

RACE RELATIONS

'N KWARTAALBLAD GEWY AAN DIE
STUDIE VAN RASSEVERHOUDINGS
IN SUIDELIKE AFRIKA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED
TO THE STUDY OF RACE RELATIONS
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INHOUD — CONTENTS

The Social Services : Discrimination and Counteraction. <i>Professor Edward Batson</i> ...	18
The Native Farm Labour Committee Report. <i>Mr. Leo Marquard</i>	23
Durban's Growing Pains : A Racial Problem. <i>Professor Raymond Burrows</i>	28
"South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit". Reviews of Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé's Phelps-Stokes Lectures. <i>Professor A. C. Celliers, Mr. George Findlay, Mr. Z. K. Matthews, Professor Raymond Burrows</i>	31

GRATIS AAN LEDE

1/-

FREE TO MEMBERS

JOHANNESBURG

SUID-AFRIKAANSE
INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS

SOUTH AFRICAN
INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

THE SOCIAL SERVICES : DISCRIMINATION AND COUNTERACTION

Professor EDWARD BATSON

Department of Social Science, University of Cape Town

I. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

THIS paper is concerned with two contradictions in our socio-economic system. The discussion does not pretend to be exhaustive—in the present state of knowledge, a general survey of the subject may aspire to excite the judgement briefly rather than to inform it tediously.

By *socio-economic system* I mean that complex of social relationships by which the means of welfare are distributed. I mean all the measures, direct and indirect, premeditated and unpremeditated, legal, administrative or customary, by which society regulates the standard of living of its members. Their immediate effects are revealed in income levels and price levels, in the production and distribution of goods and services outside the market system, in the un-priced sacrifices and efforts involved in getting a living and making a home.

The chief primary sources of the means of welfare are four. For most persons—all save orphans and the other groups of "children in need of care" which our law recognizes—the first of these is *the Private Family*, upon which is thrown the burden of support of all children until past adolescence. Passing out of the care of the parental family, the individual lives either as a separate economic unit or as the founder of a new family. At this stage in his social development, two other primary sources take the place of the Family—*Private Property* and *Personal Effort*.

The adult whom Property and Personal Effort fail is driven back in the first instance upon the Family again. Now Property fails most people save as a most temporary or subsidiary means of support. In Western Society, most persons are supported by their personal earnings or by those of the breadwinners of their immediate families. But Earnings too may fail.

Taking certain figures calculated for Cape Town in 1939¹ as a basis, an earner needs for his own support and that of a wife and three children a minimum of about £6 per month for food, about £1 for clothing, about 14s. for household sundries, and not less than £4 for rent; say, with indispensable transport, £12 for existence at the lowest possible level not involving sacrifice of health or decency.

Even without special expenses (such as few can hope to avoid), to secure by means of his personal earnings subsistence for this medium-sized family on the Cape

¹ The "Poverty Line" adopted in the Social Survey of Cape Town.

Town basis, the earner must attain four minima of employment and remuneration. In rural districts and in other places where the cost of living is lower than in Cape Town, these minima will be reduced; but so also will be the chances of attaining them.

On the basis given, the earner must :—

- (i) earn at the rate of at least 1s. 2d. per hour ;
- and (ii) work at this rate for at least 8 hours per day ;
- and (iii) work on these terms for at least 6 days per week ;
- and (iv) continue to work in this fashion throughout every week in the year.

A lower rate of earnings than (i), or short time (ii), or casuality (iii), or unemployment (iv), will throw him back upon such property as he may have, or upon subsidiary workers within his own family, or upon the charity of his parental family.

But earnings, property, and family resources, while distinct, are not independent. There is indeed a high positive correlation between their potential contributions to the support of the individual. There is a strong probability that the person with low earning capacity will own little property and belong to a family with little income to spare, that the propertyless family will produce lower-paid workers than the propertied family, and that the broken family will lack both property and earning capacity.

There is thus a presumption that the three major private means of support in Western countries will not suffice to maintain the whole population. Experience and investigation confirm this presumption.

For those, or for some of those, who through low earning power, propertylessness, and family poverty, are reduced to a lower standard of living than current ideals of social justice will tolerate, Western Society makes provision through what I shall call generically *the Social Services*, which may thus be defined as those activities by which public provision is made in Western Society for the survival or betterment of those whose existence at a tolerable level is not assured to them by the Private Family, Private Property, or Personal Effort. The "tolerable level" varies—American standards are higher than European, twentieth-century (until now) than nineteenth-century. In the last resort, the upper limit is set by the ratio of national income to population. The lower limit is largely physiological.

In the Union, the National Income is usually reckoned to amount to not more than about £30 per head per annum,

which is very close to the poverty line described above, which in its turn is very close to the physiological minimum as interpreted by current standards of health and decency. With an average so close to the minimum, an application of the principle of "bread for all or cake for none" would seem to lead to a socio-economic policy concentrated in the first instance upon ensuring the subsistence minimum all round. And this not exclusively on grounds of social justice. These can hardly be overlooked in a country professing to base its social welfare system on the ideals of democracy and of Christianity²; but, as I have attempted to argue elsewhere,³ the teachings of our social philosophy are in this instance reinforced by the pressure of our social conditions. If the mass of the people of this country are considered merely as means of production, as "human resources", no socio-economic policy can be considered rational that does not make provision for their maintenance, stimulus, habilitation, and replacement. Any surpluses that may accrue to some after this level has been reached by all may be regarded as so much to the good—our society lays no claim to egalitarianism. But it would not be economic, as it would not be humane, to seek such inequalities at the expense of the general minimum.

The assurance of the general minimum thus appears to be the first objective of a rational and humane socio-economic system; and I think there is good reason to believe that this is an objective in the pursuit of which our social services are being extended and developed. But I also think that the attainment of this objective is being gravely hindered if not rendered impossible by the two socio-economic inconsistencies to which I have referred. These inconsistencies arise:—

(i) in the conflict between the social services and those activities which I shall call the *Social Disservices*; and

(ii) in the conflict *within* the system of social services which arises from the *ethnic discrimination* which is one of their chief characteristics.

II. THE SOCIAL DISSERVICES

If the watchword of the social services is "he that had gathered much had nothing over and he that had gathered little had no lack" (Exodus xvi, 18), that of the social disservices is "he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath" (Mark iv, 25). I define the social disservices as those public activities in Western Society which have the effect of still further reducing the standard of living of those to whom the Private Family, Private Property, and Personal Effort do not assure a tolerable standard in the first place. The principle of the social services is provision for the general attainment of at least a minimum standard; the effect of the social disservices, aggravation of the difficulty of achieving such a standard. The existence of

both social services and social disservices in the same socio-economic system is presumably possible only in a society whose right hand either does not know or does not care what its left hand doeth.

As the social services operate through the five channels:—

1. transference of purchasing power,
2. transference of goods gratis,
3. rendering of services gratis,
4. subsidization of goods,
5. subsidization of services;

so the social disservices operate by:—

1. reduction of purchasing power,
2. appropriation of goods without compensation,
3. exacting of services without compensation,
4. enhancement of the prices of goods,
5. enhancement of the prices of services.

Some of the principal South African social disservices operate through:—

- the customs tariff,
- marketing control,
- restrictions upon entry into industry,
- restrictions upon the geographical mobility of labour,
- regressive taxation.

Some of their principal direct effects are:—

- dearness of food and other necessities,
- high rents,
- the low wages of unskilled labour.

Their cumulative effect is to throw upon the social services a strain which they can hardly be expected to bear.⁴

The Duties on Foodstuffs

Under Act 18 of 1940, duties up to 35 per cent. *ad valorem* are levied on about a hundred classes of foodstuffs ranging from wheat to marjoram and from dried milk to preserved ginger. How do these duties affect families with low incomes?

A clue may be provided by taking some such minimum dietary as those prepared by the British Medical Association Committee on Nutrition (1933). BMA ("Bare Ration") Diet No. 1 provides for one "man-value" per week:— 1 lb. corned beef, 2 lbs. cheese, $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. margarine, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. bread (or 7 lbs. flour and 1d.-worth yeast), 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. sugar, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. potatoes, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. tea, and 7d.-worth fresh fruit and green vegetables. This diet of eight items, yielding 100.5 grams protein, 106.1 grams fat, and 3466 calories, daily, cost about 4s. 10d. per week in England at 1933 prices, or about one shilling less if the bread were baked at home. Each of the eight items would in the Union be subject to customs duty in accordance with the schedule on page 20.

The total duty payable on this dietary would thus at the best amount to about 1s. 8d. per man-unit per week, if the importation of the eight items were freely permitted

² Vide the first Report of the Union Department of Social Welfare (U.G. 15 1940).

³ *The Need for the Investigation and Conservation of Human Resources in South Africa*, Transactions of the S.A. Association for the Advancement of Science, 1939.

⁴ Cp. "A social welfare policy which is to be carried into effect through co-operative effort must be understood and accepted by the nation generally. It must again be stressed that the success of the Department of Social Welfare cannot depend entirely on its own efforts" [U.G. 15 1940, p. 13].

DUTIES ON FOODSTUFFS

Foodstuff	Tariff Item	Lowest Rate of Duty
Corned Beef	30(c)	1d. per lb.
Cheese	8(a)	5½d. per lb. with a rebate of 2d. per lb. on such classes as are not produced in the Union as the Minister may prescribe or 25% <i>ad valorem</i> whichever yields the higher duty.
Margarine	6(1)	4d. per lb.
Bread	3(1)	4d. per lb. or 25% <i>ad valorem</i> whichever yields the higher duty.
Flour	15(a)(ii)	5s. 4d. per 100 lbs.
Yeast	2(2)	3d. per lb.
Sugar	43(c)	12s. 6d. per 100 lbs. plus a suspended duty of 3s. 6d. per 100 lbs.
Potatoes	37	2s. per 100 lbs.
Tea	45(b)	1d. per lb.
Fresh fruit and vegetables :—		
onions & garlic	34	½d. per lb.
other green vegetables	46(a)	free.
apples	22(a)(i)	5% <i>ad valorem</i> (Canadian apples at certain times of the year duty-free).
other fresh fruit	22(a)(ii)	5% <i>ad valorem</i> .

at the above rates, which is not the case.⁵ It would, however, be unwarranted to regard this (or the larger total of 5s. per week based on bread instead of four) as the amount of the actual impost upon consumers. Margarine and cheese are not South African staples (largely, of course because of the restrictions upon their importation); maize-meal, mutton fat, and condensed milk are. The importation of these also is restricted⁶; but to assess the effect upon the consumer of all such restrictions we should need to know how much the consumer would have to pay to procure a subsistence diet if they were removed as well as how much he has to pay to secure the most economical equivalent so long as they are imposed. We have not these figures; but we may safely conclude from the above example that the difference between them would not be negligible.

The Duties on other Necessaries

It is unnecessary, although it would be possible, to trace in the tariff schedule practically every item of an ordinary subsistence budget. For *clothing*, reference may be made in particular to tariff items 61, 65, and 70 (ready-made clothing 15–25 per cent. with minima, second-hand

clothing 25 per cent. with minima, socks and stockings 15 per cent., boots and shoes 30 per cent. with minima). For *household necessities*, reference may be made to items 163, 164, 190, 322 (heating and lighting) and 42, 169(2), 206 (cleaning).

