

ABX. 4207286

TELEPHONES: 33-2641/2.

P.O. Box 3308.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "DONATION."

117, A.B.C. Chambers,

(FOURTH FLOOR)

27, Simmonds Street,

Johannesburg.

28th July, 1942.

Bank Welfare Trust

Dr. A.B. Xuma,
85 Toby Street,
Sophtown,
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir,

Mr Saffery tells me that you would like to see me and I shall be very glad indeed if you could call upon me.

I am available at my office in the mornings and leave for home at 1 o'clock. My house is at 48 Valley Road and most afternoons I am available there after 4.30 p.m.

There are several things I would like to talk to you about.

Yours faithfully,

Donaldson

Social - Welfare - General
ABX. 420728C

B. M. S. C.
BANTU MEN'S SOCIAL CENTRE.

"STRONGER IN BODY, MIND, SPIRIT AND CHARACTER."

PHONE 33-8110
P.O. Box 4767

ELOFF STREET SOUTH

JOHANNESBURG.

28th July, 1942.

Dear Dr,

You will have noticed from this month's issue of the Bulletin, that it has been arranged to give Mr & Mrs J.G. Malie a Wedding Reception in conjunction with our usual Guest Night programme. This has come about as a result of suggestions made by some members of the Executive Committee. The expense is estimated to amount to anything between £6 and £8, and I am writing with the view of asking you for whatever financial assistance you are able to give in this direction. Contributions have already been made by Dr. Phillips, Messrs Xorile, Nobanda, and Mdanniso, and I feel sure that the individual efforts of the members of the Executive Committee will be highly appreciated by Mr Malie. I also hope you will find it possible to come down and be with us on that night Friday 31st inst. Thanking you in anticipation for your kind co-operation.

Yours Faithfully,

Ko. A. Mdanniso
ACT. ASS. SECRETARY.

ABX. 420728d

N.A. 284.

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.  UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DEPARTEMENT VAN NATURELLESAKE,
DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS,

POSBUS } 384
P.O. BOX }

PRETORIA

28th July, 1942. 194

No. 138/333

CRIME WAVE 1942

Committee of Investigation into Crime Wave.

Sir,

I am directed by Colonel Reitz to acknowledge the receipt of your letter addressed to him on the 20th instant in the above connection.

In reply, I would point out that you yourself and two other leading Natives of Johannesburg have been appointed as members of the Committee and that its terms of reference as set out in the letter of appointment addressed to you on the 21st instant are as follows :

"To investigate the problem of unemployed and vagrant Natives (including juveniles) on the Witwatersrand and in and around the urban area of Pretoria in so far as it affects the incidence of crime and to submit for the consideration of the Government recommendations as to the best method of bringing such Natives under adequate supervision and control with a view to the prevention of crime, disorderliness and other malpractices."

Under the circumstances you will, I am sure, appreciate the fact that the Government is anxious to enlist the assistance and co-operation of law-abiding and enlightened Natives in dealing with the problems of vagrancy and delinquency and that there is no question of Africans being made "a crime bogey to be exploited as such".

Yours faithfully,

Howard Rogers

ACTING SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Dr. A.B. Xuma,
President-General,
African National Congress,
JOHANNESBURG.

*Unemployment
Crime Cause
- 1942*

ABX. 420728e

28th July, 1942.

The Acting Secretary For Native Affairs,
Department of Native Affairs,
P.O.Box 364,
PRETORIA.

Sir,

re: COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYED AND
VACANT NATIVES (INCLUDING JUVENILES) ON THE WITWATERS-
RAND AND IN AND AROUND THE URBAN AREA OF PRETORIA.

YOURS No. 138/333.

I beg to inform you that I have agreed to serve on the Committee even though the fee of one guinea per diem would not cover the fee of a locum.

I hope the Committee will be able to produce a useful and a practical report.

Yours faithfully,

ABX/pd.

ABX. 420729a

A.N.C.
Natal

Tue

29th July, 1942.

R.L. Rantla Esq.,
Secretary,
African Congress,
Stand No. 12a,
Brakpan Location,
BRAKPAN.

Dear Mr. Rantla,

I received your letter on my return from Durban and I thank you for it

I, however, wish to say that, for the present, I am unable to give any definite date in August as I am not sure of my time. Besides preparing for a meeting of the Executive of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein next month, I am now engaged as a member of the Committee investigating the Crime Wave. That is taking more time than I can spare and, therefore, ~~make~~ makes it more difficult for me to plan for outside activities immediately.

I shall communicate with you further as my plans become definite.

Yours faithfully,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL,
AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS.

ABX/vd.

A.H.C.
Cape

ABX. 4207296

29th July, 1942.

Dear Mr. Tswana,

I received your kind letter of sometime ago in which you reported about "Unity". I had intended to reply to you soon after receipt of your letter while I was hoping to receive an official report on the point. Instead I received a rebuke.

I agree with you that all of us would like to see unity approved by the rank and file, because any agreement made between individuals may be done on conditions that are not acceptable to the rank and file.

Besides, if Congress is going to progress, the leadership must have the full support and goodwill of the masses.

