

sou ons toekoms as 'n nasie en 'n beskawing gewees het as Hertzog se politiek getriomfeer het, en as dit nie vernietig werd nie deur die standpunt wat ons ingeneem het en op besliste wyse in Oktober 1920, opgevolg het?

Tien jaar gelede, toe die Groot Oorlog uitgebreek het en die Rebelle in hierdie land gevolg het, het Generaal Hertzog (teneinde, soos hy erken het, die vertroue van sy republikeinse volgelinge te behou) geretireer na sy tent en geweier om die woord te spreek wat vrede kon beteken het. Hy, die groot patriot, het die land aan sy eie lot oorgelaat. Wat sou met Suid-Afrika gebeur het as Generaal Botha en ek 'n soortgelyke lyn gevolg het en die Rebelle toegelaat het om tot 'n algemene burgeroorlog te ontwikkel? Sou Suid-Afrika nie die kerkhof geword het van sy bevolking en van al ons verwagtinge nie, in plaas van die trotse en gelyke posisie wat hy vandag inneem onder die volke van die wereld? Tenminste een van diegenes wat die Rebelle gelei het en by die vyand aangesluit het in die Groot Oorlog sal 'n lid van Genl. Hertzog se kabinet wees en 'n kollega van Kolonel Creswell as die Vatmekaar aan die bewind kom.

Vyf jaar gelede het Generaal Hertzog aan die hoof van 'n nasionalistiese deputasie na die groot Moondhede gegaan om te vra om die ontbinding van die Unie van Suid-Afrika en die herstel van die Transvaal en die Vrystaat na die status wat hulle vóór die Anglo-Boere Oorlog geniet het. Wat sou gebeur het as daardie verregaande dwaasstreek toegelaat werd om plaas te vind? Deur daardie daad het hy homself 'n vyand verklaar van 'n verenigde Suid-Afrika wat hy tevore tevergeers probeer vernietig het deur sy twee-stroom politiek en sy houding in die Rebelle en in die Groot Oorlog. Dit is die man wat nou vorentoe kom en aanspraak maak op die Eerste Ministerskap van 'n verenigde Suid-Afrika. Sal die volk van Suid-Afrika daardie eis toestaan?

WILDE, VERNIELENDE PROPAGANDA.

Vier jaar gelede het Generaal Hertzog, teneinde sy partyvre, na sulke nederlae, aan die brand te hou, homself aan die hoof geplaas van 'n veldtog van afskeiding van die Britse Ryk en het hy 'n rasende en tierende propaganda deur die hele land aangevang en hartstogte tot 'n koorshitte opgevoer. Wat sou gebeur het as ons die uitdaging nie aangeneem het nie, as ons hierdie politiek toegelaat het om sy wilde vaart te gaan tot die ondergang van Suid-Afrika, tot die opbreking van sy volk in rasse-partye, miskien tot burgeroorlog en oorlog met die Britse Ryk? Ons word nou vertel deur Kolonel Creswell dat dit alles 'n begroting was, dat die volk deur my betower werd, en dat daar nooit enige sesessie-veldtog was nie. Ek laat daardie punt ook aan die oordeel van die volk oor wat nie so maklik en so plotseling politieke kwinkslae slaan as die galante Kolonel nie.

GEEN REG OM EERSTE MINISTER TE WEES.

Dames en here, ek het gewag gemaak van foute in die oordeel en politiek van Generaal Hertzog, so ernstig en so vreeslik, so langdurend dat ek nie kan sien hoe die volk van Suid-Afrika dit kan vergeef nie. Hulle is onvergeeflik in enige leier wat aanspraak maak op 'n posisie waar hy die lotgevalle van hierdie land kan beheers. Hulle is inderdaad 'n dodelike sonde teen Suid-Afrika. Dit is nie klein, nietige sake van besonderhede soos die medisynbelasting of die tabakbelasting nie, of die ander besware wat teen my ingebring word. Hulle raak die wortels van ons eenheid, van ons toekoms as 'n nasie en 'n land.

