

34. An attempt to raise the standard of living of the Bantu in an indirect manner, namely by large-scale redistribution of incomes via the treasury, will not have much effect. The Europeans in particular would be impoverished, but the funds thus obtained would have to be distributed among such large numbers of non-Europeans by means of social services, that the latter would benefit little. In view of the fact that it might stimulate a further increase in the growth of the Bantu population, it might also be a futile undertaking.

35. This demographic dilemma raises the question whether economic development in itself is sufficient to improve the material living standard of these people. The conclusion which must be arrived at, is that it cannot be assumed that their attitude towards reproduction will change quickly enough in a spontaneous

manner to realise the fruits of economic development in the form of a higher material standard of living either in its entirety or to any considerable degree.

What is indicated, therefore, appears to be a campaign for the promotion of planned parenthood. Doubt still exists, however, as to the success attainable by such a campaign and as to the efficiency of the means that can be used for family limitation.

Nevertheless, the Commission would recommend that the possibilities of the propagation of planned parenthood be investigated. The Commission would also recommend that field studies be undertaken to try and establish the interrelationships between demographic, social and economic factors, especially in the case of the Bantu.

CHAPTER 8

POSITION OF THE BANTU IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. In this chapter, an exposition is given of the various political and civil rights possessed by the Bantu in the Union of South Africa. In this connection, the fact should not be overlooked that in the Bantu Areas themselves, the Bantu participate to a relatively large extent in the actual task of administration; the exercise of these administrative powers by the Bantu in the Territories, is dealt with in detail in Chapter 17.

In this chapter, therefore, attention is fixed on the participation of the Bantu in the general administration of the country, particularly as regards the non-Bantu areas, that is to say, the degree to which the Bantu participate in the various legislative and administrative bodies which exist in the country.

I. THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF THE BANTU.

A. REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT AND IN PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

2. As regards the position in the various territories and colonies before 1910, the situation may be shortly summarised as follows.

3. The Cape of Good Hope Constitution Ordinance of 1852, which made provision for the granting of Representative Government to the Cape Colony, gave the franchise to all male persons—European and non-European—who possessed the required qualifications, to wit, occupation of property with a valuation of £25 for twelve months, or an income derived from salary or wages of at least £50 a year, or £25 per annum with food and lodging included. On the introduction of Responsible Government in 1872, these qualifications remained unaltered.

4. With the inclusion of more and more Bantu and Bantu Areas within the boundaries of the Colony, the alteration of the franchise qualifications became necessary. On the annexation of the Transkei, the occupation qualification was changed to £50 and the income qualification to £25, while it was laid down that land held in communal (tribal) ownership should not be taken into consideration. By Act No. 9 of 1892, the occupation qualification was raised to £75 and the income qualification to £50 per year; the further important qualification was added that a person might only be registered as a voter if he could sign his name and write down his address and occupation. Individual ownership of land granted in terms of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, was not to be taken into consideration.

5. Representative Government was granted to Natal in terms of the *Charter of Natal* of 15th July, 1856. As in the Cape Colony, all persons who possessed the required qualifications (i.e. the possession of immovable property to the value of £50 or the renting of such property at an annual rental of at least £10) were entitled to the franchise.

6. As regards further development in Natal, the policy and the administrative system applied in respect of the Bantu by Theophilus Shepstone (1845—1875), is of the greatest importance: reserves (locations) were set aside for the Bantu, the traditional system of chiefs and of control was recognised and used in the administration, and in 1848, in accordance with Royal Instructions, Bantu Law was recognised as the valid legal system for the Bantu in Natal. By Act No. 11 of 1864, it was provided that certain Bantu might be exempted from Bantu Law; such Bantu were to be subject to the European (Roman-Dutch) legal system.

7. The general franchise granted by the *Charter* was drastically restricted as far as the Bantu were concerned, by Act No. 11 of 1865; in the Act the following reasons were advanced:—

- (i) the fact that the Bantu population had been placed under special control and under their own legal system;
- (ii) the intention of conferring title deeds in respect of land on Bantu, by means of which they would be able to comply with the franchise qualifications; and
- (iii) the undesirability of the Bantu acquiring the franchise in such large numbers. In terms of this Act, no Bantu could be registered as a voter unless he—
 - (a) had been resident in Natal for at least twelve years;
 - (b) possessed the required property qualifications;
 - (c) had been exempted from Bantu Law for at least seven years;
 - (d) could submit a "certificate" signed by three European voters and endorsed by a Justice of the Peace or a Magistrate; and
 - (e) was granted permission for this purpose by the Lieutenant-Governor. The last-named had an absolute discretion.

8. Further amending legislation was contained in Act No. 2 of 1883 and Act No. 8 of 1896; but the position in regard to the Bantu in Natal remained substantially as indicated above, and this was also made applicable to the Bantu in Zululand when it was annexed. For all practical purposes, therefore, the Bantu in Natal were excluded from the franchise.

9. In the Transvaal Republic, the principles of no-equality and the limitation of the franchise to Europeans, were among the basic principles of the Republic from the earliest times; these principles were repeatedly embodied in legislation—for example in the 33 Articles (Art. 6); Sect. 9 and Sect. 31 of the "Grondwet van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1858"; the Volksraad Resolution of 11th June, 1873; Act No. 1 of 1876, etc. At the time of the first annexation of the territory in 1877, these principles were maintained and further confirmed thereafter, in Act No. 7 of 1882 (Sect. 9), Act No. 4 of 1890 (Sect. 14) and in other legislation.

10. In the Republic of the Orange Free State, as in the Transvaal, political rights were confined to the European population; the relative provisions are contained in Chapters I and II of the "Constitutie van den Oranjevrijstaat".

11. On the introduction of Responsible Government in the Transvaal in 1906 and in the Orange River Colony in 1907, the franchise was limited to (male) Europeans.

12. The problem that confronted the National Convention in connection with the political rights of non-Europeans, is well-known. The ultimate result was the compromise contained in Sections 35 and 152 of the South Africa Act, whereby the political rights of non-Europeans in the Cape Province were "entrenched": that is to say, an adverse alteration

could only be made provided such a bill was approved by two-thirds of the members of parliament at a joint session of both houses. However, the South Africa Act took away the right of non-Europeans in the Cape Province to be elected as members of parliament. In the other Provinces, the position remained as it had been before 1910.

13. Act No. 18 of 1930 granted the franchise to all adult *European* women, while Act No. 41 of 1931 abolished the income and property qualifications earlier required of Europeans.

14. After 1910, therefore, non-Europeans could only be registered as voters in the Cape Province and Natal, provided they complied with the requirements (as indicated above). In 1946, these requirements were consolidated in the Electoral Consolidation Act. In 1935, there were 10,628 Bantu, 1,401 Asiatics and 23,392 other non-Europeans registered as voters in the Cape Province; and 1 Bantu, 10 Asiatics and 343 other non-Europeans in Natal.

