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JOHANNESBURG 19th MAY 1931 10.10 A.M.

105th PUBLIC SITTING

present:

Dr. J. E. Holloway, (Chairman),
Major R. W. Anderson, Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, K.C.,
Dr. H. C. M. Fourie, Dr. A. W. Roberts,
Mr. G. Faye, (Secretary),

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MR. WILLIAM GEORGE BOLLINGER, Advisor to I.C.U., (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa)

called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: I think your position is that of Advisor to the I.C.U.? - Yes.

In connection with the Native worker in towns, the Commission has had somewhat contradictory evidence on the question as to whether the tribal Native has a certain amount of land to fall back on -- whether this acts as a substitute for wages or not. Would you please give us your views on that? - Yes, Mr. Chairman; but before doing so, I should like, on behalf of the I.C.U., and a certain group of Natives whom I have consulted, to draw your attention to the fact that many of the Natives consider that this Commission is acting as a smoke-screen, to pass through certain legislation of a more oppressive kind than has been put on the Statute Book. I refer you, Mr. Chairman, and the Commission, to the Bill before the House -- the Native Service Contract Bill, which, in the opinion of many Natives, is just being put through during the time this Commission is going round the country and showing a gross breach of faith on behalf of the Government. I just want to enter that protest.
Mr. Ballinger

Of course, everybody who knows anything about the work of Governmental machinery, realises that the Commission and the Bill have absolutely nothing to do with one another? ----

MR. LUCAS: According to the newspaper, it is being shelved for the time being? — It shows there is quite good ground for a protest of the Native people. The point which you raise, Mr. Chairman, I think I have dealt with very fully in my statement, drawing particular attention to the effect of Native mine labour upon the condition of the detribalised Native living in the locations, and I think, its full substantiation of the fact that the subsidised or Native mine worker sets the standard for the Native in the town, is contained in the letter reproduced on page 5, signed by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries. It is a letter dated the 24th January 1930. It is in reply sent to a letter signed by the I.C.U. of Africa, dated 27th November 1929.

CHAIRMAN: You, therefore, uphold the view that there is definite subsidizing? — Yes.

Now, the argument that has been put up to us against it is this, that the tribal Native, being only dependent for certain extras on the labour market, is exactly the man who is in a position to hold out against his wages being forced down? — Well, that is not my experience. I have in mind a case — the case of the people in the Free State more particularly, whose wages are continually being affected by the Basuto coming in from Basutoland, who merely requires sufficient money to pay tax; and recently, when we were on the way to Basutoland, we passed through Wepener and made some enquiries there and found that the Basuto was coming in there
and asking for £1 a month, which was just exactly the cost of the rent of the houses in that location. The people who were forced to live in the location said it was quite impossible for them to carry on, because they could not get employment due to this influx of labour, which was subsidized by the Protecorate of Basutoland.

You would be inclined to the view, therefore, that although the tribal Native may be in a position to hold out if he wants to, in actual practice he does not?—There is no necessity for him to do so, because he only requires a certain amount of money to meet certain commitments which barter will not obtain for him.

You mentioned the case——in England I take it——of first of all the Irish and Scottish labourers, and then, later on, the Lithuanian. Over what period are you making that comparison?—I am speaking of the time since I have come into industry myself——a period of 25 years. The Lithuanian was brought in about the year 1910, as a strike-breaking factor against the Scottish miners and came in at 15/- a week, — the wage they offered, which was, of course, very much higher than they had been used to in Lithuania.

Were these people Lithuanians by race, or were they Lithuanian Jews?—No; there are very few Jews among them; Lithuanian Poles they were generally termed.

MR. LUCAS: There is a Scottish crofter you refer to, who left his family to go to work for 12 or 18 months, and then went home for six months. At what period was that?—That was just before I came into industry; but I have verified it from many sources, and it did continue for some time after I was in the industries of Scotland.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you not think it was much earlier
than that?— No; it has all occurred within the last 25 years.

MR. LUCAS: It might have happened earlier, I think, was the point in that question. Did it go on for a long time?— It happened to a greater extent before my entry into industry.

I would like to hear a little more about that, if you can tell us, because it is one of the most striking parallels to our present position that I have come across?— Well, all I can say is it is really traceable to the time of the Lever- hulme Combine in Britain; when they bought the island at Skye; and then the attempt to force the crofter off that island and the fight which began for them to retain their crofts or farms on the island, — some of the younger sons came down into the industries in order to get sufficient money to carry on the farms; and that has been typical of the whole of that system in Scotland. The farms have never in our days been self-supporting, and assuming all the family would have to go out from time to time, either on to farms in the lowlands or as they did later on, into industries of the lowlands.

DR. ROBERTS: But you do that also to a still greater extent in Sutherlandshire?— Yes; the whole of the North of Scotland, — the small crofts have been subsidized by the industries of the Lowlands.

MR. LUCAS: And were the numbers there sufficient to bring down the level of wages?— Do you mean the crofters coming in?

Yes?— Well, I cannot say that they actually did force down wages, because the difficulty was that the English people, coming up from England to Scotland, were mainly of the artisan class, and it was the difficulty of obtaining the labourer or so-called unskilled worker that was the great drawback in
industries. The English people would not come from England to work as labourers, so they fell back on getting people down from the crofts. So they reduced the wage standard in that respect, but they did stabilise the wages of the unskilled or labouring class and kept it at a very low level. I do not think they ever worked for 15/-; it was usually 5/- or 21/-.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the navvies working on the railways in the North of Scotland and the labourers on the industries in the Lowlands are two different things; two different standards were set up.

CHAIRMAN: You express the view in your statement: "To advocate unrestricted right of entry for the Native into the trades, although a desirable legislative reform in that it would provide the Natives with the freedom to accommodate themselves to new circumstances, will economically avail them little". Why do you take such a pessimistic view? It is not a pessimistic view; it is merely following the trend of industry. Perhaps I may put it to you in this way: it is usually done in the working class districts in Scotland, that one aspires to have a son an engineer, and that was a definite step up in the social scale. Well, today, the engineer in Britain is paid £2.10. - a week, and the scavenger £3.5. -; the engineer has his wage regulated by the cost of production and the markets; the scavenger has his wage regulated by the cost of living; and I think, in fact I am almost certain, that the development of industry in South Africa will follow along the same lines, -- that mass production will come in and determine that skill will not be so much required in the future as it is today, -- or, in other words, the skilled engineer of today will learn all there is to know in his section of engineering inside a year.
That is the point. You have it in the joinery and carpentry industry where they make window frames by mass production now.

MR. LUCAS: You foresee the future of the Native as far as industry is concerned, in repetition work? Yes, I have made that statement, that we are inclined to look down on him, for his initiative will be the thing that will stand him in good stead when it comes to mass production work, which, of course, the European in this country has got entirely out of.

On page 3, you say two systems prevail — "that is, the Bantu or Southern African Native, which, except where there are masses of detribalised Natives, probably in all 2,000,000 or one third of the Native population is primitive and communal." I am not sure whether this means what you put down two millions as the tribal? No, I am referring to the detribalised people in my figures. Of course, I do not say they are nearly accurate. It is impossible to get any accuracy of figures when dealing with Native problems and that is the reason why I say, "probably", and "approximately".

DR. ROBERTS: What do you mean by "detribalised"? I include within my figures the Native who has been dispossessed of his land, because, in many instances, he is a tribalised Native now, so that he may be living in the rural areas; there they are quite detached from their tribes.

CHAIRMAN: Then the statement on page 4; "The nature of the contract of the mine labourer is one-sided", I take it is commented on by the enclosures to your evidence; I take it the reference is to this? Yes; it is in this "Native Mine Labour", which I have also put there for the information of the Commission. It is particularly so with regard to the graph which I have also placed before you, and I think it
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reveals a state of affairs which is, I think, almost unknown today - of a decreasing return for increasing production; and that is the point I am making. Also, I think if you have a copy of the mine Native's contract before you, you will see that he must complete a day's work before he is entitled to his day's pay; which, I think, is again a thing which is almost unknown in industry, certainly among Europeans. That, if a man started at, say, 8 o'clock in the morning, and would then finish at 12 o'clock and say he is not going to do any more, he would at least be paid half a day's wage; whereas the mine Native is not entitled to that. He must complete his contract. It says so on the contract, and he signs his contract to that effect.

In actual practice, does that make any difference? I think it does make a considerable difference; for instance, a man may be working underground; he may be in rather a bad section; there may be over-hanging rock and the danger of a fall; he may get nervous about things and say, "I am not going to work here any longer", and leave his job. European miners have done that very often. They are always entitled to the hours they work. A Native cannot do that; he must stay in his place. When it comes to a matter of that kind, there should be representatives of the workers, whether Black or White, to say whether a man is right in his contention in that matter.

When there are dangerous rock hangings, is it not the duty of the man working there to report to the supervisor to take the necessary steps? Yes, that is the usual procedure; but I am afraid in practice it does not work out that way; for instance, a White Overseer determines whether the rock overhanging is dangerous or not? The Native
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may consider it so, and the overseer not. That is why I think it is always necessary to have representatives of all grades of industry to determine these things, the same as is done in other countries, - or at least in Britain and Germany.

You say the overseer may make a mistake in judging whether it is dangerous or not; that is all it comes down to, does it not? - Well, I suppose that is the point. It brings you right up against the point of the shop steward in industry, who would determine, along with the foreman or overseer, whether a man is correct or not. We might put it this way, if we had a dispute in the shop, the matter would be conveyed to the foreman and the foreman give an adverse decision against the man, the man complained, and the overseer be brought in, and so on. It might be too far to suggest doing that with the Natives at the present time, but I think it is worth consideration when men do this dangerous and difficult work they are engaged on.

At the bottom of page 6, you mention four documents which the Native has to have on his person always; is that correct? - That should read, "The ordinary pass-bearing Native is required to have always in his possession, after curfew, a minimum..." But even then it is not quite right, is it? - Well, I suppose he need not have his labour service contract on him if he has his travelling pass. You may take it this way, that a Native may be in possession of a night special, or night pass, and may not be in possession of his labour contract. Well, the constable or official would then say he has not got any employment, that the night special is probably a forgery. I have known cases of Natives to be arrested for that sort of thing.
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He has not to have the travelling pass, for example, when he has a night special?—Oh, yes, if he is well outside the boundaries of the town, he must also have the travelling pass. I have made inquiries from the Natives on this point, and they tell me it is so.

You have evidence in the service contract that a man is employed and he has a special from his employer and goes along to the Native Western Township—?—He does not have a night special which defines where he shall be,—which is very often the case; if he is outside the radius of the town, he must also have the travelling pass.

That does not mean he must always carry his documents round with him?—I think I said "to be safe", Mr. Chairman; and that is, of course, the reason why the Natives never make themselves safe; they are usually without these passes.

On page 7, you say, "The night special, operative after the curfew hour, is claimed to be a protection against the criminally-minded Native, but invariably, when apprehended, the criminal Native's night special and other passes are always apparently in order". That is rather a big statement to make?—That their documents are apparently in order?

I am just suggesting that probably even with the sources of information at your disposal you can hardly know what happens to the great bulk of the criminal population?—Well, I do know that an intelligent educated Native can often make quite a little bit as a side line making out a pass for another Native who wants to carry on another occupation—whether you call it criminal or otherwise.

When a criminal is arrested, it is generally through an informer?—Yes.

I would like to know how you make such a sweeping statement?—From magistrates and others in the courts who
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tell you these documents are excellent forgeries.
Do you mean that the forged papers are invariably in order ?- Yes.
The statement which you make here is rather wide ?- I do not see how it can be wide. Say, for instance, you were taking up a criminal career, you would certainly see that all your implements and documents were entirely in order, would you not? And the Native is no different from the European in that respect; he would provide himself with all the documents required and see that they are in order.

I would like to come to that conclusion without any evidence ?- Well, I have not come to that conclusion.

You are assuming, prima facie, that he will not go about without papers when he is out with criminal intent ?- Well, I should think it stands to reason that he would not.
It is not based on experience, then ?- Yes, it is; of seeing these cases,
Your experience can only go to the extent of the number that you have seen ?- Yes.

I would like to suggest that you have not seen the papers of the criminal Natives ?- Well, I have seen them.

Of all of them ?- Well, not all of them; I did not mean to convey that in this statement. If it has given you that impression, I would like you to take that out.

Now, at the top of page 8, you express the view that the Native regards the Wage Act as a colour bar ?- Yes.

And that, in its operation, it is generally fixed at a rate the wages of the Native cannot aspire to ?- Yes.
I would like to have the actual basis on which that is made ?- Well, there are examples that are taking place, -- in the baking industry, for instance, where Natives have been squeezed out by the determinations; that has squeezed out quite
a number of Natives in that industry. And then in the laundry industry; I am at present engaged on an investigation in that industry, and I understand that the same sort of thing is happening there, but I have not got any reliable data at the moment.

I would be glad if you would let me have any information about that?—All I can say regarding that industry is that at the moment it is very difficult to get the facts, and there are certain labour inspectors on the job at the moment, who are also working over the same ground as myself.

Were the Natives squeezed out as a result of the Industrial Council Agreement, or of the supplementary Wage Determination?—I should think both have been more or less contributory to the squeezing out of the Native in that industry.

Now, in this same paragraph, you refer to the Council Agreement; are those assistants largely Native?—Well, I would like to say at the outset of this, that I feel myself in rather a difficult position, and if it comes to the point of would I maintain a wage standard as set by this Agreement, I would be prepared to maintain these standards; but I am stating facts on behalf of Native traders in the locations; and I have verified these facts to this extent—I think there are 32 traders in the Alexandra township, and these men have been carrying on their trade in their own stores, and it has been intimated to them that they must fall into line with this agreement; and they have pointed out to me that they employ their own people, —Natives employing Natives — at the highest, at £4 per month. According to this determination, they are now compelled to pay £3.10.— per week for a person who would run errands and sweep the floor, —that
is, of course, taking this interpretation of what constitutes certain labour. Their point of view is this, that they cannot pay that wage, and that it is only an attempt to just drive them out of business and allow these bigger concerns to come in and have their stores in the locations.

That is the grievance of the Alexandra Native traders' association?—Yes, and of the traders in certain other locations as well. I have mentioned them particularly, because they are the people who gave me the most information. So far as I understand the agreement, it is this, that the bigger stores employ White assistants and these White assistants have been for some time organizing; they came to me some nine months ago and asked would I give them any assistance in organizing the assistants engaged in the Native trade on the Reef, as they wished to go forward and get this determination established.

Are those European shop assistants that came to you?—Yes; they are merely, in the main, people from Eastern Europe, — Eastern European Jews, really; they said they wanted to raise the standard in the industry. I enquired of them, by raising the standard, did they mean also the Natives engaged in the industry? They said, "Yes". My further question to them was this, "Supposing you get a determination, the determination will be quite outside the scope which any European employer will pay to a Native". "Therefore, you are asking that this become a preserve of White people". They finally did admit it, and for that reason there was no cooperation between them.

