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SOCIAL SECURITY SOCIETY SAAMWERKERS VIR SOSIALE SEKURITEIT

Senator the Hon. J.D.R. Jones, Johannesburg.

Durban.

14. 8. 41.

Sir,

To you, as a Member of Parliament, the Social Security Society sends the enclosed pamphlet with its compliments. It is a preparatory introduction to a Social Security measure proffered by the Society as one of its contributions to the pressing problem of social reconstruction.

The favourable consideration so far given to this proposal encourages the Society to hope that the merits of its recommendation will likewise appeal to you as an essential step towards a better social order in our land.

The Social Security Society is designed as a non-political body. Its members collectively hold the view that the problem of social reconstruction, which naturally thrusts itself to the forefront of everyone's mind in these troublous times, should not be made the subject of political party intrigue.

With these brief expressions in mind, the enclosed work is commended to your perusal and careful consideration.

Yours truly,

SOCIAL SECURITY SOCIETY.

W.G. Lester. General Secretary.

NATIONAL MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES **UNDER A** SOCIAL SECURITY CODE

By J. R. SULLIVAN, M.Econ. (Chairman of the Social Security Society)



IN 1936 the Government of the Union appointed a special Committee to consider the practicability of National Health Insur-The Committee produced a lengthy report. Its conclusions, however, were hesitant and qualified, and very restricted. sequently no action was taken to implement the report; it was shelved.

The report, however, has undoubted value, mainly because it indicates the correct lines on which a medical service could be run in order to serve the interest of the whole community. It definitely rejected a direct State Medical Service; but it wisely recom-mended the sounder policy of establishing a National Medical Service as part of a wider plan of social insurance against the contingencies of life. This may be called socialised Medical Service.

THIS special Committee recommended the application of a very limited plan of insurance to a very small section of the people, not by any means a national They had in mind a system. general practitioner service, free drugs and medicines and curative appliances, a specialist service and hospital aid—for a limited few. In this idea we get at least the objective to be kept steadily in view; but we must widen the scope and the service.

This can only be done well under a Social Security Code, which is designed to give full economic protection to every South African against all the major contingencies of life: birth, sickness, disability, unemployment, old age, widowhood. old age, widowhood, employment, orphanhood.

If we institute the right form of Social Security we shall provide as an integral part of it the right type of medical and hospital service for our people.

An efficient and truly national medical and hospital scheme should be managed and developed on the same lines as we run our State system of education. It must be satisfied to the same lines as we without discriminanational system of education. It must be available to all, without discrimination, irrespective of rank, or station, or income. There will be people who desire to make their own arrangements. They will be in every way free to do so, as is the case in regard to education. * * *

LET us review some of the benefits to the community from socialised medical service and hospitalisation. In the first place there should be no undue delay in putting into operation the following:

(a) Free general practitioner ser-

(b) Free hospitalisation, (c) Free maternity benefits.

Later, as the Code is strengthened and becomes financially established, other benefits, such as pharmaceutical services, medical specialist and consultant services, radiological services, southers dental and home nursing services, etc., will be made available.

We are at the moment concerned with the general practitioner and hospital services.

All hospitals that are subsidised by the State will be required to enter into a contract and will be paid prescribed amounts from the Social prescribed amounts from the Social Security Fund, raised by a special Social Security Tax on all incomes. The amount paid to such hospitals will be in full discharge of their claims for services rendered. These services will include all out-patient treatment, medicines and appliances. Licensed (private) hospitals and ther recognised institutions will also

Licensed (private) hospitals and other recognised institutions will also be obliged to enter into a contract with the State, and the amount payable to them will be in partial discharge of the claims against the

patients liable for the charges. patients liable for the charges. In the State, or State-subsidised hospitals, all treatment will be entirely free; in the other hospitals the State pays a portion of the costs and the patients the remainder; the rates to be laid down under the Security Code. The powers under the Code will also make possible the paying of special grants for hospital treatment in any recognised institution.

THIS free treament will also apply to all mental hospitals recognised under the Code. It may be found necessary at the outset to recoup these hospitals for loss of certain revenue. That could be done by grants from the Security Fund.

