Political arrangements in a multi-racial society must be looked at realistically. If we are not to indulge in futile speculation, we must be on our guard against deceiving the problem as if we have in mind ideal solutions of perfectly peaceful, harmonious sense, with perfectly developed attitudes of pri-

and a tale in the rough and tumble of life. Such notions do not exist in the real world. For those who, which is no such

with us, we must actualize society with real human beings, and with all these people, there's cooperation, which

anyone wishing to devise political arrangements for such a society should ignore at this point.

For South Africans considering the problem it is as necessary

for them to go beyond their own boundaries to find an actual

society with self-government to help any human being or real multi-racial. The Union of South Africa with 7.3 million

white, 9 million Bantu, 17 million. Church and half a million

Indians is as good a laboratory as can be found anywhere

for the testing out of political arrangements in a real

multi-racial society. All these sections of our population

have lived together for many generations and have by

their joint effort shown how a civilization which by western

standards encompasses more than favorably with anything to be

found in any other part of the continent of Africa.

But although these efforts have become

intertwined, they are still a long period of time. They have so

far failed to work out a way of life which will guarantee

safe-guard the fundamental human rights of all sections

of the population, instead of being thrown together more

closely, not only of the poor economically, but also socially

politically. This appears to be an ever widening gulf

between the whites on the one side and the non-whites

on the other.

Out of the history of contact and conflict between the
the different racial groups represented in South Africa, the
whites have emerged as the ruling group with the rest of the
population in varying degrees of subjection to them. But their
monopoly of political power has not given the whites the peace
of mind which they imagined they would achieve thereby nor
has it produced the contentment with them, let alone among the
non-whites which alone would place white supremacy on a
core foundation. Hence the struggle for power continues
and the search for satisfactory political arrangements
for our multi-racial society does not appear to be in
sight.

South Africa has a long record of endeavour to find the
answer to the question of satisfactory political arrangements
for the sub-continent with its people of varying racial cultural
backgrounds. Even if we look upon that record as one of
consistent, persistent failure, we must be doing our forebears
grave injustice if we did not recognize what they have tried
to do in this field in both the more remote and the more present
past. For sure black and white made contact with one
another, although not in ways to organize the body
politic in such a way as to secure the remaining all
political advantage or benefit for one or other of both groups
in the country.

In the early stages of such contact it was
suggested that the political problem could be solved
by the method of mutual optimization. The whites had
the numbers, while the blacks the advantage
of gunpowder and shot. But against the numerical
advantage of the blacks, but it eventually dawned
upon both sides that this method would not snap to
produce the quick results hoped for from it.
Another method which was tried and found wanting was that of endowing or, as the Greeks represented it, the country through a system of mutual agreements or treaties recognizing the independence of the so-called "friendly tribes" on return for which they undertaken to keep the peace and to respect mutually agreed boundaries. This system of what might be called voluntary apartheid did not prove any more practicable in the early part of the nineteenth century than it would have been any other in the 20th century.

Clearly the mutual advantages of contact proved more attractive than the risks of contact and agreements to live apart were more practicable or made than they were broken.

It eventually became clear that the only basis on which stability might be achieved and contact made in grappling with the political problem was that of a common society subject to one political authority instead of a multiplicity of small scale societies all claiming independence of one another. As a policy of annexation and amalgamation of like with like resulted in one entity subject to the same authority, we embarked on this process of unification and aggregation was accompanied by a great deal of pain and suffering but by the end of the 19th century, wherever these entities were to be found, they were subjected to the same government although special arrangements were not infrequent in the region made to cater for the local needs of the new front of the common society spread for Africa.
The 20th century saw the birth of the South African nation. The imperial factors which had been responsible for shaping the destinies of the different peoples represented in southern Africa gradually faded into the background and the South African nation which took shape at Union had to undertake to find an answer to the question of suitable political arrangements for South Africa. What are political arrangements to be embodied in the South African Act of 1909 would be at the mercy of the Union Parliament. It was the body expressing the will of the South African electorate which would decide on the future political arrangements in the country.

Since Union the search for a satisfactory solution of the political problem of the country has continued. Unfortunately the actions that have been pursued, instead of being designed to draw the people of the country together, have deliberately been directed to divide them into mutually antagonistic groups. Such political rights as the non-white things enjoyed at the time of Union as a result of the laws which have not been extended instead of being extended have been whittled down or nullified. The function of the Union instead of the common will which existed at the Cape prior to Union there has not been substituted a command for African centers for the time of monarchy and an elected Malay system for African representatives in the Senate. The Union Parliament has been made into an elected body for which provision has been made in the Constitution for the protection and the promotion of the rights of whites and the incorporation of disabilities upon political enumeration of the non-whites. What has been said in regard to Afrikaner applies mutatis mutandis to the coloured and the Indians.

