

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

W I N T E R S C H O O L

THE MEANING OF APARTHEID - W.W.M. Eiselen.

The history of race relations in South Africa is closely interwoven with the story of its economic development. Policies have so often been determined by economic considerations offering quick and easy returns, that one finds it difficult to believe that saner counsels will yet prevail and that short-range exploitation will be replaced by long-range planning which concerns itself not merely with the immediate present but also with the effects of present decisions in the more remote future.

Outstanding among the ill-conceived measures of this type and comparable to an evil omen for the further course of South African history was the momentous decision to make the early colonists dependent upon the manual labour of a subordinate race and to import great numbers of slaves, when the aboriginals of the Cape were reluctant to enter their service. The fact that in those early days no one could visualise Southern Africa as the permanent national home of the offspring of the first settlers, can be accepted as an exonerating circumstance. No such excuse can be offered for launching the sugar industry of Natal by means of imported Indian labour in 1860 because by that time it had become abundantly clear that the Europeans in the interior of the country had severed connections with their homelands and were no longer a community of colonists. Prospects of immediate gain were however allowed to outweigh the serious implications, for European and Native alike, of introducing a further foreign element into multiracial South Africa.

The essential difference between the development of a colony where, rightly or wrongly, the exploitation of natural resources and the indigenous manpower has always been regarded as legitimate, and the development of a new national home, was consistently ignored in these and many other ways. From a country where its residence is of a temporary nature a dominating community of colonists can always withdraw when domination has come to the end of its tether but in South Africa where the white man has come to stay for better or for worse there is no such easy escape. He has to face the issues and if he would retain national security for his own progeny he must earn it by making just provision for the native and coloured communities whom he cannot with impunity regard as a permanently subordinate class of men.

That such provision should be made in a statesmanlike way and that a clear policy should be determined and carried out courageously has been demanded by serious thinkers for very many years. The great majority of South Africans have, however, always preferred to put off the evil day falling or refusing to understand that the successive postponements made the unravelling of the Gordian Knot more difficult. In regard to racial adjustments we have thus far been acting from a mental fog, a fog from which we must now emerge lest it should completely envelop the destiny of our country.

The solution which was first offered, and even accepted though in an indeterminate and negative way under the name of segregation, with its variant of differentiation, is now offered once more under the name of apartheid - separation is the English equivalent employed by the late Professor Hoernlé. The price to be paid for separation has however increased beyond recognition and is increasing progressively. That this, nevertheless, offers the only solution, provided the task is undertaken in an honest and constructive spirit, is the theme of my address. Alternative measures are frequently advocated. Two of these, parallelism and assimilation will be placed before you to-morrow and it will be for you to make up your minds whether they offer a just, acceptable and practical way of putting our house in order. I cannot, of course, escape touching on the two

policies indicated by the above terms in the course of my lecture, for the simple reason that they too have to some extent already been translated into practice just like the policy of segregation, and in an equally inconsistent and haphazard manner, but it will become apparent to you that I cannot accept them as genuine alternatives.

Let us approach our problem by considering the structure of human communities. If we measure a sufficiently large chance selection of individuals belonging to any one of the peoples of Western Europe, using as criteria physical traits such as pigmentation of skin and hair texture on the one hand and mental ability on the other, the results of our measurements plotted as graphs will give us normal curves tapering symmetrically towards both extremities; in the case of colour from fair to very fair and dark respectively and in the case of mental ability from average intelligence to very low and very high intelligence. By further comparison of our data we will be able to establish the complete absence of any positive correlation between intelligence on the one hand and any particular physical trait on the other.

If we proceeded to examine the same representative sample in regard to achievement in the intellectual and economic fields, the graphic presentation of our results would assume the form of a pyramid tapering sharply to the point of outstanding achievement. Scrutiny of our data in detail would show a high degree of correlation between the high intelligence extremity of our mental ability curve and the peak of our pyramid while it would show that the bulk of the low intelligence group had been absorbed into the base of the achievement pyramid together with the low mediocre group.

Translated into terms of practical life this means that within a homogeneous population the great majority of people will find their proper place in the social and economic structure of the country, normally that intelligence, personality and initiative rise to the top but that even for the poorly endowed class there is always a useful and necessary occupation.