Do you think it is these European employees who have succeeded in getting this Industrial Council Agreement?—Yes, I think so; they certainly went forward with that idea in view.
MR. LUCAS: This Industrial Council Agreement does not apply to Natives at present. As a result of the amendment of the law made last year, it is in the power of the Minister to extend it; but he has not done so yet. Your line for the protection of these Native storekeepers in Alexandra is to put the facts before the Minister so as to persuade him not to extend it?—That is the point of the Native traders. They have received certain notices from a certain Government Department that they must come into line with this determination or agreement within a certain time, and they came to me and asked me how they could do this sort of thing.

CHAIRMAN: I take it, these notices came from the Labour Department?—Yes. I will get you one of the notices which one of these men received.

MR. LUCAS: It could never have been intended to apply to a place like Alexandra?—Although they have received their notices, no action has been taken so far; they are continuing in the old way; but they want to make a protest.

I should be surprised if it came into action?—Yes, sir; they are very much concerned about it.

The point about messengers and sweepers being 350% higher surely cannot be correct?—What I am drawing attention to there is shopboys engaged in shops—doing the sweeping of shops, would get £4 a month in the centre of the town; whereas, according to the reading of this agreement, the same class of Native in a Native store has to be paid at the rate of £5.10.—a week.

No; you misread it. If you look at the definition of 'labourer', you will find it includes messengers running errands and so on?—You will also remember that that is only
permissible if you engage another person at at least 85 a week; you must have a certain amount on the higher rates before you employ people on the lower rates.

I do not think it says that, does it? No; I think you have misread it? Well, I will go over it again later and be sure of my point; this has only just been handed to me now.

I think you have misread it. I should like, for the purposes of the record, noted that, although you have referred to it as a determination here, it is not; it is an agreement under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

CHAIRMAN: There is a typing error on page 2 of my statement which is not corrected in this addendum; I would like you to tell me which is the correct one -- that is, "mine employers or European employers". Should that be "European employees"? Yes, European employees it should be; it is a typing error.

Can you account for its failing on their part, in view particularly of the second part of your sentence? Well, it is very difficult; it is all involved in the question of those who believe in trade union action; that should have in view a still more wide object, namely, the capturing of the Government of the country by the political arm of that movement. They maintain that the Conciliation Act and the Wage Board Act do not encourage people to join the trade unions, because they can get benefits from the Conciliation and Wage Acts equal to, if not greater, in some instances, than could be obtained from the trade union acting independently. That is the point of view of quite a number of people.

Do you put this up: trade unionists in Cape Town say that the Conciliation Act has increased the mechanical
efficiency of labour organization at the cost of the spirit of content? Is that more or less what you are driving at? - Yes; but I do not think I should put it in that way.

Then, on page 8, about half way down, you say in regard to Natives, "Circumstances have decreed that he should do nothing more than so-called unskilled labour". What do you mean by "circumstances"? - I think that is clear.

I was wondering what circumstances you had in mind?

The Native first and foremost is largely unrepresented in regard to the drafting of legislation in the country. Secondly there is the definite colour line cleavage which South Africa practically says it has been divinely ordained that the Native shall be the unskilled work of society — that he shall be practically the servant of the White man. That has been carried out on the farms in the past and to a certain extent it is carried out in industry, much in the same way as we do it in England and Scotland, — that the English artisan was the man on the top, and the labourer was just the labourer and must not aspire to anything else.

You do not think it is divinely ordained? - I am sure it is not; it would not be able to exist at all were it not for the bolstering effect of legislation.

Now, on page 9, -- 12 lines down --, you say, "Noone with any grounding of industrial discipline..."; may I take it that that sentence really boils down to your view of the most urgent duty of the European towards the Native -- ?- Is to lift the status of the Native?

Yes ?- Yes; and it is also this, which is probably well, to my mind it is -- more important, that if there were at this stage an unrestricted competition between European and non-European, a certain number of the non-Europeans would come
on top; I have no doubt as to that. But the unrestricted competition would resolve itself into this point, that employers would have no sense of a colour bar at all; they would employ the cheap labour,—and I do not stand for that at the present juncture.

I want to see another way out of it, which would mean for the majority of the Europeans, a step up, but it would mean also a big drop in European standards; I prefer to aim at the Native coming up to the European standard, rather than what seems to myself inevitable at the present time, that we shall arrive at some uniform standard much below the European of today. That is the point of view I would like to urge.

You realise that if you have free and unfettered competition and have some directive agency, you will break down probably rather more than you build up, rather faster than you build up? That has always been so; but so far as it has concerned South Africa, we must always keep this in mind, that if we maintain the European at the present high level and continually ignore the Native, it is not at all fair. I want to see the point reached when the European artisans and workers of the country generally will aim at the idea of bringing the Native up to our standard of living, rather than that we should arrive at a lower standard for the European.

DR. ROBERTS: It is very difficult for the European to lift up the great mass of rural Natives; they must lift themselves up?—It is certainly very difficult, and I agree with you that the onus is not entirely upon the European, —in fact, it is one of the standards I have taken up ever since I have been in this country, that the Native should, so far as possible, make his own policy and definitely go forward to an objective, taking, if he likes, European advice.
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CHAIRMAN: When one has ruled out on one side unrestricted competition, and on the other side one postulates a gradual leavening in the masses down below—which is bound to work slowly—you have still got, between the two, the immediate problem of those Natives who are already pressing against the European system?—Yes.

How would you suggest one should set to work with regard to that in the meantime?—Well, it is one of the great difficulties of the whole situation. Will there be that tendency, do I think, for the great mass of the European population in this country to go down to the level of the minority of Natives who will come up? If that is the point you are making—how to arrive at the point and how we can assist that, is extremely difficult; I admit the difficulties of the whole situation. At the moment, I can only suggest industry should get down with the help of the experts in industry, to see how we can grade the standards. You will have a certain part of the population which is going to be subnormal—referred to in this country as the "poor Whites". South Africa is not the only country that has poor Whites; every country has them. The difficulty of knowing to deal with that sub-normal population becomes extremely difficult in South Africa, because, so far, there is no section of the Native population that can be classed as sub-normal—although the European can be classed as sub-normal, I think. As industry progresses and poverty increases among the Natives, then we are going to get a sub-normal Native section, and the poor Native section is going to be a problem which I should not like to have to make any solution to.

You mean, your Native population is undifferentiated?—Yes, to a large extent.
Largely, it is a society living on a customary standard which it has been able to maintain. Whereas, in the European society there is no customary standard and a certain number have gone well up above an average line, and a very large number have dropped well below it?—Well, I think it has to be qualified considerably, because, with the sub-normal section of the population in Britain would usually drift to what is known as navvy work. In South Africa, it is not possible for a White man; it is working, to a certain extent, as we know, but that work has largely been done by Natives. In Europe and on the Continent generally, that work would be done by a large number of the sub-normal population.

Environment can make tremendous changes in the outlook of these people. At the time I was interested in these matters at home, we dealt with it from the point of view of housing, and with the children, from the point of view of specialised schools, in which colour was used; rooms were made with blue, red, white or any colour; the child was placed in that room and the reaction of his mentality was noted with the different colours and as he responded to the colour, he or she were then given a more high type of education. That experiment is going on in my home town at the present time. The school cost £60,000 to build, but I think it is well worth doing.

When you refer to a poor White problem, that has already emerged; and a poor Black problem which has not yet emerged. I take it what you have in mind is the differentiation in the layers of the White population, and a much less differentiation in the layers of the Native population?—Yes; I do not think it has declared itself much in the Native population at the moment, but it is slowly doing so.
One cannot go to the locations without noting how these people find, it more and more difficult to entertain their friends, and so on; and that, to some extent, coincides with the improvement in their standard, so to say. Through coming into contact with European ways of living, their commitments become greater and their margin to entertain a friend becomes less and less; and, of course, with the lower section, if I may term it, -- those who are prepared to have a good time at a beer drink and so on -- are degenerating very fast.

At what point at present -- taking your Native society in the urban and rural reserves -- is the brunt felt most hardly? -- Do you mean, as between the rural and the urban population?

Tribal and rural -- not living on tribal lands and urban? -- Well, I think the poverty is showing itself equally between the two. I do not think I can say it was noticeable in one more than the other; but in certain districts in the country, it is certainly more advanced than in others -- for instance, in the Queenstown district, the poverty there is most appalling amongst the rural Natives.

Are you thinking now of places like Kamaston and Lasserston, or farms? -- I am thinking of the farms.

Not of the reserves? -- No; I do not know much about the reserves there.

You think the conditions on the farms are better than in Queenstown itself, or worse? -- No, I think it is just about the same. The location is one of the worst certainly I have visited and the wages for all types of labour -- which, of course, is mainly agricultural, are shockingly low.

Now, on this same matter, assuming that one accepts all the implications of the sentence I have drawn your attention
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to, one would still have the immediate problem of a certain number of Natives who are being kept out of occupations that they would aspire to, and that they are probably very well catered for; in other words, between having absolute unrestricted competition and an absolute colour bar, there must be some sort of little ground on which one could organize things. Now, could you give us any practical suggestions as to the particular direction in which that could be done, so as to reduce or eliminate a good deal of the discontent that exists now with the colour bar legislation? — Well, Mr. Chairman, with regard to this thorny point coming up again, as to how to raise standard and maintain the European standard, — first of all, I should like to refer to what is happening, say, in the Protectorate of Basutoland, where you have a number of Natives qualified for skilled occupations and who cannot find an outlet for that skill because of the stagnation of the country itself; it is maintaining a position similar to what it was 40 or 50 years ago — I give the statement of the officials there and people who have lived there; well, that means that that skilled section of the Basuto must either go back into tribal conditions, or else come into the Union and aggravate the problem of the skilled Native in the Union.

Now, in a small population such as South Africa contains, — taking both Black and White, — it is going to be a difficult matter to engage all the skill that is stored up in the Native and is not so far given — excepting in isolated cases where it has been allowed to be released; only a certain amount can be absorbed in industries, and I think one of the ways in which I would suggest there can be an improvement, is a definite overhauling of the legislation
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dealing with land and the releasing of a certain amount of
the Native population -- giving them security of tenure and
allowing them to develop in that way. If that is done,
they will in turn engage a small section of the skilled
Natives in the Union. But there is this difficulty: industry
will not allow that; the industrial capital must have its
unskilled and semi-skilled labour, and therefore it will
object to any alteration of the existing state of affairs,
because, if there is to be a scarcity in the industrial
districts, of a certainty the Native will realise, just as
the European has done, that scarcity values can operate
despite legislation. And there is going to be that clash,
between industrial capital and those who want to see the
country develop on peaceful lines -- which seems somewhat
remote at the present time to talk about; but it is all
development on peaceful lines.

The suggestion I would make to you, Mr. Chairman, is
this, that if Natives were allowed to be settled on the land
in communities, retaining some of the tribal sanctions which
have governed their life in the past, -- for instance, the
communal to be owned in common, -- it would be a way, I
think, in which the Natives could be absorbed, and correspond-
ingly a small section would be required to bring their skill
into operation for other sides of the development of land.
I think the best I can refer you to in that line, is to follow
up what I have said, would be the development of a farming
community. The reference to the development of Denmark
after the German-Danish War of 1860, I think it was; there is
a book which covers the whole field of education and co-opera-
tive farming, and that, I think, would give you some very
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valuable sidelights on how some of these suggestions which
have helped in the development of Denmark could also be
applied to the Native in this country. I am speaking of a
country of which I know a little - Denmark - because I have
lived there for a year.

CHAIRMAN: Could you give us the title of the book? -
"The development of a farming community". I think there are
a number of people who have contributed to it.

Now, that development which you are visualising is,
to my mind, implicit in the second part of the sentence --
that is, building up from down below? - Yes.

But to my mind that is going to be a very slow process.
Is not there necessary at the same time, and while that is
going on, some sort of provision up above, for those Natives
who are already pressing against the European society from
down below? - Yes.

Could you give us any practical suggestions of how
one could deal with that problem, which is a problem showing
itself only at isolated points at present? - Yes; well, in
the nature of things, real development, as I think you will
agree with me, is always slow and in South Africa, as in
other countries at the present time, we have the clash of
opinion between that slow method of advance and that sometimes
called the Bolshevik advance. Well, I am often torn between
the two. Sometimes I fancy the one; sometimes the other.
But your point in South Africa, I think, applies very forcibly
at the moment, because I am afraid that the Native is coming
to the point where, is not going to take the slow method and
he may at any time, shall I say, throw over the traces:
Your point of how to deal with the men who are already fitted
to take some further part in the life of the country, I
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would reply to in this way, that there should be more openings for these men for training and teaching their own people, -- for instance, in the way of agricultural demonstrators, of whom there are far too few at the moment.

DR. ROBERTS: But they are increasing very rapidly? Yes. Well, that is one way. Another way is that in industry itself, more and more of them should be absorbed as factory inspectors, as supervisors generally of conditions, because of instances such as have come under my notice with regard to compensation to a Native for having a hand taken off and signing away his compensation rights for £5. £5 for the loss of a hand! Well, if you had Native factory inspectors watching these sort of things, to a large extent that would be obviated. That is one way of employing them.

Then again, I think, if they are able to hold their own with the European right up on the top scales of remuneration in industry, they should be given that opportunity to come forward.

Just before you depart from that point, Mr. Chairman, there is another one which I think should at least be clear to the Commission -- and that is, that all aspects and all lines of trades and occupations will be in a way forced open to the Natives by what is happening in the North -- say, for instance, in the Belgian Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika; I do not speak with first hand knowledge of these places, but I should think the very fact that Natives are allowed to drive engines and generally take part in the life of the country up North, is bound to have its effect later on down in the South here; and that will open more up certain lines. One cannot for ever go on with the position of a Native bringing a train to the Belgian Congo borders and that train being then handed
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over to Europeans.

CHAIRMAN: Why not? It is actually happening in Europe; your Italian driver carries your train to the Italian border until the Austrian takes it over? It is the wage standards I refer to, and the fact of the colour bar. You see, it would be impossible for a driver, say, taking over a train — when they do link up the railways — that has come through from the Belgian Congo into Rhodesia; the White people would not agree with it; yet these same people will go over the Belgian Congo borders and get into a train which is driven by a Native driver. The thing is absurd.

