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RASSEVERHOUDINGS

Offisiële Joernaal van die Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut vir Rasseverhoudings

Deel 1. No. 4.

Uitgegee tweemaandeliks GRATIS AAN LEDE

Mei-Junie 1934

getalle aan, wat by benadering juis is. Ek herinner u net dat die Regering nie in 1931 daartoe oorgegaan het om die gewone tienjarige sensus van naturelle op te neem nie, sodat ons nie absoluut juiste syfers kan

Die totaal van naturelle was in 1931 ... 5,520,000 Hiervan was daar in stedelike areas .. 920,000 En op plattelandse areas 1,600.000 Dus is daar nog in die Reserwes 3,000,000

Byna die helfte van die naturelle, naamlik 2,520,000 is dus reeds begrepe in die ekonomiese stelsel van die blanke man. Kan ons hulle na die reserwes terugdring? Die Naturelle Ekonomiese Kommissie antwoord: Nee! die reserwes is reeds oorbevolk, en kan nie 'n groter populasie dra nie voordat daar doeltreffender landbouen veeteelt-metodes onder die Bantoe bevolking ingevoer is, wat 'n werk van jare sal wees. Byna die helfte van die naturelle is dus weg van die reserwes, en is vinnig op weg om geheelenal ontstamd ("detribalised") te word. Grosskopf wys in sy reeds genoemde referaat on ,,the increasingly important part that is being played by Bantu labour in the economic system of South Africa." Hy se verder: "Relative overpopulation of native territory is already present; and it is no use arguing that improved farming methods could support far greater numbers in superior comfort. The teaching of these methods is an important task, to which the Government is giving earnest attention; but it will take time." "Gradually-and no doubt with progressively increasing rapidity-a larger proportion of the Bantu will have to become interwoven in our modern economic life" (p. 439).

Ons sien dan hier, op ekonomiese gebied, die werking van magtige dinamiese kragte, waarteen op die duur geen verset moontlik is nie. Ons kan nie die naturel deur wetgewing dwing om op sy reserwe te bly woon nie. Kunsmatige slagbome sal hom nie keer nie. Die Naturelle Ekonomiese Kommissie se:

It has been suggested to your Commission that the drift to the towns should be stopped by placing artificial barriers in the way of the migrants. The Urban Areas Act makes some provision for this. We have expressed our views on the necessity for the maintenance of these restrictions, and we cannot suggest any further restrictions that might be imposed. Apart from the expense in administration which any effective system of restriction must necessarily involve, and the dissatisfaction among the natives which it is bound to create, the idea does not commend itself for other reasons. It leaves untouched the

problem of using the economic energies of the natives thus restricted.

Die beginsel wat in die laaste volsin uitgespreek is, lyk belangrik, omdat dit van toepassing is nie slegs op die verkeerslagboom nie, maar ook op die ekonomiese slagboom.

Die Segregasie-voorstel is blykbaar gebore uit vrees vir konkurrensie. Is daardie vrees gegrond? So ja, dan moet ons alle middels aanwend om die naturel uit te skakel van medewerking of mededinging binne ons ekonomicse stelsel, deur terugdringing na sy eie gebiede, deur repressie en ontsegging van ekonomiese regte, deur kleurwetgewing, deur weigering van fasiliteite tot hoër opvoeding en beroepsopleiding. Maar is dit moontlik, op die stadie wat ons nou bereik het, om sulke middels met enige hoop op welslae toe te pas? Moet die geweer-en-sambok metodes van die neëntiende eeu nou vervang word deur die wet-en-ordonnansie beleid van die twintigste eeu? Sal al sulke kunsmatige restriksies nie verydel word deur die wenking van daardie ekonomiese beginsels en wette wat in alle handleidings van die Staathuishoudkunde uiteengeset word, en in alle hedendaagse samelewings in volle werking gesien word? Hier is ruimte vir ernstige, geduldige en hartstogtlose ondersoek.

Indien egter die vrees ongegrond blyk, dat konkurrensie die agteruitgang en uiteindelike ondergang van die armblanke beteken, dan moet ons daarna streef om nadelige konkurrensie in heilsame koöperasie om teskep. Hoe dit kan en moet geskied is 'n probleem wat die vakmanne, die ekonome, vir ons moet oplos. Soos die Naturelle Ekonomiese Kommissie se: "A permanent cure for an economic evil must not run counter to economic forces, but must utilise economic forces to achieve its purposes" (par. 560).