It is true enough as Grey has expressed it in his elegy that "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air", but one can safely assume that with the proverbially low birth-rate at the upper end of the social pyramid there is constant readjustment and that the proper functioning of any community actually depends on its reserve of potential achievement latent in the lower strata which will serve to reinforce the intellectual aristocracy from generation to generation.

This means that in the type of society that we are considering John citizen can under normal circumstances lead the type of life which appeals to him and to participation in which he is entitled by reason of his natural talents. Should he believe, as many of us are inclined to do, that he is getting rather less than his fair share of the good things of life, he still has the consoling expectation that his children may achieve that which he was denied.

This simple and straightforward scheme is not for South Africa with its multiracial population. The situation here is of such complexity that I am not going to attempt to deal with all the separate racial units but will instead deal with the relations existing between white and black only.

Pigmentation statistics of the European and Native population of South Africa when reduced to graphical form show two distinct non-intersecting curves. If the corresponding mental ability distribution curves were as completely separate as the pigmentation curves, the problem which we are now discussing would not arise. In fact we would then be justified in forming one single socio-economic unit with the Europeans as compact upper stratum of the pyramid structure, resting on the broad base of a completely subordinate native population. This, in other words, would mean the full justification of the principle of the horizontal colour bar, provided that the domination exercised were of a humane character.

Actually the mental ability curves are by no means distinct. The psychologists who have carried out and interpreted the results of intelligence tests are not agreed as to the extent of overlapping, but their controversy in regard to either partial or almost complete overlapping is not relevant to our problem. All that concerns us here is the well-established phenomenon of very considerable overlapping.

What was already clear to all careful observers of native life and development is therefore fully corroborated by scientific investigation. The commonplace assertion that natives will require centuries of contact with Western Civilisation before attaining intellectual parity with Europeans is scientifically untenable and furthermore disproved by successful careers of a number of individuals. Another common argument that native inferiority is proved by the failure of the Bantu to emerge from savagery by their own unaided efforts would have applied with equal force to the Western peoples of 2,000 years ago and must therefore also be dismissed as spurious. Nevertheless racial policy in South Africa has in the main been determined by the view that the native should continue to form the lower subordinate stratum of a European-centred society, some Europeans allowing for the escape beyond the horizontal colour bar of a minority of gifted individuals others suggesting that such men and women might find a fruitful field for the exercise of their talents in the traditional tribal areas.

The present position representing the achievement of more than a century's practical experimentation in Native Policy reflects little credit on our ability to evolve a constructive programme for a multi-racial country. The facts are common knowledge and therefore all we need do is to examine the salient points.

In the economic field the European is completely dependent on native labour; for his domestic requirements, his agricultural and mining activities, his secondary industries, and for the construction and upkeep of his system of transport and communications. The position is neatly summarised in the attractive saying that native manpower is the greatest asset of the country. The European, therefore, has abundant reason to feel uneasy about the future, and while his immediate concern appears to be a more even distribution of labour between town and country there is no doubt, I think, that he is mentally and often even morally troubled by the knowledge that his whole economy is not self-supporting but rests on the precarious foundation of a system of domination, which may not be entirely inappropriate to-day but will become progressively so in the near future inasmuch as it defeats its own ends by the westernising influence which it exercises on the natives.

The native artist, Sekoto, recently exhibited a painting which illustrates in a striking manner the decadence of the ruling class inherent in the system of domination. His 'symphony of labour' shows a row of strapping native youths, a phalanx of muscular vigour, the pickaxes raised above their heads in rhythmic movement, ready to strike. Into this impressive scene of buoyant life and vigour he has introduced the slouching figure of the European overseer, pipe in mouth and hands firmly embedded in his pockets. A fine work of art turned into a poignant shame-provoking illustration of the workings of domination.

He illustrates most realistically - whether purposefully or not I cannot say - the degeneration of the white man, whose rightful place in the economic structure of his society has been usurped by the native. There is no people which does not include a considerable class of persons who, by their natural endowment, are predestined to live by the work of their hands and who cannot make good in any other way. The present structure of our European community offers no scope for this section of the people, which constitute an indispensable element in any homogeneous community. A mistaken sense of social dignity prevents this class of European from recognising its exclusion from the field of unskilled labour as the root-cause of its economic maladjustment, and the European community in general viewing these matters from within a mental fog fails or fears to diagnose the disease which is sapping its strength.

