MEMORANDUM

GOVERNMENT DECISIONS ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE BANTU AREAS WITHIN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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In connection with the Report of the Socio-Economic Commission it is necessary that the Government should make known its attitude in three respects.

I. On the work performed by the Commission in ascertaining and compiling all the relevant facts.

The factual material obtained by valuable basic research of a scientific nature and by the compilation of previously established but often inaccessible data (which together constitute the main objective aimed at in appointing such a commission) is accepted—not only as the basis of the findings and views of the Commission itself but also as a basis for the further development of ideas and the determination of policy, by the Government and the departments concerned, in so far as amplification may prove necessary.

- II. On the stand taken by the Commission on the general policy trends advocated for the country namely
 - (a) Integration or Apartheid (that is to say separate development), and
 - (b) the planned development of the Bantu Areas based on ethnic grouping.

The Government welcomes the unequivocal rejection of the policy of Integration and of any theories on a possible middle course, as well as the justification by the Commission of the policy of Apartheid (Separate Development) of the Government, gradually but purposefully applied. It also welcomes the endorsement of the standpoint of the Government, maintained through the years, that sufficiently rapid progress will have been made, and the further advancement of the process of separation guaranteed—in other words that security would be ensured for white civilization and opportunities created for both racial groups in all spheres, each in its own territory or among its own people—if after a period of fifty years an approximately equal proportion of whites and Bantu has been reached in European territory. The Government furthermore welcomes the support given its existing practice of planning and developing the Bantu Areas and the community life of the Bantu in such a way that they can serve their own people, and agrees that the pace should be steadily accelerated.

III. On the recommendations of the Commission on the administrative and other measures to attain the object in view.

Choice of the methods by which the agreed aims of the Commission and the Government may best be realised is obviously not, like the determination of facts, a matter of scientific proof but of individual judgment. The Government appreciates the views expressed by the members of the Commission in this respect and carefully weighs each theory and recommendation. In addition the Government must take into account other considered views based upon much wider practical experience of administrative affairs, the possible use of existing state machinery, the applicability of methods suggested and the conduct of the country's finances. Such views can be placed at its disposal by the Public Service or gained by consultation with those in authority. The aim will always be to promote the accepted idea of progressive separation at the desired pace in a manner which will take the financial resources into account, will fit into the general administrative set-up, will not undermine the prosperity of the country or upset the way of life of European or Bantu, and will take into consideration adaptability to the changing circumstances that will arise.

With this in mind the Government announces at this stage the following decisions on various recommendations. The necessary further decisions in connection with the task in hand will obviously have to be taken and announced, and former decisions amended, as practical progress is made from stage to stage. It follows that the necessary appropriation of funds will have to be sought annually from Parliament in accordance with the growing needs, the plans submitted and the country's capacity in each phase to meet such obligations.

Recommendations.

- 1. It is necessary to differentiate between the farming community in the Bantu Areas (by the allocation of economic farming units to suitable families) and the non-farming members of the community for whom other sources of income and places to live in must be provided (p. 113 and 118).
- 2. A certain basis must be laid down for what would be economic units for different types of farming (p. 113-114) and there must be planning of Bantu farming patterns for various homogeneous agricultural regions (p. 114-116 and 118 (paragraph 47 B) 119).
- 3. General measures dealing with Bantu Agriculture must be introduced (p. 117-120).

Decisions.

- 1. This is already the policy of the present Government. It is, however, a lengthy process, and therefore significant results are not yet noticeable. The Government agrees that the tempo should be accelerated as much as possible.
- 2. These proposals are accepted in principle. (The financial implications, the methods of providing funds, and the distribution of new expenditure over the years require further attention).
- 3. Paragraph 47 A. This embraces what is already largely accepted policy, but careful application in consultation with the Bantu Authorities or Community is essential and (iv) (a) (c) concerns the organisation of the Department of Native Affairs to such an extent that their effect upon other functions of the Department must first be investigated. (The same applies to paragraph 47 G).

Paragraph 47 C. The Government is not prepared to do away with tribal tenure of rural land and to substitute individual tenure based on purchase, nor does it propose to give preference to individual acquisition of land above Tribal and Trust purchase in the released areas. It will, as in the past, allow for the possibility of individual purchase by suitable buyers and with proper safeguards in released areas. The desired aim of stable occupational rights on allotments in Tribal and Trust area (instead of uncertainty year by year) must be secured rather by modernizing the methods and the conditions which govern the allotment of land by tribal authorities. This is in fact more in accordance with suggestions such as those made under (xii) than private ownership would be.

