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**THE APPROACH TO THE NATIVE PROBLEM**

by the Hon. Jan H. Hofmeyr, M. P.

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**The Academic Spirit**

At the risk of frightening some members of my audience, let me say that I am going to be frankly academic tonight. It is a terrible admission, I know, for a politician to make, especially for one who has been a professor and who has spent a large part of his political life trying desperately to live it down. But for tonight I shall glory in what some of my political colleagues regard as my shame, feeling as I do that our policies would be all the better for a little more of the unprejudiced thinking and the ruthless analysis which are the essence of the academic spirit. After all there is no greater fallacy than that the academic man is necessarily unpractical. The Scotch are sometimes said to be lacking in a sense of humour — I am not sure that the truth is not that they have a sense of humour so intense as to prevent them from appreciating the quips and oddities that appeal to the rest of us who are less gifted than they are. And similarly I am not sure that, very often, the supposed academic practical man does not see more deeply into the most important practical issues of a problem than does the bluff, contemptuous politician, who proudly claims for himself that blessed attribute of being realistic. And I am also not sure that, in our handling of this very Native problem, of which I am to speak to you, we would not have been all the better for a little more academic analysis and a good deal less muddled thinking and blatant prejudice-mongering.

It is as everybody knows, customary among politicians to take exception to the views expressed in our Universities in regard to Native affairs, when modern views do not happen to accord with the predominant political conception. It is true of course that it is from our Universities and from men connected with them or imbued with the University spirit that much of the support for the more liberal view has come. But it is surely an insufficient answer to retort with the cheap gibe which the word academic conveys to the unenlightened mind. What after all is the conception which really underlies that word? It implies open-minded consideration; it implies balanced judgment; it implies the fearless pursuit of rectitude and truth. Surely it is primarily to the end that the nation may secure the benefit of these things that we have set up our Universities, and have made large sums of public money available for their needs. Why then should we reject that benefit in regard to the greatest of all our problems, that which is fundamental to the survival of European civilization in this land? For my part I rejoice with all my heart that our Universities have, to an ever-increasing extent, been applying those academic qualities to the consideration of that problem. And it is therein chiefly that I find hope for the future. For I refuse to think of our Universities as the homes of lost causes. I regard them rather as the vantage points from which are caught the first gleams of the coming dawn.

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**Importance of Fundamentals**

Perhaps I should emphasize the terms in which I have defined the subject on which I am to speak to you. I would not have you expect me to propound a solution of the Native problem, or to advance some new theory in regard to it. It is not with the solution of the problem that I am concerned, but with the approach to it, with, if I may revert to academic language, some of the *prolegomena* of the problem. I shall not attempt to mark out the actual path up the steep and rocky hillside which we have to climb. All that I want to do is to clear away some of the dense undergrowth which at present prevents us from seeing which is the natural line of ascent. I think that there is value in such an attempt. Undoubtedly there is to-day a great lack of precision of thought in most men's approach to the Native problem — the catchword and the slogan exercise almost unchallenged dominion — and most of us would be all the better for getting back to fundamentals, for making a conscientious and determined effort to see straight and to think straight in regard to it. My aim this evening is no higher than to give such assistance as I can towards that end.

You will also have inferred, both from my title and from what I have already said, that I do not share the facile optimism of those who claim that the Native problem has been solved by the legislation enacted during the last parliamentary session. At the best, that legislation dealt only with certain aspects...
of the problem, with what measure of finality time
alone will show. But the problem in its totality is
not one that can be solved by a couple of legislative
acts nor even in a measurable period of time. It is
one of those problems the solution of which depends
on growth — the growth of attitudes of mind, the
growth of interacting spiritual forces, the growth of
economic processes. Faith and patience, the willing-
ness, sometimes, for Carlyle's phrase, to "let time work"
are among the first requisites in the approach to it.
We of this generation will look foolish indeed in the
judgment of history if we claim that in our time we
can solve it or have solved it. We cannot hope for
more than that, in honesty of mind and sincerity of
purpose, we should make an enduring contribution
to the completion of the main account.