Turning to the natives we find no corresponding reticence in regard to their disabilities. There is nothing humiliating in demanding access to the professional and skilled occupations and to higher forms of life in general. The inequity of denying opportunities for development is easily demonstrated and the grievances of the natives are therefore freely discussed. It may be that these grievances are often exaggerated but even after discounting overstatements they remain genuine enough.

It is not my intention to describe in any detail the manifold ways in which our present system of domination tempered with trusteeship has proved irksome to the native community and is becoming ever more irritating. This ground has been fully covered in various periodicals, in articles and pamphlets published by the Institute of Race Relations and in a number of books dealing with this problem of inequality. It will suffice to state that in practice the native finds his freedom of movement and action severely curtailed; that in his efforts to rise to a higher level he finds his progress in the economic, the social and the political field barred by the whiteman, who claims permanent superiority by virtue of his colour. He finds to his dismay that many of the Europeans who appear to champion the cause of equal opportunity for all, resent close contact and familiarity with the native and that they are not prepared to go beyond distant friendship.

Until very recently I was in charge of Native Education in this Province and during my period of office I had occasion to observe the very rapid expansion of educational services and also a fair improvement of the standard of attainment. From year to year however, I became more acutely aware of the fact that the schooling offered was divorced from the constructive aims of real life, that education culminating in the training of teachers and teachers only, that education offering the opium of literacy instead of preparation for a full life was something bound to defeat its deeper purpose. I felt and I still feel that education to be worthy of its name may not be fettered but must offer to the pupils full development to their optimum capacity in each and every direction. This freedom of education can however not be attained except within a self-sufficient community. Operating within our present system Native Education lacks the inspiration offered by a worthy goal; it necessarily remains a form of preparation for life in a subordinate society.

The recent expansion of secondary industries in South Africa has led to a yet closer integration of Native and European in the same economic system. An avalanche of natives has moved to and is enveloping the urban areas - this avalanche is far in excess of the actual labour requirements of the established industries. Major disturbances have occurred, there has been an unprecedented wave of crime and the urban authorities have been unable to cope with the situation. What are the findings of the Government Commission appointed to investigate the position, what does it recommend? It says in effect: the natives are moving to the towns just as the Europeans did during the last few decades; urbanisation of the natives cannot be checked and we have to make the best of circumstances as they are. The position can be eased by providing housing in extensive native villages adjoining the European towns and by introducing a measure of self-government under municipal control. The report makes it quite explicit that the measures advocated are merely palliatives suited to a transition stage and that further adjustments will have to be made from time to time in the light of further developments.

In effect then, this report recommends continuation of the present trends and fails to suggest any definite policy to guide us. Although the attitude adopted towards the natives in the document is undeniably most sympathetic, it contains several important statements which can in no way be reconciled with the aspirations of our native population. What does the Commission mean by quoting with approval these words of one of the witnesses: "We need the natives and they need us"? Does it mean that we need them as equals or does it mean that we need them as servants and labourers and that they need us as masters and employers? The Commission supplies the answer. It says "that whether we think it desirable or not the economic structure

of South Africa is based on the one hand on European initiative, organisation and technical skill, on the other hand no less on the availability of a few million native labourers." Is this not merely a euphemistic restatement of the familiar slogan "white man's brain and black man's brawn"?

The Commissioners in another passage display a surprising and unrealistic lack of faith in the practical ability of the Bantu. They cannot envisage native industry in a native area as a going concern without permanent supervision and control of Europeans. To put the matter boldly, the Commissioners are of opinion that the present system with its technique of domination and all its concomitant bitterness and frustration is bound to continue.

I have singled out this report for special comment because of two reasons: firstly because it appears to express the views of that influential section of the people which, while well disposed towards the natives, regards them primarily as an indispensable cog in our industrial system and, secondly, because the report has been hailed by liberal opinion in South Africa as a most significant document and as a timely and conclusive reply to the 'arrant nonsense of separation'.

