

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR PUBLICATION.R.R. 138/50A
E.O. 14/9/50.SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)
SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VIR RASSEVERHOUDINGS (INGELYF)DRAFT PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL RIGHTS
AND DUTIES FOR AFRICANS.

1. The Council of the Institute resolved in 1950 (R.R. 20/50) :-

"The Institute is convinced that the aim of statesmanship in the Union should be to find the basis for the development in all sections of a common attitude towards the ideals of Western civilization, expressed in a common loyalty to the State and in a standard of public and private life consonant with those ideals. For this reason the Council believes that the goal of racial policy should be the attainment in due course of common citizenship by individuals of all races. While adopting common citizenship as the goal of racial policy, the Institute recognizes that this cannot be reached at once because of differences in conviction and because of the wide range of differences in adjustment to Western civilization."

The Council requested the Executive Committee to submit to the next meeting of Council a programme of political rights and duties for Africans in accordance with its policy, as quoted above. This draft programme is now set out.

PREAMBLE.

2. Western civilization has become so complex that the only people able to interpret it adequately may be historians who can look on it in retrospect. To understand something of the inventions in everyday use, the complexity and far-flung interdependence of the economic structure, the issues at stake in the government of a country, a certain standard of education in the values, institutions and formulae of Western civilization is essential. And it is noticeable that those who have received the finest education seem best able to grasp what is perhaps the fundamental principle of our civilization - that increasing privilege and ease in living must go hand-in-hand with the assumption of increased responsibility. Democracy is not a simple system even in a country with a homogeneous population and universal education.
3. The concept of democracy has seldom been applied, however, in a country like South Africa where there are people of varying cultures and traditions at different stages of development, where almost half of the total population receives no schooling at all, and where under a quarter has had any experience of democratic institutions. In a country such as this, the problem of devising an equitable system of political representation for all sections is a very difficult one.

POSSIBLE SCHEMES FOR REPRESENTATION OF AFRICANS.

4. There are various possibilities. Some of these are:-
- (a) That Africans should be granted no representation at all in the central legislature.

/Such.....

Such a decision would undoubtedly result in an explosion within a measurable time. Africans are today not prepared to co-operate in the execution of any policy which envisages complete exclusion from representation in the central legislature. Apart from this practical consideration, no civilized state would deny any form of representation at all in the central legislature to the largest section of its population.

- (b) A gradual total separation of the white and the non-white groups, with sovereign independence for each group in its own area. Advocates of this policy point out that it would involve much sacrifice on the part of the Europeans, but maintain that it is the only way in which Non-Europeans could be given a fair opportunity of developing to the utmost of their capabilities, for in a European-dominated society they would always be at a disadvantage.

The Institute considers this policy to be impossible of realization and, in the long run, contrary to the real needs and interests of all the racial groups in this country. It implies that we have so little faith in the principles of Western civilization that we dare not put them to the test of operation in South Africa; that we cannot conceive of a future in which, by the firm application of these principles, all sections would live peaceably together, all contributing to the common good. The Institute is of opinion that the realities of the existing situation offer irrefutable proof that the economic interests of European and Non-European groups are by now so inextricably interwoven that it is impossible to bring about total separation. While not doubting the sincerity of the motive which prompts many who support this policy, the Institute adheres to its view that the Union of South Africa can only attain its maximum potential and offer its diverse peoples the optimum satisfaction of living if these peoples jointly contribute their varying and complementary abilities and skills to its development. It cannot accept any proposals which would divide this potentially prosperous country, to the final union of which went so much toil and suffering and far-sighted vision, into a number of separate, inevitably competitive and possibly warring racial states.

- (c) Partial Separation of the European and the Non-European groups in group areas, the Non-Europeans continuing to work for the white man but in a migrant capacity. Local self-government would be granted in Non-European areas through a system of general councils for the various ethnic groups. Eventually perhaps, a central Non-European Parliament would be set up.

In the first place the Institute must strongly condemn any policy which would perpetuate an unnatural and unwholesome pattern of life for a large part of the population. Furthermore, it is doubtful in the extreme whether the Non-European Parliament would ever be given its fair share of the revenue of the country. Moreover, the proceedings of the Non-European Parliament would be subject to the approval of the European Parliament, for there can be only one supreme authority in the country. The more the Non-Europeans came to realize their disabilities under such a system, the more unrest and dissatisfaction would there be. The Institute finds this system, likewise, unacceptable.

- (d) Federalism. Under this system there would be two or more states, and a Federal Parliament. The Federal Parliament would deal only with such matters of common interest as were, by an agreed Constitution, delegated to it. Each state would have its own State Legislature to deal with all other matters.