GEEN BEROU. HERTZOG ONBESKAAM.

Wat erger is; daar was geen berou aan die kant van Genl. Hertzog nie. Hy bly sonder te blik of te bloos. Hy beroem homself op die rol wat hy gespeel het, poseer gedurig as 'n martelaar. Dit is beter so dan dat S.-Afrika 'n martelaar sou word, die slagoffer van sy politiek. Nee, daar is geen berou, geen erkenning van foute, maar, in plaas 'n verwaande aanspraak om baas in Suid-Afrika te wees op grond van sy loopbaan in die verlede. As in die grote toets wat tans in die land plaasvind, as in die stille ondersoek van harte wat aan plaasvind is in die stede en op die veld oor hierdie groot land, die eis van Generaal Hertzog toegestaan word, dan sê ek, dames en here, Suid-Afrika sal sy eie vonnis uitspreek, hy sal ontrou wees aan sy eie skitterende verlede en hy sal deur sy eie opsetlike daad homself in 'n posisie stort, waaruit die wyste en die sterkste nie in staat mag wees om hom uit te help nie. Ek val nie Generaal Hertzog se persoonlike karakter aan nie, wat bo berisping is, ek wens nie sy persoonlike bekwaamheid in twyfel te trek nie, maar ek sê met opset, dat sy afgelope politieke loopbaan van die aard is dat Suid-Afrika hom nie as sy Eerste Minister kan kies nie, sonder om ontrou aan sigself te wees en sonder die ernstigste gevaar te loop vir die toekoms. Nie alleen my politieke verlede maar net soveel, ja nog meer, is die verlede van Generaal Hertzog die vernaamste stryd-vraag van hierdie algemene verkiesing. Ek het geen persoonlike wens om Eerste Minister van hierdie land te bly vir één dag langer as wat dit van my verlang word nie. Ek sou my land, as 'n gewone man in die geleedere, met net soveel welwillendheid dien. Ek durf nog verlang om my eie werk in die steek te laat. En ek gevoel en geloof van harte dat met Generaal Hertzog as Eerste Minister en die kollegas wat hy in sy Regering sal hê alles wat ek en andere in staat was om tot stand te bring vir hierdie land gedurende hierdie geslag in die ernstigste gevaar gewikkel sal word, 'n gevaar wat gemaklik kan ontwikkel tot 'n onherroeplike ramp. Gelukkig is dit nie vir my maar vir die volk van hierdie land om te besluit.

ONS POLITIEKE VERLEDE. SKERPE AANVAL OP DIE VERBOND.

Daar is nog een aanklag wat ek teen Generaal Hertzog maak, en ek maak dit nog sterker teen Kolonel Creswell. Hulle doen hulle albei vóór as politieke puriste. Hulle beskou my altwee as 'n politieke opportunist, wat nie veel aan beginsels geheg is nie, en hulle maak daarop aanspraak dat hulle groot manne van beginsel is. Menere; hulle is veroordeel deur hulle eie Verdrag. As daardie Verdrag staan sal ons nie langer die publieke sake en politieke lewe van Suid-Afrika in ooreenstemming met beginsels behandel nie. Ek beweer dat die Verdrag 'n onreine, ongepaste ding is, dat dit 'n duidelike negering en bespotting van alle politieke beginsels is en 'n demoralisasie en vernedering van ons openbare lewe is. Die Vatmekaar is in der waarheid 'n sameswering wat in die duisternis uitgebroei is, en sonder die voorkennis en toestemming van die gewone lede van die twee partye wat daardeur geaffekteer word. Dit is 'n eleksie-set, bedoel om die ware oordeel van die land te verduister by hierdie verkiesing deur mense van die mees teenoorgestelde en strydige sienswyse te laat saamstem asof hulle dit eens was. As hierdie set slaag en die eleksie gewen word sal die Vatmekaar die nuwe instrument van die Regering in hierdie land word en sal dit voortgaan om ons politiek te demoraliseer en ons openbare lewe te verneder. Dit sal lyk of die sesessioniste en lojaliste saamwerk terwyl hulle werklik probeer om mekaar die loef af te steek. Die Sosialisme van die stede sal kop onder één mus saamwerk

met die individualisme en konserwatisme van die platteland.