"Gelyke bevoegdheid, gelyke betaling," is 'n gesonde ekonomiese beginsel. "So sal die uitslag van die relatiewe prestasievermoë [van blankes en awartes onderskeidelik] van bevoegdheid afhang, en nie van verskille van lewensstandaard nie, wat by voorbaat die posisie van die blankes prakties onhoudbaar maak," is een van gesamenlike bevindinge van die Carnegiekommissie (par. 60).

Uit gebrek aan tyd slaan ek oor die bespreking van die kwessie van die sosiale verhoudings tussen blank en swart, waaroor daar by ons almal geen noemenswaardige meningsverskil bestaan nie. Ook slaan ek oor die vraag aangaande die mededinging van kleurlinge met blankes in sommige bedrywe en nerings. So 'n groot vraag het afsonderlike behandeling nodig. Ek wil net eindig met die neerlegging van enige

V. KRISTELIKE BEGINSELS WAT ONS MOET INAGNEEM BY ONS BEHANDELING VAN DIE NATURELLEKWESSIE.

- 1. Regverdigheid. Hierdie deug is die grondslag van die Staat, soos Plato ons geleer het, vierhonderd isar voor die koms van Kristus. Dog daar was 'n veel ouer wetgewer, wat dieselfde groot waarheid uitgespreek het 'n halwe millennium voor die tyd van Plato, naamlik Moses, toe hy dit die volk van Israel met heilige erns op die hart gebind het : "Geregtigheid, geregtigheid moet julle najaag" (Deut. 16: 20).
- 2. Selfrespek. Ons is 'n Kristelike volk, en bely dat ons ons laat lei deur die beginsels van onse Meester, Jesus Kristus. Daardie beginsels, veral ook die beginsel van selfrespek, besiel ons in ons benadering van die armblanke-vraagstuk, en moet ons ook besiel in ons benadering en oplossing van die naturelle-vraagstuk. Die oë van die hele wêreld is op ons om te sien hoe one die vraagstuk van die behandeling van laerstaande volkere oplos. En daar is geen swaarder toets,

wat ons as die blanke ingesetenes van Suid-Afrika sal moet deurstaan, as juis dit : om 'n gesonke volk te sien en dit nie dieper te laat sink nie, om 'n onderdanige volk te sien en dit nie in eiebelang uit te buit nie, en om 'n na hoër strewende volk te sien en dit nie in sy aspirasies te strem en te fnuik nie.

- 3. Simpatie. Simpatie is op sy plek in ons houding teenoor die armblanke wat in baie gevalle deur omstandighede wat buite sy beheer was, agteruitgegaan het. Maar ook is simpatie op sy plek in ons houding teenoor die laerstaande maar opwaarts beurende naturel. Alle neigings om ons simpatie te beperk tot ons eie ras is eenmaal en vir altyd bestraf deur ons Meester in die gelykenis van die Barmhartige Samaritaan.
- 4. Grootmoedigheid. "Dra mekaar se laste, en vervul so die wet van Kristus." Die armblankedom is one las- 'n las wat one in 'n baat moet omskep. Die naturel is ook ons las "the White Man's Burden." Grootmoedigheid en selfopoffering is hier die aangewese deugde. En ons volk sal daarin nie in gebreke bly nie.

THE INDIAN IN INDUSTRY

by S. R. NAIDOO

The subject of this paper is the consideration of the economic position of Indians in Natal, with particular reference to the policy and legislation affecting unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour. Although the points raised here will involve a consideration of the subject as affecting the Union as a whole, it is proposed in view of the limited space at our disposal to confine consideration of the question to Natal. What applies to Natal will apply to other Provinces, for there is no essential dissimilarity in the conditions of labour.

Population

As is well known there are four main racial groups in the Union : the European or the white, the Bantu or the Native, the Asiatic, mainly the Indian. and the Coloured. According to the Census of 1921 (it is the last complete census taken) there were 1,519,488 Europeans, 4,697,813 Bantu, 165,731 Asiatics and 545,548 Coloured.

For our purpose it becomes necessary to give in parallell columns the population figures, in round numbers, of both the Europeans and Indians in Natal for a given period to obtain a proper appreciation of the subject under consideration:-

YEAR	EUROPEANS	INDIANS
1101	98,000	133,000
1921	137,000	141,000
1011	181,000	163,000

The figure of the Indian population given for the year 1931 is an estimate only, for no census of the Non-European population has been taken since 1921. It will be seen that for the first time the European population has outstripped the Indian population by 18,000.

