

ESSAY REVIEW

ALTERNATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT IN RHODESIA

IN OPINIONS VOICED of this work under review,* the kindest adjectives heard were 'impressionistic' and 'slipshod'; phrases used by most local readers frequently contain the word 'scurrilous'. It all depends on who reads it. The farmer and the agriculturist who live with the subject treated by Dr Clarke resort to the latter reaction. The dilettante socialist may appreciate the book.

The Justice and Peace Commission of the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops' Conference who commissioned and financed this 'report' rather expected the nastier kind of local reaction, as the present Organizing Secretary of that Commission indeed promised in the foreword. The purpose of the work was to expose what the Commission had decided in advance was 'an area of injustice'. Clarke therefore produces what amounts to an argument for the prosecution.

Considered within the confines of its subject, this 'report' is not of academic worth—not because of the publisher's excessively poor presentation but because it so obviously relies on uncritical acceptance of its line of argument. Clarke is playing to the gallery.

It is possibly this feature which, in future years, will be of academic interest to the student of propagandism in Southern Africa. Clarke's methods are neither novel nor do they obscure his aims sufficiently well to delude the reader into accepting the book in its entirety as a factual report.

An element of truth is there and the scene is set with sufficient local colour to make it appear convincing. In order to promote the impression of veracity an endless sequence of tabulated information is flashed before the viewer. Some of the tabulations are irrelevant or superfluous to the text but, no matter, they do impress. So do the sources of his information, both in the Tables and the Notes. Clarke's references cover a wide range, both in breadth and in time-span. This indication of the amount of available literature concerned with agricultural and plantation employment conflicts somewhat with the statement in the Preface that 'there still exists an analytical and empirical vacuum on the farm employment question'.

True, an analysis of sorts is made, but on the basis of such information which may serve, or that which the author can—rather clumsily—manipulate, to 'extend it in certain directions', as the author himself puts it (p.10). At one point (p.128) such distortion appears undisguisedly when a negative is deleted from a published opinion expressed in 1973 by the then Secretary of the Association of Rural Councils. Clarke gets a little mileage out of that, and a

* D. G. Clarke, *Agricultural and Plantation workers in Rhodesia* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, Occasional Paper, Socio-Economic Series No. 6, 1977), 298 pp., Rh\$4.80.

little more on page 30 where he confuses (?) the identity of 'agricultural service workers' to make invidious comparisons of wage 'stratification' on the farm. He also makes a tendentious point (pp. 182-4), with only the slightest qualification, of the relatively high taxable incomes of (White) farmers. This is an essential point to Clarke's argument, there being 'a basic issue that wages should be judged in relation to enterprise "ability to pay"' (p.248).

He fails to show that only 36 per cent of all (White) agricultural producers made enough money in the fiscal year which he selects (1975), to yield a taxable income at all, and that that year was one of the best-paying farming seasons for Rhodesia in more than a decade.

And so Clarke stretches a little truth to extend the distance of his argument in his 'certain directions'. A reader who takes the trouble to check a few references (which would be difficult if not impossible to find in foreign libraries) would feel like the man who naturally threw away a whole atlas when he found his town misplaced on one map.

Since Clarke also attempts to block every possible counter-argument, his presentation is confused and overburdened with detail. Pointless stressing of apparently random words and phrases in the text also adds to the reader's confusion. It is only by marking and isolating those themes which are most repeated that the bearings of his main 'directions' are defined.

Poverty. That Black agricultural and plantation workers in Rhodesia are poor is a fact. The measure of poverty is, in Clarke's analysis, essentially that of income level. That the agricultural employer in the commercial farming sector (White-owned farms) is rich, and has become so by economic oppression of his labour force, as Clarke suggests, is false.

His data mainly derive from statistical evidence for the years post-U.D.I. (1965-73), which were trying years for the farming industry, to say the least (see Figure 1).