The Duties on Building Materials

Among the items liable to duty are pipes, stoves, cement, asbestos cement, earthenware, slates, tiles, shingles, timber, plywood, joinery, white lead, paint.

Marketing Control

The customs tariff is not the only restriction upon the importation or sale of necessities. Under Act 26 of 1937 as amended, schemes have been prepared for controlling the marketing of mealie products, wheat products, dairy products, meat, and dried fruit. The National Marketing Council⁷ has explicitly stated that the purpose of these schemes is to promote producers' interests, to improve producers' returns (even if this involves raising the local price), to maximize the producers' revenue. It is not denied that the actions of the Board may raise prices to the consumer in more ways than one.

Other Examples

The Union's system of *industrial legislation and administration* has secured a very high rate of payment for certain fortunately-placed classes of workers, but has been widely criticized in respect of its effect upon the earnings of the mass of workers, including many Europeans, who are excluded from these benefits. Even the Industrial Legislation Commission, which appeared far from unfavourable to the general principle of industrial legislation, urged that in

increase in the national income and increase in total earnings, as distinct from increased wage rates, lies the solution of the country's problem, and not in curtailment, which is likely to follow from fixing artificial rates.⁸

For a description of *restrictions upon freedom of movement and of occupation* which have the effect of reducing the individual's opportunity of earning, reference may be made to the reports of the Economic and Wage Commission⁹, of the Industrial Legislation Commission¹⁰, and of the Carnegie [unofficial] Poor White Commission¹¹, as regards the European; to H. J. Simons on "Disabilities of the Native in the Union of South Africa"¹², and to the Report of the Cape Coloured Commission¹³, as regards the Non-European.

For a description of the Union's heavily *regressive taxation* upon Natives, reference may again be made to Dr. Simon's paper¹².

⁷ U.G. 26, 1939, p. 7.

⁸ U.G. 37, 1935.

⁹ U.G. 14, 1926.

¹⁰ U.G. 37, 1935.

¹¹ Stellenbosch, 1932.

¹² *Race Relations*, Vol. VI, No. 2, and S.A. Institute of Race Relations Reprint Series No. 6.

¹³ U.G. 54, 1937.

⁵ *Vide* section on Market Control, below.

⁶ As is that of other alternatives. BMA Diet No. 1 is condemned by its authors as possibly insufficiently protective and certainly too monotonous for continued palatability. The *practicable* minimum put forward by the Committee comprises BMA Diet No. 2, which omits margarine, reduces the quantities of the remaining seven items, and adds fish, four kinds of meat, eggs, milk, butter, suet, lard, jam, syrup, dried peas, butter beans, rice, barley, and oatmeal. All these, save rice, and in some circumstances fish, are subject to duty in the Union.

III. ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

There arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration.—Acts vi, 1.

Ethnic discrimination in the social services of the Union is the rule rather than the exception, and does not excite much comment. There are fewer social services available to the Non-European than to the European, and many of those that are available are far from adequate. This is true both of private and State services.

During 1939, a survey of the private and semi-private social welfare work in Cape Town¹⁴ permitted the compilation of the statistics given in the right column of this page.

These indices suggest that the social services of Cape Town are not altogether directed to the quarters where they are most needed. But the position in Cape Town is far more favourable to the Non-European population than in the country at large. A survey of the principal welfare organizations of the Union conducted in 1938 by the Union Department of Social Welfare showed that 75 per cent. of the 400 organizations investigated restricted themselves to work among Europeans and 8 per cent. to work among Non-Europeans. If this survey did indeed "provide a fairly comprehensive view of the voluntary efforts of societies concerning themselves directly with social work"¹⁵, we must conclude that barely one-fifth of the voluntary social services of the Union are available to four-fifths of the population, and to that four-fifths which admittedly bears the burden of much more than four-fifths of the country's poverty.

Commenting upon this situation, the Department says :—¹⁶

It is evident that work among [the Non-European] groups is not generally popular amongst voluntary workers. The Non-Europeans themselves have little ability, leisure or funds to deal with their problems themselves and a large field would remain almost untouched were it not for the efforts of the churches and missions which do as much as their staffs and funds will allow. In considering the basis of co-operation as between State and private initiative, therefore, the Non-European problem will have to receive greater official consideration and more direct help if adequate provision is to be made for this group.

What kind of official consideration has the Non-European so far received? Until precise statistics are available, we must rest content with indices of :—

1. the *availability* of the several services to members of the different ethnic groups,
2. the *terms* on which the services are available,
3. the *scales of benefits* laid down,
4. the *effective utilization* of the services.

¹⁴ Undertaken by the Department of Social Science of the University of Cape Town as part of the Social Survey of Cape Town. The figures given above are from the preliminary returns covering all the private and semi-private social welfare organizations, 103 in number, operating within the Cape Division.

¹⁵ U.G. 15, 1940, p. 20.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

CAPE TOWN NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

1939

Major Function of Organization	Number of Organizations serving			Number of Organizations available to	
	Europ- eans	Non- Europ- eans	Both	Europ- eans	Non- Europ- eans
Social diagnosis and advice	2	—	3	5	3
Outdoor relief	6	—	7	13	7
Advice and relief	1	1	6	7	7
Indoor provision for the destitute	15	4	1	16	5
Cheap lodging	5	1	2	7	3
Care of the physically and mentally handicapped	6	4	3	9	7
Institutional provision for correction and reform	8	4	2	10	6
Other	5	4	6	11	10
Combinations of the above functions	3	2	2	5	4
ALL	51	20	32	83	52
Group totals as percentages of all organizations	49.5%	19.4%	31.1%		
Group totals as percentages of available services				61.5%	38.5%
<i>Indices for Comparison 1938-39 *</i>					
Estimated population				159,915	155,483
-ditto †					149,820
Birth rate †				17.87	46.46
Death rate †				9.71	21.69
Tuberculosis death rate †				0.77	4.77
Infant mortality rate †				42.11	123.57
Deaths of persons under 25 as percentage of all deaths §				16.7	57.9
Consultations, municipal infant welfare clinics				28,266	75,651
Consultations, municipal maternal welfare clinics				1,714	12,447

Extract from Report of City Medical Officer of Health for Year 1937-38.

"The social and economic conditions of the Cape Coloured are on the whole unsatisfactory... The resulting poverty produces its inevitable result amongst the Coloured people. A large section of them suffer from malnutrition and their housing conditions are very bad. Alcoholism is common and there is a high incidence of venereal disease. The effects on their health are shown by the contrast between the vital statistics of Europeans and Non-Europeans.

"An entirely different picture is presented by the European population, which in the main is a well-to-do community."

* From Report of City Medical Officer of Health, 1937-38, annexure, provisional statistics for 1938-39.

† Excluding Langa Native Location.

§ 1937-38.

The Department of Social Welfare has calculated that the central Government budgeted in 1938-39 for spending about £10 million on social services. This expenditure may be classified thus :—

Social Service	From Revenue Funds £ 000	From Loan Funds £ 000
Old Age Pensions	2,250	—
Blind Persons' Pensions	67	—
Blind Natives' Pensions	46	—
Grants-in-aid to Blind Persons	10	—
Child Welfare	383	—
State-aided Butter etc. Scheme	250	—
Invalidity Scheme	172	—
Work Colonies	13	—
Social Welfare Institutional Grants	43	—
Labour (mainly Unemployment Relief)	412	305
Settlements	310	1,578
Advances to Farmers and Tenants	—	2,400
Education (Union)	80	—
Interior (mainly Mental Hospitals)	662	—
Public Health	545	—
Housing (Social Welfare)	—	220
Other	171	2
TOTAL	5,413	4,505

Availability

Several of these services are available to Europeans only; many are not available to Natives. These discriminations do not appear to form in themselves a co-ordinated system, as the following examples show:—

Old Age Pensions: Europeans and Coloured persons only.

State Aided Butter etc. Scheme:

Milk: Europeans, some Coloured persons, some Asiatics.

Butter: Europeans, Coloured persons (in three Provinces), Asiatics (Transvaal only).

Invalidity Pensions: Europeans only.

Work Colonies: Europeans and Coloured persons.

Unemployment Relief: Europeans, some relief for Coloured persons.

Settlements, etc.: Europeans only.

Terms

A few examples will serve to illustrate the general principle that Non-Europeans have to be poorer than Europeans to qualify for services available to both:—

Old Age Pensions: Means test—European maximum with pension £72 per annum plus £12 per dependent child, Non-European maximum £39 with no child allowance.

Milk Scheme: Means test for butter—Europeans 6s. per day, Coloured persons 4s. per day.

Child Welfare:

Maintenance Grants: Means test—Europeans £3. 10s. per month, Non-Europeans £1. 6s. 8d. per month.

Scales of Benefit

A few examples will show that the scales of benefit available to Non-Europeans are lower than those for Europeans:—

Old Age Pensions: Maxima—European £42 per annum, Coloured £21.

Blind Pensions and Grants: Maxima—European £3 per month, Coloured £2, Indian 10s., Native 10s.

Child Welfare:

Maintenance Grants: European maxima—per child £2. 10s. per month, per foster-child £2. 10s., per family £9. Non-European maxima—per child 17s. per month, per foster-child £1. 5s., per family £4. 10s.

Crèche subsidies: European maximum 1s. per head per day, Non-European maximum 6d. per head per day.

Effective Utilization

The following indices will indicate the extent to which the benefits of the social services are actually enjoyed by the members of the two major ethnic groups:—

Social Service	Nature of Index	Year	European	Non-European
<i>Child Welfare:</i>				
Operation of Children's Act	Number of "children in need of care" dealt with by Children's Courts	1937	5,831	1,754
	—of these, placed in institutions	1937	941	164
	Young offenders dealt with under Section 103	1937	505	754
	—of these, sent to reformatories or hostels	1937	191	427
Maintenance grants	Number of children for whom grants made	1938	10,548	4,212
Institutions	Number of certified institutions	1939	58	17
	—ditto, uncertified	1939	35	10
	Number of committed children in certified institutions	1937	4,151	617
	—ditto, in uncertified institutions	1937	277	43
	Number of children committed on grounds of destitution	1937	586	77
	Revenue from Union Government, certified institutions	1937	£90,442	£9,125
	—ditto, uncertified institutions	1937	£7,094	£383
Hostels	Number of certified hostels	1939	10	9
	Number of young offenders in certified hostels	1937	98	220
Crèches	Number of subsidized crèches	1939	5	3
	Number of children on roll	1939	172	150
	Percentage of mothers whose earnings were less than £4 per month	1939	2	89 *
Old Age Pensions	Number of pensioners	1938	59,257	21,971 *
	Annua: value of pensions	1938	£2,017,002	£245,253 *
Welfare of the Blind	Number of pensioners	1938	1,076	1,112 *
	Value of pensions	1938	£35,475	£18,674 *
	Number of blind Natives receiving grants	1938	—	9,857 †
	Budgetary provision for grants to blind Natives	1939	—	£50,000 †
	Number of workers in workshops and training centres	1939	71	42 *
Hostels for low-paid workers	Number of persons resident	1937	347	9 *
Work Colonies	Number of inmates	1939	16	41 *
Unemployment Relief	Number of subsidized labourers in Government Departments	1938	2,683	105 *
	—ditto, on S.A. Railways	1938	808	—
	—ditto, in Provincial and Divisional Council employ	1938	732	351 *
	—ditto, in municipal employ	1938	2,235	369 *
	—ditto, in private employ	1938	2,031	8 *
	Forestry settlements, number of labourers employed	1938	1,030	—
	Irrigation schemes, number of labourers employed	1938	1,857	482 *
Population Indices:				
	Estimated population	1939	2,116,500	6,997,500 † 231,200 § 814,800 *
				8,043,500
	Expectation of life at birth, males	1936	59 years	40 years *
	—ditto, females	1936	63 years	41 years *

* Coloured † Native § Asiatic

If the correctional and reformatory services tabulated above are any index of general social maladjustment it would appear that the Non-European share in the remaining services is far from adequate.

