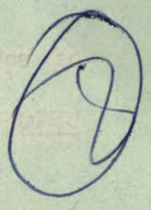


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SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF).

THE AFRICAN : PRESENT AND FUTURE POLITICAL
REPRESENTATION.

For many years, one has watched from behind the scenes the birth, the steady growth from childhood to adolescence and arrival at man's estate of the South African Institute of Race Relations. One has noted the eminent sons of South Africa who have graced its register of membership, and one has admired its scientific objectivity in its unobtrusive pursuit of the truth, its courageous stand in exposing and fighting abuse in high places, and its fearless approach to the ubiquitous and all-pervading problem of race relations in South Africa, and its calm and dispassionate attempt to unravel and to find a solution for that greatest of South African (and perhaps world) problems.

By the sincerity, devotion and self-sacrifice of its members, by the constant aim and fair measure of success it has achieved during its brief period of existence in working for peace, goodwill and practical co-operation between the various sections of the population of South Africa, this Institute has carved for itself a name in the annals of South Africa, and future historians of this country cannot but recognise its great services to humanity.

It is a coveted privilege and signal honour to be invited to speak at a Conference of this Institute, a privilege and honour for which I thank its Executive Committee.

I have been asked to speak on the present and future political representation of the Africans. I have been told that Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones will speak on the past or historical aspect of that representation. That name is a guarantee and assurance of our having a panoramic view of the African in South African legislative history, a view which will reflect much light on many points I shall make.

AFRICAN CAPE FRANCHISE : A historic document from the Duke of New Castle - Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Sir George Cathcart, Governor of Cape Colony, dated 11th of March 1853 reads as follows :-
"It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government that all her subjects at the Cape without distinction of class or colour should be united by one bond of loyalty and we believe that the exercise of political rights enjoyed by all alike will prove one of the best methods of attaining this object". That was the tenor of the Ordinance which transmitted to the Cape of Good Hope its constitution, one of the most liberal constitutions anywhere in the British Empire. That constitution meant no more and no less than that White and Black had equal rights to parliamentary franchise, and every person qualified to vote was ipso facto also eligible for election to the Assembly. It was based on principles which forbid class government and colour legislation.

This doctrine of equal rights thus built into the original constitution of the Cape enjoyed some measure of recognition for fifty-six years in the Cape Colony of pre-Union days. It was upheld and vindicated by some leading statesmen of the Cape, like John X. Merriman, W.P. Schreiner, James Rose-Innes and Jan H. Hofmeyr, and was revived from time to time by such pronouncements and slogans as "Equal rights for all civilised men", the over-quoted (and one fears, hollow) declaration of Cecil Rhodes. This principle

of equal rights was never seriously challenged until our day.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA:

In the deliberation of the National Convention, 1908-1909, to decide on the union of the four provinces of South Africa, it was demonstrated unmistakably that the Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, were determined that "the black man in the coming Union should have no political or civil rights", in keeping with the principle of their constitutions namely "No equality between black and white in Church or State, and ultimately, a compromise in the retention of the Cape African and Coloured franchise was none the less a retreat which partially nullified the spirit of the Cape Constitution, and showed at once that there would always be a growing tendency for the less liberal principles of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal to modify and override the more liberal policy of the Cape. It was clearly just a matter of time before the former would wholly supersede the latter.

The foundation of the Union of South Africa 1910 was thus laid in this cynical spirit of assault upon African and Coloured political rights. The African (and Coloured) qualified to vote was no longer eligible for election to the Assembly purely for reasons of colour.

This was the first step in separating Blacks from Whites politically, and it was soon to be followed by a spate of legislation aiming at the separation of the colours residentially, industrially, socially and educationally, and all tending more or less to restrict the African. The sole and high purpose of this kind of thing is what has euphemistically been called "Segregation". I need no more than enumerate some of its instruments in the Colour Bar Act, 1911, the Defence Act 1912, the Natives' Land Act, 1913, the Native Affairs Act 1920, the Urban Areas Act 1923, the Industrial Conciliation Act 1924, the Native Administration Act 1927, the Native Service Contract Act 1932, the Representation of Natives Act 1936, the Mixed Marriages Act 1949, all measures, amongst others, whose professed aim is to make a clear line of demarcation between black and white.