Nature of the Problem

And so it is well as I should commence by asking
what is this Native problem of the approach
to which I am speaking. It is a point on which all
my subsequent remarks will have a bearing, to which,
therefore, I shall needs have to return. Let me say
this much at this stage. To different people the Native
problem quite obviously means different things.
It is a problem which arises from the juxtaposition
of white man and black man in the same country.
That much is common cause. But for some the
problem would appear to be how, in such a country —
in this case it is South Africa — the white man is to
assume his position of dominance for the future;
how South Africa is to be made safe for the European.
Those who so view the problem would proclaim their
ideal as being that of "a White South Africa." For
others, however, the problem is one of the adjustment
of the inequalities in the position of the black man
conceived as a fellow-citizen along with the white man
of a common country — and of these the ideal is
rather that of "progressive assimilation". At this point
in time, for my part, I can conceive of no better description
of the problem than that it is an aspect of what Dr.
J. H. Oldham has described as the ultimate political
problem of the world: the problem of how the different
races which inhabit it may live together in "peace
and harmony". And, of that description of
the problem, the essence seems to be the notion of
living together, of joint participation in the life of a
single community.

The Lines of Cleavage

I do not propose to enlarge on that point now.
I want rather to pass on to another observation of
a preliminary character, which will however also lead
me on towards my main theme. When we think of
the history of South Africa we think of it very largely
in terms of a conflict between men of English
and of Afrikaner speech. It is that conflict, and the
consequences of it, that have most vividly forced
upon us the notion of a conflict integral to the
problem of our own generation. But that has not been
the true drama of our history: we shall find that drama,
rather, in the struggle to avoid the occurrence of a
tragic clash of colour, a ruthless subjugation to the position of mere
chattels of lesser-favoured human beings. That would,
however, give an entirely wrong impression of the
origin of this point of view, or of the attitude of mind
towards the black man of the older European
inhabitants of South Africa. Let it be admitted that
the influence of the slave economy which once prevailed
at the Cape was a constitutive force in this regard:
but, in the treatment of their slaves, our early South
Africans attained a relatively high standard of humanity.
Moreover, the frontiersman may, in his dealings with
the Native, have been concerned almost entirely with
the assurance of his safety and his economic interests,
yet, if his pragmatism was hard, it was not in essence
unkindly. The true origin of this point of view is indeed
rather to be sought in the recollection of the wider
conception of the family, with the servants as part of it.
Of that the admission of the black servants to family
prayers, a custom which still prevails in many parts of
South Africa, is an element incidental to the phases of that conflict.

The second of the points of view to which I have
referred may naturally enough be described broadly
as liberalism — one must be more careful in describing
the other. It is easy to think of it in terms of mere
opposition to liberalism, as a sort of anti-racismism
i.e. the principle of the relationships of humanity
world tends to be increasingly straightened about him,
he conceives of himself as engaged in a new struggle
with the Native, a deadlier struggle than the physical
fighting a losing battle. But let dominating thoughts
have come to be thoughts of fear.

What are the essential elements in the white
man's attitude to-day? Perhaps they may be described
in this way. The white man is conscious of cultural
superiority over the Native — he is conscious also
of numerical inferiority. And so he is afflicted with
the haunting fear that his present position of ascend-
ancy may be weakened and destroyed. Does not the Native
outnumber him by three to one? — and
nearly always when he speaks of it he exaggerates
the ratio. Is not the Native's rate of natural increase
higher than his own? — and usually he forgets the
factors which to-day tend to limit that increase.
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The Elements of Fear

It is hardly necessary to remark on the fact
that of late this fear complex has powerfully influenced
the Union's handling of its Native problem, and that
against it the old liberalism of the Cape has been
attacked. It is the attitude of the white man, and of the time of Union, there
were those who hoped that Cape ideas of political
equality as between white men and black would come to prevail throughout the Union. They have been
successful in the extent that the year out of the
past year the last time Native votes were taken on a common
election roll with Europeans. And, while in Native
administration there has, especially in recent years,
been a good deal of external interference from the
major powers of the world, there has been an attempt
at internal stability and the extension of social and
economic welfare, legislation dealing with Native affairs has for a considerable period now, taken its form largely
from the prevailing desire to keep the Native "in his place", a place of permanent subordination to
the white man and of subservience to his interests.