This response on the part of the liberalists comes as a surprise. I can hardly imagine that the significance of the statements quoted by me could have escaped them. One wonders whether in their zeal to oppose the idea of separation at all costs they allowed themselves to be trapped into expressing approval of principles which smack very strongly of the domination complex. In this they were certainly not true to the lead given by the late Professor Hoernlé in his admirable book on: "South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit" where after careful consideration of the alternatives advocated he says: "Total Separation into distinct White and Black 'areas of liberty' must be considered a genuine liberal ideal, if it means that breaking-up of the present caste-society which as a whole can never be a free society, or a society of free men, seeing that it makes the liberties necessary for a "good life" the exclusive privilege of the dominant caste". And in his concluding chapter he re-asserts: "Speaking solely for myself, I suggest that, from this point of view, (namely that this policy might find favour with the white groups genuinely concerned for the welfare of the non-whites), Total Separation should be the liberal's choice. To choose total assimilation is to condemn himself to utter impotence in the face of existing race feelings: he can do nothing for the realisation of greater liberty for the non-European groups if he adopts Total Assimilation as his professed objective. To choose Parallelism is to choose a policy which will not in practice, abolish racial domination: so long as Whites and non-Whites are united in the same socio-political structure, the former will not consent to surrender their dominance. Parallelism will remain domination in disguise." - "For the native people of the Union, at any rate, it should be clear that there is no escape from White domination by way of Parallelism or Assimilation, but only by way of Total Separation."

Professor Hoernlé goes on to state that it is totally unrealistic to believe that in practice Separation will be any more realizable than its alternatives. He thinks that the sacrifice demanded of the white group in "power, prestige, and not least of economic advantage and convenience" will prove to be insuperable obstacles. Other writers have stressed the point raised in the Fagan Report namely that the white man would never be either prepared or able to do without native labour. Senator Brookes has time and again emphasised the futility of giving serious thought to a policy of total separation, when it was perfectly obvious that even the addition of the further areas earmarked for native occupation by the law of 1936 would hardly alleviate the present congestion in Native Areas, and when nobody would agree to release further tracts of land. The consensus of opinion among the critics of Separation appears to be that it is definitely not realizable and that the advocates of the policy merely use the term as a convenient smoke screen behind which domination can freely continue. In view of the negative spirit in which the old segregation policy was undertaken this interpretation is not unwarranted. One must however clearly differentiate between the intrinsic value of a concept and its translation into practice. My aim in this lecture is to

show that Separation is not an unattainable ideal and that the sacrifice involved for both white and non-white is not too high a price to pay for deliverance from the evils of a caste society with its present bitter enmity which may one day lead to the destruction of many things that we hold dear.

In order to clear the ground for our discussion of the constructive policy envisaged, I must first expose the fallacies usually enunciated in axiomatic form to discredit the policy of separation.

In assessing the extent of land which the natives require it is generally assumed that every able-bodied native should be a farmer. This, of course, is ridiculous. In a self-sufficient and progressive society only a certain percentage of the people can be farmers, the rest find a living in other occupations. No one would dream of thinking that all the Jewish immigrants entering the new state of Israel should continue to live in their new home the old city lives to which they were accustomed in the various countries from which they have come. We must therefore get away from the idea that all natives must be peasants.

That secondary industries should all be centralised and located in or near European towns and that the native manpower should be moved to suit the convenience of white capitalists is another entirely unwarranted assumption. There appears to be no reason whatsoever why many industries should not be decentralised and brought near to the source of labour. It may be argued that communication, water - and power-supply are not available except in established towns. But I would point out that the native areas have not yet been properly surveyed in regard to their suitability for industrial concerns and I venture to say that the cost of providing water, power and lines of transport might in many cases prove less expensive to the state than the establishment of new extensive native towns under a sub-economic building-scheme.

It is generally accepted that the whole South African economy depends on a permanent supply of native labour. Now it is obvious that in this context the term native is used as synonym of the word cheap. Native labour was not considered necessary or even desirable for the sugar industry of Natal but it had to be cheap labour, which was accordingly imported from India.

One must be over-optimistic indeed to think that native labour will always remain cheap. There are economists even today who consider native work anything but cheap when it is measured in terms of productivity and when the high cost of housing to State and Municipality is taken into account. But there can be no doubt that unless repressive measures are employed non-white trade and labour unions will soon demand very much increased remuneration. The slogan 'equal pay for equal work' is already well known to and freely used by the natives, and it is therefore merely a matter of time before their wages which have already risen considerably reach a level which will render further use of the adjective cheap unnecessary.

