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of people from the countryside into the towns.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Has this been a steady stream of Coloured people or Natives, or what ?- I am referring to Europeans. The entire population of some of our suburbs here has changed from English-speaking to Dutch-speaking actually. I am now referring particularly to Woodstock and Salt River and those parts. Most of these men who have come in have either come on Government work or semi-skilled work. They have displaced a number of Natives in conformity with the Government's civilised labour policy and they have found various means which exist for the finding of employment for workers and they have taken the jobs of Coloured people who were there before them.

You mean that they have occupied the jobs which the Coloured people had ?- Yes. Let us make this clear. The new openings in the town or in industry are limited to the extension of the industry itself. But there is another factor. As industry develops and labour-saving machinery is introduced, any extension sometimes more than sets off the number of men that you would normally have required. That is to say, if a factory doubles its output in 12 months, it often happens that it can do so without materially increasing the number of men which it has. Therefore, every job which was found by a White man who came to the town from the countryside was at the expense of a Coloured man. That has been the experience here.

Why should that be so ?- Because there are no new jobs. Well, I may be wrong if I say everythe -- I do not want to make any sweeping statement which I cannot prove -- but, say, most jobs, say most jobs taken by White men were taken at the expense of Coloured men.

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Is it not perhaps because these jobs are semi-skilled ?- It applied to both semi-skilled and unskilled.

To both? Were there skilled men, Natives and Coloured men who were displaced ?- Yes. Now, the Coloured man in the Cape is found to be a very intelligent worker. There are some occupations in which experience has shewn the Coloured man can be superior to the White man.

Which jobs were those ?- I shall give you an illustration. Take plastering, for instance. I am not speaking with any disrespect of the abilities of the White man and I want to make it quite clear that I am not a fanatic. There are people who will exaggerate because they are sympathetic to one colour as against the other, but I want to make it quite clear that I am not in any way biased against the Whites, but I think it will be generally admitted that the Malay plasterer, for instance, is more skilled than his European prototype.

DR. ROBERTS: What about painting ?- Well, that, of course, is a rough term. I do a little painting myself sometimes, but that, of course, is not the ordinary professional work. In certain centres a great deal of the painting work is done very well by Coloured people.

CHAIRMAN: You said just now that every time, or in the majority of instances in which a White man has taken a new job, it has been to the displacement of the Coloured man ?- Yes, that is so.

Your reasoning is this, that when there is an extension in the output, the extension in the number of workers required is not in exact proportion to the extension of the output ?- That is so. That is my argument.

And from that you argue that, in the majority of cases, the White man has displaced the Coloured man ?- Yes.

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Now, do you maintain that, in all cases where there has been an extension of output, it comes about without a proportionate increase of the labour force ?- No, I do not say that.

Therefore, in cases in which the extension of output is carried on by a parallel extension of the labour force, absolutely new jobs are created? - Quite so.

And, therefore, it is only a question whether it is a new job that goes to the White man ?- Yes.

In cases where 50% increase of labour gives 100% increase of output, there is a 50% increase of jobs ?- Yes, generally speaking that is so.

And, therefore, your conclusion could only be maintained where there is an increase of output without any increase in the labour force required? - Yes, or if the total productivity of a factory has increased 100%, the new machinery has reduced the need for additional labour by one third and, in that case, the new labour required is only 33%.

Yes, and then those new jobs would be comprised by the 33% ? The 33% would provide for new jobs ?- Yes.

And, therefore, to the extent to which new jobs are used, those are new jobs which can be distributed among the two sections ?- Yes.

And the ability of the White man is such that he gets more of these jobs than the Coloured man ?- If he migrates from the country into the town ---- during the last ten years, the migration into the town has been such that, if the figures had been only one quarter, the position would have probably been unaltered, but it is estimated that the number of Europeans from the countryside who have entered Cape Town during the last ten years, is in the neighbourhood of 45,000.

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What I mean to say is that if only one quarter of these people had come in, the position would have remained unchanged.

MR. MOSTERT: Are all these 45,000 people workers ?- Families -- people of all ages.

MR. LUCAS: Who has made that estimate ?- We have collected that ourselves. That was done by the Cape Federatiⁿ.

CHAIRMAN: Do you mean that the White population of the same area has increased by 45,000 ?- No; I say that the number of people who came to the town -- there are people who go away again, people who leave the country.

Let us make it clear. Is it 45,000 over and above the natural increase of Cape Town ?- No. You must reckon -- not at all. The Dutch-speaking families, the children and grown ups and all of them who have come into Cape Town during the last 13 years, since after the war, is estimated at 45,000.

45,000 individuals have come in, people who were resident outside the Cape Town Municipal Boundary have come into Cape Town during the whole of that period, or do the 45,000 represent the number at the present day, because a lot of these people have died? - Yes, but at the same time they have a very fine capacity for reproduction.

Is the 45,000 at the date when you made your reckoning the actual number that were then in, or is that the total number who came in during the whole of those 13 years ?- No, the number who were there then. I should like to give you a few illustrations to prove this. 15 years ago the composition of the Salt River workmen was English-speaking, White and Coloured, Cape Coloured. Probably, I think there were not more than 5% or 10% Dutch-speaking Europeans there. Today, you will find that it is about 75% to 25%.

