

Only recently during the sitting of the first Coalition Parliament certain questions were asked and suggestions made about African Natives and their inability to pay the tax as a result of the depression. Mr. Humphries, Member for Beaconsfield, stated truthfully that "Throwing Natives into jail by the hundreds was useless to everybody concerned including the European employers of such Natives." "Natives should be relieved of this tax for a year or two," justly thought Mr. Steytler, Member for Albert. The last statement especially evoked the following reply from the Hon. P. Grobler, Minister of Native Affairs, that "To abolish the Poll Tax altogether was out of question. Everywhere demands were being made for educational facilities for Natives, and the money had to come from somewhere."

Would the Minister make such a statement in the case of the Poor Whites? The poorest section in South Africa is thus made to pay directly for their education and general welfare or else to expect nothing from the State. This statement of the Minister's or to the Government's policy towards the African community is based upon the economic fallacy which finds support among the non-thinking or colour-prejudiced people in South Africa, that the African people are indebted to the Government of the country and must therefore pay four-fifths of their direct taxation over and above their contribution in indirect taxes, to cover the cost of the so-called Native Administration. The other one-fifth of this tax is perhaps given the Africans gratuitously out of the magnanimity of European Government in South Africa for "Development and advancement of Native Welfare." This attitude still prevails only because the supporters of this policy seem to forget that no one can assess the money value of the benefits one derives from public expenditure and the cost to the State of the service rendered to each individual citizen or groups of individuals. Further, because this one fifth is isolated from other State funds like an infected patient, and earmarked or labelled for "Native Education" and other Native welfare services, it has become traditional for the Native Affairs Department or the Government, when money is asked and wanted for the extension or even maintenance of Native social and welfare services, to say "There are no funds. The Native Development Fund is depleted." "The Government is quite sympathetic, but the Native Fund is all used up." On the other hand, Europeans, Asiatics, and Coloureds are never questioned as to how much they have contributed to the State. Their educational needs are budgetted for on a per capita basis. If the same attitude towards these groups were taken as that show towards the Africans, then such Poor Whites, Asiatics and Coloureds, who pay no direct taxes, would not be allowed to receive the educational and other welfare services which they now enjoy. It is only right that they should get these benefits notwithstanding. It would be wrong if they did not because it is the duty of the State to advance and protect the interests of its poor and provide for their social welfare.

The Africans are also entitled to such benefits without any special taxation, because the "cost of service principle" and "the benefit of service principle" implied in the allocation of Native Taxation in the Union of South Africa, has no sound economic basis. Dr. Hugh Dalton puts the last nail on the coffin of this crude and antiquated economic fallacy, when he writes as follows:-

"The cost of service principle can be applied to the supply of postal services, electric light, etc., by public authorities and the prices of such services can be fixed in accordance with this principle. But it cannot be applied to services rendered out of the proceeds of taxes as distinguished from prices. For a tax by definition, is a payment in return for which no direct and specific quid pro quo is rendered to the taxpayer. The services, if any, rendered to the individual members of the community by expenditure on the King's Civil list, on Armaments, Police, or Public Parks cannot in fact, be determined, and therefore, the cost of rendering these services to different individuals cannot be determined. Thus the cost of service principle however equitable it may seem in the abstract, is not capable of wide practical application. The benefit of service principle falls away in the same way. Since the services rendered to individuals by many forms of "

Native Taxation

By Dr. A.B.Xuma.

"public expenditure cannot be determined, the benefits to individuals from such services cannot be determined."

This statement, therefore, supports the view I have just expressed that the Union's method of allocating Native Taxation is an anachronism of the dark ages which might have been excusable even in the days of Ricardo or Adam Smith, but should not be tolerated in our enlightened day and time.

I believe that you will agree with me that in the brief but comprehensive analysis of the subject of Native Taxation we have proved, beyond doubt, that from the point of view of incidence and allocation, the so-called Native Taxation is unjust, inequitable, and untenable. Its methods of collection are obsolete, objectionable, and humiliating to the victims.

PROPOSALS.

A logical conclusion to the points thus established would lead one to advocate immediate abolition of the tax on the grounds already advanced. I shall however make my recommendations not upon what I consider to be the equity of the case, but on the basis of mere expediency.

