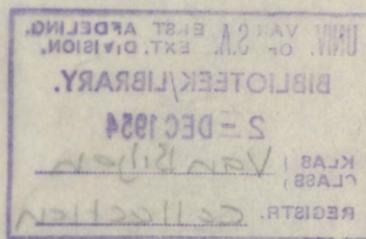


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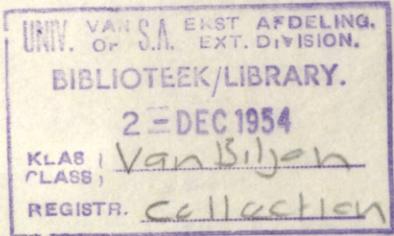
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Mr. Kama

NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION

KING WILLIAMS' TOWN 27th JANUARY 1931 10.12 a.m.

SIXTYFOURTH PUBLIC SITTING

PRESENT:

Dr. J. E. Holloway, (Chairman)
Major W. H. Anderson, Mr. A. M. Mostert,
Dr. H. C.M. Fourie, Dr. A. W. Roberts,
Mr. F. A. W. Lucas Senator P. W. LeRoux van Niekerk

(Mr. G. Faye, (Secretary)

MR. GEORGE SONG KAMA (Chief of the Amagqumakwabe Tribe,
Middeldrift)

called and examined.

CHAIRMAN: On the list of subjects on which you wish to give evidence, you have mentioned congestion in surveyed areas, etc.? - Yes.

Measures of relief? - Yes.

The Commission has seen the congested conditions for itself and so, on that point, you can be very brief; but the Commission would like to hear particularly and at greater length what you wish to say about measures of relief? - What has brought us here is the important question of land. Our location is under survey and the adjoining locations on both sides are unsurveyed locations and now, here in our location, we have children who were born after survey. That is our great difficulty, and we thought we must come before the Commission and see if we could find a solution.

MR. LUCAS: What, exactly, is the difficulty? - Where are we going to put these children who were born after the survey has been made, who will be paying taxes?

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We then left the country where we were staying and came to this country; we came to the place between Alice and King William's Town, the place where now we are congested -----.

What I meant was, if you would give us very shortly, or as briefly as you can, the history of the land that you are referring to? - We were given, under these conditions, this land. It was said, "Here is land granted to you". The boundary goes as far as Ncera; on the western side the boundary is the Tyumie. The Eastern side is Indiza, and the southern side extends as far as the Keiskama. We lived in that country. What caused the congestion was when the people were scattered during the War of Gcaleka - the war of 1877 - and the people who were scattered through that war came and filled up our country. The Government said we must accept them. After peace they were sent back to their own places. They are still there today and we are congested.

CHAIRMAN: What remedies do you suggest for that condition? - We have come to try and find out what you can do to assist us, because you, as officials, can see beyond we Natives.

MR. LUCAS: Is it worse to live in a surveyed area or an unsurveyed area? - With us there things are exactly similar.

So it is not the surveys that you blame? - No, sir.

MR. MOSTERT: Can you tell me how many of these people went in there originally? - The people who were granted that land numbered three hundred, we were told.

And the population has now increased? - Exceedingly.

Mr. Kama

How many people belonging to other tribes came into your territory? - They outnumber us.

But you cannot tell us the number? - No, sir, but I can say that they outnumber us by far.

And you cannot tell us the size of the ground? - No, sir, I cannot do that.

MR. LUCAS: What is the size of the surveyed plots? - I would say they are six acres - and that is another cause of distress.

In what way? - Out of the six acres, you have to see that you have money to pay your tax, money for the education of your children, clothing for them, maintenance of the home, support of the church and local school. All that must come out of the six acres - which is an impossibility.

Are there any who manage to make a complete living out of their six acres? - Yes, under difficulty.

Do any of them have to go out to other parts of the country to earn money? - The great majority; and some of them never return. I would give you the instance of Chief Zibi, one of our important men. If one could live comfortably, using these six acres, Zibi would have been one, because he got all the education that was necessary, and under these difficulties he had to ask that he be allowed to go out and find where he could live.

MR. MOSTERT: Is that Zibi who is in the Northern Transvaal? - Yes. There is nothing else that shifted him from here.

How many people did Zibi leave here? - I could not say the number, but there are big groups and others who were in towns also went northwards to join him. I myself nearly went northwards to him, but the cause of my responsibility as Chief of the Amaggumakwebe, I stayed behind.

Mr. Kama

Are there still people going to Zibi from here? - Many want to go up and then they have to get land elsewhere.

That is not my question; are people still going? - Yes.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Is the Transvaal a better country than this, that they should go from here? - I have never been, I do not know.

What do Zibi's people who have gone up there say? - Those people up there told us that they are happy, and we never see one of them return.

Have any of your people large farms - 50 or 100 acres or more? - No, sir.

Are there any who have more than the six, or are they all limited to the six? - Yes, there are, but they are in the minority.

Those few who have larger land, are they able to make a living out of their land so that they do not have to go out to work? - Yes, sir.

What size of ground do they reckon they can live on? - If the Government would agree, we would say two allotments, - that is twice six acres.

You think they could make a living out of that? - Yes, I think people of our generation could, although I think the coming generation might require more land.

MR. MOSTERT: Why? - A person's requirements extend somehow, because, before you taught us, we used to live on garden plots.

Yes, but then the future generation will farm better; when we old ones go out, the young ones will farm better than we? - We have not seen it yet.

Do you not think the young ones have better

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methods? - Well, at the time when I am no more, perhaps it might be so, but I would not say it is so now.

You have seen the demonstrators going about and teaching them how to do things; do you not believe in that? - I believe in the demonstrator's instructions.

So you do believe the young ones are going on better than we old ones? - It is only hope.

We live on hope? - Yes, that is why I have hope.

MR. LUCAS: You were going to speak on the question of succession; what is it you want to say about that? - Well, I am going to say a lot about succession, and will try and save time for the other. We Natives have successors on all properties; we have not got an heir - we have got heirs or successors, I will put it, on all properties. That is our custom. And then, if a Native man has four wives, he emulates his chief who has four wives. The Chief has the wife of the Great House and then he has another wife of the Righthand House and then there will be also a wife under the Great House, and then there will be another wife who will be under the Righthand wife. There is also an additional or junior wife. All these houses, now, have heirs or successors to the property, yet all these successors are under these two heads; whether it be a girl in the Great House and she is married, all the things belonging to her mother's house, if there is no boy child born in her mother's house, this Right Hand house will then instal the boy who is in the next house, to the Great House. Though the girl be married, all this property is kept for her. Why? Because the dowry for the daughter of a chief is 100 cattle. It is a thing that could not be done by any son, to bring

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along 100 cattle in one day, and this girl with these 100 cattle - her children, her grandchildren, when they return home, even though they are married very far away, - whether she is married in Bagutoland or in Pondoland, when the grandchild comes home we will get all the respect and support because her mother brought in 100 cattle in a day. Now, the law that we have is that the successor is only the eldest son; we cannot get to understand that.