MR. LUCAS: You mean that there are 75% Dutch-speaking

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people there ?- 75% Dutch-speaking and 25% of the others. That is the position today and it has completely changed the complexion of Salt River.

DR. ROBERTS: You have the very same thing on the Mines in Johannesburg ?- Yes, I know that that is so.

Then, in that case, the whole of the countryside must be depleted ?- Well, I do not know; personally, I am not sorry.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Where have these other people gone to ?- They have been displaced. They have died or they have gone away. I might say what happened to all the English-speaking miners on the Rand; what became of them?

Yes, but in Cape Town, how could you displace them; what has happened to them? Did they take other Europeans ?- I could not tell you that, but the fact is that today 75% of the workers at Salt River are Dutch-speaking Europeans.

MR. MOSTERT: Whereas you say that 15 years ago the number of Dutch-speaking people at Salt River was only from 5% to 10% of the total ?- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: How did you use these figures to arrive at your 45,000 ?- We went by the voters' rolls, we took all the Dutch names and compared them.

And then you found 45,000 more Dutch speaking ?- No, no. The whole of the voters' roll in Cape Town is only 45,000. We compared it with the previous rolls.

You did not take a definite number ---- ?- It took us some days to work it out. We wanted it for some political purpose.

MR. MOSTERT: Could you tell me how many able-bodied men there are among those 45,000 ?- No; we took the average number of the population of the country and divided that by the voters. You take the same system --- if the population

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of 225,000 is represented by 45,000 voters, then you take it as 1:5 -- 1:5 is on the voters' roll. It is a simple way.

CHAIRMAN: May I suggest that my question how you used that information with regard to the proportions at Salt River in arriving at your figures is a perfectly fair one ?- I am not connecting the one with the other.

You mean that you mentioned the case at Salt River just as an illustration ?- Yes. I was in the habit of addressing the Salt River workmen 15 years ago, and I do so now.

And today you have to address them in Dutch ?- I am afraid I am not proficient in Afrikaans, unfortunately, but they understand me in English.

MR. MOSTERT: In taking your census, what is the ratio of married to unmarried men ?- I do not know. I took the total population of the country and divided it by the total number on the voters' roll.

CHAIRMAN: Your comparison between 1915 and 1930 -- you took the same basis, the voters' roll ?- Yes.

Your figure of 45,000 arrived at by taking the number of voters, multiplying that by the ratio of voters to the total population and then taking 1930 and applying it in both cases to Dutch South Africans -- ?- We took the Dutch names on the 1930 roll, and we counted them in and then we counted all the Dutch names on the 1915 roll, and we got the difference. Then we took the estimated population of Cape Town in 1930 and we divided that by the total number of voters on the roll and multiplied that by the cases of Dutch names over on the 1930 roll, /the average number on the 1915 roll,

I am not sure that that establishes entirely your point that all the difference must have come from the countryside ?- We made allowance for normal natural increases

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but whether it is 40,000 or 45,000 does not really matter so much. All I can say is that I have never heard it quoted as less than 35,000. The fact of the matter is that the number of additional jobs that were found was not more than a fraction of that number. That is really the point which I wish to bring home. Then, there have also been a number of Coloured men who have come in from the countryside. As a matter of fact, you can also tell a Coloured man by his name.

MR. MOSTERT: A lot of the Cape Coloured Natives have got Dutch names ?- Yes, that is so, but we have them shewn separately on the voters' roll. They are marked off separately. Of course, you all know that the number of Natives in Cape Town have increased tremendously during the last 15 years. I have no figures to put before you, but as some statisticians would say, "It is a good deal".

MR. LUCAS: Would they be as precise as that, you think ?- Yes. Now, there were a number of avenues, official and otherwise, which have helped these White men to find positions. The result was, of course, the displacement of Coloured and Native workers, but any study of economics will tell you that you do not displace a man for ever. He will find his level and he will find a job. That is to say that not everybody who is displaced becomes unemployed. The level he will find will be a lower level than the one which he had before, a lower level than the one which he has lost. He will probably find a job at a lower rate. It would be fairly accurate to say that the number of Europeans who came from the countryside to the town contained only a very small proportion who were skilled. Their children, through various agencies, through the apprenticeship boards, etc.,

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have become skilled since, but these people themselves, or rather, the bulk of them have not become skilled.

The vast majority of them were not skilled when they came here; they were only semi-skilled. You must not say an European is doing unskilled work at all. It is derogatory for him to do so, -- they are semi-skilled. But the Coloured man who found a job at a lower rate immediately affected the wage of the White man in turn, and the White man lost his job and he again had to displace a Coloured man already at a lower job and so the vicious circle went on. Every time a White man displaces a Native, he will displace a Native already at a lower rate, and the White workers will realise that, to safe/^{guard} the standard of civilisation of the Whites, you have to safeguard the standard of the Blacks as a means of self-protection.

CHAIRMAN: Do you subscribe to the view that the influx of semi-skilled White people from the countryside has had a depressing effect on the level of wages paid in Cape Town ?- Yes, certainly; that is exactly what it has done, except those wages which are skilled and which are regulated by law, agreement or organization.