All registered maternity hospitals which enter into a contract as laid down in the Code will come under down in the Code will come under the regulations in regard to free ser-vice and treatment. All licensees of private maternity hospitals, medical practitioners and midwives who wish to come into the scope of the Code, will have to enter into a contract with the State. The scale of fees to be paid from the Central Fund will be fixed as between the Commissioners be fixed as between the Commissioners controlling the Security Code and the South African branch of the Medical Association.

It will be agreed that hospitalisation, as envisaged under the Security Code, will be a big step forward in the public health services of the Union. It will remove for all time the stigma of charity; it will encourage the public to seek treatment they now postpone because of the cost; it will result in a vast improvement in the health and a vast improvement in the health and efficiency of our people; it will encourage the development of preventive medical practice as against the present commercialised remedial practice of the profession. Only under a Constitutional Security Code based on compulsory contribution in the form of a special tax on all citizens will such free hospitalisation to the extent outlined be possible.

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TN regard to the general practitioner service, the Code has in view the provision of a universal service, free to all members of the community requiring medical attention. Such a service to be effective would require the free hospitalisation above referred to, free out-patient treatment, and free pharmaceutical benefits. Later. free specialist and consultant services will be available.

How would such a service be operated in the Union. Let us assume that the scheme as contemplated is in operation. What is the position? Every South African citizen who desires to take advantage of the free Medical Services available is to complete the counter. plete an application card, counter-signed by the doctor of his choice; that is, provided the doctor is willing to accept him. This card will then be registered with Medical Officer of Health, or Magistrate, as may be arranged. Thus a legal agreement is entered into under which the doctor must attend and care for the patient and will be responsible for his free treatment.

Children's cards are available, and these cards are also contracts. The doctor will then be obliged to give the patients the following to services:-

(1) Provide suitable surgery arrangements and there attend at regular hours.

(2) Visit patients who are physically unable to visit him.
(3) Attend to patients in hospital if regulations permit.
(4) Prescribe drugs and appliances

needed. These will be paid for out of the Security Fund. (5) Maintain clinical records of

natients.

(6) Make proper arrangements for patients in conjunction with the Medical Officer of Health in cases where he himself cannot give treatment.

The regulations also lay down that the doctor will be answerable to the Medical Officer of Health regarding Medical Officer of Health regarding prescriptions, certificates and recommendations. Further provision is also made for a change over of patients from one doctor's list to another, for removal of patients from his list by the doctor, for complaints regarding medical service, and for termination of the doctor's contract under the Security Code. Security Code.

EVERY doctor who contracts to provide service under the Code receives a capitation fee for all citizens on his list (children included) of 18s. per annum. In consideration for this sum he gives free service to his patients who live within a radius of four miles from his surgery. Should he be required to go beyond this limit he receives mileage up to 30 miles beyond the first four miles. Beyond the 30-mile limit the charge will be on the patient, except in special

Quite recently, when discussing a very similar scheme now operative in New Zealand, the present New Zealand Minister of Public Health pointed out that such a scheme has many advantages, not only for the sick, but also for the medical pro-fession. He stated that it was impossible to assess the value of the Service which doctors render to the community in terms of cash; but that it was quite certain that under the scheme the medical profession as a whole will not suffer financially. It frees doctors from the worry of collecting bad debts; from embarrassments in sending accounts to patients whom they know in many cases can ill afford to pay; and from the difficulty of deciding how much in particular cases it is fair to charge.

"Doctors who are now working nder the maternity provisions of the New Zealand Security Act," the Minister remarked, "whatever their original attitude to the scheme, are now enthusiastic in praise of it. As the doctor, under the Free General Practitioner Scheme, will now be paid whether those under his care are well or ill, he will have an additional responsibility to keep his patients in good health!"

It is contended that a general practitioner service and later a full medical service, as outlined above, can be applied without undue difficulty in South Africa; first to the White races, on whom falls the burden of responsibility and leader-ship, and gradually, as the personnel is trained and equipment provided, to other races of our land.