/We.....

We have already had experience, in this country, of difficulties arising between different states in regard to labour policies, customs tariffs, transport problems, etc. Under a system of federalism there would certainly be differing trends on what should be common policies for the country as a whole. It is also extremely problematical whether some of the proposed states would be viable at all. There would be even less incentive than there is now for Europeans to pay attention to the needs of the Non-Europeans, or for financial concerns to provide the capital without which no lifting of the standards of life in the Non-European states would be possible. The Institute considers that the Federal proposal is no solution for the country but rather a confession of failure.

- (e) Parallelism. According to this system the various racial groups would have separate schools, separate social amenities, would live in separate residential areas, and would have separate government institutions at the local and provincial levels. There would be integration at the central government level. Africans would be granted a modified form of representation in the Upper and Lower Houses on a communal basis, through the electoral college system or by individual vote on a separate register, or both, as at present.

Such a system has two major disadvantages. Firstly, the title is a misnomer. "Parallelism" implies separate but equal facilities. Past experience in the Union, the United States and other countries has shown that where parallel institutions are established, the Non-Europeans are almost invariably handicapped by the provision of inferior facilities. Further, communal representation involves the separation of the affairs of one racial group from those of the others, whereas their interests are inter-dependent. This system of representation must have the effect of intensifying race consciousness and race animosities.

- (f) Full Franchise Rights. Many Africans press for the immediate introduction of full franchise rights for all. (See paras. 5 and 6).
- (g) Equal Rights for All Civilized Persons. Another possibility is that as Africans attain the necessary standard of civilization, they be granted individual votes on the common roll. (See below).

5. In discussing the last three possibilities mentioned, it would be wise to consider the circumstances for which provision is being made. Members of the African community are at many different stages of development. Some remain in the tribal environment and as yet know little of the ways of the white man. Others are at various transition stages. A minority has adjusted itself completely to Western civilization. Because of these differences, the Institute considers that the time has not come for the introduction of full franchise rights for all, as suggested in paragraph 4 (f) above.
6. Ideally, the Institute would prefer the franchise to be granted only to those people who possess certain cultural qualifications. It is, however, reluctant to suggest the withdrawal of rights already granted, and accordingly considers that the full adult suffrage for Europeans should be retained. In considering this matter it should not be overlooked that most Europeans, but very few Africans, have been brought up in the ways and thoughts of Western civilization. Another point of importance is that the vast majority of the Europeans have attended school until they passed Std. VI or were at least 15 years of age, thus possess some education in the values and institutions of our civilization and some training to assist them in understanding its complexities. On the other hand, it is only a minority of the Africans who have as yet been able to receive any education. (See Appendix A for statistics in regard to education).

THE INSTITUTE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

7. We are left then, with the possibilities mentioned in paras. 4(e) and (g) above, and the Institute advises that for the present a combination of these systems be adopted, for it is necessary to provide for the minority of Africans who have evolved and also for the majority who are at various stages of transition.

Individual Franchise Rights.

8. The Institute considers that the minority of Africans who already conform to Western standards and have accepted Western values should not be forced to wait for democratic rights until their whole racial group has similarly evolved. As each African qualifies through education and civilized living, he should be granted personal, individual citizen rights, i.e., an individual vote on the common roll for Parliamentary, Provincial and Municipal elections.

It will be necessary to devise some test in order to determine which Africans are qualified to exercise these rights. The test will have to be an objective one which cannot be manipulated. The Institute makes the following suggestions :-

- (a) A man or woman who has a good general education and is mature, having experienced something of the Western world after school, should be able to qualify. The Institute considers that those who have obtained the Junior Certificate should be granted full franchise rights when they turn 25, or those who have matriculated when they turn 21. Women who qualify for the vote should also qualify for exemption from any restrictions imposed by the Natal Native Code or similar legislation.
- (b) There are also men and women who have not been able to progress as far at school as the Junior Certificate, but who are mature people of proved ability, living according to Western standards and having adopted Western values. An open judicial court should be set up to determine which applicants should be granted full franchise rights.