Has it a depressing effect on the semi-skilled and on the unskilled wages ?- Yes, it has. Now, there is another thing which you must bear in mind, that the degree of skill necessary for work is diminishing daily. The degree of great skill of the past is not necessary today. Recent application of labour-saving machinery in our own factories here have wrought havoc with some of the most efficient and highly skilled trades. Furniture polishing is an anachronism. A machine does in ten minutes what a highly skilled man did in a day and there is already the difficulty of enabling

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Those industries which used to employ skilled labour only to meet their requirements.

CHAIRMAN: Meet their requirements where ?- As far as labour is concerned.

You mean, in the way of getting sufficient skilled men ?- No, employing a sufficiently large number of unskilled men in ratio to the skilled men. The body regulating the employment of men is approached by the employer who says, "I cannot employ so many skilled men. A boy of 16 can do the work after two weeks." As competition is severe, they can always make out a case and the Council referred to has to give in. That is the position, and the result is that labour of that sort can be done by a Native, by a Coloured man, or by a semi-skilled European and, as the number of occupations for semi-skilled and unskilled men increases, the excess of men to fill these positions is increasing and is creating unemployment, and the wages for those occupations come down further and further. And this is responsible, to a certain extent for the great difference which exists today between skilled and unskilled rates of pay.

CHAIRMAN: But that displacement of men by machinery, is that a permanent factor ?- Yes, I am afraid that it will continue and grow apace. We know that if we apply labour saving machinery to all our industries, we would require probably a negligible population to satisfy the demands for luxuries.

That sounds somewhat like the argument which the machine-wreckers used in England ?- No, I am not opposing it, I am merely feeling sad that so much use is being made of labour-saving machinery, with the result of so much luxury.

You know the argument is that the effect immediately

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is to displace, but its ultimate effect is to enlarge and, therefore, to make more openings for labour ?- Well, I agree with the first part but not with the latter part.

Do you say that machinery permanently displaces ?- Yes.

You say that it will not draw any more men ?- If a man is unemployed, there may be a demand.

But do you think it is a falacy then, that labour-saving machinery does ultimately create a demand for more workers ?- It can only do so at the rate of the expansion, but expansion is checked immediately by the fact that the demand for commodities is limited by the earning capacities of those who constitute the demand and, when they are unemployed, there is no demand.

And, therefore, do you think that the argument of the economists for utilising all labour-saving machinery is a falacy ?- I do not say that. The economists who contend that labour saving machinery is not of benefit to mankind, are not economists at all. Labour-saving machine is inevitable. If a new and useful machine is invented, it will be applied, but it is unfortunate that, instead of humanity benefiting by such an invention, the bulk of the people will suffer. And your economists cannot explain this, that the trouble with our depressions is not that there are not enough goods to go round, but because there are too many goods. There is too much. People are hungry because there is too much wheat, however contradictory that may sound. People go about without boots, not because there are not enough boots, but because there are too many boots produced.

DR. ROBERTS: Is it not a fact that the first effect of the industrial revolution was to throw men out of work, but that the second effect was to give far more expansion ?-

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Yes, that is so undoubtedly.

CHAIRMAN: Well, that is what you seem to be speaking against ?- No, sir; you must have misunderstood me. It was the labour-saving machinery which enabled Britain to expand in those countries which were not economically developed. Today, you have very few undeveloped markets. South Africa at one time was a buying country, an importing country, but today, or within a few years, we shall have a surplus of commodities to export.

MR. LUCAS: The question is one of distribution, surely ?- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: The arguments which were used in defence of labour-saving machinery were that industrial revolution did not apply, because there were no new worlds to conquer, but in the world in which we live, is it not a fact that all classes of people are using things which they never dreamt of using before ?- Well, that does not apply to the unemployed -- they have not got the wherewithal, but it may apply to you and me.

The extent to which it applies to us is a matter of degree -- a matter of bigger demand ?- Yes.

We represent a certain proportion of the world's population ?- Yes.

And to that extent it has meant a bigger demand and, therefore, a bigger number of labourers have been employed to meet that demand ?- Yes.

But your point is that there are certain people called unemployed who have not received that benefit, and who have become the dupes ?- They have become the victims. There are two fallacies in your contention. The first one is that labour-saving machinery is only introduced at a rate at which

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you and I can create a fresh demand. It revolutionises industry. The introduction of one machine may displace 90% of the workers. The demand would not be so big. What becomes of the men who go out? The fact that things are produced cheaper than they were before is no consolation to them. Whether the things are cheaper or more expensive does not help them when they have not got the means to buy. The point is this, that the fact that the number of unskilled men has been increased both by labour-saving machinery and by migration has had the effect of reducing the level of wages paid for unskilled occupations and also have increased the number of unemployed. You could have checked it if you had applied the same machinery to unskilled occupations as to skilled.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Can you give chapter and verse that your wages have gone down ?- Yes.