DR. ROBERTS: But is not George Kama wanting to break down that; he is going to permit anyone to will their property to anyone they like? - That has never been our custom.

Then why are you wanting it? - I do not want it; we have never made a will that we want to be sent to be kept somewhere.

CHAIRMAN: I thought you wanted to give evidence on the desirability of amending Act 38 of 1927 to permit of property being devised by will? - I am coming to that; I am rather giving an outline, but I am coming to that.

But you say you do not want that. If you do not want it, why are you taking up our time by arguing for it? - What is it I have said that you take it I do not want it?

You said you ~~doxxnot~~ want it and here you say you do not want it; which are we to believe? - What did I say?

You say, "It was never our custom, and we do not want it" ? - Our custom is this: the father, his sons being present and his daughters, must have the right to will property to anyone he wishes. Movable and other property is not only limited to the Great House, it goes to all the

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various houses and the father will keep a portion of it, which is his own, and then he will distribute it to the son whom he wants to have it, and for the other sons will remain what has been apportioned to their mothers.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you do that of your own free will, or do you do it by Native law? - Firstly, it has never been the custom to give a son the things belonging to his mother's house; secondly, it is a natural custom for a man to distribute his property to anybody he likes.

To anyone - a stranger? - No; we Natives never distributed our things to strangers.

That is to say, you would go by Native law and custom? - Exactly.

Then what do you want a will for, that will give a man the power to put his goods anywhere he likes? - I know it is our own Native custom; I do not know what Europeans do. I did not know that by will you meant you could give anybody your property. I withdraw the word "will" then; I am not an European. If you gave me any of your property I would say, "No, it is not my right; give it to your children".

Then you are arguing against a thing that is put down here and that has led us all wrong? - Yes.

MR. DAVIDSON DON TENGU JABAVU, Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Fort Hare.

called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: You are a professor of? - I am a lecturer in social anthropology.

At Fort Hare? - Yes.

We have this statement that you have put in. Is

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there any other point, apart from this, on which you particularly wish to give evidence - apart from the questions the Commission want to ask you? - I have put in the statement in order to save time and so that it might be taken as read.

"In all civilised countries, it is a recognised principle that the weakest section of the population is helped economically and educationally by the strongest. The ascertainment of the needs of the weak requires an intensive survey by trained investigators and full time socialworkers on lines such as were undertaken by the late Dr. Henderson during 1924 in the Victoria East district.

"From a number of documents in connection with the United States of America, I have gleaned that the wages of domestic servants in Virginia average £95 a year; those in Chicago £135; as compared with £27 in South Africa (minimum 10/-, maximum £4 a month).

"The corresponding ratio for male unskilled labour shows that America pays from three to five times what the Bantu get for her Negro labour. To raise the Natives from this depressing economic position, the Government can assist by increasing its appropriations for Native benefit even out of a selfish motive to save the European standard of living from being jeopardised by the interaction of contact with a big population living on the border of penury.

"Native Wages: Dr. A. W. Roberts in 1928 stated before the Government Select Committee on the Native Bills that the average wage of mine labourers is £32 a year.

"Last winter I found at Cradock that the average wage of a labourer was 2/- a day, and that in many cases

a man with a family of five children could thus raise only £31.4.- a year, out of which he paid £3.6.- for rent, £20.8.- for food, £1 poll tax, £5 clothing, £2 church dues (Total £31.14.-) on a system of almost stark starvation.

"In Johannesburg, a Native family of five average £49.10.- with an expenditure of £86.7.- (excluding clothing, the leeway being made up by washing, liquor, selling and debts. (Joint Council).

"Dr. S. H. Frenkel, (Economic Society 1927) calculated the average income per head of Native occupied in agriculture at £5.

"Incidence of Native and European Taxation Compared:
"A White man in South Africa (with a family) pays an income tax only when his income exceeds £400; and even then his abatements are so favourable that if he has four children he pays nothing until his income exceeds £640. Comparing this man with the average Native with four children, we get the following facts:- A location peasant residing on Crown land, living, as the majority do in the Cape, on a single "isikonkwane" (six acres) yielding £12 worth of produce in any fortunate season, pays a poll tax of £1 plus 10/- extra personal tax. This means that the Black man pays £80 on an income of £640, where the State regards the White men as being too poor to afford to pay a penny. To put this more correctly, it means that fiftythree Black men pay between them £80 on their aggregate income of £640, where a single White man earning £640 pays nothing. On this same basis the unskilled European town labourer on 2/- a day pays £21 in proportion to the European earning £640 and paying nothing; similarly the teacher and clerk

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with ~~£60~~ £60 a year pays £10. Our aged men with only a capital of cattle, often five beasts at that, an equivalent of an income of 12/- a year are compelled by some magistrates to pay the £1 poll tax, with the result of paying an equivalent of £1,000 on £640 income; where Old Age Pensions exempt the White man and give him £30 to boot.

"Ratio of White and Black contribution: Members of Parliament have been accustomed to reckon three Natives qua tax payers as equal to one European. This has been affirmed by the late Mr. J. W. Jagger, a business economist beyond challenge in his day. Mathematically, it would seem a fair figure for these two reasons, (1) The proportion of population according to the 1921 census summary is exactly one European to three and a half non-Europeans, (i.e. 1,519,488 to 5,409,092, (ii) The total revenue in 1929 was £30,501,650, working out at £3.18.5 per head of total population, £5.12.1 per head of Non-European population, and £17.10.10 per head of European population. This is roughly one to three.

"Some examples of hardship: A special indirect tax of 25% on imported blankets used almost solely by Natives, to whom this apparel is an indispensable necessity, falls unfairly on the Natives. The 1929 Transkei Blue Book reports that 51,032 Natives went out of their districts to work, driven by dire need, and earned £1,400,000 in wages averaging £27 per head.

"A third of the wages of the average Rand Native dweller goes to rent, and among these the plight of the Western Township street cleaner is particularly arresting, because, with a family of seven, he gets 50/- a month, of

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which he must return 25/- back to the municipality in rent.

