

somewhere, and it would have to be in what are now European areas, for the reason that you cannot entrench on the quite inadequate reserves if you want to develop a native life there.

MR LUCAS : I think there is some misunderstanding; you are at cross-purposes. Take an area like the Lady Frere, where you have this Glen Grey tenure: that is entirely a native area. But would you continue the present tenure, or would you substitute one in which there would be freedom to buy and sell ?--- I have tried to deal with that point in this answer, and would suggest there that it is a matter of feeling a way; and that inasmuch as the rigid limiting of natives to one wretched little four-morgen plot is incompatible with any decent advance, then a gradual modification should allow of free transfer with definite upper and lower limits. Your four-morgen was meant to be a minimum under the Glen Grey Act; it has become a maximum. I think the way to approach that might very well be to allow free play to native life; to allow transfer amongst themselves; to allow them to accumulate, as I suggested, up to some limit which the experts would decide, say if it were only 80 or 100 morgen. But I feel the present minimum, which has become a maximum, is throttling those Territories. If there is to be a real native society, then some of these four-morgen fellows must have some prospects of attaining something more than four-morgen; and I think the natives could settle that amongst themselves, if there were some measure of free play.

THE CHAIRMAN : In other words, you are visualising first of all a group that could be treated like Europeans in every respect, and have no protection which the European has not got, and have no disadvantages attaching which the

European has not got ?--- If that is in European areas, I suppose that would be better than nothing, but I would suggest in addition to that that there is room for a better organisation of the purely native areas, by allowing them free play amongst themselves there.

I was going on to the second group. In your purely native areas you postulate the possibility of natives buying out others to very much higher limits than they have now, provided that the land always remains native land ?--- Yes.

And thirdly you have got the tribal lands at the back which will continue as long as it is necessary to be held according to tribal system ?--- Yes. Carrying on the point, it seems to me that the Glen Grey and Transkei system has come to a dead stop now. It is not capable of adapting itself to the changing conditions. There is no expansion.

In regard to this individual tenure, I take it you postulate for individual tenure of grazing ground too ?--- That is a frightfully difficult thing to express an opinion on. I have said before I am convinced by the comments of an East African friend, who enlightened me on it, that a great deal of the arable now should be rested, should become commonage; and that conversely a great deal of the overgrazed commonage would be all the better for ploughing up and using. But the part of the strait-waistcoat is certainly this rigid division between arable and commonage.

Could you ever have farming according to improved methods, proper resting of your grazing ground, unless you could at least fence it ?--- No, I don't think you could.

And the fencing would have to be done at least by a group ?--- Oh yes.

The ownership of the commonage attaches to the group ?--- Oh yes. I have not worked it out in detail, but that

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certainly is what I have in mind, that the present system by which an indefinite commonage will continue for all time is practically impossible.

You must have an area for an individual or a group of individuals, so that they could spend money on it, fence it, rest it; that is essential ?--- Something of that sort must come out of it.

MAJOR ANDERSON : Is it possible to get away from the idea of an individual having his own plot of land ? Take the peasants in Europe: they are not able to swap over from their piece of land to another when it is worn out. They meet that difficulty by more intensive forms of agriculture: don't they ?--- Surely there is plenty of room for that. After all they have some possibility of becoming farmers or getting out somewhere. For our tribal natives, they are barred on the top side by the very few and inadequate openings for them, and they are barred from becoming, any of them, decent farmers. I should imagine what would happen if, as is necessary, some natives were able to acquire more adequate farms in their own Territories - you would have what is now completely and utterly lacking, and that is, the possibility of natives employing other natives in the development of either family or other farms in their own areas. A native now must get out of the reserves.

THE CHAIRMAN : That involves the whole question of the native's progress towards individualism. I think perhaps it may save a lot of trouble if we ask you to give fully your views on that question, whether we ought to encourage it, whether we ought to retard what is going on or try and accelerate what is going on ?--- It is awfully difficult to make a speech on a thing like that.