GEHEIME ONDERHANDELINGS.

Niemand sal weet waar hy is of op watter beginsels of politiek die land geregeer word nie; alles sal gedoen word by wyse van private ooreenkoms en skikking waarvan die gewone burger ongetwyfeld die slagoffer sal wees. Ek noem dit 'n onsuivere en ongesonde politiek. Dit is nie alleen 'n afwyking van alle helder omlynde beginsels waarop ons openbare sake behoort gedrywe te word nie, maar uiteindelik sal dit deur die stelsel van kompromie en skikking of kwansale en inruiling van een belang teen die ander 'n instrument van politieke tirannie en korrupsie word. Die leiers van die Arbeiders-Party is ten gunste van die Verbond omdat dit hulle in staat sal stel om die Sosialistiese leer na die huise van die platteland te bring. Die Nasionalistiese leiers is ten gunste van die Verbond omdat dit hulle van die nodige stemme voorsien om aan die bewind te kom, en vir wat anders gee hulle om? Ek vra die oordeel van die land om hierdie taktiek en maneuvres te verdoem, wat oneerlik is, boosaardig en uiteindelik 'n volslae onverskilligheid en minagting vir politieke beginsels en gemeenskaplike politieke eerlikheid teweeg sal bring.

SKONE POLITIEK BEPAALD NODIG.

Laat ons hierdie eleksie 'n stryd vir suiwere politiek maak en vir die behandeling van die sake van hierdie land op duidelike politieke beginsels. As die Vatmekaar nou verwerp word sal gewetelose politisie in die toekoms tweekeer dink voordat hulle weer probeer om die stem en die wense van die volk deur eleksie-sette en uitvlugte te versmoor.

DIE GEWELDIG GROOT VRAAGSTUK.

Dames en Here, ek het klaar gepraat. Tenslotte wil ek julle vra om my weer met julle vertrou te verkeer as julle verteenwoordiger, soos julle in die vyf afgelope verkiesings gedaan het. En ek wil die land vra om vir die Suidafrikaanse Party te stem op grond van haar werk en haar verlede en op grond van die konstruktiewe program wat ek vanaand aan julle voorgelê het namens die Party. Ek vra aan die Volk om te sê dat hulle nie ontrou gaan word aan hulle eie verlede nie, maar dat hulle voorwaarts gaan met volle

vertroue in hulleself en in die beginsels en die politiek waardeur hulle in die verlede sukses behaal het. Ek vra aan U om te sê dat in die toekoms, soos in die verlede, hierdie land nie so'n gevaarlike leier as Generaal Hertzog kan bekostig nie. Ek vra U om te sê dat die maatreels waartoe die Nasionale Party gebonde is, nie in die belang van die land is nie, dat groot verwarring en onsekerheid sal veroorsaak en die finansiële herstel en industriële vooruitgang van die land ernstiglik sal vertraag word. En ek vra U afkeuring te betuig van die Verbond tussen Nasionaliste en Arbeiders en te stem vir suiwere politiek, duidelike beginsels en platvorm en die handhawing van 'n hoë standaard van moraliteit en eerlikheid in die openbare lewe. Dit is die ontsaglike vraagstukke wat julle moet beslis in hierdie eleksie.

Alles kom neer op die enkele groot vraagstuk, wat sedert die Unie ons politiek beheers 't, nl.: Gaan ons 'n groot Suidafrikaanse nasie opbou, onderling verenig en in die wereld gerespekteer word? Laat in hierdie verkiesing ons strydkreet wees: Die Suidafrikaanse nasie Eerste en weg met alle party-akkoordele en alle seksie- of klasse-belange.