Guided by the "Principle of maximum Social Advantage" I shall emphasise more the "benefits to be derived notwithstanding the burdens of the tax." "It is idle to speak as so many do of the burden of taxation regardless of the benefits of corresponding expenditure." Chief Isang Pilane of the Bakgatla, when asked how much in the way of taxes per head did he levy upon his people to cover the expense of sinking boreholes in his country, replied "six pounds ten shillings" or one ox per head of the kraal. He then said, speaking perhaps more wisely than he realised, "What after all is one ox or its equivalent per head of the family when the payment of such ox or oxen, will save many more that would perish from want of water." It is therefore not so much the amount of tax that matters, but what is done with it, or how it is spent.

I shall therefore recommend,

- (1) That it shall be our ideal to advocate the abolition of separate taxation in the Union based on colour or race, as soon as possible, i.e., Repeal of the Native Taxation and Development Act No.40 of 1925.
- (2) That the Government should provide a budget for African Native social welfare, development and advancement as for other sections according to the needs of that community without regard to their special contribution to the general revenue.
- (3) That while separate direct and special taxation of the African still exists,
 - (a) No African under the age of twenty-one years or over sixty years of age should be liable for taxation.
 - (b) Poverty, unemployment, and other such reasonable circumstance beyond the control of prospective taxpayers should be acceptable grounds for exemption.
 - (c) The "Poll Tax" raids and "Round-ups" should be abolished.
 - (d) The whole amount of direct taxes collected from the African community should be expended on the African Social welfare, or alternately and better still,
 - (e) The special Native Tax should be put into the general revenue and the Government should spend for educational needs and social welfare service in the African community not "as little as it can, regardless of the results attained" but "spending whatever is necessary in order to produce the best results attainable," without thought of what the Africans contribute to, benefit from, or

7. cost the State/...

or cost the State; because, we educate people not for the value of education is to the individuals but because of the enhanced value of such individuals to Society.

- (f) Innocent, workless and poverty-stricken Africans should be exempted from taxation for the particular year's tax instead instead of being marched to jail, by thousands every year.

In conclusion I wish to appeal to you, in the words of Dickens:-

"But, gentlemen, gentlemen, dealing with other men like me, begin at the right end Give us kinder laws to bring us back when we're going wrong. And don't set jail, jail, jail afore us everywhere we turn."



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6. I. 33.

Rare Relations

6/1/33

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE

Dear Dr. Xuma,

The bill for your Callaway is, at long
last, to hand. It amounts, incl. postage,
to £ 2 - 3 - 10. You paid me last August
£ 1 - 11 - 6, so that you still owe me 0.12.4.
I have paid the account immediately: please
let me have the balance of 12/4 at
your convenience.

With all good wishes to you & yours
for 1933

Yours sincerely

R.F. Axford Hoare

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THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Personal

PRINCIPAL,
OTTO B. GITHENS, M.A., B.D., S.T.M.,

VICE-PRINCIPAL,
JOHN A. REULING, B.A.

ADAMS MISSION STATION,
NATAL.

20.1.'33

Dear Mr. Xuma:

I have been inquiring about train fares.
with the following results:

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3rd class scholar with return	£ 4.4.9
2nd "	5.14.6

I have sent the concession form on
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may use either.

Sincerely
O. B. Githens

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761, Park Street,
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26th January, 1933

Rau Relations

My dear Dr. Kuma,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th (forwarded to me at the University of Cape Town) and for the lectures returned, also for your very interesting speech which I have kept as permitted.

I am now sending you Chapter III of the series on "Native Welfare Services" also some rougher notes on "The Farm Native", and hope that they will help you. You are far too generous in your references, but I am glad that the notes are of some use.

The missing pages (23-45) were devoted to Appendixes, such as the Native Administration Act, with which you must be familiar already.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Edgard Brooke

Fifteenth Episcopal District
(SOUTH AFRICA)
African Methodist Episcopal Church
Rt. Reverend David Henry Sims, Bishop
Official Address: 28 Malmer Road
Woodstock, C. P., South Africa

February 7, 1933

Dr. A. B. Xuma
49 Toby Street
Sophiatown, Johannesburg

Religion - A. M. E. Church

Dear Dr. Xuma:

I received your very nice letter. It was a great source of consolation to one who had just recently come to a strange land. I appreciated it very much.

I hope to meet you at the Conference at Bloemfontein during the next two weeks. I have had a very delightful time since I have been in South Africa, despite being extremely busy.

I thank you for your offer of cooperation. I shall have need of such men as you. We must labor together for the great Cause.

