

(b) From the Report of the Industrial Legislation Commission, 1951.

Total number of Africans employed in manufacturing industry

		<u>Percentage of all employees</u>	<u>No. of Africans per 100 Europeans.</u>
1925	82,608	46.8	146.4
1935	112,091	46.3	120.6
1945	245,538	54.6	191.7
1948	307,597	54.7	189.6

(c) From the Industrial Legislation Commission, 1946 Census, Handbook on Race Relations and Office of Census and Statistics.

Africans in Urban Areas

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage increase over previous census</u>	<u>Percentage of total African population</u>
1911	508,142	-	12.64
1921	587,000	15.5 (10 yrs)	12.49
1936	1,141,642	94.5 (15 yrs)	17.31
1946	1,810,500	57.2 (10 yrs)	23.12
1951	2,011,333	19.0 (5 yrs)	23.56

(d) From Wage determination 1937 to 1948 (1948 Report of Wage Board U.G. 50/50)

Of Skilled workers	83.8%	were European	Of semi skilled	33.8%	were European
-do-	4.8%	" C.Coloured	-do-	20.8%	" C.Coloured
-do-	5.6%	" Asiatic	-do-	11.2%	" Asiatic
-do-	5.8%	" African	-do-	34.2%	" African

Of the Africans 4.2% were skilled, 12.3% semi skilled, and 83.5% unskilled.

These figures are evidence of the extent to which economic integration has already advanced and all authorities are agreed that this trend will continue until some balance is achieved between town and country. The shortage of European skilled workers is constantly discussed to-day and in default of very large-scale and continued immigration the demand for such personnel must be met by the Africans and other Non-Europeans. Assuming continued development of South African potential,

/t e.....

the Institute considers that this will mean the progressive employment of more and more Africans in skilled jobs and the promotion of Europeans to administrative and supervising posts, although it must be realised that a certain proportion of Europeans will not attain skilled occupations. Any such individuals will be provided for through the general services of the state and should such services be inadequate the European group itself must help to take care of its own inadequates. Similarly with other ethnic groups. Quite apart from industrial, manufacturing and mining development, it is generally accepted that Africans must be trained for the great variety of jobs necessary for their proper and full development through education, good health and nutrition, and other forms of welfare and administration. In the field of agriculture, it is becoming clear that the shortage of farm labour is inducing the European farming community to use more and more machines which require semi-skilled men to work them. Improved mechanization involves improved economic status for African farm labourers.

In view of these facts, the Institute considers that in the long run a position will be attained in which Africans will be given the opportunity to hold positions which are economically equal to European positions. It considers that, for a long time, Europeans must and will take the initiative and hold ultimate responsibility, but it is not prepared to say what will be the position in the year 2052. The Institute concludes that the logic of its analysis involves equal economic opportunity for all groups.

The following quotations emphasize this view:

Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission. Third Interim Report (1941)

Par: 118 .." "The movement of Natives from the Reserves - where malnutrition is rife - to mining and to urban industries is not viewed with alarm by your Commission, since statistics of production show little scope for increased agricultural output if the present farming practices are followed. Indeed, with the present pressure of population and the methods employed on Native land, there is every likelihood that production will decline there as the cumulative effect of soil depletion and erosion gathers momentum"

/Social

Social and Economic Planning Council - Report No. 13 on the Economic and Social Conditions of the Racial Groups in South Africa - (1948)

Par: 30 ... " The proportion of the whole Native population which resides in the Native Reserves is decreasing and will continue to decrease. Owing to the pressure of population on the limited reserves which have thus far been developed in those areas, the surplus population is forced to move to the towns to seek a living. In previous reports (No's: 2, 5 and 9) the Council has advocated that this problem be tackled positively by developing the economic life of the Reserves and by the proper settlement in planned townships of those Native families who form a permanent part of the urban population."