The Natives are still earning the same amount as they used to ?- Are they? In the first place, you are mistaken. You will get evidence from Natives to shew that their earnings have been reduced to the rate of unskilled work for Coloured men. Within my own knowledge, these rates have been decidedly reduced. There was no definite rate for semi-unskilled or for unskilled work, and today it has reached the level at which one can hardly maintain human beings -- a rate at which human beings can hardly manage to keep going. Besides, there are no two rates of wages paid, one for Coloured and one for Whites. Nobody will pay you a fraction of a penny more for an article because it is produced by European labour. That is a matter of policy. If there are two standards of pay, the lower one prevails and, in the interests of the White people in this country, it is essential that you should

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recommend that the minimum wages for Native labour should be laid down on the basis upon which Europeans can maintain themselves. When you regulate wages for Natives, you must bear in mind that you are regulating for Europeans. We used to talk about the poor Whites in the country. What about the poor Whites in the towns? I can shew you poor Whites at Vasco and at Salt River living on a level of Natives.

Those people have moved in --- ?- Exactly. The species of poor White has extended. It is through this folly of allowing the Native to work at a rate of wage which is insufficient for the Native, leave alone for the European. We have known it. It was an accepted principle among trade unions that, if you do not raise the level of the lowest paid, the lowest paid will drag you down to his level. There has been a lot of talk about regulating the wages of unskilled men. In the leading article this morning, there is a lot said about a minimum wage of 10/- per day for Europeans. It would be laughable if it were not so sad. If you make a minimum wage of 10/- a day for Europeans and you do not make it applicable to all sections, every White man in the country will go about without a job.

You simply cannot pay two rates of wages. If you lay down a minimum wage for an European and you do not lay it down for the other man, the other man will get the job. It is an impossibility to have two rates of wages. I am trying to make this point as strong as I possibly can in the interest of the White workers. I say that it is a policy of suicide to exclude the Natives from the wage-regulation machinery.

Chronic unemployment brings poor-White-ism, it destroys a man's hope in life and it destroys a man's moral fibre.

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I do not know whether the scope of your enquiry permits you to look round among the poor Whites in Cape Town, but let me tell you this, a man who has been out of employment for 12 months is no longer a man. He has lost all sense of ambition, all moral standards. You must consider the Native problem not apart, not as something out of the ordinary social policy. That is ridiculous.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Now, raising the level of the lowest paid man, is that, of necessity, guaranteeing employment ?- No. It has been one of the old principles of trade unionism. We never lay down a standard rate, but only a minimum, and, although the minimum rate of wage, say, in the building trade, is 2/9d, there are men in that trade getting 3/6d and 3/9d. If you lay down a minimum wage, for the Natives throughout the country, you will find that some men will get more than that minimum wage. That has been our experience everywhere.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but that is not the question. Assuming you lay down a minimum rate of wage for labour, irrespective of how low it is, are you not risking forcing a certain number of men, who are now getting a lower pay, out of employment altogether? - No, I cannot see that.

Why not ?- In the first place, it has been proved over and over again that the raising of wages does not cause unemployment. To apply your own argument, the raising of wages brings more money into circulation without displacement, and the more money coming into circulation does create a demand for more goods.

If money circulates within certain limits, inside certain limits ?- It always goes beyond those limits and it will eventually reach even the remotest farm in the country.

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I am quite prepared to accept that, obviously, but does it not slip across the border ?- Yes, in the nature that it would increase the demand for articles which are imported, too.

But would it increase the demand for the article manufactured here and on the other side of the border as well ?- Yes, it would. If there is a demand for tables made here, there is also a demand for pianos made overseas. The Government in power could see to it that the country got a larger measure of benefit.

Now, given your bigger demand abroad; will that demand be satisfied from local production ?- To a certain extent, yes.

Can you be sure that that is going to be to the extent of your increased ~~because~~^{cost} of production here ?- There are two observations which I should like to make on this. It was found that the country paying the highest wages had the most efficient workers.

Or perhaps, the country having the most efficient workers pays the highest wages ?- No, that is putting the cart before the horse. First you pay your higher wages, and then you get your better workers. As I have said before, a man does not become civilised first and then his demand goes higher. A man who is in fortunate circumstances, takes these other luxuries, he takes up politics and everything afterwards.

I am not sure that you will find universal agreement with that ?- Well, sir, that is generally accepted to be the case.

Let us get back to the proposition that the country paying the highest wages, gets the most efficient men ?- Yes, the second observation that I want to make is this, that in increasing the general level of wages and the general standard of efficiency, you will also be able to produce more of the

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articles in this country which have hitherto been produced in other countries.

Do you mean, you will be able to produce at lower cost ?- No, I do not mean that. You will be able to produce things which you cannot produce today.

My question is whether a foreign demand which is being stimulated by your ~~article-by-yours~~ local raising of wages, is going to give you a proportionate demand for your local products ?- Not necessarily, but I see your question. It stands to reason that our conditions in this country have nothing at all to do with the demand for our country's products from overseas, but we shall not be so dependent on other countries. What we have to get from other countries today, we shall be able to produce ourselves.

You mean, that you work towards a state of self-dependence ?- A state of socialism. We shall not be dependent on other countries for so many of the things which we have to get today.

We shall get nearer a state of economic self-sufficiency ?- I do not like the term.

It is the direct result of what you stated. We are getting nearer it ?- Very well, if you wish to put it that way.