IV. THE SOCIAL SERVICES

There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty.—Proverbs xi, 24.

If the object of a system of social services is in the first place to assure to everybody the basic conditions for human existence (I do not suggest that this is the end as well as the beginning of their task), ethnic discrimination within the services is reasonable only on one of the following suppositions:—

- (i) that society does not recognize the human claims of all of its members;
- (ii) that ethnic differences coincide with differences of minimum needs;
- (iii) that ethnic differences coincide with differences in the availability of private resources.

I think we may dismiss the first alternative. The remaining two cannot be dealt with summarily. Even nutritional needs are not purely physiological; they contain a conventional element which is variable between cultural groups; clothing and housing needs are still more variable. Here apparently are grounds for distinction between Western conditions and tribal conditions, possibly even between urban conditions and rural conditions. But it seems unlikely that these distinctions would coincide even approximately with those which we draw between ethnic groups in the Union; Western communities, especially Western urban communities, impose their standards upon all their members, by force of law and by-law as well as by example and opinion. If discrimination is to be justified by differences in human needs, it would seem that it must not be a purely ethnic discrimination.¹⁷ As much is true of discrimination grounded on differences of family relationships. Some of the regulations of our social services appear to assume that the Non-European family is better adapted to bearing and sharing economic strain than the correspondingly-situated European family.

¹⁷ A circumstance officially recognized in the Labour Department's interpretation of the status of the Coloured worker under the Civilized Labour Policy.

ean family. That there are different family systems in the Union is indisputable; but the boundaries between them do not coincide with the ethnic discriminations adopted in the social services.

If we may seek to explain the present kinds of ethnic discrimination as representing an excessively rough approximation to presumable socio-economic differences, even this incomplete justification fails the other disharmony with which we have dealt, the clash between the social services and the social disservices. The effect of these two sets of institutions is necessarily mutually destructive, whatever the ideals or assumptions of the socio-economic system within which they operate.

The task of developing the Union's socio-economic system with a view to maximizing benefits cannot be an easy one. The present discriminatory basis has the merits of simplicity and intelligibility and may even appear a just reflection of traditional standards of living; and several of the social disservices were established with the purpose of benefiting groups of workers or producers who would not be unreasonable if they objected to a curtailment of these privileges. But certain immediate steps appear to be possible.

(1) Recognition of the interdependence of all parts of the socio-economic system is itself a step forward, a step already urged by the Department of Social Welfare, which is clearly inclined to take a broad and far-sighted view of the co-ordinative functions it has to perform. (2) The next step would logically be the scientific analysis of socio-economic conditions—of levels and manners of living—with a view to determining the effects of the present socio-economic institutions and to establishing normative standards in accordance with social ideals and social resources. (3) It would then be necessary to consider ways and means of harmonizing the reasonable expectations of vested interests with the claims of the normative standards. (4) Formulation of the policy to be followed in future developments would then be possible.

I am aware that serious difficulties must inevitably be encountered, especially at stage (3); and I realize that present threats to Western standards of living do not make this the most auspicious time for undertaking such a revision. But delay is not likely to lessen either the difficulties or the dangers.

THE NATIVE FARM LABOUR COMMITTEE REPORT¹

LEO MARQUARD

*Regional Representative of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations
in the Orange Free State*

Introduction

THE recurrent South African problem, a shortage of labour on farms, reached such proportions in 1937 that the Government appointed a Committee to inquire into questions relating to Native labour in

the farming industry; the report of that Committee, which was published in 1939, is discussed below.

The terms of reference of the Committee were to report on the shortage of Native labour on farms, on steps that should be taken to improve the supply of labour, on the advisability of using Government machinery to improve the supply, and on the economic

¹ Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee, 1937-39. Government Printer, Pretoria.

condition of Native farm labourers. The Committee seems to have been conscious of the fact that the general outlines of the problem are already reasonably clear and have been dealt with in such publications as the Report of the Native Economic Commission of 1932 and the Report of the Economic and Wage Commission of 1925. It is hardly likely that general inquiries will add much to our knowledge of the situation. What is required is detailed research; and that is clearly not the function of a Committee of Inquiry. To take an example: on p. 6 of the Report the Committee "regrets that although it did hear evidence of labour tenants and farm labourers at various centres, it did not find opportunity to make such close contact with these persons as would have enabled it to ascertain their real complaints and desires. Nor was there much opportunity of ascertaining by personal inspection the conditions under which Natives live on farms." In view of the vital influence of living conditions on labour supply this statement sounds like a damaging admission. Actually it is merely a warning that details of living conditions, particularly on the more backward farms from whose owners the Committee did not take evidence, are not to be expected. The personnel of the Committee is a guarantee that this aspect of the problem was not ignored.

The Shortage

Chapter I of the Report deals with the actual shortage and concludes that though some 400,000 male Natives are housed on European farms, only 320,000 of these are available at any one moment as labour units. If these were employed for 12 months in the year there would, possibly, be no shortage; but the labour tenant system, roundly condemned as wasteful and uneconomic, reduces the number of Native males available at any time to 200,000. This supply, the Committee concludes, is inadequate to meet the demand, and, though the present shortage has been exaggerated by farmer witnesses, the situation is serious.

The Report lists the reasons advanced by farmers and by Natives for the shortage. Many of those advanced by farmers do not go to the root of the matter. To say that there is a tendency among younger Natives to migrate to the towns, and that Natives have lost respect for their employers, is simply to state in other words that there is a shortage. It does not answer the question: why do Natives migrate to the towns? The farmers are on surer grounds when it is admitted that cash wages are low and that grazing rights have been reduced. The reasons advanced by the Natives are to the effect that

wages are inadequate, living conditions poor, and food insufficient.

The Committee itself gives thirteen reasons for the shortage (pp. 10, 11). Neglecting superficial reasons such as "a disinclination among present-day Natives to work on farms" (obviously there is a disinclination; the question is: why?) the most important causes of the shortage are found to be the labour tenant system, decreased supply from the Protectorates, the employment of Native males in domestic service, low wages in cash and in kind, unsympathetic treatment, bad housing, and insufficient or inappropriate food.

The Labour Tenant System

The Committee attaches great importance to the labour tenant system as a principal cause of labour shortage and as a general bar to progress; it considers that the system has prevented the growth of a distinct and permanent class of agricultural labourer. Chapter II of the Report is, accordingly, devoted to a description of the labour tenant system and its manifold evils. It is pointed out that the system has for some years ceased to satisfy either the employer or the labourer and was, in consequence, beginning to crumble of its own accord. The notorious Native Service Contract Act was passed in an attempt to prevent the disintegration of the system. But the Committee concludes that "the disintegration of the system has advanced too far to be amenable to the remedies provided and that it is fundamentally unsuited to the present-day requirements of both the farmers and the Natives". It is added that further restrictive legislation will serve no useful purpose. Since the Committee considers the labour tenant system not worth bolstering up and obviously aims at the creation of a permanent agricultural labouring class, it would seem a logical deduction that the Native Service Contract Act should be repealed. This is not, however, recommended by the Report. Instead, it is recommended that chapter IV of the Native Trust and Land Act (by which the Governor-General may prescribe the minimum period during which a Native must render service to be deemed a labour tenant) should be applied to the whole Union. The Committee realizes that without a compulsory cash wage this would entail hardship on the labourer, and it is a pity that it did not recommend in this direction. It does, it is true, *urge* farmers to pay a cash wage; but that is clearly not enough. If the labour tenant system is to be abolished by the gradual application of chapter IV of the Trust and Land Act the economic advantages of its abolition should be

made available to the labourer as well as to the employer.

Control of Movement and Contracts

Chapter III deals with the complaint made by many farmers that legislation regulating the freedom of movement of Natives and dealing with the relations between employer and labourer are not strictly enforced. The existing legislation is examined and the Committee comes to the conclusion that the present laws are adequate to control the movement of Natives but that farmers have largely themselves to blame because they are ignorant of the law and fail to carry out its provisions. The Committee "feels that the penalties laid down in the laws are sufficiently stringent" and is opposed to increasing their severity. On the matter of written contracts the Committee feels strongly that these should be compulsory but comes to the reluctant conclusion that the time is not ripe for this—a surprising conclusion in view of the statement in par. 84, p. 20, that "the bulk of European and Native evidence was in favour of written contracts".

Chapter III also considers the decline among Natives of parental control. Contracts are customarily made with the head of the family and include the whole family; but the head of the family finds that his sons flout his authority and refuse to be bound by his contract. This weakening of parental authority over young Natives of 16 to 21 is largely the result of contact with a European economy that has destroyed the basis of Native tribal life. It is interesting to note, too, that the Masters' and Servants' Laws are an example of how restrictive legislation may defeat its own purpose and recoil on the heads of those who make it. These laws aimed at giving the employers a maximum of control over their labourers, and so, contrary to Native custom, permitted youths of 16 to 21 to enter into individual contracts. This has still further weakened parental authority and thus affected labour supply.

The Committee concludes that nothing can be done about it and that "it is impossible to regulate the relationship between parent and child by legislation". If this conclusion of the Committee is correct, then, logically, it should have recommended the repeal of the Native Service Contract Act which does attempt to regulate the relationship between parent and child in the interests of the employer of agricultural labour.

Wages

Chapters IV to X deal with the economic and social condition of Native farm labourers. The fact that these chapters constitute half the Report shows

that the Committee was fully aware of the relationship between the supply of labour and the conditions under which it is employed. At the same time the Committee admits on p. 23 that wage statistics in agriculture could only be obtained by detailed research which it was not practicable for the Committee to undertake. It has, therefore, to rely on scattered pieces of information and on the rather vague evidence of better-off farmers who constituted the bulk of the farming witnesses. The result is that the general picture which the Committee draws of agricultural wage conditions is optimistic.