Now, for my part, I have no hesitation in saying
that, in so far as our present approach to the Native
problem is based on a fear complex — I am not
saying that it is exclusively so based — but so far
as it is so based, it has an entirely false foundation.
and considerations both of national honour and of national security demand that we should not leave such a position unchanged. Certainly, while fear is at the root of public opinion, it is no easy matter to build up a Native policy on the foundations of justice and fair dealing. There is, as my earlier remarks have implied, a fundamental desire in the minds of the South African people to act justly towards the Natives in their midst, but that desire fights a difficult battle against the power of fear. Sarah Gertrude Millin has told us how once she put this point in a conversation with an American Negro. “You know,” she said, “the relative numbers of black and white in South Africa. Well, consider the black people as a big man struggling in a swamp, and the white people as a little man standing on the edge of the swamp. The little man wants to help the big man. But how far does he? Isn’t it more possible that the big man will pull in the little man, than that the little man will pull out the big man? That is the question we are always asking ourselves in South Africa.”

I have indicated that the fear complex which is at the root of some at least of the present tendencies in Native policy is to be deplored. There are, however, two things that I would emphasize as arising from that statement. The one is that we would be foolish to lose sight of the psychological justification of that fear complex. Mrs. Millin has pointed out, there are ample grounds for it. There is the black man’s numerical superiority and our country’s apparently low absorptive capacity, in present circumstances, in the matter of immigration — and these are considerations which tend to vitiate many of the comparisons with the United States which are so frequently drawn. There is the menace presented by the black man’s lower standards of living to the white man’s economic position. There are the evidences of his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilization. There is the revolting possibility of ultimatum or violence either as a solution of the races. It would be strange indeed if the Europeans in South Africa were not apprehensive as to his children’s future. It needs something in the nature of an act of faith for him to be otherwise — and in these days faith is perhaps not the facile thing that it once was.

The Old and the New Liberalism

The other point that I want to make at this stage is that you are not going to defeat the fear complex merely by advancing the ideals of the old Cape liberalism. I would be the last to wish to give way to the tendency to consider the liberalism of the Cape. I am deeply conscious of the richness of its tradition, of the great men whom it nurtured, and who gave expression to its spirit. But I would suggest that in later years that liberalism tended to become too largely a thing of sentiment, too readily discarded in the face of the problem of fear. It was the case that the question of the Cape Native franchise, suffered from low absorptive capacity, in present circumstances, in the matter of immigration — and these are considerations which tend to vitiate many of the comparisons with the United States which are so frequently drawn. There is the menace presented by the black man’s lower standards of living to the white man’s economic position. There are the evidences of his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilization. There is the revolting possibility of ultimatum or violence either as a solution of the races. It would be strange indeed if the Europeans in South Africa were not apprehensive as to his children’s future. It needs something in the nature of an act of faith for him to be otherwise — and in these days faith is perhaps not the facile thing that it once was.

The Two Extremes

The two extreme methods of approach — one either side — may be ruled out without very much difficulty. There is first of all the policy which would regard the Native merely as a means to an end, a chattel in the white man’s economy, ministering to his needs, building up his wealth, but, for the rest, to be kept “in his place” by sheer physical force, if need be, and to be restrained from any advance in the exercise of any天然 capacities. (Perhaps it is necessary that, before I go any further, I should make it clear that I am not using the term “franchise” to mean that the Cape Native has, on the question of the Cape Native Franchise, suffered from low absorptive capacity, in present circumstances, in the matter of immigration — and these are considerations which tend to vitiate many of the comparisons with the United States which are so frequently drawn. There is the menace presented by the black man’s lower standards of living to the white man’s economic position. There are the evidences of his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilization. There is the revolting possibility of ultimatum or violence either as a solution of the races. It would be strange indeed if the Europeans in South Africa were not apprehensive as to his children’s future. It needs something in the nature of an act of faith for him to be otherwise — and in these days faith is perhaps not the facile thing that it once was.

The Basic Tenets

What does such a policy imply for the white man? Take the case of the Cape. Is the Cape Native Franchise, suffered from low absorptive capacity, in present circumstances, in the matter of immigration — and these are considerations which tend to vitiate many of the comparisons with the United States which are so frequently drawn. There is the menace presented by the black man’s lower standards of living to the white man’s economic position. There are the evidences of his constantly accelerating advance under the impact of European civilization. There is the revolting possibility of ultimatum or violence either as a solution of the races. It would be strange indeed if the Europeans in South Africa were not apprehensive as to his children’s future. It needs something in the nature of an act of faith for him to be otherwise — and in these days faith is perhaps not the facile thing that it once was.