I would be very sorry if the branches you referred to are to be lost to Congress as a result of the so-called unity.

I also hope that the unity is not merely for election purposes. Congress must live and lead the people even after this election.

Actually it would be fatal for the African people if the future depended not on what they can do themselves for themselves; but on elected white representatives.

The African National Congress believes that the salvation of the Africans is in their own hands, and that other people can help but can never bring emancipation. That is why the African National Congress brought a deputation to Cape Town and accomplished certain things in one day which the Parliamentary representatives and even the members of the Native Representative Council could not achieve in five years under the Native Representation Act.

I would suggest that you give me, confidentially, full and detailed information about the members' strength and activities of the branches you fell are not prepared to come into the Cape African Congress consequent to the unity. I would be pleased to get this information before the 25th of August - that is prior to the meeting of the National Executive.

I am glad for your interest in Congress. I hope you and others will do all you can to ~~save~~ the good name of Congress and pave the way

P/T/O. for/....

for its re-organisation.

Only after I have received the information asked for will I be able to decide what action should be taken on this matter, as you know as the leader of a National Organisation, I must act only on full facts and thus be able to deal fairly with all concerned.

Thanking you again,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL,
AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS.

ABX/pd.

Mr. J. ...
15, ...
CAPITOL TOWN.

ABX-420729c

A. N. C.

29th July, 1942.

Dr. R. T. Bokwe,
Middeldrift, C.P.

My dear R. T.,

I wish to thank you for calling my attention to the Congress Parliamentary Elections Committee.

As a result of a ruling which was accepted by the Conference in approving of the Presidential address, no section of the Congress has any right to use the name of Congress in sponsoring or supporting candidates for election under the Native Representation Act of 1936. Any member of Congress, however in his private capacity as a voter may nominate and vote for any candidate he chooses; but may not use the name of Congress constitutionally in doing so.

I feel that time has now come for men of influence and responsibility like you and others to take seriously into the work of Congress with a view to reviving it and using it as a preparation for claiming our Birthright and for the period of reconstruction after the war.

I am very grateful to you for sending me this interesting and valuable document which has been issued in abuse of our National organisation.

Actually, now we should launch out a campaign which all responsible men will be organisers to do away with these elements who are not only trying to discredit our national organisation - the African National Congress; but are discrediting African leadership as being venal and using it for personal motives.

I believe that the activities of these men in the Cape are a challenge to all of us and I am urging you all to pick up the gauntlet in the name of New Africa.

Yours sincerely,

PRESIDENT-GENERAL
AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS.

ABX/pd.

ABX. 420729d

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

"Ntathemba"

73 Mofuking St.

Craddock C.P.

29th July 1942

6/ANC/42

Dear Sir,

It appears very urgent for the Executive of the African National Congress to meet and review the political situation as it affects the African.

The question of the war has been led by our organisation ever since it started and it is imperative that some organisation should guide the Nation at this juncture, and if we do not, some other organisation will steal our thunder.

Therefore the President summons you to meet him at Bloemfontein on Saturday and Sunday 29th and 30th August. Please see that this notice reaches the other members of the National Executive in your town.

The meeting commences at 8.p.m. sharp.

James A. Alota
.....
Secretary General A.N.C.

ABX. 420730a

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
(INCORPORATED)

President—PROFESSOR R. F. ALFRED HOERNLE, M.A., M.Sc.

Vice-Presidents—{ MAJOR J. F. HERBST, C.B.E.
D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A.

Hon. Treasurer—G. H. R. EDMUNDS.

Hon. Assistant Treasurer—P. R. B. LEWIS.

Adviser on Race Relations—

SENATOR THE HON. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES, M.A.

Secretary—A. LYNN SAFFERY, B.A.

Hon. Organiser, Women's Work and Health Section—
MRS. RHEINALLT JONES, M.Sc.

Regional Representatives:

NATAL—MAURICE WEBB, Southern Life Buildings, Durban.

ORANGE FREE STATE—LEO MARQUARD, B.A., 12, Innes Avenue,
Bloemfontein (on active service).

CAPE PROVINCE (Eastern)—W. R. CALEY, Fort Beaufort.
DR. O. D. WOLLHEIM, 11a, King Street,
East London.

" (Western)—ADV. D. B. MOLTENO, M.P., Temple
Chambers, Cape Town.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—REV. P. IBBOTSON, Box 82, Bulawayo.

ENGLAND—COL. THE HON. C. M. HORE-RUTHVEN, C.M.G., D.S.O.,
Vern Leaze, Calne, Wilts.

Dr. A.B. Xuma,

President General,
African National Congress,
104, End Street,
DOORNFONTEIN, Johannesburg.

Dear Dr. Xuma,

Enclosed you will find the Institute's official reply to the questions which you addressed to it in the name of the African Congress in your letter of July 1st.

Your letter was fully considered by the Executive Committee during its meetings on July 6th to 9th, when it was also decided that my draft should be circulated among members of the Executive before being sent to you, in order to make sure that it expressed the unanimous opinion of those present.

You will, therefore, appreciate that your questions were treated by us with all the seriousness which their importance deserved.