Yours very sincerely,

David Henry Sims
DAVID HENRY SIMS

CONSULTING ROOM:

DR. A. B. XUMA.

104 END STREET,

RESIDENCE:

DOORNFONTEIN,

49 TOBY STREET,

JOHANNESBURG.

SOPHIATOWN. :: JOHANNESBURG

February 11th. 1933.

Sport + Recreation.

The Librarian.
Public Library.
Kerk Street,
Johannesburg.

Dear Sir, *As a result of repeated requests on the part of our reading non-European section to lend them books to read, I have collected a few books in one my room for the purpose of lending them out to such people as I*
Having instituted a library for the use of the Native,

and Coloured races, I am desirous of augmenting ^{the service} it as much as possible to be of real value, and to cover every description of reading and reference work.

As you are aware the ^{our non-European} Native and Coloured races have no access to the Public Library, and the ^{opportunities} means ^{through} for searching works of reference in ^{various} other directions are very scarce and restricted.

It is my ambition to place, within the reach of those desiring to ^{gain} seek knowledge, the necessary material to assist them in their efforts entirely free of charge.

As I understand that you replace from time to time books which have become slightly the worse for wear, and discard others for which there appears to be little or no demand: I should greatly appreciate if you would inform me if there is a possibility of my obtaining a supply of these, and the method to adopt with that object in view.

Any assistance which you ^{may give the further this} care to offer to help the Native ^{service} and Coloured races educate themselves will be greatly appreciated by them, and will be looked upon as a favour by me.

Thanking you in anticipation of your assistance,
Yours faithfully, /

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21st February, 1933.

Raw Relations

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

Dear Sir,

We are to-day forwarding to you by post under separate cover six copies of your Address and six copies are also being sent to Mr. Howard Pim, from whom we expect to receive instructions regarding the disposal of the balance of the edition.

Trusting this is in order and that the booklets will reach you safely,

Yours faithfully,

FOR LOVEDALE PRESS

JLH

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS

REPORT OF THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

1930 - 1932

A C R I T I C I S M

by Rev. Father Godfrey Callaway, S.S., J.E.

I. Reasons for the appointment of this Commission

It would be very pleasant and comfortable to regard the appointment of this Commission as solely the evidence of paternal solicitude on the part of the Government towards the Native people of South Africa. It would be pleasant but it would hardly be quite accurate to do so. The truth is that we have, at long last, begun to awake to the fact that the interests of the two races are inseparably bound up together and that, in the long run, the poverty of the one affects adversely the prosperity of the other.

It was not always so. The authors of this Report tell us that "in the past difficulty was experienced in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour for the industries of the country. The Native in a tribal Reserve, accustomed to a subsistence economy, having under European rule, peace with plenty (except in a bad crop season) felt no urge to go out to labour The European Government, wanting labour for their industries, decided to bring pressure on the Native to force him to come out to work, and did this by imposing taxation". Taxation drove the Native to the mines, the railways, the roads, the towns. It was soon seen that taxation was not the only incentive. Increasing scarcity of land, insufficient crops, new needs arising out of the impact of civilization - all these things created poverty and drove the Native out of his home. Then it was that "the developed European areas began to support part of the Native population of the underdeveloped Reserves. As long as the Native was "raw", fit only for the crudest manual labour the flow was looked upon by the European as a necessity, was even encouraged. We can go further and state that while this stage lasted it was beneficent to the European"

So it came, most unhappily, to be regarded that "leanness" amongst the Natives contributed to "fatness" amongst the Europeans. The prosperity of the one seemed to depend on the adversity of the other.

It was a fatal theory, equally fatal to economic as to moral welfare. Has the theory really been exploded? Is it understood to-day that the poverty of millions of Natives ultimately contributes not to the wealth but to the impoverishment of the whole country?

The appointment of this Commission is at least a sign that our political leaders have awakened to the reality. Fear is creeping into our bones. We are faced with a great/unpleasant facts and forebodings which can chiefly be attributed to the economic distress of the Native population. Something had to be done. Remedies were -

/many

were urgently needed, but, before the remedies could be applied, facts were needed. The Government wanted facts. That is the reason for this Commission. We must remember that such a Commission is a very costly business. It is bound to make a big demand upon the "Sinews of war". It is, too, a time of great financial stringency. The Government cannot afford expensive "joy-rides". Obviously the need was felt to be really serious. We could not go on hiding our fears behind blinkers. The truth may be unpleasant, but it is better to have it revealed.

