

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF)

THE LOGIC OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

FOREWORD

In November, 1950, the Government appointed a Commission "to conduct an exhaustive inquiry into and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based on effective socio-economic planning." In 1951 the Institute submitted extensive written evidence R.R. 82/51 and R.R. 130/51. In April 1952, the Commission wrote to the Institute in the following terms:-

"The following basic ideas have emerged from the evidence presented thus far to the Commission:

"Economic integration of the Native in the European economy will eventually lead to -

- (a) Economic equality,
- (b) Social equality,
- (c) Equal political rights (full citizenship), and
- (d) Miscegenation.

"The Commission will appreciate it if your Institute will prepare itself in regard to the above, as the Commission would like to ascertain your view-point thereon while you are giving oral evidence."

It was in reply to this request that the Institute submitted the memorandum entitled "The Logic of Economic Integration", which is now published in printed form.

Quintin Whyte
DIRECTOR

THE LOGIC OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

NECESSITY FOR ANALYSIS OF TERMS.

The Institute considers that confusion arises from the use of the terms "European economy", "economic equality", "social equality". The economy of South Africa has been built up by European capital and technical knowledge and is dictated by the interests of Europeans but it is in fact a "South African economy" which could not exist if either European or Non-European were withdrawn from it. Nor is it clear what is meant by "economic equality." There is no economic equality among Europeans themselves and it is to be doubted whether there ever can be economic equality in any society. European economic inequalities are inherent in the economic structure of society and the difference between European and African in this regard is that, while the law is used to make economic opportunities between Europeans as equal as possible, the economic inequality from which the African suffers is artificially maintained by legislation or by conventions which have the force of law. Similarly, to talk of "social equality" between Europeans because they are integrated into the same economy is to oversimplify. Although there is a considerable degree of social mobility among Europeans, there is also horizontal social stratification. The mere fact that a person has a white skin does not admit him to every European social class.

The Institute considers that such terms should be clearly analyzed to avoid loose and confused thinking.

PRINCIPLES AND VALUES.

By posing these questions, the Commission is in effect asking the Institute to make a statement of its fundamental beliefs and attitudes. It is at the same time asking the Institute to attempt to foretell the form our future South African Society will take.

While it is correct to say that the Institute has never tied itself to any party political doctrine since its inception, yet it is also true to say that in its approach and work it has been permeated by the fundamental principles of Christian living and by the values basic to Western Civilization. These principles and values are usually stated to be:

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belief in the value of the individual human being and his right, by virtue of his being, to the fullest expression and development compatible with similar rights of other individuals within the pattern of a democratic state;

belief in the values of democratic society with its accepted freedoms, rights and duties;

acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation.

The Institute has consistently recognized that this concept of democracy has seldom, if ever, been applied in a multi-racial society with peoples of varying cultures and at different stages of development or, indeed, in any society. Nevertheless, it has always accepted that the full measure of such democracy must ultimately be applied to South Africa.

The Institute has taken its decisions over the past 23 years against this general background of faith and belief. Such decisions have been ad hoc in the sense that each problem was considered on its merits with no foregone conclusion based on set dogma within which the decision had to find its place. In its work for peace, goodwill and practical co-operation, the Institute has paid attention to all views sincerely held and has realized the importance of recognizing the limits of the practicable at any one time.

SEGREGATION AND ASSIMILATION

The principles mentioned above do not predicate for South Africa either a policy of total segregation or a policy of total integration. While the late Professor Hoernlé, President of the Institute for many years and largely responsible for the philosophy underlying its work, pointed out most clearly that a policy of complete territorial segregation was as compatible with these principles as a policy of complete assimilation, yet, after an exhaustive analysis of the position at the time that he wrote, he came to the conclusion that complete territorial segregation was in fact impossible. He himself could proffer no complete solution for South Africa's difficulties while racial attitudes remain as they are. The practical difficulties presented by a policy of complete segregation have been confirmed by others. In April, 1950, Dr. Malan said, "What

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they, the Dutch Reformed Churches, resolved was that we should have total or complete territorial apartheid. Well, if one could attain total territorial apartheid, if it were practicable, everybody would admit that it would be an ideal state of affairs". He went on to say, "I clearly stated that total territorial segregation was impracticable under present conditions in South Africa.... It is not practicable and it does not pay any party to endeavour to achieve the impossible". The Institute agrees with Dr. Malan that territorial apartheid is completely impracticable.