Witwatersrand Mine Native Wages Commission (1943)

Par: 198 ... " The authorities which the Commission has consulted are almost unanimous in their opinion that those Reserves (i.e. "The Union and High Commission Territory Reserves as they exist at the present time") are over-populated and overstocked; that they do not produce sufficient for the population to live on; that their productive capacity is decreasing; and that the general health of the Reserve population is far from satisfactory

Par: 212 "The policy of developing the Reserves is not unlikely to result in the encouragement of a certain proportion of the allotment holders to devote to their agricultural pursuits, if not the whole of their time, then far more of it than is at present given by the peasant who to-day draws from the mines a part of his means of subsistence. Further, it is clear that in the years to come there will be an ever-increasing body of Natives in or from the Reserves who will be without allotments and who, whether resident in the Reserves or elsewhere, will be dependent entirely upon their earnings by their labour without the subsidiary means available in the case of the bulk of the migrant labourers to-day. A large number of these men must be absorbed into industries, some of which, it may be hoped, will be within the Reserves supplying needs of their inhabitants, but more of which are likely to be in, or in the neighbourhood of, the great centres outside them. A long-range view of the position indicates that the gold mining industry could not continue indefinitely to claim exemption from participation in this process."

Native Laws Commission (1946-48)

Par: 28" From what we have already said it would be clear, firstly, that the idea of total segregation is utterly impracticable; secondly, that the movement from the country to town has a background of economic necessity - that it may, so one hopes, be guided and regulated, and may perhaps also be limited, but that it cannot be stopped or be turned in the opposite direction; and thirdly, that in our urban areas there are

/not

not only Native migrant labourers, but there is also a settled, permanent Native population. These are simply facts which we have to face. The old cry "send them back" still so often raised when there is trouble with the Natives - therefore no longer offers a solution....."

SOCIAL EQUALITY

"Social equality" requires definition, for round this term has grown up a number of misconceptions born of emotion and fear. Popularly, it conveys the suggestion of miscegenation, and the threat that Europeans will be compelled to entertain Africans to dinner in their homes, or to let their daughters go dancing with Africans, or to have Africans in their social and sporting clubs. Actually social equality involves none of these things. What it does appear to mean is that black and white can meet as social equals in the sense that men and women in the same occupations or in allied occupations can meet with mutual respect. It also means that where public services are made available from public funds, such services must be given equally to all groups. The Institute draws attention to the case of the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs v. Rasool (1934, Appellate Division p.p. 167-192) where it was held in effect that the classification of human beings into Europeans and Non-Europeans was "unreasonable if the postal service rendered to Non-Europeans was inferior in quality to that rendered to Europeans. A judgment on similar lines was delivered recently by a magistrate in Cape Town.

The degree of economic integration postulated in the previous paragraph logically involves social intercourse of this nature which will be based on mutual respect and equity. Such social contacts cannot be avoided in a society such as that envisaged, but there will be no compulsion apart from that of common interests. The white man's home will remain his castle and the black man's home must become his castle. Economic integration does not involve residential integration, nor any social mixing which any one group does not wish. It does not involve miscegenation. Racial or group prides finding expression in social customs which limit social intercourse in a society in which there is equal opportunity for all involves no derogation from human dignity and mutual respect. That this is so can be instanced from the history of other groups in other countries where group identity and purity have been maintained as the outcome of a feeling of group solidarity and a common heritage.

/The

The Institute accepts such forms of social equality as a logical result of economic integration.

POLITICAL EQUALITY

In our present form of democratic society, political equality involves fundamental equality and, with the preponderance of Africans in South Africa, it means ultimately the numerical preponderance in the political sphere of Africans. The Institute adopts three approaches to this:

The first is that, given the assumption of a society which is integrated in various degrees, the Institute considers that to deny any racial group participation in some form or other in the central and local governing bodies is to condemn that group to perpetual subordination which no self-respecting people will accept. The Institute accordingly believes that Africans must be represented in our central legislature, and in this belief its Council passed the following resolution in 1950:

"The Institute is convinced that the aim of statemanship in the Union should be to find the basis for the development in all sections of a common attitude towards the ideals of Western Civilization expressed in a common loyalty to the state and in a standard of public and private life consonant with those ideals. For this reason the Council believes that the goal of racial policy should be attainment in due course of common citizenship by individuals of all races.