With the coming into power of the Nationalist Government in 1924, a strenuous attempt was made to remove the Cape African voter from the common register, but the attempt failed in 1929 to obtain the necessary majority of both Houses sitting together. A further attack on the Cape African franchise was launched in 1934, and this resulted in the passing of the Act (the Native Representation Act 1936) which gives us the present separate African representation - the culmination of a sustained effort to separate black and white politically.

SEGREGATION AND PARALLELISM:

Now segregation implies first and foremost separate spheres of residence. It implies a fair and equitable division of land. We have an interesting example of it in the Old Testament: "And Abraham said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, and between thy herdmen and my herdmen for we be brethren. Is not the whole world before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt go to the left hand then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right then I will go to the left." In this classical illustration we have a just and equitable separation, so that each partner is absolutely independent of the other. From this separation naturally follows segregation in other walks of life, politically, socially and industrially. Only then, on this basis of equality and justice, might segregation prove a solution of political and social difficulties, for only then can each group develop along its own lines, by pursuing the ideals, institutions, traditions and culture that are exclusively its own. Segregation, to be anything like a success, must be thorough, total and complete. It must not be discrimination. It must be Abrahamic in its fairness; it must be on the lines

suggested/.....

suggested by President Paul Kruger's shrewdness - the one party divides, the other party chooses. But the separation must be total. The extreme logical conclusion, the reductio ad absurdum of such total division, is of course, "Africa for the Africans and Europe for the Europeans", a manifest impossibility, which only proves that such fine words and phrases as "segregation", "parallelism", and "developing along own lines" are mere word-juggling, and smoke screens. In any case what would happen if such total and complete separation of African and European states was realized? For an answer we have only to look at the West Indies, or at the Republic of South America, or at Haiti, or nearer home at Liberia - stagnation and chaos, decay and dilapidation, corruption and revolution and ultimately reversion to type.

I am trying to state these stern facts of life objectively to show the dishonest use of high sounding words, and phrases made popular and ridiculous by frequent and meaningless repetition. Julian Huxley in "African View" (p.377) says "this 'developing along own lines' means the least danger of the African claiming or obtaining political, social or intellectual equality with the European, and the greater chance of perpetuating the gulf between the races."

Besides "parallelism" and "development along own lines", segregation has given us another sham and counterfeit in "Trusteeship".

TRUSTEESHIP:

The myth of trusteeship has now been exploded. The word itself is indeed a beautiful word of fine conotation, but it is used and bandied about without the due sense of the moral responsibility which it presupposes, certainly without the least thought or intention of ever recognizing that the wards, whose estate is supposed to be held in trust, will ever attain their majority and should then be given their self-determination.

As General Smuts said in his address to this Institute eight years ago on "The Basis of Trusteeship in African Native Policy" (p.8): "Although the word 'trusteeship' has been found to describe the relationship between the more advanced race and the less advanced race side by side - the European and the African - we have not yet found the right way of translating that word into better race relations in practice."

The late Professor Hoernle in his "South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit" after minutely analysing the spirit of trusteeship in the political, educational, economical and social fields, and showing that South Africa has committed herself to permanent trusteeship as an aspect of permanent domination, sums up by saying (P.100): "This sort of trusteeship is clearly little more than a disguised instrument of white supremacy....It is the silken glove over the steely hand of domination."

For scores and scores of years, segregation under one label or another keeps coming back as the ultimate solution of racial ills in South Africa. Now an idea that keeps cropping up has something imperishable in it, something of value. Statesmen have variously applied this idea at different times, but always with hesitancy, and they have failed to because of inconsistency and of fear to give the good with the bad, and to take the hazards and chances inherent in a wholehearted and thorough-going segregation, and also owing to a failure to recognize the element of time and change with relation to the African. Thus their application of the idea is always a generation or so behind the times. It is thus that measures like the Glen Grey system and the Transkei Bunga, excellent in their day, are now hopelessly out of date. Similarly the Natives' Land Act, 1913, was unnecessary if the Reserves had been made larger, and communal representation of Africans by three Europeans in the Assembly of 153, and four men in the Senate of 44 might have satisfied the African fifty years ago. These measures may, even now, possibly satisfy an African tribesman in the Reserves, but not the rising and thinking generation of Africans.

