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Journal No 3

5.16.3



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THE ECONOMICS OF TRUSTEESHIP

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Selby B. Ngcobo

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The title of the article has been suggested by the fact that the policy of Trusteeship governs the general relationship between Europeans and Africans. Since an essential aspect of this policy is the purchase of more land for Africans as provided for under the Native Land and Trust Act No. 18 of 1936, it is convenient to begin by reviewing the land purchasing programme.

The Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 provided for the purchase of Native lands up to a maximum of 7,250,000 morgen, the allocation of this quota to each province was to be as follows:

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TABLE I

QUOTA OF LANDS TO BE BOUGHT ON BEHALF OF AFRICANS IN RELEASED AREAS UNDER THE NATIVE LAND & TRUST ACT OF 1936

| Province | Extent of land in Morgen | Percentage of total quota |
|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Transvaal | 5,028,000 | 69.3 |
| Cape | 1,616,000 | 22.3 |
| Natal | 526,000 | 7.3 |
| Orange Free State | 80,000 | 1.1 |
| Total | 7,250,000 | 100 |

The reason for the ^{disproportionate} allocation of so much land to the Transvaal was that in that province no adequate provisions for the land needs of the Africans had been made ^{prior to} before 1881. Even between 1881 and 1886 very few Native reserves ^{had been} were beacons off in the Transvaal.

Since 1936, the total area and percentages of quota land that have been purchased (by the South African Native Trust and by the Africans) ^{themselves} and those still to be purchased are as follows:

TABLE II SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF QUOTA LAND VESTED IN THE TRUST AND LAND STILL TO BE ACQUIRED

| Description of quota land | Extent in Morgen | Percentage of quota land |
|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Crown Land vested in the Trust | 1,497,646 | 20.7 |
| Land purchased by the Trust | 1,762,797 | 24.3 |
| Land bought by the Africans | 238,789 | 3.3 |
| Land still to be bought | 3,750,768 | 51.7 |
| All Quota Land Total | 7,250,000 | 100 |

(1) Report of the Native Affairs Department, 1945 U.G. 44, 1946, p. 6.
 (2) Senator E.H. Brookes, a member of the Native Affairs Commission, in an article in the Natal Mercury, of 4th November, 1947.
 (3) U.G. 14 of 1948, p. 11.

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It is reasonable to believe that but for ^{World War II, during which} the war when land purchases were suspended, ~~until 1945~~, more land would have been bought by the South African Native Trust.

It is ^{however,} ~~very~~ instructive to notice ^e how much quota land still remains to be bought in each ^p province. In the Transvaal, 2,140,760 morgens ^(or 59% of the Provincial quota) still remain to be acquired; in the Cape, ^{the figure is} 1,174,916 morgens ^(or 75% of the Provincial quota) still ~~has to be acquired~~; in Natal, 409,523 morgens ^(or 85% of the Provincial quota) remains to be acquired and ⁱⁿ for the Orange Free State the balance is 25,569 morgens ^(or 32% of the Provincial quota).

That the overstocked, over^ecrowded and overpopulated conditions of many reserves in the Ciskei and in Natal need the kind of relief ^{which} to be provided by additional lands ^{would provide} is common cause, ^{and} ^{which has been} The African people in these areas are anxious that the additional land ^{promised} them since 1913 should ^{now} not be made available. ^{It cannot be doubted,} That more land will eventually be acquired, ^{but} cannot be doubted. ⁺ The question is how long will it take?

In the Cape ^{Province,} ~~Selony~~ there has been since 1936, political pressure ^{has since 1936 been exercised} on the Government to excise ^{in favour of Europeans} some of the released areas, ^{while} and, at the same time, difficulties have been encountered in obtaining the consent of the Xhosa of the Ciskei to move to new settlements in British Bechuanaland, ^{where they would encounter,} a different tribal, social, and physical environment. In Natal, the difficulty is that about half ^{of the} of the promised land must be found outside ^{of the} released areas. ¹⁵ The cry is ^{heard} everywhere that: "No more land must be acquired for Natives until they show that they can use beneficially what they have".

