

PC 11/17/29/7/4

THURSDAY



My dear Alan,

I have dug up this article by Prof John Gray for you because I thought it might help you to arrive at an assessment of the '48 election, which seems rather hard to come by. I discussed it with Julius Lewing and he remembered this article and recommended it as a possibility. It certainly forecasts the possibility of 1948, although he ~~says~~ it was avoidable by 'good govt'!! He certainly misread his own analyses here. Anyhow these figs prove that the '43 Khaki election and the mass hysteria masked the evolutionary changes wh were going on under the surface.

Another batch from the Mail files will be ready for you by the weekend I hope and I will send them down to you.

Hope the Cape is lovely as I am sure it is. Does this ^{visit} mean that Hoffie is now at the end of its course?

Love to you both. Let me know when you are due in Jhb.

xxx

from Ms

Molly

COMMON SENSE.....AUGUST 1943

HOW THE NATION VOTED BY J. L. GRAY (*Proof of Sociology at Wits. - how dead*)

This nb article gives a critical analyses of the electn result.

.....The UP claims a glorious victory for the coalition govt of Gen Smuts and for the policy of continuing the war. The Nats, on the other ^hnd congratulate themselves on a substantially increased vote ~~and~~ the extinction of the Afrikaner Party and the prospect of an absolute majority at the next electn, based on the rapidly increasing proportion of Afrikans -speaking to English speaking electors. Hoffie has responded by quoting figs. supplied by his party headquarters purporting to show that between 40 and 45% of Afrikns speaking voters still support the UP, and not 25% as Die Trans valer maintains.

The facts are in dispute. Owing to the large number of ^{and recorded} uncontested seats we cannot rely only on the total votes cast in this election. The total pro-war vote has to be estimated. Owing to the electn ~~part~~ betwn the UP, the Labour Pty and the Dominion Pty, it is imposs. to disentangle the "true" party totals in these cases.. Since electn returns do not distinguish betw, Afrkns- and ~~and~~ English speaking voters, one can only guess at their respective nos.

In this article I hv attemptd to make certain estimates and analyse the electn results in the most scientific and conservative manner possible. My calculations differ considerably from those published by the UP and the Nat Press, since I am free from all bias except the prejudice of wishing electoral statistics



to be used and respected better.

The background and the issues can be stated simply. In the Gen Elctn of 1938 the UP, led by Hertzog and Smuts, fought the Nats led by Dr Malan on the issue of racial cooperation v. Afrikaner dominated republicanism, the Labr Pty and the Dominion Pty skirmishing on the outskirts. The UP split in Sept 1939. The electn of 1943 was fought betwn the Nats and a coalition of the Labr Pty, the Dominion Pty and the new UP, the issue being ostensibly the war but in reality much the same as in 1938. That is to say ~~that~~ most of those who seceded from the UP in '39 seem to have thrown in their lot with Dr Malan, while few are likely in the future to vote for a Domn Pty not pledged to cooperate with an Afrikns speaking SA

In July 1943, the electorate numbd 1,329,158 including 46553 Colrds. Of this total 149355 were soldiers. There were contests in 132 ~~contits~~ ^scontits. having an electora/ roll of 1,160,318. The ~~total~~ ^rtotal poll was 873, ~~2658~~ ²⁶⁵⁸ or 75.29%, a smaller proportion than in 1938. If we assume the same percentage poll in the ¹⁸uncontested seats as the average of the areas in wh they are situated, we may say that a ~~Grand total~~ ^{Grand total} of 1,002,377 votes was involved.....60.72% were for pro-war and 39.28% for anti-war candidates.

To these figs must be added estimates of the voting strength of the two factions in the 18 uncontested seats. There were none in the OFS and only one in Natal, where I assumed that 10% of a 67.67% poll shld be allocated to the anti-war vote.

.....~~In~~ all my calculations take into account the area average percentages, both

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both as regards total poll and allocation betwn the opposing^{two} sides. While it is imposs. to compute what part of the pro war vote shld go to each of the coalition parties, I have credited all the anti-war votes to the Malanites.

Thus we have 109,626 prowar and 19,093 anti-war votes estimated for the uncontested seats, giving 82.58% to the former.....

We may conclude that the result of the Gen Elctn of July 1943, which the Prime Minister wanted to be regarded as a referendum on the war issue, was ^a vote of 63.86% for the war policy of the Union and 36.14% against it.

The Coalition Parties polled 61.05%. The Govt, then, may ~~se~~^{be said} to have won a narrow victory, altho they obtained 105 seats in the House of Assembly out of ~~150~~ 150 seats or 70%, a familiar result of the single-constituency system.....