You must have fairly clear views on that matter - I

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think I am not unfair in suggesting that; if you can give us those views, you don't need to make a speech about it, but you can give us those views ?--- Well, quite shortly, there is a class of native rising - let me quote a friend of mine who was reported in yesterday's paper - Mr Mitchell, the Secretary for Native Affairs in Tanganyika. I think it comes to this, as he said: the day of the submissive savage is passing; that throughout Africa there is beginning to be such a thing as native opinion, and that has to be met. I refuse to get nervous with the prospect; I welcome it, and would say, while I do not look to the whole of our five million natives to become Europeans in the flash of an eye, it is absolutely essential that there must be ways out for a growing class; and at present there is not, as far as I see it, any real opportunity for those fellows who are rising to European standards. There must for some natives, and an increasing number, be the prospect of effective citizenship.

DR ROBERTS : Cannot they make their own prospect ?--- It is pretty difficult now.

Would it be a help to them greatly if they force the pace ?--- They are forcing us to force the pace, I think.

THE CHAIRMAN : As far as that particular point is concerned, your answer is that as there is a movement in a certain direction, we should make room for that procession to move forward ?--- I think we must, or else you will have two irresistible forces meeting.

That affects largely the native who comes into the European environment ?--- I would stick just to the fact that, though people in the country will not realise it, there are a growing number of natives who cannot find any future for themselves except ultimately in common citizenship; and some provision must be made.

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That is one group. Your answer there is that group is moving: we must make room for them. Secondly we have the native area where there is no question of conflict between European and native. Do you think we ought to encourage the native inside that area to develop more towards individualism ?--- I think so. And it really comes back to our old point. Dr Roberts induced me to modify my suggestion that conditions were becoming progressively worse. I think I am clearer on that now. What I would say in this present strait waistcoat they are stagnating, and that in those native areas things have come to such a pass that the four-morgen limit must go. There must be room for more than a dead level of four-morgen crofters, if we mean anything at all by the catch phrase of the day, "the native developing on his own lines in his own areas." He is not developing, I am afraid, and I don't see how he can develop in that strait waistcoat on a dead level.

DR ROBERTS : You want the other man to loosen the waistcoat ?--- Yes.

Why ?--- In our interests, I would say.

Would it not be much better for the man who wears it to be strong enough to break it ?--- Ah, well, inasmuch as it is our waistcoat

THE CHAIRMAN : You would visualise a system then that you might start in the survey districts, in which every head of a family who at the present stage has a piece of land might in ten years time (inaudible) ?--- I am afraid that is inevitable, but it does not involve the difficulty that would appear. In Glen Grey itself there is a considerable body of men who have not got even the prospect of their four-morgen; consequently the change is

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not so great as would appear. What I am getting at is that, as we all do, we get set in our systems. Native officials here deal with the Pass Laws as a system which they administer. The Transkeian officers, good as they are, are governed far too much by the system, which after all was formulated nearly forty years ago. And I am submitting that, though one hears the Transkeian system spoken of as a model, having come to the point at which it needs to be reconsidered, the conditions of 1894 have changed; and I think it is a matter for you to report on, I hope. I am trying to stress what is borne in upon me, that it is not making as much as one would hope for the progress of those Territories, and moreover there is far too much complacency in South Africa and in the Transkei itself about the system.

You will admit that steps like the ones you propose for facilitating the transition of the native inside his own compact territory, from the communistic system to an individual system, is a very serious step?--- I know it is.

Before one could recommend a thing like that, one wants to have very strong reasons in support of it. You consider it is inevitable?--- Yes. I would suggest that you do not, as you have done in this question, put this forward as two absolute alternatives. What you have got to do is to make room for both things, and a third. I do not believe in cut and dried systems and principles. You have got to deal with the situation as it is at the moment, and trust to the next generation to clean up its own mess. I submit that things have come to a pass which requires modification. Don't be looking too far ahead; don't be thinking too much in terms of absolute individual or absolute communal, but deal with the situation and let it work itself out. It is not developing just now; that is my point.

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Inevitably you feel it must develop towards individualism ?--- Oh yes, I think so.

And therefore we must make the openings now in the native's own territory ?--- In the circumstances I do not see how you can get away from that.

MAJOR ANDERSON : Are you allowing for the possibility that it may be found economically difficult, and even not possible, to continue farming on small lots ? In America, for instance, I am told you find unoccupied farms all over the country now where for a good many years, even before the depression, individual farmers found it more and more difficult to make a living; and there are people who argue that it will not be possible for individuals to farm economically. Mr Henry Ford says he has proved that ... ?--- My point is as things are now, there is no development, no possibility of as much development, as there ought to be, either towards bigger groups, or more effective co-operation, or a nything else.