MR. LUCAS: You know the gold mines' contention. They cannot get a higher price for their product than they are getting now and, if you raise the wages, you increase their cost of production and so reduce their possible production ?- Yes. Now, in the first place, I am not able to state whether or not the gold mines can pay additional rates without having to shut down. I am inclined to think that if the mines which should be a civilised gate of pay,

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were forced to do so, a good many mines would have to close down. It is a rational statement, but the sooner we wake up to the realisation that the gold mines are not a national asset, the better. The gold mines in any other country in the world would have been closed long ago under those conditions and they would not have been able to go on.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: You are now referring to the low grade mines, are you not ?- All the mines, with the exception of the high grade mines. Would Australia have worked these mines under those conditions? It is the cheap Native labour which is the country's chief resour^{uage}, and it is the country's cheap Native labour which is our main and greatest wealth, -- which is responsible for our wealth. Imagine England having these mines? They would not be able to work them. The sooner we realise that the gold mines are not a source of wealth to the country, but that the cheap Native labour makes it possible to work these mines, the better. If you have these low rates of wages, you can produce anything here, but look what you are doing.

CHAIRMAN: We do not seem to have been very successful in competing industrially with other countries. You say nothing about that ?- Anything for which the country has the raw material can be produced here.

For example, butter ?- Here we come to another aspect. It is a very sore point with me, because I say it is the fault of those who are in charge of production. My contention is that it stands to reason that a number of industries will have to shut down when a minimum wage is paid, but I say that the sooner all industries which cannot pay a minimum wage shut down, the better it is for all concerned.

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Do you mean, a minimum living wage in this connection ?- Yes.

MAJOR ANDERSON: You do not want to do it at one blow, do you ?- I am not making any concrete suggestions at this moment, but I say that, although you may continue the system of working industries on wages which are below the living level, you cannot do so indefinitely. Sooner or later men will refuse to work at these wages and the sooner you realise that and introduce a minimum wage on which men can exist, the better it is for the future of your country.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: It is a case of necessity today, of carrying on ---- ?- History shews that you can never keep men below a certain level of subsistence, whether it takes five years or ten years.

What about your coolies who work for 2d or 4d a day ?- That is a myth. They do not work for 2d or 4d a day. It does not matter whether it takes 100 years or 200 years, you will be brought to a state when you have to provide opportunities for work for the White people. The number of poor Whites in this country is increasing apace. These poor Whites have come into being only because of the large number of Natives living and working below a subsistence level, and that number will grow and I do feel that the time to deal with that problem is now, because, the longer you leave it, the more serious and the greater it will become.

MR. MOSTERT: What is your idea of the minimum wage, what is the figure that you have in your mind ?- I have here a bill which ~~would~~ was introduced in the House of Commons. It gives a determination of the amount of the living wage. It says that a living wage means a wage at least sufficient to mee

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the normal needs of the average worker, regarded as a human being living in a civilised community, including the demands of health, recreation, etc.

CHAIRMAN: The question was how much do you consider, in the conditions of this country, should a minimum wage be ?- As a practical suggestion, I would say that it should be on a rising scale. If you fix a minimum wage, you will have to do so, while acknowledging that it is insufficient.

Take the position today ?- I cannot see how a man can live under 10/- a day, but seeing that it is impossible to accomplish it in one step, without disorganizing industry, I would suggest fixing it at 7/-, but increasing it gradually until you have a minimum of 10/-.

And, if industries cannot pay that, you think it is better that they should not continue ?- Unless they are of national importance, in which case they should be subsidized by the Government by way of a bounty.

What do you mean by "of national importance" ?- Say the Government consider that it is of importance that we should establish an iron and steel industry which, in competition with the World's markets, cannot pay a living wage, then it is in the interests of the country that the Government should assist it by paying a bounty.

But if it is not so, then they should not subsidize by a bounty ?- Seeing that the Government is protecting some industries to the extent of 50% or more without making any provision for a minimum wage, surely it is not unreasonable to say that they should provide for a minimum wage.

AT 12.45 p.m. the COMMISSION ADJOURNED UNTIL 2.30 p.m.

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The Commission resumed at 2-30 p.m. the evidence of Mr. A.Z.Berman being continued.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you please continue your evidence Mr. Berman?-- Yes, there are two things I want to make clear before I get into stride again, both bearing on what I said before the adjournment. In the first instance I want to make it clear that I claim that the minimum living wage should be fixed for natives and coloured and all unskilled workers on the ground that the absence of such a minimum living wage militates against the white unskilled man. I do not want that to be construed that that is the only reason for my claiming that should a wage should be fixed. It is not because it affects the white man only, the native is entitled to a living minimum/wage on his own merits in the same manner as everybody else is entitled to a living wage. I do not want that to be misunderstood. It is not because it affects the white man only; it affects the economic life of the community as a whole. But one reason which I hope will weigh with the bulk of public opinion in this country is that the absence of a minimum living wage directly affects the white man.

The second observation I want to make is with regard to anything I may have said in respect to a question which was of a general nature and which might be interpreted to apply to parts of the country with which I am not acquainted. Whatever evidence I have given is about the towns.

