ABX - ~~421019b~~ 410929c

Education - Gen'l.

9 Perth Road,
Westdene,
Johannesburg.
Sept. 29, 1941

Dear Doctor,

I thought I would draw your attention to a report which appeared in the "Guardian" dated Sept. 25 and the "Cape Standard" of that week, which deal with a strike that took place at Dorstdrift on Sept 18. Both papers are obtainable from Jolly Jack Barnard, 15 2 Commissioner St. If your office could get the full facts and issue a statement it would go a very long way in popularising Congress.

ABX.410930a

30th September, 1941.

The Secretary For Public Health,
P.O.Box 386,
PRETORIA.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith, please find, duplicate applications"for supply of Drugs for the treatment of cases of Venereal Disease."

We have about eighty cases of Positive Wasserman on our records. We have been able to treat only a few now and then with borrowed supplies from Doctors Viviers, Lebenberg etc., District Surgeons at Vereeniging, who were in charge of the Clinic at the beginning.

The Clinic receives grants from the Union Native Affairs Department; the African Methodist Episcopal Church and contributions from public sources.

There are three nurses employed at the Clinic to do Home Visiting and District Nursing as well as Maternity Services.

We are anxious to encourage the people to submit themselves for Venereal Disease treatment.

Yours faithfully,

PHYSICIAN-IN-CHARGE.

ABX/pd.

T. 27. **POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—POSKANTOORTELEGRAAFDIENS.**

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Social Welfare - General 30/9/41

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ABX 410930c

EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE THE KAFFIR BEER COMMISSION

SEPTEMBER, 1941.

By

DR. A.B.XUMA,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL,

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

It is a thousand pities that decisions on Native Affairs and Native Legislation in 'democratic' and 'christian' South Africa must depend solely and exclusively on official opinion and on European public opinion only even in matters that concern the African intimately and specially. The African's views seem to count for nought. He is not considered part of public opinion. His part is to obey and not question the laws. He may not influence legislation or policy. He is no authority even about himself and his people, hence, is excluded from Committees and Commissions that determine his fate and future. Native experts and others alone may represent him and express ~~his~~ views for him on such Boards and Committees. That is why Union Native Legislation has always worked against the interests of the African and is gradually breeding in him a feeling of suspicion, dissatisfaction and distrust in the ultimate aims of the Union Native policy for himself and his people.

Social Legislation, it seems to us, should aim at the improvement of all the people and their lot and to bring about satisfaction, happiness, and contentment of the community as a whole. Judged by this criterion it would appear the 'Native Legislation' so-called is anything but social legislation; firstly because of its differential character and secondly, because its aim always seems to be first and foremost the control of the whole life of the African in the interests of the dominant race. The consideration of the African himself is merely a side issue; a second thought. The African is only a means to an end and not an end in himself.

The liquor legislation in South Africa is a cardinal example of the dangers of how governments, with absolute power and control over the life of other citizens, can legislatively create more crime and criminals among the weaker section.

The problems and effects of Liquor Regulations among the Africans in South Africa indicate the evil effects of legislation based on might being right to the exclusions of the wants, wishes, and ideas of the members of the weaker race for whom the legislation is made. It seems to be an attempt at recreation or remaking of the Africans in South Africa after the pattern conceived or desired for them by their absolute ruler. The result of the failure and shortsightedness of this policy has been the creation of more serious problems and greater tendencies to crime than, it seems, would have been the case had such legislation and regulations never been passed. The liquor restrictions against Africans demoralised more people, both white and black than it has saved. It has created more 'apparent' criminals among the Africans. It has swelled the crime statistics. It has tended to demoralise some of the police in the administration of the law. The profit element arising from restrictions or prohibition has tempted many of those who are free to get other liquors to supply such liquors to the Africans at high prices at the risk of prosecution of both the supplier and the receiver. Both are thus rendered criminals in the eyes of the law.

Common experience shows that prohibition or restriction on things which certain people crave tend to suggest and encourage in the mind of enterprising people illicit traffic of the prohibited commodity at huge profits. This has been true of both liquor and yeast in South Africa. Man-made laws against human nature will be met with

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inventive genius from those who are restricted. More thought and energy is often given by them to ways and means of circumverting the law and nullifying its prohibitions.

