER

Children and young persons did not attend beer parties with their parents under native custom. Immature youth and children were not brought up on kaffir beer. Not all Africans drank beer as they ate ordinary food. There was etiquette and special sanctions attached to beer drinking in African customary life.

Children were not given beer at all. Young men who were potential warriors and hunters were not to be weakenend by beer. Even those who were favoured at great occasions would only be allowed quantities at the discretion of their elders. Sometimes even the drinking vessel was held for the young man by an older man who might withdraw at his own discretion. Beer drinking was a privilege of old men and old women beyond child bearing age, on special occasions and seasons. Girls and married women of child bearing age were not given beer, as it was feared they might bring forth weak-minded children. The same weakening effect was suspected in the case of young men.

MEDICINAL VALUE

Much has been said since the advent of beer halls of the medicinal value of kaffir beer. Unfortunately, the most vocal and outstanding "authorities" for this have been municipal managers of Native Affairs or Location superintendents whose standard of success or failure of the scheme is measured only on quantity sold and \pounds s. d. instead of the well-being and contentment of women and children who should be the primary and chief concern of any progressive nation.

These people have often publicised the medicinal value of kaffir beer to cure gastric conditions. It is well known that people who are ignorant medically have often cured cancer, tuberculosis, and other diseases that baffle the medical profession only because they do not have the same concept of cancer or tuberculosis as a disease entity that the medical man has. In other words, what is cured for cancer or tuberculosis or gastric ulcer may be something else and nothing as serious.

FOOD VALUE OF KAFFIR BEER.

However, from the bio-chemical or physiological point of view it may be admitted that kaffir beer does contain from the grain

germ and also from the yeast content, vitamin B. Complex and a small amount of anti-scorbutic vitamin C. There is perhaps also more nourishment in it than purified alcoholic drinks such as whiskey and European beers and wines. Kaffir beer is a beverage. From this it may be reasonably argued, and with this we agree, that it has some food value. Further it may be plausibly argued that since most of the African people live on diets which are largely deficient of these food essentials, kaffir beer must be allowed to supply this deficiency. Since there are more orthodox and usual ways of providing these food essentials, does not our moral and christian conscience revolt if we thus encourage whole families — a nation — to be potential drunkards with consequent moral bankruptcy.

Anyway, this argument is invalidated by the fact, as we have stated before, that kaffir beer is not a food for the whole family. It is a luxury for the aged. Viewed from this angle this argument seems to fall away. Therefore, it is not on this point that Congress will establish their case for licensed canteens and home brewing. It is, chiefly, on the dangers and temptations of statutory restrictions or prohibitions.

Some of us would wish that not a single African would drink kaffir beer because it has never made men wiser, richer, or families happier. But we are faced with a practical problem. Human nature is what it is and we cannot change it. People are drinking kaffir beer and some will drink it no matter what we say or do. We must lay aside all sentiment and pious platitudes. We must let them have it openly without **exploiting** them in doing so.

The municipal beer halls monopoly policy is such a method of exploitation.

We are not prepared to say kaffir beer was the people's food from time immemorial as is often stated. It was more a luxury for special groups and for certain occasions.

MUNICIPAL BEER HALLS AND LICENSED CANTEENS

Even though we have shown that the establishment of Municipal beer halls has failed to uproot the evils of illicit liquor and drunkenness, it would be incorrect to suggest that it was municipal beer halls that brought about illicit liquor traffic and the profit aspect on kaffir beer contrary to custom. It was, however, the illadvised prohibition which was forced upon the African people even before Union. It would seem to be more correct in this case, to say that the municipal monopoly of beer sales was brought into competition with illicit liquor traffickers to the exclusion of licenses and home brewing, by the profit motive.

(2) My Congress, on principle, is opposed to Municipal beer halls and stands for their total abolition. We are against the establishment of any new ones where none existed. We object to this on the grounds that the local authorities have no moral right to assume monopoly of manufacture and sale of kaffir beer at the expense of the African people. They should not enter into competition in what is essentially private enterprise. The State and the local authorities

have not yet taken over the manufacture and sale of European liquors which would be more justified as a first step and an example for the African people. If there are to be any profits in kaffir beer they must be made by Africans licenced to sell kaffir beer as private Europeans are licenced to run bottle stores. The State and local authorities should be content to get their share from he trade through licences and income tax. The Africans are urged to develop along their own lines and kaffir beer is one of these lines. But here, because there is profit in it, the European wants to monopolise this line in order to be relieved of any direct financial responsibility for the social welfare of Africans in urban areas.