After restating, in considerable detail, what is known of urban and industrial wages the Committee deals with agricultural wages in each Province, reserving the wattle and sugar industries of Natal for separate treatment. Agricultural wages in cash and in kind are in a condition of chaos. There is no such thing as a standard wage, and differences between district and district are great. Moreover, the proportions of the wage that is in cash and in kind vary greatly. Making allowances for these variable factors the Committee arrives at the conclusion that the income of a family of five (father, mother, son of 17, daughter of 15, and child) would have an annual cash value in the different Provinces as follows:—

Natal	£30. 11s. 6d.
Free State	£48. 7s. 6d.
Cape (coastal)	£38. 6s. 0d.
Cape (interior)	£33. 17s. 6d.

Transvaal: here no comparable figures are given since from 70 to 90 per cent. of farm labour is hired on the labour tenant system; but the net result would not differ widely from the position in Natal.

These figures are all arrived at by adding to the cash wage a cash equivalent of the food rations, grazing and arable land, increase of Native-owned stock, and sundries such as clothing, tobacco, thatching, etc. It is just in these payments in kind that evaluation is a difficult and intricate business. The value of grazing land must obviously depend, among other things, on the kind of stock grazed, and the value of arable land is subject to violent seasonal fluctuations. The estimates of the Committee on these payments seem to exaggerate considerably the cash value of grazing and arable land; its estimate of family incomes is thus proportionately exaggerated.² The Committee accepts the statement that agricultural labour costs are high. If this means that the costs to the farmer are high in relation to the productivity of land—the true meaning of "high labour costs"—then

² For a survey of various districts in the Orange Free State, see the Institute's publication *Farm Labour in the Orange Free State*, 1939 (Monograph Series: No. 2).

the statement will require considerably more substantiating evidence than has so far been advanced.

While the Committee states that grazing privileges are more and more limited, it does not note the full implication of this as it affects wage rates. It would have been valuable if the Committee had been able to discover trends in agricultural wage rates. Are cash wages increasing, and, if so, does the increase compensate for the limitation of grazing rights? From the little evidence available it seems at least possible that total agricultural wages have fallen during the last four decades; at the same time production and productivity have increased.

Food and Housing

As regards rations, the Committee found that the great bulk of farmers considered that they had fulfilled their obligations when they had supplied their workers with mealie meal; milk, meat, and vegetables are only occasionally included in the ration. The Committee quotes medical evidence to show that the diet of farm labourers (and of other Native workers) is inadequate; that hard physical labour cannot be performed on an inadequate diet; and that malnutrition seriously reduces the power to resist disease. All these facts are reasonably well known but are still contested by employers of farm labour, and it is good to have them restated in a Government Report.

In the matter of housing the Committee recommends that "the importance of good housing for Natives on the farms should be impressed on all farmers". As with rations, the Committee is apparently of the opinion that no legislative remedial action can be taken. One wonders, however, whether the time has not come for a Rural Areas Act that will aim at improving substantially the conditions of farm labourers. Encouraging farmers to improve conditions is a slow business and it may well be that, unless active steps are taken soon by Government, it will be too late to save the farmers from the consequences of their own short-sightedness. Are we quite sure that the Native agricultural labour population—suffering as it does from bad housing and malnutrition—is reproducing itself with sufficient speed to meet the demands of an expanding agricultural economy? If there is any doubt at all on this point, the sooner we attend to the business of conserving our labour supply the better. The Committee deals with bad housing and malnutrition, because they fail to offer a sufficient attraction to labour; but their effect on birth-rate is an even more important consideration that has, so far, received scant attention.

Special Aspects of the Shortage

In Chapter VIII the Committee deals with certain special aspects of the shortage of Native farm labour. In the first place, it is considered that the Free State is suffering from a shortage because fewer Natives from the Protectorates are offering their services now than formerly. The Committee recommends that the Government should consult with the Protectorate administrations on this matter and that groups of farmers should be allowed to recruit labour. The Committee does not consider the effect on the agriculture of the Protectorates of increasing the labour supply from them. As it is, the number of Native males from the Protectorates who are at any given moment engaged in the Union is dangerously high; and any increase in that number will seriously affect the situation in the Protectorates.

In the second place, the Committee considers that the labour supply in Natal is adequate but has not been developed; there is plenty of "dormant" labour. Thirdly, the complaint that many farm labourers are drawn away to work on road construction and on other public works, is considered. Here the Committee finds that it cannot recommend any interference with voluntary labour from farms, but suggests that officials employing such labour should make sure that the Native applying for work is not still under a contractual obligation to an agricultural employer.

In regard to the sugar industry in Natal, it is evident that wage and living conditions for the workers are far from satisfactory, and, in the implied opinion of the Committee, these conditions are largely responsible for the shortage of labour there. The Committee recommends that the Native Labour Regulations Act, 1911, should be fully applied in the industry.

Recruiting

The Committee recommends that recognized Farmers' Associations should be given full facilities for recruiting and that the Native Labour Regulations Act should be amended accordingly; it also recommends that these associations should be allowed to recruit Native juveniles between the ages of 16 and 18, and that special regulations should be drawn up for the protection of such juveniles. This recommendation appears to contradict the opinion, expressed earlier in the Report, that the habit of making contracts with juveniles was responsible for the decline of parental authority. The Committee also recommends that reduced transport costs should operate on the railways for youths coming from the Transkei and other Reserves.

On various grounds, the Committee is unable to recommend the importation by recruiting of tropical Natives for farm labour; but it has a number of suggestions for facilitating the distribution to certain agricultural districts in the Transvaal and Natal of "clandestine" immigrants. For many years now, the administration has been unable to control the influx of Natives from northern territories, and the Committee now proposes to regularize this immigration by the establishment of depots from which immigrant Natives can be dispatched to agricultural areas where labour is in demand. This labour, the Committee urges, should not be used for mines or in urban areas. At the same time the Committee admits that the main object of foreign Natives who enter the Union is to obtain employment in the towns; they frequently use employment on a farm as a stepping stone to the better jobs they expect to find in industry.

In dealing with the matter of prohibited immigrant Natives the Committee was on difficult ground. Common sense and the dictates of economic justice compel the Committee to reject proposals for steps which will prevent Union Natives from seeking more lucrative employment in industry; it therefore rejects the demands of farmers that Natives should be prevented from leaving the farms. Common sense, again, dictates that it is impracticable to recruit tropical Natives for such dispersed employment as agriculture provides. And so the Committee finds itself in a position where, to meet the demand for agricultural labour without any increase in wages, it recommends that "clandestine" immigration should be dealt with by Government and should have applied to it the restrictions which the Committee will not apply to Union Natives. These recommendations of the Committee are a compromise between the principles of, on the one hand, restriction and recruiting, and, on the other hand, freedom and voluntary labour. The Committee appears to be aware of the dilemma in which it is placed, for, in par. 422 on p. 74, it urges strongly that it is a bad policy for employers to depend on labour from outside the Union. The recommendations of the Committee will, if carried out, create an even greater dependance on foreign labour.

Native Taxation

Three members of the Committee are in favour of remitting the Native tax for farm labourers who have performed at least nine months' labour during the tax year; but the majority of the Committee rejected this proposal since it involved the principle of differentiating between agricultural and industrial labour. In effect, such differentiation would be a subsidy on agricultural wages. There is, of course,

much to be said in favour of an all-round reduction of Native taxes; but this is not dealt with by the Committee since it would obviously not affect the labour supply for farms. It is to be regretted that par. 430 on p. 75 was included in the Report. This paragraph states that a number of Native witnesses were frankly asked: "Which of the two clear-cut principles do you favour: retention of the present tax and the substantial increase in facilities for education, or the withdrawal of the tax and the elimination of all claims to education?" All witnesses voted for the first alternative and the Committee states that the second alternative is "quite unthinkable". The alternatives are not "principles" at all; they are expedients by which Native education is made dependent on Native taxation. By including this paragraph the Committee has lent the weight of its authority to an expedient of public finance that can only be regarded as out of date, unjust, and reactionary. It has also enabled the foolish and the malicious to say that "the Natives themselves are in favour of taxation".

Organization and Administration

Chapter XV of the Report deals with organization and administration. The Committee is impressed by the chaos obtaining in agricultural employment, by the hesitation on the part of farmers to combine effectively to deal with the problems involved, and by the haphazard ways used to obtain Native labour. It recommends the establishment of District Labour Advisory Boards, consisting of officials and farmers, to deal with questions affecting farm labour, and of Labour Bureaux to provide contact between employers and those seeking employment.

Conclusion

The Report on Native Farm Labour is a document worth reading. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that so few farmers are likely to read it. If the Committee desires, as it obviously does, that many of the aspects of farm labour with which it deals should be brought to the attention of farmers themselves, it will be necessary to present the Report in a shortened and more popular form and to distribute it widely. As it is, the valuable advice given to farmers will be locked up in a Government Report.

The Report, perhaps unconsciously, reflects the contradictions that abound in Union Native policy. Reserves are created where Natives may produce; and every effort is then made to encourage the younger men to abandon that production and seek employment outside of the Reserves, where they will produce for a European employer. In this connexion, par. 422 on p. 74 of the Report contains an interesting statement.

After urging that there shall be no relaxation of effort "to improve their [the Natives'] conditions by a more general development of habits of industry", the Committee adds that "it must be accepted as a fact that the occupation of land, whether for stock or crop production, will never again suffice to make the Native independent of wages derived from labour in European areas". The truth of this statement can hardly be disputed and it is interesting to have it on record in a Government Report. But what conclusion must we draw from it? Is the whole policy of Reserves wrong? Does the creation of Reserves not perhaps mean, in hard practice, the creation of depots where our reserves of labour may stew in their own economic juice until such times as they are required by European employers? When a responsible Government Committee makes a statement of that kind, it is evident that the time has arrived when the social and economic implications of the policy of Reserves must be thought

out afresh. It is, on the face of it, possible that in agitating for the granting of more land for Native Reserves—more land that will never be enough—liberals in South Africa have in fact done the Natives a disservice by increasing their dependence on Union labour markets and by weakening their bargaining power in those markets.

To return, in conclusion, to the question of farm labour: there are, broadly, two methods by which the supply of labour can be increased. It can be increased either by the use of force, or by making the conditions of labour sufficiently attractive. The Committee cannot, in a civilized country, recommend force; and it is doubtful whether the recommendations to improve the conditions of employment will have much practical effect. In any case, they are not sufficiently far-reaching because the Committee, as practical men, realized the futility of prescribing measures to which Parliament would never agree.

DURBAN'S GROWING PAINS: A RACIAL PROBLEM¹

Professor RAYMOND BURROWS

Department of Economics and Economic History in the Natal University College

THE adjustment of a rapidly increasing population to an urban area presents many industrial, economic, and social difficulties, even in the best-regulated municipality.

When to these are added, as in Durban, racial prejudices and commercial jealousies, any rational solution must be even more complicated, if only because an emotional setting and an absence of clear thinking accentuate the tension.

It is unnecessary to dwell on past controversy, but last year a considerable outcry was raised by some Europeans in Durban against an apparent flow of the Indian population into residential areas which had hitherto been regarded as exclusively European.

Causes

Three important underlying factors in this and similar problems in Durban are:—

1. Natural growth of all sections of the population.
2. Urbanization and growth of Durban as a city.
3. These and other changes taking place cause movements of groups within given areas.