With regard to your very short note on education; you suggest that education, both for the Native and poor White, should be more specialised in order to meet the peculiar circumstances. Would you please be a little more explicit on that point? — Well, the specialised education which I had in mind, and of which I have given you some little detail this morning with regard to the poor White and Black, the possible uplift of the children by means of the schools I have just mentioned, is one that should be particularly born in mind, and then development of the ideas of such institutions as we have in Johannesburg — of the Home Home's school, where there is a definite attempt to deal with the physically deformed people, who are, after all, an offshoot of poor Whites. Poor Whites do not belong entirely to the Dutch; there are as many English as Dutch, I believe, — or will be, before long. That is the one specialised type of education I am referring to.

The other is the definite bringing of the Native — he is in our European system and cannot go out of it, and we should definitely train him for the system, rather than that
we should leave the education in the hands of the Missions. I am not at all in favour of mission training, because it does not fit the individual for the life in which he is placed today; and for that reason I would say that there should be concentration more on schooling in general, under Government auspices, and, of a certainty, for the Natives, the same chance as for the Europeans, of development in the schools. At present it is haphazard. Many of the teachers, -- and I do not say it in any disparaging way -- are themselves unfitted to teach the Native because they have not had sufficient training. That is why I say the specialized training would have to come from these people, who would have to be trained up to the highest pitch in our educational system.

DR. ROBERTS: You are thinking now of the Native teacher? - Yes. And then I think, what is probably more important even than that, is the setting up of an organization similar to the Workers' Educational Organization in Britain, which is a non-political organization, worked on the principle of lecture and discussion, always keeping in their mind the missed fact that the people whom you are attempting to educate have that most essential of all things, elementary education, and they require to know some of the implications of life under this new system. If an organization of that kind could be sponsored or fostered in the country, it would help very considerably to open the minds of these people to the system under which they live.

For instance, it is not new -- British working men had to come through the same course; and I make no secret of the fact that I received quite a lot of my education from the Workers' Educational Discussion at home; and by means of
the type of training which I suggest, you do open the minds of the people to what is going on around about them -- to the economic factors of life which they must understand; but I think it is essential on the part of every individual in society to know something of the economic factors which govern our lives; what, for instance, the rise and fall in the Bank rate is closely linked up with. It may seem absurd to talk about that to the native, but the native has to go into the system and see why an European has got to understand these things. That is what I mean by the specialised training.

You have dealt with two evils: The one, ordinary school education, and the other the adult education; and it may be it is with regard to school education that you have made the statement that the present missionary school is not adequate?—Yes.

I would be pleased if you could indicate to us what, to your mind, are those shortcomings?—The greatest shortcoming of all is the fact that the teachers have to have far too many pupils under their charge; they are in direct personal contact with very few of their pupils, — which is an absolute necessity to a really sound education. They are under-staffed.

Dr. ROBERTS: You are not blaming that on the missionaries?—No, I am not; I am blaming it on the system of the country.

If you went to the schools of the Government, you would very likely find that the teachers have more pupils under their care?—That may be so; but that is conjecture, I think.

No; because the missionaries help considerably with
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the funds; and if you are just dealing with Government funds alone, you would find that there is not enough money to carry on this system of education?—I quite understand that there is not sufficient money allocated at the present time; but there is sufficient money in the country if the country is really sincerely determined to go on with the uplift of the Native. That is the point I want to make.

The Chairman was asking me to indicate lines. I have just indicated the lines which I think should be advanced; for instance, may I give you this instance: Vienna today has reorganized the whole of that city to the extent that nearly all the property is municipally owned; it has spent £11,000,000, — the cost of two battleships today. Far better to do that than go on with armaments, for instance. Of course, South Africa has not got the armaments that other countries have got, but at the same time we certainly have got the money, and, if we do not use it in the way of education, we will certainly use it later on in erecting and equipping — forming and equipping a police force to keep down the criminal Native and the ne'er-do-well generally.

DR. ROBERTS: I do not think it should be forgotten the large sums of money that the witness' own country has spent — Scotland?—Well, I have heard you speak already of the many good qualities of the Scot, and it may seem like sacrilege on my part — but the fact is that Scotland is not so very far advanced in education as some people would like us to believe. (Laughter).

CHAIRMAN: Your answer hitherto has dealt with the purely mechanical organization of education?—Yes.

Whereas your statement seems to refer to the quality of education?—Yes.
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The nature? Yes.

Am I wrong in thinking that you have a criticism of the nature of education as a means of fitting the Native for the life that he has got to enter? I could not quite follow your last point.

I get the impression from your statement here that the nature of the education that is applied to the Native is inadequate for the purpose of fitting him to enter the new type of life he has got to enter? I do not know if I am right in that; I am not an educational expert; may I say from the outset that that is the reason why I make this so short. I am quite certain you have had much evidence on this matter and, therefore, I am rather chary of venturing on to this field; but it must be perfectly clear that where you have not got compulsory education, you cannot have any efficiency. I mean, you have no compulsory education for the Natives and, therefore, there cannot be efficiency with regard to their education. I think that is one outstanding point. With regard to the staffing, I have indicated my views on that point.

Then, also, with regard to school buildings, -- and here Dr. Roberts may take me up again on this point; but it is unfortunate that many of the mission schools in locations are not by any means a credit. Undoubtedly, the type of building has to be put up in accordance with the finances which the organization has in hand; but where we have a definite advance is in a place like Kroonstad, where you have united schools; and so far as that side is concerned, I would like to see more of these united schools. If that answers your question, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: I think it does not; it does not deal
with the question of what sort of education ought to be given?—I would rather you put that to an educational expert.

DR. ROBERTS: I agree with you that all these schools are not what one desires them to be, in the Cape; but the whole of the Native schools are put up by missionary enterprise; not one single one is put up by the Government.—I am not in any way attempting to deprecate missionary effort; but missionaries, like other people, ought to change with the changing circumstances of our civilization. I am very much afraid that missionaries in South Africa, with the exception of a very few, have not changed with the changing economic circumstances.

You do not think they have changed for the worse?—Well, I am not going to say they have changed for the worse; they have not advanced; that is all I am prepared to say. Missionary effort in South Africa has done a tremendous lot for the Native, I quite admit that; but with regard to the schools, one is always faced with that problem, and in many ways it is very sad to see little buildings all over the place—some for the Catholics, some for the Wesleyans, some for the Anglicans, and some for the Dutch Reformed, and a clear cut line of demarcation, which is just as rigid in places as the colour bar. If the parent is Wesleyan, well, the child can only go to the Wesleyan school; and if an Anglican, he can only go to the Anglican school, and so on. You must eliminate that before you can get any advance in education.

MR. LUCAS: Just before we adjourned for tea, you referred to the difficulty of our present position, where we have got to face either bringing the non-European up—which means more production for the whole country—or bringing the
European down. Nothing is gained by trying to hide anything. Will you state as frankly as you can the difficulties as you see them. We see plenty, but I would like to know the difficulties as you see them? - Well, perhaps I might start off from this point: the British Industries Federation, some three months ago, issued a manifesto to the employees -- the workers in their industries -- under their group -- which said that they would have to have a reduction in wages because they were now competing with the countries who had workers who were clothed in cotton garments and rope sandals, and that these workers were now equally efficient with those in Europe, and that they, as employers, faced the competition of these countries -- workers whose standard of living was coming near to that of the European, although their apparel was not. And, therefore, they saved in that direction.

Well, coming to the position in South Africa, I see the difficulties that inevitably, if we are to continue the present policy, European standards must go down, as we have seen them, to some extent, going down with regard, for instance, to road work, where we find that Europeans now, in some parts of the country, have had the subsidy taken away from that class of work and are living somewhere near the Native level. Well, the whole point on which I am not very clear is this: how far industry can stand a definite minimum wage being allocated to these industries on the lines of the Bloemfontein agreed minimum of 3/- per day.

MR. LUCAS: 3/6d? - 3/6d it is now, with a graded scale of 3d or 2d, -- I am not sure; and the contention of the employers almost certainly will be that the industries cannot stand it; and I am prepared to believe that, under
the present system, certain of the industries would not be able to stand even a Native minimum of 5/- per day; I think there are industries in the country which would not stand that. But I would say this much, if those industries cannot stand it, they have no right to continue on definitely lowered standards. Some other way must be found out of the difficulty and I think if the Conciliation Act and the offices of the Wage Board were definitely brought into being to cover Natives, we would arrive at some system whereby we could stabilise a minimum and still not interfere, to any great extent, with the industries concerned.

There must be many industries in the country today which are able to stand that minimum of 5/- per day, -- or, as the I.C.U. put it in its memorandum to the Wage Board at Kroonstad, £7.10. -- a month as a minimum. The Wage Board on that occasion admitted the accuracy of the I.C.U.'s figure and the budget was unchallenged; it was definitely shown how it was a necessity; but we were faced with that difficult problem that Natives did, to some extent, live on 3/4d a day and were not too badly off; and it is to arrive at the reason why this obtains in the industry, -- why I say it is necessary to apply the Conciliation Act and Wage Board to the Native body in industry and agriculture, to determine what this minimum shall be that they can live upon. That would be a very fine thing, I think, towards the improvement in Native conditions.

MR. LUCAS: That is looking at it from the point of view purely of meeting the Native conditions. What I was rather anxious to get was a statement from you as to the difficulties that have got to be faced before an improvement
can be made in those conditions, which will make it possible for the Natives to get a European standard without a reduction in the European standard? — Well, one of the first difficulties that has to be faced is the employment of convict labour in various industries. A statement, according to this morning's press, — The Rand Daily Mail — is, Mr. Pirow said in the House yesterday that they ought to get another £120,000 a year from hired convict labour. Now that, in my opinion, is one of the first things that has got to be dealt with before you can improve Native wage standards. It is all very well to talk about employing Natives, because you cannot keep them confined inside a prison or anything of that kind; but the effect of that Native convict labour on industries is extremely bad.

At 2/- a day, — the figure given by Mr. Pirow, — they are competing with the Native even at 3/4d a day, and it is admitted by all that they do equal work. The White building industry secretary came to me some time ago and asked me if we would not do something to stop this convict labour being employed in the building industry. I said, so far as I was concerned, I was prepared to help them, if they, in turn, were prepared to take a forward step. There is an onus and responsibility resting upon European workers to absolutely refuse to go on with employment in which there is convict labour employed, either White or Black. No industry should be subsidized by prison labour of that description. I think that is one of the first steps.

Then, of course, I realise the difficulty of placing Natives upon any semi-skilled industry, side by side with White men; the prejudice will crop up, but it is not impossible
to overcome. I have heard of an instance in Johannesburg where, during the meal hour, the White workers are playing football with the Native workers. - I just forget where. I got that from now, but I know it is a fact.

Mr. Lucas: It is so? - And when things of that kind are happening in industry, I think it is quite clear that many White workers are prepared to give the Native that chance to come up at least to the semi-skilled trades. And if you go into the industrial districts, -- as I have no doubt you will do, or have done, in Johannesburg, -- you will see Natives employed, for instance, in the blacksmithing shops as hammer men, or strikers they are called; they are given the opportunity to advance. But there is this essential thing required, as far as White workers are concerned: they must ask for the equivalent for the Native that would be offered a European unskilled man on the same employment.

In my own experience, the colour bar breaks down when they will work side by side with one another; but the European does not always realise that when he gets the Native to help him, he should ask the same for the Native as he would for the European and so help forward this idea of the improvement of the standards.

Well, you have mentioned the difficulties to be overcome, because the Government gets revenue from the convict labour. You have mentioned the question of prejudice which has to be overcome. You have also instanced certain employers of large numbers of low paid Native labourers. It is a pretty formidable list. Have you any more to add to that list? - I would take, for instance, the motor industry; there you will find -- and you had some evidence from the Coloured and Natives on that point -- that Natives had been
pressed out by Coloureds.

CHAIRMAN: It was the other way round — Coloureds by Natives? Yes; I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. That industry alone certainly ought to employ more Natives than it does, and at a scale more approximating to the skill which these Natives undoubtedly have in that industry. For instance, the Natives should have a definitely hourly basis fixed for them, — or a definite day — an eight hours' day — fixed. At the present time, they will begin work anywhere between six, seven or eight in the morning, and are often employed until eight and ten at night, with certain breaks, certainly; but I think if that industry were tackled and put on to a definite basis, more in accordance with the skill of the Native — who, in many instances, will take all the minor repairs of a car and do them quite thoroughly, — it is only the more intricate work that is done by the European, now.

Many Europeans or White people have objected to Natives going into that industry and said they have lowered standards. They certainly have. It is only because, again, of neglect. If the Wage Board were to make an enquiry, for instance, into that industry, they would be able to improve Native standards and those of the industry, which I am perfectly certain could well afford to give a much higher standard to the Natives employed in it.

There is again the tinmithing industry which might be dealt with. I have not got any thorough knowledge of this; I have only been able to pick up things from time to time and very often am ordered off premises and cannot get all the information I want. The tinmithing industry is another case
in point; there are many Natives engaged now in that industry, --- in quite skilled parts of that trade. Their wages are certainly higher than the majority of industrial Native wages in this area. They range often between £6 and £7, and I have known them as high as £9 a month for certain class of trade in the tinsmithing industry.

MR. LUCAS: Well, you gave certain suggestions as to how the condition might be improved fundamentally by tackling the land question. As far as the individual's position in the town is concerned, in so far as it would not be affected by such proposals, do you approve of the Wage Act as a means for improving the position of Native employees in the towns?--- As against the rural Native?

I am dealing with the towns now; The towns would be affected if you drew off Natives to the land, which, on your proposal, would be made available for them. But take the Natives who will always remain in town, --- there are a very large number, --- how would you propose improving their position? In addition to the remedy you have already mentioned, would you apply the Wage Act?--- Yes, most certainly; I am in full accord with applying the Wage Act to Native conditions of industry; and although I stated what I considered, earlier this morning, to be the objection of the White trade unionist to the Wage Act, it still does not alter my opinion that the Wage Act can be applied, and with good effect, to Native conditions, both skilled and unskilled.

Can you see any way today other than by applying the Wage Act, to protect the unskilled or semi-skilled Native from exploitation?--- I am afraid I do not. Organization among
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Natives in trade and industrial unions is prejudiced far back. In the nature of things, they must, of necessity, deal with the political aspect of things, and they are largely political organizations and not industrial organizations. I think the best parallel I can give to the position of the Native and overseas conditions, is that which gave rise to the Transport and General Workers' Union in Britain, which is an organization of the unskilled, which in times when everything was quiet, was always on the verge of bankruptcy and when the crisis came they had then sufficient funds to carry on for a few years. That is very much the position of Native organizations; they will spring up and, through misguided propaganda, misinterpretation of doctrine and so on, like that, they will inflame rather than guide, and in that way be of little service.

I think the indications of the past, -- the number of organizations that have sprung up and just simply died away, -- is clear proof on that point; and if you have the Wage Board operating in these industries, with Natives definitely engaged on the Wage Board, as members of the Wage Board, I think you can then adjust the conditions; but I certainly do not think that the Wage Board can effectively work for the Native in industry if the Board is confined entirely to White commissioners or representatives; I think you must have Natives on the Board. It would be difficult, I quite understand.