It may, however, be said that where these Municipal beer halls have been established, their breweries may be used to manufacture beer for retail by the African licencees. The African beer stores should be fairly evenly distributed at various points in the town where there would be reasonable demands for their commodity from unmarried workers, domestic servants, and hostel dwellers.

(3) Groups of workers housed together should be permitted to order their beer from the stores to be delivered at their premises where they may consume it at week-ends or at night as the case may be, without having to roam about in search of it thus causing congestions at the townships or even at "beer-stores."

The Municipal beer hall manufacturer's price should only be sufficient to cover wages, depreciation of machinery and an adequate sinking fund. These Municipal breweries may even be rented out to African manufacturers who become wholesalers.

We wish to see the profit incentive in municipal beer halls removed.

The argument that this system of African licensees will enrich a few and that the municipal beer halls would benefit the community becomes a mere pious platitude, in view of the fact that such is the practise in the European liquor industry and the advocates of this apparently benevolent policy for the African are conveniently silent in this regard in face of strong vested interests among the Europeans. Few Europeans are enriched through breweries and bottle stores, and yet none of these ardent advocates of municipal monopoly of beer halls raise a voice against it. Why?

(4) Having dealt with the question of the single man, domestic servant, and hostel dweller, we stand firmly for domestic brewing for African families in townships and locations. This will have the effect of bringing about general satisfaction. It will remove the necessity for the production of concoctions which are generally intended to produce drunkenness as the people can take their drink at leisure and openly without fear of police. Most people will not spend money outside for liquor if they can have it made and available at home. They will thus share their earnings with their wives and children except for what little is spent for the ingredients of home made beer. In other words, home-made beer can be made much more cheaply than the present municipal price. It can be prepared,

stored and served hygienically, as there would be no fear of police interference.

- (a) There should be no restrictions as to the alcoholic content or quantity that may be kept or brewed at the house, as these will invite the interference of the police in the homes.
- (b) There should be penalty for selling without licence.
- (c) Drunkenness, and/or disturbance of public peace, and not mere possession of any liquor, should be a crime.

OTHER LIQUORS

- (5) We would suggest that there should even be depots where those who desire European liquor may get it or take it home at regulated quantities. This will remove the temptations for whites being tempted to carry on illicit liquor by supplying prohibted persons.
- (6) Dry and Wet Areas: Dry and wet areas may be suggested by certain witnesses. The system may be possible in locations and new townships which are surveyed and planned with due regard to such residential classifications. It must be clear, however, that such a plan must be difficult for old established freehold townships as that would imply standholders selling out to move from one area to another

The other difficulty is the fact that dry areas have a tendency of getting sprinkled with wet spots as time goes on and more often there is sippage across the border from the wet areas. This is found to be the experience where certain States are wet while others are dry. The wet States usually gradually develop a ready market, naturally sub rosa, in the dry areas. This system leads to the manufacture and sale of home-made concoctions — corn liquor or moonshine, distilled in certain States in America for sale in dry areas.

For these reasons we suggest that no wet and dry areas should be established but the policy for domestic brewing must be left to readjust itself for a number of years to come without external interference. The success or otherwise of domestic brewing must be observed over a period of years. It must be accompanied by increase of African wages, and raising of African Economic status with better facilities for education.

(7) Control of Sprouted grain and yeast. Congress would like to suggest to the Commissioners that there should be no regulation or control of the sale of sprouted grain or yeast. There should be no penalty for buying or selling them as such restrictions will, at or.ce, create an illicit yeast and/or sprouted grain traffic. We are not in favour of any law that tends to make people criminal for no real anti-social act.

Of course, we are fully mindful of the fact that neither home brewing nor licensed canteens run by Africans will be a final solution of the problem. They will, however, go a long way towards reducing the demand for illicit liquor and the manufacture of "vile" concoctions. They will also reduce drunkenness even though we realise that nothing we do can completely remove occasional

drunkenness as long as there is liquor or beer so long as there are individuals of all sorts and temperaments.