"Native contribution to State funds: The poll tax in 1929 brought in £1,007,334, this being erroneously regarded by some people as the only contribution made by Natives to the State. In the Year Book, (No.11, 1929, page 771) there is an interesting graphic representation of Ordinary Revenue and Expenditure where it is alleged that the contribution by Natives to general revenue totals only 3.30% of the whole. This graph has unfortunately misled many people, with the result that a wrong idea has been created with a tendency to minimise the economic value of the Bantu to the State. It is my endeavour to prove in this statement that the Natives, by reason of their share in all other revenue-producing departments of commerce, a share indirect but nevertheless palpable and indispensable, contribute at least ten times the amount with which they are credited by this graph. The task of disentangling Native from European contribution in each instance would require more time for research than is within the disposal of the present writer or that of the Department of Statistics itself, but I hope that I am not guilty of being over-venturous when I lay down the proposition that a considerable share of revenue may be ultimately traced to Native sources, especially under such heads as customs and excise, (that total £11,000,000 odd), Post and Telegraph (three million odd), and so forth, in so far as such sources are, from the nature of the case, built upon the joint activities of White and Black despite the usual assumption that these moneys are organized and collected by Europeans.

"The revenue derived from Customs in 1928 was nearly ten million pounds. If we apply the formula that

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three Natives equal one European for revenue calculations, then at least two millions of this must be put down to the credit of the Bantu population. Such an estimate will err on the side of understatement rather than that of exaggeration if we bear in mind the heavy buying power of the Bantu in such lines as blankets, rugs, shawls, apparel, minerals, boots, shoes, leather manufactures, jewellery, timepieces, musical instruments, drugs, chemicals, earthenware, machinery, motor vehicles, agricultural products, wood manufactures, beverages and tobacco - all of which constitute the major part of the Customs Revenue.

"Excise revenue £2,000,000) comes from tobacco, sugar, matches, patent medicines, spirits, playing cards and beer, Commercial records would probably divulge that the Bantu account for quite a third of this revenue.

"Gold, diamond, coal and other mining industries in the same year provided the State with a revenue of over four million pounds in direct taxation. If these mines were operated with European labour at European wages for unskilled labour, it is obvious that at least two thirds of this revenue would not have been available. Writing in the South African Journal of Industries, (December 1925), the Rev. D. D. ~~Sax~~ Stormont, M.A., B.D., L.L.B., stated what is universally admitted, that "Were Europeans employed at the work done by Natives, the cost per unit of labour would be higher than that which is presently paid for Native labour". The present Government reports upon the result of White ("civilised") labour in the railways are more explicit, namely, that the cost is about three times as heavy.

"What the Native gets from State Services: The

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estimated Government expenditure at March 1930 was £28,726,816. According to our formula, we would have expected a third of this fund to find its way directly to Native benefit. But the lion's share seems to go to purposes and coffers that are mainly, and in some cases exclusively, European. Among the departments that exclusively serve Europeans are these:- The Treasury £161,421, Defence £992,696, Interior £128,872, Mines and Industries £443,721, Agriculture £807,655, Public Works £1,000,000, Labour £275,990, Relief of Distress £100,000, Pensions £3,452,230, - the aggregate for these being £7,662,585.

"The Native Affairs Department gets the arrestingly low sum of £381,527, under which it is noticeable that allowances to chiefs and headmen who keep millions of their people in order and who, in fact, act as police, get only £33,000, many of them getting 10/- a month. Compare this with the European Police Vote of £2,000,000.

"Under Union education, the vote is £868,953, out of which the Bantu get £5,000, an almost negligible fraction where the ten University Colleges average £36,000 each, the ten Technical Colleges £23,000 each. The vote for Agriculture is £807,655. Once upon a time the Natives got £250 from this; but this was transferred to the already scanty Native Affairs vote, leaving nothing of direct benefit to the Natives. Agricultural education gets £207,483, with the five agricultural colleges averaging £30,000 each, and nothing for the Bantu who were called upon to pay for their corresponding training out of their own pockets through the poll tax. Under Public Health £491,473, the Natives got a grant of £40 to their Health Society. Under Child Welfare £249,230,

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the Bantu get nothing. The Bantu receive nothing under the votes for Labour £275,990, Relief of Distress £100,000 and Pensions £3,452,230, and only a microscopic share from the votes for Printing and Stationery £298,821, the Magistrates and District Administration £599,024.

"Speaking generally, out of the entire sum of twentyeight millions of public expenditure, it is difficult to trace more than six thousand pounds that go to the direct benefit of the Bantu, outside of the N.A.D. vote.

"If we multiply the £6,000 by three to allow for indirect benefit, then we discover the staggering proportion that the State spends only one pound for the Bantu where it spends £1,500 for Europeans in direct benefit, while it receives one pound from the Black man for every three pounds it gets from the White man.

"Primary Native needs: The first necessary steps towards the economic upliftment of the Bantu are two, education and agriculture. Both are the duty of the State, and much is already being done through the poll tax; but the State has clearly shirked its duty by failing to allocate something like a fair appropriation of public funds for Bantu improvement even by beginning on a modest scale.

"The first readjustment is that on elementary education. Seeing that we have shown that the Bantu contribute abundantly for law, order and protection protection along with other citizens, it logically follows that the whole of the poll tax should be devoted to their direct benefit in the form of a revolutionary organization of the supplies for education and agriculture as well as development in the teaching of trading, the

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the establishment of rural industries, domestic and general, and all other lines of development.

"It is anomalous that all Native adults should be taxpayers (including boys of 18) while only one fourth of Bantu children are able to attend government-aided schools, in some of which schools there are teachers with nearly a hundred pupils in one class just because of the present system of finance, which amounts to a strangulation of Bantu education.

"The education of Europeans, Indians and Coloured is financed on the per capita basis, of which the figures in 1924 were £17.18.6 for Europeans and £5 for Coloureds and Indians, while the Natives were given a globular sum that worked out at £2.8.5 in the Cape, £2.1.- in Natal, £1.12.10 in the Transvaal and 18/5d in the Orange Free State. Even allowing for the more expensive buildings and plant involved in White schools, yet the proportion is unreasonably low for the Bantu. This was noted and dilated upon by the 1923 Commission on the Finances of Provincial Education which all but asserted that the Natives were actually paying for the European education. That this Commission was not far out may be proved from the present position in the Cape, where up to 1925 the Union Government used to subsidise all Cape education on the pound for pound principle. When the poll tax was applied after 1925, this Province took advantage of the poll tax allocation by a discontinuation of its old grants to Native education, applying some of this Native money to increased grants for European education. All the while the Natives continue to contribute indirectly and indistinguishably from the

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Europeans towards the Cape Province finances under the heads of the Companies Tax, Entertainments Tax, Immovable Property tax, Motor Tax and Transfer Duty.