Employment

The avenues of vocation followed by Indians in Natal, are described in the Report of the Economic Commission of 1914:-

"The Indian population of the Union, located for the most part in Natal, may be divided into those brought there under indenture and those who followed them on their own initiative and at their

Estimated mean population in 1933: - Europeans 1889500, Bantu 5.701,000, Asiatic 196.400, Culoured and other 602.200-Ed.

own expense. Of the latter, in the main a trading class, many opened stores at first for the supply of Indian and Native requirements; few have been drawn into industrial pursuits. It is chiefly the ex-indentured Indians who are noticeable in manufacture. The indentured Indian of the early days, when his term of service expired, often took land and grew vegetables, mealies and tobacco. To a certain extent he re-indentured or took service with Europeans, but of late years he has increasingly entered the semi-skilled and skilled trades. Today he is engaged in the building trades. printing, boot repairing, tailoring, painting, mattress-making and other miscellaneous callings of the semi-skilled trades. Many so engaged are Natal-born Indians, and numbers who speak English are employed as cooks, waiters, drivers, vanmen, and in lawyers' offices as junior clerks. The Natal-born Indian is a problem in himself; he is often fairly educated and in many cases owes his education to the self-acrifice of lowly indentured parents. His education does not, however, link on to manual labour as a rule and he looks to less strenuous and more highly paid callings. Here he finds the way largly blocked, and naturally becomes dissatisfied. The majority who follow field work, either as re-indentured or free Indians, or who work in the coal mines. brickfields, and so forth, do not receive much more than able-bodied natives. In other callings, their earnings are much below those of whites".

In a special Return made up to the year 1921, furnished by the Census Department to the Government of India Delegation in 1926, a table of occupations of Asiatic males of 15 years of age and over is given as hereunder for Natal:—

Agriculture and Fishing	19,154 or	39.1 per cent
Mining and Quarrying	1,816 or	3.7 per cent
Industry	4,618 or	9.4 per cent
Transport and		
Communication	2,958 or	6.0 per cent
Commercial, Finance		•
and Insurance	5,361 or	10.9 per cent
Personal Service	4,250 nr	8.7 per cent
Other occupations	5,255 or	to.8 per cent
Undefined	5,590 or	11.4 per cent

It is common knowledge that of the two classes of Indians, the trading and immigrant classes, the latter chiefly engaged themselves in the pursuits of agriculture, and a large portion of their descendants, having received education in English to some extent and coming under Western influence, have tended to

enter into and engage themselves in the fields of semiskilled and skilled labour as opportunities were afforded them. Clerical work is to a limited extent open to the young Indian by private firms; but except for the teaching profession which is open in the Indian schools, and employment as Indian interpreters and as police constables, all Municipal and State services have been traditionally closed to him. There has always been and still is a sharp demarcation between what is called "whiteman's work", and "Kaffir work" in the latter of which, as far as unskilled work is concerned, the Indian was invariably included, and received practically the same rate of wages as the Native.

Wage Rates

Accustomed to comm and a higher rate of wages, the white skilled worker, with thein fluence of his vote, created what is called the white man's preserve, to which other races dared not enter. Western civilisation, social and political traditions and an economic standard of living gave him a pre-eminence and security which ensured for him a higher, if not the highest, rate of wages in the land. The Economic and Wage Commission of 1925, made a comparison between skilled and unskilled wages in South Africa, and the corresponding wages in Europe, the Dominions and the United States of America, and found that real wages, as distinct from money wages, for skilled jobs were higher in South Africa than in Europe, and less than in Canada and Australia and in the United States. The Commission found that "In England they are 30 per cent less, in Amsterdam nearly 40 per cent less, in Paris and Berlin over 50 per cent less, in Brussels and Milan over 60 per cent less." As regards the wages of unskilled labourers, it found that they are invariably lower than the wages in other countries, approximating in the higher wage centres in South Africa to those of the white labourers of Milan, Brussels or Berlin. It further found that the average wage of the skilled white worker in South Africa was a LI a day, and that of the unskilled Native a fit a week. The ratio between the skilled and unskilled wage in the Engineering trade in England was 14 to 10, while in South Africa it was 60 to 10. Thus, "in South Africa, industrial tradition had built up a colour bar" in the shadow of whose sanctity the white skilled worker enjoyed, to the exclusion of non-white, a monopoly of all spheres of highly skilled and highly paid work. This "colour bar" became embedded in the economic organisation of the country, sank deep into the psychology of the European population, and became an article of faith with them.