- (8) Abolition of Police Raids and power of search. Earlier in our evidence we stated that "liquor restrictions tended to demoralise the police in the administration of the law." There is no question that now and then some policeman yielded to corruption and received bribes in lieu of prosecution. They seem to have regular customers who paid them in order to carry on their business without police interference. Since the famous Opperman liquor case, there has been one more recently at Orlando from where Constable Johannes Jacobs Wevers, European, and Constable Hendrik Moholo, African, were charged and tried at B. Court, Johannesburg, 'with compounding a crime in connection with a liquor offence." pleaded not guilty. However, the Magistrate found them guilty on August 26th, 1941, and sentenced the first accused, Johannes Jacobs Wevers to two months with hard labour without the option of a fine; and the second accused, Hendrik Moholo, was sentenced to pay a fine of £5 or two months with hard labour. Here were two officers of the law engaged in almost defeating the ends of justice by aiding and abetting the crime of this woman in consideration of the bribes received. It would seem that Hendrik was an accomplice in the act, serving the interests and on the orders of Johannes. Jacobs Weyers. Certain points stand out for special notice from this case, namely:
 - (a) These police succumbed to bribery and corruption.
 - (b) They pleaded not guilty.
 - (c) Hendrik Moholo, an African, acted for and on the order of Johannes Jacobs Weyers "his racially superior officer." From this it may be inferred that it is a temptation for a certain type of policeman to administer laws where large profits are made. They are soon tempted to find a way whereby they may share some of the profits in consideration of "protecting" the culprit whom they are duty-bound to arrest and bring forward for trial. Other people engaged in like activities soon learn of the police "protection" and how to secure such "protection." As a consequence bribery and corruption bring about an "understanding" between those engaged in the prohibited business and the police now profit-sharing partners. We suspect that there are many more persons who have paid bribes in Orlando and elsewhere but they would not come forward for fear of victimization.

The two constables pleaded not guilty in spite of all evidence to the contrary. This raises a very important question. Ofen a European policeman and an African appear before a Magistrate on an allegation and more often than not the Magistrate seems more inclined to believe the evidence of the policeman as against that of the African. It is often easy for the policeman to get a colleague from his station to corroborate his statement.

In the present state of race relations and because of the many laws and regulations that empower the police to sum-

marily arrest any African without a warrant for arrest, it is difficult for an African to establish any allegation against a police officer. They often are afraid to even go to a police station to lay a complaint or a charge especially against a policeman.

It may be worthy of consideration under the circumstances to allow Africans the alternative of reporting complaints directly to a Magistrate and where there is no Magistrate to a Native Commissioner, who should instruct a Senior Police Officer from another station to investigate the cause for the complaint.

Hendrik Moholo acted for and on the orders of Johannes Jacobs Weyers to go and fetch the bribe. This brings to our mind the allegation one often hears that African constables are often more brutal in the handling of their people than their European "superior" constables. Is it not possible that they act on instruction as discipline would soon be put into operation if such practise were disallowed. Take the allegation in the case of the pregnant woman, Legina Mavimbela, 27, Gold Street. Sophiatown. She alleged that after being arrested for beer that was found in the kitchen of a hall at Gold Street where she was, one or more of the African constables, that arrested her, slapped her on the face to the ground, hit her on the wrist with a stick, and took her to a white constable who was outside on the road. When she reached the white policeman, she alleges that she complained to him that the African constables were assaulting her even though she did not attempt to escape from custody. She alleges, further, that one of the constables handed his stick to the European constable and said "Here, baas you hit her so that she will know that we have done nothing wrong," whereupon she stated, the white constable hit her with the stick twice on the hip.

The subsequent events from this incident led within a few minutes to two Africans being shot dead an one wounded in the leg by the white policeman, who is alleged to have participated.

It was all from, and for, a small tin of beer after a police raid where there was no disturbance of public peace.

For these and many other reasons, my Congress urges the abolition of police raids and the withdrawal of the right of power to search. Because of the many regulations and laws that justify police interference with the freedom of the African under all circumstances and at all hours, some of the police have developed a contempt for every African and are apt to deal violently and abusively with him without provocation, perhaps, merely, most Africans believe, to establish the superiority of their race.