Indeed, the evidence as presented appears shocking. Labour earnings dropped in real values as well as in current values. Current values of average annual individual employee's earnings varied from Rh\$123.50 (£95.00 at present exchange rates) in 1965 to Rh\$142.00 (£109.00) in 1973, with a low point of about Rh\$122.00 (£94.00) in 1967/8. Though expressed in cash terms, 'earnings' are the aggregate of cash wages and wages 'in kind' (food, housing, fuel, i.e. basic subsistence resources). The negotiable cash resources derived from earnings were about two-thirds of the gross. That situation affords considerable fuel for argument in the hands of Dr Clarke, whose sense of the situation is totally lacking. He takes no regard of the prevailing rural circumstance in which a tribesman is only just attempting the western lifestyle. The commercial farm is a money-making business, albeit an outpost of the cash economy. It is the convenient starting point for the tribesman on his self-chosen journey to the bright though expensive lights of town. He is not yet totally committed to that journey, however, since he tries to maintain his connections with the tribal home.

All he can sell is his muscle to pay his way in the world. That does not get him very far, but it does at least give his children that advantage of a step nearer the town. So he demands education for them and, as Clarke admits, gets it. But, by traditional habit, his reproduction rate is high. Because of available and enlightened medical care, which Clarke also admits to exist, the conventionally high birthrate yields a high survival rate of children, which Clarke does not admit. (The national population growth rate for Rhodesian Blacks is estimated to be about 4 per cent per annum — reportedly the highest in the world).

In result, the existing rural services and amenities are never adequate; more youngsters get less education; more unqualified people are available for menial farm jobs. Meanwhile the tribal home is also being overpopulated and under-developed. Whenever the tribal life suffers a set-back these people come to farms looking for jobs.

So the calibre of available farm-labour does not rise, and the farmer pays for what he gets (hands) out of what he can earn — which is not very much. Clarke does not say that at all, but quite the opposite.

The fact is, as mentioned, that by a combination of poor seasons and serious effects of international trade sanctions the agricultural industry had such a thin time after U.D.I. that the commercial farming sector did not become solvent until 1973/4. True, input costs were kept lower than gross output levels — barely so in 1968 and in 1970 — and of that resultant 'margin' a significant proportion was derived from State subsidies. But 'input costs', as statistically reported, do not include necessary capital formation in plant and equipment; nor interest paid on borrowings; nor the farmers' living expenses; nor the cost of farm purchases (mortgage repayments). Also, the war situation has cost the farmer a great deal since 1972, and still does. Grants-in-aid have admittedly been allowed by Government for specified protective measures against terrorist attacks on his home and on his labour village, but numerous other unaccountable wartime expenses devolve upon the farmer. Such are caused by farmers' time spent away on military duties; following up cattle rustlings; and most significantly, in the rehousing and care of his labourers and their dependents when these are left destitute by terrorist ravages.

Clarke makes only passing mention of trade sanctions imposed on Rhodesia and of the war. Nowhere do these inescapable factors enter into his reckoning. If further proof of the political bias of his argument is needed these omissions clearly establish his own position.

Had he not laboured under that prejudice he might have taken the trouble to investigate 'wage levels in relation to agricultural productivity' in other countries. Clarke only presents the local statistics (Table 16, p.42). But the easily available I.L.O. labour statistics indicate that a farm employee in the United States earned almost precisely the same in relation to his computed share in the gross agricultural produce as did the Black Rhodesian farmworker.

Taking agricultural wages as a percentage of the value of agricultural productivity (both divided by numbers of employees) for the years 1967-74, the Rhodesian ratios move from 40 per cent to 29 per cent; the United States' from 40 per cent to 28 per cent; and the British from 58 per cent to 54 per cent (for males; for British female farm-workers it remained fairly consistent, starting and ending at 37 per cent). The actual values of earnings and productivity are obviously far higher in the U.S.A. (productivity about 24 times) and Britain (productivity about 5 times) than in Rhodesia in consequence of the greater degree of agricultural mechanization there. Rhodesia had only 5.5 tractors per 100 farm-workers employed in 1968, falling to 5.1 in 1974. The U.S.A. had almost twenty-five times as many tractors and Britain more than ten times as many.