It is well for us to preface what we are going to say here on the Commission's Terms of Reference by quoting what I said as an individual before the Native Economic Commission on the 22nd., May, 1931. I spoke as follows:-

"Under the discussion on wages I pointed out that because of low wages paid the Native workers, the wife was sometimes driven to resort to illegitimate means of supplementing wages - such as illicit liquor traffic."

"What are the causes of Illicit Liquor Traffic?" I asked,

"A. The chief and most important cause is the low wages paid the male Native workers.
(a) Husband's wages alone cannot support the family.
(b) Mother, as should be, must remain home and look after the children and the home.
(c) Children too small.

Result: Only course open to her to make ends meet is to sell liquor."

"B. Double stream Legislation of Prohibition for the Bantu and Licence for the European.
(a) Some black people want liquor. The law says they won't have it. White people can have all the liquor they want and they know that the black man wants it and will pay any price; consequently, some sell it to him. The black man is arrested for possessing liquor which he wants and for which he has paid dearly and has not stolen. Only because a law is framed for him to prohibit him from drinking what the people who legislate for him drink all around him every day, hence he is made a criminal for its possession.
(b) On the other hand, the White man who either pities the poor black man or wishes to make a little profit by reselling his supplies to the black man is arrested and charged for supplying. He also is made a criminal by a law that serves no good purpose for any section of the community.
(c) Some people enter illicit liquor traffic solely because it is lucrative business under present restrictions."

"I have been told that there are European male and female who make good incomes by having Native sellers on a profit-sharing basis. Both make more profit on the basis of current wages. I cannot blame either of them because the particular law offers them this opportunity. They are not inherently of criminal tendencies but our social legislation and double stream policy makes them criminals."

"What is the way out?"

"(A) Prohibition for all is the first suggestion, It is not because I believe that you can make a people, a community of teetotalers, No, I do not believe that you can make people more moral by legislation; but this arrangement will only provide a single machinery that will be necessary to cope with all the problems arising from prohibition irrespective of race or colour."

"(B) Licence for all who desire to have the alchoholic beverage or other liquors. The quantities may be controlled through the bottle stores and the issue of licences.

"(C) Home-Brewed Kaffir-Beer for the Bantu. Under this system every housewife would have a right to make and keep some kaffir beer for husband and grown up sons. It may thus be possible as of old, to keep young native boys from taking drink habit too early in life."

Under the system of home-brewing there should be a tendency to less-drunkenness and faction fights because most men will have a supply at home which they may take ad lib. In this way they may take just enough quantities to quench the thirst and satisfy the desire. Under the present restriction and prohibition most men can get their kaffir beer only Saturday afternoon and Sunday and old times. It is sold in measures or "scales" as they are called. This is a quantity which may be too much for one to drink all at once. He may not take it home as he may be arrested for possession. He must drink it all and at once in order to give the chance for others to get their "measures" and have room to drink. If drinking and mere possession of alcoholic beverage and, not necessarily drunkenness, were not made a criminal offence one could take his "measure" with or could order it to be sent home as from a bottle store and drink it at home and at pleasure. As things are, the man must drink the whole "measure" hurriedly and at once. The result is that he becomes drunk and often noisy."

"There should be licence for those people who want to commercialise kaffir beer. There should be no arrest for mere possession but only for drunkenness and disturbance of public peace. This would save a good deal more of police-power and free many constables to be on the trail of real crime instead of ~~these technical offences.~~ wasting some much time on these technical offences."

"This would relieve congestion of the courts on Mondays by women arrested merely for possession of kaffir beer or liquor. What is the difference between a black person selling kaffir beer to his or her customer than a barman or bottle store keeper does to his customer."

"No number of police will alter these conditions of liquor traffic until the causes have been removed - namely;
(a) low economic status of the native workers;
(b) double stream liquor legislation - prohition for one section and licence for the other."

"Increase of the police force to enforce this unreasonable law would only increase our output in the manufacture of criminals through this faulty and discriminating legislation."