The Government is not prepared to agree at this stage to the acquisition for occupation of more than one economic farming unit by a single individual and thus to

become responsible for the possible development of ownership of large tracts of land by some instead of the proper settlement

of many.

Support will be given to other details mentioned under C. The Government is, however, not in favour of the establishment of Bantu Land Boards (p. 195 III (iv) (e)). The Bantu Authority System should undertake the task involved in this proposal and where such Authorities do not yet exist appropriate transition measures will be adopted with the co-operation of the Bantu Communities.

Paragraph 47 D. This is approved and is in fact already accepted policy.

Paragraph 47 E. (See also p. 197 (xvi). The proposals are approved except that (i) is a temporary expedient until (iii), which has already received the attention of the Department for some considerable time, can replace it. The recommendations under (iv) must wait until the problem becomes more urgent because of greater production and until further investigation of marketing problems in European areas has led to more satisfactory solutions there which will prove of value in this connection.

Paragraph 47 F. These recommendations largely fall away in as much as they refer to the purchase of land, but where the need for credit exists for individual occupiers of economic units to enable them to develop these properly, the Government wishes to investigate first whether the Native Trust, which grants such aid in certain cases at present, or the Bantu Areas Division (formerly Lands section) of the Department of Native Affairs, is the most suitable agency to provide and control credit.

4. Paragraph 18. (See also p. 197 B). By and large this is already Government policy and any new suggestions made under this heading are approved.

Paragraph 19. The policy is to grant stable occupational rights under the proposed type of con-

4. Irrigation farming must be systematically developed according to plan (p. 121).

5. Plans to promote the growing of sugar cane (p. 122 and 197 C) must be developed.

6. Incentive to fibre culture is essential (p. 124 and 125 and 197 D).

7. Measures must be introduced which will accelerate the development of forestry in Native areas (p. 128 and 198 E).

ditions. General management of a local nature will be by the Bantu Authority concerned, which body, rather than new committees of control, is also the correct Bantu organisation—perhaps with the assistance of a sub-Committee—to attend to the allotment of plots. Bantu Co-operative Societies may be developed for the control of mutual business interests.

5. These proposals are approved in principle. (In any case they conform to the plans previously submitted by the Department and approved by the Minister of Native Affairs). Paragraph 19, however, deals with details of administration which are left in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs and paragraphs 21 and 22 are based upon the principle of private land ownership instead of what has been approved viz. stable occupational rights wherever communal Bantu ownership exists, and therefore fall away.

(The financial implications are accepted in principle, but detailed proposals are referred to Treasury for closer investigation and recommendation).

- 6. Similar plans were submitted by the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Native Affairs some years ago, and approved. The Branch is already engaged on the preliminary work such as the cultivation and distribution of plants, and the necessary propaganda. Paragraphs 13-15 and p. 197 D are approved, thus confirming existing policy.
- 7. Some considerable time ago the Government approved of an agreement between the Ministers of Native Affairs and Forestry according to which the Department of Forestry will act as agent and technical contractor for the afforestation and maintenance of forests in Bantu areas on behalf of the Department of Native Affairs by means of a special branch of Bantu Forestry which is being established in the Department of Forestry. The Department of Native Affairs will continue to administer the areas and the affairs

of the population concerned, and will also guard the economic interests of the Bantu created by the value of these products. Policy and planning as requested in paragraph 30 (page 128) are already under way as well as arrangements with the Department of Forestry of the nature proposed in paragraphs 34 and 36.

The Department of Native Affairs, in accordance with this agreement, remains responsible for smaller and indigenous forests through its Bantu Areas Division and its Agricultural Branch, and the appointment of a Forestry Section under an Assistant Director is not considered necessary at this stage (paragraph 35).

The method of financing these projects is being determined in consultation with the Minister of Finance on the basis of proposals involving long term planning and the Government is not prepared at this stage to decide upon the suggestion that a Forestry Development Fund for Bantu areas should be created (paragraph 37).

The training of Bantu in forestry and their admission into this industry in Bantu areas is in accordance with policy.

8. The development of Bantu Mining (p. 130-131, paragraphs 18-27; page 198 F) is necessary.

8. The Government is sympathetically disposed towards the general point of view inherent in the proposals on mining in Bantu areas which incidentally do not differ in principle from a report submitted some years ago by an Inter-departmental Committee appointed by the Minister of Native Affairs and on which the Department is already acting. Government does not consider the time appropriate for going beyond the present practice and therefore regards the introduction of a fully equipped Mining Section or prospecting and mining by Bantu as premature. The grading up of the post of mining expert of the Department of Native Affairs will, however, be considered, as well as the possibility of a geological and geophysical survey whether it be with the assitance of the Mines Department or by its own geologists.