I would, however, like to take this opportunity of supplementing the official letter by this private letter to yourself. For, I realise that the Institute's present policy of avoiding pronouncements "on matters concerning which there is active political agitation" is likely to cause disappointment among some members of your Congress, and that this disappointment may lead to misinterpretation of, and an unfair judgment on, the Institute's attitude.

The point which I want to emphasize is that, although no official declaration on behalf of the Institute has ever been issued (a) demanding the abolition of the Pass Laws; (b) supporting the registration of African Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act; (c) condemning the "Union's Segregation Policy", it is equally important for your Congress to remember that the Institute has never, by word or deed, (a) supported the Pass Laws; (b) opposed the formation of African Trade Unions or their registration; (c) endorsed the Segregation Policy.

What, then, has the Institute done? Its activity, throughout the years of its existence, can fairly be summed up in the statement: it has avoided direct attack on discriminatory laws and policies, and concentrated, instead, on the indirect method of educating White public opinion, by the steady pressure of facts against such laws and policies.

This indirect way is less spectacular, but, we believe, more effective. To denounce laws or policies based on race discrimination is emotionally satisfying, but tends to harden the opposition of their supporters. It throws them into an attitude of defence against attack in which they close their minds to facts and arguments. The indirect method tries to open minds and thus shake the hold of principles and attitudes by the force of evidence presented in such a way that people cannot reasonably refuse to consider it.

Let me illustrate from the Pass Laws. In the literature of the Institute over the years you will find repeated reminders that the Cape has been able to get on

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MILNER PARK,
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44-3781.

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JOHANNESBURG.

30th July, 1942.

without Pass Laws and yet has not experienced the ill-effects predicted by the Northern opponents of the abolition of pass laws. This is a pure statement of fact, and no supporter of the Pass Laws can, if he thinks at all, avoid asking himself whether, in the light of Cape experience, his arguments for the Pass Laws are really as sound and convincing as they had seemed. Induce him once to doubt, and he will be more ready to consider proposals for the abolition of the Pass Laws, against which he would otherwise shut his mind.

Or, again, we have repeatedly given wide publicity to statistics of so-called "Native crime", clearly showing that the great bulk of convictions are for technical breaches of discriminatory laws, like Pass Laws, Liquor Laws, etc., and that the African people cannot be accused of committing ^{a greater number of} ~~more~~ serious crimes than other sections of the population of the Union. Once more, this is a demonstrable statement of fact, which no reasonable person can read without being led to ask himself whether laws which manufacture technical "criminals" wholesale, are really necessary and justifiable.

Hence, if it has recently become possible for the Government to relax the administration of the Pass Laws, or if Cabinet Ministers find that they can safely express disapproval of the Pass Laws, without fearing that they are thereby running dead counter to predominant White sentiment, the Institute's educational activity by the indirect method may fairly claim to have had a share in bringing about this change for the better in White public opinion.

Or take African Trade Unions and their recognition: There are two pamphlets published by the Institute in support of the African Trade Union Movement, viz.: AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS AND THE INSTITUTE, and HOW TO GET HIGHER WAGES. Or read, please what Senator Jones has said, on pp. 19-21, of THE UNION'S BURDEN OF POVERTY, concerning African Trade Unions and the handicap imposed on them by non-recognition: once more you will see at work the technique of educating White public opinion by the pressure of factual evidence.

Finally, as regards "Segregation" - a word which covers a variety of things - I can only repeat: point out to me, if you can, a single act or word by the Institute or by any of its officials and spokesmen, which could be construed into support, or advocacy, of the segregation policy. The whole of the argument and the facts, presented by Senator Jones and myself in THE UNION'S BURDEN OF POVERTY (of which, I am sure, you have a copy) is anti-segregationist in tone and effect.

To clinch this point, may I ask you to reflect whether the Institute, if it were really in favour of Segregation, would have organised that great public meeting in Cape Town, last January, at which General Smuts himself made the memorable statement: "Segregation has failed"? (See the text of his speech on "The Basis of Trusteeship", as published by the Institute, pp. 9, 10.) For the Institute itself to make such a statement would have evoked in wide ranks of White South Africa only the reaction: "That's the view of cranks and Kafferboeties!" But, for the Prime Minister of the Union to say this, under the auspices of the Institute, gains the ear and the attention of many men who would never listen to the Institute speaking with its own voice.

Although this is a private letter from me to you, you are at liberty to make use of its contents in and out of the African Congress, as you may think fit. Speaking for myself, I would be deeply grateful to you, if you were to defend the Institute against possible criticisms, along the lines I have indicated above.

Your Congress and the Institute are working for the same goal, but along different lines. The great point is that difference of method should not be misinterpreted as opposition and conflict. You can do a great service both to your Congress and to the Institute, and smooth the way for co-operation in pursuit of the same ideals, by making this clear beyond all chance of misunderstanding.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

R.F. Alfred Hoernlé

R.F. Alfred Hoernlé
PRESIDENT.

P.S. May I add the suggestion that your Congress should affiliate to the Institute and thereby secure the right

to nominate two members into the Institute Council? And, if you could see your way to becoming a corresponding member, you might, yourself, become a member of the Executive of donor members.

