

does not provide against drought, and losses are periodical. If they were not so inferior he could not replenish his herds. This desire for cattle encourages exploitation by the speculator.

Soil Erosion—need for active measures.

Improved methods of farming, cultivation, care of stock, etc., are encouraged and demonstrated at certain Government training farms with good results. This should be extended and promising young Native agricultural students employed by Government to educate the people, a workable area allotted to each. Money expended in this way will soon be recovered.

The Credit System in the Territories.

This should be dealt with by a commission, as an exhaustive enquiry is necessary, the system being so deeply rooted, as the growth of many years, would be difficult to eradicate. Families are impoverished, homes broken up and the members scattered to wander here, there and everywhere. Debt is not regarded seriously by the ordinary Native, and he will readily incur liability for food, clothes and livestock. If credit is given he will pay very much more for the article and pledge his possessions as security. When called upon to pay, the stock may be seized, and sold at low prices, and the debtor deprived of his means of livelihood, to become a wandering pauper. If credit is taken, usury should be disallowed, and every pledge registered. No Native to be allowed credit unless the creditor has satisfied himself that the debtor has the means to pay. As many many thousands

of pounds are already involved, careful legislation is absolutely necessary after the most painstaking enquiry.

Christianity, education, better wages, and a Government policy of uplift are amongst the solvents of the difficulties of the situation. A system of marketing should be evolved, but in view of vested interests existing, much opposition to any change will be raised in which traders and merchants will probably combine.

AN OFFICIAL VIEW ON MR. MALLET'S ADDRESS.

The Magistrate is not the paramount authority; he holds a large measure of power but his actions are subject to the approval of the Council and the Native Affairs Department. His estimates of expenditure are subject to the approval of the Governor-General in Council and the accounts are audited by the Controller and Auditor General.

Councillors do not show much initiative but they show sound common sense when suggestions are made to them.

I favour the Native retaining his customs unless inherently bad or carried to excess.

The rainfall on the Eastern (Transkei) Coast is abundant, nearly double that in the Border area. The country there except in patches does not lend itself to irrigation, it is too undulating and with good cultivation it is unnecessary.

The Border area with its large flats and scanty rainfall lends itself to irrigation schemes—especially diversion of floodwater. Soil erosion is a very

serious problem here. I enclose for your personal information copy of correspondence with my Department which they have not even acknowledged yet.

I agree with all you say about inferior stock. They should be taxed out of existence to prevent overstocking, to subsidise good stock and to pay for schemes to improve other conditions; but one should not forget that cattle and goats are bound up with the Native heathen rites and it is difficult to get rid of a nation's customs and beliefs which are their religion.

Certain grazing regulations are under consideration and if approved by the Government in the form I desire, and approved by my Council, will help to reduce scrub stock.

Agricultural Demonstrators are doing good work, especially in the Transkei, but results on any scale are naturally slow.

I would favour some measure of compulsion here, for instance, no lands to be re-allotted or new lands allotted unless the applicant is possessed of a harrow or shows he can obtain the use of one and undertakes to do so and to use it as well as a plow. It would be a big step if one could get the Natives as a whole to harrow their lands after plowing and again when the mealies are six inches high, half the labour of skaffling would be saved and the crop increased.

The Credit System is bad. There is the Usury Act but it is not very effective. Something might be done if traders were not allowed to sell on credit at prices exceeding say 10% of their cash sales. It is the high prices they get for credit

which leads them to gamble on it. Pledges should be registered and only sold in the open market. Books to be subject to inspection.

I have long advocated that an Officer of the Native Affairs Department should be put in charge of a Native Agricultural Development Branch with such technical advisers as are necessary. At present what is everybody's work is nobody's work unless he cares to take it up. There will be no continuous regulated effort till that is done.

Christianity and Education will do much to stop beer drinks and open immorality; it is the only way.

Government policy of uplift and not merely oppress or retard politically is badly wanted and more funds must be provided. The General Tax (£1 per head) has produced a far larger revenue than was expected and the surplus should go to the Development Fund.

I would amend the Co-operative Societies Act as can be done by Proclamation now, and make it suitable for Native purposes and establish and encourage Native Co-operative Agricultural Societies.

I would encourage School gardening more than in the past and give it some financial assistance and place them or groups of them under an Agricultural Demonstrator.

I would encourage them to fence their homesteads and plant trees and small location plantations. Wood is scarce and the Natives cut out the valuable indigenous water protecting growth and burn their kraal manure which should go to their arable lands.

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BY MR. C. W. COUSINS, SECRETARY
FOR LABOUR.

The Union possesses a body of industrial legislation which, in its general principles and application, can take its place with legislation in any part of the world. When South Africa goes abroad and compares her industrial code with that of other countries she finds that, far from being a laggard, she is in the van and able to make a very creditable showing indeed. That she has done this, is the more surprising when consideration is given to the fact that conditions in South Africa are far from simple and the various factors very far from being easy. It is in the detailed administration of the laws that the difficulties and complexities make themselves most felt, but it is certainly a cause for congratulation that at least the principles established in the Union's legislation are such as to commend themselves to the best experience which other countries have to offer.

To indicate in any comprehensive way the terms of industrial legislation would be quite impracticable in a short paper such as that which is presented to this Conference; all that can be done is to give a succinct statement indicating the general outlines of such legislation. The legislative enactments enumerated for the purpose of this paper are taken in the order in which they have appeared

upon the statute book, that is the historical order of their incidence.

1. *Factories Act, 1918.*

A measure to deal with factories was in consideration almost from the very commencement of the Union but was not actually dealt with until eight years later. The Act follows up-to-date practice in providing for the registration and inspection of all factories and for the control in a variety of respects of the conditions under which workers are employed. For example, it provides for protection from dangerous machinery, for limitation of hours and days of work, for various aspects of welfare supervision and for the general control of the operation of factories so as to promote humane and healthy conditions under which the employees may be required to work. These conditions apply to every factory employee, irrespective of race or colour. There are over 7,000 factories in the Union, employing over 180,000 persons.

2. *Regulation of Wages, Apprentices and Improvers Act, 1918.*

This Act was the first effort made to deal with the regulation of wages in certain lines of occupation in which the employees were notoriously unprotected. It also constituted the first attempt to deal with apprenticeship in the Union. On the whole, however, the Act was found to be inadequate and in some directions at least quite ineffective. In the main it has been supplanted—on the side of apprenticeship—by the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 and—on the side of wages—by the Wage Act of 1925.

3. Apprenticeship Act, 1922.

(Amended in certain respects in 1924). This Act sets out a comprehensive scheme for controlling apprenticeship in various denominated industries and occupations. It is, subject to the Minister, controlled by an Inspector of Apprentices, but the actual detailed work of control is carried out by Apprenticeship Committees composed of equal numbers of employers and employees in the industry or occupation concerned. These Committees have very considerable powers to regulate apprenticeship, and experience has shewn that the responsibility thrown upon the Committees and the even character of the representation thereon of the interested parties has resulted in a reasonable and well-thought out line of action. Of the various Committees at present in existence, there is one for the Printing Industry organised on a national basis and covering the industry throughout the Union. In the Building Industry there are 15 Committees, in the Engineering—ten, in the Furniture Industry—five, in the Leather Industry two, in the Carriage Making Industry—two, and in the Baking Industry—one, making a total of thirty-four Apprenticeship Committees at the present time. An amendment of the Apprenticeship Act has been considered which would enable the Government to add to the number of industries and occupations from time to time and would serve in various other respects to render the administration of apprenticeship control more elastic and adaptable and more effective than is at present possible under some of the clauses of the Law. It is interesting to note that the total number of

current apprenticeship contracts covered by the Act even with its present limited application is 8,262.

4. Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924.