THE COUNCIL SYSTEM:

The Glen Gray Act 1894, of Rhodes and Hofmeyr, though a quid pro quo, was a master stroke of legislation in its time 60 years ago. As is well known, it was an experiment and training for some one million Africans in self-government, whereby they taxed themselves, and managed their roads and bridges, schools and hospitals, and agricultural schemes. In spite of its grim failure to allot sufficient ground, and to provide for the natural increase of families, it has been quoted, with some justifiable pride, as one of the most successful experiments in what is usually called Native self-government. The vaunted success of this experiment naturally suggested its extension to other parts of the Cape Colony, and eventually to the rest of the Union, as for instance in the Council System, provided for in the Smuts' Native Affairs Act, 1920.

Now this Act, like its prototype, the Glen Grey Act 1894, was a sop. Both were intended implicitly and explicitly to be an alternative method to admitting the African to parliamentary franchise. It was a policy of creating the so-called parallel institutions along side the central legislature, institutions in which all matters affecting them could be debated by Africans, and in which they are given a measure of self-government, with authority to budget for their developments and to tax themselves, anything short of trenching on European political fields. We see a further development of the Glen Grey Act and the Native Affairs Act in the Natives' Representative Council of the Hertzog Representation of Natives Act 1936.

Now all these measures have some good, much good in themselves. But they fail in being an end in themselves, rather than a means to an end. They fail because of their conservatism and rigidity, and for that reason they fail because they fall behind the times. They are an example of the stereotyped methods by which the Union statesmen are seeking to solve changing problems of human evolution. In spite of this it is interesting to note that a further introduction or variation of the Council system on primitive tribal affiliations seems to be contemplated by the present Government, to both replace, and reduce to zero the already meagre representation of Africans in the Assembly - surely an elaborate regression of a retrogression. It will be interesting to watch and see how Dr. Eiselen, the talented new Secretary for Native Affairs, will develop his colourful ideas for high-autonomous African states, and how he will surmount the inherent difficulties of segregation so ably summarised in the Report of the Native Laws Commission, 1946-1948 (Prs. 18-25).

AFRICAN GRIEVANCE :

African opinion is crystallising more and more against these councils for the reason that from the Bunga to the Natives' Representative Council, they are purely consultative and advisory. They have neither legislative nor executive authority. They fall short in the very essentials of segregation and parallelism. Educated African opinion looks upon them as delaying tactics, mere play-things - toys, dummies, battledores and shuttlecocks and such like - for what even now are still regarded as unchanging and complaisant children of nature.

It has been said that civilization wears a train. It is composed of ideas, habits, beliefs, traditions, institutions, prejudices and practices which experience has found useful in the past, but which now may be largely out of date, and are useless or even harmful, and yet they are still tolerated, clung to, or even invoked, because of essential human inertia and conservatism. And so the thoughts and ways of our parents, which we imbibed and assimilated, as individuals and nations in our tender years still guide us, and determine our actions and policies, even when reason and judgment dictate otherwise. We respond more to congenital influences, which often pass as heredity, than to present environment, and more to emotion than to reason; hence the permanence of colour and race prejudice; hence also the temptation to put new wine into old bottles.

For/.....

For all that, it is well to remember that Africans are not of a uniform pattern, not just one dull homogeneous mass of humanity, "whom we can lump together into a kind of dim compendious unity, monstrous but dim, far off, as 'the natives'", here an unwashed half-naked savage, there an unlettered mine labourer, and now a happy care-free peasant, satisfied if his cattle increase and his mealie lands ripen. It is well to remember that besides these, there are those in the transition stage who are gradually adopting European ideas and economy, and there are also those who have completely adapted themselves to the European way of life, and have assimilated European culture, the town-dweller, the tradesman, the artisan, the scholar, the teacher, the clerk, the minister of religion and the university graduate. These classes must be taken into account in devising schemes for African self-expression, for they are becoming increasingly vocal, more and more insistent and explicit in their demands for some radical change of policy in the immediate future, some clear re-orientation of thought, and some positive share in the government. In the words of Dr. Moroka, the newly elected President of the African National Congress, "There can be no shadow of doubt, even to the most sceptical European, that there is a rising and irresistible upsurge of African nationalism", and that nationalism demands a fair share in the government of the country.