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prevaling tone and sentiments, in this regard, of the country. Yet the racial antipathy is too real a fact in our life for it to be brushed aside, either by the enunciation of the ideal of equality or even by the logic of argument. Moreover, it has its foundation in realities, differences not just in the appearance of individuals, but differences rather in social tradition and in outlook on life. The United States was founded with the declaration of the "self-evident truth" that "all men are created equal." Yet it was the President of the United States who in 1919 resisted Japan's claim for the insertion in the Covenant of the League of Nations of an acknowledgement of the principle of racial equality. There are some differences too deep-seated to be brushed aside by high-sounding declarations. There is a diversity between the races of men, there are facts of inequality which cannot be ignored. And although there is a fundamental equality in principle of men as men alongside of those facts of inequality, we must be careful in our definition of what that fundamental equality implies. Dr. J. H. Oldham has put it in this way. "Men are not equal in their capacity to serve the community, nor are they equal in their needs. But they are equal in the possession of a personality that is worthy of reverence. They are equal in the right to the development of that personality, so far as may be compatible with the common good." There is a special significance for us in South Africa in those concluding words: "So far as may be compatible with the common good, things being as they are in South Africa, we could not accept a policy of complete equalization of black man with white to the point of identity as being for the common good."

Facts of Difference

We have then rejected the two extreme lines of approach. We have ruled out the permanent rejection of black man by white, and a fortiori of white man by black. We have ruled out also the equality, the identity of the two races. Obviously, we must seek our line of approach in another category. And we shall best find it, perhaps, if we take as our starting-point the recognition of the differences between white man and black — if we leave out of account questions of relative status, and concern ourselves in the first instance with the facts of difference. White man and black man are not, probably never will be, the same: — they have different social traditions, they have different media of self-expression, they have different ideas of social welfare — should not those differences be the basis of a differentiation in policy and administration?

Meaning of Segregation

That statement will at once suggest the term "segregation", and it is here that the clearing away of undergrowth of which I spoke is particularly necessary. "Segregation" means the complete terminal separation of white man and black man, and the latest minimum of intercourse between them, it means the distinctive development of the Native peoples on lines of their own, and in such manner as not to impinge on European interests, it means the growth of a black nation and a white nation side by side in South Africa. This ideal has the merit of being logical and of springing from a sound conception of inter-racial relationships. It suffers, however, from the fault of being entirely impractical. In that respect it is in the same category as the solution sometimes advocated in the United States for its colour problem, of dumping its twelve million Negroes holus bolus into Liberia, or as the proposal advocated in South Africa, chiefly at eleventh hour, for segregation of Asiatic workers by wholesale repatriation. The Native Economic Commission a few years ago went so far as to say that no one any longer advocates this view of segregation.

What then does segregation really mean in the minds of those who hold it up as a policy? There are, as I have suggested, several shades of meaning, but for the most part they group themselves round two very distinct conceptions. There is on the one hand a crude segregationism, which is the form in which the doctrine is held by most of those who have not thought it out, and by some few of those who have. For them it means the exclusion of the Native from the white man's life, save in so far as he is necessary for ministration to the white man's needs, the setting aside, for his occupation, of land so inadequate that dire necessity will drive him out to labour at low wage-rates for the white man, and, for the rest, the refusal to regard him as other than a means to an end, or effectively to encourage his development in the areas reserved for him. That conception links itself up with that repressive policy which I dismissed as one of the extremes — it needs no further consideration than we have already given to that policy.

Constructive Segregation

But there is also a constructive segregationism which merits much closer attention. Let us start with the description which General Smuts gave of it, with reference to the wider Africa, in his Rhodes Lectures: "A policy which will not force her (i.e. Africa's) institutions into an alien mould, but which will preserve her unity with her own past, conserve what is precious in her past, and build her future on distinctive and unmistakably African foundations". Such a policy means the distinctive development of the black peoples; it means the encouragement of, and the provision of facilities for, that development; its aim is that the black man should not merely advance towards prosperity for himself, but should also make a specific contribution to the good of the whole community.

For the consideration of segregation in this form, it becomes necessary to ask what measure of separation of the races is essential if that end of distinctive Native development is to be attained. For the answer it will be best to refer to that part of South Africa where this constructive policy of segregation has in fact been most successfully applied. In the Transkei we have a territory of sixteen thousand square miles of which all but a thousand are reserved for Native ownership. It carries a population of a million Natives, who have been provided with the machinery of self-government in respect of their own specific affairs. In the administration the development of the Native has been the primary aim. He has been encouraged to determine the lines of his own progress, and there has been in him a feeling of pride in his own institutions, a sense of responsibility, and a growing experience of administrative affairs. And yet, to its Native inhabitants, even the Transkei secures only a marginal subsistence. It is of the essence of its economic life that a large number of them go out at regular intervals to work in the white man's industries, beyond the borders of the Territories in order to satisfy their expanding wants and desires. There is, therefore, no attempt to secure a complete separation between the white man and black. Of man and black the cardinal thing alone is secured — and it is of the first importance that this should be noted — the home of the Transkeitan Native remains in the Transkei and to the house he normally returns.