^{Government must resist this pressure and proceed with the policy to which the} The Nation, ^{is} however, committed ^{to the policy of 1936.}

THE REHABILITATION SCHEME

It is ⁱⁿ to the interests of the Government and the Africans ^{alike} that ~~the existing and new~~ Native lands should be beneficially occupied. To ensure this, the Government has introduced the Rehabilitation policy

- (4) Percentages calculated on the basis of the figures given ⁱⁿ on p.11 of the Report of the Native Affairs Department, 1945 - 47.
- (5) Senator Brookes, in the Natal Mercury, 4th November, 1947.
- (6) Vide Report of the Native Affairs Department, 1944/45, pp.9-10.

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with its betterment area schemes. Informed persons are by now sufficiently familiar with the details of these schemes, ^{which provide that settlement} ~~On trust~~ lands ~~settlement~~ is controlled by Proclamations 12, 13 of 1945, while overstocking and grazing ^{are} ~~is~~ regulated by Proclamation 31 of 1939.

There is no doubt that the Rehabilitation Scheme has its scientific merits and promising economic potentialities. Already ^{there have} ~~been achieved~~ under its aegis some outstanding local results ^{in regard to} ~~have been achieved as~~ regards improved grazing capacity for cattle, improved cattle breeds, ^{increased} raising milk and crop yields, ^{and more} intensive farming on irrigation lands. ^{Some} If ~~many~~ of these schemes could be ^{judiciously} ~~speedily~~ introduced, ^{and fostered} in other Native areas, ~~as well and extensively carried out~~ the level of production and the standard of living among Africans in the Native reserves would be raised considerably.

(Although the betterment area schemes have been accepted by certain African communities, ^{rising} ~~the number of these increasing~~ each year, there is no mass enthusiasm for these schemes. The reasons ~~for this is~~ ^{are} threefold: Firstly, the rehabilitation scheme involves a radical departure from African traditional usages and practices as regards land, cattle and forests. ^{was has been} Secondly, the manner in which the scheme ~~is~~ introduced and carried out in several areas ^{has} ~~does~~ not commend itself to Africans. ^{E.g.} ~~For example~~, in speaking to African audiences too much stress ^{has been} ~~is~~ laid on the technical and scientific values of rehabilitation schemes, and in the demarcation of arable, pastoral and other lands it ^{has} ~~(sometimes happened~~ that certain families ^{have} ~~become~~ landless and ^{had} ~~have~~ to be accommodated elsewhere.) Thirdly, Africans ^{are} ~~are~~ feeling ^{unhappy about} ~~uncomfortable~~ in having to pay higher rentals ^{for} ~~on~~ trust lands and ^{having} ~~to~~ subsisting ^{on} five morgen of arable land. ^{is} ~~is~~

In the prevailing circumstances of African life it is ^{however,} ~~is~~ inevitable that reform should come from outside the Native areas and that the Rehabilitation Scheme should be imposed on African peasants. The

- 8.
- (7) Ibid. pp.9 - 25.
 - (8) Vide verbatim report of the proceedings of the Native Representative Council, Vol. 11, 1944, pp.177-180, and debates in the Senate under policy motions moved by Ministers for Native Affairs in 1945, 1946 and 1947.

difficulties experienced by Africans may be the price they have to pay for progress. This is not to suggest, however, that rural reconstruction can be successfully undertaken and permanent results achieved without ^{the} ~~Africans~~ ^{an} understanding ^{by the Africans of} what is going on and without their co-operation. These suggestions may be put forward by way of enlisting the good will of Africans and their support for progressive methods.

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Firstly, The extension of general elementary education through ~~the~~ local community ~~type~~ of schools and ^{the provision of} facilities for adult education would create in the African masses a mental climate favourable to the desired changes; such means would enable African peasants to appreciate better propaganda literature, placards, ^{and} magic lanterns and cinema pictures dealing with their health, agricultural and pastoral problems. Secondly, The training and appointment of ^{suitably trained} Africans to professional and technical posts under the South African Native Trust would provide a corps of ^{properly trained} persons ^{Africans} who could very well interpret European aims and intentions to Africans, and African needs and reactions to Europeans. Thirdly, If, next to communally held lands, lands under freehold title could be cultivated by selected African farmers ^{who} enjoying assistance in respect of credit, seeds and ^{the} sale of their produce, ^{then} African peasants ^{as a whole} would ^{then} be provided with ocular demonstrations and living examples ^{of} in progressive farming. ^{thus ensuring} the production of a more assured food supply.