Clearly, as mechanization takes the place of manual effort individual wages rise in an apparently predictable trend, once a base ratio has been established for the particular country. That Britain chose a higher base ratio (paying more wages for less productivity) than the U.S.A. is not the Rhodesian farmer's fault, and could well underlie some of the chronic economic

problems of the U.K.

Therefore, had the Rhodesian farmer mechanized his enterprise on the North American pattern, fewer farm-workers could well have earned more. Two inhibitions are obvious: international trade sanctions and the spectre of mass unemployment. After all, who will employ unskilled, unsophisticated tribesmen if the farming industry does not absorb them?

Indeed, technological advances have been rapidly adopted in Rhodesian farming; or, rather, have been forced on the farmer by rising market standards. Rhodesia's landlocked situation, distant from large foreign markets (more so after the Mozambique border closure), predisposes its industrial effort to high quality production in order to gain export opportunities. Particularly so in farming, and keeping up with the world's tastes costs money. As Clarke concedes, the required technological innovations consume an ever-larger slice of input costs. The diminishing remainder is then spread over wages, maintenance costs and the farmer's own living expenses. Practical economics of this kind escape Clarke, as does the fact that commercial farming is a capitalist business which is expected to yield a profit out of gross returns. As I have indicated, that profit was not consistently forthcoming. Nevertheless, the farm-worker was cushioned against the calamities which befell farming in the late 1960s. Rising market standards, too, were satisfied and as soon as it became possible (in 1973/4) wages did rise.

Trade Unions. At this point Clarke goes off in another direction to find fault with the rate of wage increase. He finds it tardy; and ascribes it to a lack of 'collective bargaining power' for farm-workers.

It is true that no Agricultural and Plantation Workers' Trade Union enjoys official recognition in Rhodesia. It is not true that farm-workers suffer thereby to the extent of being isolated from other industrial wage trends (see Figure 2).

During the years 1971-6 the earnings (cash and remuneration 'in kind' combined) of farm-workers rose by 53 per cent. Comparative earnings of Black workers in all other industries, combined, rose by 60 per cent. Trends which should have been significant to Clarke are those in industries which are represented on Industrial Councils (i.e. workers represented by trade unions). Of these, the mining industry showed a wage increase of 64 per cent and the 'transport and communications' sector only 46 per cent. It should also be noted that two rapid jumps in the 'earnings of mine-workers' in the years 1973-4 were occasioned by a considerable broadening of job opportunities in that industry, as a result of apprenticeship schemes. Even though the farm-worker generally remains a labourer, his 'cash and kind' earnings have been well within the mainstream of wage trends. However, his 'cash only' earnings had shot up by 88 per cent, and if that rise is plotted against the rise in gross output of agriculture for those years (1971-6) there is no significant trend difference.

Clarke relies on columns of tabulated figures in which he neither attempts such comparisons nor affords opportunity for the reader to do so, even though his sources contain all the necessary information.

Social Security. Another direction of Clarke's 'report' is in the purported lack of social security suffered by the farm-worker. This again is, or was until lately, a valid argument on the specific ground which he chooses — the lack of purely economic security.

Ever since the establishment of White commercial farming (as distinct from 'subsistence farming') the Black farm-worker enjoyed a far greater

measure of territorial security than did his ancestors when at the mercy of tribal conflict and factional disputes. Until only a decade ago his 'place' on the farm was unchallenged, provided he maintained allegiance to his employer. This may seem feudalistic, but we are talking about Africa, not Europe. Indeed, a life-long 'family' allegiance apparently also persists in employer-employee relationships in certain Japanese industries.

By this relationship the Black employee achieved 'retainer status', as Clarke puts it. It was a well understood relationship, tacit as it may have been, and could well also have been a counterpart to the tribal allegiance to a chiefdom or headman. When a farm-worker became infirm or too old to take his place in the 'gang' he could be shifted to a less arduous job on the farm, or he could opt to return to his tribal home, usually with a cash gratuity. There he would pass the time scratch-gardening, watching cattle and in conversation while his sons provided for his modest cash needs. He would also derive capital gains from the bride-price of his daughters. Hence the traditional urge to beget numerous children from as many wives as he could afford to buy during his working life on the farm.