One other chief reason why the African rejects so-called parallel institutions, is that they are discriminatory and an imposture. They are, therefore, always suspect. Give the African anything, different from anybody else, and he at once suspects it, be it a curriculum of education, a vote for a representative institution, a railway compartment, a bus service, a counter at the post office or bank, an entrance to Park station, a freedom from military service or from purchasing alcohol - any differentiation whatsoever at once acquires the stigma of inferiority, because, as a rule, these 'reserved coaches' and 'Native tram cars' and other 'privileges' set apart for Africans are in fact inferior. While theoretically therefore parallel institutions may be equal to, or even better than their European counterpart, they can only be justifiable as seed plots, as training institutions in a stage of development, and not as permanent establishments. Thus, in principle, the enjoyment of the Cape franchise by the African was a valuable democratic symbol of equal citizenship, and its removal was a democratic disaster. In practice, however, the representation of the African under that policy left much to be desired, as the members he elected in common with the European electors never really made a close study of African needs and interests, and these almost invariably came a poor second when they clashed with European interests. On the other hand, the Hertzog policy of communal representation of Africans by three Europeans in the Assembly, bitterly as it was opposed by Africans as being discriminatory legislation, seems to have done more for Africans than the individual franchise, and their interests and claims have certainly been placed more consistently and eloquently before Parliament. The snag is just that moral or immoral principle of differentiation.

MISTAKEN SURVIVALISM :

It is fondly assumed by many people that there is a polarity, a necessary and continuous battle between the interests of the black man and those of the white man, that for the European to live, the African must die and vice versa. This erroneous idea has given rise to such slogans as "Die swart-gevaar" and "Making South Africa safe for the White man", and differential and repressive legislation is intended to be a modern version of the Great Fish River, to protect the white man, his offspring and his institutions, from the inroads of African barbarism, and to secure him from rivalry and economic competition. All this is said to be in compliance with the elemental laws of nature - self-preservation and survival of the fittest. The result is that the dominant note in politics to-day is individualistic and racialistic. It is constantly "I for Myself, Life exists for Me, Give me My rights, Stand clear of My way, I want, and I will have." It is in keeping with this spirit that the cardinal article of the political creed of the average European in South Africa is that there

must/...

must be no equality between white and black, and that the white man must rule always at all costs. The honourable the Minister of Lands has given this attitude of mind the name of "baasskap" or dominance, and he of course subscribes to it fully. And the Hon. the Minister of Labour, speaking at Springs last March said "The Non-European will never have the same political rights as the European; there will never be economic and social equality, and the European will always be 'baas'" (Bantu World, 12th March 1949).

Because of this declared determination of the European to dominate, and because this determination and its corollaries of differentiation and repression are becoming more increasingly irksome to the African, it seems that the conflict between the two races, must, for some time at least, grow in bitterness and intensity. Again the rising race consciousness and self-assertion of the African must act as an irritant to the superior feelings of the Europeans in general, but more especially the older European race, and will be nothing less than adding fuel to fire. As Mr. J.H. Oldham says "A thoroughgoing racialism cannot be advocated on one side without provoking an equally intense racial consciousness on the other." (Christianity and the Race Problem, p.12).

FUTURE RELATIONS : Providence has decreed that the European and the African shall live together in South Africa. As far as one can see, both will live here permanently. It is probable that, for a long time, the European will be ruler, or in the words of Lord Hailey, "the native will be a resident of a state in which the dominant ideals will be those of Europeans." (An African Survey, p.1645).

Unless the British element which at present forms only 39 per cent of the European population, increases prodigiously by immigration, a rather forlorn hope in view of such events as the Citizenship Act, 1949, it is clearly manifest that the Dutch Afrikaners will always form the majority of the white population, and will so long be the real rulers of South Africa. So long, Dutch Afrikaner ideas and ideals, traditions and ways of government will characterise South African Native policies.

Like other races, the Dutch Afrikaners as a race have been moulded into their own peculiar pattern of thought, ideas and character by their history, traditions, culture, institutions and religion, in short by that flux of influence and gamut of reactions which constitute social heredity. Now, that Dutch Afrikaner pattern of thought towards the African is admittedly not liberal. Some indeed would say it does not recognise that the African has any human rights at all; hence the traditional opposition of the Afrikaner to "gelykstelling" or equality in any shape or form.

In the near future therefore, when in all probability South Africa will be a republic, run and ordered on Dutch Afrikaner ideology, the African will be stripped more and more of the little political rights he still possesses. His political representation in the Assembly, meagre as it already is, will be removed altogether. His representation will be confined to the Senate, and so regulated as to make it completely innocuous. He will be given the effete and futile local councils on ethnic affiliations in various tribal areas, and there will be much Government propaganda and encouragement to confine his interests and aspirations to purely tribal, rather than to national African matters. The Councils will nominally be advisory, but their recommendations will, as now, never be heeded. Indeed the conditions envisaged in the current doctrines of "Apartheid" will be realised.