Of course, my Congress knows that there are also many good policemen as well, but the type and the attitude we have just described is common enough to justify the prevailing tendency of the African to want to run away from the police instead of going to them when he is in trouble, unless there is no alternative.

As we have indicated from the outset the low economic status of the African has great repercussions on the problem of illicit liquor. People live in slums often not because they are of slum mentality; but only because there is economic pressure which binds them down there.

The wages of the African must be raised so that he may be able to live in better surroundings to provide for himself and and his family, from his own means, a home fit for human habitation, to purchase sufficient food and clothing for his family, and to buy his health by being able to provide a healthy environment for himself and his own as do the majority of the Europeans. African wages have no chance of permanent improvement unless Africans are free to organise into Trade Unions which are recognised by the Union Labour Department with rights and immunities appertaining to such organisations as among Europeans. Such improvement is impossible while the pass laws, Native Service Contract Act, Masters' and Servants' Act, and the Native Laws Amendment Act, all of which go to restrict the movement of African labour, limit his bargaining power and leave him a potential victim of any unscrupulous employer, are on the Statute Books. The African must be trained for skilled industry according to his ability and employed for adequate wages to maintain a high standard of living and to increase his purchasing power of all the goods that South Africa may have. He may thus save South Africa shipping subsidies by buying and consuming all the fruit, butter and milk which now have to be sent thousands of miles away at great cost while millions are living in semistarvation and bad state of health for want of these products or because of their financial inability to purchase them.

Africans must be paid sufficient wages to be able to buy their milk from the market. They must not have to drink more/ municipal beer in order to get milk for their families.

Instead of concentrating all our best brains to maintain this monopoly of beer profits, Congress would suggest that schools and play grounds for discipline and wholesome growth and development of character in Africans would pay South Africa better dividends in the long run than the thousands of pounds which may be made from beer sales through tarnished characters.

When people talk of beer halls as social centres with milk bars, cafes and restaurants, frequented by women and children, we wonder whether the profit motive has not destroyed their christian ethics.

Congress suggests that laws that are operating for the benefit and welfare of European women and children such as the "The Children's Act" should include all races so that widowed mothers, neglected wives and abandoned African children may be protected and prevented from moral degredation and delinquency while all is being done to put responsibility on all concerned.

Congress feels that for a christian country like South Africa to follow the above-mentioned constructive suggestions, there is a likelihood to help South Africa find her soul in carrying them out. There is a danger of South Africa losing her soul by concentrating on beer profits.

DUAL SYSTEM

The only dual system we are in favour of is that of licensed African retailers and Domestic brewing, the existing municipal breweries being used merely for manufacture and wholesale purposes.

In smaller towns where all the people are concentrated in one location, in order to meet the needs of the single man and domestic worker, it may be necessary to have block brewing and selling for a period of a week under supervision of block-headmen along with the right of domestic brewing.

Where there are profits to be made from or through the African, the Europeans usually demand priority of consideration to their claim and because they have political and therefore economic power, they often get their way at the expense of the African. They thus have monopoly of Native Trading, Native Shops, Native Eating Houses, Native Concession stores. And now, as local authorities, they have the right of choosing for themselves the monopoly of brewing and selling kaffir beer, no matter what else the Africans themselves may wish or think of it, largely because there is profit in it and less because it would reduce crime, illicit liquor traffic, and manufacture of vile concoctions, as we expected it would not and as we shall directly indicate.

We are aware that domestic brewing and licensed African retailers will be opposed by some Municipal managers of Native Affairs Departments and location superintendents and some European ratepayers who have seen the huge profits to be made from beer. This will not be because they are expected to reduce illicit liquor traffic, drunkenness or illegal possession of liquor. It will be to relieve European ratepayers of all responsibility for Social Welfare for the Africans in towns where municipal beer halls are established. Besides, there will be vested interests, such as yeast monopolies, and grain dealers who might fear that the disappearance of Municipal beer halls might destroy a profitable market for their yeast and grain respectively.