Die toespraak hierin opgenome is 'n volledige verslag van die wat Generaal Smuts gehou het in Pretoria Wes, op Woensdagaand, die 23ste April, 1924, en kan beskou word als die S.A. Party Manifest vir die Algemene Verkiesing van 1924.



Algemene Sekretaris
Suid Afrikaanse Party.

28 April, 1924.

DIE HERTZOGTOESPRAKE

DEEL 4
April 1918–Junie 1924

Saamgestel deur 'n redaksiekomitee bestaande uit
Prof. F.J. du T. SPIES, Prof. D.W. KRÜGER en
Prof. J.J. OBERHOLSTER



Perskor-uitgewery

70. Toespraak: Aanval op genl. J. C. Smuts en program van aksie van NP — Smithfield, 3 Mei 1924.¹

Meneer die Voorsitter,
Vrindinne en Vrinde,

Die rede van my besoek aan u op hierdie tydstop, is u waarskynlik almal reeds bekend. Skielik, hoewel nie onverwag, is die Smuts-Regering tot die ontdekking gekom, dat dit nie langer die vertroue van die volk geniet nie.

Die misleiding en valse voorwendsels waarmee dit in 1921 in die lewe geroep was, het aan die Regering nooit die reg gegee om aanspraak te maak op sodanige vertroue van die sy van die kiesers.

Onder die omstandighede was daar dan ook geen verwondering oor die feit, dat reeds by die eerste tussenverkiesinge duidelik blyk gegee was van die ontevredenheid van die volk met die Regering; sodat die meerderheid van 24 waarmee die Smuts-Regering in 1921 begin was, spoedig gesak het tot 'n meerderheid van 8.

'n Meerderheid van 8 in 'n Huis van 134 lede, is ewewel geen al te geringe meerderheid vir 'n Regering om die belange van die land behoorlik te behartig nie. Dog niteenstaande die aansienlike meerderheid waaroor hy nog vandag beskik, het Gen. Smuts besluit om die Parlement te ontbind en na die stembus te gaan.

Dat die besluit van Gen. Smuts louter sou toe te skrywe wees aan 'n skielik ontwaking by hom en sy Ministeriële kollegas van die feit, dat hul nie langer die vertroue van die volk besit nie, sal wel niemand in erns aanneem nie, hoeseer Gen. Smuts ook probeer om dit te doen geloof.

So 'n mate van gewetensvolle fyngevoeligheid vir wat betaam en wat nie betaam nie, oortref enigiets wat ons vir sover van Gen. Smuts gewoon was te aanskou, en blyk ook nergens uit sy optrede as tans weer by hierdie stryd reeds aan die dag gelê.

Gen. Smuts weet dat hy nooit die vertroue van sy kiesers besit het nie

Die feit is, dat die Smuts-Regering vanaf hul ontstaan in 1921 daar bewus van was dat hul nooit die vertroue van hul kiesers verdien of besit het nie. Hul wis maar al te seer hoe die oorwinning in 1921 behaal was deur valse voorstellinge en misleidende beloftes; deur opsettlike belasting van hul opponente en opruiing van rasse-gevoel by die Engelssprekende.

Wat Gen. Smuts se metodes en bestrydings taktiek was in 1921 en wat dit die land gekos het

Die roekelose optrede van Gen. Smuts by die 1921 verkiesinge, soals ook by die voorafgaande van 1920, het die land veel gekos in geld, maar nog meer in bloed. Daar hy, blykens sy manifes op 24 April aan die volk bekend gemaak, besig is om sig te bedien van dieselfde metodes en bestrydingstaktiek wat vir hom in 1921 die oorwinning behaal het, maar terselfder tyd vir die volk 'n skroeiende ramp was, so sal u my verskoon als ek hier korteliks die aandag vestig op wat die metodes en taktiek van Gen. Smuts in 1921 was.