Even if all the 7 1/2 million morgens of land were purchased it is an admitted fact that there will ~~not~~ ^{never} be insufficient land for all Africans needing land. It is also a well known fact that conditions in the Reserves do not allow for the development of large scale farming even with improved agricultural techniques. In such circumstances therefore it is almost impossible to develop an ^{entirely} independent African peasantry. Hence many Africans have ~~to~~ ^{to} find means of livelihood ~~either~~ on the farms ^{and} or in urban areas.

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PROBLEM OF FARM LABOUR

The problem of the shortage of African farm labour has been with us ever since Europeans and Africans came into contact. The real reason why there has been this continual cry ~~about this shortage of African labour on the farms~~ is that the level of remuneration ~~on the farms is too low, that the capacity of the farmers to employ labour is almost limitless.~~ By legal and political ^{methods} means farmers have for a long time sought to defeat economic tendencies towards the raising of wages on the farms; likewise, any farmer who tries to pay his farm servants ^{better} is sooner or later made to feel that he is breaking the 'custom of the district'. Hence, ~~most~~ farmers tend to keep to the ruling rate of remuneration and that rate is ~~too low, one indeed.~~

[In discussions ^{on} to how to meet the shortage of farm labour, farmers generally think mainly of the number of labourers they can employ and of the number of African labourers who are in the reserves (or ^{seeking} employment in the urban areas. But the ~~supply of labour,~~ it is necessary to emphasise, ^{that the supply of labour} does not only depend on the potential numbers of labourers, but also on their willingness and ability to work. The extent to which men are willing to work depends to a large extent on the inducements offered by those needing their services; thus the extent to which Africans are willing to come and work on the ~~#####~~ farms depends on the inducements farmers ~~are offering~~ ^{are} or willing to offer.

[For a long time, in the days when farmers had very little cash and before a money sense had developed among Africans, farmers offered ~~African~~ ^{their} labourers land upon which to reside, land to cultivate, and grazing privileges. But the development of commercial farming among Europeans has meant that less land for cultivation and grazing purposes has ~~been~~ ^{been} made available to the Africans. Also, the tendency of modern South African legislation has been to discourage or prohibit the African from residing on ~~the~~ farms as a share-farmer or a labour tenant. The position today is that ⁽⁹⁾ with regard to ~~of the~~ the average arable land, ~~the~~ average number of stock, and in respect of a few other essentials of rural living, Africans in the Native areas are better off than Africans on ~~the~~ farms. This fact was very well ⁽¹⁰⁾ brought out in the Report of the Farm Labour Committee, of 1940.

[In part ^{this} explains why Africans from the reserves are disinclined to ~~go to labour in the farms.~~ When they do have to go to work, they prefer urban areas and labour centres. ~~to the farms.~~ The attractions in urban areas ~~are~~ ^{are} higher cash wages, paid holidays, free week-ends, ^{and} regular and shorter hours of work. Africans prefer weekly wages in urban areas to monthly wages on the farms; they also prefer to receive their remuneration entirely in cash and to decide for themselves ^{how much} what they shall spend on food, clothes and shelter rather ~~to~~ ^{than} have the employer decide ^{how much} what they shall receive in cash and ^{how much} what they shall receive in kind. It is difficult to persuade many Africans that the real income of African farm labourers is equal to or even higher, ~~so it is claimed,~~ than that of Africans in urban employment, ^{as is sometimes claimed.} Indeed, many Africans ^{are} ~~aver~~ that in those urban occupations where remuneration is in ^{cash and kind} cash and kind, these are better than on the farms. Even in those areas where farm servants are remunerated entirely in cash, wages are much lower than in many urban occupations.

(9) Vide: ~~the~~ Native Land Act of 1913 and ~~the~~ Native Land and Trust Act of 1936.

(10) The Report of the Farm Labour Committee, ^{1940,} Parts III to VI.

(11) Parts of the Cape Province and the Orange Free State.

[It is clear, therefore, that if farm work is to be made (6)
+ attractive to Africans, farm cash wages must be raised. If farmers do cannot
so voluntarily, they will ^{eventually} be forced to do so by the upward trend of urban
wages. Also Helpful ^{too,} would be improvements in living conditions.

~~hence, these things could be helpful for a time. Farmers and~~
 it is ^{also} not sufficient that farmers should discuss their labour difficulties only with the Government.
 Farmers and African leaders (chiefs and headmen) should meet and try to understand each other's problems either at farmers' meetings or at meetings of Africans convened by the Native Commissioners.