So then we may define the aim of the constructive segregationist, in relation to the Union as a whole, in some such way as this — the reservation for the Native peoples of sufficient land to make possible the maintenance of their family and tribal life, no substantial restriction on their going out to work for the white man for definite periods, but the retention of the reserve as their home and the centre of their life and of their distinctive advancement.

Now, stated in this form, the policy has obvious merits. It will achieve a considerable reduction in the intermingling of black and white, it will ensure a large measure of recognition for the facts of difference and yet it does not postulate either the setting aside, for the black man's occupation, of land sufficient to provide for all his needs independently of the white man's wages, or the administration to the white man's industry of the shock which would be caused by the withdrawal of the black man's labour. It does, however, require, and this is the bare minimum, the provision of adequate reserves to ensure at least a marginal subsistence for all Native families, and the removal to those reserves of all such families as dwell in the white man's towns or on the white man's farms to-day. That, it seems to me, the provision of sufficient land, to provide a bare subsistence for all the families that dwell to-day in the white man's towns or on the white man's farms, is the minimum essential if the use of the term segregation is to be justified. On the basis of that minimum a constructive policy of segregation can be evolved, and there is no reason why such a policy should not satisfy the demands set at once by logic and justice for a solution of the problem. But if that minimum is not attained, then segregation offers no solution, and, the more we fall short of it, the greater is the danger of it becoming a mockery and a sham.

The Land is the Test

It is clear, then, that we must test the value of segregation as a line of approach by asking whether
It is the lassies-fare in the Transvaal and elsewhere in South Africa at that time which makes so difficult to-day the task of re-creating Native family and tribal life, and, let me insist again, the re-creation of Native family and, in some measure at least, Native tribal life is essential for the success of any policy of constructive segregation. For, as a result of that lassies-fare, the Native has in fact gone out from his tribal home, to an ever increasing extent with his family to make his home on the white man's farms. And, he has, also with his family, made his home on the white man's farms, and it has been in the interest of the European farmer to encourage him to do so. The white man and General Smuts at Oxford, like to have the families of their Native servants with them. It means more continuous and less broken periods of labour, and it means more satisfied labourers. It means moreover the use of the women and children for such work as they are fit for." Over 90 per cent of the Native population of the Union is to-day living outside the reserved areas: that is a fact of the very first importance in the testing of the segregation theory. There are one and a half million Natives in rural areas outside the reserves; there are about a million in the towns — and, though our European urban population has been growing disproportionately as compared with our European rural population, our Native urban population is growing far more rapidly than our European urban population. Not all these, of course, represent Native families, but it is clear that the task of re-establishing Native family life in the reserves is one of very considerable magnitude. The segmentationists labour under what is indeed a damosus hereditatis from the policy of drift of the past.

I think it will be clear by now, that, for any policy of segregation which would merit consideration as a solution of our problem, there will be a very heavy price for the white man to pay. There is a price to be paid in respect of labour — less continuous of all Native families, the Native family is moved back to the reserve: less abundant, as Native development proceeds, and absorbs more of its own labour; less cheap, as the Native, in the building up of his own life, becomes more independent of the white man's wages. There is a price also in respect of land, for it means setting apart for Native ownership considerable areas which are open to the European to-day, and which have come to be regarded as eminently suitable for European exploitation and settlement, areas moreover in which Europeans have already established themselves. Let it not be forgotten that, for the success of this policy, there must be postulated the setting aside of enough land to give effect to a policy of building up Native homes for all the Native peoples of South Africa and for the natural increase of the future — land sufficient to settle them at once with a safeguard against economic exploitation, an inducement to retain their domicile, and the facilities for effective development. And, even after all possible allowances are made for an increase in the productivity and carrying capacity of the existing reserves, that represents a very heavy demand.

