fully what the Government are doing and are grateful; but unfortunately there is a big section which is always declaiming about the Government having done nothing for the people and they offer very little gratitude for all these big schemes which the Government has in view for the benefit of the Native people. I have mentioned it to you as leaders of the people because these things make our hearts sore sometimes.

Owing to the war, the world is in a disordered state. Here in South Africa we have been fortunate, but there are many false leaders who are trying to lead the people astray. The Government looks to you as Councillors to do all you can to protect your people against these false prophets, and to trust those who are placed in authority over them for help and guidance.

I thank you for the patient hearing you have given me, and I wish you well.

I would suggest that Councillors consider the matters I have placed before them and the memorandum that has been circulated amongst them and that Council adjourn until to-morrow morning. They can go into committee this afternoon and go through the points I have put to them. If they desire further information I will give it in the morning.

Conversation ensued.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the best plan is to adjourn now. This is a very long and complicated statement and members have to study it. The hall will be available this afternoon to enable Councillors to go through the statement Mr. Smit has given them.

Council adjourned until 9.30 a.m. on Tuesday, January 9, 1945.

2ND DAY, TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1945.

Council resumed at 10 a.m.

The Chairman read prayers.

THE CHAIRMAN: We adjourned yesterday to give you an opportunity to study the memorandum placed before you by Mr. Smit. There is a series of seven questions which I am informed are the questions which the Council desires Mr. Smit to reply to. I understand also that some memorandum is being prepared by the Council. I propose, after Mr. Smit has replied to your questions, to give you time to prepare that memorandum. I will ask Mr. Smit to reply to your questions.

MR. D. L. SMIT: The first question is:

> "What is the obstacle to the Government to prevent it from fulfilling the promises made under the 1936 Representative Act of relieving congestion in Rural Locations by purchasing new land?"

The answer is this: We set out before the war with the intention of acquiring the full quota of 7¼ million morgen of land throughout the Union and we had acquired a considerable amount of land when war broke out. Up to that time Parliament had set aside no less than £6,000,000 for the purchase of this land, and the idea at that time was to put fresh money on the estimates until the whole extent had been bought. What happened when war broke out was this: No less than one-third of the officers of the Native Affairs Department volunteered for military service. They include a large number of men from the staffs responsible for the organisation of the purchase of this land, and technical officers who are responsible for supervising and putting the land in order; and from the staffing point of view it was quite impossible to cope with any further work. You cannot buy big areas of land and leave it without any control or supervision. All sorts of irregularities take place if you allow that to be done and your land goes to pieces. We cannot contemplate the purchase of land unless we have proper supervision. That is the first point. The second point is this: That the prices of land, owing to the war, have gone up, in some cases nearly 100 per cent., and the Government, acting on the advice of their experts, came to the conclusion that it was not wise to buy large extents of land during the war period. But I think I should draw your attention to what I said in the memorandum that is before you. You will see on page 2 that, since 1940, when the war was at its worst, we have bought land to the value of £1,077,167. It is not correct to say we have stopped buying land entirely. Wherever we get a chance of driving a good bargain we buy land. But taking it on the whole the price of land at the present time is really prohibitive and so we have to be careful. There is another point that arises out of this thought which I endeavoured to stress yesterday. I have endeavoured to put all the cards on the table and to give you all the facts. It is no use concealing things; it is better to place all the facts before you so that you know where you stand; and in giving these facts I stand as a friend trying to get as much land as possible and to help you. I want you to appreciate that point of view. Here in the Ciskei the only extent of land remaining to be bought is 28,000