Perhaps it is true to say that the members of this Commission are like consulting surgeons. The body politic is sick unto death. It was feared that nothing short of a serious operation would bring any relief. Expert surgeons were called in to diagnose the case. The patient must be submitted to the most searching examination.

II. The Report

The verdict of the surgeons is in our hands. It is a large blue book of between three and four hundred pages.

Are we satisfied? On the whole the Press says "yes" - the members of the Commission have done their work well. As I read the notices of approbation I am inclined to wonder if the members of the Commission would not have preferred rather more criticism. If a Report on this most difficult subject is to be a real success, in the sense of awakening the conscience of the country to a state of affairs that ought not to be tolerated, then some of the commendation it has received is really condemnation. The Report is not doing its work. In order to be a real success the Report should be thoroughly unpopular. It should provoke hostility in high places. If the members of the Commission had to go about in fear of their lives we should know they had succeeded in their task. My own feeling is that the members of the Commission have failed to suggest the heroic measures which alone can fit the gravity of the malady. I have had no training in economics but I have a real concern for the matters under consideration and I believe the authors themselves will welcome frank and free criticism, even from the pen of the unlearned.

I ought to have said earlier that for the moment I am confining my thoughts to the Report as signed, with certain reservations, by all the members of the Commission. I am not now considering the Addendum by Mr. Lucas nor the interpositions of dissent scattered throughout the Report.

I hope it is not presumptuous to congratulate the authors upon the easy-flowing diction of the Report. One hardly expects such pleasant prose in a Government Blue Book. It is obvious, also, that we have before us, in this Report, the result of a great deal of hard thinking. The Commission has shirked nothing. A generous tribute is paid at the end to the Secretary for his "untiring diligence". I can well imagine that the Secretary would have liked to say the same about the members of the Commission. There is much that is of permanent value in this volume.

III. Reserves

The Report opens with a surprise. Part 1 deals with "The Reserves" and to it is devoted some 45 pages. When we turn back to the Terms of Reference we find special mention of Natives in "larger towns" and in "urban areas" but, actually, Reserves are not mentioned.

No doubt they are included in (1) "The economic and social
- conditions -

conditions of Natives especially in the larger towns of the Union".

seem to Personally I am inclined to regret, for reasons which will appear, that the Commissioners begin with such an easy field of conquest. In the Reserves there are no fortresses bristling with guns, no stout line of resistance. We are all in happy harmony (or should I say in unhappy harmony?) "Yes, these men have hit the nail on the head. Economic distress is all due to those wretched Kaffirs in the Reserves, to their laziness, their thriftlessness, their wasteful methods of farming, their scrub cattle, their ignorance, their superstition". This is what hear from the prosperous farmer in the Colony and the landowner in the Transvaal. "The Kaffir has ruined the Ciskei and turned it into a desert and now they are going to ruin the Transkei and other Reserves". The best thing to do would be to take the land away from them". So we are in danger of creating, not an awakened conscience, but an awakened cupidity! Speaking metaphorically, the machine guns of the Commissioners are not needed against the defenceless Fingos, Tembus, Xosas and Pondos of the Transkei. They are very much needed against those who hold high place of authority throughout the Union.

I do not want to be misunderstood. We who live in the Reserves (personally my only experience is in the Transkei) need the admonitions of the Commission. We need to be warned of the terrible fate in front of us unless we will cope with the evils of over-congestion, over-stocking, soil-erosion and twenty other kindred foes to prosperity. To every single indictment we plead guilty, But, for at least fifteen years, we have had amongst us men of outstanding ability, administrators, educationalists and others, who have been trying to drive home into our heads every single one of these admonitions. Quite honestly I do not want to soften the indictment or to make excuses but we who have lived long in the Transkei have seen a miracle. If Major Sir Henry Elliott, Bransby Key, and other great pioneers of these parts could be with us to-day they would indeed grieve to see the ruin of over-stocking, the terrible dearth of pasture, but I do not hesitate to say that they would be amazed to see the determined attack upon ignorance and superstition, the gallant efforts to redress the wrong, and above all, the changed mentality of the Native (of the elite of course). It is in this last point that I see a miracle. Who is it to-day who is talking about these very evils which are so rightly condemned in this Report? It is the Native himself. Go to hear him as he speaks in the Council Chamber in Umtata; and there is not only talk; there is action. We may indeed lose the battle, but in this case I believe that our failure will be a moral victory against tremendous odds.