That is the price to be paid; and, if the question be put whether the white man is willing to pay that price for segregation, there can, I fear, be only one answer — that the chances of his paying a price, so heavy as that which is indeed the minimum condition precedent to its success can, I fear, be only one answer — that the chances of his paying a price, so heavy as that which is indeed the minimum condition precedent to its success, are nil. There is a price for segregation, as I have sought to describe it, implies the maintenance and, so far as need be, the re-creation of Native family and tribal life; the distinctive Native system which it envisages must draw its inspiration very largely from tribalism; and in the way of that there is a very serious obstacle, the fact that, as far as a considerable number of Natives are concerned, the policies of the past have led them very far away from tribalism. Sarah Gertrude Millin has used the appellation of a journey. The black man has been called by the white man to accompany him. He has arisen. He has left his savage life behind him. Now he is on the road, travelling in the shadow of the white man, carrying his chattels. And indeed it has never been claimed for the Natives Land and Trust Act that the white man has been glad to have the black man with him, glad to have him carrying his burdens while he is left free to exult in the air and sun of Africa. But the time comes when the difficulties of the journey increase, and food runs short, and the white man comes to resentfully conscious of the creature with him who is making demands on him for sustenance, conscious also of the possibility that he may demand a still larger share of the available provisions, and in the end attack his master in order to obtain it. At the last he would fain be rid of his companion, force him back upon dependence on himself, despatch him again to the hoods to which he called him. But the breach with the old life is too complete, the road already traversed is too long, and, for all the wishing, the white man that he had never called the black man, there is now no going back upon the road — but a still larger share of the available needs travel along together. Put concretely, the position is just this. There is to-day a considerable class of educated and semi-educated Natives. Many of them have risen to, or at least made advances towards, a European standard. They have been educated on European lines, they have been trained to think and feel like Europeans. Here on the Witwatersrand, at least, there is no need to stress the fact. And to-day it is no longer a question of a few educated Native apatites. It is a large and rapidly increasing class with which
we have to deal, a class permeated with ideas of life — and that because of our own direct or indirect encouragement in the past — ideas of life which make it impossible to fit them into the scheme of the segregationist by forcing them back upon the life of the kafir. If the policy of differential development had been followed logically and completely from the outset, these men would to-day no doubt be taking their place as leaders in the distinctive development of their people. But, as things are, in this respect also, the time is past for the full application of that policy: it is now too late.

The policy of constructive segregation may have been a practicable one for the last generation. In our own case we can only apply it in bits and fragments: the chance of using it as a solution of the problem is lost.

Conclusions

The time has come for me to sum up the conclusions to which our process of analysis has led us. We have rejected identification and repudiation as lines of approach to the Native problem; we have chosen instead the category of difference, starting out with the necessity for the frank acceptance by both sides of existing differences as facts. That is after all the essence of segregation, and so we have sought to follow up the segregationist line of approach. And the result has been that, on the basis even of the most modest form of that policy that can still be called segregation, we have found our advance impeded, our road blocked, as a result of the policies and the lack of policy of the past. We have found that, natural and logical and right though the policy of differentiation may be, we cannot give it full application. We have found that there are obdurate facts of which we must take account — facts which cannot be made to pay the price of segregation, and the existence of a great company of Europeanized detribalized Natives in our midst.

What then follows? I think our analysis has shown us, that there is in fact no clear-cut approach to the Native problem, leading to a definite and determinable solution. And that being so, we must be content with a partial vision of the goal, following in faith and patience such gleams of light as are at present vouchsafed to us, hoping that fuller enlightenment will in time reward our faith. And if we are indeed satisfied with that limited objective, then I think the analysis of the more ambitious solutions that I have made this evening will be of value to us, as suggesting two ways in which some measure of progress can be attained.

Development in Native Areas

First there is the conception of distinctive Native development in Native areas, which is fundamental to the policy of constructive segregation. It is only, as we have seen, of partial applicability, but it has the merit of an application in so far as it is possible to do so. It was the emphasis on Native development that gave its chief value to the report of the Native Economic Commission to promote their development and advance no less than that of the tribal Natives, and to envisage their training in methods of greater efficiency, as an inevitable result, the payment of higher wages. This last, let it not be overlooked, will be to the interest and not to the detriment of the white man, for it is the low scale of Native wages which is helping to depress the economic status of many Europeans to-day.