LET us now briefly review some of the objections that have been made in connection with such a national medical service:

(1) "There is no need for it, (1) "There is no need for it, as people who can pay will continue doing so." Who can definitely say he will be able to continue to do so? To use the ability-to-pay argument would be the same as saying that, as certain people have little difficulty in paying for education of their children in private schools, therefore educa-tion should not be freely available to all.

(2) "There are already Friendly Societies and hospitals which help the public and do so with sympathy." The work of these is splendid social work. The Friendly Societies reach only a few; in regard to our hospitals the present principle is that everyone is expected to pay unless he is indigent or in poor circumstances. The burden is too heavy on the less well paid sections of our people. This necessity to pay often means that treatment is delayed and recovery hindered; it certainly discourages the main social service of medicine, main social service of medicine, namely, the preventive service, rather than the curative service.

(3) "A free Medical Service will

cause a deterioration in the efficiency of doctors." This cannot be assumed. The standard of professional respon-The standard of professional responsibility and honour in the profession is high; consider the splendid services now given in our hospitals and in the Forces. The doctors will be adequately paid under the Security Code. Most of them will certainly continue their conscientious work, irresponding the source and method irrespective of the source and method of payment.

(4) "The economic status of doctors will be prejudiced and they may be involved in financial embarrassments."

This objection unwarrantably assumes that the Code will prescribe inadequate payment. A careful analysis of the income of large numbers of medical men will reveal that their income may be increased rather than diminished under the Sequity Code. diminished under the Security Code.

A comprehensive Social Security the Union means a form of Code for the Union means a form of socialisation of services essential to the physical and economic and moral health of all our people; and in particular at the present juncture, of all personnel and agencies intimately concerned with the health of the generation to come generation to come.

SOCIAL SECURITY SOCIETY





SOCIAL SECURITY IN OUTLINE

by

J. R. SULLIVAN, M. Econ.

Chairman of the

SOCIAL SECURITY SOCIETY

Reprinted from "The Natal Mercury"



SOCIAL SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION

The "Better Order" for which South Africa should work.

THIS world of our generation is in the melting pot. Social and economic values are changing daily; the old traditions in business and trade have lost their significance; the Social ideals of the Western world are being revolutionised. In very truth there is chaos, out of which is forming under our very eyes a new world with other and different social relationships.

Where shall we in South Africa stand in the face of this world transformation? Shall we stand idly by, thinking that, willy-nilly, we shall be caught up by the cataract of change and must submit supinely to the dangers of an uncharted future?

That is a counsel of despair, unworthy of a virile people. Whatever happens during and after this war there will always be a South Africa. That is the cornerstone of our national faith; we believe in South Africa as our land and our home. Our responsibility in these days is inescapable. As citizens we must get together, and, notwithstanding the war economy, resolve to-day's difficulties and problems, always keeping well in the forefront of our minds, and our designs, the future of our children and our unity as a State.

IT is easy and wishful—a way of spiritual escape — to allow propaganda to influence our ideas that a New Order will be created for us. There is danger that we look so far ahead to this "New Order" as to ignore the pressing claims of to-day—claims based on those fundamental institutions in which we live and move and have our being—that is, the Family and the Home.

It is our claim that if we can establish in the Union a Security Code ensuring to all citizens, as far as is socially possible, protection against the major contingencies of life we shall build up the Family and the Home and give meaning and motive to all our plans for industrialisation, agrarian development, trading arrangements, and so on.

Without a Social Security Code as a protective measure we shall come short, as we have done in the past, of any economic goal we have in mind. Furthermore, consider the significance of a Security Code to our brothers and sisters in the armed forces of the State. They will one day, most of them, come back to us. It is our duty to-day to create a security system for them, so that the post-war world into which they will be demobilised will be one wherein they will find economic security and a working place created by their people, and guaranteed by their people, that they may live as men and women at a secure and reasonable standard of life. That is the purpose of Social Security.