Gen. Smuts het geen besef van wat van hom vereis word weens sy hoë en verantwoordelike posisie

Gen. Smuts is Eerste Minister van die Unie, en als sulks behoort hy 'n besef te hê van die verantwoordelikheid wat op hom rus weens die hoë posisie. Dog is niks so kensketsend van die man as sy blykbare gevoelloosheid vir alle waardigheid en verantwoordelikheid, waar dit geld die bevrediging van sy eersug en die versekering van staatsgesag in eie hande.

Die egoïstiese verwaandheid wat straal uit haas elke lyn van sy pas verskene manifes, is niks meer dan wat ons reeds vir jare lang van hom gewoon is; maar juis omdat dit so iets aaledaags is, loop ons die gevaar om die noodlottigheid vir ons als volk van die verwaandheid, oor die hoof te sien.

In hoeverre die verwaandheid hom dikwels lei tot 'n gebrek aan besef van sy verantwoordelikheid als staatshoof, is 'n ieder duidelik uit die rol wat hy in 1919 gespeel het te Parys als *lawyer* by die vredes-konferensie, waar hy, uit louter eersug om als regsgeleerde te kan uitblink, gereed was om sy verantwoordelikheid als afgevaardigde staatsman van die Unie van sig weg te werp as iets van geen betekenis.

Sy oorlogsverklaring teen Frankryk van 1923

Dog meer kensketsend is nog die ligsinnigheid waarmee hy in die loop van 1923 Suid Afrika gebring het tot aan die rand van 'n ander bloedige oorlog nl. met Frankryk.

Die geheime van sy optrede in die City Hall, Kaapstad, vroeg in die jaar; en daarna weer te Bloemfontein ter geleentheid van die S.A.P. Kongres, sal eers later deur die geskiedenis geopenbaar word. Dog dit bly 'n daad so roekeloos onverantwoordelik en so ongeregvaardig teenoor die volk van die Unie, dat dit genoegsaam dien te wees om hom vir altoos als Eerste Minister uit die Regering van die land te wees.

Sy optrede in verband met die staking van 1922

Nie minder onverantwoordelik was die optrede van Gen. Smuts in verband met die staking van 1922. Sy gedrag als Eerste Minister by die gebeurtenis was die van 'n kind wat 'n vuur doen aansteek in die nabyheid van 'n hooi-mied, in die stille verwagting dat dit aan brand sal vlieg en hom die genot sal verskaf van dit te mag uitblus met sy water-emmer.

Volgens die erkenning het Gen. Smuts lydelik staan aanky tot dat die vuur van geweld was ontsteek, om daarna met nog groter geweld die vuur te kan uitblus.

Hoe steek nie sy verantwoordelike gevoel af by dié van 'n Lloyd-George, 'n Baldwin en 'n Ramsay McDonald. Wat sou van Engeland geword het als *die* manne, onder nog veel groter aanleiding daartoe, die metodes en taktiek van Gen. Smuts gebruik het? Men mag hom oor sy optrede hier van uit Engeland roem, maar geen Eerste Minister sal dit durf waag om *soke* praktyke in Engeland toe te pas.

Gen. Smuts se optrede in verband met Rhodesië

Dit sou te ver lei om die tallose gevalle aan te haal wat getuig van die onverantwoordelikheid van Gen. Smuts waardeur hy telkemale verleid is geword om sig te stel bo alle wet. Sy optrede in verband met die inlywing van Rhodesië is ewewel 'n uitstekende voorbeeld van sy gevoelloosheid *waar* dit gaan om die vraag of hy sal aanbly of nie as staatshoof. Om sy posisie als Eerste Minister by die volgende verkiesing te verseker, het hy sig gereed betoon om enige miljoene staatsgeld op die Gecharterde Maatskappy te verkis, en die Unie 'n ander 20 miljoen skuld op die hals te haal.

Nog van waardigheid als staatshoof van die Unie, nog van gewetensvolle betragting van sy plig, was daar enig blyk die moment toe hy sig in vooruitsig had gestel die aanwinst van 'n ander tiental ondersteuners om hom in sy heerskappy te bevestig.