"The Ciskei Missionary Council has correctly come to the conclusion that "The only satisfactory way of providing funds for Native education will be found to be by per capita grants out of general revenue, budgeted for from year to year as is done in the case of European, Coloured and Indian education."

"Conclusion: a) Seeing that the Native contributes his fair share towards Law, Order and Protection in all ordinary revenue, direct and indirect, I beg to submit that a sound financial policy is one that will recognise that he /^{de}serves equal treatment in all Government appropriations without racial discrimination; and that all taxation earmarked as "Native Taxation" should be returned directly to his benefit. The corollary to this is that the whole of the Native poll tax (NOT one fifth only) should be applied to direct Native benefit; and also that all Native primary and secondary education, the primary and most vital desideratum in Native upliftment, be established on a basis of capitation grants according to need and natural development, as is done with reference to European, Indian and Coloured education.

"b) Europeans qua Europeans do not pay any big tax earmarked for them such as can justify a differential and advantageous treatment over and against the Bantu beyond the ratio of three to one. The statement made by Minister the Hon. E. G. Jansen last December to the Pretoria Native Conference that White bachelors pay a tax of 50/- as against 20/- Native poll tax, rather proves than disproves my case, because the White bachelor pays

his 50/- out of an income of at least £300 and the Black man his 20/- out of £30, proportionally ten times as much.

"(c) According to his economic position, the Black man more than pulls his weight in regard to the major sources of Government revenue. What he fails to contribute in the minor items is fairly counterbalanced by what he loses through the colour bar that excludes him from the privileges of the State Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa that controls eleven million odd pounds to which the Native contributes jointly with the White man under general revenue. This Bank is governed by regulations that erect a colour bar against Black people and also against any European with a Black wife."

I would like to make a few further remarks as to the exact point I was endeavouring to labour. One point I would like to emphasize is that of having a thorough investigation made of the value of the taxes of the Natives. It is so far-reaching that I really think that, so far as this question is concerned, this Commission will be something like a preliminary to what in a few years' time may have to be adopted, because one has to disentangle so many things. People like Malcomes and others buy kaffer truck and so on which are distributed about this district, and to get what proportion is bought by Natives and what by Europeans requires very great investigation.

Then my next point is, I think the poll tax as a system will ultimately have to be scrapped, as soon as the country is educated and perhaps civilised enough to realise its absurdity and unfairness, because, first of

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all it introduces a colour discrimination where the major tax revenue of the country does not proceed on racial lines. Secondly, it is unfair, because it imposes an extra charge upon one section only of the population. Thirdly, it takes advantage of the man who cannot defend his case, as it is left entirely to the discretion of the magistrate to compel a man of 70 or 80 years of age, - there are many of them now who are being compelled to pay the tax, while an European, after 60 years of age, would not be called upon to pay it.

Seeing that European old men get a pension whilst our old men are made to pay, it would seem that we are being called upon to pay for the European old age.

I would like next to take a point brought up by Mr. Jansen in Pretoria, who said the Natives do not deserve old age pensions, because they live on a system of communism, under which no man need starve.

DR. ROBERTS: I do not think he used the word, "deserve" ?- At any rate, the reason why the Government did not give them old age pensions was because they helped each other when old, where the White and Coloured people did not do so. I do not think it is our fault if Europeans do not help each other, or that we should be called upon to help them. Lastly, I am anxious to prove, if I can, that the benefit Natives get from the value of taxation is practically microscopic and that Natives will never improve economically without State intervention on their behalf.

CHAIRMAN: The question of the relative proportion of Native and European contributions to taxation and benefits from taxation, and State revenue, form one of

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the terms of reference of this Commission, but, before this Commission was appointed, Dr. Roberts went very fully into the question with, as you say, grave difficulty, before disentangling the various things, and he would like to ask you a few questions in that connection.

(In answer to a question by Dr. Roberts)?- Sir, I do not think the calculation introduced by Dr. Roberts is a sound one, to isolate one Native district as against another, because the cost there mentioned of law and order is a cost which should be borne, not by that district, but by the whole country, therefore, it should not even be regarded in the calculation as chargeable against any one district. Secondly, I think that, in the Transkei also, even although it is called a Native area, it is so hopelessly mixed up with Europeans and European interests everywhere, that I am afraid we cannot regard it as a case where one can clearly isolate what is Native from what is European. To take a few instances; taking the roads that the Bungs construct there locally, the biggest users of these roads and the desto yers of them are the European traders, not the Natives. Take also the taxes which are paid there, and which come in there; they come in from labour which is outside the limits of the Transkei and are obtained by the people who have to go out and send money home, whilst those very people are, at the same time, contributing financially to those areas in which they find work, by means of pass fees and local rates.

Another purchasing power which brings in so much Native money and which is never called Native money but European money, because it is money earned in so-called

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European areas ---- to produce an example, the Transkeian Natives themselves contribute heavily to State finances outside their own areas, owing, you see, to the civilised labour policy which I think one can safely say has cost the country three times as much. Natives there already contribute to law and order, even under magistrates, if one takes the fines; they pay the fines. One would almost think they are over and above the cost of the machinery in that country; and, as a whole, I would say I would not regard the Transkei as a happy illustration of the possibility of the isolation of what is Native from what is European.

In the statement you have put in, you estimate the value of the produce in the Cape on a single "isikonkwane" as £12. Can you give us the basis of that calculation?— That is the one mentioned here by the chief; it is a six-acre lot. I base that on the calculation that, in a favourable season, that man, on those six acres, may raise from twelve to twenty bags; but, this being a dry area of which I am thinking, in the Ciskei, very few years are they able to realise even that. And, when they do raise it, the prices are so low that they do not get that money. But, nevertheless, one can regard it as being the value. They do eat something like twelve pounds out of that. It was a figure I arrived at from our discussions in our Commerce Association, as to what a six-acre lot is worth.

In other words, it is the yield from the arable land?— Yes.

Presumably you regard the yield from or the right to the commonage as worthless; is that owing to

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scrub stock being kept there? - No, I would not put it as that; I would put it down to the limited character of the commonages. Very few Natives have anything like adequate ~~means~~ accommodation to carry the stock necessary for them to plough with.