The first fact which must be admitted is that European, Native, and Indian populations are all growing. It is possible that Durban is growing a little too rapidly to guarantee smoothness in the organization

of its expanding municipal responsibilities. The 1932 incorporation in particular gave Durban an enormous task, if only because it increased the Indians in Durban by over 50,000.

Hence, Durban's growth is due partly to its natural increase of population, partly to incorporating existing population areas, and partly to the "drift to the towns". These are disturbing forces to which must be added the ousting of residential areas in the centre by business premises, shops, and offices. Strains and stresses are only to be expected.

Such changes are seen in every city development, but Durban's growing pains seem worse than those of other towns because they involve a shifting of racial as well as other groups.

A study of the problem must refer also to the movements of various groups of people. As a rule, human beings like to form themselves into groups based on some common factor, such as similar habits and standards of life. The greater the number of common cultural associations, the greater the homogeneity of the locality. Differences in education, culture, race, or religion will, in our present stage of civilization, cause friction and probably difficulties.

Reasons for objections to neighbours are that they may be less tidy or may be noisier, or may have different customs. But this is noticeable even in the

¹ An address delivered to the Durban Indo-European Council.

same community, e.g. the European community, where the use of a knife instead of a fork in certain delicate operations of manipulating food may create an almost insurmountable social barrier. The correct use of "h" is another password to a social group. Most Europeans make rigid distinctions between their own rich and poor, and object to any neighbours with a lower standard of life, whatever their race or colour. But they are inclined to regard all Non-Europeans not only as identical, but all as equally poor and uneducated. The race and colour differences bring these objections to a state of intolerance. Yet Europeans allow, even encourage, people of other races to carry out household duties, drive their cars, and work in their businesses.

The colour-prejudice may be illogical, doubtless partly due to fear, but it must be regarded as a factor which cannot be minimized and one also which will persist for some time yet. It must therefore be accepted as an overriding influence in any short-period solution which may be suggested.

Another factor which requires careful study and intelligent handling is the influx of groups from outside. Workers from mining areas and from the country increase the so-called "drift to towns". For Indians, as for Europeans, this is due less to the offer of attractive employment, or even of any employment at all, than to economic pressure driving them off the land. The reduction of such "drift" is not to be solved by drastic restrictions but by the creation of agricultural possibilities for Indians, in sugar, bananas, and market gardening.

The above factors resulted in a 184 per cent. increase in the Asiatic population in urban areas in the Union (largely Natal, and largely Durban) between 1921 and 1938. Indian population was nearly trebled as against a 95 per cent. increase in urban Natives, and 54 per cent. in urban Europeans. In 1921 two-thirds of the Indian population were rural, and one-third urban, whereas in 1936 one-third was rural, and two-thirds urban. It should of course be remembered that Durban's incorporation in 1932 classified large numbers as urban residents though they had been part of the urban economic structure for some time. However, the inevitable result of these changes was to accentuate slum problems both inside and outside the town, to cause some filtering of "penetration", and to aggravate urban unemployment problems.

But in any case districts change in relative desirability. Some localities become less attractive than areas newly developed in the fresh charm of the neighbouring countryside. Some Europeans leave the Berea for areas ten to twenty miles away, others

are filtering in to take their places. In some areas values fall, and here and there members of other income groups enter, perhaps an occasional Indian family.

Also very naturally Indians grow in numbers and in wealth. They also like to move into better neighbourhoods. Their problems are very much more serious than those facing Europeans. For one thing, since 1922, the existence of an anti-Asiatic clause in the sale of municipal land forces Indians into areas already long and fully settled. Also an anti-Asiatic clause affecting Morningside, Stellawood, and Durban North, excludes expansion in new areas. Another obstacle to development may be the high initial cost of opening up new housing sites, especially in Indian areas. The owner must provide new roads and pay 15 per cent. to the municipality for taking over responsibility for maintenance.

Penetration

"Penetration" in its relation to, and effect on, (1) Ownership, (2) Residence, and (3) Commercial speculation can now be examined against the background so far outlined and from two aspects, (A) that of the group, (B) that of the individual.

(A) *Group Penetration.* One group's occupation of an area previously occupied by another group can first be examined. In Durban there is no instance of a group of Indians living off its own cultural associates and occupying a block of property forming an Indian island. Instead, the reverse has taken place in Durban North.

Bordering the Greyville Racecourse is an area which was once European in character and is now becoming an Indian locality. This constitutes a natural expansion from the Grey Street area. But it could not have taken place if Europeans had not voluntarily left the area. In Wards 2 and 7 there have been one hundred or so transfers of European-owned property to Indians during the last two years; on the other hand, certain Indian properties have been surrounded by European developments. Twenty years ago there were thirteen or fourteen Indian-owned shops in West Street, to-day there are only five. They have decreased by two in the last ten years. To-day the Turf Club wants additional ground for training purposes, and Springfield is an ideal site. Here, for years the Indian has fought against reeds and swamp conditions and has now tamed that valley and made of it a socially productive asset. But the Indian has no security of tenure, therefore he must go.

The valley to the west of the Bluff, a patch-work quilt of market gardens, similarly reclaimed from

swamp conditions, may be wanted for Durban's industrial development. Expansion and change are inevitable, but it will be a tragedy if a lack of foresight and intelligent planning eventually results in an unnecessary crop of human suffering and maladjustments.

(B) *Individual Penetration.* It would be difficult to find an instance where a European had elected to buy property and reside within an accepted Indian area. The reverse has taken place to the extent of some ten properties so purchased and occupied.

Very briefly the motives that prompt individuals to remove from their own areas to others, for residential purposes, are as follows :—

1. The desire to improve their social standing. The European has done so much in Natal to impress a sense of the importance of this on the Non-European that he can scarcely complain if the Non-European has absorbed a little of it.

2. The desire to challenge ideas of race inferiority.

3. The right of the rate- and tax-payer to enjoy the amenities of his town, whether naturally or municipally provided. This is particularly so where there is an absence of adequate sites, houses, amenities of roads, or lighting.

4. Resentment at any restriction on freedom of choice in the matter of the neighbourhood of one's home.

There is of course the political aspect of Local Government. Indian owners of freehold property and Indian tenants are not allowed to participate in electing the Council which is solely responsible for the expenditure of money derived from rates and taxes. In Westville, Indian rate-payers probably constitute 70 per cent. of the total.

Remedies

1. If Europeans do feel very strongly about so-called penetration then they and the European property agents should loyally undertake not to sell property within the borough, without ascertaining whether the transfer would harm the relations of the two communities. Similar undertakings could be made by the Indians.

Any drastic prohibition of acquisition of property by Indians would be unjust. Where this was practised, but where letting was allowed, it would be easy for a European to lease at exorbitant rentals to Indians.

2. Improvement of roads, lighting, and other amenities in the existing Indian localities, combined with steps taken to raise the Indian standard of life, especially in the old borough.

3. Other obvious remedies would be the building of sub-economic houses for Indians, and the granting of municipal loans to Indians for house-building. It might even be possible to encourage Indians to build on municipal land, using municipal plans and working instructions, perhaps using material either made by the municipality using Indian labour or bought in large quantities, and working under the supervision of municipal engineers and architects (as in Stockholm). Municipal Indian employees might be given a sample site to lead the way. Further, enthusiasts in the Indian community might seek the help of the City Council in establishing well-planned and well-managed suburbs for various classes of Indians, something on the lines of housing corporations and public utilities.

The Present Position

The agitation between the two communities has resulted in the intervention of the Government.

The Minister has appointed a judicial Commission to investigate the facts of alleged penetration. If, as one section of the Indian community contends, there has been no penetration, then the Indian need have no apprehension about the findings of such a Commission. To the European it will mean the allaying of unfounded fears.

If the allegation is borne out, then on its extent will depend the measures necessary to deal with the situation. It is unlikely that it has assumed proportions to justify a statutory settlement.

As there was a danger of speculative purchase of property during the interim period, the Minister suggested a Joint Committee instead of interim legislation, its whole purpose being to maintain a *status quo* pending the investigations. The Joint Committee would not merely try to prevent Indian purchase in predominantly European residential areas, but also it would provide the machinery for consultation and collaboration in regard to housing in general. Machinery has been set up which can usefully discuss housing, sites, and amenities. This must be a step more in the right direction than in the wrong direction. This is an advance on the voluntary undertaking to endeavour to restrict purchases by Indians given by the Natal Indian Congress in June 1936. The Council and its Housing Committee would certainly obtain a greater insight into the housing needs and other difficulties of the Indian community.

The only solution to our problems is a move towards greater co-operation. Hence, any co-operation between an Indian Committee and a Committee of the City Council will not only be useful in its own

sphere but it may easily mark the beginning of very important machinery of contact between the two communities. Both will learn from the other and in the process acquire not only knowledge but tolerance.

Facing the Facts

Even if we were able to contemplate compulsory deportation of Indians, it is clear that no matter how grudgingly we may admit it, we owe them a debt of gratitude, since the prosperity of the coal mines and the sugar industry is founded on the indentured Indian labourer.

Such a plan would not be feasible, since more than half of the present Indian population were born here and have no other home. Further, the spending power of nearly 200,000 Indians in Natal is important to business, while the removal of all Indian labourers with their ability to perform delicate mechanical and semi-skilled work would be disastrous to industry as a whole. Almost similar disadvantages would accompany any scheme of gradual deportation.

It is only by mutual co-operation, and a better

appreciation of each other's conditions, fears, and hopes, that we can hope to attain any solutions of our many problems which will and must be in the best interest of both races.

We may not realize fully that our Commonwealth is passing through a serious crisis, and requires the unselfish loyalty of all its peoples. Further, if the war ends as we hope it will do, countries and races must establish better relations when peace comes, if peace is to be permanent and if humanity of any colour or culture is to survive.

Penetration and Segregation are trivial things in the light of the wider issues that surround us. In any case it is impossible to discuss them in isolation. They are part of wider developments and of inevitable changes. There is no solution which does not also include remedies of housing, education, purchasing power, civic amenities, and many other such factors.

No human problem is insoluble. Both Indians and Europeans must treat this and other difficulties with open minds, with tolerance, and with good-will.

"SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE POLICY AND THE LIBERAL SPIRIT"¹

REVIEWS OF PROFESSOR R. F. A. HOERNLÉ'S PHELPS-STOKES LECTURES

I

I HAD the pleasure last year of meeting Professor Hoernlé during the time that he was re-delivering the series of lectures which form the contents of the above volume. At the conclusion of the series I was unexpectedly pounced upon by the Chairman of our Public Lectures Committee and put to the task of thanking the lecturer. Whether my impromptu remarks then did justice to the lecturer I cannot very well confirm to-day; if my second effort should fall short of the mark I hope Professor Hoernlé will blame those responsible for falling so suddenly upon me for a review while heavily engaged in an effort at reconciliation not between Black and White, or Boer and Briton, but between Afrikaner and Afrikaner. That difference has in the meantime been happily composed. With the fratricidal struggle among Afrikaners settled there remain our other inter-racial problems. The struggle between Boer and Briton, politically and culturally, is on once more, but remains, as ever, silhouetted or projected against the European *v.* Non-European background. With the coming of the White man to South Africa a new era was inaugurated, which, after passing through many vicissitudes of collaboration and conflict, is, with the

advance of the twentieth century, rapidly assuming a critically decisive stage. The time has arrived when the question of the relation between European and Non-European in our sub-continent will have to be fairly and squarely looked in the face, when great decisions will have to be unflinchingly faced. With the rapid spread of civilization and modern technique in all fields of human endeavour the old liberal policy of *laissez-faire* is being hard pressed all along the line, and not the least along the line of colour. Race and colour prejudices are elemental forces which will only have spent themselves when the degree of linguistic and colour differentiation has been reduced to such an extent, by natural or unnatural means, that any further degree of refrangibility is out of the question. When that will be no man can tell. In the meantime it is both wise and expedient, especially in South Africa, to keep this fact closely in mind when dealing with matters affecting the interests of any or all of the sections of our multi-racial population.