Harmonising of Interests

I have emphasised these two things — development of Native areas, sympathy with the economic aspirations of the residual urban Native — as ways in which some measure of progress towards the solution of the Native problem can be made. May I now recall the way in which I formulated that problem at the outset — how best European and Native may live together in peace and harmony in the same community? And the conclusions at which we have arrived may be summarised as being that, if we would rightly approach the Native problem, we must first conceive of it as a problem of living together in a single community, and then advance towards it along the path that will be easiest to overcome the economic and psychological obstacles which hamper progress. And if the conception of living together in this sense is adopted, it will tend to take our minds away from questions of rights, questions of superiority and inferiority: it will enable us rather to concentrate on the thought of the contributions made by the two elements can severally make to the welfare of the community as a whole.

Dr. Aggrey once used the simile of the white notes and the black notes on the piano to emphasise the point that each of the two races has its contribution to make to the world's harmony. And that is certainly applicable also in respect of South Africa's economic progress.

Progress and Racial Intercourse

I would not appear to minimize the difficulties, the obstacles in the line of approach of which I have been speaking. There are those who would ask the question: Will the development of the Native, the encouragement of his economic advance, lead inevitably to social equality?; and what of the intermarriage and race-mixture which may be expected to result? In relation to this last specific point there is, I think, little real ground for fear. A competent observer has recently declared after a visit to the United States that "it was instructive to find so many signs that repudiation is being more and more abandoned, that it is becoming more generally realized that the only way to avoid or delay intermixture — and intermixture seems very definitely on the decline in America — is for the Negroes developmentally to develop their own race-consciousness, and to do everything possible to make it attractive for them to stay Negro". There is statistical evidence from our own land which points in the same direction. It is in the Cape that Native policy has been most broadly sympathetic and that, on the whole, most has been done for Native development. I have taken out some figures in respect of the last available three year period which I ask you to consider. In the Cape the number of offences against the Immorality Act was 3.2 per hundred thousand of the Native population. In the rest of the Union there were 6.4 such offences per hundred thousand. In the rest it was 2.4 per hundred thousands. In the Union as a whole it was 0.7 per hundred thousand. It is in the Cape that the encouragement of his economic advance, lead to the development of the Native, which is helping to depress the economic status of many Europeans to-day.

There is, then, as far as this matter of race-mixture is concerned, little ground for fear in respect of the policy of Native development. But apprehension in other respects may well be regarded as without justification. Certainly the approach to the Native problem which I have been advocating does call for vision, and imagination, and faith without wavering. Whether in fact it will ensure the white man's progress or not, the policy of repudiation, that of economic development, is the only one that can be predicted with confidence, and that, to the only logically complete alternative policy which to-day could really be described as practicable, the policy of repudiation, that attaches dangers which will almost certainly be far greater. There can be no certainty, no assurance for the future, but if we needs must be content to regard our Native problem as one in which finally is not yet possible of attainment, one in regard to which we can but advance one step at a time, as the light may lead us, if in other words it is in faith that we must go forward, at least I have grown grand enough to "hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering".
 Triumph of Faith over Fear

It is on the note of faith and confidence that I would close. The problem of which I have been speaking presents to this small nation of ours a cruelly severe test. But when I have regard to our nation's past history, when I see in that history proof at once of the fundamental soundness of its instinctive reactions in time of crisis and of its genius for constructive statesmanship, I have confidence that it will in this matter also, in the long run, not be found wanting. And the measure of its success will be its capacity to make faith triumph over fear.

EDUCATION AND RACE ATTITUDES*

By J. D. Rhinault Jones

The growing intensity of our racial problems has in recent years forced public attention upon them, and there has been in consequence more general discussion of these problems than in earlier years, and also there has been more extensive study of them. Not the least of these problems is the question of the psychological relations between the various groups. More extensive racial contact has led to uncertainty, as to the proper behaviour by group and group, and between individuals from different groups, (e.g. Should a white man shake hands with a Native?) and also uncertainty as to what should be the attitude of the ruling white group towards the Non-European groups — in political, social and economic relationships. This uncertainty has led to friction, not only between the European and Non-European groups, but also between sections of the White group whose outlooks and traditions differ in regard to racial questions.

From time to time statements are made declaring not only what the correct attitudes should be but also what they actually are, but hitherto there have not been available any reliable data in regard to the latter. Bruno Lasker's Race Attitudes in Children, which embodied the results of a study made in the United States, has had no counterpart in South Africa, and consequently every statement describing the racial attitude of any group has been based upon general rather than specific evidence. And yet no attempt at the harmonising of the racial situation in South Africa can go very far without sound knowledge and understanding of the situation itself, and especially a proper appreciation of the psychological factors in that situation.