Times have changed. On the one hand, children are not what they used to be. Modern influences have disrupted family loyalties. On the other hand, farming has become an intensively conducted business. Human pressure on all land is noticeable, most obviously in some tribal lands and less obviously on commercial farms where positive measures of environmental conservation have long been practised.

While the retainer tradition is still upheld, it cannot survive for much longer as rural populations steadily enlarge and farming lands require tighter and more profitable control. Clarke puts it all in much harsher terms, with no opportunity lost for ascribing grasping and self-serving motives to the farmer and the State.

The civilized alternative to 'retainer status' was therefore devised and presented by the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union in 1974, in the form of an agricultural workers' pension scheme. As could be expected, the scheme had a mixed reception. While it appealed to reason it did not appeal to sentiment. Neither farmer nor worker would lose anything by it except tradition which was being lost anyway, but country folk tend to be conservative.

Clarke, however, makes the scheme appear as if it were a 'cosmetic' measure. Here is an act of faith by which Rhodesia becomes the first country in Africa to provide social security for farm-workers by the introduction of a pension scheme. That it was introduced during a period of political uncertainty and of extraordinary limitations to farm profitability due to sanctions illustrates the responsible and enlightened attitude which employers of farm-labour hold in regard to the well-being of their employees — people who, in general, are unenlightened regarding the management of their own affairs in a modernizing environment.

True, the scheme was a compulsory one at first (it is now voluntary), since a fragmented scheme serving low-income workers cannot be viable. The consolidated scheme was necessary, at least at the start. However, during a fifteen-month period the fund paid out some Rh\$150 000 in death claims (death by any cause, including war casualty). So it is operating and it is honouring its promises.

Clarke's main complaints are that the pension benefits are likely to be low, being relative to the earned income of the worker, and that continuing inflation will deflate the real value of those relatively small benefits. Given

the type of employment — the least skilled and the lowest paid of all industries (in Rhodesia) — his point is self-evident and indeed inherent in any pension scheme. The inflation problem is a complex one. Clarke evidently did not absorb the simple fact that both pay-scales and interest rates rise with time. Both increments contribute to value-maintenance of pensions. (Interestingly enough, British state pensions have only just, in 1978, been adjusted to relate to earnings at the time of retirement.)

Also inherent in all pension schemes are calculated life expectancies. Clarke delves into these and, disregarding the fact that African life expectancy data are notorious for an intrinsic degree of guesswork, he makes out that only a tiny fraction of farm-workers will live beyond a retirement age of between 55 and 60 to enjoy the benefits of a pension.

Were that so, it would mean that the majority of farm labourers would in any event enjoy 'retainer status', during their latter years before retirement, as and when their labour capacity declines. Were a labourer to die before retirement, then the pension would revert to relatives, thereby fulfilling at least some function of social security.

However, none of the advantages of this pension scheme appeal to Clarke. Indeed, he obviously had no intention of giving any credit for any aspect of whatever social security the agricultural worker enjoys, be it of the 'paternalistic' tradition in farmer-employee relationships or of the modern impersonal provisions of the pension fund now being introduced.

Quality of Life. 'Quality is what you say when you cannot state exactly what you mean.' This quotation does not altogether fit Clarke's dissertation on 'quality of life', since he knew precisely what he meant to say but could not substantiate his viewpoint. So he resorts to this woolly slogan. Indeed 'Q.O.L.' is a concept badly in need of a theory' (Human, 1978), and never more so than in cross-cultural assessments, since 'equality is in the eye of the beholder'. However, in the social scientist's attempt at rationalizing the measure of 'equality' in universal terms, the suggestion is made that it refers to the degree to which 'wants' are satisfied. Or, in the negative interpretation, that 'quality' is low when the individual is most frustrated in attaining satisfaction of his 'wants'.