Industrial progress, and contact of non-whites with whites produced the inevitable change in the labour situation. The Indian could not always be a "drawer of water and hewer of wood". Impact with the Western civilisation and European surroundings created within him a desire to qualify himself, despite discouragement and denial of facilities, for semi-skilled and skilled work. He learnt and acquired skill to some extent, and engaged himself in the building trades, printing, boot repairing, tailoring, painting, mattressmaking and other miscellaneous callings of semi-skilled trades. As a member of a civilised nation, Eastern though he might be, he readily adapted himself to the changing industrial situation, and was able to utilize his knowledge and skill of hand to almost any skilled trade with the same efficiency as the white man. But however skilled he might have been, he was never paid a living wage. His utility lay in employing him as cheap labour. The labour policy as operating in South Africa could be grouped broadly under two heads "colour bar" and "wage regulation".

Effects of Legislation

The Mines and Works Act of 1911, although containing no expressed colour bar, permitted of the framing of regulations imposing it. This power was availed of to prohibit the employment of non-whites in certain skilled occupations on the mines in the Transwal. The Mines and Works Act, as amended in 1926, contains similar provision for extending the colour bar into industry generally, and gives a wide range for its exercise. The Cape Coloured and the Cape Malays are bracketed with the whites and given the same privileged position, but the Asiatic and the Bantu are barred together.

The Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924) created machinery for self-government in industry. It may be applied to every industry, trade and occupation, and to every employer and employee engaged therein, but exempts agriculture and farming. The purpose of this Act is to enable employers and employees to meet together and agree upon wage and other conditions of labour. It excludes the vast bulk of Native and Indian employees. Such of the non-whites as could come under the Act were hampered, if not prevented, from availing themselves of it by the action of the white trade unions, which with a few excepttions here and there, have, either by their constitution or executive action, excluded the non-whites from membership. A peculiar position arose when the Indian employees in Durban engaged in the Liquor and Catering trades, in which they predominate, registered themselves as a union (later applying for the registration of their union to be operative

throughout the whole of Natal) with an open constitution — that is to say, their constitution was open to
members of all races engaged in the trade. European
employees in the trade formed into a separate
union and endeavoured to register it. The Registrar had no power to register two unions in the
same trade, and when a suggestion was made that,
where there were European and Indian employees
in the same trade, parallel unions should be registered, the Indians refused to agree, for it would lead
to discrimination based on race and colour. Eventually European employees joined the union, which
has now became a joint union; and European and
Indian employees in the trade meet together and work
for their mutual benefit.

In 1928 a forward step was taken by the Natal Indian Congress to organise Indian labour with a view to protecting its interest and to stimulate trade union organisation with an open constitution. This resulted in the formation of the Natal Workers' Congress, which brought into being the following tradeUnions:—Durban Tinsmiths and Trunk Makers Union, Durban and District Tobacco Workers Union, Durban and District Bakers Union, Natal Liquor and Catering Traders Employees Union, and Durban and District Amalgamated Union of Launderers and Dry Cleaners.

Another result of the efforts of the Workers' Congress was that Indians were admitted to membership of the Typographical Union, which hitherto had refused to admit them.

A further legislative measure, which carried out the labour policy was the Wage Act of 1925, as amended by Act 23 of 1930. Prima facie it was based on the principle of "equal pay for equal work, irrespective of race or colour." Under it a Wage Board was created to determine wage and labour conditions. Wage determinations operate in the following trades: Baking, Barmen, Bespoke Tailoring, Catering, Clothing, Dyeing and Cleaning Establishments and Laundries, Furniture, Glass bevelling and silvering, Hairdressing, Leather, Shop Assistants, Sweet Manufacturing, Tea, Coffee and Chicory, in certain areas, and with certain exceptions. The Wage Board has repeatedly asserted that it cannot "legally differentiate wages in the ground of race or colour, and if it could it would be highly undesirable that it should do so".

The Wage Act imposes a condition on the Wage Board that it shall make no recommendations if it finds it impossible to recommend for the employees in any trade or section thereof a wage upon which they can maintain themselves in accordance with civilised habits of life. In such circumstances it has to report

the fact to the Minister, who may request the Board to make such recommendations as it thinks fit. The implication of this is quite apparent. The Wage Board is required to put every industry referred to it on a white basis. What else does the term "civilised" connote but "white"?