With regard to ultimate provisions political arrangements for non-whites, account has to be taken on the local level of the system of Native Councils in the urban areas and that of the Land Authority in the rural areas. In either case the function of these bodies are such that the people for whom they were intended have no confidence in or respect for them.
such local arrangements do not exist for either Coloured or Indians.

On the national level, the system of separate representation in the form of mainly the House of Lords, which was adopted for Africans in 1936, has been extended to Coloureds, while separate provision which was made for Indians in 1946 has been repealed. In other words, the white minority close is preferred to allow the white House to speak on their behalf in the Council of State. This is happening at a time when much has been developed for the African. Africans have direct representation in the legislatures as well as in local governmental institutions.

The only feasible solution that could be advanced for these arrangements is if they produced the desired result, namely to accord adequate protection and suitable functions to the rights of the people concerned to the satisfaction of the people for whom they are elected. Nothing in these forms of mind and effort that the existing bodies, the Senate authorities, the system of separate representation in the House of Lords or in the House had advanced the cause of the one-white French- and English-speaking African.

On the contrary, the form of representation has failed to stem the continuing tide of racial discrimination in various spheres of our national life.

Similarly, how can we look at the or practically any other life, with the inevitable march of the policy of apartheid, close fences, band and bicls closed and police closed and the different sections of the population as being called upon to live in acute state harassment. We speak occasionally on the arbitrary check of our government officials on this.

The picture which emerges therefore is that the South African state rests upon the shaky foundation of a small, though powerful and well armed minority enjoying all political privileges usually associated with membership of a democratic state and a majority of non-white people representing four-fifths of the total population deprived of all political power. Everyone recognizes that this political set-up, whatever the attitude until they are satisfied, does not satisfy the non-whites who will not rest while a radical alteration has been made in it. Progressive sections of the non-white minority, for minority white population also appreciate the fact that with things as they are, they are setting on a volcano which may erupt sooner or later.
The question therefore arises as to what needs to be done in order to place the political relations of the different racial groups represented in South Africa upon a sound foundation.

In considering the question of alternative political arrangements to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, it seems that we must begin by considering what are the basic principles which should govern political arrangements in a multi-racial society. Naturally the application of such basic principles to a particular situation may need to be modified to suit the peculiar circumstances of the country concerned. But without giving attention to basic principles we run the risk of overlooking important considerations essential for the success and the stability of any political structure or of emphasising the wrong factors in the situation.

Thus in the South African situation we have laid for too much emphasis upon the factor of the racial composition of the different groups represented here, to the extent that within the context and having regard to the different cultural backgrounds of the groups concerned, it would have been unrealistic to ignore the factor altogether. I do suggest that we have magnified the factor to a point where it is permanent in this country. We have gone further. We have now reached the stage where we are not only differentiating between white and black, but also between white and white and between black and black. Race differentiation has degenerated into ethnic grouping with deprivations such as taxation and vote testify.

But even if we succeed in getting beyond thinking of people in terms of race, we may fall into the similar error of thinking in terms of groups such as the white and the non-white, the Indian or the Coloured and think of political rights in terms of the groups to which they belong. So we have divided our votes into white votes, coloured votes, native votes to be represented according to groups enshrinement.
The atomic theory of thinking of people in terms of groups is that of lumping together people with very different interests and separating from one another people with similar, but identical interests. The black worker is lumped together with the white worker, when in the last analysis they are neither intellectual. The black intellectual is separated from the white intellectual on the grounds that neither affixture, which probably are less meaningful to them than their common social intellectual interests.

A third common fallacy is that of supposing that a privileged group can take care of the welfare of another without the latter having any say in the matter. This idea may arise from genuine interest in the welfare of the latter on the part of the former, but the fact is that no group or individual for that matter will ever be satisfied with indefinitely deferring the responsibility for their interest to others instead of by them. No group however well intentioned can successfully undertake to protect its interest as well as those of another group, especially when such interests may from time to time come into conflict with one another. The only remedy in such a situation is that each group must be accorded the right to protect and promote its own interest and welfare, and this can best be done by giving all citizenship rights to individual men and women in all the groups represented in the country.

The moment one makes a statement like this, privileged groups hold up their hands in horror, and the most liberal-minded people begin to wonder. Question the sense of responsibility of the person making such a suggestion, but be quick to remind them of the Iliad. I happen to be convinced that nothing less than equal rights for all citizens which stems to be the only basis on a stable state can
be briefly. Equal rights for all involves of course removal of political franchise rights. The argument is usually advanced against this is that the democratic system of government demands a degree of general education and the development of a sense of responsibility which is not commonly possessed by adults on a universal basis. Especially may this be so in a multi-racial society. In such a society the different racial groups might hail at different levels of educational development and they might even belong to different cultural types.