Gen. Smuts se bestrydingsmetode van 1921

Dog laat my toe om Gen. Smuts sy bestrydingsmetodes by die eleksie van 1921 nou wat naderby bloot te lê.

Soos reeds gesê is hy tans weer besig om sig daarvan te bedien. Ek het reeds gesê dat die eleksie deur hom gewen was, deur valse voorstellinge en misleidende beloftes; deur opsettlike belasting van sy teenstanders en deur opruiing van rasse gevoel by Engelssprekendes. Ek wil daarvan enige herinneringe by u opwek. U sal u herinner hoe in sy eleksiemaniestas van 1920, Gen. Smuts geskel het op die Nasionale Party en op die Nasionale as rasse-haters met 'n politiek van rassehaat. Die doel daarvan was ons almal duidelik:— Gen. Smuts was vas besluit om die Engelssprekende te bevooroordeel teen ons om sodoende te verhoed dat enige toenadering sou plaasvind tussen Engelssprekende en Hollandssprekende Afrikanerdom. Tot op hierdie oomblik is hy nog steeds besig met dieselfde oogmerk en trag hy nog steeds om deur die opruiing van rasse-gevoel by die een seksie van die bevolking, die twee seksies in vyandskap en verbittering teen elkaar op te rui.

Hierdie selfde taktiek, wat niks anders beoog dan om hom die oorwinning by die stembus te besorg, is ook in 1921 deur hom gevolg. Volgens Gen. Smuts sou daar vir Engelssprekende in Suid-Afrika geen plek wees onder 'n Nasionale Regering.

Vir die Eerste Minister van 'n land om so 'n growwe beskuldiging te maak teen byna die helfte, so nie meer, van die blanke bevolking aan sy gesag onderworpe, sou ongehoord wees selfs als sou daar rede toe wees. Maar waar die beskuldiging van alle grond ontbloot is en haar enige steun vind in die poging om deur misleiding sig in sy posisie als Eerste Minister te handhaaf,

daar verdien *die* persoon gewis nie minder dan die diepste minagting van ons almal. Tog vorm dit nogmaals die grondtoon vandag van Gen. Smuts se Manifes.

Die beloftes van voorspoed en vrede in 1921

Om die volk nog verder af te skrik teen die Nasionaliste werd daar wyd en sydestyds die fabel versprei, dat indien die Nasionaliste aan bewind van sake sou kom kapitaal dadelik die land sou verlaat, terwyl onder 'n Smuts-Regering geld sou instroom by die miljoene.

Daar Gen. Smuts weer eens, soos uit sy manifes blyk, begerig is om hierdie fabel ingang te doen vind by die volk, sy dit my vergun om daarop te wys wat werklik gebeur het na die eleksies van 1921.

Noueliks was die manne, wat al die voorspoed en miljoene sou besorg, aan die regering, of 'n golf van depressie, geldskaarste en rampspoed was oor ons, soals nog nooit tevore gekend. Duisende wat uitsiende was naar die voorspoed wat die Smuts-Regering sou bring, en honderde wat geloof geheg het aan die voorspelling van Gen. Smuts en op grond daarvan oorgegaan het tot grondkoop en ander onderneminge is dadelik daarna naar die insolvensie-hof. Ambtenare wat 'n paar maande tevore hul stem op Gen. Smuts uitgebring het op grond van sy mooie beloftes, is skielik uit die diens gesit, of moes lydelik toesien dat hul salarisse ingekort word.

Dit was die voorspoed wat die veel-belowende Smuts-Regering ons gebring het, met nog 'n verdere verhoging van belastinge!

Gen. Smuts gee voor dat hy die volk gewaarsku het teen die komende depressie, en dat dit alles moes toegeskrywe word aan die nasleepsel van die Europese oorlog. Geen een van beide is waar.