If development did go in that direction, what would be the effect of communal holdings ?--- The fact that you have indivisible units just now is something; you have got what white farming has not got, an indivisible minimum. You can at least prevent the excessive sub-division which has ruined the poor whites. That is all to the good. The Glen Grey system has preserved that minimum; it is something to work on.

THE CHAIRMAN : You would recommend the maintenance of that ?--- Oh yes, maintain the minimum. But my whole point is that the minimum has become a maximum, and the maximum means stagnation.

And therefore you must allow for people to expand, even if it is at the expense of the weaker members who will

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have to become wage earners ?--- I think that seems to be inevitable. There are some who do not like that.

I take it you are aware that is a revolutionary idea to the native ?--- Oh quite.

You would not mind introducing a revolutionary idea among them: progress lies along the lines of revolutionary ideas ?--- We forced the revolution on them, and we have so restricted things that they cannot make their own adaptations. We are not, as we argued before, very good at allowing them to do things for themselves; we have got to get out of the way of it.

MR LUCAS : You say in your answer to Question 8, that the influences of the Glen Grey tenure in communal districts seem to affect the administration of communal tenure. What had you in mind there ?--- Oh, that there likewise my impression is that the "one man one lot" is practised in the communal districts. I understand that in real tribal conditions a man would be entitled to three lands. My impression of districts I know is that the administrative officers are compelled to regard a man as well off if he gets one land. I think it is working in that direction.

THE CHAIRMAN : We have had complaints the other way round, that some men get far too many lands, and the result is that others get none ?--- I know that. That is a point in my favour, that they are drifting by all sorts of devious ways, by taking over widows' lands particularly to accumulate. It is the fact that your progressive native can become something like a decent farmer, with a decent bit of land, only by virtually illegal ways.

The native looks upon that with a great deal of hostility

MR LUCAS (interpolating): Only because of the shortage

of land ?--- I agree: the fellow who does not get the 8 or 10 lands does, and it is not fair as things work now. But if the man were required to acquire it by purchase and under control, something might be done.

THE CHAIRMAN : Even the man who has his lands looks upon it as something immoral, and I think that is understandable from the native's point of view, from the native's outlook on land ?--- Yes.

We are introducing an immoral idea among them; they look upon it as immoral ?--- I think we would, if we were expected all to have a land apiece, and a good many of us had none, and others of us had 10 or 12 lands. Then we would think the same.

The very idea that a man might have two or three lands, even by purchase, they would look upon as immoral. And if we want to introduce the suggestion that you put forward -- mind you, I am not suggesting that your suggestion is not economically very sound; but if we want to introduce that suggestion, we must face the fact that they would look upon it as another example of the European introducing more undesirable things in his polity ?--- Then we come back to it that the only way out of it is to induce the natives to do it themselves by giving those councils more powers. It is what the native does for himself. Certainly he should, if possible, be given the power to adapt -- it is my main point; now he is in a strait waistcoat, not allowed to adapt himself to changed conditions.

MR LUCAS : You want to give him a free hand ?---Yes.

A policy of allowing them development, rather than one which says, "Thus far and no farther" ?--- Yes.

(Luncheon adjournment).

Resumption, 2.30 p.m.

MR LUCAS : Professor Macmillan, I wonder if you could give us the points that you saw in Central Africa or the Belgian Congo where you think the method adopted is better than Yours and could be applied, taking into account our local conditions here. If you could, I would like you to give us that statement, and then we could ask you some questions on it instead of taking you piecemeal. You gave us two points this morning, one about financial responsibility, and the other about clothing. The clothing item is not really the sort of thing I have in mind, but the financial responsibility was ?--- Yes, that perhaps was one of the most striking things I did see. I am sure it could be done a good deal more here, because we have been so afraid of allowing them to do things. And if it is to be done, a very strict audit is a part of the process. It should be auditing rather than actual directing. Mr Mitchell, whom I was quoting - the Tanganyika Secretary - and Sir Donald Cameron likewise, indicated that in the five or six years in which a fixed proportion of the general tax has been refunded to the native treasuries, which are just the native courts in another guise, they have collected -- and I should say they collect the tax themselves -- something over two millions. Settlers and others allege in a general way defalcations; the defalcations actually amounted to no more than about 13,000, and something over 11,000 of that was due to one chief who got out of hand a bit. So that the defalcations are very small beside the actual work done and money collected; which at the same time indicates that they were less concerned about employing whites who need employment. There is a very obvious opening for more use