Already according to the report of the 'Rand Daily Mail'' of the 3rd September, 1941, the Ratepayers' Association of Johannesburg have launched their attack as follows:

"The Council of the Federation of Ratepayers' Association of Johannesburg has decided to oppose any proposal to permit domestic brewing; to recommend the provision of milk-bars, or cafés, in or adjacent to the canteens; to agree that the profits of the beer halls should be used to provide amenities for the natives"

WHAT ARE THESE BEER PROFITS AND HOW ARE THEY DISPOSED OF?

According to recent reports, Johannesburg made, and, is estimated to make, the following profits:—

Year	Income	Expenditure	Profit
1938, part year	£15,534	£8,442	£7,092
1939	59,250	26,482	32,763
1940	94,447	30,695	63,752
1941, revised estimate	115,000	39,162	75,838
1942, estimate	125,000	45,213	79.787

The policy was stated in a letter by the City Treasurer on October 9th, 1940, as follows:

"With the introduction of the sale of kaffir beer (from which it is hoped to balance expenditure and income) the Council adopted the policy of treating the Native Revenue Account as a separate fund."

As a result of this statement the deficit from the Native Revenue Account must be balanced not from the general Rates as in the case of Coloured and European Townships but from beer hall profits. Grantsin- aid to charitable Institutions and also Indirect Administration by the Town Clerk and the City Treasurer and Audit are to be a charge against Native Revenue Account. Rent charges have also been reduced at the locations as a result of this. Thus it is clear that if Africans want social services, good housing, medical services, milk, sports clubs, and so on, they must pay for them directly through rents and profits from kaffir beer monopoly.

What is done in other towns can be gleaned from the Johannesburg "Star" of the 8th August, 1939.

*"BEER HALL PROFITS FOR NATIVE SERVICES. EAST RAND MUNICIPALITIES TO EXTEND CENTRES. ILLICIT TRAFFIC DECREASES."

"All along the East Rand Municipal budgets for 1939/40 provide increased health services, sports grounds and better housing for natives, and to the European ratepayers relief from most of the burden of providing municipal services for the natives in their area."

"The origin of this 'new deal' lies in the municipal monopoly of the sale of kaffir beer, which was accepted with so much misgiving by municipalities when it was virtually thrust on them 18 months ago."

"Kaffir beer is becoming big business for the municipalities, with profits in some cases of more than 100 per cent. and a rapidly increasing turn-over. By law these profits, like all other revenue derived from natives, can only be spent on natives."

"In the past the revenue from natives has been low and the native revenue account has been balanced with difficulty or subsidised from general revenue. The extension of health services in the locations and the provisions of better housing under sub-economic loans imposed a further drain on the account."

"In this last year, as beer halls became established, municipalities have had the revenue they expected from the sale of beer doubled and trebled and in the case of Boksburg inceased tenfold."

^{*} The bold type is mine for emphasis.

"The success of the scheme from the social welfare aspect seems no less assured. Officials agree that there has been a considerable falling off in brewing of illicit liquor."

"Mr. E. Baker, superintendent of the Boksburg location, has made careful observations to determine the effect of the municipal beer hall on the natives' spending power. So far, there has been no falling off in the business of traders dealing with natives. The money which previously went to 'liquor Queens' now goes to the municipality."

"Boksburg's example is being followed to a greater or lesser extent by all East Rand towns. The native beer hall and business and social centre, which was built at a cost of approximately £16,000 and was opened in November last year, was the first of its kind in the Transvaal."

"The scheme goes far beyond the beer halls and the native eating houses required by law. It is a modern social centre in which provision has been made for all types of native shops, for a general writing room and for a comfortable eating house. This centre has become almost a club for Boksburg natives."

"Stands and shops are leased by natives who carry on all the trading apart from the sale of beer."

"Before establishing the beer hall, Boksburg councillors and officials studied the schemes in Maritzburg, Pinetown and Durban."

"Last year Boksburg made a profit equal to approximately 170 per cent. The total revenue was £8,533; the amount anticipated in the budget at the beginning of the financial year was £800. In the present financial year the Council expects the cost to be £5,125, and the revenue to be £10,750, leaving a profit of about 110 per cent."

"The Council is considering the establishment of two branch beer halls, one to the north and one to the west of the town."