Gen. Smuts en sy Regering het geen enkel ernstige poging aangewend om die volk te waarsku; en toe ek in 1920 gewaag het om van hier uit waar ek nou staan, die volk die nodige waarskuwing te gee, toe was Gen. Smuts die eerste om die waarskuwing te doen verydel en spottend naar my te verwys as die „ekonoom van Smithfield”.

Dit is mooglik dat Gen. Smuts ergens woorde gebesig het wat als 'n waarskuwing mag beskou word. Maar waar en hoe? Gen. Smuts het veel van Reinaard die Vos in hom, en een van Reinaard se voorsorgs-maatreels was om altoos 'n agterdeur daarop na te hou waar hy kon uitvlug sodra dit vir hom te nou word. Was die waarskuwing van Gen. Smuts ook so 'n agterdeur?

Wat betref die bewering van Gen. Smuts dat ons ellendige ekonomiese toestand vanaf 1921 moet toegeskrywe word aan die Europese oorlog, die is slegs gedeeltelik waar, en wel vir die mindere deel. Vir die grootste deel is dit te wyte aan verkwisting en onbekwaamheid van Regerings-wege. Honderde duisende ponde is verkwis op die aankoop van onbruikbare gronde; nog honderde duisende op mislukte landnedersettings op onbekwame wyse beproefd; dewyl miljoene verspild is op irrigasie werke, en nogmaals miljoene op 'n halfhartige en onoordeelkundige onderstandswerke en almoese.

Werkelik, dit van 'n man met 'n onverbeterlike optimisme om sig so tevrede te doen voorkom met sy knoeiwerk, als wat Gen. Smuts dit doen met die van sy Regering.

Die fabel van vrede

Dog wat betref Gen. Smuts se eleksie beloftes van 1921, word die kroon gespan deur die *vrede* wat hy so luidkeels gewaarborg het indien hy sou triomfeer by die stembus. U sal u nog herinner die bloedvergieting wat deur hom voorspel was indien die Nasionaliste aan die roer sou kom.

Hy en sy Regering sou die vrede bewaar en die volk hoed teen bloedvergieting. Hoe het hy sy belofte nagekom?

Binne twaalf maande na sy optreding moes die bodem van die Unie nogeens besprenkel word met die bloed van haar onderdane. Vir die vierde keer binne die korte tydperk van 9 jaar moes Gen. Smuts sy toevlug neem tot wapengeweld, en wel vir die merendeel teen manne wat hom pas aan bewind van sake geplaas het. En welk 'n skouspel het hy ons te aanskou gegee! — Masjien-gewere, kanonne, vliegtuie en bomme; — man, vrou en kind; — skuldige en onskuldige, — geen onderskeid!

Dit was die bloedvergieting waarteen die Smuts-Regering die land sou behoed en vrywaar; *dit* is wat deur Gen. Smuts *vrede* genoem word. So dus is sy beloftes van Feb. 1921 in Maart 1922 vervul geword.

Men kan sig noueliks voorstel, dat 'n man die sig getoon het so weinig

waarde te heg aan sy beloftes, weer eens die stoutmoedigheid sou hê om aanspraak te maak op die vertroue van die volk wat hy so gruwelik mislei het. Dog soos reeds gesê, Gen. Smuts het veel van Reinaard die Vos in hom, en ook hier toon die geskiedenis dat dit meer sulke manne ken.

Dit mag grootheid beteken, maar dan gaan *die* grootheid tog gepaard met 'n mate van onvertroubaarheid waarin alleen die dwaas vertroue kan stel.

Gen. Smuts se manifes van hede

Gen. Smuts se manifes vir hierdie eleksie moet, wat die inhoud betref, verdeel word in *vier dele*:

1. Verdagmakery en opruiing van gemoedere teen sy teenstanders.
2. 'n Beroep om vir hom te stem op grond van sy verlede als Eerste Minister.
3. Wat hy van voornemens is om te doen als hy weer aan bewind van sake kom; en
4. Sy beloftes, of wat hy van voornemens is om te gee als hy weer Eerste Minister word.