The first enquiry was directed to measuring, by means of a graduated scale, the varying degrees of racial feeling, favourable and unfavourable, among Europeans towards Natives. The second was an effort to examine the attitudes of certain White groups towards other groups, both Whites and Non-Whites, and to see to what extent the results could be correlated with the attitudes towards the Native group revealed in the first study. The third was a test of fair-mindedness in relation to attitude towards the Native. The fourth study was a preliminary survey with the object of testing the reactions of the South African-born White group to the Bantu. The results are presented in a typescript volume which I sincerely trust will find publication shortly, and Dr. MacCrone has generously placed the volume at my service for this address, in which I propose to make use of Dr. MacCrone's findings to assist me in considering the part which education should play in the harmonising of race relations in South Africa.

Dr. MacCrone conducted five separate enquiries, and these are described by him in close detail and treated mathematically. In this address I can only deal with the material sufficiently to bring out the facts as to racial attitudes.

The following were some of the statements:

1. I consider that the Native is only fit to do the "dirty" work of the White community.
2. The idea of contact with the black or dark skin of the Native excites horror and disgust in me.
3. The Native, if he were given the chance, would prove to be just as good as the White man.
4. I do not think that we ought to help the Native until all the White people who are in need have been helped.
5. I think the Native has been unjustly deprived of his country by the White man.
6. I admire the Native for his many good qualities and would like to see him given an opportunity of developing them.
7. The fact that the Native had developed no civilization on his own to speak of before the White man arrived in this country, is to my mind more than sufficient proof of his innate inferiority.

The first groups examined consisted of the following first year South African born students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-speaking South Africans</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikans</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* An address delivered before the Annual Conference of the Natal Teachers Society at Durban on July 31st, 1936. The address is based upon the unpublished results of a study on Race Attitudes by Dr. I. D. MacCrone, Professor of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It is hoped that Dr. MacCrone's thesis will be published shortly.

It should be realised that the tests were imposed upon Whites only, and that no tests have so far been applied to Non-Whites.

I. SCALE MEASUREMENT

As a result of fairly exhaustive preliminary tests, a series of 30 questions, covering, as far as the investigator could judge, the whole gamut of favourable and unfavourable attitudes, arranged haphazardly but designed to bring into grades the feeling for or against the Native in the minds of the subjects, the grading being effected by classifying the replies in accordance with the following step intervals or scores:

**STEP INTERVAL CLASS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interval</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1—2</td>
<td>Very strongly favourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3—4</td>
<td>Strongly favourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5—6</td>
<td>Favourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7—8</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9—10</td>
<td>Unfavourable</td>
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* e. between 60 and 70% of the total number of first year students, and including those taking courses in the faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering and Medicine.

At this predominantly English-speaking University, the Jewish student body represents a larger proportion than the Jewish population of the Union, while the Afrikaans-speaking students represent a smaller proportion than the Dutch section of the population of the Union. To counteract this to some extent, and also to provide groups whose results would serve as a control over those obtained at Johannesburg, it was considered advisable to go outside the University and apply the test to students elsewhere. For that purpose the test was also applied in Afrikaans to the students of the Potchefstroom Christian University College, where there are no Jews, and which is almost entirely if not wholly an Afrikaans institution. The test was also applied to students at the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, where there are only a few Jews and which is almost, though not quite, English-speaking. Potchefstroom draws its students largely from the rural Afrikaans-speaking population of the Transvaal, while the students at Grahamstown come mainly from the Eastern Province of the Cape, which, in view of its long tradition of Kaffir wars and close contacts between European and Bantu at the present time, might be expected to provide some interesting results.

Now, at Johannesburg, the students were all in the first few weeks of their first year, before they had been influenced greatly by the teaching and life at the University. They were thus the products of the schools, and their reactions might be held to reflect the results of the education in the schools. On the other hand, they could not be regarded as typical of the population as a whole, since they represented a portion of a selected section which receives University education. Their attitudes however, have special significance, since from among them are likely to be drawn those who will influence thought most in the future.

The students at Potchefstroom and Grahamstown who took the test included second and third year students, whose views may have been modified by, and could perhaps be said to reflect the current feeling, at the University concerned. The numbers dealt with were:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potchefstroom</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grahamstown</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
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