15. The problems in connection with the Native franchise became increasingly manifest, and the Inter-Colonial Commission of 1903—1905, expressed itself strongly against the system followed in the Cape Colony. In the twenties, the late General Hertzog came forward with his various Native Bills, one of which dealt with the Native franchise in the Cape Province, and became law in 1936 as the "Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936".

16. In terms of the provisions of the Act, all Natives (as defined in the Act) were removed from the ordinary electoral rolls in the Cape Province, and a separate Cape Native Voters' Roll was created. Natives possessing the required qualifications, may be registered as voters on the Cape Native Electoral Roll; and such voters then have the right to elect three members to Parliament and two members to the Cape Provincial Council. These elected representatives of the Natives must have the same qualifications as ordinary members of Parliament (i.e. only Europeans may be elected); moreover, they may not participate in an election of Senators in terms of the South Africa Act. They are additional to the number provided for in the South Africa Act.

17. The Representation of Natives Act also provides for the election of four Senators by the Native population of the Union. This election takes place indirectly through the medium of so-called voting units (e.g. chiefs, headmen, Native advisory boards, etc.) which vote in the name and on behalf of the ascertained number of male taxpayers in their respective areas of jurisdiction (except in the Transkei, where the United Transkeian Territories General Council acts as electoral college). The four electoral areas for this purpose are: the Transvaal and Orange Free State jointly, Natal, the Transkeian Territories and the Cape Province excluding the Transkeian Territories. In addition to these four elected Senators, the Bantu population has been indirectly represented in the Senate since 1910, inasmuch as four of the eight Senators nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council in terms of the South Africa Act, must be nominated especially on the grounds of their thorough "acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa".

18. The four elected Senators are additional to those provided for in the South Africa Act. They must be Europeans, and have the same rights, privileges, duties and obligations as the ordinary members of the Senate. It should also be mentioned here that the Act provides that whenever the Governor-General is convinced that civilisation and local administration have made progress among the Bantu to a stage that justifies extension of their representation in the Senate, he may by Proclamation, increase the number of Senators elected by the Bantu to six.

19. The Act of 1936 also made provision for the institution of a *Native Representative Council*; this Council was drawn from the entire Union, and consisted of 23 members [seven (European) official members, four nominated Bantu members and twelve elected Bantu members, chosen as indicated above in respect of the elected Senators]. The Council had purely advisory functions, and was intended to advise the Government touching such matters, for instance, as proposed legislation affecting the Bantu population, certain financial matters, etc. In 1946, the Council decided to adjourn on its own initiative as a protest against the Government's refusal to repeal all measures discriminating against non-Europeans in South Africa immediately. Proposals made subsequently by the Prime Minister of that time (Field Marshal J. C. Smuts), to extend the powers of the Council, were rejected by that body, and after a final attempt by the Government elected in 1948, had been received with the same irreconcilable attitude, the Council was legally abolished (by the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951).

B. REPRESENTATION ON LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES.

20. As regards urban local authorities (town councils, village boards, etc.), the position in the various provinces is as follows.

21. In the Cape Province, there is no discrimination on the basis of race or colour in terms of the relative Ordinances (Ordinance No. 19 of 1951 in respect of Municipalities, No. 10 of 1921 in respect of Village Management Boards, No. 11 of 1921 in respect of Local Boards). The franchise is based on ownership or occupation of property. In view of the fact, however, that the Bantu, in accordance with the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, may not obtain title to land in an urban area or rural township (as defined in the Act), and, furthermore, may be compelled (save for certain exceptions) to reside in a municipal location or "Native village", they are in effect excluded from the municipal franchise (and consequently from membership of the aforementioned local authorities).

22. In Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Municipal franchise is coupled with the Parliamentary Electoral Roll (in addition to other property and/or occupation qualifications). As explained above, the Bantu do not have the Parliamentary franchise in these provinces. (Ordinance No. 21 of 1942 for Natal; Ordinance No. 4 of 1927 as amended by Ordinance No. 19 of 1950 for the Transvaal; Ordinance No. 6 of 1948 for the Orange Free State).

23. As far as divisional councils in the Cape Province are concerned, the position is the same as that dealt with above in respect of municipalities in this province (Ordinance No. 15 of 1952). In the Transvaal, there is the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board (Ordinance No. 20 of 1943) the members of which are nominated by the Administrator and are all Europeans. In Natal, the members of the Local Health Commission (Ordinance No. 20 of 1941 as amended) are Europeans. The Commission may create Advisory Committees for public health areas, the members of which are elected by the inhabitants; some of these consist of Bantu members, while some others comprise members of various racial groups.

24. As regards other statutory bodies, the general policy followed in this connection seems to be that membership of boards, commissions, etc. appointed by the Central Government or the Provincial Administrations, is limited to Europeans, either by convention or by statutory provision. Two of the five non-official members nominated by the Minister of Education, Arts and Science to serve on the Union Advisory Board for Native Education, established in terms of Act No. 29 of 1945, are Bantu.

C. BANTU BODIES.

25. A number of Bantu statutory bodies with limited powers exists, for example Native Advisory Boards in urban areas instituted in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945; Local Authorities instituted in terms of section 30 of the Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927 (there is only one such local authority in existence at the moment namely in respect of the Vryheid East Township in Natal), and the Alexandra Health Board, on which one Bantu serves as member.

26. As already mentioned, a large number of Bantu bodies having relatively extensive—although naturally limited—functions and powers exists in the Bantu Areas. These are dealt with in Chapter 17.

II. OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS.

27. Apart from the political rights named above, the following facts may be mentioned as regards general civil rights:—

- (i) In terms of the South African Citizenship Act 1949, the Bantu population, like members of other population groups, have Union citizenship, and are thus Union citizens. In terms of *constitutional law*, therefore, no distinction is made, and this fact naturally implies equality of persons, property and rights;
- (ii) all individuals of all population groups are equal in the eyes of the law and receive equal protection from the law, this implies that nobody can be illegally deprived of his liberty or held in slavery, or is exposed to arbitrary arrest, detention or banishment; that any person may apply to our courts for redress when he is threatened in the possession of his goods or when his person, honour or reputation is violated; and that the South African courts are accessible to all persons on an equal basis;
- (iii) every person has the right to work;

- (iv) every person (except a lunatic) has the right to marry and procreate children. Marriages and extra-marital sexual relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans are prohibited;
- (v) there is complete religious freedom in South Africa;
- (vi) the Bantu, like other population groups, have the full right to form either amongst themselves or together with members of other population groups:—
 - (a) organisations of a political nature (for example the A.N.C., the Liberal Party, etc.);
 - (b) in the economic sphere, companies, etc. (subject to the general legislation concerned,

to the provisions of the Group Areas Act and of other relevant legislation dealing with the acquisition of rights to land etc. by such companies); also (unregistered) trade unions, mutual aid societies, etc.; and

- (c) all kinds of associations and societies in the social sphere; and
- (vii) as regards the issue of passports etc., there is no discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

28. In a general sense, therefore, it can be said that, as regards these wider civil rights, there is no differentiation between the various population groups, and that in this respect the Bantu are substantially in no worse position than the other population groups.