I listened with considerable interest to Professor Hoernlé's lectures at the time they were delivered at Stellenbosch. I read them now with renewed and increased interest. Professor Hoernlé's book is obviously the result of intensive study and considerable meditation, and as such cannot fail to arrest the attention of the serious thinker on our racial problems.

¹ Lovedale Press, 1939. 5s.

His very thorough analysis of the technique of domination and his discussion of the implications of a caste-society are very thought-provoking and a welcome relief from the hollow-phrased racial jargon of the political hustings. He has made a scientific study of the subject and has presented his results in the approved scientific manner, even to the extent of stringing his results on to a thread of hypothesis, the doctrine of the liberal spirit.

Professor Hoernlé couples his study of South African Native Policy with the Liberal Spirit in an effort to give it a politico-philosophical basis. I am not so sure that he has been wise in doing so. Such a procedure may enhance its value as a scientific treatise, but in view of practical considerations, with the doctrine of Liberalism in rather a bad way, especially in South Africa, he would have been wiser to eschew such a line of advance. The same analysis, synthesis, and the same conclusion, but argued on a different sub-stratum of politico-philosophical outlook would have given Professor Hoernlé's work an impetus and a trajectory that would have carried it much further in our political firmament than it will now achieve; which will be a great pity. For I genuinely believe that, shorn of their superfluous liberal paraphernalia, the ideas he develops in these four lectures, the facts, illustrations, and implications, represent a considerable advance in our articulate colour-political thought, and as such should form the stock-in-trade of all Afrikaans- and English-speaking public men in South Africa. Our public men need a little more solid study and then we will have less empty talk. But, to be fair, I will have to invert the argument too. Our students need to have a little more vim in their moral and mental make-up, more steel, in order to be able to put across their panacea for the evils of our country with more vigour and conviction. Desperate diseases need desperate cures, as the saying goes. Let us have thorough-going but fearless diagnosis of our racial body politic, but let us then decide to act with the nerve of the grim and silent surgeon, who knows his business and gets on with the job. Things have gone very far in South Africa and if we want to alter the course of events materially we will have to decide to act. If we are going to act, and not just drift on, we will have to act soon and decisively, and on a scale which will completely dwarf anything that has ever before been attempted in South Africa. Our country has been the home of the individualist so far. The time has arrived for the subordination of the individualistic striving into a surge of collective action such as we have only seen on the continent of Europe. If total separation is to be the Elixir of Life, for White and Black alike, then let Total Separation be our

watchword. May the times call forth a leader worthy of the occasion and the task.

I commend Professor Hoernlé's book very heartily to all those interested in our racial problems. Even if his method of approach may not meet with their approval, his analysis and conclusions are sure to merit their attention. My own predilections have always been for "long-range" problems. The "long-range" note on which the book closes has made me overlook much of the "short-range" liberal thought with which the book is studded. I wish it a wide circulation and it's liberal author the courage of a non-liberal's convictions. If the author wants to escape from the confines of "Heartbreak House" he will have to rise from the Delilah-lap of classical liberalism, lift the gates from their sockets and carry them to the hills above. He will then find Afrikaans South Africa at his side.

A. C. CELLIERS

II

MANY men of good will to-day feel the urge "to think out the Native Question". The "raw deal" that is given to Africans under existing Native policy offends them. They therefore assume, and quite inaccurately, that this policy is a product of prejudice and unreason, and they set out to gather the facts and exercise an honest judgement upon them. The result, however, is not always satisfactory. More often than not these investigators find they are compelled to decide very much wider issues and then—many of them shrink from the task! Desisting from ultimate analysis, their practical programmes dwindle into merely edifying "hopes", not unmixed with fears. And their writings become monuments of frustration.

This is what has happened in these lectures of Professor Hoernlé. They avowedly end on a note of frustration, even if it has an extremely modest sound of "hope" in it, like the tinkling of a very tiny bell. He is too honest to permit himself the high-flown climax of the politicians, but none the less there it is, the "hope" that comforts one in frustration! And for Professor Hoernlé it abides not in a struggle of the masses, but in the shop-soiled formulae of the "Liberal Spirit" and the "Spirit of Trusteeship".

The men of good will, he finds, are fighting a losing battle. They are fighting piecemeal, rear-guard actions against the tactical initiative which lies with the advocates of oppression. Literally all we can or should do, is to put out a little propaganda for the "Liberal Spirit" as we go down. This is our short-term programme. Why in such a plight we should also have a long-term programme is not equally clear,

save that we require a banner to fight under. We cannot fight for "parallelisms", as that plays into the hands of the oppressors; we cannot have "assimilation", because nobody likes that; we had better fight therefore for "separation", a kindly version of segregation, although that for economic reasons is quite impracticable. Such is Professor Hoernlé's "Liberalism Resurgent", but finding itself in "Heartbreak House".

Professor Hoernlé is an analyst of thoughts. For many reasons I am determined to ignore his little note of "hope". For he himself gives us no lead. "We Liberals have not made up our minds whither we are going or whither we want to go." "We must not decline this task of reflection, merely on the ground that all three schemes are unrealizable." It is characteristic of liberal frustration that we should be waiting for a man, someone who has done the thinking, and who offers us a clear lead. From liberal frustration comes the reactionary return to the *Induna* and the *Führer*. It is implied in frustration that, if we cannot move forward socially, we must go back to some older social structure. But I do not accept the idea that Professor Hoernlé will leave it at that. As a logician he knows from the very fact of his frustration that his premises must be wrong.

As a man deeply interested in race relations he sets out to examine "the domination of Whites over Blacks". But is there any such thing? The Native bus-owner and the Native landlord tend to become "little kings" in the location. They "dominate" their fellow-Blacks far more obviously than do all the Poor Whites in the Rustenburg district put together. This White-over-Black domination is simply a misapprehension of the facts. "No development", says Professor Hoernlé, "can take place in South Africa except with the consent of the dominant White group." Yet malnutrition, and slumps, and booms, the development of Poor-Whiteism and many other things take place without any such consent. Indeed, the rapid "assimilation" of Native to European and the steadily increasing infiltration even of Native "blood" into the "European" ranks goes on in spite of the direct opposition of "the dominant group". The idea that Whites, *as such*, are in control is a democratic illusion, not a fact.

Domination is a class concept. It rests not with a race *qua* race. Every owner of the means of production is to that extent a dominator of those who sell their labour. In all systems, a man's survival depends upon his entry into the established relationship of mutual service and the division of labour. For us, the binding force of society is the free market where men must sell their goods, if they have them, or their

labour-power, if they have no goods. It is there that the owner of the means of production becomes the dominant, and the worker the subservient, citizen. In South Africa, it is not even clear that at any one time all Whites were owners and all Blacks were not. To-day, with the progressive concentration of wealth in fewer hands, great masses of Europeans have joined the dispossessed Africans. The history of African and European proletarianization from Kimberley onwards has still to be written and to Professor Hoernlé it remains a sealed book.

His failure to appreciate all this is the great defect of his lectures. He does not realize the extent to which the total product of the country is a Black product, profitably produced because it embodies African labour—a fact that at one blow renders "separation" and "segregation" so much moonshine. When he speaks of taxation from White and from Black sources, he overlooks that the "White sources" are largely mere conduit pipes of wealth from Black sources. Ignoring this pyramid of production and its essential character, affecting all our social correlations, he tends to attach primary importance to psychological attitudes and secondary importance to real external developments. He does not see that men's minds must and inevitably will come into correlation with the facts outside them, and that the mind cannot influence real developments unless it does so. Thus, while he speaks of the "spirit" of this and the "ideal" of that, he confuses the very basis of "domination". Indeed he labours under the astonishing misconception that "class" is a matter of being rich or poor! (See page 147.) This conceals from him the vital distinction between domination as a social, economic, and political reality, and the supposed "power" that is conferred upon men by the franchise under *Bourgeois Democracy*. The Whites have votes; the Blacks have none; hence he infers the Whites are the dominant, the Blacks the subservient people. Little does he sense that the owners of the means of production under a system dedicated to the protection of their rights dictate to a democratic parliament with unanswerable precision. The wheels of productive industry must keep turning. It is therefore the "sacred" duty of parliamentarians, whomsoever they represent, to see to it that the profitability of industry is maintained, for on that, under our system, depends its continued operation. And owners and workers alike are dependent upon it. If, therefore, wages are to be low for the great mass of the workers, it is a law neither of the "Whites" nor of *Bourgeois Democracy*, but an economic law of the system. It is a matter of capitalistic necessity, not "prejudice" or

"nastiness", that makes oppression and low wages the central feature of South African policy.

Professor Hoernlé touches very lightly on the economic side of the matter. Low Native wages, one would imagine, are more or less the Will of God; he therefore says very little about them. Here men like Mr. Pirow see far more clearly when they speak of "South Africa's greatest *asset*, viz. cheap and abundant supplies of Native labour". It is an "asset" for the dominators, not for the European workers, and, since it is cheap, it is not much of an asset for the Africans. Yet in all this book has to say about domination, political, educational, social, and even economic, one would never suspect that the process of exploiting this asset is a *central feature of policy* and that it controls all other aspects. In his confusion of "class" with rich and poor, the lecturer refuses to see all this. He dislikes the idea of antagonism embodied in such a view of policy, and, undigested, he dismisses it as the view of "doctrinaire extremists".

It is exasperating to find him comforting himself by embarking on a diligent search for one or two redeeming features under the tawdry camouflage of "White trusteeship". The mines want healthy and vigorous workers who would have to have higher wages to attend to their own health and diet. It is therefore cheaper to give them hospitals, balanced diets, and even games and cinemas upon a collective and dictated basis. A moment's conversation with a medical officer on a mine should indicate how much of all this is real "trusteeship", and how much is really enlightened profit-seeking. If we must look for noble motives—as if these mattered—we are apt to overlook the contradictory developments that flow from the practical motives, which do matter, and which in reality govern the situation. "Married quarters" for Africans on the mines would be more expensive than homes in the Reserves. The Compound is the solution. I do not like the dogged optimism with which Professor Hoernlé spies out the "brighter side" of these centres of compulsory homosexuality, that we so zealously maintain with the approval of Church and State.