The Institute also considers that the adoption of a policy aimed at total (physical, political, economic, social) assimilation as analysed by the late Professor Hoernlé is not acceptable and is equally impracticable. The Institute, however, holds that basic cultural[†] assimilation is possible and desirable. Physical assimilation, which is dealt with later, is an entirely different matter. Cultural assimilation, which is proceeding apace to-day, means that all racial groups are brought within the ambit of our Western Civilization, for such civilization cannot be divided up into compartments. Our civilization does, however, allow for a variety of sub-cultures within it, so that it is possible for each ethnic group to maintain and develop its contribution to living and culture within the over-riding framework of the generally accepted principles of Western Civilization.

Those who advocate segregation admit that a certain degree of integration does in fact exist. This must be recognized and the Institute's view is that the present trends cannot be reversed. South Africa is a multi-racial society in which all ethnic groups are to a greater or lesser extent inter-dependent. The position is not static and Census and other statistics reveal that this process

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+ Hansard, April 12, 1950.

‡ Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Tyler: Primitive Culture Chapt. 1 p.1.

is continuing and will continue. The economic life of the country, directed by European interests, demands the continuance of this integration, while Africans, having been introduced to Western Civilization, also demand this integration with ever fuller participation in Christian living, in democratic processes, in economic development.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

As there can be no reversal to complete segregation, it is only in some form of integrated society that the fundamental rights which have been generally accepted in the 20th Century can be accorded to South Africa's African peoples. These fundamental rights have been outlined⁺ as the rights of every individual to the protection of the state and from arbitrary action by the agents of the state itself, to security of person and freedom, to equal opportunities of education, of training, of work, of access to the goods and values of our civilization, to freedom of conscience and freedom of expression, to full and equal voice in the government of the country provided the required conditions of citizenship have been fulfilled. The Dutch Reformed Churches in their Conference at Bloemfontein in 1950 stated in their findings:-

"The unity of all Christians in Christ is a fundamental truth and not just a lip confession. We must practise the true community of saints. No individual and no nation lives for itself alone.

"In the actions of the confessing Christian of whatever race, there is no place for racial hatred. Even if great demands are made on his tolerance and goodwill, his duty is to strive for better understanding, to strive to build up the other groups, to strive to eliminate all feelings of estrangement and suspicion."

On the political aspect of our racial problems, the Conference accepted the following:-

"The political life and the general prospect of becoming a full citizen are of the utmost importance for every nation (volk). It is one of the most important sources from which a nation draws its inspiration for its growth This applies to the Bantu also."

+ Race Relations Vol. XV No. 3, 1948, p.p. 87-88.

The preamble says:-

"It must be remembered that no nation in the world, worthy of the name ("Nation") could always be satisfied with no say or only an indirect say in the political and socio-economic organization of the country in which decisions are taken on that nation's interests and future. To expect the Bantu to be satisfied with such a state of affairs is not only to be unfair to him, but will also eventually lead to the greatest disillusionment and strife".

The findings of the Conference go on to say that the only healthy basis on which Europeans and Non-Europeans can live happily is that of separate development. It also asks for measures to be implemented, e.g. the progressive introduction of compulsory education for Africans up to the age of 16 years. Its demand was for complete segregation and it was in reply to this that Dr. Malan made the statement quoted above. The Institute considers that such complete segregation is to-day impossible of achievement. If this is so, fundamental truths such as those quoted remain fundamental truths which must be realized in some form of pluralistic society.