"NIGEL BEER HALL"

"A substantial increase in the consumption of kaffir beer has been recorded at Nigel, where a £2,300 brewery and beer hall incorporating a milk bar was completed at Charterston, the Nigel location, more than 12 months ago."

"In addition to the main beer hall, a depot has been established near the centre of the town."

"The town depot was so popular, it was enlarged only a few months ago. Further additions will probably be made shortly."

"From monthly average sales of £140, the average has jumped in a few months to between £350 and £400. A profit of more than £400 has been budgeted for this year."

"Mr. W. Melnick, in his budget speech, said the native revenue fund showed an estimated deficit of £1,775. It was hoped that the beer hall returns would increase and assist in reducing the deficit."

"The Springs Town Coupncil is to follow a policy of combining

beer halls with social and recreational facilities for natives. It will be put into operation with the establishment of a chain of beer halls at a cost of £12,000, a scheme which has been adopted in the principle by the Town Council."

"A main beer hall will be built next to the large sports ground provided by the Council for residents of Payneville native township last year. The Council intends to provide recreational facilities, if possible at the three subsidiary beer halls."

"A main beer hall will be built next to the large one. The central beer hall will incorporate a brewery, an eating-house and a beer garden and will cost £6,000. The subsidiary beer halls will each cost £2,000."

"The sites proposed for the subsidiary beer halls are at Nuffield Industrial township, on the trading sites west of Selection Park and near the municipal compound at Geduld, subject to the necessary approval."

"A temporary beer hall was first opened at Payneville on January 1, last year. This year allowance has been made on the estimates for a revenue of £6,500 of which £1,268 will be profit."

"BRAKPAN EXPENDITURE"

"The Brakpan native beer hall, which was opened about the beginning of January, and at a cost of about £3,000 has so exceeded expectations that it has already been decided to treble its size by the expenditure of an additional £6,700."

"The present hall will be converted into an eating house and the new hall is to be attached to the present building."

"Mr. A. Gidley Moore, Chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Council, said in his budget speech that in future revenue from the beer halls would more than balance the native revenue accounts and enable the Council to provide many facilities for the location."

"Benoni's first native beer hall was established in January last year in a temporary building near the location. The Council has decided to extend the scheme considerably."

"A branch beer canteen is to be established in the old Phoenix hotel premises near Cloverdene smallholdings. This will serve the large native population working on the mines and in the brick-fields north of Benoni."

"The Council is considering the establishment of another beer hall to the east of the town near the Kleinfontein compound. The Council also has in view a scheme for erecting a permanent beer hall and social centre on the site of the present beer hall. This will probably cost about £15,000 and will include a milk bar and a soup kitchen."

"GERMISTON BEER HALLS"

"Germiston, with a native compound of approximately 55,000 already has three beer halls, and the Council is establishing two

new halls and will build a central beer hall when the site of the location has been decided."

"The two new halls will cost about £1,000 each and the whole of this cost is being met out of one year's profit on the sale of native beer. One hall, near Fisher's Hill, will serve the northern area and the other will be near the western industrial sites."

"In the financial year just ended in the revenue account of $\pounds 4,162$ all but £487 was accounted for by the profit on the sale of beer."

The whole of this surplus has been carried forward to bring the accumulated surplus in the native revenue account of £11,804. The Council has been able to accumulate this surplus because normal expenditure on the location has been withheld to a certain extent pending rebuilding or the removal of the location."

"BETTER SERVICES"

"Increased expenditure during the year 1939-40 would have meant a deficit on the year of something like £1,500 if normal revenue was not supplemented by profits from the beer halls. Because of these profits the Council is able to budget for an increase of about £500 on health services to the location and for considerable increases under the heads of road construction, street watering and general administration expenses."

"This year the revenue from the beer halls is estimated at £12,500 out of the profit, two new beer canteens are to be constructed at a cost of about £2,220 leaving a net profit which is estimated conservatively at £1,654."

"Some idea of the profits of the municipal monopoly are given by the approximate revenue and expenditure figure for Germiston last year."

"The net expenditure was £3,800 and revenue £8,115, giving a profit of 110 per cent."

"This year the net profit is expected to be about 45 per sent."