To hail the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 as an example of the real spirit of Trusteeship, because it makes allowances for the African's sentimental attachment to the graves of his ancestors and maintains tribal cohesion, is to be taken in by the legislator's preamble. It does not contribute towards an understanding of the more important features of Native policy. The vast spaces available in South Africa are a fine substitute for doles and unemployment relief as well as "married quarters". They serve as a sponge

that absorbs, and returns when required, the reserve army of African labourers. Tribal tenure is a guarantee that the land will never be properly worked and will never really belong to the Natives. Cheap labour must have a cheap breeding place, and so it is furnished to the Africans at their own expense. Our dominators do not *say*, and some of them do not even *think*, that they have these motives. None the less their conduct is to be so explained and not by the high rhetoric we hear on the topic of segregation.

Professor Hoernlé also has some fine words of praise for the hollow mockery of those sterilized slums, the model locations for the urban Africans; and he speaks enthusiastically, too, of the string-pulling and lobbying that White members of the Joint Council do for Natives. He admits that the liberal must not fool himself into thinking that this amounts to very much. Indeed, all the "advantages" so achieved amount to collective benefits in lieu of wages, but our lecturer does not realize this, nor yet does he perceive the contradictory teleology within the process of thus adapting Native life to the purposes of exploitation.

In principle, he talks vaguely about "liberty", because he disregards its economic foundation, and when he speaks of the ideal of a richer and fuller "quality" of human life apart from its material foundation, he comforts himself with an aesthetic abstraction. Meanwhile he offers no protest against the system nor does he comprehend its development. Within its bounds the African birthright is being sold for a mess of slightly better pottage, and surely, he reasons, half an egg is better than an empty shell. Indeed, this *ad hoc* reasoning characterizes the liberal approach, and nothing short of the realistic bombshell of fascism will dispel its fantasy of gradual amelioration.

GEORGE FINDLAY

III

THE Union of South Africa is the most powerful State in the least developed continent of the world. With its large European population and its larger Non-European population, its wealth in natural resources, leading to rapid industrialization, its favourable climate, and its relative remoteness from the arena of international power politics, its development is increasingly attracting the attention, not only of our Bohles and Holms, but also of more sober students of human society and human institutions. Not least deserving of careful and painstaking study among the many aspects of South African life is the development of its Native Policy. We are indebted to the Phelps-Stokes Fund of the University of Cape Town for the publication of two useful studies on the evolution of Union

Native Policy, viz. *The Colour Problems of South Africa*, by Dr. (now Senator) E. H. Brookes in 1933, and now *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, by Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé.

In this book which is addressed primarily to White University students, the prospective leaders of White opinion in this country, Professor Hoernlé discusses a very significant question, viz., to use his own words, "What have the two liberty-loving White groups made, what are they making, of their historic task of governing a multi-racial community?"

In the first chapter, an account is given of the methods used by White South Africans for maintaining White domination over non-White groups—a domination "ranging from exclusive White control of political and military power, through preferential educational and economic privileges, to devices for establishing social distance between Whites and Blacks as well as preventing miscegenation, or race mixture". Many may argue that there is nothing new in this chapter, that it is merely a statement of the obvious, but it is entirely salutary that these facts which come into the every-day experience of every South African should be set out as clearly and as calmly as they have been here. If change and reform are to be brought about in South Africa, the "policy of White self-protection through domination" in all its ramifications must be accurately described and recognized for what it is, and this must be done, as far as is humanly possible, without that emotionalism and sentimentality which "engender more heat than light".

The author then proceeds to deal with those influences which have attempted, however unsuccessfully, to mitigate the harsher effects of the Union Native Policy of White domination over non-White groups. These forces, consisting in the main of Missionaries and Humanitarian Liberals, have found expression in the principle of trusteeship whose influence the author traces in various aspects of South African life. "Present-day South Africa owes it to these two bodies of men more than to Government policies that there is, as a fact of history, a strain of liberalism in its traditions, however much most South Africans nowadays resent that strain and strive to disown it." The acid test of the principle of trusteeship is its ultimate aim. Judged by this test, the principle of trusteeship in South Africa turns out to be nothing more than a "disguised instrument of White supremacy", "the silken glove over the steely hand of domination".

Having given a faithful description of the framework of South African society and the rationalizations that have been propagated in support of it, Professor

Hoernlé goes on to analyse the concept of Liberalism and to draw up what constitutes a practical and defensible interpretation of it in the development of human society. The liberal spirit is shown to have worked, wherever it has been given scope to express itself, for the liberation of individuals and groups by the abolition of restrictions in order to make a fuller life possible for human beings. Eschewing vague generalities, it has aimed at securing certain definite liberties both for individuals and groups, calculated to improve the quality of their lives in a definite historic context. But the principles of classical liberalism were first worked out and applied in countries with fairly homogeneous populations, where differences of culture and race were not as pertinent as they are held to be to-day in the world in general and in South Africa in particular.

The question therefore arises, and is discussed in the last chapter, as to whether a liberal policy is possible in South Africa, "a multi-racial State internally divided by the tensions and frictions resulting from the mutual antagonisms of four major groups... differing from each other in race", "when in such a society one race is dominant over the others and determined to maintain that dominance at all costs." In the view of the author, two courses are open to a liberal in such a society. First, there is open to him a "short-range" programme, viz. to "press constantly for a liberal interpretation of trusteeship and to use the elasticities of the present system, such as they are, to insert into it as much of the liberal spirit as he can", without seeking to undermine the policy of White domination except by constantly advocating his ideals, criticizing the official policy, and working for a change in public opinion. Secondly, the liberal must work for a "long-range" programme which envisages "an alternative to present-day South African society which is admittedly incompatible with the liberal spirit". In searching for an alternative type of society, Professor Hoernlé suggests three possibilities, namely, (a) *Parallelism*, which, while maintaining the framework of South African society, substitutes within it the *co-ordination* of racial groups for *domination* of the rest by one group, i.e. it envisages separate institutions for separate racial groups, without the White group being the dominant group; (b) *Assimilation*, which also maintains the multi-racial society but abolishes race differences within it by the completest possible fusion or amalgamation of the races with each other; (c) *Separation*, which breaks up the multi-racial society and organizes the several racial components as mutually independent social units. Actually, present-day South African Native policy is an "odd patchwork, exhibiting traces of Parallelism,

Assimilation, Separation". In other words, South Africa has not made up her mind as to which way she intends to go.

An examination of the practicability of these approaches to the solution of the problem of a desirable form of social and political organization for South Africa, leads the author to reject Parallelism on the ground that Parallelism, as it is now practised, does not eliminate White domination, and that no other form of Parallelism is likely to find favour in White eyes. He also rejects Assimilation, on the ground that "White South Africa as a whole, is opposed to Total Assimilation with a fierce determination". It might be pointed out here that the evidence shows that the Native population, at any rate, is no less opposed to social and racial assimilation than the White population, though being a subject race Natives are naturally less articulate about it. The solution which Professor Hoernlé favours is that of Separation which envisages "an organization of the warring sections into genuinely separate, self-contained, self-governing societies, each in principle homogeneous within itself, which can then co-operate on a footing of mutual recognition of one another's independence". This implies making the Native Reserves economically self-sufficient, the "Bantuization" of Native services, social, political, and other forms of separation. The advantages of the scheme include the fact that racial tension and friction would thereby be avoided, the separate groups could genuinely develop along lines of their own choosing, and would have separate "areas of liberty". Some scheme of this kind must be adopted, in Professor Hoernlé's opinion, if South Africa is to develop into a stable community, bearing in mind that "the Non-European groups will not for ever accept or tolerate with good will a caste-structure in which they are permanently condemned to the unprivileged position of the lowest castes".

Professor Hoernlé's book shows that he must be counted among those who are well qualified to deal with the subject of race relations in South Africa. Apart from his distinguished career as Head of the Department of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, he has always been intimately associated with the work of bodies such as the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, and the Institute of Race Relations, of which he has been President for several years—both being bodies which have played an important part in increasing our understanding of the real meaning of Union Native policy and its significance for the welfare of the country as a whole. The most cursory perusal of his book shows that he has brought gifts to bear upon

one of the most delicate problems of South Africa. His straightforward, incisive style, his ripe knowledge and experience, his ability to maintain an objective point of view in matters over which there is such wide disagreement in this country, will be welcomed even by those who find themselves unable to accept his conclusions and his suggested solution of our problems.

We are indebted to Professor Hoernlé for his appeal to liberals to re-examine the tenets of their faith with a view to discovering how they can best apply them in a multi-racial society. Until this is done seriously, liberalism will continue to lose ground, as it is doing to-day, not only among the White but also among the non-White sections of our population. Rightly or wrongly, there is in Non-European circles to-day a growing feeling against so-called liberals, owing to the conviction that most of them stand and work exclusively for what Professor Hoernlé calls their "short-range programme". As someone has said, they seem to be satisfied to play the role of a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in the body politic of South Africa, with the Non-Europeans as their dumb friends. Clearly, this will not satisfy the more intelligent sections of the Non-Europeans who are determined to hold their position as human beings, entitled to full citizenship rights in South Africa and to leadership of their people by themselves.

On the other hand, one wonders what sort of reception Professor Hoernlé's suggested solution of race relations in South Africa, viz. the organization of our racial groups into self-contained, mutually independent units, will receive. As far as the Non-Europeans are concerned, they will be inclined to dismiss the principle of separation as simply another form of segregation under which they will receive the worst of the bargain. They have never objected to separation as such, but to the injustice which is invariably associated with its application. The Native people do not object to separate schools as such, but to the fact that the needs of the schools receive scant attention, especially from the devotees of the segregation faith. The same applies to other separate institutions for non-White groups. At the same time, they have learnt that the mere being together with White people in the same institutions is no guarantee that even-handed justice will be meted out to them. When they belong to the same churches, the same schools, the same inter-racial groups of different kinds, the same local and general councils, the same trade unions, they always find, it is not unfair to say, that all these institutions, which apparently have no colour bar, are none the less dominated by White

opinion and White leadership. In the net result, there is no difference between segregation with injustice and the appearance of an absence of segregation with White domination. "Total Separation" into mutually independent racial communities, such as Professor Hoernlé advocates, is not open to either of these objections, for it eliminates both injustice and continuing White domination. Hence, the present writer has no hesitation in saying that Professor Hoernlé's sort of separation deserves the serious attention of all those who are interested in the development, here in South Africa, of stable "areas of freedom" for all the racial groups in the population. For, as Professor Hoernlé observes, the "caste-structure of South African society has no intrinsic stability and permanence". In a young country such as this, which is faced with entirely new problems of adjustment and adaptation or with old problems in a peculiarly difficult set of circumstances, it behoves us not to rely on an unthinking advocacy of so-called well-established principles on this or that question, but rather to adopt the scientific attitude of open-mindedness and wise and careful experimentation in our search for a social structure which will satisfy the hopes and aspirations of every section of our population. As a work permeated by that spirit, *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* richly deserves the serious consideration of all liberty-loving South Africans.