The Institute believes that, having due regard to all the pressures in and around South Africa, the process of integration will continue for many years. It recognizes the existence of various cultures and of various levels of development. It has to recognize an immediate pattern of society in which there are elements of segregation, of inferior parallelism, of assimilation. It also considers that, while fundamental human rights must be granted to all South Africans and positive steps taken towards that end, the great majority are not in a position at present to undertake the full responsibilities inherent in such rights.

The Institute further believes that for the present the welfare of the country and the maintenance of Western Civilization depend upon the continuance of European initiative and responsibility, but it looks to the progressive assumption by Africans of the standards of Western Civilization and of the duties implicit in the acquisition of fundamental rights as the only way in which, in the long run, Western Civilization can be preserved in South Africa.

EUROPEAN SURVIVAL.

Such a declaration of belief brings us to the question as to the survival of a European group in the Union. The Institute insists that each ethnic and cultural group in South Africa has a full and equal right to live according to its own conception of life, provided that in doing so it does not interfere with the rights of other groups to do likewise, and provided that the common good is not prejudiced. In other words, the European group has every right to preserve its white skin and its heritage if it so wishes, but it must do so with its own resources and through its own determination; on its own responsibility and not at the expense of other ethnic groups. This can only be achieved if the European group adheres to its own principles and ideals of living and shows respect for itself and for other ethnic groups. Should the white group forsake its own integrities, the Institute firmly believes that it will not only destroy itself but will also destroy Western Civilization in South Africa.

The Institute, therefore, contends that the only true, realistic policy for South Africa, and indeed for European South Africans, is the policy which aims at self-preservation by placing right and justice first. The choice for European South Africa is faith or fear, Christian democratic ideals or the fallacious and deceptive policy of apparent self-preservation in an authoritarian form based upon permanent white domination.

THE FUTURE.

The Institute cannot foretell what the South Africa of 2052 or 2552 will hold to be the ideal. With present world trends, is it possible that the year 2052 will see a white dominant minority benevolently wielding power over a large black passive majority? Ideals, knowledge, society - and not static. We wish to stress particularly that attitudes, moral norms and patterns of thought constantly change with the passing of time. For example, in 1852 child labour was regarded as normal, petty thefts were punished with deportation for life, high mortality rates and illiteracy were regarded as normal for the working classes: in 1802 slavery was accepted as a normal social institution. With human wisdom so limited and human society so changeable the only possible approach is to act in faith and on principle, believing that if these principles are sound, the outcome of action

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based upon them will also be right and just.

The Institute now addresses itself to the questions put by the Commission.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

As a reasonable body, basing its attitude on facts obtained and considered as objectively as possible, the Institute must point to the present position as revealed in the statistics provided by the Census, the Board of Trade and Industries and the Industrial Legislation Commission. These returns show the following position -

(a) From the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August, 1950 (Page 32)

Preliminary figures based on 1946 Census.

N.B. The working population, as far as the European, Asiatic and Coloured groups are concerned, comprise persons aged 15 years and over, and with respect to the Africans, persons aged 10 years and over.

Number of persons engaged in various industries.

	Europeans	Africans	Asiatics	Coloureds	Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	167,822	2,139,219	13,691	97,453	2,418,185
Mining & quarrying	53,557	442,578	602	2,724	499,461
Manufacturing	131,537	163,636	16,565	48,870	360,608
Construction	50,231	76,576	1,687	24,664	153,158
Electricity, gas and water	5,342	6,492	46	772	12,652
Commerce & Finance	140,035	72,033	19,086	18,442	249,596
Transport and Communication.	122,570	68,751	2,178	13,836	207,335
Public and Personal services	177,680	719,905	13,214	97,877	1,008,676
Activities not adequately described	39,407	154,389	12,100	44,262	250,158
Total working population.	888,181	3,843,579	79,169	348,900	5,159,829