This is still not a clear enough guide to 'quality'. 'Needs', 'wants' and 'wishes' are still treated as equal contenders for satisfaction — all three being ranked as 'felt needs'. And, since 'Q.O.L.' accepts the fact of 'pluralism' (e.g. differing value-scales of 'quality' as may occur in different cultures), the relative importance of certain 'needs', 'wants' and 'wishes' may vary. Also, the satisfactions of life, by 'Q.O.L.' measure, may be expected in a greater or lesser time-span. It is indeed probable that the elements in Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs' do not occur simultaneously in the order given at all periods of people's life-span in all cultures. It may be argued that the advent of ultimate 'self-actualization' in a certain cultural framework is not expected by the individual during his lifetime at all, but in a later 'spirit-world'. Conversely, the archetypal Western man is commonly idealized as a 'go-getter' who wants everything in the least time, regardless — certainly before retiring age.

The attainment of any 'quality of life' has, in fact, to do with the individual's awareness of possibilities and potential in his particular ambience and how keen his ambitions are in practical modes of self-satisfaction (i.e. his 'need to achieve' in the destinies which his culture proclaims).

By confusing one ambience with another any commentator can make

what he likes of this already nebulous 'Q.O.L.'. Clarke does so by misinterpreting the Black farm-worker's potentials for development in a modernizing direction, and the contemporary phase of whatever change in life-style he is experiencing.

He is where and what he is largely because he either does not wish to make the effort to change, or because he has, even if momentarily, found a significant measure of satisfaction in his situation.

Clarke's micro-study of the labour histories of 13 farm-workers (Appendix C) shows that more than half their aggregate working life was spent as farm-workers; 10 are over forty years of age; 8 are illiterate; 9 are earning the highest cash wage of their lives. Although such miniscule evidence serves no statistical purposes, one wonders why these particular men have stuck the job for so long if the Q.O.L. that they experience is as unsatisfactory as Clarke would have us believe. Indeed, in consideration of their complaints, which Clarke provides, one finds the standard 'overworked-and-underpaid' plea most often. One person earning Rh\$70 a month, with one child in his care (his wife being in a T.T.L. with five others), having a savings account of \$400 and owning a car, complains of a monthly expenditure of Rh\$4 on food (over and above his free-ration issue). Others complain of the high prices in the store — who doesn't?

From this and other evidence proffered by Clarke the reader is left with the impression only of a convenient slogan — 'Q.O.L.' — devoid of substantial argument.

If 'quality of life' could be assessed by the individual's sense of 'feeling at home' in his situation — a rather different standard of judgement from the one related to his attainment of personal goals — a clear argument for life on the farm would emerge. Once again the author avoids this line of thinking since it would no doubt deviate from his chosen direction.

It is a fact that country life has been disrupted by population increase, and — violently so — by the present war. However, of all the rural regions so affected the (White) commercial farming areas have been least upset.