The above quotation was chosen for its clear statement of policy, that is, aims and objects of, and reasons for, municipal beer monopoly by the various municipal authorities themselves. It saves us the task of attempting to interpret this policy from personal observation and experience. It removes the possibility of our being misunderstood or our being charged of exaggeration or misinterpretation of the policy.

This statement makes painful reading for us and for those who place essential value on every man as of God's making irrespective of race or colour. The policy seems callous, unchristian and undemocratic with little regard for human decency for all of which our men, European and Non-European have volunteered to fight and die, if need be, up North.

It seems to disregard or ignore fundamental principles of Christianity, democracy and taxation.

On christian principles, one would have expected a strong and uncompromising protest against a policy that exploits the people's vices for profit in order to provide the health and social welfare of the people and, perhaps, improve their virtues.

It is disappointing to find that our christian conscience has been disturbed only in so far as control and use of such profits are concerned.

Politically, though our country is a democracy such a policy of municipal beer sale monopoly has been forced upon, and dictated to, the African. And it may be persisted on even against their protestations if it suits certain interests and maintains the calculated and desired levels in race relations.

The policy seems to disregard all principles of modern basis of general taxation, namely, ability to pay. Municipal taxation, as we know it, is based fundamentally on rateable assets and services. This municipal beer monopoly policy disregards this and indirectly taxes the poorest of the poor to provide their own welfare through beer sales.

The principle seems to be, if natives want milk for their children, they must drink more beer. If they want adequate health and social welfare services from municipalities with beer halls, they must drink beer. It is a policy of vice paying for virtues.

As the Commissioners will note from this newspaper cutting, it is being advised to put milk bars, soup kitchens, restaurants, in or adjacent to beer halls. Beer halls are planned to be erected near African sports clubs. These places are referred to as social Centres for the social welfare of Africans.

What new moral and ethical standards white South Africa is setting up for herself and the African people! What repercussion we may expect!

We are told that South Africa has assumed for herself the "trusteeship" of the African people for whom she has adopted the policy outlined above. Note some of the fruits. In the five years 1935-1939 according to the Union year Book figures, there were 345,990 convictions for illegar possession of "Native liquor." 21,183 for other liquor and for 1938 and 1939, 74,125 convictions for drunkenness. Taking these convictions into consideration with convictions under the other special native legal disabilities and restrictions not mentioned here, it can be seen that these laws for "natives only" are unexcelled anywhere in the world in their production of crime and manufacture of criminals among South African natives.

The administration of these special laws take up most valuable time of both police and magistrates and must strain the patience of both. Mass arrests and mass trials of Africans which are more the rule than the exception under these circumstances, must inevitably lead to miscarriage of justice which does not seem uncommon in our country.

Two pertinent questions arise from this analysis which Congress would like to ask on behalf of the African people. Would decent Europeans, including the Commissioners, recommend for their wives, sons, and daughters, milk-bars, cafes, restaurants and soup kitchens in bottle stores? What would a court of justice do to a trustee who entertains his ward in beer halls or bottle stores instead of schools?

I leave the answer to the christian conscience of South Africa.

If Africans were paid a living and economic wage there would be no cause for the country to stoop down to such questionable expediences for the promotion of the welfare of the African people. The African would thus be enabled to pay his way like other people.

In conclusion, Congress would recommend—

- Abolition of Municipal beer hall monopoly policy.
 Use of existing breweries to supply African licencees to retail beer.
- 2. Africans licensed to run canteens or taverns for single men, domestic servants, and hostel dwellers.
- 3. Domestic brewing for families in locations and townships as a policy.
 - (a) No restrictions in alcoholic content of domestic beer.
 - (b) Possession of liquor of any kind by an African no crime.
 - (c) Penalty for selling without a licence.
 - (d) Drunkenness and/or disturbance of public peace an offence.
- 4. Abolition of Police raids and power of search.
- 5. Unrestricted sale of sprouted grain or yeast.
- 6. Allowing any person who desires to be supplied from licensed Canteens.
- 7. Other liquors to be made available to all those who desire them.
- 8. Milk bars, cafes, restaurants, soup kitchens, and sports clubs to be away from beer canteens.
- 9. We have said nothing about the disposal of beer profits as our policy seeks to eliminate this temptation which demoralises all the people white and black and further impoverishes the African economically, morally and spiritually.
- 10. Native Revenue Account should be balanced from General Rates like all other sections of the community.