Do you consider it is so inadequate that they can produce nothing on it? - I do not know of any commonage that I would put down as being of value for raising anything beyond what is necessary to plough this six acre plot; anyway, I do not know of any in the district.

The commonage is only useful as a contribution towards ploughing? - Yes, and nothing more, I would say.

So that, actually, you would write down the cattle of the Natives at probably lower than most Europeans do? - I would not go so far as that. There are some of them now who, since this new system of demonstrators and shows, have improved their stock very much.

Yes, those are exceptional people; but the bulk of them keep a very poor class of stock? - Yes.

The Native stock, therefore, is only worth what they can plough with it? - Even less, I would say, because each Native, to plough his own six acre plot, has, on the average, only three beasts, - some only two; and they can do it, I think by co-operative work, by joining with somebody else who has two or three and so raise between them a span or team.

But "A" helps "B" and "B" helps "A" again, surely? - But very ineffectively, because they are unable to prepare the soil.

Let us stick to the point, - what the cattle is worth; if one farmer loans his three oxen to the other, then he gets those three oxen back? - Yes.

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A bit of the ploughing is done inefficiently, but they do plough in their way? - Yes.

What would the ploughing of six acres be worth; it would be worth about £1 ? - Per Acre?

No, for the six acres - 21/- to be exact, or Mr. Mostert's figure of 3/6d an acre? - Is that the value of the crops?

No, the contribution that these animals make. You say that is only the value of the ploughing? - We generally make it 5/- an acre if you hire a full span; 3/- would be about it. The cost of ploughing an acre, that is 5/- an acre if a man brings his full team. It is reckoned as 5/- in the Ciskei. We pay that every time we plough.

MR. MOSTERT: By contract? - Yes.

CHAIRMAN: So a Native's cattle is worth only about -- ? - It is land which has been ploughed during a previous season, it is not new land.

Your Native cattle is worth 30/- a year? - In labour value to us.

It seems to me it would be cheaper to wipe out the whole lot; they are certainly costing a great deal more than that to keep? - Yes; they have other value, such as meat value.

You said their only value was practically their contribution to agriculture. There is a certain amount of meat value? - Yes.

MR. LUGAS: The one is looked at as producing income and the other is still capital value? - Yes, capital value.

CHAIRMAN: The other produces income, but in order to estimate the value of the cattle, you have to ~~know~~ credit something for the work they do? - Yes.

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MR. LUCAS: Does your last sentence on that first page mean that you value the five beasts of the old men at an income of 12/- a year? - Yes, my calculation brought me to that; I could not find it worth more than that.

How did you arrive at that? - I was regarding cattle simply as capital and comparing it with £100 invested in a bank, bringing in 5%. I worked it out at that.

Surely that method is thoroughly unsound? Your pound that lies in the bank does not eat grass; your cattle do? - I was mentioning it in connection with the old man who owns only five beasts and who is called upon to pay a poll tax. I took his case just as it was; I thought if this old man could not work it himself, he would have to get somebody to work for him. Of course, with a younger man it might be easier.

Now, from that you can prove that they pay an equivalent of £1,000 on a £640 income; but, surely, when you ~~want~~ come to such an absurd calculation, there must be other factors that you have not taken into account. Where does the rest of the value come from, and where does the money come from on which that man lives? - That man, sir, lives because he is supported by Natives around him; they keep him fed, otherwise he would be insolvent. Our old men are mostly insolvent; they live on charity, so that the balance is made up by charity.

Do not use the word "charity". I would remind you of the word you referred to that Mr. Jansen used - that you lived under a system of communism? - So he said.

I think you will admit there is a great deal of truth in that? - There is some truth.

A system of communism and a system of individualism are different? - Communism is not a happy word to use.

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It is not communism really, it is social communism?
- Yes.

In other words, the whole of the community must see that the members of the community do not fall below a certain line?- Yes.

And generally they see, too, that they do not rise above a certain line?- Yes.

That is the system that you had before the European impinged on it?- Yes.

Now, in that system, it is the duty of the community to look after the individual?- Yes.

In a system of individualism, the community does not care whether the individual starves?- Yes.

The European system of individualism is a system of communism?- Yes. We are now being governed by people who insist on individualism and I do not see how we can make any other calculation which will be fair to the Natives. It is unfair for the Government to say, "You people will not get old age pensions, because you live communally". The Government singles out one section of the population for disadvantageous treatment because it happens to know it is communistic.

A section of the Government is much more communal than individual?- I would not go so far as to say that, because it is individualistic in outlook and intention, but the Government has to be slow and is slow in leading them out from the one to the other. The ultimate system must be individualistic.

DR. ROBERTS: Why?- Because there is no room in this country for two civilisations; the one is bound to break down before the other.

Do you not think individualism will break down?-

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I do not see it breaking down in other countries; I see it growing stronger and stronger.

MR. LUCAS: Is there anything communistic in the handling of the Natives in the big towns? - In the big towns they are handled individualistically; these towns are the school. These people living in towns carry back the individualism into their homes and they keep on breaking it down year by year.

CHAIRMAN: One of the two is bound to lose its main characteristics, - I will not say disappear, because it might modify the other; and that is going on in the rural areas; it has not gone very far? - In the Ciskei it has gone very far, as the Chief here himself said. He said it is a matter of indifference whether the land is surveyed or unsurveyed. There are as many in the town locations who want individualistic tenure as the others.

Take the habits of the Native people; they are still communal, are they not? - They are only so, in so far as they are not sufficiently well educated today. The Transkei are at one with us in desiring individualism now. The rate of education amongst the people is not the same. It depends very much on the number of young men who go to the mines and who come back with principles.

When you speak of the Transkeian people, I take it you are referring to the school Natives rather than to the red Natives? - In which connection?

You said that the Transkei Natives are at one with you in the Ciskei in wanting more individualism? - Yes.

I take it you are referring to the school Natives, - or is it the red Natives; would the red Native question what the red Native is? - I have been to Pondoland several

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times and I find there, even amongst the uneducated or reds there is the desire for a man to have his own things if he can get them.

Social communism does not exclude that. Before the White man ever came here you had your own things? - Yes, I quite agree, but the influences today being brought to bear on these labourers at the labour centres are making themselves felt now even amongst the most backward and uneducated people and they are beginning to realise the advantage of having a thing of your own; but they are not allowed to speak more than the chief will allow them.

The break is towards individualism? - Yes, even in a place like Pondoland.