Again I say I do not want to minimize the dangers, or exaggerate the success. I am grateful to the Commissioners for all the backing they have given us. I indeed hope that their recommendations will bear fruit. They are right to stress the strategic importance of the Reserves. They are right to point out the effect of well conserved and wisely governed Reserves upon the whole economic situation. But even if every single recommendation were pushed home with newly acquired authority, even if every possible success attended the new effects, it would be altogether misleading to suppose that in the Reserves as now constituted there can ever be found anything but a very minor solution of the economic distress of the country as a whole. It is for this reason and others that I regret the extreme prominence and emphasis given in this Report to the Reserves.

IV. Plea for Land

Before leaving Part 1, on Reserves, I should like to draw attention to section 192 where the authors say "It follows therefore that, as a necessary corollary to the policy of agricultural development recommended by your Commission as a first essential, the provision of more land is also essential".

This sequence follows upon the words "But in relation to the main determinant, the way in which man uses the soil, the majority of the Native areas are now over-populated."

It is difficult to believe that this is practically the only plea in the whole Report for more land for the Natives. What a lost opportunity! It was a very easy task to urge the dangers of over congestion and scrub stock. The public needed no convincing on these points. But land! Land is the burning question of the day, the very heart of Native economics, and the Commission contents itself with a few mild phrases. Why is it that the Natives of South Africa, who outnumber the Europeans by at least three to one, and who are all primarily peasants, occupy only about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the land. That is the question we expected our experts to tackle. It is no use hiding unpleasant facts. The European is a Trustee and as a Trustee he has failed very seriously to provide for the needs of the Minor who was wholly dependent upon him. In order to be truthful we must be brutal. The Trustee took care to provide for his own needs and the needs of his descendants but he was culpably careless about the needs of the Minor.

Why is this not pressed home in this Report? Why are we not given chapter and verse, figure and fact? Why are we not shown the way to make amends - what steps we ought to take? Our surgeons have failed us. They offer a teaspoonful of syrup to a man who is suffering from acute appendicitis.

V. Crime and the Pass Laws

I make no attempt to follow the Report in orderly sequence. I am deliberately a critic because I believe that it is only as such that I can forward the purpose of the Commission. Naturally I choose for comment those parts which lend themselves most to criticism. I now want to draw attention to the section of the Report dealing with Crime (772 - 786).

It is happy to read the opening words that "The general consensus of opinion throughout the Union of responsible witness is that the Natives are a law-abiding people!"

If this Report had been written five years later it would probably have been impossible to write those words in the present tense for the simple reason that we seem to be doing our utmost to create criminals and law-breakers.

In section 774 we are given a list of "the more important offences, not classed as serious crime, of which the Natives were convicted in 1930, with the numbers". Out of that list I will choose out two. (1) Pass Laws 42,262. (2) Native Taxation Act 49,772. In one year alone over 42,000 Natives were convicted and imprisoned for breaches of the Pass Laws (a Statutory offence) and nearly 50,000 for failure to pay taxation. Consider quite briefly the inevitable result of this. (1) The creation of criminals by forcing "law-abiding people" (mostly young) into close contact with hardened criminals. (2) The inevitable alienation of the sympathy of the intelligent leaders of the people, whose loyalty is being desperately strained in other ways. (3) The creation of a bitter sense of injustice and racial discrimination. (4) A generous supply of

- material -

material to the agitator whose task is already made abundantly easy. When these facts are well considered we shall surely expect a very strong indictment of a system so prodigal of injurious results and we shall expect suggestions of very drastic reform. Let me quote in full the Section immediately following this list of offences (775). "Many of the offences were not crimes in the ordinary sense. The effect of sending Natives to prison for them must be on the one hand to bring them in undesirable touch with hardened criminals, and, on the other, to make prison lose its deterrent effect. Any steps, such as more extended use of the suspended sentence, which mitigate these must necessarily have a beneficent effect on the administration of justice".

And that is all! I have underlined the last words of the section because they are so hopelessly inadequate to the occasion that further comment is unnecessary.