CHAPTER 9

POSITION OF THE BANTU IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

I. THE PRESENT ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK OF THE UNION.

For the purpose of this report, the most important characteristics of the present economic framework of the Union may be briefly indicated as follows:

A. POPULATION AND NATIONAL INCOME.

1. The South African economy is dynamic as regards both population and national income, as appears from the considerable increase in the population from 7,489,000 in 1924 to 12,912,000 in 1952 and from the still greater rate of growth of the geographical national income, namely from £222 million in 1924 to £1,244 million in 1952 (or, expressed in 1938 money values, from £201 million in 1924 to £650 million in 1952). This higher rate of growth of the "real" national income (i.e. as expressed in 1938 money values) in relation to the rate of growth of the population, has brought about a considerable rise in the "real" *per capita* income, namely from £26·8 in 1924 to £50·3 in 1952—that is to say, a rise of almost 88 per cent in the material standard of living (or an average of 2·27 per cent per annum over this period).

2. This is a high rate of increase, and in its report No. 282 the Board of Trade and Industry showed that during the inter-war period the real national income of the Union rose faster than that of the United States, Sweden or other parts of the Commonwealth. The Board puts it as follows:—

“ Again, between 1918-19 and 1937-38 the real net national income of South Africa increased by 128 per cent, Canada by 33 per cent, the United States of America by 24 per cent, and Sweden by 86 per cent. It is true that the population growth was relatively more rapid in South Africa, but even allowing for this we find that between 1918-19 and 1937-38 the real national income per head of the

total population increased as follows: South Africa by 53 per cent, Canada by 2 per cent, United States of America by 4 per cent, and Sweden by 74 per cent. It should be kept in mind that the United States of America, and Canada felt the depression of 1937-38 much more than did either South Africa or Sweden.”

B. ECONOMIC SECTORS.

1. Occupational Distribution of the Population.

3. Dynamic changes also characterise the participation of the population in the various sectors of economic activity. It is possible to establish the following trends from the Occupational and Industrial Censuses of 1936 and 1946:—

- (i) A considerable percentage shift of all races out of agriculture. From 1936 to 1946 the percentage of economically-active European males engaged in agriculture decreased from 30·2 per cent to 23·7 per cent, Bantu males from 62·3 per cent to 57·5 per cent, Coloured males from 50 per cent to 42·6 per cent and Asiatics from 29·5 per cent to 19·7 per cent.
- (ii) A more or less constant percentage of all races in mining. The percentage of economically-active European males engaged in mining only varied from 7·8 per cent to 7·7 per cent, Bantu males from 17·1 per cent to 17·3 per cent, Coloured males from 1·7 per cent to 1·2 per cent and Asiatics from 1·5 per cent to 0·9 per cent.
- (iii) A considerable percentage shift to manufacturing industry of European males (from 17·6 per cent to 22·8 per cent of the economically-active European males), Coloureds (males from 21·2 per cent to 27·9 per cent, females from 8·1 per cent to 16·5 per cent) and Asiatics (males from 17·5 per cent to 27·9 per cent,

females from 8.3 per cent to 19.5 per cent). In the case of the Bantu, the percentage showed only a slight increase and for Bantu females a decline (from 22.4 per cent to 19.2 per cent—possibly as a result of less economic pressure to work in factories).

- (iv) A considerable shift of Bantu to tertiary industries (males 11.5 per cent to 15.8 per cent, females 13.5 per cent to 21.1 per cent), an almost constant percentage for Europeans (males 44.4 per cent to 45.8 per cent, females 74.4 per cent to 74.9 per cent) as well as for Coloured males (27.1 per cent to 28.3 per cent) and Asiatic males (51.7 per cent to 51.5 per cent) and an exodus, relatively speaking, of Coloured females (88.9 per cent to 76.2 per cent) and Asiatic females (61.2 per cent to 50 per cent)—possibly from domestic service to factories.

4. Summing up, therefore, it appears that a relative shift has taken place from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors, and there are various indications that these trends have continued since 1946. Such a shift is characteristic of the development of western countries.

2. Contributions of the various Sectors to the National Income.

5. Dynamic changes in the economic structure are also evident from the trends in respect of the relative contributions of the various sectors to the national income. From 1912 to 1952, the percentage contribution of agriculture diminished from 16.1 per cent to 14.8 per cent and the contribution of mining from 27.6 per cent to 13.2 per cent, while there was an uninterrupted trend towards a strongly rising percentage contribution on the part of manufacturing industry, namely from 6.9 per cent in 1912 to 23.6 per cent in 1952 in the case of private undertakings. The percentage contribution of the tertiary sector remained more or less constant, namely 49.4 per cent in 1912 and 48.4 per cent in 1952. The economic development of the Union is, therefore, characterised by the rapid rise of secondary industry from the least to the most important branch of industry in terms of output—truly an "Industrial Revolution".

6. Further light is thrown on the nature and magnitude of this industrial revolution by data compiled by the Industrial Census Section of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, from which it appears that during the period 1916-17 to 1948-49 the number of establishments in secondary industry increased by 169 per cent and the number of employees by 442 per cent, while the money value of the net product rose by 1,400 per cent (that is to say, by 451 per cent per establishment and 177 per cent per employee) and the volume of output by 900 per cent. This growth has been experienced in every branch of industry—viz. in 14 out of the 17 classes of industry an expansion of more than 300 per cent occurred in employment, and also in 14 cases an expansion of more than 1,000 per cent in the value of the net output.

C. GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATION.

7. The economic structure of the Union is also characterised by an increasing concentration of secondary industry and population in four main regions,

namely the Southern Transvaal, Western Cape, Durban—Pinetown and Port Elizabeth—Uitenhage. In 1916-17, 70.3 per cent of the net output of the Union's secondary industry was concentrated in these four regions, and in 1948-49 as much as 83.7 per cent, while the concentration of industrial workers there rose from 55 per cent to 77.9 per cent of the total for the country. The predominant concentration has occurred in the Southern Transvaal, which produced as much as 45.9 per cent of the net industrial output of the Union and housed as many as 44.2 per cent of its industrial workers in 1948-49. As regards population, it appears that in 1951, 32.1 per cent of the total population of the Union was concentrated in these four regions (55.4 per cent of the European and 21.4 per cent of the Bantu population); one-third of the Europeans and nearly one-sixth of the Bantu population were concentrated in the Southern Transvaal alone.

D. EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

8. The further growth of population which may be anticipated in the Union has already been discussed in Chapter 7, and if the maximal estimate for non-Europeans and the minimal estimate for Europeans are realised, the total will amount to 31,248,000 at the close of the century (compared with 12,912,000 in 1952). It may, therefore, be expected that the dynamic impetus imparted to the South African economy by the growth of the population will continue. The possible future composition of the population, namely between 4,588,000 and 6,150,000 Europeans, 21,361,000 Bantu, 3,917,000 Coloured people and 1,382,000 Asiatics, must also be borne in mind in the course of further discussion in this chapter of the skilled and unskilled manpower available in the Union.