- 9. The establishment of industries inside Bantu areas (Chapters 34-36) must be undertaken.
- 9. (i) The Government accepts the policy that Bantu enterprise, unimpeded by European competition, should be enabled to develop its own industries—with or without assistance—inside Bantu areas, and therefore not that private European industrialists should be permitted into these areas. (Paragraph 16, p. 138 is therefore, in so far as it deals with this matter, rejected and the minority report paragraph 29, p. 142) accepted). It is realised that Bantu industrialists will begin with smaller undertakings, as also envisaged by the Commission, and that service industries in particular should be encouraged.
 - (ii) The Government accepts that planning, encouragement and sometimes financial assistance will be required, and that the Department of Native Affairs, after consultation with the State Departments concerned, must be able to guide and assist the Bantu industrialist, even where smaller industries are concerned.
 - (iii) Such financing should be based chiefly on the principle of self-aid by the mobilization of Bantu capital in a Bantu Areas Investment Organisation. This will be encouraged by making use of funds at the disposal of the Native Trust from which an amount of at least £½ million can be granted immediately for the commencement of this scheme.
 - (iv) In particular cases the Government would agree to the establishment of potential Bantu undertakings by means of the said Bantu Areas Investment Organisation, so that control and guidance will be offered to the Bantu in the field of industry in exactly the same way as is done in the domain of administration, for as long as such help is required.
 - (v) The Government considers it advisable that detailed decisions on proposals dealing with wage determinations and labour problems (p. 137-138) be held in abeyance until these become of practical importance. It is, however, in general favourably disposed towards the attitude of the Commission on these matters.

(vi) The provision of basic services (paragraph 14) depends so much upon circumstances that, since Bantu concerns will initially be on a small scale, decisions upon such matters will have to be taken in accordance with local conditions as the occasions arise.

(vii) The Government does not regard it desirable at this stage to decide upon the establishment of a Development Corporation (paragraph 18, page 139), or a Development Council (paragraph 20, page 188 and B (vi) page 205), but will appoint a special officer in the Department of Native Affairs, who will be adequately assisted by the necessary staff and an Interdepartmental Advisory Committee, to commence dealing with the various tasks indicated. Should it appear at a later stage in the light or practical experience that the proposal to establish such a Development Council then deserves serious consideration, it will again be laid before the Cabinet.

As soon as industrial development inside Bantu areas takes shape attention will be given to proposals relating to personnel research and training of the Bantu. (viii) The possible areas for the establishment of industries within Bantu territories as indicated by the Commission, will be developed for the establishment of Bantu or Bantu Trust enterprises (p. 143-144), when and to the extent needed.

 Measures should be taken for the establishment of Industries near Bantu areas (p. 140 A and p. 144 (iv)). 10. The Government regards the development of industries owned by Europeans but requiring large numbers of native labourers in suitable European areas near Bantu territory as of the utmost importance for the sound socioeconomic development of the Bantu areas and intends to take the necessary steps gradually to create the desired conditions for attracting industries to such areas. Among other things it will take into account places indicated by the Commission (p. 144). The recommendation that an amount of £25 million should be placed over a period of 5 years at the disposal of the type of Development Corporation which the Commission had in view, was pre-

sumably based upon the principle, which is not accepted, of the admission of large European privately owned industries into the Bantu areas. This proposal, which in any event means the large scale subsidisation or financing of competitive industries under different conditions to those in which existing industries are functioning, therefore falls away, but the Government intends to provide assistance to private European initiative desirous of establishing industries on suitable sites adjoining Bantu areas, and will investigate the suitability for this purpose, and the readiness to undertake this service, of existing institutions such as the Industrial Development Corporation.

The development of Bantu towns inside Bantu areas but within easy distance of such European areas is one of the steps taken to facilitate the development of

industries.