This is unquestionably the most important enactment of the industrial code of the Union, going, as it does, to the very root principles of the relations in industry between employers and employees. This Act is well worth the closest study on the part of all who are interested in the development of the industries of South Africa, particularly the direction of such development in a way to provide an ever-widening scope for occupation under an ever-improving set of conditions. The main feature of the Act is the legal recognition of industrial organization on the part of employers and employees. It is more than a mere recognition—the Act imposes upon organizations the duty to register themselves and gives them the status of legal corporations. The Department's policy in administering the law is to encourage the formation of such organizations as the only means for enforcing effectively the provision of the law which enables registered organizations to combine to form Industrial Councils in specific industries and by mutual agreement to have their rules and conditions made enforceable in law under the authority of the Minister of Labour. Thus, there develops a remarkable system of co-operative control in industry, home-rule of a healthy and stimulating character. This system has seen most interesting developments during the last four or five years

and gives an exceedingly bright promise for the future. In industries so controlled there should never be any question of acute dispute or disturbance.

The law further provides that strikes are a contravention of law until certain processes of conciliation have been gone through. This applies more directly to industries not organized under the Industrial Council system. Where a dispute arises in an industry not so organized and controlled, the parties are bound in the first instance to seek a settlement by means of what is known as a Conciliation Board and, if this fails and they agree to do so, a settlement is secured in accordance with the decision of an appointed arbitrator or arbitrators. If the Conciliation Board cannot come to a settlement or agree to arbitration, the strike thereafter is legal; but it is interesting to know that in only one case (and that the first case dealt with under the Industrial Conciliation Act) did a strike follow an inconclusive Conciliation Board. The Department's officers have endeavoured in all cases of dispute to secure the confidence of both parties not only by adopting a strictly impartial and judicial attitude but by bringing to bear the fruits of considerable experience in industrial negotiation and, above all, in persuading both parties to adopt a conciliatory spirit and to agree to terminate the dispute in an atmosphere of co-operation. They are encouraged by the fact that their agreement may be made legally effective under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act. The effects of this

Act in South African industries up to date have been extraordinarily promising and are in themselves a most eloquent testimony to the statesmanship responsible for the promotion of this important piece of legislation. The most serious difficulty which has faced those concerned in the administration of the law has been due to the exclusion from its terms of certain classes of pass-bearing Native workers and other non-Europeans. This difficulty might not have been quite so serious had it not resulted in the differentiation of conditions between certain industrial areas in the Union, e.g. legal provisions affecting Natives and Indians have differed very considerably in such areas as Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Durban.

To illustrate the development of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the widening of its effective control in industry, it may be stated that there are at present thirty-one Industrial Councils in active operation, the following list of which with the number of employees affected, is interesting and illuminative:—

<i>Council.</i>	<i>No. of Employees affected.</i>
Baking and Confectionery, Witwatersrand ...	458
Baking and Confectionery, Cape Division ...	928
Bespoke Tailoring, Witwatersrand and Pretoria	717
Bespoke Tailoring, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage	127
Biscuit Manufacturing, Union of South Africa	810
Brewing, Witwatersrand	60
Building, Union of South Africa	7,761
Canvas and Ropemaking, Witwatersrand and Pretoria	100
Clothing Manufacturing, Witwatersrand- and Pretoria	1,698

Commerce, Kimberley	...	...	...	666
Engineering, Cape Division	...	...	...	1,298
Engineering, Transvaal Province	...	...	...	2,920
Engineering, Orange Free State (certain areas)	...	...	...	183
Furniture, Union of South Africa	...	...	...	4,167
Hairdressing, Bloemfontein	...	...	...	31
Hairdressing, Witwatersrand	...	...	...	204
Leather, Union of South Africa	...	...	...	5,836
Liquor and Catering, Witwatersrand	...	...	...	955
Liquor and Catering, Pretoria (arbitration award)	...	...	...	150
Meat Trade, Port Elizabeth	...	...	...	185
Meat Trade, Witwatersrand and Pretoria	...	...	...	312
Printing and Newspapers, Union of South Africa	...	...	...	6,500
Tramways, Cape Town	...	...	...	666
Vehicle Building, Witwatersrand	...	...	...	250

In addition to the above there are six Councils in existence which have not yet completed agreements.

An authoritative and clearly-stated review of the principles underlying and the working of the Industrial Conciliation Act is given by Mr. McGregor, the Registrar of Trade Unions in the January number of the "Social and Industrial Review." This article is well worth the study of all concerned including members of the present Conference.

5. *Wage Act, 1925.*

The Wage Act was designed as the complement to the Industrial Conciliation Act in order to deal with industries and occupations which shewed themselves incapable of that degree of organization which is the pre-requisite to active participation in the Industrial Council system under the Industrial

Conciliation Act. It was explained in Parliament and in the public statement made by the Minister of Labour at the time of its promulgation that it would apply definitely to sweated industries. It was felt that in certain lines of occupation conditions were so unstable and so poor that organization of employees and even of employers was not at this stage to be expected—it was impossible for employees to secure a solid basis of negotiation with their employers. It is in cases of this kind that the Wage Act is intended to operate.

The machinery of the Act consists of a Wage Board composed of three members appointed by the Government responsible to the Minister of Labour. In certain circumstances the Board may investigate and make recommendations on its own initiative, but the bulk of its work is undertaken on specific references to it by the Minister of Labour. The Board, after reporting to the Minister, if so required, or at the time of reporting, if it sees fit to do so, may make definite recommendations as to wages and conditions in the industries and occupations concerned. These recommendations, if accepted by the Minister, are given legal effect in the form of a Determination which imposes upon all employers in the industry or occupation affected the legal obligation to pay at least and as a minimum the wages and to maintain the conditions provided for. This Act expressly bars any consideration of wages and conditions in Agriculture and occupations under the State; otherwise its operation may be made wide-embracing irrespective of class or colour. Up to the present

time two Determinations have been made; but in certain cases have been disallowed on technical grounds by rulings of the Court, and, in some cases, are fresh Determinations imposed upon the lapse of earlier Determinations. The industries affected have been Sweet Manufacturing, Clothing, Baking, Furniture, Leather, Hairdressing, Motor Omnibus, Glass Bevelling, Barman and two minor industries. The Wage Board is actively carrying on further investigations, with a view to further Determinations.

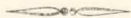
6. Although not, strictly speaking, part of the industrial legislation, some attention should be given to the Juveniles Act, 1921. This Act provides for the constitution of local Juvenile Affairs Boards on which are represented various public interests with a view to co-operative effort in the direction of securing for Juveniles as they leave school an entry into industry under decent and wise conditions. The machinery operates in the direction of securing exact information each year as to the output of the schools, as to the openings possible, as to the scope and opportunities in each line of occupation and seeks further to introduce boys and girls into the most suitable forms of industry available in each locality. With varying degrees of success, but in almost all cases with a degree which can only be regarded as most encouraging, the Boards are fulfilling their functions and are serving as a most valuable link between our educational system on the one hand and our industrial system on the other.

7. It will be gathered from what has been said that experience in the administration of the indus-

trial laws gives solid ground for confidence that the intervention of the State has been advantageous. It is not for one moment suggested, however, that complete success, or anything even remotely approaching complete success has always been achieved. The process is often slow and uphill, the difficulties are sometimes staggering, the results by no means always substantial. There still remains for settlement the vital question of how Natives, who numerically take so important a part in industry, may take their share in the co-operative control contemplated as the basic principle of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924.

There is need for patience, persuasiveness and persistence on the side of the Department; for a good deal of self-sacrifice and foresight on the part of the comparatively few to whom on the side of employers or employees the mass can look for leadership; there is need for carrying public opinion at each stage of achievement and this can only come when sectional and localized interests and advantages harmonize with and enhance the interest of the whole community. It is in fact a complex business, at times baffling, but still shewing signs of steady progress. The most hopeful things in the whole matter are the increasing recognition by employers of their responsibilities on broad and generous lines; by workers of their responsibilities as participators in a great co-operative effort; by all in industry and in the nation at large the realization that industry exists for humanity and that the conditions under which it is carried on shall be the most favourable that

can be secured by any means which practical management can suggest or the will of the community can impose. It is the human element that has to be taken into account, the human relationship which has to be adjusted and maintained, the human interest to be served. To this end the administration of the laws is steadily shaping itself. To force the pace would be a mistake; to cease the pressure towards the end in view would be not less a mistake. But above everything else the principle established by law is being recognized that the responsibilities shall be shared to the fullest possible extent by industry itself, while the State provides and enforces the conditions under which industry can fulfil its functions. Bit by bit the difficulties will be overcome and the end achieved.



