

QUESTIONNAIRE

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1. APART OR TOGETHER?

The most promising approach to a solution of South Africa's racial problems is:

- (a) to give each racial group a fair portion of the country in which to live by itself and to develop independently along its own lines.
- (b) to give people of all racial groups an equal opportunity to advance on individual merit.
- (c) to maintain White domination in every sphere, conditioning each racial group to acceptance of its fixed place in our racial hierarchy.

2. PARLIAMENTARY AND PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE

- (a) At least 90 per cent of our M.P.'s and M.P.C's should be elected by Whites. The remainder should be elected by the Africans, Indians and Coloured people, each group electing its representatives separately.
- (b) All adults should have the vote.
- (c) All adults who have attained approved educational and economic standards should vote on a common roll, and while educational and economic opportunity remains unequal there should be some special representation for those falling below these standards.

3. MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND M.P.C's

- (a) Only White person should be eligible for election as M.P.'C's.
- (b) Only White and Coloured persons should be eligible for election.
- (c) All persons qualified to vote should be eligible for election.

4. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

- (a) All adult Whites should have the municipal franchise.
- (b) All owners or occupiers of property of approved valuation should have the municipal franchise.
- (c) Only white owners or occupiers of property of approved valuation should have the municipal franchise.

5. AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS.

- (a) African Townships should be regarded as part of the Towns around which they have grown,

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and their residents should elect representatives, on a basis to be approved, to the Town Councils.

- (b) African Townships should have their own separate, elected councils.
- (c) African Township residents are not yet capable of responsible participation in democratic local government.

6. CONSTITUTIONAL

- (a) A Government should have the power to pass any law for which it can muster a majority in Parliament.
- (b) We should have an entrenched Bill of Rights to prevent any Government from passing legislation which would infringe fundamental rights and freedoms.

7. INDUSTRIAL COLOUR BARS

- (a) All colour bars, legal or conventional, should be abolished forthwith.
- (b) Existing colour bars and job reservations should be strictly maintained.
- (c) Jobs should not be legally reserved for persons of any one race, and there should be a planned transition from colour bars to "the rate for the job".

8. BANNING OF ORGANISATIONS:

- (a) Any organisation which criticises existing laws or attacks the policies of the Government should be banned.
- (b) Only organisations which are Communist, or which advocate the use of violence to bring about political change, should be liable to banning, and then only by Parliament.
- (c) A Government should in no circumstances ban any organisation.

9. PASS LAWS.

- (a) The present pass laws should be retained unchanged.
- (b) Every South African should carry only a simple identity card.
- (c) The pass laws should be completely abolished.

10. GROUP AREAS.

- (a) So that "White areas" may be tidied up, and Indian businesses removed from good sites, the Group Areas Act should be carried out as planned.
- (b) Industrial and commercial sites should be available to those who can make most economic use of them. Residential areas should, as a rule, be

YES

NO

planned for group occupation, but there should also be open areas at all economic levels.

- (c) Everyone should have the right to live where he likes if he can afford it.

11. CENSORSHIP:

- (a) A newspaper should not be allowed to criticise the policies or actions of the Government, or to refer disrespectfully to the actions of any Minister or other person in a prominent official position.
- (b) Save in a state of war or insurrection and subject to the ordinary laws governing libel, indecency, cases sub-judice, etc., a newspaper should be free to present the news and to comment on it as it thinks fit.
- (c) A newspaper should at all times be absolutely free to present the news and to comment on it as it likes.

12. AFRICAN EDUCATION

- (a) African should be educated only for inferior kinds of employment, except in the Reserves.
- (b) It is only right that those too poor pay income directly for the education of their children.
- (c) South Africa can fully realise its potentialities (including its vast industrial potentialities) only when all its people have been brought to a high level of general education.

13. PROVINCIAL EDUCATION

Where there is racial discrimination in the education of Whites, Coloured people and Indians in respect of such matters as size of classes, salaries of teachers with the same professional qualifications, duration of compulsory education, etc., we should, in planning future improvements,

- (a) retain the present degree of differentiation.
- (b) increase the degree of differentiation, so that the Whites may be still better prepared to maintain a superior position. Eliminate differentiation, so that there may be equality of opportunity for all.

14. PRIORITIES.

- (a) So that government may be more representative, and thus more stable and more acceptable to all groups in South Africa and to the outside world, greater emphasis should at present be placed on the political than on the economic advancement of the people.
- (b) The most important immediate objective is to raise wages above the poverty datum line.
- (c) Economic and political advancement should go hand in hand.

15 AFRICANS AND TRADE UNIONS:

- (a) We should have the right to organise - in trade unions, but on a segregated basis.
- (b) It would be disastrous to allow organise in trade union, since they would use then for political ends.
- (c) Trade unions should be open to workers of all races on an integrated basis.

YES

NO

16. BRIDGES:

- (a) South Africans should make deliberate efforts to meet as equals and to work for common ends with South Africans of other racial groups.
- (b) Contact between the races on a basis of equality will come in time should not be forced.
- (c) Contact between the races should be kept to a minimum.

17. HOW (IF IT MUST) SHOULD APARTHEID BE IMPLEMENTED?

- (a) So many Africans should be sent to the Reserves that the Whites will be a majority in Non-Reserve South Africa.
- (b) The 10 per cent (52% of 19%) of the population which really wants apartheid ("A Republic to keep S.A. White") should ask the Government to set aside 10% per cent of our developed capital assets, as their Homeland, and should plan to move there with all convenient speed. U.N.O. might be invited to supervise the division and the smooth transfer of population. Claims to represent more than 10 per cent of the population could be settled by an ad hoc referendum, and territorial adjustments made accordingly.
- (c) In the Reserve 13 per cent of South Africa, only African should have citizenship rights. In the Non-Reserve 87 per cent (population) 3 million whites, 8-9 million Non-whites) only the Whites should have citizenship rights.