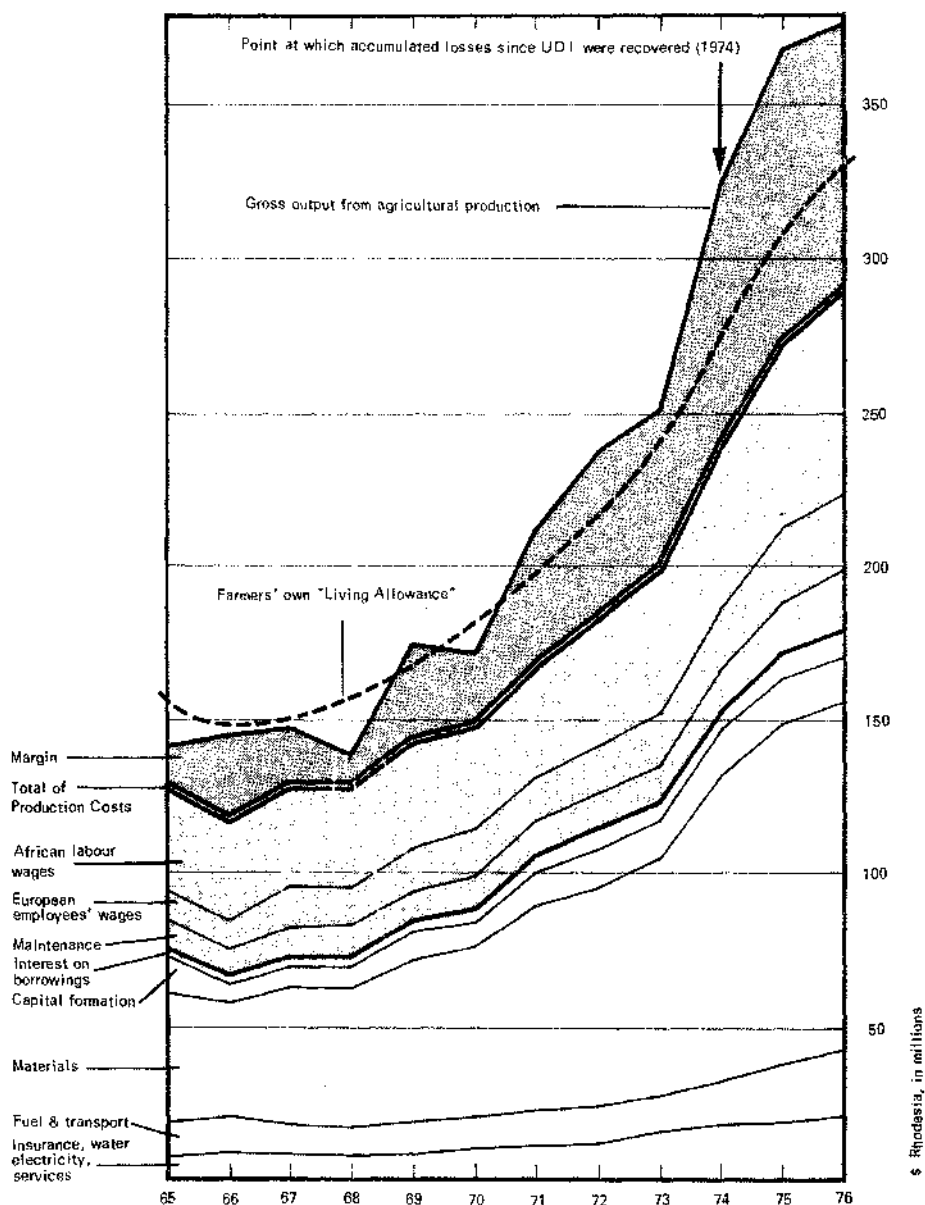
Population increases could have been accommodated in an enlarged agricultural industry. In Table 43 (p.157) labour shortages on farms are quoted for the years 1972-4, and average about 22 500. That number constituted about 6 per cent of the total average labour force in farm employment over that period.

During the same period, the war escalated. The brunt of the terrorist onslaught was taken on farms and in tribal lands. Defensive measures aimed at improved protection of the rural Black population in threatened areas included protected villages in the T.T.L.s and consolidated compounds on farms.

Whereas such measures wrought dramatic changes in the tribal way of life, it hardly affected farm-worker communities and could only have improved their 'quality of life', certainly in regard to environmental health and social amenities. Indeed, the planning involved in this project gave special attention to the least possible disruption of living habits and the greatest possible improvement of the environment. Clarke, who could conceivably have been unaware of the full import of this project (although he could have found out), misconstrues its aims by ascribing 'a strong tendency for employers to go in for minimalist solutions and to under-invest in compound facilities' (127). To someone who was involved in both the planning and execution of this vast undertaking (concerning about 2 000 farm villages accommodating about a half-million people) his attitude is crassly ignorant.

Figure 1

ACCUMULATED PRODUCTION COSTS, ALLOWANCES AND GROSS AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT FOR RHODESIAN COMMERCIAL FARMING (EUROPEAN SECTOR), 1965-76



SOURCES:

Agricultural Finance Corporation of Rhodesia, *Annual Report* [title varies: for years 1970-1976/7] (Salisbury, Government Printer; The Corporation).