NATIVES AND THE WAGE ACT.

BY MR. F. A. W. LUCAS, K.C.,
CHAIRMAN, WAGE BOARD.

The regulation of wages under an Act of Parliament is of very recent growth in South Africa. Its development has been rapid and the Wage Act of 1925 had been brought into operation over two years before the International Labour Conference at Geneva adopted the Convention on minimum wage fixing machinery.

The Wage Act was the first Act which, in practice, affected the wages of male unskilled workers. There had been two prior Acts dealing with wage regulation, but the first, Regulation of Wages Act 1918, applied only to boys and girls under 18 and to women over 18. In industry relatively few male unskilled workers are under 18. As far as Natives are concerned the number of females engaged in industry may be disregarded. The next Act was the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 which expressly excluded from its scope all pass-bearing Natives in industry in the Transvaal and Natal.

Within a few weeks of its appointment the Board was called upon to decide whether or not it could make recommendations for wages for Native employees as distinct from other employees. It held that the Wage Act makes no distinction between employees on the ground of race or colour. It gave as its reason the facts that in many undertakings Natives and non-Natives are doing the same class and kind of work and in some instances

are working side by side in the same occupation. To make a recommendation for Native employees, would, in effect, be singling out certain employees from a group of employees and the Board held that employees could not rightly be classified as Natives or non-Natives. This decision has been followed by the Board in all its reports and recommendations.

The Natives have a clearly established position in industry and they are an integral part of our economic system. Economic law recognizes no distinction in industry on the ground of the race of the employee. One race may be conceived of as possessing in an outstanding degree qualities which another race may possess only to a slight extent. Such factors may and probably will, if they exist, affect the distribution of these different races in the various occupations in an industry.

With some exceptions, in the industries already investigated by the Wage Board, there are few occupations in which there are not some Native employees. There are certain occupations, such as the unskilled, where Native employees predominate. The number of Natives in skilled occupations, that is, occupations for which a long period of training is required, is relatively small.

The outstanding economic feature in industry in South Africa is the wide gap between the wage of the skilled worker and that of the unskilled worker, the wage of the former is based upon a European standard of living while that of the latter is based generally on the standard of living of the Native. The wage of the former is in many

industries standardized at not less than £1 a day while the wage of the latter, though sometimes as much as £1 a week, is frequently less. The inevitable result of such a difference is that employers try to reduce the number of £1 a day employees as far as possible; first of all by cutting down the numbers absolutely and secondly by separating as far as possible more or less simple operations from the work of the skilled employee and employing unskilled workers on them. It follows from this that the number of skilled employees is kept relatively low and as European youths, after a few months' training, demand a higher wage than the customary wage of Natives, that few such youths are taken on to be trained for skilled occupations. This, however, is being to some extent changed by the operation of the Apprenticeship Act.

Actual experience has shown how the employment of low paid employees depresses the standard of living of the more highly paid. This can be seen very strikingly in Cape Town where at one time unskilled work was done almost exclusively by Coloured people at a wage of 4/6 to 5/- per day, a wage upon they could maintain themselves according to their standard of living. Their standard is generally higher than that of Natives. About the commencement of the present century Native labourers began to be introduced into the Cape Peninsula and they were then employed at the usual level of wages for Coloured labourers. These wages were so attractive to Natives that the number coming in steadily grew until it was large

enough, during the war, when inflation reduced the purchasing power of money, to prevent unskilled labourers wages rising sufficiently to meet this reduction. The consequence was that the standard of living of the Coloured people was seriously depressed and now there appears a tendency for the wage of unskilled labourers to fall considerably below its former nominal level. This is involving still further hardship for the Coloured people. On the short view this may be regarded as an advantage to Natives as meaning an increase in the number of openings for them. On the long view, however, that advantage, even for the Natives, is probably much more than off-set by the limitation of their own wage rates and by the suffering involved to the Coloured people in the reduction of their standard of living, for no section of the community can live unto itself alone. What has happened and is happening to the Coloured people through the unrestricted competition of low paid labourers is happening in other parts of the country, though, perhaps, there not so easily or so rapidly perceptible.

I have referred above to European youths in connection with training because in industry any attempt or intention to train Natives to become skilled may be ignored as negligible. The Europeans suffered from the gap between wage levels while the Natives to some degree reaped an advantage from it. They obtained employment in occupations in which, in a rough and ready way, they could acquire some degree of skill and some, though by no means all, who acquired this further

skill receive some increase in wages. The position, however, was not satisfactory from any point of view whether that of the employee, whose wage level remained low, of the employer, whose labour force was untrained and often inefficient, or of the community as a whole, which suffered from inefficiency of managements and of employees and because of the low purchasing power of those employees.

Although, however, as I have pointed out above the Wage Act draws no distinction between employees on the ground of their race or colour the Act must be interpreted and administered in the light of existing conditions in South Africa. Subsection (3) of section *three* of the Act draws a distinction between employees who are paid a wage upon which they can support themselves in accordance with civilized habits of life and other employees who are not. The wide difference between the wage which is regarded as possible for Europeans to live on and that paid to Natives makes it necessary to take into account in fixing the wage for an occupation, the question not only whether such occupation is one requiring a degree of skill which should be remunerated above the level of Native wages, but also whether one race or another predominates among the employees in that occupation. It has at times been suggested that the Board should confine itself to laying down one basic wage for an industry, as has been done in some wage regulating countries. A little reflection will show that this is not really practicable in South Africa. It is not conceivable that it

would really be in anybody's interest that a basic wage of, say, £3 or £4 a week should, at this stage of South Africa's development, be laid down. Most industries in South Africa are based on an organization which is considered as requiring the presence in it of large numbers of Natives at or about the customary wage level for Natives. Such a wage is only a small fraction of the figure mentioned above. If, on the other hand, a basic wage round about the customary wage level of Natives were determined for an industry no advantage whatever would accrue to the European section of the community which certainly, from the terms of the Act, was intended as much as any other race to be benefited by that Act.

In these circumstances it therefore became necessary for the Board when making its recommendations to classify occupations in the industries investigated and to endeavour to assess a reasonable wage for those occupations. This made it possible to a great degree to meet the difficulties arising from the presence of different races at different stages of civilization and at the same time to provide steps in the great gap in wage levels, to which reference has been made above. A further advantage is that on these intermediate steps place can be found for those Europeans who have not acquired, or are not really capable of acquiring, a high degree of skill but can fill a useful place in industry and also room for those Natives who are able to show that they possess the necessary skill justifying the wage for such occupations.

It is generally admitted that there has been a very great waste of the work of Native labourers,

due mainly to the belief that because they were low paid their work was cheap. There was little incentive for the employer to train his Native workers and little incentive for them to acquire skill.

The number of Natives employed in some industries has been to some extent reduced as a first result of wage regulation, but the position of those remaining in the industry has generally been improved. The reduction means that those who have been retained are being trained to become more efficient workers while the improvement in their position means added protection for those in the better paid occupations in the industries concerned.

Some of the results of the Wage Act as affecting Natives during the three years the Board has been in existence may be seen from the following tables. In several instances wage determinations have been upset by the Courts on technical points. This has resulted in a number of employers continuing to pay wages lower than those recommended by the Board. The majority of employers, however, in the industries which have been investigated, are probably as far as Natives are concerned carrying out the terms of the recommendations despite the decisions of the courts.

Witwatersrand: Baking and Confectionery.

Returns were received showing the wages of employees in the industry in May, 1926, and May, 1928. The figures of ten representative firms give the following results for Natives:—

	No. employed.	Total weekly wages.	Average weekly wages.
May, 1926	262	£256	19s. 7d.
May, 1928	238	£257	21s. 8d.

Receiving less than 20s. per week

1926		1928	
No.	Percentage of total	No.	Percentage of total
177	67.5%	64	27%

Number receiving 22s. 6d. or over per week.

70 or 25.8%	82 or 36.7%
I received £5	per week
I „ £4 10s.	„ „
I „ £3 5s.	„ „

Under the first Industrial Council Agreement for this industry which was entered into before it was realised that Natives in the Transvaal did not come within scope of that Act the wage which was laid down for the unskilled workers was 10s. per week.