of natives in tax collecting and acting as clerks and what-not. The supervision is very strict; so is the system of vouchers and that kind of thing. Certainly the treasuries were the most striking thing I saw. They had not been going long in Tanganyika; in Uganda they had been going a little longer, but not much, and there the amount of revenue collected for their own purposes is really quite considerable. And the Native Civil Services are a very striking part of it. But always there is the white District Officer in the background. The difference between us and them is, I do think our white officers are too much in the foreground, too much inclined to be doing things; whereas the financial responsibility idea arises out of their general policy of indirect rule, which means deliberately setting to work to make them do things and take responsibility. It all comes back to that. It is the whole approach to the thing which is so different. We are nervous and afraid that the native cannot be trusted with this, that and the other thing. They approach the thing from a different angle and say, "They are there, they have got to be used. The sooner they learn to do things the better. We have to take the risk of some mistakes." But I do think we might more deliberately set to work on those lines. We have begun by that Native Administration Act, which seems to me to be too late in time. After we have almost destroyed tribal institutions, we begin doing lip service to the principle of indirect rule, which came in from West Africa, with the difference that now that we set out to try to do it we have two disabilities, one, the weakness of the tribes, and second, the fact that our natives have not been accustomed to doing things.

THE CHAIRMAN : What do you mean by "the weakness of

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the tribes" ?--- Well, that our tribal courts, so far as they survive, are very slender affairs beside some one could mention.

Tribal organisation ?--- Yes, the whole tribal organisation. It all comes back really to that broad difference, that they are deliberately setting out to try to induce them to do things and to think that they are doing things themselves. They have not entirely proved it. I think there are cases where a keen District Officer has induced the chief to start a school or to build a clinic, or employ a nurse, or whatever it may be, and then when that District Officer was removed, the thing collapsed. Sir Donald Cameron would lay it down that the test of the efficiency of an officer is just the opposite of that: the thing should be going, whoever the District Officer was.

MR LUCAS : Are there any other points ?--- Another point of course, which is similar, is they are much more likely to make an effective thing of the administration of native custom, for the reason that the purely native courts are not only functioning for their own local disputes, but are preserving a record of native custom. It seems to me much more effective than setting our Magistrates to diagnose native custom.

MAJOR ANDERSON : Are they codified at all ?--- Not yet, but they will obviously have, in not a very long time, the material for a real codification of real native custom, and not just our impressions of it.

MR LUCAS : Does the system there allow of growth in the development of custom ?--- They are not codifying, I imagine, to allow of that. The protagonists of it, Sir Donald Cameron and the likes of him, would feel that unless

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they were allowing for a real growth, they were failing.

What is the jurisdiction of these native courts - criminal and civil ?--- I think more civil; not much criminal, I should imagine. The Tanganyika Government has memoranda on policy which would give you that. I could not give you the distinction quite off-hand, but I think certainly in the case of serious crime the District Officer comes into it. Petty offences, and a vast amount of civil jurisdiction, and of civil disputing, are settled.

Are the members of these native courts paid ?--- Yes. That perhaps is another point. Their salaries depend to some extent on the efficiency of their tax collecting. Just off-hand you would be struck by the large proportion of any district revenue that appears to go in salaries. The chief is paid and the headmen are paid. They have their tribal police, and clerks for the treasury and for the courts.

And who determines the amount of the pay to any individual ?--- I am not sure if there is a sort of standard rate.

What I mean is, do the native councils themselves fix that, or does the central Government ?--- Only with approval; not entirely on their own responsibility. All this is subject to the control and supervision of the District Officer.

MAJOR ANDERSON : Is there any system of loans to these native treasuries ?--- I rather think there have been some for water storage; that was being considered. There is a grant being made available from the Colonial Development Fund which will be drawn upon, I understand, for small schemes of water conservation in country like a lot of ours. That is quite a possibility. And of course - it is not quite the same point - I have felt rather strongly that in

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trying to develop native agriculture in the Transkei, there ought to be something like a grant-in-aid from the Union Treasury. It is expecting rather a lot to get them to do all that needs doing and to make up arrears, merely on their 20 per cent. There might very well be grants-in-aid for works of development.

THE CHAIRMAN : What 20 per cent are you referring to?