Now, passing on to item 4 of your memorandum, you quote there a calculation - first of all you quote a statement by the late Mr. Jagger that three Natives who are tax payers will be equal to one European, and then you give a certain calculation which you say emphatically would seem to be fair. Do you think this calculation bears out mathematically any statement of this sort or in any proportion whatever? - Yes, I do, very much so.

The total revenue you first of all divided by the total population; you divide the same thing by the non-European population, and then you divide the same thing by the European population and you find that the ratio per non-European population to European population is roughly one to three - the ratio per head? - Yes.

From that you conclude that the non-Europeans contribute one third? - Yes.

But, now suppose we had a state in which the non-Europeans contributed not a penny of that £36,000,000

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and you made that same calculation, you could draw the same conclusion? - How would that be possible?

I am supposing a state of affairs in which the non-European did not contribute a penny. By the European population which again remains the same, you cannot get the ratio of one to three? - Rather in that case the ratio would be nought to seventeen.

No. If you divide thirty millions by the non-European population of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, you are bound to get £5.¹².⁰.¹ again? - (No answer)

DR. ROBERTS: I think Mr. Jagger is entirely wrong there, because, if you say three Natives are equal to one European and the cost to the country is thirty millions, then the Natives should pay ten millions, to take a round figure. Would you not prefer to have my view that ten Natives ⁱⁿ consuming commodities and other things as much as one European? - No, sir, because I have tried to go into that -----

Would you come to what I say, that they would pay three millions? - In that case, you would reverse my figures altogether and say that ten Natives contribute what one European contributes in the country.

No, consumes and acquires in clothing and everything else - one European on the average consumes more and acquires more than ten Natives? - No, I do not agree with that. When I go into blankets and all these things, I do not think the proportion is so small as one tenth.

An European will wear out about ten to thirty blankets in his house? - If you take my paragraph 6 on page 2, - the list of things as given there; blankets, rugs, shawls and so on, and take it down to King William's Town, to a store here such as Malcomess, - if we could

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find out the truth from their books, if it were at all possible, I do not think your calculation of one to ten - namely the Black man's buying power - is nearly one tenth that of the European.

Your White man at King William's Town is common to the White man all over the country. Fortunately, in King William's Town, men like yourself and others - probably one White man would go to one Black man, but if you go to Zululand or the Northern Transvaal, where a Black man does not buy £5 worth in a year ---- ? - I do not believe that. Even in our most backward districts the Natives are buying more every year of the White man's goods, hoes, ploughs and gramaphones; you would be surprised at the number of gramaphones and records they buy.

Where do they get the money from? - They seem to find it.

The average income of an European is just touching £300 and he spends that. The average income of a Native is close on £30; well, he cannot spend more than the £30, unless he goes and steals it? - He is hopelessly mixed up with that £300.

CHAIRMAN: Your point is, although the Native only gets £30, he ought to get a good deal more? - Yes, because he enables that European to get that £300 in the first instance, by his labour and so on.

Let us admit that, but, has he got that extra money that he ought to get? - That is just my point; he is not getting it, it goes down as White money. My point is he must be given credit for that money, inasmuch as he enables the White man to get the £300. The State should give him credit for that money.

MR. MOSTERT: You mean it is indirect? - Yes.

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DR. ROBERTS: But my view is direct, taking things as they exist? - If you take things only directly, the Native in this country will never be anywhere, because he will never get the credit, because some of the things in this country go down as Black men's things in which the European is involved.

CHAIRMAN: But this section 4 of yours is very important, because you build certain conclusions on it, therefore, your mathematics are a matter of some importance here, too. Now, let us come back to this; let us assume two countries; the one is the Union of South Africa and the other some mythical state. They have the same population - the same proportion of Natives as Europeans, but the Union of South Africa taxes the Natives as heavily as you make out, and the other state taxes the Natives with a penny. They both have an income of £30,000,000. If you divide that by the Native population in the Union of South Africa, you get £5.12.1 per head? - I do not see how you can divide it by that, if they contribute nothing.

But you have it here. In the other case you divide the 1.6 million Europeans against Natives 30,000,000(?) and you get £17.10.- per head; you are bound to get the same conclusions for both states, are you not, if you make the same divisions? - But, sir, in your mythical state, it may be that the Natives live absolutely nude, eat nothing and do not do anything.

You are purely coming to ratios having nothing to do with the amount at all? - There is one factor, sir, which you must not reduce, namely, that whatever the Europeans themselves manage to raise, they raise it due to Native help.

DR. ROBERTS: We will agree on that.

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MR. LUCAS: That is another point; that is not the point involved in this.

CHAIRMAN: We will pass on to the next paragraph. You mentioned 51 thousand Transkeian Natives that went out to work, driven by dire need; is not the position that the Transkeian Native only works a part of the year? - Yes.

What is the position of the average European, except men who happen to be very wealthy? - He works all the year.

So that his need must be even more dire? - I do not think that the difference between them is so much, because the reason why I mentioned that proportion was to shew how little the cash is that the Native is able to get together as compared with a man in a similar position in England or America. That is my point in mentioning that. Perhaps you may increase that £27 by £3, for what he might make while at home. They mostly go out for nine months.

CHAIRMAN: Your point really does not lie here, in the sentence "driven by dire need", but you want to shew what the average income is of the Native that goes out to work? - Yes as compared with other civilised countries such as America.

Now, you refer to page 771 of the Year Book and you say it is alleged that the contribution by Natives to general revenue totals only 3.3 of the whole. I take it you know there is such an item as Native taxation, classified as such? - Yes.

And that this is a graphical representation of the classification? - Yes.

So that the conclusion must purely be based on faulty reasoning? - My point there was to indicate that

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public speakers, when they speak about Native people ----

DR. ROBERTS: That is in Parliament? - Yes and elsewhere; they look at that graph and say, "You Blacks do nothing; you contribute 3%". I am criticising the misapprehension there.

CHAIRMAN: I might tell you that in Parliament far bigger statistical errors have been made before this? - This graph says 3.30 (Referring to Year Book).

Now, you proceed to state it is your endeavour to prove that the Natives, by reason of their share in ordinary revenue producing departments, contribute a share of at least ten times the amount with which they are credited? - I multiplied that graph by ten so as to bring it up to one third.

DR. ROBERTS: Could you tell us how you reached that, because I am rather anxious to know how you reach it, I say 10% and you say 33%, do you not? - I reached it by examining these items, Customs, Excise, Income Tax, - in fact all of them; I have done my best to look at each of them and find out how much the Black man was implicated in the revenue.