This kind of thing will go on for a few years, five, perhaps ten, it may even be fifteen, but hardly more than twenty years, and then it will gradually come to the end, that is to say probably not by a bloody revolution, but by a revolutionary evolution in the economic and political and educational relations of the races.

/ "Meanwhile,"

"Meanwhile," says Carlyle, "it is singular how long the rotten will hold together, provided you do not handle it roughly. For whole generations it continues standing, with a ghastly affectation of life after all life and truth have fled out of it: So loth are men to quit their old ways, and conquering indolence and inertia venture on new." (French Revolution, Chap. 3).

New methods of domination will now be attempted, but each in turn will fail until in despair, the rulers are forced back along the beaten tracks which will also prove to be no longer applicable. And now the authority of the European will gradually decline. He will temporise and compromise, he will offer concessions which today would be reasonable and acceptable to the Africans, but which, tomorrow, the latter will spurn as insufficient and niggardly. The European will be forced to give more ground and cede more and more territory in many spheres that are at present regarded as the prerogative of the European.

When I say "forced", I am thinking, not of physical force, but of moral compulsion.

Is it true philosophy that there can be no lasting dominion of man over man? that attempts at such enduring overlordship have failed in the past, and are bound to fail again in the future? that the soil, government and power finally come back to the poor peasant and despised labourer? that he, who today is the hewer of wood and drawer of water is tomorrow the disposer and arbiter? that it is not the purchaser, nor the usurper nor the conqueror who is the ultimate possessor the land, unless he destroys the indigenous inhabitant, unless he exterminates the native root and branch, so that the land knows him no more, as has happened to the "black fellow" of Australasia and the "red man" of North America, or as has happened nearer home to the Sana (or Bushman) and the Khoi-khoi (or Hottentots)?

If so, then it is safe to predict that all the thorn bush and barb wire fences which the Europeans in South Africa have erected around the Africans must, and will fall one after another, and that colour bars and pass laws and other discriminatory laws will gradually disappear, first side by side with new laws and labels of the same order, which also, after enjoying a brief existence will die.

Ancient as well as modern history teems with examples of this transference of power. It was but yesterday that Egypt and Ireland, after waiting and working, obtained their independence, and today India and Indonesia, after centuries of foreign rule, have come back to the indigenous inhabitant.

I repeat that for a long time, the white man will rule in South Africa, and it is right that he should rule, for he is heir to Western Civilisation which has brought South Africa to its present stage of development, and his initiative, restless energy and aggressive vigour are the pillars upon which South Africa is supported. The European will certainly rule, but the basis, the content of his rule will change from force, coercion and domination to real power, or rule based on the high moral and spiritual forces of light and truth and justice. He will rule, not in the capacity of "baasskap" or dominance and dictatorship, but rather as a teacher, adviser and finally as a partner. He will rule, not as an individual or a nation, but as an ideal, or a symbol or a personification of Western Civilisation. It seems that neither design nor desire can alter this destiny.

Haltily, I am trying to suggest that without any conscious effort, without any intelligent or purposive design, and even in spite of efforts to the contrary, there will be a mutual drawing together of the African and the European in South Africa. This process may be haphazard, and full of remissions and intermissions. Now and then there may be a lapse, a falling back upon first principles of force, and a retreat upon the elemental conditions of dominance, but on the whole the tendency will be forward, upward

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and progressive.

Speaking last month on the federation of the Rhodesias with Nyasaland and the future of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia said : "I gather that the United Kingdom would require the representation of Africans by Africans from the start. I am quite sure that the time has not yet arrived for that. It seems to me we must first educate the native to govern himself by starting with Local Native Councils, and eventually, step by step, bring him to the stage where is capable of taking part in the national government", and he went on : "We favour an evolutionary process leading to partnership, which assures European survival in this part of Africa."

Here we see a re-statement of the thoughts that were in the mind of the average thinking European fifty years ago, but which have been submerged by an avalanche of self-interest, but must be born again in a new faith of racial association in equal partnership.

Two hundred years, one hundred years, fifty years ago, Black and White in South Africa were distant from, and practically independent of each other, but the growth of industries and other material interests and concerns of life have drawn them together, and made them inter-dependent. And if it is not already the case, there will very soon be a full recognition of the educability and adaptability of the African to European economy ideals.