MR. LUCAS: Assuming that you do not get that for some years to come, can you suggest any other remedy than the Wage Act for meeting the Native position? I do not think you can; it will then be all at the mercy of chance, and
the Native is not sufficiently aware of the scarcity of values to be able to move himself from place to place.

Now, to come on to the other point that you were dealing with - organization; would you allow at least as much freedom as is today allowed to Europeans to organize?— Most certainly; I say he should be given the same freedom as Europeans to organize in trade or industrial unions; that is an absolutely first essential.

Now, we were told in Cape Town — and I think it is correct — that with the exception of one trade union there, there is now no difficulty for a Native to get into a trade union for that industry; and that development has apparently been very rapid. Is there anything like that on the Rand?— I have heard that about Cape Town before and, frankly, Mr. Chairman, I am inclined to doubt it. I have no reliable information to go upon, but I have not heard of any great influx of Natives into unions in the Cape.

Is not that because there is not a very large number of skilled men, or even semi-skilled men yet?— I think it is largely because they have not received the encouragement to join those organizations.

We were told there are trade unions there now with Natives on their executive — several of them — and that deliberately Natives were chosen as representatives to a congress, — I think it was the Durban Trade Union Congress — for the purpose of stating that the Native must be recognised in trade unions?— Yes, well, that may be so; but so far as I know was asked the position on the Rand, one Native to go down and represent the Natives at Durban at the recent Conference which you refer to, and I do know that his organization had

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been a very few weeks in existence. I refer to what was previously known as the Non-European Federation of Trade Unions, which was renamed the African Federation of Trade Unions. That individual went down to represent Native opinion there, -- and I question whether he was actually representing a membership of anything more than 1,000 people.

I am not speaking about that, but trade unions with White and Coloured members deliberately choosing a Native. As far as the Rand is concerned, have you noticed any change in the attitude of trade unionists towards the admission of Natives? They talk about it -- but only the more advanced of them. I think opinion with regard to Natives entering trade unions is still very conservative.

Yes, I realise that; but I was wondering whether you, in the time you have been here, have noticed any liberalising in the attitude of White trade unionists? Not very much.

But is there any?-- Yes, I think there is; the more advanced people -- the officials and those who take an active interest in their trade unions -- are going on with a persistent propaganda in which I think it is pointed out that they must organize the Native, otherwise he is going to break down their standards, -- and things like that. There is that quiet propaganda going on, but no real effort is ever made to organize the Native in such White trade unions. The furniture people tried it some time ago and we had the unfortunate incident of Natives supporting Europeans while they were out on strike, and then the Natives decided they ought to strike in order to get better conditions, -- and the Europeans did not support them. That gave the idea quite a setback, and threw the Natives back onto themselves.
and they think the only way to do things is to organize in
their own unions which, in the nature of things, becomes
decidedly racial.

When did that furniture incident happen?—I could
not give you the approximate date.

Since you have been here?—Yes.

Now, at the present moment, it is not legal for a
Native to join a trade union in the Transvaal?—I do not
know how it is not legal.

I am just putting the position; and it is not possible
to set up a trade union of Natives either, which can be
registered. Supposing the Natives were given freedom to
organize in the same way that Europeans can, what are the
prospects of organization developing in the line of joint
trade unions—Europeans and Natives in the same trade unions,
or of there being separate trade unions?—Well, in the
first place, I have always contended and pointed out to Native
leaders who have been trying to organize them industrially,
that there is one way which they might have tried long ago,
—and that is, to get a number of non-pass-bearing Natives
to form a union and bring the pass-bearing Natives in along
with them. I think any agreement which you have,—which
is made from time to time, would cover these people; if it
were made for a non-pass-bearing Native, it would then cover
the pass-bearing Native; if he were not inside the organiza-
tion, they could form a union with these non-pass-bearing
Native unions and bring the others along with them and come
before the Wage Board for an enquiry. But if the Native
were given the opportunity of organizing in the same way as
the Europeans, I think there would be—we must face the fact
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that there would be the possibility of a remembering of all their grievances and the many hardships which they have undergone; there would be a decided tendency to make it a racial organization. But I think, with a little bit of common sense on the part of the Europeans, and the Natives' good sense, - which usually does come to the top, - we might avoid that period; but I admit the dangers.

But even admitting the dangers, you consider that they should be given the opportunity to organize? - Well, I am emphatically of that opinion, that they must be, because, so long as they are subject to the provisions of the Masters and Servants Act, they have no real hope of redressing their grievances, because, as you know, Mr. Lucas, an offence under that Act is criminal in nearly all cases on the part of the Native, -- in fact, he is guilty until he proves his innocence; but, with the employer, that is not the case.

There are three in the case of the employer: one is, to withhold wages; another, not to give food; and the other, to withhold property? - But there is the point with regard to the employers agreeing on a certain rate of wages and paying another rate. But the difficulty is to prove the whole thing.

There is criminal liability on the part of the employer? - I shall believe in the justice of the law when it actually brings a case of that kind forward.

There have been cases? - Yes, but how many have slipped through the other way?

Of course, the number of employers dealt with is insignificant in comparison with the number of employees; that is so. But do you contend that if the right to organize is given
to Natives, that that will mean the amendment -- or the repeal of the Masters and Servants Act, making the breach of a civil contract a criminal liability? — I should take it, if the Native is allowed to organize, he would automatically come under the provisions of the Conciliation Act, whereby his organization would be subject to a certain amount of scrutiny by the Government from time to time, and the necessity of having industrial councils formed in certain industries and so on, like that; I think that would automatically rule out the Masters and Servants Act.

You see, you have put the difficulties of the Masters and Servants Act from the point of view of mainly the trained Native. Only this morning, we have got a statement in from a Native missionary, in which he says, because the Masters and Servants Act does not apply to prospectors, large numbers of Natives have been defrauded out of their wages. He puts it at a sum of £20,000 in two districts. Now, the Act is no protection in certain ways to the Native? — I should rather put it the other way, — it ought to be.

If the Masters and Servants Act was applied, the probability is most of these Natives would have been paid? — I do not think so. I have some experience of the diggings and know how difficult it is to prove any case against a digger or prospector, — that he had not paid the Native's wages. If you had a Masters and Servants Act operating on the diggers, I am quite prepared to say nine cases out of ten would never be proved by the Native; the master's word would be taken. It is all verbal contract. I remember the point of the diggers who have been before the magistrates at the diggings
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was, "Well, the price of diamonds is so low that I cannot dispose of them, and I cannot pay", and the magistrate has said, "Well, I will give you time to pay", and he gives them three months or something like that to find the wages. Of course, the Native has to leave because the man cannot find the wages. I admit the hardship of the prospector, but the Native cannot wait there and he leaves.

CHAIRMAN: On the alluvial gold diggings, the same objection could not apply?—Well, I do not know about gold diggings. I know the diamonds diggings, - Lichtenburg and other places.

MR. LUCAS: To come back to the question of organization; supposing you got Natives organized and the Industrial Conciliation Act made applicable to them also, as far as agreements are concerned, can you visualise the results of a system which aims at agreements between employers on the one side and employees on the other, who are divided into two unions, - one Europeans and one Natives?—I hope that will never happen. I should say, as I have stated in my memorandum, that an industry where an organization is set up must comprise the European, Indian, Coloured and Native if he is engaged in it; otherwise, it cannot be representative of the industry. Difficult and all as it may be to put into operation, it cannot contain, as at present, a minority of people settling the affairs of an industry for the great majority.

I was not advocating it; I was asking you whether you could visualise the results. The argument is sometimes put this way, that you could have the two unions, because, for practical purposes, all the skilled people are Europeans and
all the unskilled are Native; so that you can have the one union settling the wages for the skilled, and the other union settling the wages for the unskilled?—Well, if you have that state of affairs, of a certainty you are opening the door to a definite lowering of standards. I will give you the instance of the Associated Blacksmiths in Britain, which is a clear instance of a craft union remaining only open to blacksmiths and the smiths and strikers, which take in blacksmiths, and the hammermen or strikers; and the one union was placed up against the other as mass production began to develop, and the smiths and strikers won through because the strikers, or hammermen, were allowed, after a number of years, or if they shewed skill, to take a place in the industry or in the mass production lines which the industry then began; and the craft union or blacksmiths' union, in that way, by retaining its membership, was contributory to a lowering of the general standards of that industry. That is what I am afraid would happen in South Africa if you had what amounts to parallel unions of skilled Whites and semi-skilled, and unskilled Whites and non-Europeans; you are going to have that clash. I do not favour parallel unions.

Have you had any experience of White unions, or White organizations getting their own conditions satisfactorily settled on condition that they let the employers do what they wanted in respect of the unskilled?—I have heard of such cases, but I have not verified them.

Would you go so far as to say that in any industry you would not allow an Industrial Council Agreement to be framed if all sections of employees did not co-operate—in an industry.
where there were both Blacks and Whites, if the Black and White employees did not co-operate? — Yes, I am quite prepared to stand by that at any time. I do not think one section has a right to form any industrial council or agreement without the full co-operation of the others.

You raised one of the difficulties today in connection with these Reef traders’ agreement — where the agreement is made by White employers and an attempt is made to extend it by proclamation or governmental action to Native storekeepers who have not been consulted about the terms? — I am quite certain if the Native traders had been consulted, that agreement could never have been arrived at; and I will go further and say that the agreement is joint — as it must be, of course, — but it has been agreed upon before they come before the Conciliation Board to agree definitely to the raising of standards with the ultimate objective in view of definitely putting out the small trader: but in the long run I cannot see how that can be avoided. I think the small Native trader will go to the wall in any case, as chain stores develop, as they have done in Basutoland, and the tendency must be, in Native life, as in our own European life, for combines and French cartels, and it must develop amongst the Natives themselves.

Do you say chain stores have killed Native stores in Basutoland? — They have killed the Native in Native trade; the Native cannot go into Native trade on his own, because he has not got the capital to compete with the chain store; and just so it would be if the Natives were given the right to trade in locations at the present time, — as they do in some parts, but are refused in others, — rather I should put
it this way, that one of the grievances of the Natives is that they are not allowed to trade in their own locations; and if that right to trade were given, I am quite certain two out of every three would apply for a license and 99% of them would fail and that the remaining one percent would be subsidized by European capital in the long run; I think that would happen.

Of course, we have not been able to find out how much subsidizing by European capital there is, but there is evidence of quite an appreciable number of native natives who have carried on business successfully for some years?—Yes, I have one case in mind, at Machadodorp, where one Native is doing quite a good trade in the location there. The Europeans come up from Machadodorp town and purchase from his store in the location. I know there are some; but the public will say they are isolated cases. Where there is a trade developed amongst the Natives, then comes along a combine and the Native goes under, just as the European has done in other countries, or small shopkeepers.

We were told that in Kenya or Uganda, the Native is ousting the Asiatic trade?—I do not know about that, but I did read an article in the February issue of the Fortnightly Review, which gives a very bad impression of things in Kenya and Uganda—written by a man named Captain Hitchins, who has been 20 years in that Territory; he gives a very different picture of things from some we have heard from time to time. For instance, it definitely states a Native on a railway platform is put behind an iron or steel grill to await a train; and that sanitary conditions are very bad
indeed, and numerous other points which sort of shock one up with regard to these Territories and makes one wonder whether things there are very much better than they are in the Union. The Native is much more free than in the Union, but it is like the position in the British Protectorates, the Native is free there, but I do not know that his conditions under British indirect rule are anything to talk about. I do not favour it.

CHAIRMAN: Without going into the details, Dr. Jesse Jones expressed views while he was here which, to some extent, agree with the views you have just expressed?—Yes.

In the matter of wage fixation, either by agreement or a determination, are not we up against this difficulty, that if the wage is fixed so as to be a protection to the European, it virtually excludes a large number of Natives. Secondly, if it is fixed in such a way as to be of benefit to the Natives, it is no protection to the European; or, as an alternative to either, you have to lay down differential scales according to colour, to which there are other objections?—Well, of course, at the outset, the Wage Board has worked under considerable difficulties. Its work is always hampered by the fact that they began though it cannot give what is termed a civilised wage, unless you have a sympathetic Minister or Cabinet, they cannot have the reference back, which is so desirable, to go into further details of the industry and investigate, and allow a wage scale accordingly; and there is this to be borne in mind, that these graded scales are quite accepted in European industry. If you have the White men working in the blacksmithing industry, — I mention that because I know it very well,—you have the hammer men with
a basic rate of 30/- a week and the blacksmith with 48/- a week, they are allowed to make what is known as time and a half, -- that is half again onto our rate; there are differentiated rates between White people. I do not say it is an ideal scale, but it is part of what we can adopt in the transition, and I do not see why it could not be applied to the Native in this country in the difficult period of transition in which he is moving, -- to the point where there is going to be complete equality, socially, politically and economically.

I take it in a choice between those three things, -- all of which have certain objections, -- you would take the differentiation in the wage scale? I would be in favour of that at the present time.

MR. LUCAS: Differentiation on the grounds of colour? No, not on the grounds of colour, but of skill. I think most of the Natives would themselves admit that the artisan or higher skilled European has much to shew and teach them in the future.

CHAIRMAN: The actual practical application of that is an exceedingly difficult thing? Yes, I admit the difficulties all the way through, Mr. Chairman; as I have already stated, it is always a question as to whether one should go on these slower lines of progress or whether one should take the huge jump as indicated, say, in the advance in Russia. Whether that sort of thing could be applied in South Africa, -- personally I do not think it could, although I would very much like to see it applied, in order to save the long period of transition.

MR. LUCAS: I would just like to finish off about the industrial legislation. You say in your statement that
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the Wage Act has led to displacement of Natives by Europeans. That that is the natural result, is that your own opinion, or are you expressing the opinion of a body of people? It is the consensus of opinion of Natives of various organizations who have pointed out where Natives have been displaced: but it should be qualified by this, that in the Eastern Province, Natives have been, to an increasing extent, employed in industries there.

Yes. The reason I ask that is because we have had a number of Natives come forward and blame the Wage Act for certain dismissals: but in every instance, I think I am correct in saying, it has been shown the dismissals have been the result of the Industrial Council Agreement. The only one mentioned so far is the one you mentioned this morning, in connection with the baking trade and laundry, and in connection with which you say you have not got the figures. At this stage, it seems to me it is not enough to warrant an assertion that the Wage Act has led to dismissals?— No; Of course, the Native does take up the cry against the Wage Board from much the same point of view as the White person does, — "Here is something to throw a stone at". It is a very convenient body to shy a stone at or say something nasty about; but I think the Wage Board succeeds in so far as it gets a certain amount of criticism from both sides; if it gets the approval of one side, as against the other, I should think it arrives at something like a fair judgment. The difficulties of the Wage Board must be very great; they cannot be very popular individuals, because they get blamed from both sides.