To build up industries on the basis of cheap labour is probably an excellent initial device, but it is bound to break down in the long run. As I have pointed out, a permanent supply of cheap labour seems to be out of the question in any case, but apart from that, it is very doubtful whether the princes of industry outside South Africa will permit the use of such labour as soon as our industries reach the competitive stages and thus affect their export market adversely. Should this come to pass, suitable economic measures amounting to sanctions could be employed to bring us to heel, just as in the case of pre-war Japan; or world opinion could be mobilised to ban what could conveniently be called semi-slave labour in South African industry.

All these minor points are linked up with the major fallacy usually expressed in the following way: If native labour were withdrawn from farms, industries and domestic service the whole economy would be dislocated

and the country would tumble to ruin. Now I have never heard anyone ask what would happen if the whole of the native population were suddenly assimilated or if the whole native society were suddenly organised into socio-political units on parallel lines. To ask such a question would strike people as absurd because of its sheer impossibility. On the other hand the advocates of separation are required to effect separation overnight and to confess that they have blundered when they admit that this cannot be done without disastrous results.

Our native policy has been criticised by me because it obeys the dictates of the moment, because it has on occasions lent itself to serve as handmaiden of industrial enterprise in securing quick returns. Its main defect is that it has never yet produced a genuine long-range programme. Separation is a distant goal and can only be achieved by careful long-range planning, and its gradual realisation need not bring about economic dislocation.

Finally I must make mention of another bogey which is used freely to enlist the sympathies of the natives themselves against the idea of separation. It is said that the clock will be set back, that the natives will be forced downwards into a state of savagery and that they will no longer be potential heirs to western civilization. Such statements are typical examples of the methods of the anti-separation campaign: a counterfeit programme is presented and this is then methodically demolished. In this connection I have to point out once more that separation will be a long-drawn out process. Again it is common knowledge that our native reserves are in a bad way precisely because the population has been allowed to remain so backward in its methods of husbandry. South Africa cannot afford to allow further deterioration of this land, and of such additions to it as may be made from time to time, and the only remedy lies in education. In the third place many whites who are intensely opposed to the assimilation of natives living amongst them will have little objection to their westernisation as separate entities, more particularly as this will then automatically proceed in the more normal way of acculturation. It should be clear that the way for separation must be prepared by education in the broad sense of the word.

After disposing of the more common arguments advanced against apartheid I must now attempt to describe very briefly its positive aspects, as I see them.

The first requirement is that the ultimate goal should be seen clearly namely the separation of white and native into separate self-sufficient socio-economic units, a process which will be spread over many years. The aim once in view both parties will be able to adapt themselves gradually to the new circumstances envisaged by separation, and they will bear with greater equanimity and less bitterness the many hardships which they will certainly meet with in the transition period.

As regards additional land which will be required for native occupation I do not think that it would serve any useful purpose to determine its extent immediately, although I have no doubt that it will have to be very much in excess of the 4 million morgen which are still to be purchased in terms of the law of 1936.

The value of land to any society depends on its sustained fertility and food-producing capacity, which means, in effect, on its profitable occupation. Land which is not profitably occupied means loss of food to the society as a whole. For this reason it is of paramount importance that all native-occupied land should be so developed as to become an asset and not a liability. At present there are native owned farms in the district of Lichtenburg where the fields are still yielding to the new class of native peasants the same or even a greater crop than that reaped by the previous European owners. Such cases are unfortunately very rare; in most of the native areas the soil has deteriorated to an alarming extent owing to poor cultivation and overstocking. The point I wish to make is this: If all native land were as profitably occupied as the Lichtenburg farms mentioned, there could be, from the economic point of view, no objection to very liberal extension of the native areas.

Profitable occupation is hardly possible unless the land is destocked, a class of farmers trained, the surplus population gathered into residential villages and the various plots systematically reclaimed and developed. Once this principle of profitable occupation has been well established - this would mean intensive training of the chiefs and headmen to serve as leaders - throughout the existing native territories further purchase of land could be permitted provided such land was always adjacent to existing native land. In this way the present patchy semi-circular belt of native land stretching from the Kei to the Limpopo could be consolidated into a broad continuous stretch of country, divided into convenient sectors for the various ethnic groups.

Provision of land should, in my opinion, be a question for joint action of all governments in Southern Africa, and our own Government should, in order to attain this end, initiate negotiations with our neighbours. Should such negotiations prove successful a comprehensive settlement could be achieved. But even in the absence of such an understanding with our neighbours, I have no doubt that ample provision could still be made within the Union itself for a civilised native society which would have to prove itself a reliable peasantry in the course of the next few decades.