Pretoria.

Returns were received for May, 1926, and November, 1927.

	No. employed	Total weekly wages	Average weekly wages.
May, 1926	124 (includes 3 juveniles)	£127	20s. 7d.
Nov. 1927	85 (includes 2 juveniles)	£95	22s. 7d.

Receiving less than 20s. per week:—

1926		1927	
No.	Percentage of total.	No.	Percentage of total.
73	58.9%	35	41.2%

Receiving 22s. 6d. or over per week.

33	26.6%	25	29.9%
----	-------	----	-------

1 received £5. 15s. per week.* 2 received £2 16s. 6d. each p. w.
 1 „ £3 „ 1 „ £2 15s. 0d. „ „
 1 „ £2 10s. „ 3 „ £2 5s. 0d. „ „

*This is probably an error. If this figure is omitted it would reduce the average wage of 20s. 7d. to 19s. 6d.

Bloemfontein, East London and Kimberley:

	No. employed.	Total weekly wage.	Average weekly wage.
Bloemfontein	56*	£62	22s. 3d.
East London	65†	£60	18s. 6d.
Kimberley	33‡	£38	23s. 5d.
Total three towns	150	£161	20s. 11d.

Receiving less than 20s. per week

<i>Bloemfontein.</i>		<i>East London.</i>		<i>Kimberley.</i>		<i>The three towns together.</i>	
No.	Percent- age of total.	No.	Percent- age of total.	No.	Percent- age of total.	No.	Percent- age of total.
18	32%	41	63%	14	42.4%	73	47.4%

*One received £3 per week, and one £2 5s. per week.

†One received £1 16s. 11d.

‡One received £4 11s. and one £1 18s.

*These figures raise the average very considerably.

Sweet-Making Industry.

Returns were obtained for February, 1926, and February, 1928.

	No. employed	Total weekly wages	Average weekly wages
Feb. 1926	289	£300	20s. 9d.
Feb. 1926	230	£287	25s. 0d.

Receiving less than 20s. per week

1926		1928	
No. employed.	Percentage of total.	No. employed.	Percentage of total
136	47%	18	8%
90	31%	132	57.3%

Receiving 22s. 6d. or over per week

Biscuit Manufacturing Industry.

Returns were obtained for February, 1926, and February, 1928.

	No. employed	Total weekly wages	Average weekly wages.
Feb. 1926	199	£163	16s. 5d.
Feb. 1928	132	£121	18s. 6d.
Feb. 1926—51 or 25.6 per cent. got 20s. or over per week.			
Feb. 1928—81 or 61.3 per cent. got 20s. or over per week.			

For *all* employees in this industry the corresponding figures are:—

	No. employed	Total weekly wages	Average weekly wages.
Feb. 1926	869	£941	21s. 8d.
Feb. 1928	778	£1,083	27s. 10d.

The reduction in the number of employees in this industry is confined almost entirely to two firms.

The Biscuit industry is included in this paper because although no determination was made for it the wages laid down for it in the Industrial Council Agreement were based upon those recommended by the Board.

Unskilled Labourers, Bloemfontein.

The returns received covered 1734 employees in the month of February, 1928. Of these 443 or 25.5 per cent. received 17s. 6d. or under per week.

1517 or 87.4 per cent. received 20s. or under, but it may be taken that the great majority of those over 17s. 6d. and included in this figure of 1517 were receiving not more than 18s. per week.

In the Bespoke Tailoring Industry and in the Clothing Industry outside the Witwatersrand very few Natives are employed. In Commerce, apart from Native shops and eating houses, the number

of Natives employed for other than unskilled work may be disregarded.

The following are the wages which have been recommended by the Wage Board for unskilled workers:—

Footware Industry	25s. per week throughout the Union.
Harness-making	22s. „ „ „ „
Tanning Industry	22s. „ „ „ „
Furniture	21s. „ „ „ „
Sweets from 20s. to	24s. according to the centre
Dyeing and Cleaning and Laundries	22s. „ throughout the Union.
Unskilled labourers, Bloemfontein	18s. rising to 20s. in 1930.
Tea, Coffee and Chicory packing and roasting	22s. per week throughout the Union.
Baking and Confectionery	20s. per week in Pretoria, Bloem- fontein, Kimberley, East London and on the Witwatersrand.

Wage regulation for Natives can be satisfactorily enforced because through the need for registration of contracts of employment of Natives the officials charged with the duty can see that no Native employee is engaged at less than the wage laid down by law.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION AMONG NATIVES.

BY MRS. MABEL PALMER.

Place of Trade Unionism in Modern Industry.

It is a commonplace now amongst economists that in modern large-scale organisation of industry the individual workman is helpless in the labour market as against the companies, government or municipal departments and trusts or other large enterprises to whom he must look for employment. He can only regain his bargaining power by combination on his own side, i.e. by organisation into those societies of employees which are popularly known as trades-unions. This conclusion was of course for long contested. Companies and employers of all sorts insisted on their right to manage their own businesses, dismissed and blacklisted trade-unionists among their workmen, refused the right of interview to the officials of the men's organisations.

Even in the twentieth century the English railways were still refusing recognition to the railway unions. But now in Great Britain and most civilized countries of the world, this battle has been won. No intelligent employer now thinks of trying to "break the unions." He may think their demands unjust and may fight their proposals. But the elementary right of recognition is now conceded as part of the inevitable organisation of large scale industry.

This principle is of course enshrined in the machinery of the International Labour Office at Geneva, whose conferences and governing body (or Executive) are constituted by equal representation of employers' and workmen's organisations.

The Coloured Races and Modern Industry.

One of the most marked features of the twentieth century is the spread of modern industrial methods to the tropics and sub-tropics, and in general to countries inhabited by Coloured races. Mines and railways are being opened and developed in Africa, Asia and South America. Farms and plantations on a capitalistic basis, operated by wage-labourers, producing for the market and not for subsistence, are being established in India and Japan. Even factories employing Native labour are becoming more and more important. Under these circumstances the rise of trade-unions among Coloured races is to be expected. It has already occurred in India and in Japan, and Natives of these countries are always present at the international labour conferences at Geneva. The rise of similar organisations among the Natives of South Africa is natural, reasonable and to be anticipated. It is the inevitable development of changing conditions of industry.

Dangers of Native Trade-Unionism.

To say that such a development is natural and indeed inevitable is not to be blind to its obvious dangers and difficulties. There is first the grave possibility that it may be used as a basis for racial antagonism and anti-white propaganda. The

very language difficulty must add to this. Can the conception of employer be conveyed in Zulu or Sesuto without the connotation of white employer? Can the idea of trade-union activities be given without the implication of rebellion and the use of force? Industrial development is forcing the Natives into new relationships but he must for a time envisage these under the conceptions proper to the old system. Probably only by actual experience of collective bargaining can he come to understand that peaceful, constitutional methods will help him, while the talk or use of violence can only bring him to ruin and disaster.

Most educated Natives, who know something of the resources of modern governments in aeroplanes and high explosives realise this fact but they can not always induce their less advanced followers to bear it in mind, and may at times in the excitement of a big meeting or when burning under a new form of oppression or insult, forget it themselves. It is for us surely, by wise encouragement and by the spread of education, by instant suppression on the one hand of any real lawlessness or concrete incitement to violence and on the other by going half-way and more than half-way to meet any orderly and constitutional movement for the ventilation of industrial grievances and the improvement of industrial conditions, to show them that there are other available methods for the betterment of their lives than violence.

The same conclusion emerges from the consideration of the danger of Bolshevism. The communists know no colour bar; the European

communists are totally ignorant of conditions in this country. But if to a people seething with suppressed grievances and remedying them, the communists hold out the hand of friendship it is to be expected that it will be many years before she expresses a profound debt to those Europeans who, realising the dangers of Communism, offered their help to the I. C. U. with the object of warning it of those dangers. And it is a matter to be thankful for that in the search of the I. C. U. leaders for overseas help and support they were guided to the moderate section of British Trade Unionism, to Mr. A. Creech-Jones and to Mr. W. R. Ballinger, and not to Messrs. Cook or Tom Mann, to the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the I. L. O., and not to the Third International at Moscow.