- 11. Throughout, the policy of industrial development will be implemented with due regard to the interests of established industries and employees in European areas, and for this reason its application will be effected in the closest cooperation with organisations and departments concerned.
- 12. The Department of Native Affairs has for some considerable time been occupied with the layout of over 40 such towns or potential cities in which the policy of private ownership of plots is applied. The Government, having previously approved these plans of the Minister of Native Affairs, is therefore already actively carrying out what the Commission recommends. The recommendations of the Commission (page 149, paragraph 66) are therefore approved, except that paragraph 66 (v) is not accepted as a necessary method of organisation at this stage in as much as adequate progress is at present being maintained by a subsection of the Department of Native Affairs, with a Senior official in charge. Should the development later require other more expensive and more involved forms of organisation and control, attention
- 11. The implications for South Africa of inter alia the proposed industrial development should be accepted (Chapter 51).
- 12. Town Development must take place on a large scale inside Bantu areas (p. 149 F and 200 B).

will be given to the Commission's proposal for a Township Board. Village management councils are to be linked with the Bantu Authority System and the Department of Native Affairs will provide the necessary guidance and training for these bodies just as it is rendering this service to tribal, regional and territorial authorities.

- 13. Participation in Commerce and the provision for commercial training should be encouraged (p. 150-151, 200).
- 13. The Government approves of what is recommended on page 200 (vi) (iii) (especially as it is already the practice of the Department of Native Affairs), except that the relevant functions will not be performed by a Development Corporation as under (c), but by the Bantu Areas Investment Organisation already mentioned, and furthermore that with reference to (e) it is regarded as preferable to second such an official, who is to be an expert on Co-operative Societies, to the Department of Native Affairs, which alone can provide the countrywide administrative machinery to enable him to perform his task satisfactorily.
- 14. Having regard to the beneficial influence exerted by them on the Bantu in Bantu areas, the State should assist the Churches to perform their task efficiently (p. 154, 156-158, 201).
- 14. The Government is completely at one with the Commission in its high esteem of the great value of the positive religious work of Churches, performed in the right spirit, and it will render all the assistance which is fitting and within its power.

The establishment of a special branch in the Department of Native Affairs for Church and Mission activities is for the present too ambitious, but the Government is nevertheless prepared to detail a special officer in this Department to deal with matters falling within this category. He will serve as liaison officer between the Department and the Churches and, because of expert knowledge in this field, may be in a position to help them when planning their activities, if requested to do so.

The Native Affairs Commission will in collaboration with the Department of Native Affairs, thoroughly investigate the implications of the recommendations on the registration anew of all Churches and Societies, as well as the recommendations on the issue

of permits to all missionary workers, and in particular to those who desire to work in Bantu areas.

The radius rule has already been abolished since the introduction of the new system of Bantu Education, and on the advice of the Native Affairs Commission new rules for the allocation of occupation rights have been adopted.

The Minister of Native Affairs has repeatedly warned against the haphazard growth of a large number of religious organisations amongst the Bantu, and has appealed to the recognised Churches and the Bantu Community to effect the re-union of allied groups. The policy, already in force for a long time, of refusing to grant privileges to new groups and of demanding a high standard, in terms of congregations served and numbers of registered church members, before considering recognition, has unfortunately not proved to be an effective deterrent. Whether the State should go still further and intervene, as suggested, by a system of licensing approved church workers and thereby possibly curtailing religious liberty, is open to very grave doubt. The Government is not prepared to approve of such steps.

The time is not regarded as opportune for the transfer of the subsidisation of hospitals and medical services to Bantu Authorities or to the Bantu Community, and another transition period in Bantu areas in the meantime, namely transfer to the Union Government, is not deemed ad-

visable.

The Government does not see its way clear to subsidise missionary work as there are recognised denominations whose outlook on the Bantu and his development is not in accordance with the requirements of the Commission itself, and if they were to be assisted the object of the recommendation would be defeated. At the same time it will not be in the interest of the State or of the Churches if the State were to discriminate between denominations by granting subsidies subject to certain tests, as the latter might be regarded as based on political or other partisan con-

- siderations. The same objection applies in the case of contributions by the State towards the training of missionary workers.
- 15. A comprehensive Health Service must be developed in Bantu areas (p. 163 and 202-203).
- 15. The Government has directed the Departments of Health and Native Affairs to appoint an Interdepartmental Committee in order to investigate fully, in consultation with other interested authorities, the implications—financial, legal and otherwise—and the feasibility, of implementing in practice the proposed transfer and form of co-operation.
- 16. The reorganisation and development of Welfare Services should be undertaken by the Department of Native Affairs (p. 165 and 201).
- 16. The Government approves in principle that at the opportune time Bantu Welfare Services should be placed and developed under the guidance of the Department of Native Affairs. When this happens the relevant recommendations will receive the necessary attention. It is, however, not considered desirable to load the Department of Native Affairs with too many new tasks at the same time as this would inevitably place too great a strain on its capacity to adapt itself to the new situation. Since, furthermore, the Bantu Authorities will be of fundamental importance in this connection, but must still be given the opportunity to take proper root, this decision will only be implemented when the Government is satisfied that the time has arrived.
- 17. Bantu Education must be distinctive and perform its function in the development of the Bantu areas (p. 202).
- 17. The policy of the Government as far as school education is concerned is embodied in legislation. It is of course well known that the Government, just as the Commission, regards the integration of Bantu Education in the life of the Bantu Community to be of inestimable value, and also that it accepts the great significance of the Bantu areas in the educational system. No new statement of policy is necessary.