[From ^a the long-range point of view, Africans would welcome the arrangement suggested to the Minister for Native Affairs in 1945 by the South African Agricultural Union. ^{This} ~~That~~ ^g Organisation advised the Minister that the African population should be divided into three categories: (a) urban Natives who ^{should} ~~shall~~ work in urban areas and have their families resident therein; (b) Native peasants who should be taught improved agricultural techniques and encouraged to derive their income from the land, and (c) farm labourers who should be accommodated on European farms, not as tenants nor as part-time workers, but as full-time agricultural workers. ~~Although Economic forces are already tending in these directions, and it is hoped that legislation to control and direct the processes of change, the welfare of farm workers will be carefully considered.~~

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THE AFRICAN AS A WORKER

The majority of Africans employed in urban and labour centres are people from ~~the~~ rural areas who find it necessary to supplement their income from land and cattle by cash wages. Indeed, in the case of those who have neither land nor cattle, ^{f13} cash wages obtained in urban areas are the only means of subsistence. ^{It} ~~What~~ is often overlooked ^{which are} is the fact that cash is needed by Africans not only to buy goods ~~not~~ produced in the reserves, but also to meet ~~several~~ obligations which have traditionally ^{were settled} ~~been dealt with~~ ^{by an} through the exchange of goods and services. ^{therefore} It has ^{thus} become increasingly necessary for the male members of every ^{village} ~~to go out of the reserves in order to obtain employment and cash wages.~~ ~~the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.~~

[In order to assist Africans to find jobs ~~when they do move~~

- (12) Vide: Senate Debates No.4, March 1945, pp.844-845.
- (13) Vide: ~~the~~ Social and Economic Planning Council, Report No.9, p.40.

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ⁱⁿ ~~to the~~ urban areas and ~~to~~ labour centres, the Government has taken steps to establish ⁽¹⁴⁾ Labour bureaux. From the point of view of saving Africans ~~the~~ time and energy spent in ^{seeking} looking for work ^{and in} contacting prospective employers, ^a studying ^{of} the supply and demand for labour and ^{the} ~~of African employment and unemployment trends~~ ^{are useful} ~~there is much that can be said in favour~~ ^{of the proposed labour exchanges or bureaux could undertake.} ~~of the proposed labour exchanges.~~

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But much ^{will} depend on how the system works out in practice. If these institutions are located in places easily accessible to Africans, if they are run by persons who understand the Africans, if Africans are not compelled to take jobs for which they have ^{the} neither ~~experience~~, inclination, physical ability, ^{or} ~~the~~ requisite state of health, and if these bureaux do not function in such a way as to depress wages by making the movement of African workers in search of ^a the higher reward difficult, then they will be rendering a useful national service and ^{helps to} ~~will~~ dispel African fears and anxieties.

Labour exchanges are to be established because of the endemic shortage of Native labour ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the mines and on the farms. The intention is that ^{by means of} ~~through~~ these institutions Native labour will be distributed ^{over} ~~as between~~ the mines, ~~the~~ farms and urban occupations. In short, Native labour will be canalised through these labour bureaux.

Two ^{main} problems concerning Native labour will face those who will administer ^{the} labour bureaux. ^{The first is} ~~That~~ that of sorting out and dealing properly with the various classes of African labour. Whilst ^{the} migrant labourers, casual labourers and seasonal labourers are unskilled labourers, the converse is not true, ^{for} ~~Among~~ the unskilled labourers ~~are included~~ ^{in their} urbanised Africans, detribalised Africans, ^{both being who tend to be} ~~who are~~ more stable in employment than other ^{types} ~~classes~~ of the unskilled. ^{Different types} ~~These classes~~ of African labourers have different standards of workmanship, different standards of living, and different expectations in regard to work and wages. The ^{second} ~~second~~ ^{problem} ~~will be that~~ of breaking through the established habits of African workers in regard to ^{the} ~~obtaining~~ work, ^{as well as} ~~and also those~~ ^{adopted by} ~~of the~~ employers ^{in the} ~~as regards~~ engaging of labourers, ^{i.e.} ~~just~~ outside their gates or fences.

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problem will be that of

The ^{present} role of Africans as unskilled labourers is not properly

^{Vide:} [14] Refer to the Native Laws Amendment Bill, now before Parliament.

