

now that he has so effectively helped to harden and to embitter European public opinion against us, and now that we ourselves have placed him in the exalted position where he fully enjoys the fruits of his anti-native differentiation policy, he has lately been writing on "The Bantu in South African Life". In one of his series of articles he says:

Parliamentary representation is the inherited right of educated, responsible citizens in a democratic country. The franchise is the badge of citizenship. The inadequate Parliamentary representation of the Bantu means not only that there is undue delay in redressing their grievances, but also that they are publicly stigmatised as second grade citizens, citizens of a permanently inferior standing in their country.

Before reverting to Senator Nicholls' statements I just wish to remark here that there is a <sup>remarkable</sup> strange coincidence in the actions of these two characters.

You have

Again note this well and compare it with his other views

You have just seen how Senator Brooke after his anti-Native book and lectures, and after his election as a Senator to represent the Natives' interests, characterised the very parliamentary representation he strongly advocated that, under it our people "are publicly stigmatised as second grade citizens, citizens of a permanently inferior standing in their country". You will see in the Report of the Native Affairs Commission for years 1937-38. Senator Nicholls has written the following about his "Trusteeship" under which he places our people, as a justification for his abolition of the Cape Native franchise and his denial of the extension of citizenship rights to our people:

"The activities thus generally enumerated are all signs of the stirring conscience of our Trusteeship. The truth that the welfare of the European lies in the welfare of the Bantu is surely realised. The rise of a Social Welfare Department of the State has no doubt done much to focus public

attention

attention on these aspects of our national life; for the social welfare movement, still in its infancy, though already making large inroads on the revenue of the country, has gathered up in its course many of the public-spirited citizens whose influence has been instrumental in urging improvements upon those responsible for municipal government, upon <sup>whom</sup> lies the chief responsibility for native conditions in towns. The Universities all have their Native Study Groups. Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives exist in all the large centres. Behind these social welfare bodies lie all the weight of the Churches and the influence of missionary societies. This nation-wide movement and the humanitarianism which inspires it will, if wisely directed, bring to the interpretation of our Trusteeship a spirit of Christian charity and understanding which, in the end, will alone make our native policy effective and thus ensure that harmonious and friendly co-operation between British & European which

which is its ultimate aim"

This naked and unabashed hypocrisy blazed officially in a Government blue book is primarily intended to gain supporters from the European public in South Africa and overseas to get them to approve and bless the bitter anti-Native attitude Senator Heaton Nicholls has consistently adopted towards our people as a race throughout his public career, and, in particular, to support his attitude in Parliament when he insisted that no citizenship rights whatsoever should be granted to us, and, if granted, should be in that most humiliating form and incidence which Senator Brookes of the same school of thought says it publicly stigmatises us as second-grade citizens, citizens of a permanently inferior standing in our own country.

Secondly, this crass hypocrisy is undoubtably intended for Native Consumption. I refer to the hypocrisy on the part of both the Senators.

# Senators.

Senator Heaton Nicholls views which I would you to keep in view and some of which are reflected in the principles of the Union Native policy are:

(1) He urges that the natives of Africa are a distinct race differing psychologically from Europeans, having a different glandular system, with different instincts and racial complexes.

Once the need for racial differentiation is admitted, and political thought ceases to fix itself on class ideology, the issue becomes clear.

(2) He urged for the abolition of the Cape Native vote on the grounds that

note these points

(i) It was a sham and fraud, and that it has held back the progress of the native people of this country.

(ii) that the fear of this native vote lies behind the minds of most Europeans in this country, and until we can get rid of that fear, native development will never get that chance that

it

it ought to have."

(iii) "There has in fact been growing up in the native mind a desire to become Europeanised. . . . There is, unfortunately, a tendency growing up in the minds of the natives . . . to seek their progress and future entirely by imitating Europeans."

(iv) He said the choice was whether "we are going to proceed along the lines of a common citizenship, or whether we are going to develop along the ~~the~~ road of a beneficent trusteeship adopted by Great Britain and the League of Nations:"

the Union of Native policy "is an unequivocal national acceptance of the policy of trusteeship as opposed to that of a common citizenship"

With this trusteeship goes the adequate Native Reserves - land for which the £10,000,000 has been voted to purchase it.

Nowhere does Nicholls hint that the Natives will ever be released from this trusteeship.

This brings me to my main

note  
very  
carefully

main task. No doubt you have found my lengthy discourse painfully boring. I frankly admit that it is necessarily so. The whole matter is a contentious controversy which has formed itself into a problematical issue not only as between our people on the one hand and the Europeans on the other, ~~but~~ but as between the various schools of thought amongst our own people themselves. It took the parliamentary Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament no less than eight years to bring an "agreed" ~~a~~ measure before a joint session of the Union Parliament. And that Bill was treated with a disgraceful levity by the most representative regional conferences of our ~~unlettered~~ intelligentsia and leading men ever officially convened in all our history since Union. Exploitation of our people, rank dishonesty and utter disloyalty to the cause of our race have corrupted our leadership to  
the

the core. It is very difficult and almost impossible to ~~discuss~~ dispassionately discuss these matters without unpleasantly bumping ourselves against the views, actions and influence of our so-called European friends, guides and philosophers, and the actual work, and nature and type of our own race leadership. My views, deductions and opinions, as will now more succinctly be given in the following memorandum, are my own.