.....Applying the same methods to the analysis of the results of the '38 electn, we discover that in a higher percentage poll 62.12% voted for the parties of racial cooperation i.e. the UP and Labour and 37.88% for Nats and Dominionites.

If we transfer the Dominion^s Party vote to the former group, we reach the interesting conclusion that the results of the ~~the~~ elections of '38 and '43 were almost identical. The underlying political complexion of White SA has hardly changed at all, as a result of the war. The war in fact is a side issue.

On my estimates, there were 176,098 additional effective voters in '43, compared with '38, the great majority probably young. We do not know how they voted for the extra voters came in part from some who voted for Hertzog in 1938. ^{But} there is no escaping the inference that a large part of the new electorate voted for Dr Malan.

Similarly, we do not know officially how many soldiers voted or how they voted. If the soldiers voted overwhelmingly for the Coalition Parties, as is the general impression, then the proportion of civilians is ^{necessarily} ~~approximately~~ greater.

Both the UP and the HP have increased their total votes, the former by 81,548, the latter by 70,590 (probably an underestimate). But whereas the ratio of UP to HP votes in 1938 was 184:100, in 1943 it had fallen to 160:100.....

.....The proportion of ^{the} Afrikaners speaking electorate ^{who} voted for the Coalition Parties can only be very roughly estimated, on the basis of rather tenuous assumptions. If we assume ^{that} (1) the proportion of Afrikaners speaking to English-speaking persons ²¹ ~~21~~ yrs and over is now abt 120:100, that (2) this proportion held among the 1,002,377 voters in 1943 (less 30,171 Coloured), and that (3) all English-speaking Africans and all Coloureds voted for the pro-war candidates, then there are left 168,065 votes to be allocated to the Afrikaners speaking electorate making 31.69% of the latter. (In 1938, assuming a ratio of 115:100 Afrikaners to English, the corresponding figure was 40.43%). This estimate is nearer to the Transvaler's than to Mr Hofmeyer's. If some English-speaking and Coloured voters voted for the anti-war candidates and the proportion of English to Afrikaners is higher than 120:100, then this percentage will be greater. We do not know.

DIE TRANSVALER has tried to argue that as the younger age groups, who are increasingly Afrikaners speaking, reach voting age the Nats will rapidly improve their voting strength and ultimately obtain a majority. But if one third of the Afrikaners speaking electorate continues to vote with the racial co-operation parties (as I have

called them), then this will not take place until Afrikaners over 21 outnumber the rest by 3:1. Before that happens much else may have happened. But the Nats have real ground for jubilation. Their chief reason for optimism is the falling ration of support for their opponents among Afrikaners..

On the whole, deserting statistics for the conclusion, I feel that the Gen Election of 1943 is not encouraging to the present Govt or to the UP, but that position, while deteriorating, is not irretrievable. It can only be retrieved by extremely vigilant and efficient government in the next five critical years.

~~With~~ Whether that will be forthcoming is another matter, with which I am not concerned here.

RDM...MAY 31, 1948

MALAN WILL FORM NEW CABINET TOMORROW

EXPECTED TO BORADCAST LETTER TOX THE NATION

.....An atmosphere of Nationalism pervades Pretoria and in the streets and shops there have been demands by the enthusiastic supporters of the new Govt. that they must be addressed only in Afrikaans. English they say is no longer the language of the Capital.

"Een land, een taal, een taal" (one land one people one language...my comment fascinating that in those a paper like the RDM thought it necessary to give a translation of a simple slogan like this) is echoing across the country from public platforms in Bloemfontein.....During this session (the Govt's) small majority will dictate a policy of appeasement. The Nat Govt will only show its hand if and when it increases its Parliamentary representation.

The decks are now cleared at the Union Bldgs for the new regime and the Nat ministers and their wives will soon take up residence at Bryntirion....

MAY 31

NATS PLAN VICTORY MARCH FOR MALAN IN PRTIA

.....It is expected that cars and a horse commando will take part in the procession. Students from the Pretoria Univ who staged a victory demonstration on Friday am, are also expected to take part.

MAY 31 contd..

Units of the Voortrekker Movement have been warned to stand by in case they are needed to join the march.

The Afrikaans equivalent of the Order of St John - the Noodhulpliga- is also expecting to ~~take part~~ be called on to take part in the demonstration.....

Dr Malan's car, decorated with a huge Vierkleur, will travel in the centre of the procession, wh local horseman will lead.

University students planned a triumphal chair in wh Dr Malan wd be carried thro o Poria bu this suggestion has not found favour with Nat Party organisers, who fear practical difficulties.

Vierkleur flags have mad their appearance in Pta.....

It cd nt be confirmed whether Mr Havenga will take part n the demonstration but it is believed that Mr. J. G. Strydom, Nat Party leader in the Tvl and recently electd Nat MP's will be in the forefront.