I am trying to suggest that, in time, Government Native policies will aim more and more at adaptation rather than at separation; that they will have more regard to the ever-changing environment of the African politically, socially, educationally, and economically, on account of the reaction of this very transition upon the European. I am trying to suggest that ultimately, the policy of identity and cultural assimilation will commend itself as the right policy for the progress, safety and happiness of South Africa, and for the survival of the European.

In his New Year message (The Star 3rd January, 1950) the Prime Minister said that the direction in which the safety and happiness of South Africa lies is a serious and determined attempt to consolidate the two white races into a national unity, not by artificial means, but by the creation of ever more common ground between them, that this was only possible on one basis, that of equal rights ungrudgingly conceded and faithfully applied, as well as full and common participation in our South African nationhood."

Although this is a tacit denial to the African of "equal rights ungrudgingly conceded and faithfully applied, as well as full and common participation in South African nationhood", increasing vision, "natural selection", variation and adaptation to South African needs, will undoubtedly, at some future date integrate the two colours into one national unity.

Already, in fact, auspicious words have appeared in the Prime Minister's organ, "Die Burger", quoted by the "Star", 6th January 1950: "On the threshold of the second half of the Century, the white man in South Africa is confronted with the challenge of white and non-white relations. It is not the problem of how the future of the white man in our country is to be secured. The challenge is greater and more grandiose. It is how to bring about in this country something unique in the world, a South Africa in which it will be possible for the white man and the Bantu each to be and remain friendly, each to live happily, each to develop to the best of his ability. If we can bring this about, the small white South African nation will have contributed something great to the advancement of mankind and will itself be preserved. If on the other hand it cannot master the problem, there will in any case be no question of the survival of the white race in this country. Its survival, after all is dependent, not on the efforts to save itself alone, but on the successful accomplishment of an exalted task."

CONCLUSION : Surely it is not too idealistic, too academic, too Utopian to conceive, and conceiving to treat the South African community as an

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organic unity, a living organism whose several parts and organs are mutually dependent, and are meant to co-operate for the common good.

It does not require a biologist to see that injury to a single part or group of cells of a living organism diminishes the efficiency of all the other parts and of the organism as a whole, and may be fatal. Similarly injury to a class or race is self-injury, and as surely diminishes the efficiency of the whole community.

Life is a unity, and its purpose is more life, and union, co-operation and association with equality (not necessarily uniformity) are the food upon which it grows to form larger unities.

There are really only two ways of settling differences : the one is the jungle way, by ruthless extermination of the weaker, and the other is the moral way, by collaboration and equal association. The way of human progress is not simply the transference to the human sphere of the laws of vegetable and animal evolution. It is a psychic growth towards infinitude. It is the enlargement of sympathies. It is the unconscious art of forming larger and larger unities. It is what General Smuts called "holism".

Finally, I am trying to suggest that it is in the ethical or altruistic development of the European in South Africa that we must look for the probable course of political relations of Black and White in South Africa at no very distant future, not so much to the numerical superiority of the African over the Europeans as such, or to any physical force or violence by which they may force the pace of equality.

It is at present, and will be for a long time in the future as it has been in the past within the power of the European to hold the African down by restriction and oppression, to expropriate him, to expel him, and even to exterminate him. That he does not do so is not because of the African's physical resistance. It is due solely to moral arguments and moral sanctions. It is due to that moral development in the European that the African is still alive today in South Africa, and has increased more than fourfold during the last 100 years. It is due to it that Nigeria, in Kenya, in Uganda, in Tanganyika, and in Northern Rhodesia, the African sits side by side with the European on equal terms in the legislative assemblies.

To that moral growth I ascribe racial tolerance which we see expressed and embodied in Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, Inter-National Clubs, the liberal spirit in some S.A. universities, the Inter-Racial Conferences called from time to time, the recent outspoken utterances of the Dutch Reformed Churches on Apartheid, the Constitution of the N.U.S.A.S. and last but not least, the existence of this Institute.

Looking to those things as evidences of spiritual rebirth, and invoking that moral growth and a higher appraisalment of the ethical ideal by the world in general, and by South Africa in particular, we may conclude by saying the day will come, and is perhaps not far distant, when the black man in South Africa, the African, the Native will be accorded political equality with the white man and will sit side by side with him in national councils and in the Legislative Assembly for the common good of a South African Nationhood.

S.M. MOLEMA.

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