PART: III

---

Pages: 44-64

## Memorandum.

Franchise or the right to elect people to represent us in Parliament and in other state councils should be of such a nature ~~that~~ such as will have the effect of inducing a people to (a) strive and work for their advancement as a people; (b) to create or cultivate a sense of responsibility, of respect and of self-reliance.

The Cape Native franchise had those features. It was based on education, salary and property qualifications. The question as to how high these qualifications should be is presently not under discussion.

Before ever we can expect our people as a race to advance in civilisation and to attain to some measure of economic stability, we must have individuals who have struggled and worked themselves <sup>up</sup> along those lines. The outlook of the whole civilised world is based on education, financial or economic stability

stability and immovable property. To struggle for existence and a respectable place as a race in this world, it is absolutely essential that we struggle and work hard to acquire those qualities which make for that end.

A person who has no sense of ~~self~~ public responsibility, sense of self-respect, self-reliance will only lead us to what he is and knows. An ignorant nblavini, an ignorant harmless soul of primitive stagnant tribal <sup>life</sup> will only lead us into the state of his own lifeless life or into a state of poverty, aimless life of wasters, desperados. This is just that characteristic - absence of the virtue of moral rectitude, public honesty, loyalty to the true cause and interests of our race - which has made us victims of studious consideration of exploitation. Such were the nature and the effect of the Cape Natal franchise.

Let us now compare it

it with the present franchise and representation given to us.

The main features of our present franchise and representation are:

And yet it is neither individual nor manhood of suffrage

(1) The whole system is based on no qualifications. It is a communal or group vote, which goes through a long cumbersome procedure in which the Native Commissioners and the Chiefs are the main figures and the controlling propellers.

Intelligence, education, ability, etc. find no place in the exercise of our franchise right. Had it been an "adult franchise" given to be exercised individually by each male adult, there would have been some grounds to support it. But, as it stands, the Chiefs alone

and the Native Commissioners have the sole sway in the whole business

(2) In urban centres, there again, the voting is done by and through Native Advisory Boards whose own ~~own~~ election is questionable and most unpopular.

unpopular.

What are the motives behind this form of franchise, the object and the effect of this system?

The deep-seated inveterate dislike for the education and advancement of our people, or any sort of other civilizing agencies or influences at work among our people —

the life-wise of this system of native vote and of the entire Union

native policy. "Where are the Natives going to? They are aping the character of Europeans; they are trying to become Europeans; education and the impact of western civilization make them a menace to Europeans.

Something must be done to arrest and check their progress and advancement.

The educated and even the more enlightened section of this race must definitely be deprived and denied of all rights, facilities and opportunities which make for their advancement and progress.

They

They must be given a very poor system of education based wholly and entirely on the lines of their primitive tribal lines — that is the Bantuisation of Native Education. They are a distinct <sup>race</sup> differing psychologically from the European. Their intelligent, their educated and more enlightened ones must be forced and driven back to tribal life. We shall give them no right whatsoever to elect individually for themselves those who will represent them in their own Council — a Sham Council — which we will make for them. They must go back to the chiefs who, ~~but~~ alone, will have the right to vote or to induce the people to vote for the candidate fancied by the chief. The chief, in turn, will get his "tip" from the Native Commissioners.

"In towns, there again, we shall give this objectionable section of the Native people not the slightest chance of enjoying to enjoy and exercise

any individually

individually any right to elect for himself or a parliamentary or council representative on the councils we have set aside for him and his people. It will have to be by group vote, namely, "the advisory boards"

What are the facts? What is the position?

A political ~~step~~ segregation has been embarked upon by the ruling race, the chief features of which are a that the Natives in the Cape have been deprived of their old form of franchise by the Natives, as a whole have been given a sham council and a sham ~~no~~ representation and a very poor or most unsatisfactory mode of voting. The question arises: If this political segregation or race differentiation <sup>policy</sup> was necessary in the interests of both the European and African why has the European - the superior and ruling race - gone to the unjust extreme of denying the African the individual

This is the acid test which unmasks and exposes the sinister motives behind the whole policy of the Union.

individual right to elect for himself the man he himself thinks will represent his interests better in the councils set aside by the Europeans themselves? for that the Native? # That is the most important question to be faced by us, and its implications to be fully grasped and appreciated by us. And that is the vital question we have to constantly hold at the Europeans. The more one thinks over that question the more one finds that only ill motives arising from bitter anti-Native prejudice could have produced such an unfair and unjust policy.

Just one more illustrative instance.

There are today two Commissions of or committees going round the country gathering evidence which will be helpful to the Government in solving some certain aspects of the so-called Native problem. I refer to the



**Collection Number: AD843**

**XUMA, A.B., Papers**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:-* **Historical Papers Research Archive**

*Location:-* **Johannesburg**

**©2013**

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.