Difficulties of Native Trade Unionism.

But even if these two dangers are surmounted—and it would be too much to say yet that they can be entirely disregarded—Native trade unionism will have to tread the same path and in all likelihood make the same mistakes as the white trade union movement has made before it. There is a sad satisfaction to students of economic history in tracing parallels between recent events in South Africa and in Great Britain 100 years ago. The attempt of the Natal farmers to boycott the I. C. U. and to persecute its members reminded one of the famous trial and transportation of the Dorchester labourers for belonging to a trade-union. The financial difficulties, almost inevitable in an unregistered body, are an echo of the events in England

which led to the Trade Union Act in 1871. The melancholy deterioration in the character of leaders, due to sudden emancipation from manual labour and the unexpected enjoyment of power and financial resources, has often been seen in the British movement. The mistaken diverting of funds from collective bargaining and mutual insurance to ill-judged co-operative activities has resulted in disaster in England as in South Africa.

But in South Africa there are further special difficulties. British Trade Unionism after the first grandiose experiment of the ill-fated Grand National Consolidated in the thirties of last century, has been built solidly on the basis of the craft and although the craft organisation of trade-unionism is increasingly criticised and distrusted it still remains as one of the main elements in the plan of European trade-unionism. Even the great Unions such as the railwaymen, the general workers, etc., which have replaced the craft by the industry as the foundation of organisation, have sectioned groupings based on the craft.*

But craft organisation is impossible to a race faced by a colour bar. It finds employment mainly as unskilled labour, and shifts often from trade to trade, alternating between mine-work, general labour and agriculture. If the Natives attempted

*Craft organisation is that based on the possession of special skill, e.g., as in a Union of carpenters, blacksmiths or clerks. Industrial unionism is based on employment in a given industry, e.g., ship-building, textiles or railway work. In some cases the craft and the industrial organisation nearly coincide as in British mining; in others they are widely divergent as in railway work.

to set up unions based on these unskilled occupations, they would be faced with endless troubles resulting from the movements of individuals from one trade to another. For South Africans to deny them the right to enter skilled trades and then to refuse to recognise the only form of union organisation open to them—that of the general unskilled labour union—on the ground that all genuine trade unionism is craft unionism is to display total ignorance of trade union history and conditions and of the modern trend of trade union development, which is steadily *away* from the craft union. There is the further difficulty that many Natives do not alternate between wage-labour in industry and in agriculture but between wage-labour and subsistence agriculture in the reserves. This introduces a condition hitherto unknown; how the I. C. U. will meet it is not yet clear. It is a justification for its early practice of enrolling members who were not at that moment employed as labourers. It is understood that this method is now to be given up and membership confined strictly to wage-workers. But that decision is also quite certain to cause difficulties, as men who pass out of membership on retirement to the reserves will be “lost.” Some system of suspending membership is clearly needed.

These points just mentioned are, so to speak, natural difficulties inherent in the economic structure of South Africa. But there are further artificial restrictions such as pass-laws, the Master and Servants Acts, the exclusion of pass-bearing Natives from the Industrial Conciliation Act, the

low standard of Native education due to inadequate provision of schools. These restrictions are so marked and so greatly hamper the natural development of industrial organisation among Natives that their trade unions are almost inevitably forced into political agitation, as the British Trade Unions would have been, had not that strange obscure genius Francis Place, succeeded by a trick in inducing Parliament to remove the prohibition on industrial organisation in 1825.

What Then Should We Do?

What then is the conclusion? Native labour organisation is inevitable and attempts at suppression of open and orderly unions will certainly result in a profound sense of injustice which will show itself in the formation of secret societies far more dangerous than any public movement could possibly be. Further these secret societies are certain to be anti-European and indeed a mistaken policy of suppression would deserve such an outcome. They will afford the most fruitful possible ground for Bolshevist agitators. Yet it cannot be denied that these dangers are not altogether absent in the I. C. U. as it exists today, though not to the extent indicated by ill-informed newspapers.

There are leaders and influential leaders in the Native labour movement who realize the dangers of communism as clearly as the South African Government. No member of the I.C.U. can also be an avowed member of a communist organisation. They also, so far from being anti-white, ask for help

and support from their fellow trade-unionists and from the labour department. Clearly then the wise policy is to strengthen this section of Native opinion by meeting it as generously and as fully as possible and therefore to admit the right of Natives to organisation on economic lines and as a corollary to register their unions, thus giving to their funds the same protection against dishonest officials as is afforded to white unions. But registration should not be granted only on conditions which are in practice impossible for Natives to fulfil, i.e. that they should form craft unions. Then every encouragement should be given to these registered Native unions to put their case for better treatment and the removal of grievances both to employers and to Government departments. They should be admitted to the benefits of the Industrial Conciliation Act and should be encouraged to place statements before the Wages Board. Violence and any concrete specific incitement to violence should be suppressed, but the concerted peaceful withholding of Native labour to secure the remedying of industrial grievances should be no more a crime among non-Europeans than it is among Europeans. Any other attitude is not far removed from slavery.

It is to be hoped too that sympathetic Europeans, in touch with the British trade-union movement will give active help, in advising on organisation and policy—a point on which the Bantu race is notoriously weak—and in assisting to develop wise and honest financial arrangements. Steps should also be taken to provide further education for adult Natives, not of the evening school type only,

but elementary instruction in economics, talks about the history of Europeans and Bantu in South Africa, explanations of the nature and work of trade-unions, Wages Boards, factory legislation, etc.

Two objections to this policy may be briefly dealt with before concluding. A certain school of thinkers will urge that the Native Affairs Departments are the proper authorities to deal with the economic difficulties of the Native, and will preserve in so doing the supremacy and prestige of the white man. It cannot and ought not to be denied that Native Affairs officials have done much to assist and soften the transition of the Bantu race from subsistence agriculture to modern industry; that they have in many cases promoted health and decent conditions. But they are clearly not adequate to the new circumstances coming into existence. They deal with docile Natives, expected to show deference to the white man's views and opinions. Under such conditions real grievances cannot be discovered, save by geniuses like Theophilus Shepstone. Further, few Native Affairs officials are trained economists; they cannot then understand what is happening. They tend to envisage Native questions as part of a static ethnology, instead of a dynamic science of economics, i.e. they think of the Natives as fixed and unchanging and fundamentally different from the white man, whereas as a matter of fact he is changing under their eyes. There is last of all the plain fact that Native Affairs Departments are closely concerned with the adequate supply of cheap Native labour, a duty which, though impor-

tant, is not compatible with the duty of protecting the Native against commercial exploitation.

Lastly it will be said that this policy advocates the destruction of European prestige and the raising of the Native to a dangerous level of equality. This is not necessarily the case. It is possible to advocate a minimum wage for Natives without insisting that it should be the same as that advocated for Europeans (although it must be admitted that a differential wage policy raises very great difficulties); it can be argued that white trade-unions should support and help Native trade-unions without advocating that the latter should be admitted immediately to full and unrestricted membership of the Trade Union Congress. The truth is that South Africa is starting now on a new and uncharted field of economic organisation and legislation. She is trying to apply to a country of mixed population the principles and expedients which have been found necessary to prevent exploitation in the advanced industrial countries of homogeneous populations. Clearly then changes and experiments will be necessary. To protect the white population only and to leave the Native to unrestricted exploitation is only a new form of slavery, and would in many cases defeat its own end by various forms of competition by the unprotected Bantu. It is impossible immediately (or possibly ever) to raise the Bantu to the level of the white. A *via media* must be found at least for the time being. What exactly that *via media* is to be cannot be stated beforehand. We are faced with a new problem and must meet

it in new ways. We can only meet it successfully if we cultivate in ourselves two dispositions, a determination that no section of the population shall be exploited for the benefit of other sections, and a careful and instructed knowledge of the findings of economic and political science dealing with these complicated industrial relationships. From the marriage of these two dispositions will spring their child, a social organisation of South Africa providing for the harmonious co-operation and progress of its diverse races.

THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE.

BY REV. J. L. DUBE, OHLANGE INSTITUTE.

One feels a good deal of difficulty in approaching the consideration of this question, because there are so many difficulties in the way. If one considers the attitude of the White Race as revealed in recent legislation in South Africa, one is tempted to enquire "What is the use of any Industrial Organisations whatever?" The object of present day legislation, such as the "Colour-Bar Legislation," is undoubtedly to bar the Natives from entrance into the ranks of skilled labour, and apparently a Native is limited to industrial activity in the lower walks of life, as distinct from skilled labour.

At the very outset of my remarks, I should like, on behalf of my people, to register my emphatic protest against the unjustifiable attempts of the people of South Africa, as revealed by the Legislative Acts of the Government, to prevent the Native for all time from having access to the ranks of skilled labour. It is unsportsmanlike, un-Christian, and in my humble opinion, contrary to the best interests of South Africa.

Here in South Africa we have a huge reservoir of unskilled labour which any country under the sun would give its ears to get hold of, and yet we are fooling away the chances of using that reservoir of labour for the economic development of the whole country. Furthermore by barring the

Native from skilled labour, South Africa is spoiling a market within its own borders, which is unrivalled in the world, except in the United States of America. South Africa is blind to her own interests. Here you have a population of millions of Black people whose requirements to-day of the things of civilisation are few. If only South Africa would realise that by helping the Bantu people to raise themselves in the scale of civilisation to increase their requirements an unrivalled market would be provided for South African manufactures and produce, I think the Government would alter its policy.

One has to approach this question bearing in mind the difficulty of fixing a standard for Black labour. With White labour it is easy to fix artificial divisions such as apprentice and journeyman, and yet when one is considering the Native question from an industrial point of view, one is met with the difficulty that all Native labour is treated as unskilled labour, and is reduced to one dead level of mediocrity and of low wage-earning capacity. And yet even among the ranks of unskilled Native labour there are divisions that call for differentiation in regard to treatment and wages. Natives who are provided with food and lodging are a great deal better off than those who have to find their food and lodging. But employers of Native labour seldom take this into consideration. How can such Natives find their food, lodging, money to maintain their families at £3 or £4 a month?

The treatment of all Native labour as unskilled, and as governed by the ordinary rules of supply

and demand, leads nowhere. Even in the ranks of the unskilled there is much reason for differentiation in wages and treatment. The present method of fixing wages by the ordinary market rate of supply and demand makes no provision whatever for merit or ability, and yet everyone of us knows that merit and ability should most certainly receive its due reward, even among the lower ranks of unskilled labour.

The effect of having a ruling rate of Native wage without regard to merit and ability is that there is no inducement to the labourer to improve his position. I know of European employers who pay say £3 a month to the Native for his work. That is the ruling rate. The effect of the ruling rate is that the Native does as little as he possibly can, and if he is sacked, well, another Native gets the position at the same rate, utterly regardless of merit and ability. I have no doubt that my many European friends would, in spite of the ruling rate being £3 per month, pay £4 per month, or more, to any Native, who, by industry or ability, would prove himself worthy of that amount, and yet the employers of Native labour go on in the same futile way.

And yet the difficulty is to know how to practically remedy these deficiencies. It is easy to fix artificial divisions, such as apprentices and journeymen amongst the White, but how are we to do it with various grades of unskilled Native labourers, for there are grades among unskilled labourers most certainly. It appears to me that one cannot deal with these difficulties as with a

class, but some machinery ought to be provided for the reward of those, who by merit and ability, deserve better treatment in their pay than the ordinary rank and file. Lovedale, Marianhill, Tiger Kloof, and other Native Institutions of learning, have been training Natives in various trades. Are these Natives getting full value for their work, to which they have spent years of training? The answer is No! In training our boys in the Printing trade at Ohlange, the school over which I preside, I have had the representatives of Wage Boards interfering with our apprentices, demanding that we should pay them the same rate as those apprenticed in European establishments, although they were silent as to wages to be paid to those who have completed their apprenticeship. We regard this interference as placing a stumbling block in the way of those who would like to learn the trade.

Surely our European friends will admit that it is to their advantage, as employers, that the Native should be encouraged to realise his responsibilities as an employee; that he should render the best service of which he is capable to his employer, and any Native who on his side realises such responsibility will undoubtedly be among the first to realise his responsibilities to himself and his family. He will endeavour to raise himself and his family in the social scale, and my contention is that a Native who does that is worth more to his employer than the Native who does not realise such a responsibility. Is it not worth while to encourage our people to raise themselves socially and in every way? Is it not to the benefit of the

employer, and not only to the employer but of the whole community, and ultimately the South African nation?

It certainly seems to me that up to now the Government of South Africa has not realised its responsibility either to the Natives or to the European population in regard to the utilisation on sane lines of Native labour. To my mind it is to the benefit of South Africa as a whole to improve the conditions of labour among Natives. I am not speaking now of the benefit to the Natives only, but I am thinking of the benefit of the whole of South Africa, and I do urge that Government should in some way or other seek a method of improving the status of the South African Native, and thus aid the building up of a strong South African nation with the aid of both Black and White.

As I have indicated before, the difficulty is in providing some means of regulating the position. It is quite unfair to the better class Native that his rate of pay should be governed by the ruck of the Natives. Scope should be given every time to merit and ability. While I fully realise the difficulty in the way of arriving at a correct solution of these problems, I am strongly of opinion that Wage Boards, or Industrial Councils, or call them what you like, should be appointed, thoroughly representative of both employers and employees, whose duty it would be to enquire into the conditions affecting Natives in various industries in South Africa, and who would be empowered to fix the rates of wages.

I am concerned at the present trend of Native affairs industrially in South Africa. Unfortunately, the interests of the Natives have fallen into the hands of agitators, and I, for one, cannot find the Native very much to blame for this. The Government has, in my humble opinion, not handled the Native industrial situation either with equity or firmness, and the agitation, the formation of I. C. U. Branches and so on, has been the inevitable result of the Government's inept handling of the situation. It is to be regretted that Native workers have become a prey to irresponsible political agitators whose chief object it is to stir up the Natives against their employers, and thus create that racial ill-feeling which is to be deplored. If the Natives would shun these political agitators in matters of this kind, and allow themselves to be led by responsible Native leaders who are in a position to negotiate with the employers in a reasonable manner, not with hammer in hand, much good can be accomplished. I am strongly convinced that political agitators, who are working only for their own benefit, to get money out of poor ignorant Natives, cannot help the situation. A Conference like this which works for mutual understanding, between Whites and Blacks, can formulate a policy to be followed in the industrial organisation of Native workers. This Conference of Whitemen of good-will and leaders of Natives can direct and select men to guide the Native population. A body of these people can approach the Government and consult and advise as to best methods to be adopted.

Treat the Native fairly and he is the easiest person in the world to handle, but treat him unfairly and the result is confusion, and the agitators get a hearing.

I am convinced that if the Government would set up Wage Boards, composed of persons who understand the Native, and who are sympathetic to his aspirations, the so-called Native Question would rapidly disappear into the limbo of forgetfulness. Let the Native realise that he is being fairly treated, that his aspirations for a higher mode of life, for industrial betterment are being sympathetically and favourably considered, and I am sure South Africa will be all the better for it.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

The Native Aspect.

BY MR. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES.

The South African National Income.

South Africa's most urgent economic problem is to be found in the fact that her productive power is low resulting in a low national income. This was emphasized by the Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 which submitted the following comparative estimates of post-war national income. Slight, unimportant alterations have been made for the sake of space:—

Country.	Aggregate.	Per head of population.	Per occupied person under European Supervision.
Australia (1923)	£430 millions	£ 78	£178
Canada (1923)	£800 „	£100	£260
South Africa (1923)	£186 „	£ 26	£ 43
South Africa (excluding Native Reserves and Locations)	£178 „	—	£ 96

Even when allowance is made for the subsistence farming in Native areas, the South African figures are appallingly low. They show too the extent to which the present low productive power of the Native affects our national wealth. The Commission explained this as follows:—

“The national income is the product of industry (including agricultural and personal services) as a

whole; it is the product, therefore, of an intimate and indissoluble co-operation between Europeans and Natives."