Now, on the first page of your statement, you say that the usual basis on which you can calculate standards of living
cannot be followed here because of the difficulty of collecting family budgets -- and then you mention a number of other difficulties. How does the question of indentured labour, for instance, affect the examination of economic conditions of Natives? Well, I have already indicated this morning the mine labour, for instance, is based on the requirements of one individual and not on the requirements of a family; the man who goes into the mines has, in the majority of cases, the knowledge that his wife and his children will be looking after part of the tribal lands; and, to some extent, that man's wage is fixed on the requirements of one individual, and not on the requirements of a family.

Following that, I take it you would agree it would be quite impossible to fix a different wage in a town for a tribal Native, and what you would fix for a detribalised Native for the same occupation? -- I should never attempt it.

Can you conceive of its being possible? -- No, I cannot.

One of the points that is made is that if you fix the wage on which the detribalised Native can live, you will then cut down your supply of Native labour, because the tribal Native would be able to earn as much as he requires? -- That is the contention of the Johannesburg Chambers of Commerce and Industry; they say, -- if you turn to page 6 -- "There appears to be no good reason for raising the wages of Natives living under the tribal conditions, and who come into the labour market at intervals. If it were done, it is possible that as they would be able to save as much money as they do at present by working for a shorter period, it would have the practical effect of reducing the supply of unskilled labour without material advantage to anyone." That is their contention.
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My contention is that the whole thing is already undermined. The Native who signs for 360 shifts is here for 15 months, and is not able to attend to things at home; he goes back and finds a steady deterioration every time he does go back; and then there is the usual thing of coming here two or three times. After coming here two or three times, in effect, he becomes a detribalised man and has no desire to go back to these conditions in the reserves and be subsidised labour. I think all those factors have to be taken into account. And I am sure, whether industry or industrial people like it or not, that system of indentured labour, although at present it has its effect on the detribalised Native, is breaking down very fast. The detribalised people cannot take advantage of the knowledge of its breaking down because of the difficulties or organization and the difficulties of legislation, which hem them in so badly.

CHAIRMAN: But can you support your statement that the Native finds things going relatively worse with his tribal land every time he gets back?—Well, we can only take the statement of people who have stated these things in the various reserves, and the statement of the Natives themselves that, every time they go back, they find things have not progressed as they would have liked.

It is not the fact that a particular man is going back, but the reserve is going back?—There are so many who go out that they are collectively responsible.

MR. LUCAS: Have you had Natives say to you that they have found their own individual plots have gone back while they have been away?—Yes.

Any substantial number?—Well, I have not questioned.
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very many.

MAJOR ANDERSON: Might not that be due to seasonal difficulties - drought and so on? I daresay that has a lot to do with it.

I do not know; In going round the country, we have had particular evidence about that? If you questioned any of these Natives in the mine compounds, they would tell you it would be far better for them to stay here and bring their families with them rather than go back from time to time to the progressive deterioration of conditions in the reserves. They are pretty well alive to what is happening.

That applies to individuals --? I might give you a clear case of that sort of thing with regard to the Mahangaans, who find things very difficult at the present time and when they get the opportunity, will come out of the mining industry and settle in this town here. There was this morning a Native in this room who is representing these people, who would give evidence before this Commission, either publicly or privately, and you would get a lot of information on this side of things, of Natives definitely wanting to leave the compounds and settle into other industries. I will try and get him to come forward before you.

It might affect individuals in that way? Those are Portuguese - East African groups - Mahangaans.

CHAIRMAN: Does it not mean that the Mahangaans like to move into the Union because, once they are in the Union, they are not subject to the Convention? Yes, they very much object -- at least, I am taking the words of their spokesman; they very much object to the N.R.C., and the Portuguese Government, or whoever is responsible, arranging their terms of contract in the mines, and they say that their conditions in
Portuguese East Africa are worse than the Union, -- in fact, it gave me rather a shock when the man told me last Saturday that the conditions in the Union of South Africa were better than in Portuguese East.

It is generally known -- I do not think that it is generally known, because, just a few months ago, a certain missionary in this town went to Portuguese East Africa to look at conditions and he came back quite enthusiastic about it. The Natives are forced to go into the mines whether they want to or not; the Portuguese Government apparently does not consult them; they say they want money and they have to go. It is forced labour in another guise.

I take it it is chiefly the deferred pay conditions of the Convention? -- Yes, and the exchange rates, too.

Of course, that is an international convention, by which the introduction of Portuguese Natives is made possible at all? -- Yes. The authorities of any particular State, if they wanted to do so, could prevent their people from leaving the State. It is actually being done by one of the great powers? -- Although it is an international agreement, it is international in name only. The people mainly concerned have not been consulted. The Portuguese Convention Agreement is not an agreement on which the Natives have been consulted; and the Portuguese who are resident in South Africa have been consulted and they have determined the conditions for the mass of the people.

MR. LUCAS: Is there any way in which one could find out what the attitude of the mine Natives -- or that of a certain section of the mine Natives is on certain economic
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questions? - Well, that is extremely difficult, because, if one even attempted organization of the mine Natives, one would come up against the extremely strict measures of the Chamber of Mines which do not allow of the organization of Natives. I should say the only possible way you could do it is by getting back into the reserves and asking them about conditions, as I have done in Beaufortland and Bechuanaoland, and asking them about deferred pay, and so on, - where they feel free and are prepared to give you some idea of these matters; I should say that is the only way of getting to know Native opinion on the mines at the present moment. As you know, a Native who is educated and goes into the mines is, shall I say, usually elevated to another position. He becomes a clerk and comes not under a certain amount of supervision which would allow of him giving away what he really does know of conditions, because, well, he loses his job, and that is not peculiar to South Africa.

The British Industries Federation at home in Britain, has a pretty elaborate system of dealing with people who are just a little bit obstreperous in industry. They may move very quickly to Birmingham -- but certain documents have followed them and they cannot get employment.

MAJOR ANDERSON: With regard to the question of the Native being disinclined to go back to the reserve again; does not that rather leave out of sight the Native's inherent love for his cattle and his land? - I do not see that it does. The Native's love of cattle and land has been largely taken away by our European system and the way in which we have dealt with Natives. Unless you take a place like the Nongoma district of Zululand, where there is any great amount of cattle,
the others are sort of holding on to the remnants of an old custom which they know is disappearing; and I do not think the younger place so much on cattle now as their forefathers have done.

You do not think they do? I am quite certain of it.

Do you know the reserves well? I am speaking more particularly of the Protectorates.

The Commission adjourned at 12.50 p.m.

On resuming at 2.30 p.m.

MR. LUCAS: I asked you something just before lunch which I would like to follow a bit further. The Chambers of Commerce and Industries pointed out that the fact of raising wages would have the practical effect of reducing the supply of unskilled labour; what do you think about that? Is that a correct statement, in your opinion? I do not think it is correct.

How do you come to form that opinion? Because I am certain, if the standards were raised, there would be a corresponding increase in the power of the Natives -- both the detribalised and the tribalised, and both sections have many wants that are unsatisfied; and I think that is the effect the raising of the wage standard would have, and not the effect which the Chamber says it would have.

You say that all the signs -- at the bottom of the second page -- point to the fact that the Native will advance economically at the expense of the European worker. What signs had you in mind? Well, such instances as I gave this morning, of Natives going into the tinsmithing industry and lowering the standard there, whilst correspondingly increasing their own standard.

That was an instance? Yes.
Mr. Ballinger.

But are there any other indications? - Well, I think as the Mining Industry develops - it is rather a strange thing to say regarding the Mining Industry; but I think it can stand development - but as, for instance, more and more Natives are placed in charge, the tendency will be to get rid of the Europeans, despite the fact that, at the present time, it is the one industry in which the colour-bar does operate to some extent; but there they will have an increase in standard, as they have had recently in the form of piece-work returns - and that I think would take place at the expense of the Europeans.

In the case of low grade ore mines, for instance, they will I think increasingly, as they want to do, employ Coloured and Native labour, and they will employ that Coloured and Native labour on work which is considered to be that of the European in the paying mines at the moment; they will pay these Natives a higher rate; and if it is introduced, as I believe it will be introduced, into the low grade ore mines, it will be a short time before it is introduced into the others as well, because the Native will have the right to claim if they can do it in one mine they can do it in another: and the European will not be able to offset that.

That would be employing Natives and Coloureds at a higher wage than they are getting today? - Yes.

The argument is that, if anything happens to raise the wages for Native labourers in the mines, to a very large extent the mining industry would have to be curtailed. What do you say to that? - If they raised the Native standard?

Yes? - Well, that may be their contention, but I think the return of dividends does not prove their statement.

Why do you say that? - I think the dividend returns
if taken over all the mines, would allow them an increase in
Native wages and still interfere very little with the present
rate of dividend -- although, unfortunately, I have not got
the figures beside me, which I drew up in connection with that.
It is very difficult to take that over a period of time, but
you get some mines which are paying enormous dividends and
others which are paying nothing at all; but taking them in
the aggregate, as they should be and as they are doing, that
the one subsidizes the other, Native wages could be raised
without appreciably affecting the dividends at the moment.
I am also certain that were the Native rate of wages raised,
they would have a correspondingly greater output from the
Native by having labour-saving machinery. I think it is
cheaper to employ Native labour at lower rates than introduce
certain other classes of labour-saving machinery.

You suggest that the dividends as a whole should be
looked at. The answer which is given to that is that cer-
tain mines which are paying no dividends now, are kept going
because they can pay expenses, -- and it is in the general
interest that they should -- and that any increases in their
working expenses would mean their going out of operation?
Well, I suppose that this their point of view. I do not
think it would work out in practice. I think that, if at the
present time they keep these mines going, they will adjust
themselves to the wage conditions of the Natives.

Well, when you have got a powerful/organized body
like the mines, it does not carry very much weight to say one
thinks that? -- No. I mean, if I were interested in the
Chamber of Mines, I could point out several ways in which
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they might organize a little bit better, -- presumptuous as it may seem on my part to say such a thing to the Chamber of Mines, and its past organization; but still, one cannot help noticing that, in comparison with industries in other parts of the world, it is not so efficiently organized as some people would like to make out.

CHAIRMAN: Does not reply there mean the absorption of certain companies by other companies? It may result in the closing down of the low grade ore mines, as Mr. Lucas has said, or those that are not paying. I do not rule out that possibility; but, at the same time, as I say, I do not think it will just work out in that way. That is all.

Do you think a company having ore of a workable grade is likely to load up its own share capital by taking over capital which cannot be --- ? If I were faced by that point in arguing with the Chamber of Mines for an increase in Native wages, I should reply to that by saying: "How far have you inflated your capital; how much bonus shares have you got in your industry?" and I should point out that, "There is a way in which you can adjust the balance of things".

Yes; but that watering of capital no longer has any means when there is nothing to distribute. No doubt, if you have £100,000 capital where you ought only to have £50,000, and you distribute £1,000 dividend, then each £1 of capital only gets half of what it should otherwise get; but when there is no dividend distributed, then, of course, it does not matter whether you have £50,000, £100,000 or £1,000,000, you still get that? Well, if that is so, I think it shows a sad lack of business organization. I know it does occur in many of the industries and that they do continue to carry their watered
stock even although they are not paying dividends. I would not accept the point that they could not afford to pay increased wages, unless I had access to their books. I claim that right, as we have claimed it in industry in Britain, that a particular union official or an official who is engaged on behalf of the organization, has the right to know the inner workings of any concern before he would accept a reduction in wages and, to the same extent, you take no responsibility that a firm cannot afford to pay dividends, unless you know the whole of the inner workings.

DR. ROBERTS: You have not got that right in South Africa? - I do not see why you should not have.

No; but you have not got it? - Well, I think some of the White organizations would claim that right, and do claim that right and, from time to time, they issue bulletins or circulars which give the amount of inflated capital of concerns. For instance, the diamond industry of Kimberley was analysed by the Labour Research Department bulletin, and the interlocking interests of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer were indicated in that bulletin some time ago.

MR. LUCAS: Would you say there are any other signs pointing to the Natives advance being at the expense of the European? - Yes; I think there is a definite lowering of the White standard in this country in many ways. Atrociously, I do not think we are showing a very good example to the Natives. The journalism of this country - certain aspects of it - are no credit to the White people, and that has a definite lowering of prestige of White people. I do not know that one would consider that an advance on the part of the Black, but it does
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indicate a lowering of the standard of the White.

But could you in any way attribute that lowering to the Natives? - No, I do not see how one can; but unfortunately they do read these journals.

The point I was at was the signs which showed or pointed to Native advance being at the expense of the Europeans? - Well I was just confining myself to the economic side. I do not think in a social sense that would show any marked deterioration yet. It is the economic I would rather place all the stress upon.

Then, on the next page, - at the top, - you say, "As soon as the urban Native deals with the problem of the effect on his conditions of the indentured Native mine workers, and the semi-tribalised industrial and commercial Native labourers and shop boys, then Nemesis, in the shape of lowered living standards will overtake the European worker". I do not follow your argument there? - Well, it is all dealing with the point that, were the Natives ever organized - and they have not been able to organize the mine workers - if they are ever able to do that - many of these mine Natives are ripe for organization - then, of a certainty, they must make a tremendous advance, and the Nemesis I was thinking of was the advance which they would make when organized into unions of their own and then being so powerful as to be able to negotiate for better conditions and doing so at the expense of the Europeans, but, at the same time, knowing that their own standards are definitely increased.

Might I give an illustration with regard to the Fordson tractor, which was at one time made at Detroit and which is now made in Ireland, where the Irish workers have received an increase in wages from 100% to 150%, but are a long way below
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the American standard; but the Americans have now practically lost the making of the Fordson tractor to the Irish people. The same sort of thing, I think, would happen in South Africa.

Now, you deal on page 4 with mine wages. I think you put your estimate of the mine wages there too high?—No, I think it is the way in which I have couched the paragraph. You see the daily wage in money and in kind.

Then you reckon 'in kind' as 10½d?—Yes; but it is all included in that 3/- and 3½d.

But including the 'in kind' — of course, that is estimated at 1½d by a number of people, which would bring it up to your figure. The actual wages as shown in the returns we have got are just slightly under 2/- a shift?—Yes; well, it is very difficult to get any reliable figures on this, and I have accepted figures that have been brought forward, I think it was by Dr. Orenstein, to the effect that 10½d covered the cost of living and shelter in the mine compounds. The point which you mention of 1½d or 1½d would be the equivalent if the Natives had to buy at the ordinary rates outside.