Nowhere in the Union has wage determination been made in regard to unskilled labour except in Bloemfontein, where the wage for this class of labour was determined at 3/6 per day. I shall deal with this question with the class of labour later.

It is a well known rule among the Indian community that they object to no legislative measure. which assures to them equality of treatment in the eves of the Law. They object quite rightly, to any discrimination, whether administrative or legislative, based on the ground of class, creed or colour. They do take a tolerant view of a policy which excludes them from an effective expression of their feelings and sentiments in the political system of the country, of which they form part and parcel, placing their faith in the hope that civilisation and the higher conscience of humanity will one day make room for their effective participation in the affairs of the country. But what is nauseating to them, and to those whose tradition of even-handed justice and fair-play has not faded from their bosom, are those forms of discrimination which deny them opportunities commensurate with their capacity and energy.

The Cape Town Agreement

The Indian has accepted the formula, which enjoins upon South Africa the maintenance, in the words of the Cape Town Agreement, of Western standardsof life. He has also accepted, not without fear and trepidation, the principle underlying the Industrial Acts, which provides that all employees, including Indians, shall take their place in the economic structure of the country on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

He knew that on the acceptance of this principle he must be prepared for temporary hardships and setbacks. But notwithstanding this he pinned his faith in the great and courageous declaration, which the Union Government made of their policy to uplift the Indian Community, and which reads:—

"The Union Government firmly believes in and adheres to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that, in the provision of

educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people".

But has the situation changed in any material degree since this declaration? Has the labour policy widened to admit Indian labour to a position for which his energy and capacity fit him? This is the crux of the situation. With exceptions - a change of policy in regard to Indian education, a subsidy of £300 for the furtherance of Indian Technical education in Durban, and the employment on relief works of 300 and 50 Indians in Durban and Maritzburg respectively-no facilities worth mentioning have been afforded to Indians. Although, at the time, the Cape Town Agreement eased the situation, and the presence of successive Agents-General created and fostered a friendly feeling between Europeans and Indians to some extent, one cannot shut his eves to the fact that the Indian is worse off than before, especially in the competitive fields of labour.

White Labour Policy

It is as well at this stage to turn our attention to what is commonly called the White Labour Policy. What are its aims and effects, and what are its ultimate results? Let me give in full the first paragraph of the Prime Minister's circular, dated 31st October 1924, which lays down the principle of the policy for the guidance of the various Departments of the State:

"The Prime Minister desires it to be understood by all Departments of State that it has been decided as a matter of definite policy that, wherever practicable, civilised labour shall be substituted in all employment by the Government for that which may be classified as uncivilised. Civilised labour is to be considered as the labour rendered by persons, whose standard of living conforms to the standards generally recognised as tolerable from the usual European stand-point. Uncivilised labour is to be regarded as the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and undeveloped peoples"

It requires the Departments "to investigate with the closest attention the avenues in which it is at all practicable to give effect to the principle indicated above".

As I will show, the policy laid down in this declaration meant the expulsion of non-white unskilled and semi-skilled labourers from jobs which were held and looked upon for years as the special preserves of non-whites. I shall give but one instance to show how cruel the direction of the policy was against Indians. At one time I believe there were not less than 5000 Indians employed on the Railways. In June 1927 Natal had 1338 Indian Railway employees, and this number was reduced in June 1931 to 804. And so the process of elimination goes on in all Government Departments, where non-white labour is employed. This policy of exclusion is hydra-headed and appears in other forms. As a result of Government subsidies to some industries and trades, such as Match and Blanket factories, to encourage the employment of whites, indians are displaced. The Minister of Labour openly calls on employers of Indian labour, Municipalities and industrial firms, to displace Indians for whites. These efforts have resulted in the throwing out of employment of a considerable number of Indians. and the continued depression further intensified the situation. The problem of unemployment thus created will have to be faced, and no solution is possible unless the Government relaxes or abandons its policy.

As Secretary of the local Indian Relief Committee I can speak from experience of the terrible hardships that are endured by those who cannot find work. Their dependants are in much worse plight. Ill-nourished and underfed, and compelled to live in bad surroundings they present a picture of despair in this land of plenty. I make due allowance for the general effects of the depression, but with all that I am forced to say that the Indian has been hard hit by the Labour policy of the Government.