9. It may also be anticipated that the relative shift of population from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy will continue; estimates made by the Committee on the Planning of Industries in and near the Bantu Areas (appointed by the Minister of Native Affairs in 1951) foreshadow that the portion of the economically-active population engaged in agriculture will decline from 49.3 per cent in 1946 to 29.9 per cent at the close of the century and in mining from 10.2 per cent to 5.9 per cent; in contrast with this, a rise from 10.7 per cent to 22.4 per cent in manufacturing industry and from 29.8 per cent to 41.8 per cent in respect of participation in tertiary industries, is anticipated.

10. The said Committee also pointed out that if the trend towards concentration were to continue at the same rate as during the period 1911-1951, by the year 2,000 the Southern Transvaal would have a population of 10.6 million (of whom 2.6 million would be Europeans and 7.4 million Bantu), the Western Cape 4.7 million (0.7 million Europeans and 2.3 million Bantu), Durban—Pinetown 2.4 million (0.4 million Europeans and 1 million Bantu), and Port Elizabeth—Uitenhage 3.5 million (0.5 million Europeans and 2.5 million Bantu)—altogether approximately 74 per cent of the total anticipated population. However, the Committee also stated that it was not prepared to accept that the present rate of concentration could continue, and that it anticipated that factors would come into operation spontaneously which would lead to a lowered rate of concentration, so that possibly only 42 per cent of the total population instead of the 74 per cent

mentioned above, would be concentrated in the regions named. From these percentages, therefore, it appears what kind of situation may be created if deliberate action is not taken to plan the spatial distribution of economic activity, as has already been done in various other countries (for example in Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, etc.).

II. THE POSITION OF THE BANTU IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

A. THE BANTU AS PRODUCERS.

11. The rôle of the Bantu as producers (both as entrepreneurs and employees), is examined hereafter in respect of each of the occupational sectors. The data employed, are based on the Occupational Census of 1946.

Where the earnings of the Bantu as workers are measured against those of other population groups in the subsequent discussion, it must be remembered that in various respects the average earnings are not comparable, seeing that as a result of differences in skill, productivity, labour turnover, etc., the figures as a rule do not relate to the same kind of labour activity.

1. In Agriculture (including Forestry).

12. As entrepreneurs in agriculture—mainly as small farmers—the Bantu overshadow all the other races taken together in the numerical proportion of 17 to 1 and as employees in the ratio 7 to 1. Sixty-six per cent of all Bantu engaged in agriculture in 1946, were entrepreneurs and 34 per cent. employees. It must also be borne in mind that Bantu employees on European farms should also be regarded as part-time entrepreneurs to a considerable extent, seeing that they receive grazing and cultivation rights as part of their remuneration (their output in 1950-51 amounted to as much as £5·8 million compared with £11·5 million produced by agriculture in the Bantu Areas).

13. *The Bantu as agricultural entrepreneurs.*—In 1946, there were 644,739 male and 1,428,617 female Bantu peasants or small farmers. Bantu farming in the Bantu Areas is discussed in detail in Chapter 19; here it may merely be mentioned that as regards the chief cereals, in 1949-50, the Bantu had 1,742,361 morgen under cultivation in the Bantu Areas and 700,783 morgen on European farms (compared with 6,043,737 morgen cultivated by Europeans). Productivity is low, for although the land is in no way inferior, the maize output of Bantu in the Bantu Areas, was for example, 2·5 bags per morgen as against 4·8 bags per morgen obtained by Bantu on European farms, and 6·6 bags obtained by Europeans. While Bantu on European farms enjoy the advantage of their employers' implements, tractors, veld control etc., Agricultural Census figures indicate a lack of capital equipment in the Bantu Areas. The ownership of livestock by the Bantu, however, is important in terms of numbers, and in 1950 amounted to 41 per cent. of the country's cattle, 11·7 per cent. of its sheep, 48·2 per cent. of its pigs and 65·9 per cent. of its goats. Nevertheless, qualitative differences must be taken into account, and from a soil conservation point of view, the large numbers of livestock are not purely an asset. It is especially striking that despite the pressure of

population, the production of potatoes and sweet potatoes in the Bantu Areas is exceptionally small. Fruit farming also is very limited.

14. *The Bantu as agricultural employees.*—The Bantu are the preponderant source of manpower in the Union's agriculture (1,058,407 workers in 1946) and their productivity in this capacity is a good deal higher than where they function as agricultural entrepreneurs. In a number of representative regions, the average total income of a Bantu farm labourer (resident on European-owned land) for the year 1949-50, was estimated at about £83, to which the wages of other members of the family must be added to obtain the family income, while the annual family income of farming families in the Bantu Areas, was estimated at £43, namely £22 from farming and £21 from outside work.

2. In Mining.

15. *The Bantu as mining entrepreneurs.*—Owing to the high demands it makes in regard to capital, technical knowledge and organising ability, mining in the Union is undertaken almost exclusively by companies, and with the exception of a limited number of diggers, the Bantu have hitherto played no part as entrepreneurs in mining. Still, as is shown in Chapters 12 and 20, mineral deposits do occur in the Bantu Areas; these are either not exploited or they are exploited by European companies subject to the payment of royalties to the Trust or to the Bantu tribe on whose land the deposits occur.

16. *The Bantu as employees in the Mining Industry.*—The economic importance of Bantu workers in the mining industry is evident from the fact that in 1946 they numbered 426,724, which furnishes a numerical proportion of 14:1 as against the other races taken together. As far as supervision and skilled labour are concerned, the Bantu play no part, but in regard to semi-skilled labour (3,416 Bantu, that is to say 3·4:1 as compared with other population groups) and especially as regards unskilled labour (422,391), they are of preponderant importance. In 1949, the average cash wage of Bantu employees in the mining industry was £47·9, and if the value of remuneration in kind is added, an average total earning of approximately £90 per annum is obtained.

3. In Secondary Industry.

17. *The Bantu as entrepreneurs.*—According to the Industrial Census there were only 24 Bantu working owners of industrial undertakings in 1945-46 (the census only includes undertakings which use steam, electrical or other mechanical power, or which employ at least three persons full-time). Data in respect of smaller undertakings are not available, but the fact that there is a rising trend, appears, for instance, from the increase in the number of Bantu bakeries and mills in the Bantu Areas from 37 in 1946, to 114 in 1952. The causes of the present minor rôle of the Bantu as industrial entrepreneurs, appear to be in the main their lack of technical knowledge, capital, organising ability and initiative. In addition, there is a lack of special facilities for industry in the Bantu Areas as well as in Bantu townships in European areas. In European areas, restrictions on land tenure might also be a limiting factor.