How much do you arrive at for Customs? - Roughly, I thought a third was a fair fraction in most cases.

CHAIRMAN: Why? Because Mr. Jagger said so? - No. Shawls are bought almost exclusively by Black people, shawls, blankets, rugs.

But have you gone to the trouble of disentangling the figures in the Trade Book? - I found that impossible. That is why I said in the beginning, it requires an efficient investigation and that we should get the figures from the stores.

But you say here, you will endeavour to prove

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this statement and then you say, in the next paragraph, it is impossible for you or even for the Department of Statistics to disentangle the figures. Where does the proof come in? - That is why I said "endeavour", because it is difficult to prove it outright.

You would not say one million out of the ten millions would perhaps be nearer? - Much more than that; I am speaking from firsthand information. In my travels I go to Bloemfontein and Basutoland and am surprised at the things Natives buy, such as gramaphones. Take ploughs, Natives buy many ploughs - double ploughs, single ploughs, hoes and so on.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: They do not buy a third of the ploughs of the country? - If you had the figures of the Transkei, you would be surprised at the number of ploughs bought by the Natives.

They buy single ploughs? - No, double ploughs, too.

Take the motor trade; what does the Native contribute to that? - The Natives today run many motors; if you go to East London you will find them.

When you calculate that a third of the taxation is paid by the Natives, I say you are wrong? - My view, sir, is that whatever the Europeans pay on motorcars, the Black man is in that also, as a labourer.

That is a different statement. Your statement is based on what actually is paid? - I am arguing from the point of view of indirect taxation.

But according to your figures, you do not shew that? - The facts as they are are that these are the items which are called "Customs". The fact also is that Natives are involved in the production and buying of these things;

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the Natives are involved in the distribution and working costs of these things which enable these firms to pay their costs and the taxation, and if you could substitute another race for the Black race, the revenue would shrink at once with the change. That is why I say you cannot disentangle; you have to postulate.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Would you not be on a safer footing if you said the Natives contribute to the wealth of the country? - Yes.

The fact that I have accumulated 500 head of cattle, may be due to the assistance of Natives; but when you come to direct taxation, why do you not stick to that, what they actually pay? - I cannot, because the taxation money comes down as European money every time, because it is organized by European firms. Take a gang plough; Mr. Malcomess sells it to the Natives here; that is put down as European money.

What I am driving at is, if you want to have a clear position, you must say the Natives pay so much directly and the Europeans pay directly so much in taxation through the customs? - Yes. My calculation is that in each case, whether you take it as the stable wealth and permanent wealth of the country, or as the direct contribution, the ratio is more or less the same, - 1:3; that is my contention, sir.

Must we understand that where you say a Native pays a third of the taxation of the country, that does not mean direct taxation? - No, not by any means.

MR. LUCAS: I would like to know why you take it as a third, instead of a quarter or a half? - In these things one has to allow for other factors which may be introduced by my critics, and I thought I would be fair to

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both sides if I did not venture to go more than a third.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: What ratio would you apply to the man who has the brain and does the hard work? - I am not contesting, sir, the value of that; what I am urging is that the Natives should get back from the State something like one third.

CHAIRMAN: Why? - For his value to the wealth of the country.

How do you determine that value? - That value I determine from what I have mentioned in paragraph 6 here; these things which he buys and then also the potential contribution of labour and so on and keeping down the price of labour in the country as against other countries such as Australia and the U. S. A.

In other words, you must have some idea as to the ratio between the manual labour which the labourer largely supplies and the directing of labour, which the European supplies. What would you think was the ratio? - I did not make allowance for the brain which organizes it.

You are accepting that it will be there in any case? - Yes.

Therefore, you are not going to credit anything to the brain power. You might turn the picture round, and there would be no wealth at all if there were no brain power; therefore, the Natives would not have any share in it. The two are both equally fallacious conclusions? - No, sir, I would not say that; the potentiality is there.

You cannot get on without the brain and the brawn; therefore, make them equal? - Then, I am afraid I would be regarded as too venturesome. I thought a third would be open to less objection.

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CHAIRMAN: I fear we are getting rather far afield in arguing about the theory of value.

MR. MOSTERT: You were quoting the poll tax. Are you aware that we Europeans pay poll tax in the Transvaal? - I was told so by Mr. Jansen in Pretoria; he told us about the Bachelor's Tax.

It is a Provincial tax; it is called the poll tax? - I was not reckoning the Provincial, but the Union Government, because, if you calculate on the Provincial, I would reckon the poll tax too.

Most of the Natives are not aware that we pay poll tax and they are apt to resent the word 'poll tax'? - Is not your poll tax in the Transvaal for specific things done for you?

MR. LUCAS: It is meant mainly for education, but it is not earmarked.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Why are you against the poll tax? - Owing to its disproportion or the way it falls on each individual.

Let us take the case of Natives living in a huge reserve, such as Zululand, or the Northern Transvaal; the Native who practically wears nothing, he has his land on which he ~~lives~~ lives. He pays 10/- for his land, he gets the full benefit and still he does nothing with his land, but if the Native gets into trouble, - somebody murders his wife and so on, - he will go to the magistrate or police and tell them to effect an arrest. How would you get hold of that man unless you had direct taxation? - How do you manage with Europeans?

CHAIRMAN: Exactly. The same service is being rendered to the Native in the same way as services are being rendered to the European; is not that a fair statement? -

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Why put a special tax on the Black man as a Black man?

MR. MOSTERT: No; it is only an easy method of taxation? - It is not easy for them to pay it because they have not the money. I could understand it if you said every man with ten head of cattle should pay 5/-; then we would know what you are taxing, but people today cannot pay it.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: It may be a bad form of taxation; I agree with you. I think it is a bad form of taxation in the Transvaal that I should pay as poll tax £1.10.- and that a poor White man who has practically nothing to live on must also pay that; but I thought you knew that the Native, through the poll tax, is protected from a certain Provincial taxation. By having a poll tax, the Provincial Council is prevented from taxing either the person or the property of a Native? - For special purposes.

No. I do not think the Native need argue very much, because he is prevented from further taxation by the Provincial Council? - It is not my business here to defend the European; I am just here to attack the incidence of the poll tax on the Black man. I think the more logical way is to impose taxation for a particular service. For instance, if you want an education tax, or they called it an education tax, if you could arrange that, everybody would pay so much for education, say not more than £1 each, then we would know what it was for.