Necessity for Adequate Information.

Any effort, therefore, to increase the productive power of European or non-European is worthy of encouragement. Unfortunately, as far as the Native is concerned the data at our disposal for an assessment of the economic and social influences at work in his life are too meagre to enable us to form any such judgments as the Commission was able to arrive at in respect of the European. Magistrates, missionaries, traders and others interested in Native life have for some time been urging the appointment of a Commission to investigate the economic conditions of Native life. The Economic and Wage Commission complained of the lack of adequate information. The need too is being felt by the Wage Board which is being called upon to examine the claims of Native industrial workers to increased wages.

But any Commission that might be appointed would be faced with the same lack of information that hindered the work of the Economic and Wage Commission. Many individuals, e.g. magistrates, missionaries, traders, have acquired information which they are eager to contribute, but they feel the need for the help of trained investigators to assist them in gathering together and collating the data they possess. They wish to know what facts are useful for any economic inquiry, and ask for guidance.

Suggestions in regard to Collection of Information.

Some time ago I placed these various views before certain Government Departments and ventured to suggest a number of categories on which information should be collected. Within the past few weeks a Committee appointed by a certain public body has been carrying the matter further, and there is some likelihood of an effort being made to organize investigations into the economic condition of the Native.

It may be of some service to interested readers of the *Social and Industrial Review* if I give here an outline both of the procedure which might be adopted by such an organized inquiry, and of the categories on which information is urgently needed. I shall be grateful for any suggestions and particularly for offers of personal investigations on any of the subjects mentioned.

Procedure in Collecting Information.

In the first place as to procedure it seems to me that the following steps might usefully be taken by a Committee set up to organize the investigations:—

- (1) Preparation of an outline of the field of inquiry to be covered.
- (2) Examination of the material actually available in printed form, e.g. Parliamentary and Departmental Blue Books, Scientific Papers.
- (3) Preparation of a questionnaire to be sent to magistrates, missionaries, traders and others who may have personal acquaintance of Native economic conditions.

(4) Co-operation with the universities and other bodies in the organization of specific investigations.

(5) Collation of the information obtained.

Classes of Information required.

Secondly, the categories on which information is urgently needed may be summarized in the following way—although even a preliminary survey of the situation as a whole would doubtless greatly extend the list:—

(1) *Demographic Statistics:*

(a) Examination of Census returns and of the methods of enumeration.

(b) Comparison of polygamous and monogamous marriages: their geographical distribution, their effects on population and on field cultivation.

(c) Morbidity and Health in: their influence upon production.

(d) Migration of Natives (e.g. from reserves to the towns).

(2) *Production in Native Areas.*

(a) Gross production.

(b) Differences in the yield of various types of land tenure.

(c) Relation of the quality and quantity of stock to the character and extent of the land available for cultivation by Native occupiers.

(d) Influence of Native customs upon methods of cultivation and upon stock holding (e.g. Lobola and over-grazing).

(e) Increase or decrease of the sales to traders of Native agricultural produce.

(f) Increase or decrease of the purchase by Natives of agricultural implements.

(g) Economic value of Agricultural Demonstrators.

(h) Dependence of Native areas upon incomes earned in European areas.

(i) Possible establishment of industries in Native areas.

(3) *Native Production in European Areas.*

(a) Conditions of employment on European farms.

(b) Comparison of effect on production of share-farming, "squatting," cash-rent leasing, cash wages.

(4) *Native Production in (European) Industries.*

(a) Comparison of Native wages in various occupations.

(b) The family budgets of the several classes of town Natives.

(c) The relation of Native wages in the towns to the cost of living.

(d) Efficiency returns of different types of Native labour—e.g. mass labour, experienced labour, instructed labour, "educated" labour.

(e) Native labour and trade unionism.

(5) *Taxation and Government.*

The extent of Native contribution to the revenue of the Union through indirect taxation and its relation to the cost of services to Natives.

Urgency of Need for Investigation.

Perhaps I have given sufficient indication of the immense field for original research as well as for co-ordinated work existing in Native economics. Apart from the academic interest of the whole subject, the need for investigations is urgent both for the sake of the Native people themselves and for the country as a whole. For until we are in possession of the essential facts efforts for the Native development must be ill-directed.

The Progress of the American Negro.

What progress in Native economic life might mean to South Africa may be imagined by the experience of the United States of America. "At the close of the Civil War Southern Negroes had almost no land and practically no experience as farm owners and tenants." In 1920 the Negro farms had grown to 923,000, of which 19.3 per cent. were operated by owners, 4.2 per cent. by part owners, 19.3 per cent. by cash tenants, 53.3 per cent. by share tenants." "The total value of land and buildings on farms owned or rented by Negro farmers in the South is almost a billion dollars." "In 1863 the total wealth of the Negroes was about 20 million dollars. In 1913 it was estimated at over 700 million dollars."

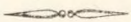
Potentialities of the Native in the National Economy.

Dr. S. H. Frankel in his paper "The position of the Native as a factor in the economic welfare of the European population in South Africa" (Conference of the Economic Society of S.A. 1927) after quoting similar figures says:—

“One is tempted to calculate, on the basis of this figure of farm production, that if the income per head of Natives occupied in agriculture, in South Africa, could only be increased to the sum of £50 (instead of £5 as at present) per annum, I understand that already in the Transkei the work of the Agricultural Demonstrators is telling in this direction, the national income in South Africa assuming only one million Natives to be occupied in agriculture, would be increased by some £45,000,000, that is, by an amount equal to the whole present national income from the combined European and Native farming.”

The following resolution of the Bantu-European Conference convened by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches in 1927 is therefore pertinent:—

“The Conference is of opinion that Natives and Europeans being comprised in the same economic system, the co-operation of both is necessary for the material welfare and progress of South Africa, and that consequently all measures are to be welcomed which have as their object the improvement of the Native’s economic position and his higher qualifications as a worker.”



HEALTH, GROWTH AND WELFARE OF THE NATIVE PEOPLES.

BY DR. J. A. MITCHELL, SECRETARY FOR
PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHIEF HEALTH
OFFICER FOR THE UNION.

In opening the discussion on health and medical matters as affecting the Native peoples of the Union, I shall try to give a kind of 'bird's eye view' of the position, and to indicate its chief features and the lines along which, it seems to me, efforts for improvement can be most usefully directed.

Bantu Population of the Union :

Apart from "Mixed Coloured" and Indians, the non-European population of the Union—almost exclusively Bantu—at present numbers, in round figures, 5,100,000, or almost exactly three times the European population, which is 1,700,000.

Virility and Fecundity of the Bantu :

The Bantu peoples of South Africa are very virile and prolific; under favourable conditions their fecundity is amazing. Their whole history bears evidence of this, and their increase under peaceful conditions and European control has been extraordinary. A striking illustration is recorded in a Report on Native Affairs, published by the Cape Colony Government in 1885. The tribe of Fingoes who had, during the early years of last century, fled from Zululand to escape from Tshaka, lived as serfs of the Gaikas, Galekas and

other warlike tribes of the Transkei. In 1835 Sir Benjamin d'Urban removed them from the Transkei and transferred them—to the number of 16,000—to the Peddie district of the Ciskei where, the official report states:

“They multiplied in an almost incredible manner, there being no parallel in history of any people increasing so rapidly. Their Locations soon became overcrowded and swarms from them were settled in Victoria East and in the beautiful valleys of the Amatolas, and even in Tsitsikama. The same thing went on at each fresh location, so that shortly there was a multitude of Fingoes in the border districts pressing upon the remaining population and clamouring for land. In 1865, 40,000 of them were moved back across the Kei to Butterworth and neighbouring districts—without evacuating any of their land in the Ciskei.” Even making allowance for probable additions of stragglers from the Transkei, this increase is phenomenal.

Coming to later times, according to the census figures for 1891 and 1921, the non-European population of what is now the Union of South Africa just about doubled during this 30-year period; it increased from 2,800,000 to 5,400,000—whilst during the same period, and despite a large influx of immigrants, the European population increased by only 500,000.