18. *The Bantu as employees in secondary industry.*
Numbers.—Bantu employment in secondary industry rose by 625 per cent from 1916-17 to 1948-49, that is to say, from 46,800 to 339,600, and since then the numbers have increased still further. In 1948-49, 50·7 per cent of all industrial workers were Bantu as compared with 37·7 per cent in 1916-17. If present trends continue, this numerical preponderance will increase still further. This is especially to be expected in view of the fact that, notwithstanding the great increase in the past, only 9·4 per cent of the economically-active Bantu population was employed in industry in 1946, and those who are still outside the industrial sphere will, according to present trends, be absorbed in large numbers in future industrial expansion. According to estimates of the occupational distribution of the population in the year 2,000 (by the Committee named above), if expectations are realised, in that year there will be 1,700,000 Bantu employed in factories, as compared with 421,500 Europeans, 416,600 Coloured persons and 95,000 Asiatics.

In 1948-49, female Bantu employees constituted only 6 per cent of all female employees in industry, that is to say, 0·7 per cent, of the total number of employees. These data must be viewed in the light of the limited part played by female workers in Union industries; in 1948-49, they constituted only 11 per cent of the total number of employees, as compared with 31·5 per cent. in Britain, 25 per cent in New Zealand and 24·5 per cent in Australia.

The Commission arrived at the conclusion that few Bantu from the northern neighbouring territories, are employed in urban factories (though possibly considerable number from the Protectorates), but considerable numbers in rural industries.

Geographical Concentration.

In 1948-49, 60 per cent of industrial workers in the Southern Transvaal were Bantu, in the Western Cape 23·8 per cent (only 4·3 per cent in 1916-17), in Durban-Pinetown 50·6 per cent and in Port Elizabeth 35·2 per cent. 75·3 per cent of all Bantu industrial workers in the Union were concentrated in these four regions (52·3 per cent in the Southern Transvaal alone).

Nature of Work.

On the basis of an analysis of available data, the Commission presents the following as an approximate estimate of the distribution of industrial workers in 1951:—

Skilled labourers: 85 per cent Europeans, 5 per cent Bantu, 10 per cent other races.

Semi-skilled labourers: 30 per cent Europeans, 40 per cent Bantu, 30 per cent other races.

Unskilled labourers: 1 per cent Europeans, 85 per cent Bantu, 14 per cent other races.

Of the Bantu industrial workers themselves apparently 1 per cent to 2 per cent were skilled; although the Bantu, therefore, still compare unfavourably with the Europeans, the Commission wishes to emphasise that these data, considered against the background of their traditions and history, indicate surprising progress.

It may further be stated that the slight use made of Bantu as skilled workers, cannot be attributed to inherent unsuitability for this type of work or to the existence of an adequate number of European and other skilled workers to meet the demand. The causes seem to be the lack on the part of the Bantu (particularly those newcomers who annually enter industrial employment) of a technological tradition, the "conventional" colour bar (for practical purposes there is no legal colour bar in secondary industry), and the high costs it would involve for the employer if he had to pay "equal wages for equal work", when the Bantu in general do not perform work of the same quality as the European. In addition, the existing facilities for Bantu to receive the technical instruction which is a condition of apprenticeship, would be inadequate to provide for a large extension of Bantu apprenticeship, even if the other factors were to permit it. The provision for the principle of the "closed shop" in various industrial agreements, might also lead to exclusion where Bantu are not members of the trade unions recognised in the agreement.

It also appears that there is a strong trend towards an increase of the number of Bantu in semi-skilled occupations. This may be attributed to the relative shift of Europeans, Coloured persons and Asiatics, to skilled occupations, to supply the demand there, to the creation, as the result of mechanisation, of a greater number of machine posts (involving repetitive work for which the Bantu possess particular aptitude), and to a measure of reclassification of some skilled and unskilled jobs as semi-skilled.

Wages.

As shown by the Commission on Industrial Legislation, in the case of manufacturing industry the percentage of total income paid out as wages has risen since the second world war, and unskilled and semi-skilled wages have risen more than skilled wages. Despite the fact that the percentage of unskilled workers among them has increased, the average wage of Bantu employees in secondary industry has, therefore, increased in absolute value as well as in relation to that of Europeans. In 1948-49, it amounted to £110 per annum as compared with £450 in the case of Europeans (in 1938-39 it was £46·3 as against £228·9). This rise is partly attributable, naturally, to the rise in the general price level, and if the retail price index is applied, a deflated Bantu wage of £73 for 1948-49 is obtained, compared with £47 in 1938-39. As far as the differences between average Bantu and European wages are concerned, the cause must chiefly be sought in the nature of the work performed, seeing that the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act prohibit wage differentiation on the grounds of race or colour of the worker. In addition, wage levels depend in the final instance, on the productivity of labour.

4. *In Tertiary Occupations.*

a. Commerce.

19. *The Bantu as entrepreneurs in commerce.*—From the Census of Distribution and Service Establishments, it appears that in 1945-46, there was only one Bantu enterprise (a sole trader) in the wholesale trade; as compared with this there were 893 European sole traders and 580 partnerships, 73 Asiatic sole

traders and 91 partnerships, 2 Coloured sole traders and 1 partnership, and 2,515 companies and other forms of enterprise. It is, therefore, clear that the Bantu as yet, play no part in the wholesale trade. In the retail trade only 891 institutions were in the hands of Bantu entrepreneurs out of a total of 33,065, i.e. 2.7 per cent, and they were mainly confined to so-called "Bantu shops" (general dealers who mainly serve Bantu), grocers' shops, butchers, hawkers and pedlars. A study of these "Bantu shops" (which form 42.5 per cent of all shops owned by Bantu) shows, *inter alia*, that the sole trader is the predominant form of enterprise (92.9 per cent), that they are smaller in terms of average turnover than the Bantu shops owned by other racial groups (namely £2,764 compared with £7,120 for Europeans), that the average stock is also smaller (£390 as compared with £1,694 in the case of Europeans) but the rate of turnover is much higher (7.1 as against 4.2 for Europeans), and that, although the net profit is smaller both as amount and as percentage of income, it is higher in terms of return on capital (11.3 per cent as compared with 8.2 per cent in the case of Europeans). The Bantu's principal problems are evidently insufficient capital, credit facilities, training and technical guidance as well as inability to apply more advanced forms of enterprise. In view of the numerical strength of the Bantu group and the inherent capabilities already displayed by the Bantu, it may be expected, however, that both the retail and wholesale trade will constitute a promising field of activity for them.

20. *The Bantu as employees in commerce.*—In 1946-47 Bantu males constituted 51.2 per cent of the male workers in the wholesale trade and 56.7 per cent in the retail trade, and Bantu females 3.2 per cent and 2.8 per cent of the female workers respectively. The vast majority, namely 89 per cent, were unskilled workers. The average wage for Bantu males was £108 per year in the wholesale trade and £90 in the retail trade, and females earned £58 and £52 respectively. (There were large variations between different occupations, for example, from £24 to £132 per annum in the case of Bantu women). With the expansion of the purchasing power and purchases of the Bantu, it may be anticipated, however, that they will be employed to an increasing extent in skilled and semi-skilled occupations in commerce, in order to serve the increasing Bantu clientele.

b. Finance.