MR LUCAS : 20 per cent out of the Native Tax for the Native Development Fund ?--- Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN : Surely that money is not used for local works in the Transkei or anywhere else ?--- The Bunga funds -- Dr Roberts would know of that: where do the Bunga funds come from ?

MR LUCAS : From the local tax plus quitrents ?--- My point is that it is native money; there is no grant in aid from the Union Treasury.

No ?--- That is the point I was making: it is native money.

Were you able in the Belgian Congo to study the effects of their policy of restricting the percentage of persons who may be recruited in any particular area ?--- I was not there long enough to study it.

You are aware of the recommendations of those two Commissions ?--- Oh yes. They are trying to act on it. I had a very superficial view of only a very little bit of the Belgian Congo, but two or three things that stood out were, first of all, the extraordinary care they take of native housing in locations and on the railways; their compounds, as we should call them, are better than anything any of us have ever seen in the Union. The amount of expenditure on public health in that limited area, is very considerable.

And the third fact - which is a very big point - is that they

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are deliberately setting out to create a class of town workers, inducing them to move whole families. That of course is a vast question of policy on which there might be differences of opinion. They are actually doing that.

THE CHAIRMAN : We were actually given evidence in Capetown by a Belgian that they moved those people back to their reserve again after two years ?--- Yes

MR LUCAS : That I verified from some reports I got. The whole policy appears to be not to take the men away from their families for long periods of time, and so provide for the movement of the whole family, and for the feeding of the whole family ?--- And the education.

During the period the man is working ?--- I should have gathered that in addition if they can induce any native to stay, they will; but I would not stress my knowledge of that. It was just a rough impression.

Now this morning you spoke about the social effects of the displacement of the male population. Would you expand that a bit, please ?--- It is a little difficult. One looked for the census to tell us some of the effects. Unhappily while they set you to investigate the question, they turn you off without a census to help you.

I was thinking more of the specific results that we might expect if we continue our policy of taking large numbers of men away from their women-folk for long periods of time ?--- There is hardly a parallel for it, is there ? But on the fact of it, you would expect a fall in the birth rate, and the dislocation of the families, which every one alleges. And probably this exodus of women, which appears to be a striking feature of the last few years; it is simply incalculable.

THE CHAIRMAN : Would you expect it to have any effect

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at all on the birth rate in view of the fairly general custom, that a man has no access to his wife during the period of his peregrination, which is frequently rather a lengthy period ?--- I can only say that it would be a mere guess. I trust you will be able to have that census, well as soon as possible, to tell us; it is a monstrous thing to think of investigating things of this sort without a census.

MR LUCAS : Have you yourself made any investigation as to the effects of the system of taking the men away ?--- I don't know that it deserves to be called "investigation." I should suspect from the ploughing I have seen that there is an undue proportion of old men and young girls doing the ploughing, and that agriculture is bound to suffer. I did hear of categorical evidence of the same process happening in Northern Rhodesia, where the recruiting for Northern Rhodesia mines had so depleted one district of its men that clearly directly out of that the work was not done, and the crops failed, and there was something like a famine.

And was that attributed to the fact that the men were away ?--- It was definitely attributed to the absence of the men.

THE CHAIRMAN : In spite of the fact that about November there is a very big fall regularly in the number of white labourers on the mines, we saw comparatively few able-bodied males handling ploughs in the Transkei; and I think one must bear in mind the fact that the native male is never an agriculturalist - it is only a thing that has come with the European plough, that the man has had to do that job; it has always been a woman's job ?--- You are wanting improved agriculture in the reserves ?

That is the point I want to get at. The way it stood it is not the absence of the male that prevents agriculture,

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but if we want the development of agriculture we will have to encourage the male to do that. That is looking into the future rather than into the past ?--- Yes, but it is rather abnormal. It is not good for any man to live alone, and I cannot be convinced that we are justified in making such an extraordinary demand upon the Territories.

I am speaking of the alleged deleterious effect on the development of agriculture. My point is simply this, that the native male in his own way is not an agriculturalist, and the European has still got to teach him to be that, and has taught him to some extent by introducing the plough ?--- Possibly.

Otherwise it is the woman's job ?--- Well, all the cattle are the man's job, and then the cattle are rather necessary for the agriculture.

MR LUCAS : Haven't ploughs become practically general now - the use of ploughs ?--- I am not sure about that. You will probably know better.