Yes, that is the point?—But they, of course, get theirs by buying in the mass.

I cannot put my hand on the figures at the moment, but I know it is slightly under 2/-?—The actual money wage per day is considerably less.

I have taken the 10½d off your figure, and it has still left it a good deal higher?—I do not know, Mr. Chairman; I took it from this standard, that 10½d and the 2/2d in the Native mine contracts, — 2/2d is the daily wage indicated there.

That is taking in the piece-workers, too?—Yes.
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For the rest, the average is under 2/-? No; the 2/2d which I mentioned is the daily base rate of the man who does the shovelling and the tramming. If you got one of their rates contracts, you would see that.

We will get that from the mines. You make a point with regard to the mines that the Native has little or no choice as to the nature of his employment. Does that affect the efficiency on the mines, do you think? I do not know about the efficiency. What I am concerned about is that a number of Natives have told me that they came down, wanted to go to certain mines and wanted to do certain jobs, and they have been told they must do what they are told to do.

Do you think there is enough of it to cause serious dissatisfaction among them? There is considerable dissatisfaction among them.

Sufficient to affect the general level of efficiency? No, I do not think so; not to affect the efficiency at all.

Do you not think a man dissatisfied is a poorer worker than a man who is satisfied? To some extent; but in the case of the mine Native, I think he is held in by so many restrictions that he dare not show his dissatisfaction.

Well, without showing his dissatisfaction overtly, he might show it in the lower amount of work that he does? It is very difficult for him to do so. I think, if you go underground, you will see how difficult it is. No doubt you have been there.

Yes, I have been there many a time. I think this is the place where you deal with the graph; I just want to make quite clear, because the opinions which have been put in do not seem to make it clear? In order to give an explanation of
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this, it would require one of the schedule, and that is unfortunately what I have not got.

I have got that in front of me and it shows, by the way, nothing about 2/2d for ordinary wages. The highest day's pay wage it shows is 2/- ?- That is not anything at all like the documents which I have had.

It was put in from the Native Recruiting Corporation ?- That is rather strange, because the two I have sent away are different.

Is that the document you mean - one like this (indicating)? - Yes; except it is much more up-to-date than that. I am sorry it is a small reprint, because you have not got all the particulars in it.

Those are not relevant in connection with your graph? - I think so, because, on the back of the schedule, there is another scale for other mines.

Yes, there are two scale applicable to individual mines ?- Yes.

Yes, but that cannot affect the general principle. We are getting those; I asked Mr. Teborer to get us some of those, but, for the figures, I have got them in front of me. The graph deals with this, I take it -- six inch to eleven inch drills, 9d ?- Yes.

And then you illustrate that; that means that it comes down from 1.5d to roughly 8d ?- Yes. Perhaps these figures are not just quite correct; but I think they are. Perhaps Dr. Holloway would indicate.

12 inches to 17 inches, 10d. So that you have a continual falling average rate until you get down from 12 to 17 ?- Yes, both minimum and maximum.

What do you mean by that? - Take that second scale,
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12", 17": 12" is the minimum amount there, and your payment is 553d. Your maximum is 17" and the payment is 568d. There is both a minimum and maximum drop.

Then there is a similar thing, from 18" to 23"? - Yes.

Then from 24" to 35", the rate remains approximately even. Then there is a sudden jump of 36" and a drop again at 37", and then at 42" there is a rise, and then it remains on a level again? - Yes. So far as the points which I have added under "A", "B" and "C" are concerned, of course, those are what I have marked out on my own schedules as indicating what one might question in a contract.

Yes. I do not know what you mean by "A", "B" & "C"; I could not follow that very well? - Well, of course, you want one of the schedules beside you.

There is no "A", "B", "C" on them as far as I can see? - No; but I marked off the "A" "B" "C"s myself. It is not on the main schedule. They were marked off in ink.

Now, you say that the detribalised or industrially and commercially employed Native with no interest in the reserve is worse off than all Native workers? - Yes.

Would you say they are worse off than some of the farm Natives in the Eastern Province? - Well, not in that area. Probably their conditions are exceptionally bad there, but taking it on the general run I should say that the industrial Native suffers more than the rural Native.

In what way? You may be looking at it from the one aspect and I may be looking at it from another? - Well, the rural Native has certain compensations in the way that he can nearly always depend upon some form of sustenance on the farm; that is where he has the advantage over the industrial Native. The industrial Native is not placed in that advantageous
position. I admit he is extremely poor and all that. That is the point I had in mind.

But from the point of bettering his position, which would you place? Which is the best placed to better his position?

Yes?—Oh, I think undoubtedly the industrial Native. That was what I wanted to clear up—what you had in mind. He is likely to suffer hunger more in the town than is the Native on the farm? Yes; and correspondingly, he has the advantage of being able at the same time to organize sufficiently to improve his conditions; I mean, he can make things rather difficult in a town. They are not so able to make things difficult in the country. I have in mind I.C.U. meetings held in the country with rural Natives, or any other meeting under any other auspices for that matter—and it is no uncommon thing for 20, 30 or 40 Natives to be arrested at these meetings because they have not got a pass.

They no longer need a pass for Sunday afternoon, Major Cooke told us?—No, that is not right. In most of the country districts, in, say, Maclear, and the Sunday that I speak about, nine months ago there were 25 Natives arrested because they had not got their pass, and I think they all eventually paid 10/- to be released; their friends went round and got 10/- and they were released on bail, and they of course did not turn up again; they admitted their offence.

Was that for not having a Sunday pass, or not having an ordinary pass?—Not having a pass to leave their places.

That is rather different from the Sunday pass?—I think it was the Natives just wandered up on the Sunday to attend the meeting. I admit I should not have used the word "Sunday".
Mr. Bellinger

I would like to go back to this question of convict labour for a moment. What is the Government to do with its convicts if it does not use them? Well, according to the Year Book, it does employ a certain number of them in making uniforms for constables; and Johannesburg has lately, and I believe presently is employing a number of them on laundry work.

Dr. Roberts: And mattresses and rugs?—Well, all sorts of things I believe they are doing; but I just take the Year Book for the statement that they are making uniforms. Yes, I believe you are right with regard to mattresses and so on. That is an interesting point you have got from me regarding laundries and the possibility is that the laundries may, in the very near future, feel the competition of convict labour engaged in the Fort for laundry work. I believe at the present time, it is principally for officials connected with Government Departments. I may say that they do it extremely well and at a price less than outside. So there is quite a possibility of competition coming from there.

Is it a regular laundry—just the same as you send your things to a laundry?—I suppose so; I have not been inside to see.

Mr. Lucas: Now, if you take page 7,—by the way, on that convict labour point, the Government, of course, wants to make its expenditure on prisons as low as possible, and I take it that is behind the employment of convict labour. You get the same problem in every country, do you not?—Yes; but I think the problem is exceedingly aggravated in South Africa because—I am not going to go into the question of percentages, but there must be thousands of Natives arrested every
...year in this country for offences against a pass law who should never be put in gaol at all; and in that way itself they could economise, if they wanted to economise, in regard to prison labour; they should first of all look to the system which makes convicts.

Then, on page 7, you say "Travelling passes are refused by farmers in order to prevent Natives from attending I.C.U. and other meetings". Have you had direct evidence of that?—Yes.

Frequently? Well, not within the last nine months; I have not done very much; ever since January 1932, I have done very little in the way of propaganda meetings in the country.

Would you say there is a general hostility among farmers to the work of the I.C.U.?—Oh, undoubtedly; but it has been somewhat alyayed by the realisation that the Natives generally are no longer a force organized in the country and — well, to put it mildly, the I.C.U. played quite a good bluff on the people of this country for quite a while; they carried forward their propaganda without having any real force behind them, if it really came to a question of force; but it was largely fear on the part of the farmers which made the I.C.U. a menace.

You mean, physical fear, or fear of the Natives organizing to claim higher wages?—A Native rising.

You think there was physical fear of that?—Yes, I think there was, and I do not think it had any real basis at any time. I do not think the movement was sufficiently cohesive for it ever to be possible for it to do any damage in that way.

DR. ROBERTS: The elements were too remote from one another?—Yes.
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**MR. LUCAS:** What could we report about the strength and extent of organization today amongst Natives?—Well, I should say that is an extremely unknown quantity. Every month almost you can see the rise of some new Native organization which may live for a couple of months and die; that is the general position of Native organizations at the moment: they are all weak numerically; financially, still weaker, because the Natives, for one thing, have not got the idea of consecutive payment such as we have in our organizations. The idea of paying month after month does not exist, to a great extent, among the Natives; it may exist in a kind of organization like the I.O.U. (Yass), Natal. For a time they had consecutive payment more than any other organization in the country, but the very fact of the non-European Federation of Trade Unions, -- which was probably, at least on paper and in propaganda, the most militant of the organizations, -- has dropped out of existence, has proved that the Natives are not responding to the militant call. The I.O.U., of which I have some knowledge, would have difficulty, I think, in claiming 5,000 members at the present time.

Is that in the Transvaal?—Yes.

Or altogether?—And if one goes out into the country, one finds the strange position that secretaries who have held on to their positions have made their own little organizations. For instance, you may have at Schweizer Renake, an I.O.U., there; they say they are the I.O.U. of Africa; but they retain all their monies, and all their doings are in Schweizer Renake itself. They have no connection with their headquarters. They write to them occasionally. And so it is in many parts of the country.
If you take the country, you would probably collect a membership again up to 10,000 or 15,000$ and then you have various branches of the African National Congress; a Transvaal section, a Cape Section, a Sana section, a Tiley section; a Jonay section, -- Tiley and Jonay are working in the same section practically; they are all mixed up in connection with leadership -- who they shall be. Noone has a set programme or any idea as to what they should aim at; and that is the real weakness of their organizations at the moment.

What are the likely developments as you see them? -- Well, I think, in the course of time some leader will come forward and knit all sections together. I think it was at one time the idea that a man from outside would be responsible for that, when Madali came into the I.C.U.; but it did not work out in practice, the idea behind it being that it would be a number of but not all the tribes in South Africa; he would have been able to knit them together, but unfortunately they were too successful at the beginning; they had a successful strike when they were hardly, as one might say, born, and that has been really the cause of the I.C.U., in my opinion, not making any progress. It achieved its first victory far too easily.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you think it is possible, knowing the peculiar disintegrating forces that always act on the Native mind, to bring these various bodies together? -- Well, I can only speak of my experience of other peoples. As you know, Scotch people have been very much antagonistic to the Irish people; the British to the Irish, and the Lithuanians to the other three. All these people have knit themselves together and have one set of organizations in Britain.
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MR. LUCAS: On the same page, you say the Riotous Assemblies Act can only be effective against subversive Native trade unionism; what do you mean by that? Well, it really only acts against bodies like the I.C.U. or the Native Federation of Trade Unions; for instance, in Durban and in East London, they take action against these people; but, as you notice, I refer you to the Cape Town strike, where you had a definite defiance of the Riotous Assemblies Act, — which is, of course, sub judice at the moment.

I quite understand that the Native people concerned are standing their trial, — I do not know whether it has been concluded or withdrawn, but it was suggested to the Public Prosecutor he ought to withdraw the charge in connection with the tram strike. In the case of East London, — the one of which I have more particular knowledge — you had there a state of affairs which is extraordinary, to say the least of it. You had men there formed into a strike committee who were sent for by the Commandant of Police — half turned up — I am giving you the statement as I got it from some of the men; they were invited into the office of the Commandant of Police, offered a cigarette and then a revolver was levelled at them and they were told to hold up their hands. The rest of their colleagues came in the same thing happened, and then they were taken off to gaol.

I think you will see the Riotous Assemblies Act worked in connection with the Native organisation — not a trade union in the strict sense of the term — but it did not work against the Cape Town bus and dock workers. They did not think of arresting the leaders there.
What I was puzzled about was your use of the word "subversive". What do you mean by that? -- Well, Native trade unionism, according to the law of this country, is subversive; according to the Masters and Servants Act they are prevented from organising; in that sense I have used the word "subversive.

You were asked a question about this this morning, but I am not clear on your answer. You say the White trade unions today are bolstered by the Act, -- that is, the Conciliation Act; it is page 8, at the beginning of the new paragraph on that page. The trade union complaint is that they are actually weakened by these Acts? -- Yes; but at the same time they are held up by them. Had these acts not been brought into operation, White trade unionism would have been a very poor thing today; it is poor as it is, but it would have been still poorer.

In what way do you think it would have been poorer? -- Well, in so far as the law of the country -- or rather, the legislation of the country -- is aimed at maintaining a certain White standard, and, except there is considerable outside economic pressure, that those who oppose the Government would or should not attempt to lower the standards of the White people to any appreciable extent and those who join trade unions are perfectly well aware of that; and I am perfectly certain, with the background of 1922, they would have more and more dropped away from the trade unions by saying they are no use to us, were it not for these two Acts coming in and, to some extent, saving the situation. And for those who were keen and who realised what trade unionism means, it has had that bolstering effect of keeping their faith, to some extent in the movement, because it has given the opportunity for their officials and
delegates to state a case on their behalf before the Wage Board or Conciliation Court and thereby either maintain or get better conditions. That is the point elaborated, which I wish to make.

And you think that is greater in its effects than the evil tendency which is referred to, that the employees say, "Why worry about a trade union, because we can get all we want through an industrial conciliation or wage determination?" - I think it acts both ways. The people who are keen trade unionists realize they can get their organizations and they are looking forward to a time when they can strengthen them. And this, to them, is a certain period of transition; they are holding their organizations together.

Have you had occasion to study the effects of the wage determinations for unskilled workers in Bloemfontein? Not so much as I would have liked; but from what I have been of it I think it has worked very well and, for that reason, I was very much concerned that the Wage Board did not get the reference back in the Kroonstad case, which would have gone a long way towards maintaining Native confidence in the possibility of the use of the conciliatory means of approach to improve all conditions. I think it has been one of the most unfortunate incidents in my three years in South Africa that that reference back was not given in the case of the Kroonstad case. - -Certainly, in Bloemfontein, -- and I give the considered opinion of business men whom I have spoken to -- they say it has meant an increase in trade and certainly has led to a better spirit in the location -- the knowledge that this minimum wage has been stabilised. There is just the one flaw, you know, the question of the piece work;
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that has never been rightly cleared up.

Well, under the new Act - the amended Act, - that can be cleared up? - Yes.

So far as Kroonstad is concerned, have you been in touch either with European or Native opinion there as to the effect of the Government's withholding that reference back? - In Kroonstad?

Yes? - Yes, very much so -- in fact, the point put to me was, why encourage them to go on with this conciliation; and what has some of it?