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appreciated. The work they do is generally regarded as being simple and ^{capable of being} such as can be performed by any person taken off the streets who has

no previous training. ⁽¹⁵⁾ This may be true of certain ^{kinds} ranges of jobs

^{commonly} classed as unskilled, ^{but} It is not true of many so-called unskilled jobs done by Africans ^{in which a degree of} where ^{is acquired} skill, experience and specialisation ^{is required.} have developed.

In ^{several a number of instances,} these cases Africans doing ^{unskilled} such jobs are no longer ignorant and untrained workmen. ^{(Even though legally classed as labourers several Africans} They are boss-boys in the mines, machine

minders in factories, and tractor drivers on ^{in fact many jobs} the farms. ^{even though legally} ~~classed as unskilled~~ ~~labourers.~~ classed as labourers.

^{shows a} [Because of African workers' definite preference for certain types of employment, ^{and a} their tendency to remain in continuous employment, ^{in industry favouring} their tendency and because of technological development semi-skilled repetitive work, Africans have been able to raise their status as workers.

⁽¹⁶⁾ [Out of a total of 208,318 workers of all races employed in the trades and industries regulated by Wage Board Determinations between 1937 and 1946, ^{per cent} there were 35.6% skilled workers, 18.3% semi-skilled, ^{per cent} and 46.1% unskilled workers. Of the skilled workers, the Africans constituted 5.3%, ^{per cent} Asiatics 5.4%, ^{per cent} and Coloureds 4.4%. Thus Africans, who are newcomers to industry and commerce, have in this respect caught up with their ^{Non-European} immediate rivals. ^{of} With respect to semi-skilled workers, the Africans constituted 33.0%, ^{per cent} Europeans 35.9%, ^{per cent} Coloureds 20.1%, ^{per cent} and Asiatics 11%. Thus as semi-skilled workers, Africans have already surpassed ^{both} the Asiatics and Coloureds, ^{have} and ^{caught up} are almost equal to Europeans.

~~Africans would like to hasten the process whereby they become skilled workers.~~ [It is ^{only} of course natural that ^{Africans} they should strive to escape ^{from} the status of ordinary unskilled labourers to which they are mostly confined by the civilised labour policy and ^{the} industrial colour bar. ^{But} ^{They} Africans seem ^{however,} to think that the line of development ^(should be) is the ^{immediate} removal of the economic colour bar and the provision of apprenticeship facilities. ^{This may be true,} Eventually ^{practicable policy,} yes, but ^{it is not an} not immediately in view of the political and economic

8. [15] Vide: the Report of the Department of Labour for 1945, par.59.
[16] This figure excludes the majority of Africans who are controlled by the Wage Board determination for unskilled labourers.

which beset the country.) In the interim Africans should strive
 difficulties. ~~What Africans should strive for in the meantime is to~~
 become more efficient ^{as} labourers and to entrench themselves as ^{Semi skilled workers or} operatives.
 Ordinary economic forces will ^{then} inevitably elevate the more efficient and
 experienced operatives into skilled workmen. In the interests of pro-
 ductivity and economic co-operation the industrial laws of the country
 should encourage rather than discourage these developments.

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AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS

Figures contained in Report No.5 ⁽¹⁷⁾ of the Social and Economic

Planning Council indicate that Africans have been coming to work and
^{settled down} reside in urban areas at a more rapid rate than ~~the~~ Europeans since the

Census of 1936. The Report of the Native Laws Commission tells much
 the same story. According to the 1946 census, ~~out~~ of a total urban
 population of 4,253,983 persons, ~~of all races the~~ Africans constituted
 42.2% ^{per cent}, Europeans 40.4% ^{per cent}, and Asiatics and Coloureds together 17.4% ^{per cent (18)}

(The arrival and settlement of Africans in urban areas, while
 it may suit urban employers, presents difficulties alike to ~~the~~ Europeans
 and ~~the~~ Africans. When Africans come to live in urban areas there is
 usually no adequate accommodation and, as newcomers, such accommodation
 as they can obtain outside ^{of} locations is in outlying areas where dwellings
^{have} are structured ^{of} defects, ^{the} material and ^{is, to say the least,} social environment ^{unredemptive;}
^{totally inconvertible, while the} journeying to and from work from such areas is costly both in energy and