It is, in fact, the only effective and comprehensive form of reconstruction which is really practicable. It is an attainable goal; it has purpose; it can be immediately applied; its adoption rests with the will of the people. South Africans must be awakened to that fact, so that the gathering momentum of public opinion will not rest until it has ensured that our Parliament shall create for all a Social Security measure, and enshrine it as an integral part in the fabric of our national Constitution.

* * *

THE scheme of Social Security which could, without great difficulty, be applied to the Union, in the first instance to the European population, is not designed as a revolutionary measure involving a shifting of the economic basis or radical changes in the social life of the population.

It does, however, visualise a system of society which is self-supporting and co-operative in principle, and self-protective in practice—a society which shall provide for all the people an adequate civilised standard of living and statutory security for that standard.

Its purpose, which is an immediate one, is to remove the fear of poverty resultant from unemployment, death, sickness and from other inevitable contingencies, from every citizen. To achieve this aim of providing economic security for all, there must be sacrifices by all—by all according to income received. There will be very real benefits for all—for all according to the pressure of economic need.

The whole population, from the poorest to the richest, will contribute on a taxation basis to provide that security so essential to individual welfare and to national development, which is so lamentably lacking to-day; and lack of which security is the basic cause of so much depressed living, disease, poverty and a low standard of physical and mental efficiency.

* * *

IT is first necessary to get a clear picture of the plan. What is Social Security? We do not require any text book specialist to assist us here. In the first place thousands learn, through bitter experience, what Social Insecurity

means in terms of fear and hunger and what it involves for homes and children. In the second place, Social Security has been, in small doses perhaps, applied in this country and elsewhere; it is very wholeheartedly applied in New Zealand.

The goal and method of Social Security are therefore very clearly limned; but we in South Africa have not yet developed a national consciousness as to its meaning and value and its terrible urgency for our people, in particular for the European population on which our national guidance and leadership depend so desperately. Let us therefore be quite clear as to our plan and its objective.

The security in mind is not a mere economic one. It is that certainly, but something far more deeply rooted and more comprehensive. It embraces the whole of society, aiming, let it be said over and over again, at the Statutory protection of the Home and the Family. If we secure the Home and the Child against poverty and exploitation we secure the foundations of a progressive and prosperous State and people.

Now to obtain that security and to preserve it intact and inviolate, essential public services must be rendered by national collective action, by all for each, through the State. These social services are clamant to-day in their urgency. Our Hospital Boards, our Recruiting Officers, Medical Officers, teachers, Law Courts-these all bear daily witness to the tragic need in our land to arrest the deterioration of the Home and the Child, and therefore of the whole civilised structure built up with such zeal and courage by our forebears and pioneers. Without these essential social services there can be no security for any of us-rich or poor.

* * *

THE services regarded as essential will be communally created and financed, on the same lines as a sound insurance company uses the premiums of its policy-holders to pay benefits to all.

That is it in principle; but much more liberally applied. We shall all of us insure ourselves nationally by paying into a national fund, a self-imposed premium or national Security Tax. This fund will be guaranteed and subsidised by the State. Thus in

creating the fund we shall be able to provide benefits for ourselves as an inalienable right.

What are these benefits, these social services in which all will share as a legal right? They are:—

- 1. Superannuation or Age Benefits: These will be payable to all men and women over the age of 60 or 65, not at the present niggardly rate, nor as charity, but as a right to enable the old folk to live in their own homes in comfort. We are sadly ungenerous to-day to our elderly citizens who bore the heat and battle of the day for us.
- 2. Widows' and Orphans' Pensions: This, the widow's pension, is a benefit and a recognition for the priceless services rendered to the community as mother and wife. It will place every widow on a safe economic footing, enabling her to sustain herself, her family and her home in comfort and decency. Every orphan will receive a payment from the fund to provide the wherewithal to find a proper niche and a full opportunity in our social life.
- 3. Family Benefits: Here also, the conserving of the integrity and sanctity of the Home is the prime aim. All families below a certain income range will be assisted from the collective finance contributed by all of us. Thus will the Home be kept intact and each child have the chance, without State or private charity, to grow in knowledge, in health and hope.
- 4. Sickness and Invalidity Benefits: These benefits will be available to all citizens over 16 years of age. Allowances for their children go with these benefits to married people who are laid aside through sickness or invalidity. Thus the victim of unfortunate circumstance will not be any longer thrown below the bread line, dependent for crusts on a system of charity. We, as a people, will regard them as our concern and care.
- 5. Unemployment Sustenance Benefits: All those unemployed, who are capable of work and willing to work, yet have tried in vain to get work, will be entitled to sustenance benefits. The whole community takes over that liability; providing them, not with a dole, for they, when working, will have paid their share of the national premium, but with the equivalent of a recognised wage payment. This in periods of unavoidable unemployment is their unqualified right.
- 6. Medical Benefits: This is one of the most urgent needs in our land. The provision of medical benefits to