morgen. The greater portion of the land we can still buy lies in Beuchanaland. We have quite a large number of farms there and those territories are sparsely populated. We have some nice farms there, but of course the country there is not the same as here. It is dry country and farming conditions are different. On the whole, the country there is really only suitable for stock. There is a little arable land, and except at Taungs, where we have our agricultural farm, it is not suitable for agricultural farming on a large scale. When we came to examine the position in the Ciskei and found we had such a small portion of land allocated and such a great congestion of people, we thought we might take some of you to Bechuanaland to settle there. We thought we might find some Moses who would lead the Israelites into a new country. We had an example of that some years ago in the Rustenburg district. You will all perhaps remember a man named Zibi who was at Middledrift. Zibi, with a number of followers, moved to the Rustenberg district and bought a farm there. Zibi has made a really wonderful success of the settlement. He has established himself there as a chief and he has his people with him. We wondered why some people here who have no land did not go there for land. Perhaps some of you will remember that some of the leaders were given rail warrants and were allowed to see the farms in Bechauanaland. They seemed pleased with the farms, but they went away and we did not hear any more about it. So a large extent of country there is unsettled. I quite appreciate the difficulty of moving a large number of people from here to a country like Bechuanaland, but you can see that I did my best. We not only offered to give people land but also assistance in obtaining stock there, and we were prepared to help them in every way to try to establish them in a new country. So you see, where the land is, the people don't want to go. Here in the Ciskei there is only 28,000 morgen of land that I can buy. People say to the Government, first buy the rest of the land before we talk about these schemes of yours, before we talk about the limitation of stock, and before we will agree to these villages. Don't you see that by the time we buy these 28,000 morgen you won't be in any better case than you are at present, because that 28,000 morgen, as you can see for yourselves, is only a drop in the bucket. I tried to explain to you yesterday that it is no use trying to buy more land in the European areas of the Ciskei, because Europeans won't agree to it. So we are on the horns of a dilemma. It is for that reason that we have been wracking our brains to find some way to relieve the congestion and rehabilitate the Reserves. This is the only outlet we can offer, and I must say it appeals to me as being a very reasonable solution which we should at least give a trial. We want to start this settlement outside King William's Town in a released area, not in the municipal area, and our hope is not that the Natives there won't be employed in the municipality of King William's Town: what we are trying to do at the present time is to get some industry established there for employment, not through the municipality but through Government agencies. I cannot make any promise, but I am doing my best. We want to give this village settlement there a trial to see how it works. We are offering something that has never been offered before. We are offering to let these villagers buy land under very reasonable conditions, with the help of the Government, at a rate of interest which is far below anything you can get outside. That is why I am anxious that you should not turn down this suggestion. You turn your backs on all these things that are suggested, and the end is that Government does not see the use of doing anything. We must make the best of what we have got. I want to be perfectly frank; I can't see any hope of getting more land in the Ciskei; it can be obtained elsewhere, but not near your homes. In the Ciskei there was 80,000 morgen of land set aside under the Land Act. We have acquired 52,000 morgen and 28,000 morgen remains. We have to wake up and cut our coat according to the cloth. The second question asked is:

> "In as much as the 1936 lands were designed to be of benefit to Natives resident on Crown lands in rural areas, why is the Government now making provision for surplus population from European farms and urban areas?"

As far as European farms are concerned, the point is that large numbers of Natives are living on European farms in contravention of the law of 1936; and the Act of 1913 was applied to the whole of the Cape Province. Under the 1913 Act it is not lawful for any Native to acquire land outside Native areas without the consent of the Governor-General. There are large numbers of Natives on farms in the Ciskeian area who are occupying land in contravention of that law. They are not only contravening the Land Act of 1912 but also the Location Act of 1909. We are in a very grave predicament in

regard to these people and something has to be done about it. We have been having great difficulty about this and I have to meet the Divisional Council and farmers of Stutterheim to-morrow with regard to the matter. There again the only solution I can see is to absorb Natives who are on European-owned farms into village settlements. It is not intended to establish only this one village settlement. We are trying it as an experiment and if it is a success we will be able to establish a large number of village settlements all over the country. These settlements are meant to absorb people who are landless, people who have no place to put their families in. We want to put them in places where they will have all the amenities of decent life and a little piece of land which their families can cultivate. We have to absorb surplus people from the farms and I cannot shirk the position. The law is there. What is to happen to these people? The law says they have to be moved. Must I turn them out into the roads and tell them to go? You have been asking me questions; I now ask you questions. There is nowhere to put these people, because I cannot buy European farms for that purpose. Unless Parliament alters the law I have to carry it out on that basis. I can't buy farms in European areas. We want to do this thing with as little hardship as possible. We want to absorb these people into village settlements and give them places where they can live decently and secure employment not far away from where they are living. That is the best scheme we can work out at the present time. We are not establishing rural villages with a view to relieving municipalities of the obligation to house the people living therein — that is being made perfectly clear—but we have got cases of people who drift to towns because they have no place outside. They just squat down amongst other people. There are no decent conditions for their women and children. Instead of allowing these conditions to continue we want to put them into these settlements, where they will have decent amenities.

> Question No. 3: "What assurance is there that we are going to obtain the balance of a full quota of 7¼ million morgen."

The assurance is in the promises which have been made by the Government, and Government cannot break those promes. General Hertzog, who fathered this legislation through Parliament in 1926, made the statement in the House that the money necessary to buy all this land would be provided. Parliament accepted that undertaking and provided money from year to year until war broke out. You had a further grant by Government during the last Parliamentary session, when the Minister of Native Affairs set out details of this rehabilitation scheme. Both on that and on other occasions he has said it is the intention of Government as soon as things are normal to continue the purchase of this land. That assurance should be sufficient for us.

> Question No. 4: "Is it the intention of the Government to relieve the municipalities of their rightful duty to provide residence for their urban population?"

Although I have already dealt with this on No. 2, the answer is "No."

> Question No. 5: "What is the number of morgen already allotted to the Native residents in the Cape Province out of the total of 381,226 morgen?"