I shall have a good deal more to say later about taxation, but, in regard to breaches of the Pass Law, it is only fair to point out that the Commission has considered it (Pass Law) elsewhere. They practically endorse the findings of the Committee on Pass Laws of 1920, advocating a measure of simplification. It is satisfactory to find that two members of the Commission disagree with these findings of the Report. Dr. Roberts "is convinced that the time is opportune for a final and complete abolition of passes for Natives, in any form". Mr. Lucas desires to associate himself with the views expressed by Dr. Roberts ... and to add that "the evidence of which there was a considerable amount in all three of the pass-law Provinces, does not reveal any necessity for or value in the pass laws Every Native bitterly resents the pass laws. He considers that they impose on him a stigma of inferiority; that they treat him as an alien in his native land.....".

It is very greatly hoped for the peace of South Africa that our political leaders will confirm the opinion of Dr. Roberts and Mr. Lucas.

VI. Race Relations

It would not have been a surprise to me to find no part of this Report devoted definitely to the discussion of race relations. The subject is of vital importance, but the Commissioners might well have thought that it fell outside the terms of reference. They have, however, devoted a couple of pages to the subject, apart from passages where it is introduced incidentally. In no subject does the Report reach so high a level. We are informed that "generally, the attitude of Europeans is becoming more friendly". But, on the other hand, "the general tenor of the evidence is that the attitude of Natives generally towards Europeans and the European administration has become less friendly and trustful".

I believe that both these statements are true, although, in my opinion, the latter is an under-statement of the facts.

Here, then, we have the considered opinion of the Commission, after weighing evidence throughout South Africa, that the attitude of the European (towards the Native) is becoming more friendly; whereas the attitude of the Native (towards the European) is becoming less friendly and trustful.

A little later the Commission picks out the crucial grievance of the Natives. "There seems to be four main questions lying at the root of Native feeling against the European to-day. These are the shortage of land; the restriction upon individual

liberty imposed by the pass laws; the colour bar; and the low scale of wages generally paid to the Natives" (685). I assume that the "Colour Bar" here means political and economic disabilities resulting from distinction of colour. I can well believe that, so far as actual evidence before the Commission is concerned, these are the four outstanding grievances. But there is one grievance that goes deeper and weighs more heavily than all these. It would not be likely to be brought up prominently in evidence given in public, just because it is so humiliating and so far beyond expression by words. The Native has a very strong sense of humanity (ubuntu). A man is not identified with his clothes or his possessions, or his house. He may be the poorest of the poor but he has the priceless possession of humanity (ubuntu). The most illiterate "raw" Native, like the illiterate Irish peasant has got a cultural heritage of which he is proud. The great Chiefs, the heroes of the past, the exploits of brave men, the tradition of the tribe, the great bond of social fellowship, all belong to him. This and a great deal more he means by ubuntu. It is the intolerable grievance of the Natives of South Africa that the European by his attitude, even more than by his legislation, denies to him his humanity. Nothing can atone for this. Other grievances are relatively small in comparison with it. In dealing with race relations in South Africa you can no more ignore this than you can ignore Table Mountain as your ship sights Capetown.

The fact that the attitude of the European is said to be becoming more friendly to the Native is simply the reaction, chiefly among the younger and more independent and generous minds, against this betrayal of humanity. The chief reason why, on the contrary, the attitude of the Native is said to be less friendly is because he has begun to awake to the fact that humanity with all its potentialities and possibilities is the same priceless gift, whatever the colour of the skin, and that his own humanity has been most cruelly denied by the attitude of the European. It is that attitude which is more than anything else responsible for the clamant, and frequently insolent, abuse of the European in the Native Press.

The facile way in which the Commissioners urge patience under grievances surely betrays a lack of discernment. "That there is a large lee-way to make up is generally admitted, but there is a tendency to take all good things which the Native has for granted, and to lay all the stress on the good things which he has not yet attained. The point is very often overlooked that the task of raising millions of backward people to any reasonable level of civilization must necessarily be long and tedious". As I read these last words I seemed to see in my mind a picture of the members of the House of Assembly meeting day by day with eager proposals for the uplift of these backward millions, laying aside all other business, and, in spite of endless disappointments, refusing to be daunted! Such a picture requires a good deal of imagination.

The fact in painful contrast is the passing of the Native Service Contract Bill, without even waiting for the publication of this Report.

VII. Taxation

Reluctantly I pass over much that is of interest and value in this Report - even much that challenges criticism. I cannot, however, lay down my pen without writing of taxation.