all will mean, as in New Zealand, the transformation of the medical profession into a national social service section, carrying on its vital beneficent work as a noble profession, and not, as to-day, as a business competitive enterprise.

For all citizens there will be created in the first instance a General Practitioner Service, to be followed later, as the Security Code takes roots, by Specialist Services, Radiology and Pharmaceutical Services. Medical practitioners will be paid a per capita payment by the State, and will be responsible for those citizens allocated to them in accordance with the population density of the several districts.

The doctor will be paid whether those under his care are well or ill; he will thus have the additional responsibility to keep his patients in good health. The scheme will certainly result in the development of preventive medicine to a degree undreamt of to-day, and will create an amazing improvement in the general health and efficiency of the nation. Free medical treatment, free to all, the legal right of all, because paid for by all, is in fact the most important section of the Security Code.

- 7. Free Hospitalisation: Payments from the Social Security Fund will be made to all registered hospitals which contract to provide hospital attention under the Code. Every citizen will feel that, however humble his circumstances, he has a vested interest in the regional hospital, and this will no longer be to him a place of charity or shame where he goes as mendicant, cap in hand, but as his institution in which he is a shareholder and from which he will get his rightful care. Hospital benefits will, of course, include those connected with Mental Hospitals.
- 8. Maternity Benefits: Ante-natal and post-natal care to the mothers of the people will be available from general practitioners, clinics, and from nurses in Maternity Hospitals. Under this service the young life of the nation with all its rich possibilities will be cherished and built up; for even before its birth, the society that is to receive it will have prepared for it such social conditions as will ensure its protection and highest development.
- 9. As the Security Code develops and becomes fixed in the thoughts and lives of our people and in the Constitution of the State, other benefits will be made available, such as Home Nursing, Specialist Medical Services and Dental Services.

IT will be quite obvious that if it can be shown that an average European community can, by collective sacrificial action, ensure its people against a decline into ill health and poverty and distress, then the sooner an organised national effort to establish such a Security Code as outlined above is set on foot the better will it be for our land and people.

To the thoughtful mind the economic implications of such a code will be evident. They will outreach our painfully slow "hit-and-miss" plans of patchwork reform; they aim at fundamental causes of social inequality; they are basic to the Home and the Child; they will set in motion, with the common consent of the people, a whole category of economic movements which will result not in weakening but in strengthening the social security aimed at.

For the questions of Wages, Taxation, Agricultural and Industrial development, Public Finance—all these will gradually and imperceptibly adjust themselves to the new conditions of living and the raised general standard of life resulting from opera-

tion of the Code.

Once the nation is committed to it as part of the commonsense way of living according to the principle "To each according to his need; from each according to his ability," not in theory but in economic realities, then there will come at last a clearer shape of things to come when social justice will be freely dispensed and jealously protected under a vast, united, national, co-operative enterprise, grounded in the people's will and for all time traditionally regarded as their enterprise, their inviolable social and financial heritage.

IN arriving at some estimate of the total annual cost of Social Security to the people of the Union, the present cost of our multitudinous schemes and aids administered under our Social Welfare Department and the numerous private and local government and professional organisations must be kept in mind.