"While adopting common citizenship as the goal of racial policy, the Council recognizes that this cannot be reached at once because of the differences in conviction already mentioned and because of the wide range of differences in adjustment to Western Civilization, and that it is necessary in consequence to consider what attitude should be adopted towards measures which fall short of the goal. It believes that any measure which will take the Union along the road to the goal of common citizenship should be supported, and any measure that takes the Union in a different direction must be opposed. The Council must, therefore, express its emphatic dissent from any measure which withdraws the common franchise from those who now possess it and takes away from Africans the principle of the individual vote and the principle of representation in the House of Assembly

It will be noticed that while the Institute postulates common citizenship, it has not laid down what it considers should be the form of representation given. This constitutes the Institute's second approach for it is a diversely composed

/body

body representing many diverse opinions and it awaits the formulation of a consensus of opinion in this matter. The Institute's third approach is that when one civilization claims the rights and the duties inherent in the assumption of power in another civilization the members of the former must qualify for such rights. Whether such qualification should take the form of a common but loaded franchise or some other form has not yet been formulated by the Institute, but it believes that whatever form political representation may take immediately, in the long run such representation can be no less than that held by Europeans. The road to such common citizenship must be by evolution.

While the Institute holds this as inevitable and desirable in itself, it considers that a necessary concomitant for any such assumption of political power is the exercise of civic responsibility in local affairs. It has therefore consistently advocated the grant of executive powers to African local government bodies both in urban and rural areas, and the representation of racial groups on local municipal councils. Such participation is not only morally right; it is becoming increasingly necessary for the proper administration of the country.

Because this problem is of such fundamental importance, the Institute has hesitated to make any pronouncement and is at the present moment investigating forms of franchise adopted in other countries. The Institute does stress the utmost importance of the building up and maintenance of the very highest standards of political integrity.

MISCEGENATION.

Because of its strong emotional connotation this is one of the first questions raised by Europeans when discussing the development of the Africans. Significantly, it is not one of the first considerations of Africans. The question is one which is wrapped up with the effect of economic and political integration on the social customs and taboos of society, on residential, educational, and other forms of segregation. The Institute has accepted the continuation over many years of certain patterns of separation and the emergence

/of

of forms of social conventions originating in group differences. It has stated that the ultimate responsibility for racial purity must rest primarily with the group which demands it. But in a multi-racial society like South Africa the effectiveness of a social taboo rests upon its acceptance by all groups.

The problem is not solved by passing a law. The real barrier against miscegenation lies in the psychological attitude of the races concerned towards it. It will not take place on a large scale unless psychological attitudes alter radically. While there remains a premium on the possession of a white skin and while there is an order of society in which the African is condemned to an inferior position, just so long will miscegenation take place to some extent despite the law. The Institute considers that when mutual respect is achieved, when the superior-inferior positions are abolished, it is possible that there will emerge more strongly a respect between the groups of the other's prides and dignities, and then miscegenation, through the building up of mutually and tacitly accepted taboos, will be reduced to the minimum. The Institute considers that there always will be a minimum of miscegenation which will not, however, destroy the purity of any one group. The fundamental pre-requisite for group purity is the determination of each group to retain its racial purity. The ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of group identity is that of the group itself and the answer to the question so frequently posed, "Do you want your sister to marry a black man?" is "Does my sister want to marry a black man?".

So far as it can foresee the future, the Institute believes that social conventions and taboos in a multi-racial country, especially where there is a dynamic minority confronted by a preponderant majority, become very rigid. The Institute believes that the possibility of further miscegenation has been greatly exaggerated and that fear of miscegenation diverts attention from policies based upon rational considerations.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the Institute finds it impossible to guess what the final pattern will be. To be able to do so would require a complete knowledge and understanding of present forces at work in the world and in South Africa, as well as a knowledge of the new forces which the future will see. The only credo that one can cling to is to abjure self interest and policies of expediency, to stand firm on principle and go forward in faith, believing that to do so is the only way to serve finally what is right and just, believing too that the use of the right means is in itself creative and that the end can never justify the means. It is in this faith that the Institute has acted since its inception in 1929. Its decisions have been taken in this belief. Its demand has always been that the values of all human lives be respected, whether black or white. It has over the years achieved much that is now accepted. It most sincerely believes that the evolution of a peaceful and happy South Africa can only be achieved through the acceptance of the faith and belief it propounds.