^{the} money. Again, since Africans from the reserves have neither the
 skills nor the capital with which to acquire a better economic status,
 They have to ^{start} ~~start~~ life at the bottom of the economic ladder. Their
 very numbers and their lack of working experience makes competition for
 jobs keen and remuneration low. The complexities of an urban pattern
 of life based ^{entirely a} on money ^{economy is bound to} and ~~prices~~ must be baffling to a people so ill
 prepared to live up to its requirements. ^{therefore,} Hence it is ^{not} surprising
 that Africans in urban areas are afflicted with the evils of drunkenness,
 debt, disease, ^{and} dirt, ^{and} death. To some extent the experiences of Africans
 today are similar to those ^{undergone by} of the English peasants during the Industrial
 Revolution.

(17) U.G. 34/1944, para 90-91.
 (18) U.G. 28/1948, par.11.

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Miss P. Walker
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It is fashionable among ^{a certain school of African thought,} Africans to regard these difficulties as being due ^{entirely} to legislation, ^{i.e. to} European opposition or ill-will. ^{These South} Africans often point ^{to} the negative policy ^{of} contained in the Native Urban Areas Act of 1945 and to the opposition to Native urbanisation usually offered by the Chamber of Mines and by ~~the~~ farmers. While ^{it is} ~~this may be true,~~ ^{that} it is ^{doubtful} ~~facile~~ to ^{were legislation different} adjust the complexity of the ^{problems of the} urban conditions, ^{disappear} ~~for~~ ^{will} be available.



^{of Native urbanization facing} The problem ^{as it faces} the Government and the ^{Local authorities} Municipality is a serious one. ^{better} If ^{and better civic amenities were} wages, housing, health ^{and recreational} facilities transport, ^{schools are} provided for Africans in urban areas, ^{would} more Africans ^{will} want to come and live there. The numbers coming might be ^{so great} as to ^{strain} tax the ^{available} administrative and financial resources, ^{so actually tend} and to depress the standard of living of Africans already resident in urban areas. ^{Also,} ^{Further} the more Africans come to urban areas in response to higher wages and improved conditions of living, the more political pressure is brought to bear on the Government by the mines and the farmers ^{in order} to prevent ^{the} diversion of African labour to urban areas.

Africans would be more ready to see these points and to ^{with the Europeans} co-operate ^{in their approach} if they could be satisfied that the development of the rural areas ^{agriculturally, commercially and industrially} would ^{really} give them comparable advantages.

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Nevertheless, ^{Because of their} ^{resilience} ^{resistance} in the midst of difficulties and suffering, Africans are gradually, ^{and} in some cases rapidly, adjusting themselves to urban conditions of life and work. It is ^{a matter} worthy ^{of} consideration ^{ing} whether in urban areas they are not ^{actually} gaining more than they lose.

Firstly, by residence and contact with Europeans in urban areas, ^{the} Africans ^{is} become ^{ing} civilised and educated at a ^{more rapid} faster rate than is possible ^{only} through ^{contact with} the schools and missions. Secondly, ⁱⁿ urban employment ^{are} Africans ^{gives} obtain better cash wages, which they ^{in order to} ~~have come to realise~~ are so necessary ⁱⁿ buying the goods and services they need. Thirdly, through being employed in urban occupations, they gain in skills in the manner already indicated. Not only do they gain in skills, ^{but they}

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that in urban areas ^{African} all difficulties would disappear ~~for~~ legislation were different and European goodwill available.

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but they also acquire experience of commercial and industrial conditions and a working knowledge of the ^{two official} European languages, all which improve their employment opportunities. Fourthly, through ^{association in} trade unions they are learning the techniques of collective bargaining as a means ^{of} improving their working conditions and ^{raising} their status as workers. Fifthly, Africans believe that they ~~improve~~ their claims to citizenship ^{are enhanced} better by residing in urban areas ^{rather} than by remaining in the reserves.

~~IN VIEW~~ ^{IN VIEW} Because of these facts, the African feels justified in claiming that he should no longer be treated as a marginal person in the country's economy, and that he should be fully integrated into the industrial and urban life of his country. In putting forward these claims the African is more concerned ^(with the fact that a change in) with the policy ^{should in principle be} being accepted, than with the stages by which ^{the} integration might be accomplished. ^{The latter} That is a task for social engineering.

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