The wording of the fourth Term of Reference is strangely puzzling. It seems to imply that people are regarded in classes and that

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their claim upon the revenue of the State is in proportion to their contribution through taxation. The Commission has done us a real service in refusing to accept such a view. "Public expenditure is joint expenditure, not expenditure in which any particular class has to raise the whole amount of money expended by the State upon that class".

However, in order to carry out instructions, the Commission, with evident difficulty and some reluctance, set to work to tabulate the revenue allocated to Natives (1929--1930) and the expenditure charged against Natives. The former is roughly estimated at £3,322,917, the latter at £4,184,700. I am afraid that many people will disregard the disclaimer of the Commission and will pounce upon these figures as evidence that the Native people are not contributing their full share to the Revenue. Nothing could be more cruelly wrong. Is there any country in the world where the poorest section of the population is regarded as a class apart, and is required to meet, by taxation, the whole amount expended upon it? In this Report we are told that all adult male Natives are required to pay direct taxation (from 20/- to 40/-) in addition to extremely heavy indirect taxation. A mere fraction of the Europeans pay direct taxation (through income tax). It may even happen, we are told, that a European farmer owning 2,000 morgen pays no direct taxation; whereas the Native, who ploughs 2 morgen of his land as a squatter, pays in direct taxation 20/- to 40/-. We have already drawn attention to the fact that nearly 50,000 Natives in one year (1930) were convicted and presumably imprisoned for failure to pay the tax.

I am indeed thankful to find that Mr. Lucas in his valuable addendum boldly challenges the existing system and comes forward with an alternative scheme. I have not the necessary knowledge to enable me to judge if his scheme would work but at least I am thankful that he has given our leaders something to be seriously considered. It is very much to be hoped that this Addendum (by Mr. Lucas) will receive the respect it deserves.

VIII. Conclusion

I ask forgiveness if I have spoken with undue warmth. I am convinced that this subject must be brought home to the conscience of white S. Africa. It is we who are chiefly responsible for the conditions revealed to us in this Report. Over and over again as I turn over the pages of this volume I am reminded of the parable given to us by Mrs Millin in "The S. Africans". Briefly it is this. The White man in S. Africa is on a journey and he calls the Native to carry his load while he provides food for them both. Gradually he finds that he cannot go on feeding his carrier without depriving himself. He begins to distrust the Native and even to fear him. He begins to think that the partnership was a profound mistake. "You had better go home" he says to the Native. "My home is gone", answers the Native. "My home is gone". So say hundreds of thousands of Natives driven by straits of poverty to seek refuge in urban areas. They look longingly to over-congested Reserves and they say "My home is gone". So say even greater numbers of squatters upon European farms. They were welcomed with eagerness but now they see that they have outspent their welcome. Their tenancy is wholly precarious and insecure. "My home is gone" they say. Surely our Father the Government has made provision for us. No, there is no such provision and they wander in great destitution seeking a home. This is the reproach at our door and it must be rolled away. Make whatever provision you like, whatever guarantees are possible for the economic use of the land and for more intensive cultivation,

- but -

ABX 330307.

Nurses + nursing.

Jane Turse, Mem. Hospital
via Middelburg,

7-3-33.

Dear Doctor,

I beg to apply for a vacancy at your new nursery home as a nurse or clinic work. I am trained at this hospital general nursing & clinic work, through this new regulations I am unable to join for the medical Council exams as I have not passed Std. VII I have only passed Std. VI. I will only get the Jane Turse certificate after two years which I will complete this July will be pleased if my application be favourable have enclosed a stamp for a reply.

I am,

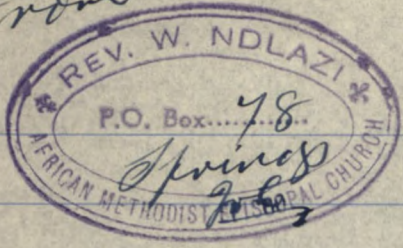
yours obediently,

Charlotte Binase.

From

ABX 330309

Hancefield
9/3/33



Education - Wilberforce
Institute

Dr. A. B. Xuma
204 End Street
Johannesburg

Dear Sir,

I have the honour most respectfully to make known to you that you are being honoured by the "Wilberforce Institute Trustees Board" by being elected member of the same as from the 21st day of February 1933.

Yrs In His Name

W^m Ndlazi

Secretary of the Board

N.B. my new address 78 Springs

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