South Africa is paying too much attention to penal sanctions against the Africans. Thousands of pounds are spent on police to persecute and prosecute them and magistrates to sentence them for things that are no crimes for other sections. Gaols for accommodation of Africans under these special legal disabilities have cost the country more than has been spent on schools for African children.

We further recommend as an enlightened, counter and progessive policy—

- A. Raising of the economic status of the Africans based on a living wage and cost of living on modern standards instead of race or colour.
 - (a) Wage determination for Industry.
 - (b) Improvement of conditions of farm labour.
 - (c) Land made available for occupation by Africans with all forms of tenure, free-hold, lease-hold, and so forth.

- (d) Relieving congestion in the reserves by a more generous land policy.
- (e) Mine wages must be increased to keep pace with the rise in cost of living of families.
- (f) Government Departments and Municipalities must give a lead based on cost of living of families, and increasing wants of a developing community. The basic unit for wage determination being family requirements under modern conditions.
- (g) Recognition of organised Native Trade Unions by the Department of Labour with privileges and immunities pertaining to such organisations among Europeans.
- (h) Abolition of Pass Laws, Master's and Servants' Act, Native Service Contract Act, and all restrictions contained in the Native Laws Amendments Act pertaining to freedom of movement of labour and freedom to sell one's labour.
- B. Employment of Africans in skilled trades according to ability with adequate remuneration.

C. Education.

- (a) Establishment of public schools for Africans, to develop character and intelligence through formal discipline.
- (b) Opening up of recreational facilities to develop wholesome social attitudes.
- (c) Use of all social legislation for the benefit of all women and children irrespective of race or colour.

We have put our case frankly and clearly, so that the full facts will be known by all concerned. We hate to see the foundations of future development of our country being laid on questionable, sandy ground, ethically and morally. We want them laid down solidly on the rock bottom of fair play; a living and an economia wage for all to buy their reasonable requirements; a liberal public school system of education for discipline and efficient service; equality of opportunity, for all, in the State, as well as freedom of the subject.

Orenones ABX. 411122a

22nd November, 1941.

Mr. Owen Mlisa, 44, Gold Street, Sophiatown, JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir,

I wish to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter of the 17th. inst., in which you were kind enough to invite me to be one of the speakers at the Welcome Reception in honour of Mr. T.J.J.Ntwasa, at the Ritz Hall, on December 15th., 1941.

As I shall be out of town then, I regret very much my inability to avail myself of this request.

Yours faithfully,

ABN/pd.

Ceremonies of eccasions
MA. ABX. 4111226

Vermeld in u antwoord asb.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.



SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE.

P.O. Box 1058.

Telephone 33-1333.

Telegraphic Address "DECOMPOL".

Office of the Deputy-Commissioner, Kantoor van die Adjunk-kommissaris, Johannesburg.

22nd November, 1941.

Dr. A.B. Xuma, 104, End Street, Doornfontein, JOHANNESBURG.

Greetings,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 20th instant and to thank you for the cheque for £1.0.0. in aid of the South African Police and Civic Guard Cavalcade.

This generous gesture on behalf of so worthy a cause is very much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

DEPUTY COMVISSIONER: COMMANDING WITWATT SKAND DIVISION.

Healt Matters - General 23/11/41. MBX.411123a P. V. Emjanyanov, 23/11/41. Dear It Thume, I have been asked by one of my fellow-medical-aids to write to you giving you my difficulties as far as my work is conserned. 5 years training in medicine after matriculations of years - Chemistry, Physics, Botany & Roology. 2nd year: - Unaturny, Physiology, Biochemistry & Santary Sevence 31d year: - Basteriology, Kathology, Medicine (18. Systematic & Chinese 4th year: - Medicine, Surgery, Pharmacology of Mispensing of 5th year: - Public Health, Midwifery of Sugnalcology of Manual Health of the final year we were lack " (1) the given a " Llipsoma in medical - aid". Stronge to say this diplome" is not sesognised in the medical world, in fact its is unknown. Onse a man decides to leave Government service this "deplone" is useless to him. He is just as good as a man who has never some this course". nobody seems to know exactly what the "medical aids" are supposed to

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PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

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