The method of organisation of University training for the Bantu will be made known after the Interdepartmental Committee, appointed to deal with this aspect of Education, has submitted its

Report.

18. The Department of Native Affairs must be reorganised and expanded (p. 174-177, 186 and 204-205).

18. The proposals dealing with the reorganisation and expansion of the Department of Native Affairs are so drastic and have so many important financial implications, that the Government is not willing to agree lightly to a sudden complete reorganisation which may easily result in large-scale confusion. The same applies to the proposal for a Development Board and the reconstitution of the functions of the Native Trust. These proposals must be studied carefully and at length. Most of them are not regarded as essential for at least the laying of the foundation during the first few years, and certainly not after the Government has already agreed to a whole series of new activities and personnel referred to in the above decisions. In due course, and having regard to the adaptability of the Department at each stage, any reconstruction which is considered essential, will be carried out without dislocation.

The Government rejects the idea of establishing a whole series of departments, each with its own permanent head, under one Minister (paragraph 105, p. 177). The comparisons made are not considered parallel in as much as in the case of the Department of Native Affairs, not only the coordination of policy is involved. All the administrative and other activities are interwoven to such an extent that they must be carried out within a unitary organisation.

- 19. The Government is not prepared to accept the suggestion (paragraph 133, p. 177) that the Public Service Commission surrender its control in respect of the appointment of personnel of any Department. Should the increased volume of work, or a greater variety of types of personnel, or the demand for more expeditious performance of duties render it necessary, suitable expansion of the Public Service Commission would sooner be considered.
- 20. The Government accepts the principle that Territorial Authorities, as envisaged in the Bantu Authorities Act, should be founded on an ethnic basis and, furthermore,

19. Control over the appointment of personnel in the Department of Native Affairs should be transferred from the Public Service Commission to that Department (p. 177).

20. Consolidation of the Bantu areas must gradually be accomplished (p. 182-183).

that by the exchange of "black ownership spots" in the European areas (with the co-operation of the European farmers concerned) for land adjacent to Bantu areas, more geographic consolidation will be effected. Since large portions of released area must still be acquired under the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, it is, however, unrealistic to indicate at present vague boundaries on maps which involve further European land the acquisition of which cannot possibly now be considered. Future Governments may have reason to return to such theories. At the present moment this is not a practical issue.

21. Provision must be made for the financial requirements (p. 192-194).

21. Large amounts are already being expended or provided for in loans or some other form for the housing and transport of the Bantu within European areas. The country's expenditure for providing for the Bantu in the European Urban Areas will skyrocket unless opportunities for making a satisfactory living are made available to them in their own areas where it will also be possible to provide for them on a more economic basis.

It is therefore in the interest of the country—also from a financial point of view—to make considerable amounts available for the development of the Bantu areas in the right manner, and there is no question of the ability of the

country to afford this.

The Government is therefore prepared to recommend to Parliament in the near future what amount should now be contributed to the Native Trust Fund particularly for making a beginning with the process of accelerating afforestation, soil conservation and irrigation in the Bantu areas.

As indicated in paragraphs 9 and 10 above, assistance will also be rendered for the establishment of Bantu owned industries within the Bantu areas, and European owned industries near Bantu areas.

The extent and the rate of development in the different fields of activity cannot be determined in advance with any degree of certainty, and the Government therefore does not deem it advisable to

fix at this stage the amounts needed for the various projects recommended in Chapter 50, section X (v) of the Report. As progress is made, the Government will be in a position to decide what further financial aid should be rendered to the Bantu areas. The Government is convinced that the further development of the Union's valuable natural resources, coupled with the maintenance of a sound financial policy, will enable it to carry out at a satisfactory pace an effective programme which will convert their own areas into a prosperous homeland for the Bantu.

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