Very common ?--- Their use is increasing, but not universal.

THE CHAIRMAN : My point is that even now the man does not worry to handle the plough as long as there is a piccanin who will do it ?--- I think Dr Holloway is a little bit scornful of the native man, really.

I am expressing him more according to his own lights ?--- Just let him decide.

MR LUCAS : You mentioned the effect upon agriculture. Are there any other effects that you have noticed because of the absence of the men ?--- If there is such a thing as family or tribal discipline, yes: one effect certainly is, I have often heard complaints of the effect on the growing up of children. Children grow up without their male

seniors in constant touch with them, and I have heard it complained that it has bad effects on family life and discipline. It must have.

Would you think an important factor in producing that complaint is the disobedience and want of respect on the part of the boys, the young men ?--- That is so; that is a common enough complaint.

Now have you any views to express on the question of the effects of the importation of foreign natives upon our own natives ?--- Not directly perhaps, but I would rather stress what I appended as a bracketed foot-note at the end of that long Section 8, that it is time the mines recognise those two things that I put down there.

How would you say that they should recognise seasonal fluctuations ?--- Seasonal fluctuations in the supply are certainly enormously increased by the low standards of living; just because men will and can put up with so little, they stay till the last gasp, living on their frames. The only remedy for that is to induce a great deal more than we are doing, the higher standard.

Would not that imply higher wages on the mines ?--- I think it probably would.

You know the usual statement of the mines, that they cannot afford to pay any more, otherwise they will have to close down ?--- Yes, and the fixed price of gold making it difficult. Within the last few months, as we all know, the supply of native labour has for the first time supposedly been adequate; it has been adequate only because of the desperate plight of the Territories. And it will it seems to me in future be adequate only when the Territories are at their last gasp, and that is not a good foundation to build on. It seems to me that the mines, which have done plenty

of quite good work, have got to make up their minds for it, and the country likewise, that there is no such thing as a permanently adequate native labour supply on the present terms; which means to say that the present labour force of natives has to be used a great deal better.

That is the direction in which you think the change will have to take place ?--- I think so. It really raises the colour bar.

At the moment the mines' method of approach is by claiming the right to import. Does not that have the effect of keeping the standard down in the Union ?--- I think that if it defers the day when the country is compelled to recognise that natives must be even more used, and used in more responsible positions, then it is unfortunate. I am not suggesting that it can or should be cut off at a stroke, but so far as it encourages them to go on speaking of their chronic shortages and fluctuations, instead of getting back to improving the standard of living, and to compel the country to use the natives they have more efficiently - well, there you are !

If you put that point up to the mines, their answer is "We are doing all it is humanly possible to do, to use our labour efficiently" ?--- Yes: of course the law of the country is up against them there.

THE CHAIRMAN : I don't know whether I understood you correctly, Professor Macmillan, but it seems to me your reply to the argument that there is not enough native labour, is to create more jobs for native labour ?--- Yes, exactly.

How do you eke out native labour by making even more jobs for the few we have ?--- Quite simply, by recognising that the foundation which the mines have grown up on cannot

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continue. It is very unfortunate they have grown up on the assumption of an unlimited, what they call adequate supply of native labour. The whole organisation of the mines has contemplated an unlimited, or as they say, adequate supply of native labour on the old terms.

MR LUCAS : At very low wages ?--- At very low wages. We have now come to the point that that number cannot be supplied, except so far as the Territories are at their last gasp and send more men out of them than is socially justifiable.

They get what they want only out of the misery, as the result of extreme misery in the Territories ?--- I am afraid so.

THE CHAIRMAN : How are they going to get more labour by making more openings for natives ?--- By making the whites find their outlet somewhere else. It comes to that. I don't see how we can escape it.

By squeezing the whites out of certain jobs which are now done by whites ?--- Yes.

It seems to me as a pure matter of arithmetic that you want even a larger number of natives than ?--- No, you don't, not necessarily.

At present you want 208,000 natives, and in addition they have got 20,000 white underground employees. Let us assume that 10,000 of those white underground employees can be dispensed with. Then it seems, as a matter of arithmetic, that you will want 218,000 natives, unless you can suggest some other way of economising your native labour force ?--- Well, approach it from the opposite angle. The country is so concerned about finding employment for poor whites that it is forcing poor whites into positions of the mines which could perfectly well be used by natives. The way out of

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