Present Rate of Increase:

Although the rate of natural increase, i.e., excess of births over deaths, has fallen during recent years, it is still comparatively high—about 16 per 1000

per annum, as compared with 16.5 for Europeans in the Union, which is, it may be remarked, higher than that of any European country. Both European and non-European rates of increase are falling, but the latter is falling rather more quickly than the former. At present the Bantu of the Union are increasing by about 80,000 per annum, and the Europeans—including a regrettably small gain by immigration—by only about 30,000 per annum.

Causes of Diminished Rate of Increase :

To a considerable extent the fall in the rate of growth or increase of the Native population of the Union may be regarded as a natural process. It is only in recent years that the Bantu has begun to feel the pinch of the economic "struggle for existence" and the effects of the curse of Adam. He is not so polygamous as he used to be, though there are still very few Native women of child-bearing age who are not bearing children. He no longer has a sparsely-peopled land, fertile and flowing with milk and honey, mealies and Kafir-beer, and with several wives to do most of the manual labour for him, leaving him to live as a gentleman of leisure.

But the fall in the rate of increase of the Native population threatens to go beyond what may be regarded as the 'natural' limit, and I may briefly indicate what appear to me the chief causes of this.

Restriction of Food Supply and unsuitable Food :

Food shortage—primarily due to drought—is recurring with increasing frequency in most

Native areas of the Union. But apart from drought, the available land, with the primitive methods of cultivation in vogue, is becoming denuded and impoverished. In the Transkei especially Natives have, in recent years, taken largely to farming sheep instead of cattle—with regrettable results to the health and development of the children, owing to shortage of milk.

Ignorance and Prejudice in Regard to Matters of Health and Disease:

To the Native, all diseases are caused by witchcraft and evil spirits—leprosy is usually the result of having been bitten by the river spirit; tuberculosis is caused by being pecked at the back of the neck by the lightning-bird, which flies in at the door or window during thunder-storms, and so forth. The Natives are hopelessly ignorant about the feeding and care of infants and young children, and the avoidable mortality amongst these is appalling.

Increased Frequency of Exposure to Disease Infections—owing to the Natives travelling about more, visiting labour centres, etc.

Increasing Adoption of European Clothing—which is rarely washed, is apt to become very dirty and verminous, and is not nearly so hygienic and suitable for them as the red blanket impregnated with ochre, which is inimical to vermin.

Bad and unhygienic dwellings: The usual type of Kafir hut—with earth floor, sod or “adobe” walls and thick grass roof, with no means of lighting or ventilation except the door or perhaps

one small opening which is usually stuffed up at night—is an ideal incubating chamber for disease infections such as tuberculosis, coupled with the prevalent habit of promiscuous spitting. In olden days, after a case of severe illness or a death the hut was burned down; now, building and thatching materials are scarce and costly, and there is very little hutburning.

The Bechuanas have a well-ventilated type of hut, with a space between the top of the wall and the roof all round. All other tribes like to shut out both fresh air and sunlight and, after dark, to live in their chimneyless huts in the smoke of a wood fire, in an atmosphere almost irrespirable to Europeans. A curious consequence of this is the frequency of umbilical hernia in Native children—due to coughing from bronchitis during the few weeks following birth, and before the umbilical wound has firmly healed.

Drift of the Native to the Towns: This is a most important factor, and the “drift” is rapidly increasing. The natural home of the Native is the open veld, and it is there he develops best. The effects—mental, moral and physical—of life in towns and town locations on him, and still more so on his children, are pernicious and far-reaching.

Lack, or shortage, of facilities for medical treatment: This bulks largely in the Conference Agenda, and has been stressed by several recent Commissions. It is of great, but not of primary, importance. In the palmy days of the Fingoes already referred to, medical facilities were not even as good they are now. From the race point

of view, prevention is far more important than cure, and the essential thing in dealing with any preventable disease or defect is not so much the care of the existing cases as *the prevention of further cases*. The two sets of activities dovetail to some extent and should, of course, be carried on concurrently, but a due sense of proportion should be observed.

As far back as 1858 Sir George Grey—in what was then British Kaffraria—initiated a policy of promoting the enlightenment and improvement of the Native people through the agency of European medical science, the proper care and nursing of the sick, and eliminating the witch-doctor and “inyanga.” I share the regret of the recent Hospital Survey Committee that that wise and statesmanlike scheme was not followed; had this been done the position to-day would have been very different. The need for better medical, nursing, hospital and health provision is urgent, and it should be organised so that prevention goes hand in hand with cure. Apart from other considerations, the health or ill-health of the Native acts and re-acts on the European; also, for the mining, industrial and agricultural development of the country, the Union should be able to meet its own unskilled labour needs, instead of having to import from neighbouring territories.

The question of establishing a Native Medical Service, as recommended by the Hospital Survey Committee and the Committee on the Medical and Health Training of Natives, arose when the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Bill was before

Parliament last year; one clause of this Bill provides for the gradual elimination of Izinyangas or Native Medicine Men in Natal and Zululand—those already licensed to be entitled to renew their licences annually, but no new licences to be issued. The Health Department urged that this was a favourable opportunity for instituting a comprehensive scheme of gradually substituting trained for untrained persons, and the Native Affairs Department concurred and supported. There were difficulties, however, and eventually the Government decided that the scheme could not be dealt with incidentally in a clause sandwiched into Bill. The point was also raised that the State was hardly called upon to provide free medical facilities for Natives when the poorer rural European residents of the Union were in even worse plight—being unable to procure free medical treatment unless prepared to label themselves “paupers” or “indigents.”

Measures by Union Health Department:

The question will be asked—What is the Union Health Department doing? My reply is that it is doing as much as it can with the resources at its disposal. It is gradually developing and improving the District Surgeons' service; it is carrying on publicity work—by issuing pamphlets, leaflets etc., in Native languages, and by subsidising translation and publication of health booklets by outside persons (notably by Rev. Jacques and Dr Elsie Chubb), also by subsidising Native health journals such as that at Lovedale; venereal diseases work is being developed—both directly and through

Local Authorities ; tuberculosis is being investigated in a most thorough and comprehensive manner—in co-operation with the Chamber of Mines and the South African Institute for Medical Research, the investigation to occupy a period of three years, two of which have already elapsed ; active campaign against leprosy is being carried on, in which the Natives are co-operating to an increasing extent ; a beginning has been made with the training of Native nurses and midwives, and it is hoped that further funds for this purpose will be forthcoming ; and lastly, provision has been made on the 1929-1930 Estimates for the appointment of an Assistant Health Officer to be headquartered at Kingwilliamstown, who will devote himself to public health activities, in the Ciskei and Transkei.

The Department is also getting more closely into touch with the Transkeian General Council and the Native District Councils in the Transkei and Ciskei, with a view to securing the co-operation of these bodies.

All that is reasonably possible under present circumstances is being done, but the task is one of great magnitude, complexity and difficulty. Its consideration and discussion at this Conference should prove useful to the Government, and do much to enlighten public opinion and promote the co-operation of all concerned.

THE TRAINING OF NATIVES IN MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY DR. C. T. LORAM, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.,
OF THE NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION.

The Union Government has recently been devoting a great deal of attention to the question of health, and following on the report of the Hospital Survey Committee the Prime Minister appointed a Committee to enquire into the training of Natives in medicine and public health. The personnel of the Committee consisted of myself as Chairman with Dr. Darley Hartley, the doyen of Cape medical men and Editor of the *South African Medical Record*; Professor Dart, Dean of the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand; Dr. Pretorius, a well known Bloemfontein medical man; Dr. W. A. Murray, of the Union Department of Public Health as members, and Mr. Wilfrid Murray, M.A., Registrar of the University of Cape Town as member and Secretary. This paper follows very closely the report of the Committee, the numbers in brackets referring to sections in the report.

There can be no question about the utter inadequacy of the present provision of medical attention for Natives. (Section 8) "Disease knows no colour bar and its presence among any section of the people endangers the whole community." (Section 7) So that whatever opinions one holds about the Native problem in general and Native Education in particular all must agree that for the

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.