21. *The Bantu as entrepreneurs.*—There are no registered commercial banks, credit banks, people's banks, or building societies owned and controlled by Bantu. There are, however, three savings institutions founded on the initiative of one of the large churches, and Bantu have already a large share in their management. There are also 17 co-operative credit associations in the Transkei which together showed deposits to the value of £17,405 at the end of 1952. There are one registered Bantu life insurance company and two registered funeral insurance companies. All three are established in European areas and two already have a number of branches; the auditors and actuaries are all European, the directorates are Bantu and the manager of the insurance company is a European. In addition, there are a number of so-called "Friendly

Societies" which mainly undertake funeral insurance, but details are not available. And in 1946, the occupations of 6 Bantu were listed as "moneylenders and pawnbrokers".

22. *The Bantu as employees.*—From the data for "commerce and finance" jointly, it appears that in 1946, there were no Bantu employed as bankers, bank officials, directors or company secretaries; there were only 32 bookkeepers, 7 cashiers, 48 speculators, 40 typists and stenographers, 58 secretaries of clubs and institutions, and 3,762 clerks (the latter represent an increase of 112 per cent since 1936).

c. Transport and Communications.

23. *The Bantu as entrepreneurs.*—It would appear that Bantu have already become active to a significant extent as entrepreneurs in the sphere of Transport; the Occupational Census, for example, showed 356 Bantu transport contractors and carriers in 1946. The Commission encountered a considerable number or relatively prosperous undertakings, but also cases of failure (mainly due to lack of capital, but also to lack of training and knowledge—even solely to lack of self-discipline).

24. *The Bantu as employees.*—In 1946, 51.7 per cent of the employees in this occupational group were Bantu, and 88.8 per cent of them were unskilled workers. Three per cent of all economically-active Bantu were engaged in these occupations (that is to say, 116,756).

d. Professions, Amusements and Sport.

25. In 1946, only 1.1 per cent of the economically-active Bantu were engaged in this sphere. There were more Bantu than Europeans in the following occupations: Policemen (11,037 Bantu as compared with 6,711 Europeans), Ministers and Priests (4,275 Bantu males compared with 3,655 European males) Bantu "Doctors" (1,178 as compared with 37), Translators and Interpreters (289 as against 135) and Witchdoctors (191, no Europeans). There were also 14,002 Bantu teachers, 4,552 hospital officials and 1,030 prison warders. Only 74 Bantu were listed as technicians, 43 as medical doctors, 32 as librarians, 19 pharmaceutical chemists or druggists, 13 advocates, and 8 professors and lecturers. No Bantu were listed in the military professions or in those of actuary, auditor and accountant, dentist, health inspector, surveyor, veterinary surgeon or engineer. Thus, the Bantu have as yet, hardly entered the technical occupations at all, and in view of their numerical ratio to the total population of the Union, this appears to be a state of affairs which will not continue.

e. Service Institutions.

26. In this group (restaurants, boarding houses, etc.), the Bantu's rôle as entrepreneur, has still been limited. There were 39,776 Bantu employees in 1946-47 (48.8 per cent of the total), 24,559 of whom were employed in the hotel business. Among them there were 2,414 chefs and cooks (57.6 per cent of the total) and 5,033 waiters (36.4 per cent).

(f) *Domestic Service and Other Occupations.*

27. In 1946, there were 155,283 male and 437,358 female Bantu in domestic service, i. e. 5·8 per cent. of the male and 20·1 per cent. of the female economically-active Bantu (together they formed 88·7 per cent. of the total of all races in domestic service). Total remuneration in 1946-47, was £7. 6s. 0d. per month for males and £7 for females, and in 1952, £8. 18s. 0d. and £8. 13s. 0d. respectively. As regards other occupations, it is only necessary to mention the large number of Bantu employed as watchmen, namely 6,391 in 1946.

(g) *Conclusions.*

28. It appears, therefore, that the Bantu play an important part in every branch of industry as unskilled workers, and that at present they make their most important contribution in this capacity. There is also a gradual upward movement towards semi-skilled labour, but in spite of this, the number of unskilled workers is continually increasing as a result of new arrivals from the tribal areas. This influx delays the upward movement of the Bantu, because it delays mechanisation and consequently the creation of semi-skilled machinist posts. The increasing demand for skilled workers has so far been met by the upward movement of other races, but their numbers are limited. Within the present pattern of development, however, the large-scale employment of Bantu in skilled occupations cannot be visualised as a possibility within the foreseeable future, and could only take place if a new pattern of development were to be created. Only in agriculture is the Bantu of importance as an entrepreneur, but here and there, there are encouraging signs of an awakening capacity for enterprise. Their deficiencies in respect of capital, organising ability and technical knowledge will, however, have to be made good in order to unlock the potentialities which the Bantu may possess in this sphere.

B. THE BANTU AS SUPPLIER OF CAPITAL AND AS LANDOWNER.

29. On 30th April, 1952, Bantu had £16,000,000 invested in savings institutions and owned insurance policies with an insurance value of £8,500,000. To this must be added their capital investment in their own undertakings, houses and improvements as well as the capital value of the considerable numbers of livestock and of the agricultural implements, vehicles etc. in the possession of Bantu. On the whole, however, capital ownership and formation by Bantu is still limited in relation to their numbers.

30. As regards land ownership, a full description of the Bantu Areas which covered ± 17,500,000 morgen in 1951 and include some of the most valuable parts of the Union, is given in Chapter 11.

C. THE BANTU AS CONSUMER.

31. In Chapter 24, the *per capita* income of the Bantu in 1946-47, is estimated at £23·2, compared with £69·3 for all races. These figures are not strictly comparable in terms of welfare, seeing that the Bantu's pattern of values differs in a considerable degree and that in their case, many goods and services are

provided on a family and tribal basis which other population groups have to procure on the market. Regarded from the point of view of the consumers' market, the purchasing power of the Bantu is relatively limited, but if the fact is taken into account that in 1946-47, the sum of £138,000,000 was paid to them in wages alone, it must, nevertheless, exercise a considerable influence. Their propensity to consume, is also large, as a result of the fact that their average income is still low.