MR. MOSTERT: Are you only giving us your evidence as far as Cape Town is concerned?-- Yes, the headlines are there. I am dealing with the organisation of the labour movement in the towns. I am dealing with the effect of the native upon certain legislation which all applies exclusively to the towns. I have only a slight knowledge of native conditions in the

question as to what I considered a living wage I referred exclusively to the town, and not to the country

THE CHAIRMAN: To Cape Town?-- Yes. I want that to be quite clear because I do not want to pose as an authority on a matter of which I know very little; at any rate on which I am not an authority.

DR. ROBERTS: Do you exclude farming?-- Yes, as a matter of principle you have to make provision for native labour on the farms but I cannot give any definite advice or evidence as to what I consider a proper or practical wage on the farms. I do not know much about that beyond the general knowledge of the proverbial "man in the street".

How would you decide what is to be the minimum wage; would you be satisfied for instance with the decision of the Wage Board? - Undoubtedly. I would probably take the opportunity of bringing information before such a Board dealing with this question and try to induce them to fix that minimum wage as high as possible, and of course I would be prepared to accept whatever little one got from these institutions.

I want my evidence to be taken in a practical sense. For instance while 7/- a day is woefully inadequate it is certainly a considerable improvement on 3/6 or anything like that. If you talk to an intelligent native worker or an intelligent coloured worker, in town he will tell you that there is a need for specific native or coloured organisations and he will protest that the various sections of labour legislation on our Statute book specifically excludes him. The little benefit which he claims he gets as a skilled worker from the trades union which he has joined will not be taken by him as a proof that he is not treated as a native but as an exception. He has the good fortune to be in a union predominantly white which has

managed to get certain concessions or improvements and it will take a considerable time to regain his confidence, which I presume we must have, in European justice and fairness before you will be able to get the native to see that the whole question is an economic one. The fallacy of attaching too much importance to the racial aspect is not only confined to the Government but also to the native unskilled worker.

I will deal specifically with the Wage Act. I hope my remarks will not be misconstrued as reflecting upon the Chairman of the Wage Board.

MR. LUCAS: You need not worry about that?-- The Wage Bill when it was introduced into Parliament was clearly defined as a subsidiary or supplementary machinery to the existing Industrial Conciliation Act, and including the Industrial Conciliation Act was the result of the foolish attitude of the Government towards labour in the country in general. The idea was to bring the parties together and let them fight out their differences and then "we will assist these people to come to an agreement by enforcing whatever agreement they arrive at in respect of the whole industry." The chief reason given for the introduction of the Wage Bill - and it met with a good deal of opposition on the part of the employers - was that the Industrial Conciliation Act could only function in such cases and in such industries as were organised, but there are no means of tracing machinery in existence to deal with people who are not in a state of organisation and cannot organise.

In that respect the Wage Board is not going to be an exception. If the theory is right and you must look after those least able to look after themselves, then the first consideration of the Wage Board should have been given to the question

taking
of native employment. But ~~they~~ ^{when you talk of} South African conditions into consideration ~~make~~ ^{make} people unable to organise themselves owing to their lack of education or through the peculiar nature of their employment, then you must immediately think of the natives. On only one occasion however was there a determination made in respect of native labour I mean the Bloemfontein case. I do not say that I agree with the minimum wage laid down but as a precedent, as a principle, it was probably the most important thing that has taken place in our economic life during the last ten years, as a precedent that the State has the right to fix a minimum wage for natives, and that the native has the right to get the protection of the State in securing for him an adequate living remuneration of from 3/6 a day. Once the principle is conceded it is not very far removed from getting him a more adequate standard of pay.

Bloemfontein was followed up by an application from Greenstad and if ever there has been widespread disappointment and indignation in native minds it was in regard to the deliberate discrimination in was in dealing with Europeans and Non-Europeans in this case. This was brought prominently before the natives and the various industrial organisations in the country. The trades unions as a whole took a very lively interest in the proceedings and there was a good deal of heart-burning among the coloured trades union sections in the Cape when, in spite of overwhelming evidence brought before the Wage Board, the Minister, who has the last say, failed altogether to deal with the matter and there was no justifiable explanation given except that it would meet with a good deal of opposition in political circles.

Now what is left to the native to improve his economic

lot? In town he finds himself unable to organise. In the country every attempt of his to organise meets with brutal opposition. Therehave been cases of violence and bloodshed whenever the natives tried to come together, and it is very much/what used to take place in the older countries when any form of trades unionism first manifested itself. I have tried to explain to the natives when they have argued this question that it is not because they are natives that there is this opposition. The same thing has happened in connection with white trades unions in the more industrialised countries when they first attempted to organize.

Well, when the native applies for protectionunder the Wage Act, that protection is denied him. What is left but seditious propaganda and other means which I take it this Commission is naturally opposed to, and will try to eliminate or prevent. You take away from the native every legitimate means of improving his lot. You deny him the right which in the caseof the white man is not only a law but an obligation.

Not many years after the right of collective bargaining was conceded to the white people in the country, it was made compulsory by the Industrial Conciliationact. Now this right is denied to the native; this elementary right. The native finds that if he wishes to organise himself in a union and to do voluntarily what is a statutory obligation in respect of the European, he is met with something which is reminiscent of what happened in America...