I am speaking of the same backward Native now; he does not like a multiplicity of things; he does not like a tax on his horses, cows, donkeys, or a dipping tax or an education tax? - He does not like the poll tax either.

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CHAIRMAN: Which tax would he like?— I think he would like a tax upon the amount of wealth a man has. If you tax wealth, the poor man will escape; that is to say, if you arrange the tax according to ability to pay it. Today it is simply chaotic. The income tax is a fair tax, because nobody pays it until it is proved he gets over £640.

Now, your Item 6 here — your statement that you wish to prove that Natives contribute 33.1/3%; I would like to see you get within half of that figure by disentangling the Customs and Excise figures which are published in very great detail. I have gone through the thing myself and I think, if you were possessed of every desire to credit everything to the Natives, you would not get 15%. It is no good talking about blankets; you have to take all the textiles which are taxed. You take spirits here, which Natives are not supposed to use?— But they do.

They pay a tax there illicitly (Laughter). You mentioned, with regard to mining, that at least two thirds of this revenue would not have been available if there had not been Native labour. Is not that a somewhat bold statement to make?— My belief is, if, by a magic wand, you could substitute labour ---

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You can import Chinese labour?— I am speaking about civilised countries; Chinese labour is not labour to be regarded as labour for a civilised country.

CHAIRMAN: Let us have the finish of your sentence? If, by a magic wand, you could substitute Negro or European labour as it is paid today, I do not think the mining companies would be able to pay two thirds of that income tax.

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You ought to assume a matter of a couple of hundred years' development on entirely different lines; that will create an entirely different situation?— I am not proposing a change of that kind.

But you cannot simply put a different basis to your pedestal of human institutions; you would then have to consider the position as it would be today for the whole development and depend on the basis of European labour?— I am afraid that goes against your argument about the mythical state elsewhere, because no state could exist. So, I hope you will allow me here to make this remark of mine, simply for the sake of illustration and only to prove how much the Native is really contributing that he is not credited with.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Do you take into consideration that, after all, the Native labour employed on the mines is just a little over half of requirements; the other half is supplied outside of the Union. You cannot credit what they do there to the Natives of the Union; £80,000 comes from outside?— Even allowing for the 80,000 Natives from outside, I think, if you have Negro wages and European wages, you still must credit the Natives with so much.

Why should we take European wages when we can take Nyassaland, or Portuguese wages, or even Chinese wages?— They are a pure accident.

You argue, if we were to do away with the Native labour on the mines, we would lose so much. I say you are wrong, because it would be substituted by something else?— I do not understand why you should rule out the calculation which shews credit to the Natives, just because you can get it cheaper still. Our argument is not to go out to get Chinese or to get anything cheaper.

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I am not pleading for that policy; I am certainly very much against it. In fact, I think we ought to work our mines purely by our own labour, but because we cannot get that labour, you must not get the idea that you lose so much? - I am not arguing on the point of practical politics.

You are arguing that, if we had not a Native in South Africa, our income from the mines would be so much less? - Yes.

I say that argument of yours is wrong? - Well, perhaps it is wrong to the extent of eighty out of two hundred. I will accept, sir, your deduction of 80,000 labourers, but my argument would not be much altered. I will make you a present of the 80,000 labourers who come from outside, but I think the force of my contention still remains, that this money would not have been available for the State but for this cheap labour.

CHAIRMAN: I take it your argument is that, if we were to substitute the Negro labourer, two thirds of that money would not have been available Therefore, the Native is entitled to a proportion of that two thirds?— Yes, sir, that is my argument.

Supposing I put the argument on the other side; if, by substitution by Chinese labour - which is cheaper than Native - a great deal more would have been available, therefore, that great deal more should be debited against you because you get such high wages in comparison with the Chinese? - I do not agree with what you say. You claim here to be equal to the civilised countries of the world. You cannot do a thing like that and claim to be classed amongst the most civilised countries in

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the world. We cannot make our calculations upon immoral arguments like that.

CHAIRMAN: Your considered view is that, taking direct and indirect taxation, the Native population contributes about one third? - Yes, sir.

I never thought the Natives were so well off? -
It is not that they contribute directly; it is the help they
give Europeans, enabling the Europeans to raise that money.

It is not that they contribute that, but enabling the Europeans to contribute that? - Exactly.

You want to claim that? - Yes.

It is their contribution to the national wealth? - Yes.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: What about sheep; have you any idea how many sheep Natives have on these commonages?— I have not collected figures.(Q) It may interest you to know that, in these districts here, comprising East London, Fort Beaufort, Herschel, Glen Grey and so on, Paddie, Queenstown, Stutterheim and Victoria East, the Natives have $2\frac{1}{2}$ million sheep?— Yes. XXXXXXXXX But with sheep farmers, the district I was thinking of was the district of Queenstown and Alice, where I live, and here the Natives are so congested. Despite those figures, there are many people without stock at all.

I can tell you that they produce 36,000 pounds
worth of wool in the Glen Grey district - the Natives? -
Take Taffany location; here they aggregate the cattle at
300 ----.

There may be isolated cases where the Natives are very poor, have no stock and are crowded out; but when we argue here, we have to go into the economic conditions of the Natives as a whole, and then you must take the number of stock owned by Natives in the Native Territories? - And

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also the number of Natives who own stock - you will find there are many who own none at all.

That applies also to the White men; there are thousands who have nothing? - You would find that the congestion is so serious.

Congestion is a different thing. I am arguing that your commonage is worth much more than only a contribution towards feeding the animals you require to do your ploughing? - For the sake of my argument, the poll tax falls heavily upon a man who has five beasts. I do not think it makes any difference. There are so many people who live on these plots. Taking things both ways, my argument remains largely unaffected by the fact that there are sheep in addition to the cattle.

From your estimation, your commonage is worth - ? - What is feeds.

If a commonage is worth only 15/- to every man who owns six plots of arable land - ? - My argument was this, an old man has to pay tax just because he has 5 beasts. This being equal to a 12/- income. Your mentioning of sheep and other things will not make more than 1/- difference. What good does it do the old man?

That is a question of calculation. If you concede 1/-, you might find you have to concede a couple more shillings? - How, does the extra 1/- or 3/- help the man to be able to pay poll tax?

If a man is incapable of work and he owns five beasts, - ? - I can produce the instance of two old men of 79 and 81 years who are being made to pay the poll tax because they have five head of cattle. I would be very glad if the Commission could get more information about it. It is scandalous.

I know you must be fairly tired. I was deeply