III. GOVERNMENT AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REAL INCOME OF THE BANTU.

A. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

32. The income of the Bantu as employees or entrepreneurs is augmented by the amount by which expenditure on Bantu welfare from State and other funds exceeds their own contributions to these funds. From budgetary data and supplementary information furnished to the Commission for the year 1951-52, directly assignable expenditure for the advancement of Bantu welfare (for instance pensions, health services, education etc.) may be conservatively estimated at £24,817,500 by central and provincial administrations, £350,000 by local authorities (after deduction of income contributed by Bantu) and £3,456,500 by private organisations (the gold mining industry, a few welfare organisations, the churches and individual industrial undertakings)—a total of £28,624,000 or £3. 7s. 1d. per head of the Bantu population. As regards non-assignable expenditure, that is to say, expenditure on general administration (police, justice, defence, transport and communications), it could be said that the European derives most of the benefit from it, judging by the income differential and other circumstances of living. Taking this into account and applying the method of calculation used by the Native Economic Commission, the portion of such expenditure by Union and Provincial Administrations, which can be allotted to the Bantu, amounts to £16,157,000. This figure is at least not exaggerated, but the Commission does not wish to attach much importance to it; it merely wishes to contrast it with its estimate of the Bantu contribution, namely £2,000,000 in direct taxation, £280,000 in pass and compound fees, £295,000 in rents etc. paid to the S.A. Native Trust, £5,500,000 in indirect taxation, £1,042,000 in licence fees, fines, prison labour, etc., and £560,000 to provincial authorities—a total contribution of £9,677,000 to the income of Union and Provincial authorities. This amount may be regarded as a maximum estimate of the Bantu's contribution, but notwithstanding this, the Commission, in accordance with the above observation, will accept that the contribution of the Bantu may be balanced against the general administrative expenditure incurred in their interest. Although the net amount transferred by the non-Bantu population to the Bantu, will thereby evidently be underestimated, the Commission will leave both these amounts out of account, and states that through the budgets of the various authorities and certain private organisations, a net amount of at least £28,624,000 is made over to the Bantu population, that is to say, an addition to their income of £3. 7s. 1d. *per capita* or a little more than £20 per family per annum.

B. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS OF OFFICIAL EXPENDITURE ON HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

33. Comparison of the *per capita* government expenditure (*all races*) on health and education in certain other countries with the *per capita* expenditure for the Bantu population alone in the Union (a basis of comparison which, therefore, favours other African states), shows that the expenditure of the Union in 1951-52 (health £1. 6s. 11d. education 15s. 9d.) was much higher than that of Kenya (1950: 5s. 1d. and 4s. respectively), Nigeria (1949-50: 1s. 2d. and 1s. 8d.), Uganda (1950: 2s. 4d. and 2s. 3d.), the Gold Coast (1949-50: 4s. 6d. and 6s. 1d.), Nyasaland (1950: 1s. 7d. and 1s. 6d.), Tanganyika (1950: 1s. 10d. and 1s. 2d.) and the Belgian Congo (1950: 5s. 8d. and 3s. 8d.). For Southern and Northern Rhodesia, it was possible to calculate the expenditure on Bantu education separately; in Southern Rhodesia it amounted to 6s. 7d. (1951) and in Northern Rhodesia to 6s. 6d. (1950); health expenditure on all races was 13s. 9d. *per capita* in Southern Rhodesia and 12s. 5d. in Northern Rhodesia in the said years. By way of comparison the expenditure in Peru, namely 2s. 10d. on health and 9s. 7d. on education (1950), and India, namely 0s. 2.2d. for health and education together (1950/51) may likewise be mentioned.

IV. COMPARISON OF *PER CAPITA* NATIONAL INCOMES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

34. Differences in methods of calculation in price levels (as far as these are not expressed in the exchange rates) and in habits and customs, must be borne in

mind in international comparisons of *per capita* income. With this reservation, it may be pointed out that the *per capita* income of the Bantu in the Union, namely £19.64 in 1946-47 according to conventional calculation, or £23.17, if that portion of the production of the subsistence sector which does not enter into the market, is included in the calculation, is much higher than that of the northern neighbouring states, namely £8.59 in Southern Rhodesia (1946), £5.09 in Northern Rhodesia (1946), £5.93 in Kenya (1949) and £9.57 in the Belgian Congo (1950). The income differential is also the smallest in the Union, since in comparison with the above-mentioned *per capita* Bantu incomes, the *per capita* incomes of the non-Bantu populations in the years named, were as follows: Union £169.96, Southern Rhodesia £366.65, Northern Rhodesia £525.21 and Kenya £250.63 (this figure is not available for the Belgian Congo). The inequality remains smallest in the Union even if Indians and Coloured persons are excluded and the Bantu is only compared with the European. Further, it may also be noted that the Bantu in the Union possibly enjoy a somewhat better living than the average inhabitant of India, where the *per capita* income amounted to £19.14 in 1948-49—especially if the additions to the income of the Bantu by way of official budgets, are taken into account.

CHAPTER 10

THE EXTRA-UNION NATIVE

I. THE REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION.

1. Natives from territories outside the Union, like all other immigrants, are subject to the Immigration Act of 1913, as amended by Acts Nos. 15 of 1931 and 27 of 1937. According to the definition of a "prohibited immigrant" in these laws, it is possible for Natives to enter the Union, provided it takes place in terms of a treaty with a neighbouring state, or in accordance with a scheme for recruitment and repatriation approved by the Minister.

In accordance herewith, certain agreements have actually been concluded with Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to regulate the recruitment of workers for the Transvaal mines.

2. Natives from the High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, as well as from South West Africa, are not regarded as aliens or immigrants for administrative purposes.

3. The recruitment of labourers for the mines is undertaken by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and the Native Recruiting Corporation. These bodies are also responsible for the care of the

recruits when they arrive at their new places of employment. The operational spheres of the recruiters are subject to strict limitations.

4. The sojourn of Natives who have entered the Union clandestinely, is regularised by the issue of a permit to them after they have obtained employment.

5. Legislation is designed to exclude extra-Union Natives from the urban areas. In view of the fact that peri-urban areas do not form part of the prohibited area, these Natives are inclined to concentrate within such areas. Stricter control measures are gradually being applied and Natives who have entered the Union clandestinely, are frequently confronted with a choice between accepting employment on a farm or being deported.

6. The effective control of immigration on the extensive frontiers of the Union appears to be an impossible task. The desire to work in the Union is so strong that they (extra-Union Natives) cannot be excluded from the country, despite all measures. We find an indication of this in the fact that only a minority of the extra-Union Natives in the Union

at present, arrived here as a result of recruiting. The others flocked here on their own initiative. Because of the ethnical and linguistic relationship, the extra-Union Natives cannot always be distinguished from the Bantu of the Union.

7. The authorities in neighbouring territories are making attempts at controlling the efflux; and these measures together with development in those territories, may mean that the influx of labourers from abroad will not last for ever.

II. SIZE OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION.

8. In 1946, the immigrants or extra-Union Natives—by which is meant all those not born in the Union—numbered 539,000. On the basis of various calculations, the Commission ascertained that at the time of the census of 1951, the number must have amounted to nearly 650,000. These figures imply that the number of foreign-born persons has been increasing since 1936, by a net number of immigrants amounting to approximately 21,000 per annum, which is much higher than the annual addition of only 3,600 during the period 1921-1936. This change is associated with the tempo of industrial development in the Union.