In South Africa for example the European has obviously attained onto a higher degree of general education and they claim to belong to a civilization which is higher than the other groups represented in the country. He is naturally apprehensive lest by the adoption of a particular certain political arrangement, the peculiar values of his culture and the educational standards with which he has attained should be trampled under foot by "strangers within the gate." He does not wish to be "run down" in the political sphere. If, he go further and declares that such swamping of the white race will not only be to the detriment of the swamping groups who would soon find the country degenerate reduced to a state of barbarism with a total loss of all the progress already made under the leadership of the whites. There is a great deal of plausibility in this argument and the advocates of equal right for all cannot lightly brush it aside.

There are, however, certain reservations which must be made about this matter. In the first place if it is time that the democratic system requires a populace with a high degree of general education
it became the duty of those in power to see that the full benefits of education which is regarded as essential is placed at the disposal of all sections of the population, but it is not uncommon to find that the same people who regard education as an essential ingredient of political wisdom and efficiency of government education is no concomitant of a programme for universal education. It is submitted that this will only happen in a country which has adopted if equal citizenship rights for all. Therefore instead of education being made a prerequisite for the franchise the franchise should be accorded to all on the basis of birthright and then the state will be an enabler of birthright of every child and education will have to inform ensure that all its citizens obtain the education which will make it possible for them to exercise their rights with intelligence and a due sense of responsibility. It is a curriculum of which should come first — education or the vote. In my view the right to vote should come first because with it you can defend your right to education, but without it one’s right to education is at the mercy of those who have a monopoly of political power.

But of course, it is doubtful whether education in and of itself is necessarily a cure for our political ills. In South Africa, for example, the blacks constitute the most highly educated section of the population and they have enjoyed a monopoly of political power for generations. But is it doubtful to whether it can be said that because of their superior education they have used their voting right for the benefit of the country as a whole. Instead they have used it to divide and disenfranchise others which will retard their right and deprive the sections of the population of all vestiges of political power. On the other hand the where the less developed sections of the population have not had any voting right at all, no one has yet proposed e.g. the man whales in the Cape from 1836 onwards has yet
been able to prove that they did not use their vote in a responsible manner. In the word while agreeing with the idea that education in the broad sense of the term is an important part of the equipment of a citizen, I myself am not entirely convinced that it might be used as a reason for excluding those people political rights. I cannot agree with the proposition that people with political rights ought to be compelled to undergo a course of education, but the political rights must therefore not follow the attainment of a measure of education.

What has been said with regard to education applies also to property qualifications. I find myself unable to subscribe to the proposition that people with property will necessarily behave more honestly politically than those without property. On the contrary, a study of the history of these two groups—the have and the have-nots—will show that the have have been guilty of more sins against the classes than the have-nots.

To summarize, it is submitted that political rights should be based upon membership of the State and not upon factors such as the colour of one's skin, the group to which one belongs, the education or the property which one has or possesses. These are to be determined by the State and any member of a State Constitutes to its welfare by his work and in various other ways, and he is therefore entitled to direct representatives in the Council of State, i.e., the right to elect and be elected to any of the governing bodies of his own country. This office does not mean that everybody will be so elected nor that the individual will always exercise his rights; the way other people used to have to do; but if it does mean that he will not be denied the exercise of his right because of factors beyond his control.
While many people would be prepared to subscribe to the application of the principle of full democratic rights, for all in reality what they describe as a homogeneous society, few would be willing to admit that this is equally applicable to multi-racial societies. Any admission is that it is even more necessary for full democratic rights to be applied in a multi-racial society than is the case in a homogeneous society. In a multi-racial society the practice of inter-racial harmony through practical co-operation and contact is an essential desideratum. The contribution for the various racial groups to live off into mutually antagonistic groups is very great, and in such political arrangements for such a society it is necessary to look for a method which will break down inter-racial barriers. Systems such as the representation according to groups of so many representatives for whites, so many for Indians or so many for Africans, while they may look like a step forward and will generally be welcomed as something better than nothing are in fact a step backward because the ultimate effect is to perpetuate racial differences and to prevent people who think they feel alike from breaking through the colour line.