LEADER MAY 31

(1)

THE LEADER IS STILL NEEDED

In high dudgeon so Homer tell us, great Achilles retired to his tents and his ships. A grievous injury had been inflicted on him; therefore he wd take no further part in the combat.

"What joy for Prima and for Prima's sons!" exclaimed Nestor; and, indeed, as he had forseen much suffering came to the Chief's own folowers thro' his withdrawal

from the field.

The ancient story comes back to us as we consider the new and ~~xxxx~~ dangerous turn in the affairs of our own country. After years of devoted service the Leader has been subjected to the most unjustified injury by the nation he led. His party has been and, at a time when any constituency ought to have been honoured to ~~xxxx~~elect him, he has been rejected by that of his own choice. Naturally he is hurt and indignant; it wd be incomprehensible if he were not.

But that does not mean that he is now entitled to retire offended from the field. On the contrary his presence has never been more necessary. The forces he has led are shaken they do not know just what they shld do next, or what new plan of campaign they must follow in the altered circumstances. Above all, they need immediately some words of encouragement; some praise for those who did well even in the general catastrophe, and a strong assurance that the fight will still be carried on with the utmost determination. They expect the Leader to be about them, re-forming their broken ranks, heartening them and seeing that the rearguard action wh will now be necessary is fought with all possible skill and vigour; for, as Dr Colin ~~xxx~~ Steyn has put it "the fight has only jst begun."

Let that is not happening. There is no message; no encouragement; in fact, reprot has it that Gen Smuts intends to refuse the safe seats that have been offered to him and will not attend the next session of Parliament. We trust most sincerely that this is not his intention; for if it is, and if he carries it out, his weakened

party will be most seriously imperilled. Were the Leader (note the capital) to go the strong opposition which, in view of its present numbers, the UP shld be able to offer, cd easily disappear....

JUNE ...1

....The Nats have now decided not to hold a procession to welcome Dr Malan....They will give a public reception only after he has been installed as PM and his Cabinet has been sworn in....

MALAN WILL DISSOLVE THE SENATE SAID THE TRANSVALER

.....it is true, says the paper, that the present Senate? wh is controlled by the UP cd make government by the Nat party very difficult. The Nat Govt wh assumed office in 1924 had sufficient experience of a similar situation, as the South African Party at that time controlled the Senate, wh was elected in 1921.....

"After their brilliant victory at the polls, it cannot be doubted that the two national-minded parties will gain majorities in the Councils of the Cape and the Tvl. In the Gen Electn those parties won by 28 of the 55 Cape Prov. seats and 36 of the 66 Tvl seat.

"When Members of Parliament and provincial Councillors meet to choose new members of the Senate it can be expected that the two National-minded parties will choose the

MALAN WILL DISSOLVE THE SENATE.....contd

the majority of senators to represent the three provinces.....The new Senate will hold the same views as Parliament....

JUNE 2

MALAN ARRIVES IN PTA

"S.A. BELONGS TO US ONCE MORE" SAYS MALAN

"SA belongs to us once more" sd DR.M addressing a crowd wh had gathered to greet him outside Pta station.

Dr M who was intod as "the Rt Hon the Prime M. of SA" said: "We have had a ~~xxi~~ triumphant journey from the Cape to Pta. Night and day at every little station and siding people gathered to wish my wife and me success. But on these occasions my wife sd to me & 'Greater events await us at Pta.'

"When Mr Havenga met me at the station he sd: 'This we have never seen before.' I agree with him. The outcome of the action has been a miracle. No one expected this to happen. It exceeded our most optimistic expectations.

The Afrikaner volk has known days of frustration and dissension, but never since Union has national-minded Afrikanerdom had such a victory. Never before has the Afrikaner volk been as united as today.

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"We national-minded Afrikaners are happy because we have with us English-speaking S.Africans as well.

"Afrikanerdom has lived under a dark cloud and the future has been black for many years. We feared for the future of our children. But the cloud has disappeared and the sun is shining once more.

"In the past we felt like ^{or}strangers in our own country, but today SA belongs to us once more. For the first time since Union SA is our own. May God grant that it always remains our own."

JUNE 2

NATS WANT S.A.P.C. TO STOP RELAYING BBC AFRIKAANS NEWS SERVICE.

The SAB must realise there has been a change of government ~~says~~... "says the Transvaaler in an acrimonious editorial.

".....and ^{that} the radio may no longer be used as an instrument for the dissemination of political propaganda....."

"During the war the servile radio corporation struck on the idea to feed Afrikaners on propaganda from London.....Nats will not forget that the person responsible for the news service once referred to Dr M's party of racial hatred," the article continues.

".....It has become a matter of vital necessity that the world shld be better informed abt the new SAGovt."