All these plans and aids are haphazard methods to combat poverty, ill health and malnutrition. They are enormously costly and wasteful and patronising. If, also, we take into account the cost of avoidable sickness and inefficiency in the case of our workers of all types—one economist estimates the cost of the work-hours lost per year at £12,000,000—we shall undoubtedly find that in terms merely of balance sheet values, notwithstanding other inestimable values, the Social Security Code will cost much less.

For example, it must now cost us in our haphazard fight against Social Insecurity not less than £25,000,000 a year. It is doubtful if the Social Security plan as herein outlined will cost that. Let it be remembered that the cost of Security will not be a wasting of resources as is the case to-day. It will be a healthy investment—a premium payment by each citizen—giving him the right to participate in all the social benefits he pays for. He does not by any means get something for nothing. He pays for his share; he is a co-operator; he has therefore no need for patronising charity; he is a man in his full social stature with rights and privileges in equality with others.

* * *

THE basic contribution to the Fund by each person over 16 years of age will be a levy of 1s. in the £ on wages and all other income. Then there will be a registration fee of £1 per annum for all citizens over 20.

On this basis the total amount payable into the Fund from our people, calculated on a total earned income estimated for Security purposes at not less than £200,000,000, will yield £10,500,000, including Registration fees. This would be the annual premium paid by South Africans. The State, however, out of consolidated famus drawn mainly from direct and indirect taxes, will contribute its share as it does to-day for Social Service costs, and can reasonably be expected to subsidise the Security fund to the extent of covering the costs of the Benefits approved.

A provisional calculation of the cost of the plan for the first year is £20,000,000 and an actuarial calculation indicates that after five years the cost will be £23,000,000, and in 30 years' time it will be £32,000,000. This represents a diminishing per capita weight of the burden relative to population increase over that period—a fact that should not be lost sight of.

THERE will be objections, no doubt, to the Security Code from many doctors, from insurance companies and from other sections of the people. This is to be expected; but if the "Greatest Good of the Greatest Number" is constantly our aim, such objections can satisfactorily be answered.

Not often is it that ideals of social justice and opportunity for all can be resolved in the hard world of economic facts; but here, in the form of Social Security; born of the travail

of war, we have at hand a practical means to give direction, purpose, prospect and security to all our people. If the public conscience can be awakened and the public will harnessed to the task, then even before the war is over we shall create our Security Code, under which the children of to-day and the children to come, the income earners of the State, and the soldiers who will be demobilised in their thousands, will all find economic protection; and their assurance that, under national cooperative finance and control their social standard will be raised and secured.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

"The Natal Mercury"-

After The War

South Africa, like the rest of the Empire, is fighting this war for Democracy-to safeguard the liberty of both the individual and the nation. That is to-day a slogan, and, like most slogans. there is a danger that it may become, with frequent repetition, a mere label. It is true that we are fighting to save Democracy; but do we mean by that the Democratic system as it existed in pre-war days, or a more liberal, humanised system based on the Democratic principle? There is a world of difference between the two, and there can be, of course, only one War never leaves a answer. nation or a people—the victor or the vanquished—as it found them. This war, perhaps more than any that has gone before,

will bring sweeping changes in the national, social and economic life of the people. It is still necessary to devote all our efforts to the winning of the war, but it is not too soon to begin planning and laying the foundations of the better social order we hope to establish in the peace that is to follow.

End To Insecurity

Mr. A. J. Norval, acting Chairman of the Board of Trade and Industries, recently expressed the opinion that the greatest ill from which the country suffered was the "gnawing sense of insecurity" of the majority of individuals. This can be removed only by drastic reorganisation of our social and economic system. To what extent that is practicable, and the vast field of national life that will be

affected, is discussed in detail in an adjoining column. It will entail the nationalisation of all such essential services as hospitalisation and medicine, and the establishment of a national security fund to finance such vital services as superannuation and old-age pensions, widows' and orphans' pensions, family benefits for those whose income is below a certain level, sickness and invalidity benefits and unemployment sustenance benefits. The new system must first and foremost safeguard the fundamental institutions of the family and the home-those institutions upon which the very existence of the nation depends, but which in the past have been left almost entirely unprotected.