Of course, I have had to reply and say, "Well, we tried; now you can please yourself what you do. If you are going to take the extreme course, we cannot say no to you. We have tried to adjust things by means of conciliation", and, of course it has meant that, in Kroonstad, I.O.U. organizers dare not be mentioned. The other side who want to use that propaganda would be right in using it. Those in Bolshevism say what is the good of the I.O.U., or joining an organization.

Is there anything of that latter use? - They are all talking now more or less of the necessity of going forward with a more militant programme; that is the way it is expressed. Of course, unfortunately, 'militant' is usually synonymous with a tirade against whoever may be in power, such as "To hell with General Hertzog", or something like that.

But do you attribute that change in Kroonstad solely to the fact that the Wage Board was not allowed by the Government to make a recommendation? - No, I do not think it would be at all fair to blame it entirely on the Wage Board; I think the Wage Board's failure to give a decision has considerably
accentuated what was and what is undoubtedly brewing all over South Africa.

Do you think that even now -- or when this Commission has reported -- if the Wage Act were allowed to apply as it was allowed to apply in Bloemfontein, that that would have a steadying effect? I would not be inclined to say that, as I would have been, say, a year and a half ago, because Native opinion has been considerably shaken with regard to these matters, and you have got to get over this cry all over the country, that the Wage Board is used as a means of driving Natives out of jobs; but I do think, if some effort were made to give a determination, it would restore a lot of the lost confidence.

Have you seen the effects in other parts than Kroonstad of this refusal of the Government to apply the Wage Act? Port Elizabeth is another place where it has had some effect -- I mean, there it was a sort of local action between employers -- spontaneous, I should say, but after the first meetings, the majority of the employers seemed to shelter behind a fear that certain of the other employers, -- shall I say, the more unscrupulous employers, -- would not honour any agreement, whether it were made voluntarily and then taken to the Wage Board for sanction; that was the idea that was behind it, or had something to do with it. The idea was to get employers and Natives together and discuss an agreed upon minimum, and then ask the Wage Board to sanction the whole things.

Now, under rural Natives, page 9, you say "The Natives prefer their wage in kind because they reckon the storekeepers charge them excessive prices," Have you had that made to you
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frequently?—Yes, very frequently. I also had the kind offices of a farmer— they are not all kind farmers in South Africa; there are some who really treat their Natives quite decently according to the conditions. The farmer concerned was in the Piekaburg area and he said he would carry out any experiment I would like to suggest. He has a number of Natives, and I suggested to him that he should put them on to a definite money wage; I suggested 3/4d a day; he said, well, he would try. He got them all together. He said he had been speaking to me and he put it to them, would they rather have all their wages in cash, and only one man would agree, and it was found that he had no family and no responsibilities; he was a single man; he preferred his wage in cash. The others who had families and other responsibilities said, "No; we much prefer, baa, that you give us part of our wages in kind, because we know then we can get our meals at the cheapest possible rate". That is the point they put forward.

On what basis did they actually settle, then?—Well, he did not interfere with his existing system, which was wages part in kind and part in cash; but I do not hold any brief for that system.

Do you think the real reason why the Natives preferred that to go on was because they are afraid of the prices the storekeepers charge?—Yes, undoubtedly.

CHAIRMAN: Is not there an element there of the fear of the unknown?—I do not know that it is altogether unknown; Natives in the main are keen buyers.

I am not referring to the shopkeepers, but going over
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entirely on to a wage basis? - I think your point is quite
apposite because there is a certain fear of the unknown. So
far as the rural Native is concerned, he is largely on a sub-
sistence economy and if he is going on to a money economy,
I think there is that fear of the unknown.

MR. LUCAS: Then you think the centralising of Native
employment agencies under Government aegis is urgently necessary
? - Yes, I do.

Why, and what form should the organization take? - Well,
because, as I have stated here, I consider that there are many
little organizations that cater for placing Natives in employ-
ment which I consider is quite the wrong way of dealing with
the situation; it lends itself to many abuses; for instance,
there may be a Native tout connected with the Native Recruiting
Organization, who receives a certain amount for as many Natives
as he can get to come along to that place and be recruited
there. That in itself is an abuse. Then some of the premises
-- I wish you would go down and see one or two of them in
Ferreirastown; it is not the best possible place for Natives
to be recruited in. All round about them there are houses
which, to say the least, are houses of ill fame, and they are
subject to all these temptations round about that locality.

That is the reason why I want to have them central-
ised under Government auspices. So long as the recruiting
system has to go on, -- even as it is just now, -- I think it
ought to be under the control of the Government; and later
on I can visualise the necessity of having it purely controlled
by the Government for all classes of labour, in much the same
way as we have it now in European countries.
a guarantee then that there would be practically no abuse, and a good many of the excessive costs which obtain with regard to these agencies would be eliminated, if they were under Government control. I think the proof of the whole thing is in the Native Recruiting Corporation itself,—what it has saved in its own organization; although I do not favour that organization, to any great extent, it certainly has given one an indication of what can be done by the centralising of control and distribution.

CHAIRMAN: You say the costs would be eliminated; do you mean, by organization on a larger scale, they would be done away with?—Yes, I think they would, and it would have the corresponding effect of the economy that is possible transferring itself to some extent to increased wages for the Natives. I think it would have that effect.

MR. LUCAS: When you speak about unemployment and health insurance, do you mean that that would become necessary for Natives, too?—Yes; I think we can never leave out of account the fact that the Native, being in the industrial system of the European, he must be provided for in the same way as we are providing for the European; and I would very much like to see this in South Africa pressed forward with all the speed possible, because I do not think that South Africa can very long escape the worst effects of, for instance, unemployment such as it has attacked European countries at the moment; and then, side by side with that, the health insurance, which must become an ever-increasing necessity so far as the poorer section of the population is concerned.

DR. ROBERTS: You are referring to the Whites?—Yes;
but I want it to include Natives as well; I think you must take
them into account in all these things.

MR. LUCAS: Now, I was told that you were spending
a certain amount of time in the Protectorates studying the
effects on the tribal life of the Natives of living for a time
in industrial centres; is that correct?—Yes.

Should you summarise for us briefly what you found to
be the effects?—Well, the general effects which strike one
with regard to the British Protectorates and their effect upon
the Native life of South Africa, is that they are just recruit-
ing grounds for the Union of South Africa. I think that is
borne out by the fact that some 25,000 Basutos come out every
year to the Union to work, and they are partly subsidized by
the fact that they have some interest in their tribal lands
and then, when they go back, they are taking back the effects
of the industrial life with which they have come into contact;
and it is no good, even from the point of view of keeping a
Native reserve like Basutoland intact. In Swaziland, and
in Bechuanaland as well, the same thing applies, that one
sees the absurdity of the so-called trusteeship of Britain,
because it is a trustee-ship only in name; it is not an
actual trustee-ship of the Native. Otherwise, would they
be prepared, as they have done during these years, to have
their people recruited into conditions such as obtain on the
Rand, even on the mines, which is probably the best industry
for the care of the Natives?

If these people had had any idea of the sense of
a trusteeship and the betterment of the conditions of the
African Native — of the Native, rather, in the Union of
South Africa, they would have developed the Protectorates of
Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, and kept the competition of these Natives away from the Native of South Africa.

CHAIRMAN: You think the trusteeship has not been effective?—I am sure it has not.

It has rather tended to draw on its bigger [illegible] neighbour. —Yes; and to some extent they have looked upon the Native in that part of the world as a sort of museum specimen—that, "Here is a Native in his raw tribal state;—look how happy he is", and all the rest of it, and all the time they have allowed the country, —in Basutoland especially—to go to pieces by erosion; the erosion is simply frightful in Basutoland and ought never to have occurred had the official section in charge there had the power to enforce that which they knew was absolutely necessary, rather than leave it that the Native should be left alone.

Is the erosion any worse than in a district like Herschel or Glen Grey?—I think it is worse than Herschel. I do not know Glen Grey. It is extremely bad round Maseru; and Mafeteng is showing bad signs of it. All the way up from Maseru to Boma and thence to Mahalang it is very bad indeed.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you expect a deeper interest to be taken than what we know is taking place when the men in Government are proconsuls sent out from England to Basutoland, where they remain for a time and then go?—Well, that is rather difficult for me to answer; but there has been a sort of tradition that the British Civil Service has been so benevolent, and it has been benevolent—in fact, that is about all the length it would ever go.

Is not that about the usual length of any British Civil
Servant sent out from England?—Yes; I suppose it is rather difficult for them to overstap the terms of their appointments; they are sent out, as we know, for a period of years. I think the failure is really due to the tradition that the Civil Servant—the Civil Service shall only remain within a few families. I am particularly remembering an article by a man named Nightingale, who said the British Civil Service has been recruited from a few families. I think what is really wrong in regard to the administration generally is that it does not throw its net wide enough to bring into the Service men who have advanced with the time—economists, for instance, and professional men who would be able to deal with the cattle troubles and things like that.

MR. LUCAS: What do you think are the prospects of development in the Protectorates which would require the presence there of Natives who now come to the Union?—In Basutoland, I think a very good line would be fruit; I think it is a splendid country for fruit.

I did not ask you what they should do; but what is the likelihood of a change being made which will tend to cut off the supply of Natives there now as labourers?—It is all very difficult to say whether there is any likelihood of a change; I am afraid there is very little possibility of a change in Basutoland, because of a recent incident which I have in mind, and in connection with which the Natives round Maseru made an application for an increase in their wages for road work, and they report that they never got a reply to their request. But from other sources I have learned it is decided not to go on with this matter because of its effect on the Natives employed
in the Free State -- showing the two were looked together, although they were supposed to be two separate entities. The rates of wages in the Free State were undoubtedly affecting the rates of wages in Basutoland, but they had to keep them slightly lower in Basutoland in order to encourage the Native in Basutoland to come out into the Free State. So that there must have been some kind of collusion between the British Administration and the Free State employers of labour.

Is the collusion necessary? might it not just be a feeling of the fitness of things? - That may have something to do with it. I do not think a British Official is any more inclined to be very much in contact with the Native than the White people in South Africa are supposed to be. If that is the point you mean. Socially they tend to ease off with a definite bias against the Native from the colour point of view.

Is what you said about Basutoland and the prospects also true of Beshuansland and Swaziland? - No. In Swaziland there are distinct signs of improvement. For instance, they are investigating or exploring the possibilities of co-operative dairy farming and the raising of better stock for export, particularly on the Italian market. The I.C.S. -- the Imperial Gold Storage, I think it is -- in that line shows remarkable development. Also tobacco.

These are Natives? - Yes; Natives down in the Hlatikulu District are doing remarkably well with tobacco growing. I might mention an incident there, recorded in the joint memorandum of Miss Hodgson and myself, where the farmers asked the Natives to come into the co-operative movement with them, in order generally to deal with the distribution and sale of the
tobacco; and when we left Swaziland, there was a definite movement among a number of farmers to refuse any sort of dealing with the Native, seeing that they were not going to sit in the same room with the Native and discuss these matters, and they had even refused the suggestion of the Official, that a Government Official should be appointed by the Natives to act on behalf of the Natives' interests; showing that even in a British Protectorate this idea of sitting down beside the Native had gone a bit further even than in the Union.

And in Bechuanaland, is there much development?—Well as regards Bechuanaland, I have only been as far as Serowe at the moment. I hope to go back there in June and will be able to say more about it later on. The reason why I do not want to say too much about Bechuanaland at the moment is because of the complications of the Nsamwe and Kalakadi questions— or rather, the slave tribes attached to the Bakhlata; they complicate the question very much. In Betudi(?) one has a tribe extremely wealthy from the point of view of the feudal system. The Chief Regent, who has now given way to the Chief Proper, insisted on having a three years' supply of grain before he would allow any to be sold, and at the same time the Natives were compelled to find their 25/- a year tax and, in order to get that, they had to come into the Union to work in the mines or in some other occupation. Notwithstanding that fact, they were wealthy from the point of view of being guarded against one.

You told us about your asking a farmer to make an experiment at Ficksburg. Have you done anything else like
that in the country?—Well, In the first six months that I was here, I was in consultation with the Executive of the Farmers at Wolkerust, and we had considered and generally discussed the possibility of written contracts, and a definite fixed minimum for Native work, worked out and based on the wage in kind and in money. We arrived at some sort of an agreement, and it was decided that I should come down and state the whole case to a farmers' conference. I arrived at Wolkerust one Saturday morning and was told very bluntly that the farmers had decided not to hear me, and I could not get any further with them. But I certainly had a very good discussion with their Executive.

Then in the Nylstroom area I also had a discussion with the Farmers' Executive there; but nothing further came of the discussion. I may say, in all these discussions, I have always had I.O.U. officials along with me and they have heard all that has gone on, and the farmers have not objected to their being present; although, at Nylstroom, it is supposed that two backwood farmers came along with revolvers and were going to kill the Natives and sjambok myself; but it did not take place.

CHAIRMAN: Do you come into contact at all with the arrangement that was being inaugurated last year in the Potgietersrust area, under which they hoped to get a body consisting of an equal number of European farmers and chiefs to arrange a definite system of apprenticeship of young Natives under the control of this Committee, to farmers?—No, I have no experience, or very little knowledge, of that proposal; but I have heard, as you no doubt have, that it has broken down.
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Yes; I spoke to one of the chief Europeans interested in the matter recently, and he said that the chiefs took up the view that if they got labour for other things, they got a capitation fee, and they did not see why they should not get a capitation fee in this instance - which, of course, cut at the root of the whole system? - Well that, unfortunately, is not altogether confined to farming; it operates with regard to mining. Chiefs will get certain contracts for Natives going into the mines.

Unfortunately, it does amount to a form of exploitation. Whether one can see the possibilities of an agreement or a conference of that kind coming to some arrangement to apprentice the young Native or not does not matter. I think when you consider they claim a capitation fee of so much a head, a chief has no right to ask for a capitation fee for a Native; and I think that is one of the things the Native chiefs are finding very irksome at the moment, -- although there are some who would justify it and say the chief is entitled to a capitation fee; but I would not stand for anything of that kind, and I do not think the majority of the Natives who are cut for the betterment of their people would stand for it either.

I understand that is the chief ground on which it has broken down and that at present it is rather in a modified condition? - Owing to the fact that it is a transference of the recruiting system from the European to the Native; and if you object to recruiting by the European, I think you must also object to it by the Native, whether he is a chief or not.

Mr. Lucas: Do you take your stand definitely against recruiting of any kind? - Yes; recruiting in the form in which it is practised today for the distribution of Native labour
I would like to see the setting up of Government Native labour agencies.

How could those be organized?—Well, in the first place, it would require that very essential which we have lost, the complete census of the Natives; they would have to get a census of the Native population to know how one stands and then to ascertain in each area how many Natives are employed and how many are unemployed; you would have to do it from area to area. The setting up of sub-agencies, —say one in Maukensi or some other district; and if there is work in Port Elizabeth, or they want some Natives there, then the Native could be given the opportunity of going to those places. That, briefly, of course, is how I would set it up. I think also there, in order to make it an effective organization, you would require a fairly good Native staff, because, if you put an European staff fully in control, you are never going to get the information that you want; I am perfectly certain of that. After three years in South Africa, I know that Europeans are too often hoodwinked in regard to Natives and their requirements generally.