ABX. 4207306

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
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Chambers, Cape Town.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA—REV. P. IBBOTSON, Box 82, Bulawayo.

ENGLAND—COL. THE HON. C. M. HORE-RUTHVEN, C.M.G., D.S.O.,
Vern Leaze, Calne, Wilts.

Dr. A.B. Xuma,
President General,
African National Congress,
104, End Street,
DOORNFONTEIN, Johannesburg.

Anti-pass campaign

Dear Dr. Xuma,

Your letter of July 1st was carefully considered by the Executive Committee of the Institute, at its meeting on Thursday 9th instant, and I have been authorised to reply to your questions as follows:

1. It has been, up to now, the consistently-maintained policy of the Council of the Institute not to pass resolutions on matters concerning which there is active political agitation.
2. The issues to which your questions refer have, therefore, never been voted on by the Council of the Institute which, in terms of the Constitution, is the body charged with the duty of determining the policy of the Institute.
3. In these circumstances, there is no answer to your questions: no resolution has ever been passed, or other action taken, on the basis of which it would be possible to say that the Institute as such, has taken a corporate stand for, or against, any of the points referred to by you.

In order, however, that you and your Congress may not put a mistaken interpretation on the above reply, I am further authorised to state:

4. That the Institute has, in its various publications, repeatedly dealt with the issues referred to by you, and that the factual information thus made available has, in our opinion, helped to bring about the more liberal trend of thought

- at present -

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30th July, 1942.

at present noticeable among many White South Africans,

5. That the Executive Committee has decided to ask Council at its next meeting in January, 1943, to reconsider whether it wishes to maintain its present policy in future and whether the time has not come when the Institute should pass resolutions on political issues in the field of race relations.

I trust that these explanations will help you and the members of your Congress to appreciate fully and justly the position of this Institute.

Yours truly,

R.F. Alfred Hoernle

R.F. Alfred Hoernle
PRESIDENT.

RFAH/JM

ABX. 420730c

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

PRESIDENT: HON. J. H. HOFMEYR, M.P.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: T. R. PONSFORD, M.A., LL.B.

Social welfare. **Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work**

CHAIRMAN: SENATOR THE HON. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES, M.A.

HON. TREASURER: COUNCILLOR A. IMMINK.

DIRECTOR: REV. RAY E. PHILLIPS, B.SC., B.D., PH.D.

TELEPHONE: 24-1890

19. ELEANOR STREET.

FAIRVIEW.

JOHANNESBURG

30th July, 1942.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Father Bernard Huss, the well known social worker and author, will give a series of lectures to the students of the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work on rural social problems as follows:-

Poor People Proceed from Poverty to Prosperity and Power
Provided they Pay the Price.

Aug. 10 Monday	9:40 - 11:15 a.m.	Waste of Wealth in Africa. Prevention of Wealth.
Aug. 11 Tuesday	8:50 - 10:30 a.m.	European Co-operation in Europe. European Co-operation in Africa.
Aug. 12 Wednesday	9:40 - 11:15 a.m.	European Co-operation in Canada. African Co-operation.
Aug. 13 Thursday	8:50 - 10:30 a.m.	African Co-operation. Transkeian Co-operation.
Aug. 14 Friday	8:50 - 10:30 a.m.	Transkeian Co-operation. Economic Virtues.

The lectures will take place at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Eloff Street Extension, at the dates and times indicated.

If you are interested and plan to attend any of these lectures, will you kindly notify the Secretary before Monday, the 10th August? Difficulties in connection with the accommodation at the Bantu Men's Social Centre make it necessary for us to ask you to let us have this information.

Yours very sincerely,

Ray E. Phillips

ABX. 420730d

Health - Croghan Comm. Clinic

30th July, 1942.

Nurse Elizabeth Mshumpela,
Rose Deep,
P.O. Box 6,
GERMISTON, T.

Dear Nurse Mshumpela,

This is to notify you that you have been approved for appointment as one of the Staff nurses at the Croghan Community Clinic, as from the 1st August, 1942, at a salary of £8.10.0 a month rising by 15/- per year up to £10.0.0d.

Yours faithfully,

PHYSICIAN-IN-CHARGE.

ABX/pd.

Robins - General 31/7/42
ABX. 420731

Senator Jones on Native Policy

Reprinted from *The South African Outlook*, July, 1942.

AS the last Parliamentary session was closing, Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones made a statement in the Senate which, according to the *Cape Times*, has not had the attention it merited. The big international events of these days tend to crush out from the columns of even leading newspapers happenings on the narrower national stage.

The Senator drew attention to the very grave situation existing in the Native areas of the Northern Transvaal owing to drought. He then proceeded to deal with the Government's Native policy in general. A memorandum presented by the Minister gave some idea of what the Department of Native Affairs had been concerned with in respect of land purchases and development, agricultural development, urban housing and administration, locations, education and hospitals, but said nothing of the relations of the Administration with the tribal authorities. "One would like to pay a tribute," said Senator Jones, "to a feature of the work of the Department which does not appear in the white paper, namely, the growing concern and the work of the Department in respect of social welfare amongst the Natives, of various kinds, such as the care of the blind and other forms of social welfare. I should have liked also to have had some idea of the Department's responsibilities in respect of labour conditions. These are not dealt with in the white paper, and yet I am satisfied from my own knowledge that the Native Affairs Department has a creditable record in these directions as well."