The Cost

Mr. J. R. Sullivan points out in his article that South Africa is already paying in one way or another, approximately twentypounds in its million struggle against Social Insecurity, and he estimates that a comprehensive scheme of Social Security, affording benefits to every individual, would be less costly. The plan he has put forward may not be perfect, but it does at least reveal the vast field of social reform that needs to be investigated. As we have urged before, it is not too soon for the Government to set up the necessary machinery to inquire into the whole question, in consultation with Commerce and Industry, and all the other interests that are likely to be affected. This work cannot be done in a day, and the sooner a start is made with it the more chance will there be of peace bringing that better Social Order which alone can repay the sacrifices of war.

SOCIAL SECURITY SOCIETY



SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDIES Several documents containing declarations of post-war policy call for the consideration of the Institute of Race Relations because of their possible effects upon Africa and its peoples and upon race relations in Africa. It is urgently desirable that the Institute should examine these declarations because the cessation of hostilities may occur at any time within the next year, and public opinion in the Union and Southern Africa may be found unprepared to influence the attitude of our own and other Governments in regard to African affairs. Moreover, various organisations amongst non-Europeans in the Union are framing their "demands" for an "African Charter", and it is most desirable that non-European, as well as European opinion, shall be informed on the issues that are likely to come forward in the post-war situation. The documents referred to above are the following :-The Atlantic Charter. General Smuts's Speech at Bloemfontein, when he outlined a Charter for the Union.
The American Committee's Report on the Application of the Atlantic Charter to Africa. An International Colonial Convention - memorandum issued by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, London. The Colonies, the British Labour Party's Post-War Policy for the African and Pacific Colonies. In addition, several draft Conventions of the International Labour Organisation call for attention. There has been no study in detail of the Atlantic Charter or of General Smuts's Bloemfontein speech to see how they could be put into effect in the Union in the fields of Government, economics, education, etc. It would be valuable to examine the Union situation in the light of the documents mentioned earlier. There are two other situations with which we in the Union are directly concerned. There is a movement for the incorporation of South West Africa within the Union. The incorporation of the High Commission Territories may become a live issue after the war. How should these issues be dealt with? The Atlantic Charter speaks of the "right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live". Will this apply to the peoples of these areas; if so, how? The memoranda of the Aborigines Protection Society and of the Labour Party advocate the setting up of an International Colonial Commission with wider powers than the Mandates Commission, including the right to hear appeals against the metropolitan power from the inhabitants of a colony. Would this Commission have jurisdiction over South West Africa and the High Commission Territories? That is to say, will these territories be treated as colonies of the Union? The Institute has done little in the past to enquire into the condition of the Non-European population of South West Africa. Should we not now acquaint ourselves with their political, economic and - social -

social condition. and see how far the international standards of colonial government now proposed could be applied there, and in the High Commission Territories?

The Institute should also concern itself with the position of Non-Europeans in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa, if only because of the effects of migrant labour upon the economic position of the Union.

I therefore suggest that memoranda be prepared as follows :-

- 1. Study of the political, economic, and social conditions of Non-Europeans in South West Africa; the questions raised by the Permanent Mandates Commission and how they were dealt with; the possible effects of incorporation in the Union; the conditions which should be imposed for incorporation or for the treatment of the territory as a colony subject to the supervision of an International Colonial Commission.
- 2. A similar study of the High Commission Territories.
- 3. A general but comparative study of the Union and the Rhodesias, in respect of political, economic, and social position of their Non-European populations.
- 4. A comparative study of the effects of migration of Native labour Union, Rhodesias, Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa, and of possible economic and social developments in these territories.
- 5. Lastly, a critical study of the various policies, the Atlantic Charter and other declarations of post-war policies in the light of conditions in Southern Africa.

For all these studies there is abundant material available; but it should also be possible to draw upon the personal knowledge and experience of Institute supporters and others in Southern Africa. No other body is likely to undertake such studies, and they will form, each in itself, important contributions to knowledge and to the welfare of Southern Africa.

J. D. Rheinallt Jones 25.10.43

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