As indicated already the native country would not retain its present rural character but would become partly urbanised with railway lines linking up its towns with the existing system. In the initial stages of rehabilitation industries, as advocated in the 9th. report of the Planning Council, and as already initiated by the Native Affairs Department near Kingwilliams-town, would have to be launched with government capital. In the later stages the manpower of the reserves would probably attract capital in the normal way.

The development of native land on the lines indicated would depend largely on the introduction of a system of extensive education controlled entirely by the government, giving a primary grounding in the essential subjects to all, giving industrial and agricultural training of an advanced nature to many and a high school and university education to the particularly gifted. This would have to be supplemented by the simultaneous training of adults in various directions to make them useful members of society. The scope and standard of education offered would be determined by the capacity of the society to produce more wealth. The task of the high schools, the vocational schools and the universities would be to produce suitable men and women for the staffing of all posts in the social, civil, administrative and judicial services from which the European incumbents would gradually be withdrawn.

Local and Regional Government would also naturally be completely in native hands after the completion of their educative task by the initially appointed European administrators. Discussion of the probable relation between the Union Government and the several native councils would lead us too far afield. Instead I propose to return from this excursion into the realm of speculative planning back into the dark cave of actualities.

Let us consider the probable reaction of the native population to the long-range programme which I have placed before you in broad outline. I have already indicated that the majority of the educated natives is all for the integration. This attitude is largely determined by the fact that his training has given him a fair command of English and that he would like to live in an urban area where this accomplishment can be turned to good account. He also fears that he will have to turn native once more if he has to make his home permanently in a Reserve. Even now it is not an easy task for the Transvaal Education Department to obtain the services of well qualified teachers in rural high schools.

There is, however, another side to this picture: the natives living in the Protectorates show no inclination to be incorporated in the Union. Many of the Basutoland teachers who might secure appointment in Union schools, and be placed on a far higher salary scale, prefer to remain in their own country far removed from centres of European civilisation. One of the innovations which I introduced in Native Education was the

establishment of departmental high schools with an all-native staff, and as far as I have been able to gather from a number of farewell addresses presented to me on my resignation, my belief in the ability of Bantu men to handle their own affairs efficiently when placed in a position of great responsibility, earned for me the greatest measure of gratitude, and I am glad to say that I never had occasion to regret this step. It is because of this and many other reasons that I am convinced that the educated native too would soon co-operate wholeheartedly in the more comprehensive task of educating his people to attain self-efficiency.

Gradually it will also dawn upon the natives in general that the task of raising 8 million natives to a higher standard of living will never be undertaken with enthusiasm in a caste-ridden society and that it would in any case be an onerous task for the two million whites to accomplish. They will realise that in the long run they will be able to do this themselves more thoroughly within a community of their own. The Bantu too have pride of race and tradition and as soon as they see that within areas of their own they are offered more than mere book education, that trades and occupations and positions of trust and authority, which in the European towns were the monopoly of the white master, are open to them, they will not fail to respond. It is generally agreed that the most difficult hurdle to clear in moving towards separation will be to convince the whites that they should gradually adapt themselves to an economy not based on cheap labour. The mining industry with its well-balanced and finely adjusted system of migratory labour which hardly affects municipal economy, would probably be able to carry on with this type of labour as long as the gold mines last. In any case gold mining is hardly going to be permanent industry and will therefore require no permanent arrangement in our long-range programme. The other mining concerns will have sufficient time to adjust themselves to the new circumstances as the current of migratory labour begins to flow more slowly.

In regard to the farming industry which hardly keeps its head above water in normal times and which is always short of labour, three methods of weathering the storm suggest themselves:

- i. the formation of small co-operative units for the mechanisation of the work now done by native labourers.
- ii. controlled immigration of agricultural labourers from overcrowded countries of western Europe,
- iii. retrenchment as regards the size of the farms and gradual transfer of adjoining farming areas to the native belt.

The secondary industries are in many instances turning native even now and as already set out earlier in my lecture there seems to be no valid reason why new ventures should not be begun in native areas, where the manpower could be accommodated more easily and satisfactorily than in our temporary-permanent city slums.