Senator Jones went on to deal with the recently-published report of the Native Affairs Commission. He welcomed the fact that in recent years the Commission had been a more active body, but like many others in the country he deprecated the form of the Commission's Report, consisting as it did of one page, with various appendices compiled chiefly by "appointed members." Like many others, he demanded what authority these appendices carried. Moreover, Senator Jones contended that the memoranda were too often of a provocative kind and of such a character as to be unsuitable within the covers of an official Report; the terms in which certain people interested in Native welfare were referred to were needlessly offensive. (We feel that the Minister's later references to these criticisms of Senator Jones did not meet the point, for though a Government may not be expected to endorse the views of the Commissions it appoints, as the Minister argued, the fact remains that the Minister himself is Chairman of the Commission, and as such signs the Report without any reservations. But it is not clear whether he accepts responsibility for the Appendices which bulk so largely within the covers of the Report.)

Senator Jones drew attention to a statement of the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1936: "Speaking generally it is notorious that the existing Native locations and reserves are congested, denuded, over-stocked, eroded, and for the most part in a deplorable condition." With this he effectively contrasted a statement of Senator Heaton Nicholls: "The bulk of the 54,000 square miles of Native reserves lie in the rain belt of the Union. . . . Within this rain belt with its many streams, fertile valleys, its looming irrigation possibilities, its luscious veld and rich soils lie the Transkeian Territories, Basutoland, the reserves of Natal and Zululand, Swaziland and the Native reserves of the Eastern Province." He contended that Senator Nicholls did a great disservice to the public of South Africa by misleading them as to the real conditions in the reserves.

The Senator went on to refer to land purchased by the Trust and to unhappy developments which were taking place in regard to it: "I am going to give examples of land which has been purchased by the Trust so that we can consider what is likely to be the position when the Trust has bought the land. In the Louis Trichardt area 33 farms were bought with a total area of 40,729 morgen. Four of those farms are definitely without water, and they total 11,300 morgen. The arable area is 3,440 morgen; so the total area, the maximum grazing area, is 37,000 morgen after deducting the arable area of 3,440 morgen. There were on those farms when the Trust bought that land 6,655 cattle, that is 5.5 morgen per beast. There were also 2,803 taxpayers for the 3,404 morgen arable land. That is to say, 1.3 morgen of arable land for each taxpayer. Those were people on the land when the Trust bought, without any regard at all for those who would be moved there from the Native areas. Now, Sir, the position in the Louis Trichardt area is really very serious. I have already read a letter giving the present position in the Zoutpansberg, but I want to urge the Minister to have a special investigation made of the land situation in the Louis Trichardt and Zoutpansberg areas. The Minister knows there has recently been great agitation. People on Trust land had ploughed there for generations and they were encouraged to defy the Trust, and they have been successful in defying the Trust and they were acquitted by the court. The whole situation is seething with excitement, and I hope the Minister will find it possible for a special investigation to be made with a view to relieving the pressure in that area.

"My point is this, that in addition to the condition of the reserves, as given in the white paper in 1936, the position in regard to the new land is such that it is already overcrowded; and I do not see where relief is going to be given to any great extent in the reserves."

Senator Jones quoted a statement of Senator Nicholls that when planning was complete 80 per cent, of the Native population would be domiciled in the reserves, and asked how it would be possible if the position was anything approximating what had been described. He challenged Senator Nicholls to say how he could have a Native peasantry on three morgen or four morgen or five morgen per beast. In the Zoutpansberg area the Trust had had to reduce the standard they laid down—five morgen arable land per family—to two morgen, and the result had been considerable bitterness.

"All I can say is that our reserves will be our rural slums in such conditions. Does the Hon. Senator really contemplate with complacency this picture which he has drawn? What is it? He has drawn a picture that 80 per cent of our Native population is going to be maintained in the reserves and then the males are going out into the European areas permanently under mine compound conditions, there to live their celibate lives in the compounds there, as time goes on, to be increasingly separated from their families. How is it possible to have a peasantry under such conditions? How is it possible to have a decent life under such conditions and yet the Hon. Senator says in the Report of the Commission: 'There can be a Bantu Nation, every member of which can be proud to be a South African.' I ask the Hon. Senator, can there be a Bantu nation under such crowded conditions, slum conditions, with separation of the males from the females for the greater part of their lives? . . . Now what do I suggest against this? I will ask first of all that Parliament should realise that the Native areas as they are now delimited can