I do not propose nor does space permit to go into the incidence of juvenile labour, and questions connected with apprenticeship to trades. They all uphold and perpetuate the same policy of exclusion, whether directly or indirectly, and the Indian has no hope of benefitting by the advantages which the Juveniles Act and Apprenticeship Act offer.

Neglect of the Unskilled

I wish now to offer some suggestions to provoke thoughtful discussion, and to ascertain whether any common ground can be discovered which would admit of a solution to the problem. We have noticed that the basic principle of labour policy was the determination of wages and condition of labour on the basis of "civilised" labour. Civilised labour meant the maintenance of white standards, in other words "civilised" existence. The Cost of Living Commission of 1925 estimated that civilised existence was possible on a wage of £90 to £110 per annum. The Wage Board considered a wage of £3 per week inadequate for civilised standards of life.

What the industrial laws have achieved is the raising of the level of wages of semi-skilled and skilled labour to higher levels, and thus organised Labour has started to reform from the top instead of effecting gradual changes from the bottom for the betterment of labour conditions. The Economic and Wage Commission emphasised the latter course by laying down that the "first and chief object of public wage regulations in the Union shall be, not the raising of the higher rates of wages still higher, but the raising of the lowest levels of wages, so that the gap between the levels of skilled and unskilled labour is narrowed" The first practical suggestion which offers itself is to determine the wage of the unskilled worker. No attempt has been made, except in Bloemfontein as I have stated, to raise the levels of unskilled wages and to bring it into uniformity. This would bring a vast bulk of non-whites, who form the mainstay of this country, within the folds of recognised labour policy. Labour policy, as it exists at present, cannot avoid the charge of seeking to better the conditions of highly paid workers to the detriment and hurt of a vast population which contributes in no small measure to the retention in employment of the highly paid man. The manual labourer is the backbone of industry. He it is who supplies the sinews of labour.

Inequality of Opportunity

The principle of equal pay for equal work looks very well on paper and in abstract theory. But in actual practice it has led to the establishment of special reserves which are looked upon as the white man's preserves, to the creation of a white oligarchy in trade and industry. It is a well known fact that no Indian, however qualified, will be employed if a European is available; and facilities for technical training, such as are afforded to whites, are not available to Indians, The Indian must rely upon his own initiative and capacity to push his way through. There are many disabilities which operate against him and make it dificult for him on his side, to observe the principle of equal pay for equal work. This is shown in the following account of the case put forward by the Indian Community before the Wage Board:-

"The Natal Indian Congress made out a case for lower wages for Indian shop assistants, which the Board did not challenge. Indian shops were relegated to the poorer quarters, and debarred from securing the best business centres; their business was limited, and their turnover was therefore much less than that of other merchants in better situations. Their shop assistants were denied technical and commercial education and were, therefore,

if education meant anything, less efficient than white youths. Indians did not employ females as shop assistants. Their commercial travellers were at a disadvantage compared with the white travellers in the matter of accommodation and the ordinary social aids to getting business. The Congress agreed that if these disabilities were removed and conditions of competition equalised they had no objection to paying the Indian shop assistants the same wage as might be recommended for white assistants".

Wherever unequal conditions occur, such as are described above, the Wage Board should adopt and recognise the fact in fixing wages. Arbitrary levelling up of wages without regard to absence of necessary factors such as free play in trade, free opportunities and full scope, will never contribute to social and industrial well-being. Where conditions are unequal wage regulations should have definite relations to the disabilities imposed upon those to be affected

The use of a ratio of non-whites to white employees in any given trade might be considered. This ratio principle is already recognised in the employment of unqualified assistants, and of females and juveniles. A ratio system for first and second grade men might be formulated. This method of determining and opening up employment might compensate for the unequal opportunities to which the Indian is subjected in the field of semi-skilled and skilled labour.

There are other aspects of the labour policy which require consideration but perhaps I have said enough to show that the time has come for re-consideration. The Minister of Labour has announced the appointment of a Commission, to enquire into the working of the Industrial Acts. I hope that persons better qualified and more experienced than myself will suggest a scheme to remove the difficulties and disadvantages I have mentioned and to pave the way for industrial peace and contentment in South Africa.