In this respect I submit that the policy of the non-white organisations in South Africa is for the advancement of non-white political organisations. The former take their stand on the policy of inter-racial harmony through practical co-operation and contact. Their interpretation of both the Queen’s letter is to the effect that this country has become what it is accustomed of the joint efforts of the different racial groups represented in the country. They are therefore reasonably opposed to any policy which seeks to deny any section of
the population the benefit of any of the results of such co-operation past and present. In their view the interdependence of the different racial groups which has made South Africa what it is today should be reflected in the political arrangement of the country. They protest the idea that South Africa is either a white man's country or a black man's country. In this respect they offer emphasis the difference between South Africa and other countries in Africa such as the Gold Coast or Nigeria or even Kenya where the black man outnumbered the white man to such an extent that it is ridiculous to talk about these territories being anything other than black man's countries. In South Africa in addition to the white European citizens, Coloured and Coloured are present in such significant numbers that it can be said that the country must gradually be recognized as a multi-racial country.

This implies that no one party should be allowed to occupy a position of dominance over other groups. Slogans such as "South Africa a white man's country" or "Africa for the Africans" while they might be useful for voter-catching purposes on one or other side of the colour line are completely unrealistic when the longterm interests of the country as a whole are taken into account. The equal rights of all sections of the population must be made the basis of national policy. Only in the extent that every particular section recognizes that its rights are fully safeguarded under our national policy will it be prepared to acknowledge search for the similar rights of other sections of the population.

This represents a radical departure from the policy of
apartheid which is based on the assumption that both Africa is a white man's country, in which the actions of the population are expected to be satisfied with mere crumbs as may fall from the white man's table. Indeed the ultimate effect of the policy may be seen in the fact that it gives so far as to discriminate between white and white, so that the white man of the population, especially those who subscribe to the policy of the Nationalist Party, constitute a kind of white elite whom might take precedence over those the rights of those who are not fortunate enough to belong to that group. The same situation of people who might be excluded from an area or sections of the population is applied to the blacks, who are divided into different groups. This is the ridiculous and absurd nature of the policy of apartheid. In order to avoid that a black population is driven necessary to think is the self-determination of South Africa - the setting up of a number of white states with native areas to be kept like that the black people or the security branch of the Police. In this kind of political arrangement one can see a system that has been designed, but a temporary compromise path for the white minority which must lead to ultimate disaster for the country as a whole. For no people - white or non-white - can be expected to acquiesce in a situation in which their rights shall forever be determined for them by one section of the population. It is the realization that the path is not going to be easy for blacks to take political positions to go more telling that they know that the non-white whites in this country will continue to accept the position of complete subordination to which they are subjected today. The people need no agitation to tell about the conditions under which they live. The conditions themselves - their best teachers.
If any multi-racial society is to survive indefinitely, the message of interracial co-operation on the basis of equal rights for all must eventually be handed down to younger generations. Interracial co-operation may appear to be fraught with dangerous possibilities, but that is so because it has never been genuinely tried out in the political sphere. In South Africa where different racial groups have lived together for so long, they have tried out interracial co-operation in many spheres except in the political field. In the field of economic activities, the most refined racial separation will admit that interracial co-operation has proved advantageous for all concerned. In the religious field, black and white have together, without prejudice, the blacks because of their superior numbers in most churches seeking to undermine the white members of other churches, together they have been able to build up vast schemes for their mutual benefit such as the educational facilities for non-whites throughout the country. This has not been achieved without differences of opinion and clashes of one kind or another, over matters of policy or details of practical details. But by direct contact and mutual consultation apparently insurmountable difficulties have been surmounted. It is primarily in the political field that we have achieved the method of interracial co-operation and it is no wonder that it is in this field that we have achieved the smallest measure of success in our common life.

The time has come for us to retrace our steps and to seek to act our shifting states upon a common base. We have tried the method
of suppression and subjugation and it has not solved our problems. White supremacy has been on the saddle for generations and what have we reaped from it—the bitter fruits of racial discrimination, frustration, loss of hope, mutual antagonism. The magic word of apartheid has been waved over us for a decade, but we are no longer nearer freedom from fear, freedom of worship, freedom from want. For over twenty years we have tried the system of separate representation for white Afrikaners and although we are now in the process of unification of Coloureds, there can be no doubt that our heart is not in it because it has yielded the results expected of it either for the Government or for the people concerned. Far too long have we been afraid to put to the test the proposition that equal rights for all would mean natural rights for the whites, salvation for the country and not suicide for the whites. Inequality for the non-whites has not provided security for all, nor even for the whites. It is for this reason to work out the details of hud a policy for equal rights for all can release the energies instead of being the whipped boy of the world. Will the people of South Africa (or shall the people of South Africa) each their country under the leadership of the United Nations? Might when the world knows a multi-racial third world approach and an end of white domination.