never accommodate more than a fraction of the Native people. Many times the morgen will be required to give us a Native peasantry. Is South Africa prepared to pay that price? If it is, I accept the segregation policy, somewhere where they can live under decent conditions. I give three reasons. One is the irrational desire of the Europeans for land, as well as the desire for land amongst the Natives. The second is the demands of the mines and industry for labour, and thirdly the economic factor that there are already too many people on the land. Now, Sir, a few months ago I ventured to write on this last point or to draw attention to this point in a pamphlet which I wrote, and this is what I said: 'Is it certain that the best interests of the country will be served by keeping a large population in the rural areas? Do not modern conditions require a relatively small population in the rural areas to supply the nation's needs from the soil? Is it not possible to overload the land with people and to waste the country's productive power by retaining an unnecessarily large population on the land? Would it not in the long run be better for us to face now the industrialisation of the bulk of our African population and so to harness their energies more effectively than they are or can be harnessed in the reserves and other rural areas? This is perhaps true also of the European and other sections of the rural population. It is therefore most important that a clear policy should be worked out as regards the lines along which development is to proceed in the rural areas.' Now, Sir, that Report to which Senator Heaton Nichols has referred, the report of the Commission on Industrial and Agricultural Requirements, recently said this in the same direction: 'Despite the extensive drift to the towns the residual population permanently dependent on farming and the number of casual labourers are far in excess of the proportion warranted by the unimpressive contribution of this industry to the national income. This practice of the occupational distribution of the Union's population is indicative of a major maladjustment in the economic structure.' So, Sir, in the circumstances we must have, as I say, a modification of the policy, if not a new policy, and I venture to suggest the main features of such a new or modified policy. In the first place, it is right to acquire as much land as we can for the African people with the view to their remaining there as peasants, and I am sure I have the support of Senator Heaton Nicholls in expressing profound disappointment that the Government has not seen fit to allow the Native Trust to go on purchasing land. I believe it is true that the Department of Lands is continuing to buy land for European settlement. On what ground of equity, justice or statesmanship, has the Government found it possible to withhold the allocation of funds for the purchase of land for Natives? I believe that this is a major error which is being committed at the present time. It is a most unfortunate lapse in the carrying out of a policy which was promised and sealed by Parliament itself, and I want to urge upon the Minister that he should go again to his colleagues in the Cabinet and say, 'You are making a grave mistake in suspending the purchase of this land because the time is coming when every year will make it more and more difficult to get the land.' It is important to work on the basis of adequate allotment for the maintenance of family life in the reserves. We blame the Native people for not making the best use of the land, but I should like to draw the attention of Hon. Senators to this fact that for fifty years or more now we in South Africa have done our best to turn the mind of the African, not to the land for his salvation, but to other forms of occupation.

We have failed to impress upon him that the land can be his salvation if he has the opportunity for cultivation. We have taxed him, recruited him and in every way we have pressed him away from the land into industry. It is too late now to say, 'You are a foolish person, why don't you stay on the land where your salvation lies?' We have to do something to remedy this situation and let them know there is hope for them, and this can only be done if the allotments are large enough for them.'

In closing Senator Jones deprecated the closing of the towns to Africans. He quoted Professor Frankel as saying that permanent migration from rural areas was only a symptom of change in a progressive economy. If industrial and economic organisation in the urban areas are healthy the production in urban areas should strengthen the rural areas. The movement of workers from backward economic areas is a means of raising the economic condition of those remaining in them; migration from Native areas to European areas should have similar effects. This was the view also of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission. We were driven to accepting Africans as an essential part of our economy.

"The Native Affairs Commission and ourselves agree on certain things. We agree that the reserves must be developed. We differ as to the lines of development. We agree that the Africans must come out to work. We differ in regard to the conditions under which they must come out to work. I say, face the realities of the situation and abandon what cannot be maintained. The policy I have indicated is a long-term policy. At present we are in a state of chaos and it is going to take a long time to work out this policy. We have in the meantime to do the best we can. I fully endorse the policy of the Department and of the Government to develop the reserves, but I hope it will be possible for them to visualise a peasantry living entirely off the reserves and not having to go outside to work. Those who have to go out will have to live outside the reserves. Hitherto we have been trying to row against the current of the rapids. Our South African history shows that every attempt at segregation has failed. The Dutch East India Company failed. The British Administration 100 years ago failed. The Republics failed. We have failed, and so we have to face realities and give a new turn to our policy. I therefore plead for a long-term policy along the lines I have indicated. I believe it is only on those lines that we can strengthen our economy in South Africa. I plead for development of our economic and social life in the reserves, recognition of tribal authorities and the provision of schools and communal amenities and an increase in the productivity of the reserves so that they can maintain themselves. Secondly, put farm labour conditions on a sound basis so that those who wish to remain there still have some sort of career. Under present conditions the young men leave the farms because there are no chances for them. Lastly, recognise the town workers as a permanent part. If the reserves are settled with a permanent peasant people and farm conditions are put right, then you are left with a permanent urban people who must be put on a basis of decent living, decent wages, and decent conditions and only then will you be able to get rid of the present incubus upon them of the seasonal, temporary workers coming to the towns to depress their living. It is only on these lines I see any hope of our getting out of the present chaos in South Africa, and I hope the Minister will find it possible to reconsider Native policy along those lines.'

ABX. 420801a

Z. 14 B.

DJ/MB



IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
GELIEWE IN U ANTWOORD TE
VERWYS NA

No. 2/8/5

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

OFFICE OF THE—KANTOOR VAN DIE

NATIVE COMMISSIONER,
P.O. BOX 7758,
JOHANNESBURG,
1st August,
1942.