Of that extent 213,000 morgen of land has been acquired in Bechuanaland, of which I have already spoken. That land there has not all been settled because we have not got the people. I am quite willing to allot land to young people who go there. My difficulty is that people will not go there. In the Umzimkulu district 63,000 morgen was acquired, and that has already been settled. In Matatiele, 42,000 morgen was bought and that is in course of being settled now. In the East London district 24,000 morgen was bought. That is a settlement we propose using in conjunction with the schemes before you. In the meantime that land is being used for grazing of Native stock from other areas. That makes up 342,000 morgen of the 381,000. Then there are some other small settlements we have bought at various points in Keiskama Hoek and elsewhere. That makes up the balance.

> Question No. 6: "If the Government now finds it impracticable to supply to us the land originally promised, why can it not therefore return to us the original franchise?"

The question of the original franchise is a political question which I cannot enter into. But in regard to the land the Government has not found it impracticable to supply the land originally promised. As I have already explained, up to the outbreak of war we did our best. The work has been retarded by the war and as soon as things become normal purchases will be undertaken again. So there is no question of breach of faith — none whatever. The amazing thing is that Government has been able to do as much as it has done in spite of the war, not only as regards the purchase of land but also in regard to education.

I think we should appreciate that. We are engaged in a life and death struggle with a powerful enemy, but the Government has contrived to buy nearly a million morgen since war broke out. I don't think that point is sufficiently appreciated.

> Question No. 7: "With regard to the success of the Thaba 'Nchu veld reclamation, what is the number of Natives inhabiting Crown land in that district, and what is the extent of land they occupy, and what is the comparison in density of population as between the people of Thaba 'Nchu and those in the King William's Town and Middledrift districts where the density of population is 100 Natives to the square mile?"

There is no Crown land in the Thaba 'Nchu district. The original locations measured 24,000 morgen of land. We bought European-owned farms in the released areas surrounding the locations to the extent of 52,000 morgen. That makes a total area of 76,000 morgen. I can't give you the population figures—I haven't got them here — but the density of the population is not nearly so great as it is in the Ciskei. But it is a fact that the lands were all badly overstocked when we commenced our work, and in mentioning this case yesterday I was merely giving an illustration that where people co-operate wholeheartedly with us they come out with success. I did not intend to draw a comparison between population statistics in that area and those in the Ciskei. It is quite correrct that there is more land available there and better chances of improving it, but we did get the people's warm co-operation and we were able to do a great deal as a result of that co-operation. I have answered all your questions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Smit is prepared to answer any other questions you like to put to him now to the best of his ability.

CR. A. M. JABAVU: At the present time the Government and the European population are very busy preparing for demobilisation. Huge land schemes and housing schemes are contemplated for the soldiers who are going to return after the war. Mr. Smit in his address yesterday mentioned that there was a committee looking after the interests of Native soldiers. I don't know if most of the Native soldiers are not back by this time, and we cannot understand how the preparations for the Native soldiers are going to dovetail into those that are being made for the Europeans. For instance, in the building schemes. Housing is going to be undertaken on a very large scale and we know that unskilled labour is going to be supplied by the African or Native population, if not some of the skilled labour. The question of whether the skilled labour is recognised I leave aside for the time being. Mr. Smit said the war is likely to be over within a few months, and we were all glad to hear him say that. Yet the Government is talking about schemes for building villages—schemes that are going to cost thousands of pounds, schemes that are going to mean a fundamental revolution among the peasant portions of the African people. We know that even with Europeans who have grown up on farms it is not easy to turn them off and put them into industry, because they have not grown up in that life, and the Government has made preparations for such people because they can't adapt themselves to the changed conditions of life within two or three years. How much more is that change of mode of life and living going to mean to people who have never been in industry? In this district we have what is known as the small German farmer. That type of man supplies the bare necessities of vigetables for the town. The towns would be nowhere without those people and those people cannot be turned over to become industrialists, even if you gave them five years. How much more is it going to mean in difficulty if, as contemplated, Natives must be changed from their natural life to industrial life within a few months? Why cannot the Government stay this great and overwhelming change in the life of our people till we are able to see what is in store for Natives in the post-war reconstruction? Everything really depends on the economic condition of the people and our fear is that if we co-operate with the Government in these schemes which are being, so to speak, rushed we may prejudice our chances and the chances of our generation in participating in the new development that is going to take place after the war. Can the Government not give us a chance to see what is in store for us? We are part of the economic structure of South Africa, in the same way that the small German farmer is an important unit in the economic life of the town, although he is a farmer; and I would like to submit on behalf of our people that the fundamental changes that are being proposed by the Government may mean either success or chaos— it is between the two, make no mistake. We may find the remedies proposed have been worse than the diseases. Why is crime on the increase in the towns? We ourselves are very much concerned