Z. K. MATTHEWS

IV

LIBERALISM connotes freedom of opinion and democratic principles, but liberty to be worth having must mean more than the absence of compulsion. It must embrace a sense of responsibility, and foster loyalty and good citizenship. Its precise interpretation, of course, depends on a particular historical setting, and perhaps the nineteenth century doctrine of liberalism did not envisage a multi-racial society. But the true liberal spirit must value liberty for all groups and peoples, regarding it as an essential ingredient for human development.

Such an ideal of universal liberty does not require that differences of race, culture, and ideals should be ignored. But it does require that differences should be recognized and tolerated and also allowed to make separate contributions to the total achievement of mankind.

White South Africa is proud of its love of liberty, and its history is eloquent of a practical urge to preserve freedom and democracy. But are we

succeeding in the task of building up a multi-racial community?

Professor Hoernlé, in taking stock of the rights, disabilities, and opportunities of our Native peoples, suggests that the fundamental fact is the predominance of a White minority upheld by political power (legislative, administrative, judicial), preferential educational and economic privileges, and the steps taken to preserve social distance.

But there is a high price to pay. Native preoccupations in their work and leisure are inevitably coloured with fear, suspicion, and occasional hostility. There is the resentment of the more thoughtful and informed Native, and there are the fears of the White group.

As a caste-society based on race is in any case contrary to liberal ideals, it becomes necessary to re-examine our principles in the light of present trends. Fortunately in a democratic community we are free to advocate our ideals, criticize official policy, attempt to change public opinion, and press for a liberal view of "trusteeship". The situation is always hopeful and a better system is always possible, because White South Africa is still a democracy, and policy is still open to the influence of public opinion.

Professor Hoernlé then outlines his liberal alternatives as follows:—

1. "Parallelism", a development of similar institutions in the various racial groups, accepts the fact of race differences, condemns no racial group to legal or other discrimination, and credits each of them with the desire to preserve its own integrity and its social distance from the others. But any genuine "parallelism" must be ruled out as impracticable at present.

2. "Total Assimilation" would mean that race conflict would disappear by gradually abolishing race differences. Cultural assimilation, implying the disappearance of the more primitive type, would lead to economic, then political, and lastly racial assimilation. It must be admitted that a good deal of cultural and economic assimilation has already taken place. Europeans differ on the precise point where they begin to object to this process. But it is safe to conclude that total assimilation would be strenuously opposed. Hence this alternative also is impracticable.

3. "Total Separation" is suggested because of the conviction that a caste-society which involves perpetual friction, conflict, and bitterness is not worth preserving. The suggestion of genuinely separate, self-contained, and self-governing communities is of course in marked contrast with certain "segregation" proposals which would merely block Native progress and development,

while escape from White domination would still give the Natives access to European culture. Professor Hoernlé is well aware of the many and serious objections to total separation. The economic entanglement of Whites and non-Whites is of course one of the oldest facts in our history. Only half of our Native population live in the Reserves, a large percentage of these also earn money wages outside their areas, and large numbers of Native workers must be recruited from outside the Union. Whites and Natives depend on each other so closely that the links could not be severed without disaster to both.

Hence Total Separation seems no more practicable than the other alternatives.

Hence not one of the theoretically possible escapes into a social, economic, and political order more in line with liberal ideals is practicable at present. Yet Professor Hoernlé thinks that such a choice must be made, even if there is no hope of it being realized in the foreseeable future, for, in addition to existing liberal activities in sections of all three alternative fields, we must have a long-range goal with blue-prints for the right ordering of race relations.

For this purpose Professor Hoernlé chooses "Total Separation" as the long-run goal. Yet he admits that the goal is unrealizable, because White South Africa is never likely to agree to sacrifice its power, prestige, economic advantage, and convenience. But its choice as a goal would ease inter-racial tension, and make possible useful co-operation with all those favouring the development and enlargement of the Native Reserves, with those who do not oppose European culture for Natives, and with those who welcome a development of a self-reliant national Native spirit. The effort would at any rate clear our minds about the application of liberal ideals in a multi-racial society and be a test of our conscience, wisdom, and humanity.

We would agree with Professor Hoernlé that some hard thinking is urgently necessary, however dim and distant any chosen goal may be.

Professor Hoernlé's ultimate goal of Total Separation is too far distant to be worth discussion in details, especially of the economics of such separate racial groups. Perhaps if we keep this object in mind, however, our thinking and the experience we gain may suggest useful subsidiary positions to capture and perhaps modify the original long-range goal.

It would also appear that the racial and political problems which might be solved would be greatly outweighed by new economic difficulties which would follow even a tentative approach to the separatist goal.

Other possibilities therefore might well be considered at the same time in the strenuous thinking which is ahead. In large part the future welfare of the Native will depend largely on the success or otherwise of White economy. In this connexion the future of South Africa is and must continue to be largely bound up with the future of world trade and overseas investment. Some of our common difficulties could therefore be best attacked from the international flank with the co-operation of liberals in every country. It is probable, too, that our most serious obstacles to South African progress are due less to Nature's niggardliness in her provision of natural resources (other than gold), than to the shortcomings of the human inhabitants. Blue-prints for a common sense tackling of the causes of the friction within the White groups are urgently necessary, if only because the future is so very much more important than the past.

Careful consideration should also be given to the possibility of large-scale immigration. A larger population would give our farmers a wider home market, assist the more economical development of home industries, ensure a safer racial balance, and, by reducing White fears of numerical superiority of non-Whites, make it possible to raise the efficiency of Non-Europeans. The greater productivity and greater purchasing power of the half million Native labourers on European farms and the 600,000 Natives employed in urban areas would be a landmark in South African progress. Immigration, too, could be combined with a policy of encouraging the maintenance of South African population growth, requiring long-range programmes of housing, educational facilities, health, medical services, and no doubt a drastic revision of the policy of subsidizing the exports of food while ignoring the nutritional requirements of our poorest groups.

Before widening the circle of liberal principles and practice, it might be wise to examine the degree of freedom and democracy now present in the favoured minority. Freedom and democracy can have little significance, perhaps even no meaning at all, for those who are haunted by the fear of economic insecurity, ill health, and poverty. Perhaps it might be as well to see that there are no gaps in the foundations of civilization and then to build up a comprehensive plan of constructive social and economic reforms.

But the difficulties of any long-range goal should not discourage the smaller but more immediate possibilities.

Common sense suggests that neither European health nor European industry can be built on Native malnutrition and disease. Further, there are obvious

advantages in Non-European labour becoming more skilled and more diversified. In this process Native education is not a luxury, but a necessary basis for increased productivity, and the growth of a more thoughtful and useful people. With so much at stake, the present indifference of White South Africa is unbelievable.

Fortunately an improvement in social services, especially education, health, and housing, is becoming more feasible in view of a growing public conscience, and a dim realization that South African industrial expansion on economic lines will depend partly upon the widening of a home market in which the Native will be more valuable as an intelligent consumer than as a cheap and ignorant unit of labour.

South African resources and qualities must be developed to the full, and every individual in South Africa, of whatever race or colour, should be given a full opportunity of realizing the best of which he, or she, is capable.

Affording opportunities to the many will not only be the best way of maintaining a civilized standard for the few but also make it possible for the many to enjoy some of the benefits of human progress. It is

doubtful if Total Separation would achieve this desirable result.

Of course some of the above points would require a little less faith in economic freedom and a little more faith in the assistance, even interference, by public authorities or control boards than the average liberal would care to admit. At this point he might be invited to consider very seriously the possibilities of working out a little planning for an enlightened democracy.

Certainly, Professor Hoernlé challenges us to think. At the moment we are no doubt floundering without any definite objectives. Such hazy suggestions as are put forward in the name of "Segregation" are so obscure as to have little or no meaning. They claim attention because in some mystical way they seem to ensure that not only will Natives still work for the Europeans and yet be kept out of sight, but that their continued poverty will safeguard "civilized" standards.

"*Môre is 'n ander dag.*"—But the times we now live in and the tides of ignorance and prejudice wait for no man, not even a South African!

RAYMOND BURROWS

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

serves

SOUTH AFRICA

by

- I.—**Investigations** on all problems arising out of race contacts in Southern Africa.
- II.—**Publications** giving the results of scientific investigations, accounts of conferences and special articles.
- III.—**Information Bureau & Reference Library**—free service for research workers, students, speakers and writers, social workers, etc.
- IV.—**Secretariat** for several scientific societies and welfare bodies.
- V.—**Organisation of Joint Councils** among the various racial groups in South Africa: European-African; European-Coloured; European-Indian.
- VI.—**Social Welfare** activities—planning and initiation of schemes, and co-ordination of agencies.
- VII.—**Conferences**—regional and national—on problems of race relations.
- VIII.—**Lectures** on race problems and allied topics, and assistance to study groups.

THE INSTITUTE NEEDS—

1. **Annual Grants from Public Bodies**—£10 or more entitles the granting body to two representatives on the Council (present granting bodies : 37).
2. **Donations from Firms and Individuals**—Donors of £10 p. a. (or £100 gift) vote for five representatives on the Council (present Donors : 49).
3. **Annual Subscriptions from Firms or Individuals**—Subscribers of £1, or over, vote for six representatives on the Council (present Subscribers nearly 853).

S.A. Institute of Race Relations,
University of the Witwatersrand, Milner Park
JOHANNESBURG

DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS

dien

SUID-AFRIKA

deur

- I.—**Navorsings** in verband met rasseverhoudingsvraagstukke.
- II.—**Publikasies**, waarin resultate van wetenskaplike navorsing, konferensie-verslae, en spesiale artikels gedruk word.
- III.—**Inligtingsbureau en Naslaanbiblioteek**—kostelose diens vir navorsers, studente, sprekers en skrywers, maatskaplikewerkers, en.
- IV.—**Sekretariaat** vir verskillende wetenskaplike liggame en versorgingsliggame.
- V.—**Organisasie van Gesamentlike Rade**, vir die verskillende rasse-groepe in Suid-Afrika—blankes en naturelle; blankes en kleurlinge, blankes en Indiërs.
- VI.—**Bedryghede** op gebied van **Maatskaplike Welvaart**—veral inleweroeping van nuwe ondernemings, en die bevordering van die samewerking van welvaartsorganisasies.
- VII.—**Konferensies**—gewestelik en nasionaal—oor rasseverhoudings-probleme.
- VIII.—**Lesings** oor rasse—en aanverwante vraagstukke en hulp aan studiegroepe.

DIE INSTITUUT HET NODIG—

1. **Jaarlikse Toelaes van Openbare Liggame**—£10 of meer maak 'n liggam geregtig op twee verteenwoordigers op die Raad (Aantal liggame wat op die oomblik toelaes skenk : 37).
2. **Donasies van Firms en Individue**—Persone wat £10 per jaar (of 'n enkele donasie van £100) skenk, mag stem vir vyf verteenwoordigers op die Raad (Aantal skenkers op die oomblik : 49).
3. **Jaarlikse Subskripsies van Firms en Individue**—Intekenaars wat £1 of meer betaal, mag vir ses verteenwoordigers op die Raad stem (Aantal intekenaars op die oomblik : oor die 853).

S.A. Instituut vir Rasseverhoudings,
Universiteit van die Witwatersrand, Milner Park
JOHANNESBURG