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Findings of a Conference of Protestant Churches and Missionary Societies held at Bloemfontein on May 15 and 16, 1934

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WHITE AND NON-WHITE
PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

- 1. This Conference is profoundly conscious of the direct bearings of the Christian gospel upon all human relationships and of the pressing need for bringing Christian teaching to bear upon them.
- The Conference is thankful to God for the increasing recognition in South Africa of Christian principles in matters of race relations, and pledges itself to work in faith for the wider and fuller application of these principles.
- 3. The Conference believes that, as under the providence of God, the White and Non-White peoples form the commonwealth of South Africa, the general welfare demands unity of purpose and the co-operation of the whole population.
- 4. The Conference stands for the free development of all these peoples so that they may make their own contribution to the general well-being, and it is convinced that not only will this development in no way endanger the racial integrity of any group, but

also that it is essential for the maintenance of the Christian ideals in our civilisation.

- 5. The Conference calls upon the Churches in South Africa to lead public opinion to acceptance of these principles and to work for their application in the following ways:
 - (a) Recognition of the economic inter-dependence of all sections of the South African population, and support of every effort to improve the position of the economically depressed groups, both Non-White and White, so that all may achieve and maintain a civilised and Christian standard of life.
 - (b) Co-operation with the authorities in response to the efforts of the Minister of Justice for the rehabilitation of offenders; revision of the laws solely affecting Natives which, by multiplying statutory and revenue offences, swell the number of Native criminal convictions; and enquiry into the causes of the widespread complaints that non-Whites do not always receive just treatment at the hands of the police and in the courts.

- (c) Replacements of the Pass laws on the basis of the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Pass Laws and the Native Economic Commission.
 (Substitution of single life-long identification certificate with tax receipts endorsed thereon for the present multiplicity of passes.
- (d) Provision of adequate educational facilities for all non-Whites.
- The Churches are exhorted to adopt the following measures to promote racial understanding and co-operation:
 - (a) To use all forms of voluntary help available for common service in evangelism, education and social work.

- (b) To arrange for addresses by qualified and suitable White and non-White speakers to White and non-White church members, and for articles in the religious and secular press for the enlightenment of public opinion on racial questions.
- (c) To provide opportunities for spiritual intercourse between White and non-White Christian ministers and other leaders of opinion.
- (d) To encourage the study of available literature on racial questions and the publication of further material for the use of study groups.
- To support the work of inter-racial conferences, Joint Councils and other interracial organisations.

Wireless Listeners Group

The first wireless listeners group in South Africa has been started in Durban at the Bantu Social Centre with a group of Native listeners.

The Centre which was opened last October was fortunate in receiving from a local benefactor the gift of a good wireless receiving set. The set has been regularly used for purposes of entertainment but its more deliberate Educational possibilities were explored when Mr. Maurice Webb returned from America where he had been greatly impressed by the development of broadcasting, and by the Listeners Groups which have been formed in many parts of England.

One of the regular features of the programme of the Durban Studio is a talk on Monday evenings on current events given by Mr. Morris Broughton. These talks were utilised in this first experiment with a wireless listeners group in South Africa. Mr. Maurice Webb started by arranging with some of the Bantu members of the centre to collect a group of listeners about the receiving set half an hour before Mr. Broughton was due "on the air". He then discussed with Mr. Broughton the subject matter of the coming talk) the first one was concerned with developments in Austria, Germany and Italy) and armed with a School Atlas, joined the waiting group and attempted to provide a background of information in preparation for the talk to be delivered from the studio.

The broadcast talk was listened to closely by the group, many taking notes. Discussion followed the talk. The discussion was keen and lasted for nearly an hour and a half. The first group numbered 25 and included native teachers, ministers, clerks, chauffcurs, mechanics, and shop assistants. There was an immediate demand for the continuation of the experiment, and the group has now met every Monday evening, for several weeks the average attendance being 27. On some occasions Mr. Broughton himself has visited the centre after leaving the Studio and joined in the discussions.

The Wireless Listeners Group is a form of Educational activity that might well be attempted at Schools, Mission Stations, wherever a reliable wireless set is available.

The African Broadcasting Company is sympathetically interested in this development and has arranged for Mr. Maurice Webb to start a series of talks from the Durban Studios beginning on April 24 with the general title of "Wireless Book Clubs" and which will be a deliberate attempt to interest listeners groups and to co-operate with them. Our readers who are within range of the Durban Station might well take advantage of this opportunity to experiment in the use of broadcasting.

M. W.