Central Statistical Office, Reply to personal enquiry concerning 'numbers of employers of agricultural labour', June 1978.

Rhodesia, *National Accounts and Balance of Payments of Rhodesia: 1973* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Table 13; *National Accounts of Rhodesia 1976* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Table 15.

Rhodesia, *Supplement to the Monthly Digest of Statistics, January: 1978*; (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Tables 6, 20, 40; and *Digest of Statistics March: 1978* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Table 4.

A somewhat unconventional summation of 'input costs' is made in order to reflect the 'production costs' of farming. An obvious departure from standard expressions concerns 'capital formation', which is commonly included in 'output'. However, it is argued that 'capital formation' absorbs finance from the farmer's earnings while he remains in business, hence it reduces his 'margin' of profits. Equally, 'interest on borrowings' is undoubtedly a disbursement which, unless honoured, could put the farmer out of business as well as any of the other conventional 'input costs'.

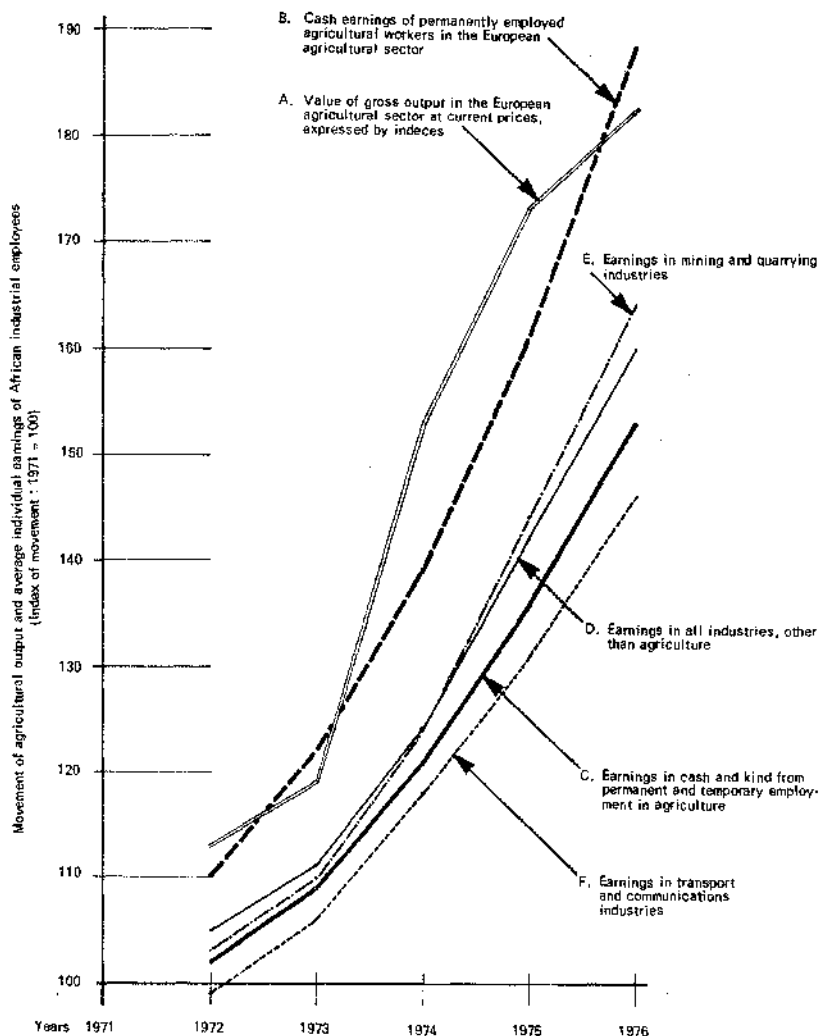
A much disputed factor in farming costs is the farmer's own 'living expenses'. Here again, unless the grocery, clothing, dental or educational bills, *inter alia*, are paid, the individual's enterprise is financially embarrassed. The question of actual value of that allowance is a vexed one and for purposes of illustration of a figure of Rh£7 000 per annum, per farming employer, has been considered. That figure refers to the year 1976 and has been devalued (by Consumer Price Indices) regressively to 1965 (Rh£4 532) to arrive at 'current values'. Such an allowance has been one of the yardsticks by which the Ministry of Agriculture would view the relative viability of a farm. Obviously, unless a 'farming unit' can afford a farmer a reasonable living it is not viable as such.