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Why do you say "statutozy obligation"? - It is obligatory in the case of white trades unionists to put their case to the Industrial Council and if they do not wish to do so they commit a crime.

You used the word "organise"? - No, I said "compulsory collective bargaining" which in the case of the European is a statutory obligation. I remember the term "bottom dog" was used very freely in the debate when the Wage Bill was before the House. Now if there is a bottom dog in this country, surely it is the native, and the very protection which was claimed for the bottom dog is denied to the bottom dog. It is a demoralising thing all round. It is almost even in this country considered as unfair dealing. If the intention of the Government was to apply this to Europeans would it not have been more honourable and dignified to say so. But both from the Industrial Conciliation And the Wage Act any reference to the coloured is excluded ~~and~~ the pass-bearing natives are excluded.

We all know as things go that there is not the slightest intention to apply it to the native workers even after the Wage Board has gone to the length of making an enquiry into cases where obviously the natives had good ground for complaint, and the Minister refused in his discretion to make a determination.

MR. MOSTERT: While on that point, do you know any country in the world where by Act of Parliament there is a living wage laid down? -- Yes. In Australia where the wage fixing legislation has been brought almost to perfection.

What is the minimum wage there? -- I think it was 8/- at one time but I cannot be quite sure. But it would be very difficult to compare with Australia where the cost of living is considerably lower than in South Africa.

THE CHAIRMAN: What ground have you for that statement?

statement?-- It is common knowledge. If I had known I should have been asked that question I would have brought the evidence to show the comparison in the cost of living. Certainly £1 in Australia has a different value from here. A man on the same wage he would receive here can live there on a higher standard of comfort than here.

DR. ROBERTS: Is not that because he has more money to spend?-- No, I mean on the same money, but it will go further. in Australia than in South Africa.

Are you sure of that?-- Yes. I do not pose as a statistician and do not put myself forward as an authority on the matter but if necessary I will make it quite clear, although I do not bother about statistics as a rule. I am willing to accept the figures that have been prepared by the Statistical Department without question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you proceed?-- Yes, even as a friendly gesture the Wage Board should in some cases when application was made for an enquiry, have done their duty in that respect. Even as a friendly gesture because at the moment suspicion in the native mind is growing to an extent which will take years to eliminate.

MR. DUCAS: There have been no applications for some time because the year before last the regulations were altered requiring every applicant supporting an application to sign and that has prevented natives from making application to the Board. But there have been no applications for a long time now?-- The feeling current among natives, as I have pointed out, is one of suspicion and knowledge that these plums which were thrown to the white workers were not meant for the natives. They are excluded.

I will go further. If for argument's sake South Africa

is in advance of other countries in the matter of labour legislation it is even more reprehensible that the native should be totally excluded from it and that it should be confined to the white man. I do not consider that South Africa is ahead of other countries in that respect but the more they favour the white workers the more reprehensible it is, apart from the fact that whatever happens ~~to-morrow~~ to the native to-day must have its repercussions on the white man tomorrow.

Now we come to another Act which is causing a good deal of heart-burning amongst coloured and native people. It is an excellent measure in itself ~~but~~ but it is very harmful in its application to the natives and coloured people. That is the Apprenticeship Act. I do not want my remarks to be taken as criticising the principle of the Act or the people who are administering the Act. It is a very worthy Act but the net result of the working of the Act is the total exclusion of the coloured and native people from all skilled occupations and also the semi-skilled occupations. The educational standard is such that not one native in a thousand has a chance. In some cases it is Standard VII and in lesser cases Standard VI and we all know that to fix a test like that means the total elimination of the non-European from all these occupations.

SENATOR ROBERTS: Surely you want efficiency in these occupations; do you want them to be able to enter at a lower standard?-- I agree with that but to do that whilst not making simultaneous provision for educational facilities for coloured and native is in my opinion not worthy of a statesmanlike Government or Administration.

This again is again going to act like a boomerang on the European worker of the country because it will mean that

the native and coloured workers will have to remain in the unskilled occupations, and their competition in the unskilled or semi-skilled occupations will become more severe than ever.

I do not know whether it has been brought to the notice of the Commission, but the number of applicants for every vacancy for apprenticeship in the ~~bakery~~ ^{bakery} ~~papes~~ trade is about 30 or 40 times in excess of any such vacancy. If you want a boy of yours to be apprenticed as a wood-worker, engineer or carpenter or printer, you may have to wait for years and even then have to cut it out.

SENATOR VAN NIEKERK: Then the natives cannot complain?-- I do not wish to complain, but the fact remains that the few vacancies there are are filled by Europeans to the exclusion of the natives. That is more an injustice in principle than in practice. But it reacts on the Europeans, ^{the} unskilled and semi-skilled Europeans.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your next point? - I have had a good deal of experience in the administration of the Juvenile Affairs Act. I have been a member of the Cape Town Board for many years and whilst I say that it is an admirable piece of legislation it again militates against the native and coloured worker. It is human nature.