You referred this morning to a visit to Queenstown and that district; did you make any special investigations there?—Not very special; it was all done rather hurriedly and it was mainly consultation with Natives in the location there.

DR. ROBERTS: There are some questions on which I do not quite agree with you. On page 1, (b)1, under the heading "Neglected evidence of previous Commissions", you say that all commissions are weak because they have not got a Native representative. I think you, in reply to the Chairman
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said you understood yourself the difficulty there?—Yes; but that does not take away a weakness; understanding a difficulty does not take away a weakness.

No; but the difficulty is very important?—I think you must admit that you would gain very much more reliable evidence on the Native Affairs Commission and on this Commission if you had Native assessors sitting beside you and extracting information from the Natives.

I admit that in full, but the Native Affairs Commission goes round; our Native Secretary has to sleep in the car or sleep outside. We go to different places, and that is the end of it as far as he is concerned?—Yes; although that is a difficulty, it is not an insurmountable one. I have had the same experience in the country, going to certain places in Natal, and was told that the Native who was along with me would have to stay outside. I said, "Well, there is a room; I am in the room, the Native can also go into the room". I realise the difficulties; but if some of us do not show the whole thing is absurd, then it is always going to go on.

You have no objection to taking your meals from the hands of a Native servant, and that is much more of a contact than a Native being inside a room with you. I know what it is always faced with: "Are you going to allow a Black man to marry your daughter?" and all that; that is always trotted out.

Coming to the next point:—"But since the fate of all these Commissions has been to have their reports pigeon-holed...",—do you hold on to that?—Yes; I think you have all had your reports more or less pigeonholed from time to time.
Mr. Ballinger

Do you know the 1893 Native report? — Well, a little; not very much.

I advise you to read it? — Was it put into operation fully?

Nearly. The point is it was not pigeonholed; neither were the 1902 and 1903 reports? — Well, I have read the 1903 one.

Neither will this report be pigeonholed? — I have read the 1903 one and I do not know which part of it was put into operation.

MR. LUCAS: The 1913 Land Act? —

DR. ROBERTS: Because the Government does print all the reports? — The De Waal report in Durban was never published.

That was in the form of a report to the Minister? — Never mind, it was never published; and from time to time everything that comes forward — this Native Service Contract Bill had 900 copies printed; how can they possibly get round to people who want them? The other day I rang up Pretoria and asked if they would give me a copy of this; they said they had none. That is what happens with the majority of these things; they are pushed through without people getting to know the contents of them.

CHAIRMAN: There is a very big difference between a public Commission like this and a Commission investigating a point for the knowledge of the Government — that naturally is not published, as a general rule, any more than a private memorandum of the members of the Public Service. In the case of a public Commission, I cannot remember a single case where a report was not published? — I do not see the difference between this Commission and that conducted by Justice De Waal
in Durban, because that was public. Mr. Champion and myself both gave evidence before that Commission and it was public in so far as the public were allowed into it. I made enquiries and was told the report was put on the table of the House, and it was never published; and I still stand by it, it should have been published.

DR. ROBERTS: Where do you get these classic lines, "Johannesburg's six most immoral men", and so on; what placards? - I am surprised at you putting them down as classic lines. Well, they occurred on the placards of certain journals which were being sold on the streets of Johannesburg. The law of libel might stretch very far and I am certainly not going to mention those journals. It is only two of many of the same kind and I think that this matter itself is not taken up very seriously, and it ought to be taken up by the Minister of Justice. It is going to lead to no end of trouble: but at the same time I quite understand I shall probably be pilloried for having mentioned these things. They usually have a way of taking up people who are prepared to set their minds on these matters.

I am safe when I call them "classics" (Laughter).

Now, here is another statement -- I am very sorry to differ from you on a good many of these -- page 9, "Rural Native", -- the last three lines, "Further it is clear that no Government, no matter what its political label, will release more land for Natives, as such a policy would lead to a Native labour shortage in the urban areas". Now, where have you got the view that the Government is not attempting and has not brought forward a scheme to release almost a tenth of the land ?-
Well, the 1913 Land Act was mentioned some time ago; it had certain provisions for the purchase of Native land, which have never been put into operation. That is one, is it not? And then, Doctor, surely you are aware of the way in which the Scotch people were driven into industry in the beginning, by means of the Highland Clearances, and how the English people were driven in by the Inclosure Acts.

I think it is a little unfair to say that no Government will do a thing like this, when there is a definite Bill being considered?—But, Doctor, are you at this time of day, having the experience that you have got, going to believe for one moment that the Government actually makes its own policy? Is not its policy dictated from time to time by other interests?

I would be very sorry to think that a stable Government would produce a proposal to give a very large area of land to the Native people and that it was all a sham?—Well, so far it has proved so, sir. When we see it actually put into operation, I shall certainly be the first to apologise and say the Government has really been genuine in giving the land to the Native; but so far they have not done it.

Admitting that: there are a great many difficulties about it: but still your sentence would seem to imply that they did not mean to do it?—Well, there it is; 18 years since the 1913 Act was passed, and they have done nothing in 18 years. So have we any guarantee that they are going to do anything in the next 18 years.

Oh, yes?—Well, you are an optimist.

DR. FOURIE: On page 9, "Rural Natives",—"They are very largely paid in kind, and only obtain meat when an animal
Mr. Ballinger

dies" ?- I am referring in general; I do not single out any particular Province in South Africa. Conditions do obtain like that on many of the farms; and I have the statements of my farming friends in various parts who tell me that that is true.

Yes, but you have put it quite generally here ?- Well, if you would rather that I put it "in the majority", I do not mind leaving it that way.

You say only when an animal dies do they get meat ?- Yes; I think it is true. Of course, when you are having a feast of some kind, you may have a bullock slaughtered.

Yes; but that is not "only when an animal dies" ?- Well, that is exceptional; it is not part of their ordinary diet, is it? And you may have the point which obtains in some parts, where a bullock is slain and the meat is eaten because a recruiter happens to be round about. We know that does happen.

On the farms ?- Round about the farms, yes, when he is recruiting.

CHAIRMAN: Yes; but is it not the case that, in connection with the Native's own tribal customs, there are two occasions when he has meat, apart from that given by the European ?- I am, of course, speaking of the rural farm Native. A tribal Native has many customs which can bring in the slaughtering of an ox. I have been at several of these ceremonies -- but he is not the Native I am referring to here.

But the tribal Native gets meat on two occasions -- ceremonial occasions and when an animal dies. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the chief economic asset, as far as food is concerned, of the Native is when cattle die ?- Yes; but I think you will admit the general insanitary state of
affairs should not allow that the death of an animal should be the occasion for meat eating.

DR. FURIE: Do not some farmers slaughter an animal at harvest time or at the ploughing season; do not they slaughter a goat or something like that for the Natives? - Yes, it is possible that happens; but that is all part of your desire to speed up production in just the same way as it does obtain in other parts of the world, of giving a person a pint of beer or a pot of ale or something like that. But the Native, I would just remind you once again, I am particularly referring to is the farm Native -- the one who is away from his tribal connection.

Many farm Natives are still tribal? - Yes; but the time he is on the farm he will not get meat.

MR LUCAS: I think what you put here is true of a good deal of the Eastern Province, but it is not true everywhere. We have been into each important district, There are some districts where there is more or less a regular meat ration? - Well, the Eastern Province is the one I know a lot about; but it also obtains in the Free State.

Yes, some parts; that is why one has to be careful about making a general statement about Natives anywhere in South Africa? - Well, I do not know. More or less, of course, you always try to divide the country into four different Provinces, and say "This province has got a little bit better conditions" than another Province, and so on; but generally the position does obtain, as I have said. For instance, take this Bill here -- this Masters and Servants Contract Bill; so far as we know, that is inspired by the sugar plantations of Natal. And there again you would say, "Well, it
seems rather surprising that people with an English tradition
should come forward in a thing of this kind; but, generally,
in statements which I have made here it has applied in the
main and I have said "largely"; that is sufficient cover, I
think.

You mean, the "largely" to apply to both parts of the
sentence ?— Yes. There was one other point I wanted to men-
tion to you — in the course of things it has been overlooked.
I have a number of statements here from Heilbron regarding the
condition of farms and of Natives in that area, which it
would probably be better if I handed in so that you can read
them over yourselves. I have not investigated them; I have
only taken the statements from an I.C.U. Secretary there.

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Mr. ALLISON WESSEL. GEORGE CHAMPION, called and examined:

CHAIRMAN: At the bottom of page 1, you refer to
the view held by some Natives that the Christian Churches are
the means employed by clever White people to rob them of their
rights, and then you go on to state that they get all this
from a certain class of European who mixes himself freely
with all classes of Natives. What class of Europeans have
you in mind there ?— Before I reply to that, Mr. Chairman,
I forgot I wanted to hand over this copy here which might
help in the reply to the question: "'L.S.D.'" 16th May 1931,
— page 10, "Widow's tickers feed impudent kaffer". I may
point out that that paper was handed to me this morning, when
I told some of my friends I was coming here to give evidence.
It seems to me that such a type of White people can be just
as well included in what I have just said here in this paragraph
(The extract referred to handed in.)
Mr. Champion

Yes; but you speak here of Europeans will mix with Natives and will teach them these things?—Yes.

What type of European have you in mind there?—I have said here Europeans who work side by side with them in the farms, in the factories and on the mines, and I have also gone further and said those Europeans who sell liquor to the Natives, and those Europeans speak lightly and dangerously to the Natives — such as the one quoted in that paper.

And they create the impression that it is the White man's dodge to do the Native out of his rights?—In fact, there are White men who tell the Native freely there is no God and that it is waste of time to come to church. If you visit the Native churches you will find they are not even half filled at the present time; I attribute that to these White people who go about the country talking loosely.

On page 3, you recommend a Native Advisory Board should be on the lines of the Durban one. Would you be a little more explicit on that point?—The Native Advisory Board in Durban, to which I am alluding, has a certain amount of status. In the first place, all the organizations in Durban are allowed to send their own representatives; they elect their own men and the Advisory Board itself has got the status of a Committee of the Town Council: they meet with the elected councillors as one body and they elect their own chairman from that number — which is 10 Natives and 4 European Town Councillors, and their Secretary is the Town Clerk himself. They conduct their meetings in the same way as the Town Council conducts its affairs. The Manager for Native Affairs has no say in that Committee; he comes there to make reports whenever he is required to make a report, but he is not allowed
Mr. Champion

to discuss matters affecting the Natives in Durban, because, as a matter of fact, he is the man who is being discussed by the Committee.

So your three points are: firstly, that the Native representatives are selected by Native organizations and not by all the Natives as one constituency?—Yes.

Secondly, that it has direct access to town councillors, by having town councillors on the committee?—Yes.

And, thirdly, that the location superintendent is not a member of that body?—Yes.

Those are the three points that you wish to put forward?—Yes.

Are there any others?—I think those are all.

Now, on page 4, you state that you find it is a proven fact that it is the town Native that undercut the tribal Natives. Now, hitherto, all the witnesses have said it the other way round. What support can you adduce for this statement?—I have listened to many witnesses who have given evidence on this point and my only reply to that would be this, that I am definitely certain they are only speaking from hearsay. They do not know anything about the tribal and detribalised Natives. I have studied this question for the last six years as an officer of the I.C.J., and, before that, I can say, right from 1918 I have studied this question. On the other hand, the position I find is just the opposite. I know it is a fact that a boy born in Klipspruit Location will take a job for £2, whereas a boy from home would not take a job at £2. That is a fact.

Well, that is one factor in support of your view. Have you any others?—Now, if it is not a fact, what is the other fact? If I quote an instance—if a man takes the
lowest pay possible that a tribal Native would not take, that means to say this boy in town undercuts the boy from home; whereas the force of argument, I think, that has been given to you is a boy from home will take any wage, whereas a boy from town would not take it; but I think if you went through the passes in the Pass Office, you would find the position is just the opposite of what I am saying. This point, Mr. Chairman, is very important — I happen to be single handed, and I would very much like that a reference should be made to the Native Pass Office to find out how many boys receive lower wages who are born in the towns, than those who come from the country.

I must say, though, that all the other witnesses have put it the other way round?———

MR. LUCAS: Why do you say a boy born in a town will work for less than a man from the country?— Mr. Chairman, a boy brought up in town has nowhere to go; he is living under unfavourable conditions in his home — his home is the municipal locations; in fact, many of the boys in town have no future. They think of nothing so long as they can get a place to sleep and eat in; whereas the boy from the country thinks of the expenses at home and of himself.

But are you referring to young married men now, or are you referring to married men living in the location?— Many of the married people living in the location are old hands in town and they generally lose work; I am referring to boys who are grown up, and young people.

You say the old men generally lose work?— They do not generally lose their work; they are old hands with their employers.
Mr. Champion

But it is the young man who is just starting work who takes less wages?—Yes.

Now, when that boy gets married, does he go on working for these low wages?—They do not even get married.

What do you mean, then? Do they just take a wife?—Yes, they just take a wife; it is very difficult for them to pay lobola nowadays.

But when they take a wife for themselves, they have still got to maintain her while she is living with them?—That is a point I would not like to go very fully into; I find, as a matter of fact, that the wives do support the men rather than the men support their wives in town here.

Is that general?—In many cases, if a Native boy has a wife here, he is supported by his wife.

How does she earn money?—I have said to many Commissions she has better chances of getting money from liquor selling and other means and washing, and the scrubbing of floors.

She does not get much from washing?—Well, I find they have more money on account of washing; perhaps it is a 'boulaille'; it is a fact that the working woman has more money than the working man.

CHAIRMAN: You mean, in addition to the money she gets from the washing, she gets little extras from her misses?—Yes, that is what I say, Mr. Chairman.

Do you think this boy who takes £2 a month goes on working for £2 a month when he has a woman living with him?—Some of them decide not to go on. You will find, Mr. Chairman, that if you were to refer to the licensing officer here in Johannesburg, many boys have got pedlar's licensees to sell goods taken from the wholesale shops, — but those boys do not sell any goods.
Mr. Champion

What do they do? — They stay about in town here as gentlemen of leisure.

DR. FOURIE: When you said it was very difficult to pay lobolo here in town, would they pay money then; do they not pay money instead of cattle? — No, sir. I find my experience is that most of the Native boys who get married here get assistance from their own wives.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNED AT 4.35 p.m., UNTIL 9.30 a.m.,
ON THURSDAY, 21st MAY.