9. In the absence of data which distinguish between temporary migrants and permanent settlers, it has been determined indirectly that about 65 per cent of the extra-Union Natives are temporary residents. This means that about a quarter of a million extra-Union Natives out of the 650,000 have already made their home in the Union, while 420,000 still fall within the second category of migratory labourers. The migration of temporary workers comprises an annual gross influx of about 278,000 persons and an efflux of 255,000 persons.

10. As far as can be established, there is in contrast with the large-scale influx, no migration of Union Bantu to neighbouring territories.

III. THE ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS.

11. Nearly all territories on the African continent supply emigrants to the Union. In order of importance, the sources of Bantu immigrants were as follows according to the census figures of 1946: Basutoland which furnished almost 200,000, Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), 141,000, Nyasaland 61,000, Southern and Northern Rhodesia 46,000, Bechuanaland 39,000, Swaziland 34,000, Angola and other Portuguese possessions 7,000, South West Africa 5,000. On a much smaller scale, they also come from Kenya, Tanganyika, Mauritius, St. Helena, Madagascar, Madeira, Belgian Congo, etc. A comparison of the latest figures with those for previous decades shows that the greatest increases have been recorded in the case of the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland and Bechuanaland Protectorate.

12. On account of their geographical situation, the dependence of their population on the Union as a source of employment, and the fact that officially they are not regarded as aliens, particular importance must be attached to migration from the three High Commission Territories.

On the basis of various calculations, the Commission found that a figure of 222,000 persons would not be an over-estimate for the potential population increase of Basutoland, which has been absorbed by the Union. It would appear as if, since 1936, the Union has absorbed nearly the entire natural increase of the population of Basutoland, either temporarily or permanently. The Union of South Africa is not only responsible for the livelihood of this number, but also provides part of the necessities of those families which remain behind. The Commission calculated that as a source of income, the Union is responsible for providing the means of existence of nearly one half of the population of Basutoland and their descendants (some of whom have naturally been born in the Union of South Africa).

The corresponding proportion in the case of Bechuanaland and Swaziland amount to one-fifth and one-third respectively.

Of all extra-Union Natives, the Natives from the High Commission Territories display the strongest inclination towards permanent settlement in the Union.

IV. CAUSES OF EMIGRATION TO THE UNION.

13. The influx of Natives is a function of the "push" emanating from the territories from which emigration takes place on account of their relatively lower level of development, as well as of the attractive power of the Union, arising from the high tempo of development of its mining and secondary industries. Consequently, the Union of South Africa in most cases offers higher wages than are paid elsewhere in Africa (at all events South of the Sahara); the ratio varies from 2:1 to 5:1.

14. The Northern neighbouring states thus "export" labour to the Union and obtain great economic advantages in exchange. The Commission estimated the value of the Union currency which the neighbouring countries earn by the "export" of labour, at £7 million a year. They also obtain indirect income as a result of clothing and other necessities being purchased by their Natives in the Union and taken home. Inasmuch as the migratory labourers who arrive in the Union, would in any case have had to be fed and clothed if they had remained in their own territories, the total earnings of extra-Union migratory labourers (in cash plus in kind) may be regarded as a contribution by the Union to the means of existence of the populations of its neighbouring territories. This amounts to almost £30 million a year and if all Natives born outside the Union are taken into account, the amount comes to nearly £43 million a year.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNION.

15. The largest influx of immigrants is directed towards the Transvaal, where, according to 1946 census figures, 76 per cent. of the non-indigenes were resident. Most of them were concentrated in the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and Vereeniging industrial complex. This must be attributed particularly to the presence of the gold mines and the large industrial development in the Southern Transvaal, while the location of this province in relation to the neighbouring states, may also be a contributory factor.

It appears that formerly the Basuto from Basutoland only sought work just across the border on the Free State farms, but that in the course of time the employment opportunities obtaining in the Transvaal became a stronger attractive force. The limited scope of immigration in the Cape Province and Natal may be the result of the presence of an internal source of labour in the Bantu Areas. The immigrants, however, are busy spreading over the entire Union as far as the Western Province.

16. The census of 1936 revealed that a little more than half the Natives born outside the Union, were resident in urban districts. More recent data are lacking, but to judge from the experience of the South African labour bureaux, the vast majority of new arrivals prefer urban spheres of work, and when they accept work on farms, it is often because there is no alternative way of being allowed to remain in the Union.

VI. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS.

17. Whereas the immigrants from the three High Commission Territories arrive in the Union as family units in many cases, the arrivals from other territories are almost exclusively males. Consequently, the masculinity ratio of the non-indigenous population is exceptionally high, namely, more than 4 to 1. More than 80 per cent. of the males fall within the age groups 20 to 49 years. The age concentration is less in the case of women, because to a greater extent, they arrive here as members of families.

18. The presence of large numbers of single men and the numerically-unbalanced sex ratio, tend to raise the birth-rate per woman in the urban areas of the Union. Taking their influence on the natural increase of the population into account, the Commission came to the conclusion that the immigrants were responsible for the fact that, in 1951, the Bantu population of South Africa numbered 950,000 more persons than it would have done in their absence.

19. Although Bantu witnesses disapproved of immigrant workers as a competitive force in the economic sphere, they did not object to their entry on other grounds.

VII. THEIR PLACE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY.

20. According to a tentative estimate by the Commission, there were approximately 210,000 extra-Union Natives connected with agriculture, 225,000 with mining, and 215,000 with secondary and tertiary industries in 1951. Naturally, not all of these 650,000 were actively employed; some of them represent children of families and non-working mothers. From a historical point of view, mining and agriculture were the predominant employers of extra-Union Natives until the thirties. Since then, the greatest part of the increase in their numbers, has been absorbed by the service industries and secondary industry.

The gold mining industry, where the labour force today comprises about 60 per cent non-Union Natives, has gradually become increasingly dependent on these foreign sources of labour. The Bantu of the Union are inclined to prefer employment in factories. In the course of its investigation of a number of undertakings, the Commission found that the management preferred foreign Natives because they were said to be more efficient workers. This superiority in the performance of work is a function of a particular combination of circumstances.

21. From a general economic point of view, the net immigration at the present tempo, means an annual addition of 21,000 to the supply of unskilled labour. This elastic source of labour helps to increase the flexibility of the South African economic system. In periods of prosperity and "boom" conditions, it serves as a medium to obviate relative scarcities of unskilled labour or to limit their intensity, while during depressions, the labour supply shrinks automatically. For the industrialist and the business man, the additional labour signifies that the elasticity of the labour supply is maintained or at all events, is not greatly decreased, so that wages need not be raised at all, or not much, to attract labour. For the indigenous or settled Native, on the other hand, this means that he must compete with the immigrants, to whom, rightly or wrongly, preference is frequently given. As a consequence of this, in all probability, his wage has risen less during the past few years than would have been the case in the absence of immigration.

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