It has been put to me that industries in native areas might enter into unfair competition with similar industries employing European labour. To this, two answers suggest themselves, namely that either a gentleman's agreement should be reached as to the allocation of types of industries to white and non-white areas respectively or that free competition should be allowed, offering the Whites, suitably re-enforced by migration from Europe the opportunity to demonstrate the superior craftsmanship claimed and thereby to neutralise any advantage initially held by the native communities by virtue of their lower standard of living.

A long period of time would have to be allowed for the transition from the integrated to the separated system of economy, and during this period a short-range programme would have to be evolved enabling the Government to deal with the many problems which have arisen owing to the migration of natives to the urban areas. For such a transition programme many of the recommendations contained in the Fagan Report would be eminently suitable. The first step would be to stem the flood of Bantu families moving to the cities to a life of uncertainty and hardship by introducing an effective emigration control in respect of all the reserves. This salutary measure which might be regarded as negative in character must be accompanied by constructive reorganisation of the existing/... 10

existing reserves so that they become functionally self-sufficient units offering a form of life which all possibilities of full self-realisation, which will attract the Bantu even more than the lure of the European city.

I have now set out a programme of separation and I have tried to deal faithfully with the many difficulties which beset the course of apartheid. Will white South Africa be prepared to pay the price? I think that if the issues at stake are fully understood and the alternatives are placed in the balance, the advantages of separation will outweigh the sacrifices demanded.

These are the alternatives as I see them:

The white group can either offer genuine trusteeship, grant additional land when ability to occupy profitably is assured, and guide the ward to real self-sufficiency and to effective autonomy within the framework of the Union, or it can choose to cling frantically to its master-people complex, to become embroiled in progressively more inescapable economic, social and political entanglements, and ultimately to forfeit its cherished superiority and perhaps its racial identity.

In our present South African society there are two schools of thought. The one, representing the majority of the Europeans, while prepared to endorse the main principles I have set out, may shirk the sacrifices demanded. These people I wish to remind once more that separation regarded as an overnight measure would indeed be intolerable to all concerned but that introduced as a 20 year plan it would not entail any real hardship but would prove itself a policy of sound investment for white and black alike. The other school seriously thinks that we would do the natives, who appear so anxious to adopt western civilisation in toto, an injustice by encouraging them to follow a more independent line of development. If these thinkers could be persuaded to examine the whole problem in a detached spirit, it would soon become clear to them that they approve of assimilation not in general but only in the specific form in which it manifests itself in South Africa. In other words the predilection of the natives for their own particular brand of civilisation flatters them; had the natives chosen differently they too might have regarded the tendency of assimilation in a very different light.

In the light of these sobering thoughts it should be apparent to all that the policy aiming at separation is the only sane, unbiased and honest policy. It is sane because it recognises the natural and not man-made differences existing between European and Native, it is unbiased because it advocates civilisation in general and not the type of civilisation which happens to be one's own and it is honest because it is constructive and encourages the natives to seek development in a field where the European will naturally drop out as competitor.

Whether we shall be able to come to an agreement at this stage as regards the desirability of separation as ultimate goal, I cannot say. But I wish to state most emphatically that all serious thinkers will support the institution of immediate and comprehensive experiments of rehabilitation and training for self-sufficiency in the existing reserves. This is the first step in the long-range programme of separation, and if the experiments are conducted in a truly helpful spirit and if the natives possess the innate capabilities, which I believe they have, it must succeed and open up the way for the following steps in this programme of separation and self-realisation. The scheme which I have placed before you is of a general nature; I have not tried to indicate in detail how the proposed autonomy of the native territories will function within the Union of South Africa because I feel that it would be premature at this stage to seek a final formula. It should be clear that this relationship can best be determined when the programme envisaged is well under way.

Similarly speculation in regard to the Bantu culture which may in this way evolve can serve no useful purpose. One can, however, safely assume that its development by way of natural acculturation may preserve many of those valuable traits which would disappear in any process of assimilation.

In the short time at my disposal I have not touched upon the Indian and the Coloured problem but I firmly believe that, if the major problem of race relations between Black and White admits of satisfactory settlement,

there can be found an escape for these minorities too from the feeling of frustration which vitiates all relationships in a caste-society.

Just over a hundred years ago the Voortrekkers decided on a tremendous venture, they gave up home and hearth and economic security and moved into a strange country in order to achieve independence. The time has come for another momentous decision; the sands are fast running out; another Great Trek must begin, away from caste society which is our undoing, and towards areas of liberty.

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.