The Board is a white Board and it deals only with white children. It is always faced with hundreds and hundreds of youths and girls seeking employment and whenever an avenue of employment is found that may be suitable for a white youth it is seized upon with zeal and enthusiasm. It does not matter that it means the exclusion of a native and in many cases and quite openly the Board arranges for white boys to do work which has previously been done

Mr. Bertram natives. These jobs are now performed by European youths. It never occurred to any of us - I suppose I

must accept blame with the others - to object. It never occurred to any of us that while we eliminate the natives we do an injustice. We take something which he has got and which is within his sphere of native employment and that as a consequence is growing less and less.

There was recently a case where the Board was making arrangements to find employment for European youths in blind alley occupations in which at the present time natives are employed. A blind alley occupation for a European does not necessarily mean a blind alley occupation for a native. If a native has got a job at which he can make £5 or £6 a month he looks upon it as permanent employment, something he ^{to} hopes to end his days in. But the European youth such an occupation is a blind alley occupation. But it is better to have a blind alley occupation than to wander about the streets, and the Board has on many occasions used its influence to place these white boys. The Government urged European employers to make room for a juvenile; but what about the poor natives who are displaced in that manner? I do not say it is the duty of the Board to go into this matter but it is rather invidious that the Government are telling them to make openings for poor white boys and at the same time that means taking away the avenues of employment of the native.

DR. ROBERTS: I am glad you said that you did not blame the Board. The social structure of the native life does not favour its children being arranged for by Boards? I do not know much about native life in the reserves but I do think that if you take a native child ~~and~~ bring him into town and bring him up in a different environment and he won't know where he was born.

MR. LUCAS: Is there a Juvenile Affairs Board for native boys? - There is a Juvenile Advisory Board in Cape Town. I do not know whether there is any other. Before the Board was appointed there was a Juvenile Board with statutory powers, but whether it has statutory power or not the effect of working is almost the same. The European Juvenile Affairs Board gets there every time, but the Juvenile Advisory Board, the coloured one, fails to get there and it is an open secret that the Juvenile Advisory Board realises that every new appointment which the Juvenile Affairs Board finds for European youths means that it takes away an opening for a coloured youth.

SENATOR VAN HIKERK: After all, you are looking at the thing from the ethical point of view, what the ordinary man may call Justice in dealing with these matters, but if you look at it from the practical point of view what is to become of the sons of the white man in the future?-- I have thought of the matter very carefully. It has occupied my mind for years. It is a unique opportunity to study social questions in this country, an opportunity which you cannot get anywhere else, and I say this, difficult as the problem is ~~sixxalution~~ the salvation of the white man lies in the direction of the uplifting of the native and coloured man. You cannot have two standards of life side by side in the same community. History does not know of a parallel. History does not know of two civilisations living side by side.

Then according to history the white man will have to go under?-- If he keeps the native down he will go down.

And if he does not keep the native down he will also go down?-- No certainly not. You find cases where

where different colours and different races have lived side by side. I do not say two colours so much but a different standard of civilisations but eventually there was one system and one standard. Take the central European countries. The Poles for instance lived in a lower standard of civilisation than the German, and there was a good deal of bitterness and ill-feeling. The Germans employed Polish labourers on their farms and in their factories. There were times when the German working men were highly organised and the Polish workers began to flock into the towns and undercut them. The end came about in this way. The Polish worker to-day gets the same wage as the German worker and the German standard is level as between the two.

DR. ROBERTS: Would you not say that the Pole was higher intellectually?-- Precisely, but I can assure you that the difference between the educational standard of the Polish worker and the German at the time of the conflict was greater almost than the difference between the native and the European to-day. It is ridiculous to say that the poor white problem is peculiar to South Africa; the root cause of the poor white is that there is no half way house; unless you are in the one economic class you are in the other one.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the Juvenile Advisory Board here cater for native people too?-- They do not specialise in coloured only.

Do they deal with native children at all?-- They do not deal with any children in fact; it is voluntary and they are all working men.

You are not answering the question?-- Probably if they had the necessary means they would deal with native

and coloured children too. But they might deal with coloured children only. At the moment they cannot deal with any children.

Just answer the straight forward question and do not go ahead?-- I want to make my reply intelligent. If I were to answer "No, they do not deal with native children" you might consider from my answer that they deal with coloured children only. But they do not deal with them because they have not got means to do so.

So the Board does not function?-- It does not function nearly to the same extent as the European Board. It functions to the best of its ability. I would like it to be made known that I attach any blame to the Coloured Board. They have not got the means. I might also tell the Commission that this difficulty was realised and at one time an effort was made ~~to~~ by the two Boards to keep in contact and two members of the European Board were delegated to sit.

You make it exceedingly difficult to ask questions because as soon as one asks a question you deal with a lot of things that you have not been asked about. You raise side issues about things you have not been asked. For instance in answer to my question there was no reason to ~~answer~~ go into the question of efficiency or lack of efficiency?-- Well, I am not answering any question at the moment. I am going into the matter of ~~the~~ juvenile affairs.

I thought I had asked a question?-- Yes, but I am dealing with the subject matter in front of me.

Well then you can carry on?-- At one time it was suggested that the European Juvenile Affairs Board and the Coloured Advisory Board should cooperate so as to prevent