Acceptance of this proposal would mean that in time the Non-European voters would outnumber the white, a development which is feared by many Europeans. There are several factors, however, which should not be overlooked. They are :-

- (i) The European voters would probably not be outnumbered to the vast extent which is sometimes feared. As the Non-European peoples develop, their birth-rate will most likely fall. Further, the encouragement of European immigration would not only be of great economic benefit to the country as a whole but would assist in adjusting numerical disparity.
- (ii) It should not be assumed that the mental attitudes of to-day towards race relations will persist at the time when Non-European voters begin to outnumber white.
- (iii) By the time the European voters are in a minority, the Non-Europeans generally will be fully integrated into Western life.
- (iv) Moreover, within the African community, there will be different points of view. Undoubtedly the same diversity of interests will develop amongst Africans as obtains amongst Europeans. Provided Africans receive just treatment in the meanwhile, it is unlikely that they will tend to align themselves

behind a policy of furthering exclusive African interests. As has already been pointed out, the interests of the various racial groups to-day overlap, and the most probably outcome would be that members of each racial group would vote according to their varying political interests. The Institute has faced the alternatives. The Europeans may be overwhelmed but the Institute believes that common citizenship and common interests will develop common loyalties cutting across the colour line, as was experienced in the Cape Province before the exclusion of the Africans from the common franchise.

The Institute places its faith in the ultimate values of our civilization, and believes that through the goodwill and tolerance of civilized mankind a common loyalty to the state will develop, provided that we ensure our total cultural system is such as to produce civilized men and women of all races. It therefore accepts that those Africans who achieve the necessary qualifications should be entitled to the full rights and should accept the duties of citizenship.

Communal Franchise Rights.

9. Some system of representation in the Central Legislature is necessary to cater for the Africans who are not yet completely adjusted to the ways and values of Western civilization. For these, the Institute recommends communal representation in the Senate: not in the Assembly because the basis of representation here is by individual vote. In the Senate there is already provision for election through electoral colleges. The number of representatives would have to be increased, for the present constituencies are far too large. Ten seats are suggested, allocated as follows:

3 to the Cape
2 to Natal
1 to Orange Free State
4 to Transvaal.

It must be envisaged that this communal system of representation will gradually die out as more and more of the Africans are granted individual votes on the common roll.

African Local Government.

10. The Institute recommends that in order to give experience in handling public affairs a system of Village Boards possessing executive and financial powers (as proposed by the Native Laws Commission) be instituted in place of the present ineffective system of Advisory Boards. In African townships attached to European towns these boards would fall away as the majority of people in the areas concerned qualified for the individual franchise. In purely African towns, however, the Boards would be given progressively greater powers until they develop into full Municipalities.
11. Properly constituted lower courts should be established in all the larger African villages, and Justices of the Peace with criminal jurisdiction should be stationed in the smaller villages as soon as trained personnel is available.
12. African personnel should increasingly be employed by municipalities in responsible posts in all technical and administrative departments. Efforts should be made to develop the requisite qualified African personnel by encouraging training for administrative, technical and judicial posts.
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APPENDIX "A".

STATISTICS IN REGARD TO EDUCATIONS.

Interesting information on European education has been obtained from the National Bureau of Educational Research. In the Cape, compulsory education for Europeans from the ages of 7 to 14 (or until Std. 4 was passed) was introduced in 1905. These requirements were gradually raised until in 1918 they were 7 to 16, or Standard 6. Free and compulsory primary education was introduced in Natal in 1918, in the Transvaal in 1907 (from ages of 7 to 14) and in the Orange Free State in 1905 (from ages of 10 to 16 or until Std. 4 was passed). The present position is:-

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>AGE-LIMITS FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION</u>	<u>SCHOLASTIC STANDARD GRANTED EXEMPTION.</u>
Cape	7 - 16	Std. 6.
Orange Free State	7 - 16	Std. 6.
Natal	7 - 15	None.
Transvaal	7 - 16	Std. 8.

This means that all European children in the Union, except the very small minority who are mentally retarded, are at school between the ages of 7 and 15 or until they pass Std. 6. This was proved by the Educational Bureau by a comparison of school attendance and census figures in 1946. There was a gap of a week between the dates on which these censuses were taken, hence very slight inaccuracies.

<u>AGE GROUP</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE IN SCHOOL</u>
6	60.8
7	95.9
8	100.5
9	98.5
10	100.1
11	99.0
12	95.7
13	100.1
14	85.77
15	57.5
16	39.6

On the other hand, it is only a minority of the Africans who have as yet been able to receive any education. On 3rd March 1950, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science said in the Assembly that approximately 66 per cent of Native children between the ages of 7 and 16 years did not attend school. The Institute calculates that in 1946 there were some 1,932,000 African children in the 7 to 16 age group. Of these 640,638 (or 33 per cent) were attending State or State-Aided schools, and over half of those at school (50.8 per cent) were in the sub-standards.

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