Representation of Natives Act, 1936, as
Amended by Act No. 23 of 1938:
Determination of Number of Votes.

Sir,

I enclose for your information a list of the determined numbers of taxpayers domiciled within the area of jurisdiction of each voting unit in the Johannesburg area.

Yours faithfully,

ACTG. NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

Dr. A.B. Xuma,
85 Toby Street,
Sophiatown,
JOHANNESBURG.

ABX. 4208016

H. M. BASNER

ATTORNEY

HYMAN MEYER BASNER

TRANVAAL AND CAPE PROVINCIAL
DIVISION ALSO SWAZILAND AND
BASUTOLAND HIGH COURT

P.O. Box 3210

TELEPHONE 33-4129

When replying please ask for

SUITE 8-8a SOMERSET HOUSE

(First Floor)

110 FOX STREET

JOHANNESBURG

Transvaal

1st August, 1942.

AKL
Dr. A. B. Xuma,
85 Toby Street,
Sophiatown,
Johannesburg.

Nats. Reps.

Dear Dr. Xuma,

I must express my pleasure at the fact that you have been elected as a member of the Electoral Committee for Johannesburg, as I have felt all the time that it is absolutely essential that you, as President of the Congress, should take an active part in the election.

I am enclosing a copy of my election appeal, of which you no doubt have a copy already. It was my intention to call a meeting of all the Advisory Boards and Electoral Committees men on the Reef and adjoining districts before nomination day, but I understand from Mr. Boloyi and others that you have decided to call such a meeting yourself, and if that is so then I do not intend calling any such meeting. I am of course appealing to you in the same way as I have done to the other members of the electoral units to vote for me, but you must understand that I am not appealing to you on the grounds of friendship or for any sentimental reasons whatsoever, as I wish to ~~base~~ my appeal purely on the merits of my candidature and policy.

I have just come back from the Free State where I was pleasantly surprised to find that I am getting a great deal of support even though in the last election I received no votes in the Free State at all and I am comparatively unknown there. At a public meeting at Vrede which was held in my absence amongst the residents of the location, 160 people present voted in my favour and 9 people voted for Mr. Rheinallt Jones.

The Advisory.....

ABX. 420 804

A. H. e.
Cape

P.O.Box I630,
Cape Town,
4th, August 42.

President General,
African National Congress,
SOPHIA TOWN.

Dear Sir,

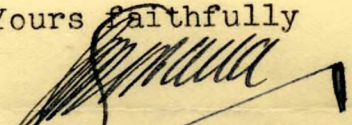
Please accept my apology for failing to avail myself of only the/opportunity ^{I had} to pay my respect to you and Mrs Xuma ~~at~~ your home. I wanted to speak to you on matters connected with the Congress and as you ^{will} also admit, ~~it~~ it is an open secret, that Congress is a dying organisation, unless something is done immediately to revive it. In my own humble opinion what is really required at present is the appointment of an active man as organiser-in-chief and he must be responsible only to the President-General.

The appointment of any official, as you are well aware, who must devote the whole of his time to the work of organising the nation as well as research work, will require money and do not see the reason why funds for that purpose cannot be raised.

My object of meeting you was ~~primary~~ to offer my services to you in/connection and to ask your permission ~~to allow me~~ to attend the special meeting of the National Executive. I do not quite know if vice presidents are members of the executive, you can enlighten me on the matter.

I shall be pleased to hear from you soon,

Yours faithfully


S.M. Bennett Ncwana
Vice President
CAPE AFRICAN CONGRESS.

ABX. 420805

FRIENDS OF AFRICA

SOUTHERN AFRICAN OFFICE: ^{10, Aelbrett Bldgs c/o Fraser &} EXPLORATION BUILDINGS,
~~COMMISSIONER STREET~~, JOHANNESBURG.

TELEPHONE 33-5965

★

South African Executive Committee:
CHAIRMAN: D. M. Buchanan, K.C.
HON. TREASURER: Allan W. Davis.
HON. SECRETARY: Miss C. H. Stohr. } P.O. Box 206 CAPE TOWN.

Non-European Progress Trust.

Organising Secretary: W. G. Ballinger. African Consultant: Self Mampuru.

Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P.
W. G. A. Meare.
D. B. Molteno, M.P.
Mrs. M. E. Whitehead.

P.O. Box 4118,
JOHANNESBURG.

Representatives and Correspondents in Provinces, Union of South Africa, British Protectorates and Territories in Southern Africa.

Overseas Executive Officials:

CHAIRMAN: A. Creech Jones, M.P.
HON. TREASURER: F. Horrabin.
HON. SEC.: Alderman Carol Johnson.

5th August, 1942.

Social Welfare - General

Dr. Xuma,
104 End St.,
Doornfontein,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Dr. Xuma,

Your letter of the 20th June, in reply to mine of the 18th June asking you to become an adviser to the Non-European Progress Trust was considered by the meeting of Trustees which took place in Johannesburg in July. In accordance with the decisions of that meeting, I now send you the following further information in regard to the Trust which will provide answers to the questions you raised in your letter.