"Why do Natives drink these Conctions?" Is it because they want a kick in the drink? No. It is wrong for people to say that natives drink them simply because they want something with more kick in it. The fact is that the women who sell liquor cannot risk preparing their beer on Wednesday so that it will be ready for consumption on Saturday or Sunday because the police are likely to come and raid and destroy the liquor earlier and arrest the possessor, who must either have to pay a fine or serve a term of imprisonment. Now, in order to get the kaffir beer ready for use Saturday afternnon something like "methylated spirits" must be put in to give it a kick in a few hours before the men come from work on Satruday and Sunday. The usual process of making kaffir beer requires three or four days which is too long and risky under the circumstances. The concoctions are added to make a 'get-ready-quick' sort of a drink in the intervals between police raids. Let us all work for a more rational legislation. Let us be honest and face facts."

"When I see hundreds of black women going to jail every Monday, I do not think of them as criminals,"

"I blaime the system under which they live. It must be changed."

We have quoted this evidence in extenso because even after ten years it still hold its force on the problem as recent legislation has merely side-tracked the issue.

Taking the Terms of Reference we shall consider the following points:-

(1) The success or otherwise of municipal monopoly of manufacture, sales, and supplying of kaffir beer to Africans.

My Congress has no doubt that the municipal monopoly of kaffir beer selling has failed to achieve any of the objects it aimed at to solve. It has been only a huge financial success; but, it has neither saved souls nor reformed human nature in the black man as the following facts will show. The introduction of municipal beer halls has not reduced the convictions for drunkenness, illegal possession of native beers or other liquor. Illicit liquor traffic does not seem to be on a decline as the following figures indicate:

Convictions for the Union "for contravention of the Liquor laws. (1935-1939)"

Year	Illegal Possession of Native Liquor.	Illegal Possession of other Liquor.	Drunkenness
1935	65,404	5,113	
1936	70,976	3,991	
1937	66,274	3,634	
1938	65,727	3,949	34,652
1939	77,609	4,696	39,473

The following figures show convictions for contravention of the Liquor Laws on the Witwatersrand Magisterial District for the years 1936 to 1939.

Year	Illegal Possession of Native Liquor.	Drunkenness
1936	41, 451	11, 039
1937	33, 471	10, 808
1938	36, 186	12, 628
1939	46, 144	15, 259

Notwithstanding the existence of municipal beer halls there is evidence to show that there are other sources of supply which must meet a great public demand for beer besides that supplied by Municipal beer halls. This is from illicit liquor dealers who seem to be holding their own even against police vigilance and activity as well as beer halls. For instance it has been shown that in Johannesburg the following gallons of Native Liquor have been destroyed:-

Year	Number of gallons
1937	528, 000 **
1938	608, 000
1939	655, 000
1940	849,000
1941 up to July	640, 000 ***

5. These/....

** Figures given by the Deputy Commissioner of Police Colonel Horak.

*** "Rand Daily Mail" 22/7/41.

These figures may indicate increasing activity of the police who may be destroying more liquor than before thereby causing loss of greater quantities to the illicit dealers. This may not necessarily mean proportionately greater financial loss to the business, as traffic may be larger. It does mean that business must be reasonably good or quantities destroyed would soon decline indicating decreasing illicit brewing.

~~As~~ The above mentioned evidence must convice anyone that the municipal beer halls have failed to drive illicit liquor traffic out of business. It has neither reduced crime nor improved the general well-being of the people. Since these were the claims advanced for their introduction, they should be the only ones to justify their continuance.

Congress feels that municipal beer hall monopoly is a policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul. It is undermining custom by encouraging drunkenness among African youth and exposing young women and children to sights of drunkenness particularly where milk-bars and restaurants are housed under the same roof as beer halls. One wonders whther 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 African seem to feel that since municipal beer halls are public institutions established by law, they are expected to patronise them.

TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE TO 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 weakened by beer. Even those who were favoured at great occassions 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 occassions and seasons. Girls and married women of child bearing age were not given beer, a s 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 medicina l value of kaffir beer. Unfortunately, the most vocal and outstanding 'authorities' for this have been municipal managers of Native Affairs or Loca tion superintendents whose standard of success or failure of the scheme is measured only on quantity sold and £.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. and there is perhaps also more nourishment in it than purified alcoholic drinks such as whisky 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 other orthodox and usual ways of providing these food essentials, does not our moral and christian conscience hold 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 wants 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 LICENCED 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 ill-advised prohibition which was forced upon the African people even before the Union. It would seem to be more correct in this case, to say that the municipal monopoly of beer ~~halls~~ 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 licensed to run bottle stores. The State and local authorities should be content to get their sha re from the trade through licences and income tax. The Africans are urged to develop along their own lines and kaffir beer is one of those 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 licensees. The African beer stores should be fairly evenly distributed at various point 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 licencees 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 practice 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 European. 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.

(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 save time before the police come. It will tend to reduce 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 cheap 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

8. content/...

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) ~~There~~ We would suggest that there should be even 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 or illicit liquor by supplying prohibited 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 mark, naturally sub rosa, in the dry areas. This system leads to the manufacture and sale of homemade 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 of domestic brewing must be left to readjust itself for a number of years to come without external interference. The success 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 or otherwise.

(7) Control of Sprouted grain and yeast. Congress would like to suggrst to the Commissioners that there should be no regulation or control of the ~~traffic~~ of sprouted grain or yeast. There should be no penalty for buying or selling them as such a restriction will, at once, 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-cosial act.

Ofcourse, we are fully mindful of the fact that niether 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 ~~introduction~~ manufacture of 'vile' concoctions. They will also reduce drunkenness even though we realise that nothing we do, can completely remove occassional drunkenness as long as there is liquor or beerso 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

9. have/.....

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 Weyers, European, and Constable Hendrik Moholo African, were charged and tried at B. Court, Johannesburg, "with compounding the crime in connection with a liquor offence." They pleaded not guilty. However, the Magisgrate found them guilty on August 26th., 1941, and sentenced the first accused, Johannes Jacobs Weyers 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 interest 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 policemen 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.

(2) The two constables pleaded not guilty in spite of all evidence to the contrary. This raised a very important question. Often a European policeman and an African appear before a Magistrate on any 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.

statement.

In the present state of race relations and because of the many laws and regulations that empower the police to summarily 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 to allow Afric 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.

(3) Hendrik Moholo acted for and on the orders of Johannes Jacobs Meyers 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" constable. 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 alleged that she complained to him that the African constables were assualting her even though she did not attemtp to escape from custody. She alleges further that one of the African constables handed his stick to the European constable and said "Here, bass you hit her so that she will know that we have done nothing wrong", whereupon, she shated, 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 and one wounded on 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 up to deal violently and abusively with him without provocation, perhaps, merely, most Africans believe, to establish the superiority of their race.

Ofcourse, my Congress knows that there are also many good policemen as well, but the type and the attitude we have just described is ~~large~~ 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 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 h his own as do the majority of the Europeans. The 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 Amendments 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 semi-starvation 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 growths 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 peopel talk of beer halls as Social centres where milk bars, cafes and restaurants, frequented by women and children, we wonder whether the profit motive has not destroyed their chirstian ethics.

Congress suggests that laws that are operating for the benefit and welfare of European women and children such as "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 deliquency 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.

12. Dual/.....

DUAL SYSTEM

The only dual system we are in favour of is that licensed African retailers and Domestic brewing, the existing municipal ~~beer halls~~ 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 European 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 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, ~~and~~ 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, 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 cafes, in or adjacent to the canteens; to agree that the profits of the beer halls should be used to provide amentities for the natives ....."

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

According to recent reports, Johannesburg made, and, it 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 seperate 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. Grants-in-aid to charitable Institutiens and also Indirect Administration by the Town Clerk and the City Treasurer and Auditor are to be a charge against Native Revenue accounts. 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."

"Kafir beer is becoming big business for the municipalities, with profits in some cases of more than 100 per cent. and a rapidly increasing turnover. 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 provision 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 increased tenfold."

"All East Rand towns are extending their beer halls, opening new branch canteens or replacing temporary buildings by permanent halls, with which are combined native social centres."

"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 Scheme."

— Underscoring is mine for emphasis.