The shaded portions indicate the 'area of discretion' within which a farmer is able to allocate funds to the directions included. He may maintain his buildings and equipment to varying standards, or pay his European and African employees more or less, and so enlarge or reduce his 'margin' (the darker shaded area). However, the size of his enterprise predetermines his outgoings in all the directions in the unshaded areas, within narrow limits.

From this kind of practical view of a farmer's fortunes his profitability and credit-worthiness is assessed (as is reportedly done by credit sources). Taking 1965 (the year of U.D.I.) as a starting point, it therefore appears that the farmer had very little, if any, room for manoeuvreability in the 'area of discretion' until 1974, when he came into the black. Having done so, he was then in a position to enlarge disbursements in the lightly shaded area (which he evidently did) and/or salt away his profits. Since farming fortunes are by no means stable, the latter recourse appears to be a sensible one.

Figure 2

COMPARISONS AMONG MOVEMENTS OF EARNINGS BY AFRICAN EMPLOYEES IN THE AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER INDUSTRIES, AND WITH VALUES OF OUTPUT IN THE EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, IN THE YEARS 1971-6



SOURCES:

Central Statistical Office, Reply to personal enquiry, June 1978.

Rhodesia, *National Accounts and Balance of Payments of Rhodesia: 1973* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Table 13; *National Accounts of Rhodesia 1976* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Table 15.

Rhodesia, *Supplement to the Monthly Digest of Statistics, January: 1978* (Salisbury, Central Statistical Office), Tables 6, 7 and 17.

While it is obvious that a diagram of this type will influence a degree of parallelism in the trends, as displayed, deviations from a common trend will nevertheless be noticeable. One such is in trend E, being steeper than D, C and F since 1973 and was caused by a distinct broadening of African job opportunities in that sector. The inferior values reflected in trend F may disguise the fact that average incomes in that sector are far and away the highest, for a relatively small number of Africans in employment (averaging about 3 per cent of all Africans in employment). Conversely, trend C concerns 39 per cent (average during the years quoted) of all Africans in employment, being the largest labour-consuming sector, and has the lowest individual income.

Trend B shows a marked steepening since 1974, to approximate trend A since 1973. However, since wage increments are characteristically maintained, trend B moves to the left of trend A since 1975 when the rise of agricultural output value declined. This bodes ill for the volume of future employment opportunities in that sector. However, for the period covered by the display, the trend of the farm-worker's cash income and that of gross agricultural output are not significantly disparate.

Trend A, is concerned with farmers' earnings, not including 'own capital formation', and therefore reflects the cash resources from which all 'input costs', including wages, are met.

Trend C includes both permanent and temporary employees' earnings. It is therefore possible that the trend is less steep than it may have been if only permanent employees' earnings were reflected, since temporary workers are only employed seasonally and not throughout the year.

Trend B is therefore consistently steeper than trend C, since it concerns only permanent employees (reflecting a full year's income) and since wage increments are more commonly devoted to the 'cash' portion thereof than the 'in-kind' portion. Also, the rations component of the 'in-kind' portion was increasingly paid in cash, thereby enlarging the cash portion over the years. The worth of the remaining 'in-kind' portion (for housing, water, fuel, etc.), being farm-found resources, are not sensitively reactive to inflationary stimuli and therefore its value remained fairly constant, which would tend to depress the rise of trend C.

It is that attitude which denies Clarke the opportunity of seeing the farm-worker in his real situation. Or is it? The ulterior motive in this 'report' appears to be so obvious that it cannot escape consideration. His treatment of the subject is clearly neither comprehensive nor objective. Too much is left out and what is put in is perversely extended to cover up the lack.

It is hoped that Figures 1 and 2 will put the whole position in better perspective.

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