The capital of the Trust is £10,000 which is estimated to bring in some £300 of an annual income. The object of the Trust is set out in the Trust Deed as follows:

"The Trustees shall use so much of the income and capital of the Trust Fund as they shall within absolute discretion deem expedient for the purpose of helping Non-Europeans to help and improve themselves and their standard of living. Without in any way fettering the discretion of the Trustees the Donor declares that the following are some of the ways in which the objects she has in mind in creating the Trust can be achieved:

- (1) Allowances to Non-Europeans to enable them to improve their standard of living;
- (2) Loans to Non-Europeans to enable them to acquire better homes. the purchase of building material and....

and/or furniture and the sale thereof to Non-Europeans upon favourable terms of payment.

(3) Allowances to Non-Europeans for educational purposes.

For the purpose of so exercising their discretion the Trustees should they so desire it, may consult prominent Non-Europeans."

Finally, in regard to the capacity of the Advisers to qualify for membership of the Trustee Board, the position is that the Trustees are the personal nominees of the Donor, who alone has control of the personnel of the Board during her lifetime, a control which passes to her husband should he survive her. However there is no limitation in the Trust Deed on the capacity of the Donor to appoint whom she wishes to the Board in the event of any vacancy occurring on the Board.

The Donor of the Trust is Mrs. E.R. Whitehead of Mooi River, Natal.

In regard to the position of advisers to the Trust, my co-trustees have asked me to tell you that they regard the services of these officers as of the first importance in the successful administration of the Trust and that they sincerely hope you will see your way to assisting the Trustees in the execution of their functions by accepting this offer. They wish me to state that they naturally do not visualise a position of "inferior" responsibility for the advisers which would put them in a difficult position vis-a-vis the applicants to the Trust. The responsibility for all decisions will rest with the Trustees and advice and assistance from the Advisers will, of course, be confidential.

Yours sincerely,

W. G. Ballinger

Hon. Secretary/Treasurer.

Wende polele nkhuba ndibala
nge pencil ink iseyapela
so then Coarse me

A.N.C
Cape

90 A.N.C

J. Bulana
15. Drop lane
Cape Town

ABX 420806

P.O. Huguinot
6/8/52

Dear Sir

Mr Bulana

I am glad to have this few lines
so to let you know that I have received your
letter which I understand what you say to me
only one thing which I have told you in
my first letter which I have write to you
about Mr. O'Leary that my self I will never
work with him. yet here at Bulana I have told
you that I have no more to reach what I mean
I have no members here in part the people
of part have lost confidence in Congress
why because the leader of Congress have fail to lead
the people to what they have said yet my
Dear Mr. Bulana I don't know what I can say to you
in this present time because my mind is so sore
that I have no words to answer you this leader
so call the leaders of the African Race they have
fail to break the really program to the people
they only know to sell the poor people to the
Government because you can see to that
question changing the A.N.C to the G.A. Congress
what I believe is the only the African National
Congress. Nothing less nothing more so now
I am not prepared at present to carry on with

the A.N.C because the most of the African
 today they believe that whitemen the only
 a man is a god to my self I am taken
 a whitemen as hell for the black men
 of the world. so far since I have
 join the African N Congress this lead so like me
 Stephen Cielphant have changing the Congress
 to so many names, for they cant keep this word
 only men who was separ to lead the A.N.C to history
 was prof J. Shale who is ^{evening} today he do not work
 for white men & he is not selling his people to the
 whitemen prof Shale have join the A.N.C on the 1st
 in 1922 up to now he never change to no orgnization
 up to now he only sitting down because me Ciel
 phant have side he can lead Congress better ^{then} now
 he killed it now they come with the Cape African
 Congress which this name have both the Congre
 to many camps so now when I feel to stand
 the African National Congress which is the
 only orgnization which is know in the world
 Gandhi in India a nazi negrose in America
 so far let me leave there as I am in my work
 at present ndisandukufika ukhavela ekhaya
 ekhaya ngokungapha kodade wethu. ke nangokhu
 balapokhum. ke nencwadi yako ndayifumana
 kodwa ndayifumana emva kwexesha ke let
 me leave there I am your faithfully M.M. Qune!

ABX-420808

Social Welfare - General

8th August, 1942.

W.G. Ballinger Esq.,
Hon. Secretary/Treasurer,
Non-European Progress Trust,
P.O. Box 4118,
JOHANNESBURG.

My dear Mr. Ballinger,

NON-EUROPEAN PROGRESS TRUST.

I wish to thank you for your letter of the 5th instant in which you gave full particulars about the Aims and Objects of the above-named Trust, and also for inviting me to become Adviser.

After carefully considering the matter, I regret to say that I could see no useful purpose to be served by my becoming a permanent Adviser to the Trustees.

Anyway, as you say "for the purpose of so exercising their discretion the Trustees should they so desire it, may consult prominent Non-Europeans", it would seem to me that it would be easier and more convenient to consult any prominent Non-European if and when the Trustees so desired. In fact, there need be no permanent Advisers.

I would have no objection in discussing informally any case the you, as my friends, would like to discuss with me; but without being recognised as Adviser to the Trustees.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

ABX/pd.

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