Wat betref die eerste, verdagmakery en opruiing, daar betoon hy sig nog dieselfde meester van 1921, spelende nogmaals dieselfde spel. Na wat ek reeds daarvan gesê het, kan ek hom dus hier veilig aan sy lot oorlaat, vertrouende op die ervaringsvolle gesegde van die groot Amerikaanse staatsman, dat selfs 'n Gen. Smuts nie in staat is om 'n volk vir altoos te kan mislei nie.

Sy histeriese aanval op die ooreenkoms deur ons getref met die Arbeiders, sou miskien als 'n nuwe afskrik gogga 'n paar woorde van my verdien het, als eie-belang nie so klaarblyklik die oorsaak van al sy sorg en kommer was nie.

Ek is baie jammer vir Gen. Smuts dat die byl wat hom moet onthoof so aaklig deur hom gevind word, maar hy behoort sig daarmee te troos dat hy self die uitvinder en aanbeveler daarvan was.

Selfs 'n Robespierre moes sig iets dergeliks laat getroos.

Gen. Smuts se beroep op sy verlede

Wat aangaan sy beroep op sy verlede, dit lyk my al te baie op die wanhoops-poging van die beskuldigde wat geen ander verdedigings grond het nie. Dog *wat die* verlede is, het ek reeds korteliks gemeld en ons hoef daar nie langer by stil te staan nie.

Gen. Smuts se program van aksie en nuwe beloftes

Ons kom tot iets meer prakties maar tegelykertyd ook meer amusant, wanneer ons nou oorgaan tot 'n betragting van Gen. Smuts se program van aksie, of van wat hy voorgee van voornemens te wees om te doen en te gee als hy weer als Eerste Minister sou optree.

U was seker net so bly als ek om uit gen. Smuts se ~~manifes te verneem~~ dat die *lug nou skoon* was en dat hy sou weier om langer *stil te sit* en niks te doen nie, als hy weer aan die Regering sou kom. Dit is inderdaad braaf van Gen. Smuts om so 'n belofte te doen na soveel jare van slaap op die Regeringskus-sens. Ons kan ons nou voorstel hoe Koning Barbarossa die wereld sal laat dreun als hy eendag die geluk mag hê om te ontwaak van die klipstoel waarop, volgens die legende, hy nou al soveel honderde jare sit te slaap. Wat dit sal beteken sal u beter in staat wees om te besef als ek hier herhaal wat Gen. Smuts na sy slaap op regeringskussens van plan is om te doen en te gee.

Wat Gen. Smuts van plan is om te doen en te gee

Die eerste grote daad wat hy na sy ontwaking van plan is om te verrig is die

afskaffing van die medesyne belasting

en die tweede reusetaak waaraan hy sig sal waag is die *tabaksbelasting*.

Of hy hierdie belasting sal afskaf of slegs minder drukkend maak, is hy nog nie seker nie. Dit kan ook wel nie anders nie, want hoe kan van hom verlang word dat in minder dan één week hy deur die vooruitsig van die stembus tot 'n besluit sou gedring word waartoe die belange van die tabaksboere met al die ondersteuning van die Nasionaliste hom in geen vier jaar kon beweeg nie.

Wanneer ons nagaan hoe hierdie twee belastinge deur die Nasionaliste en deur die Arbeiders in die Parlement bestry is geword, en hoe hardnekkig Gen. Smuts en sy regering daarby volhard het om dit deur te sit en te handhaaf, dan kan ons nie anders dan die magtige invloed van die stembus respekteer, en die

wysheid van die Smuts-Regering lof toe bring vir die skrandtheid waarmee hul weet aan watter kant hul brood gebotter is.

Die ambtenare en onderwysers

Nadat hy 'n paar trane gestort het oor die arme ambtenare, verseker hy die onderwysers in hul verdrukking dat hy ook aan hul sal dink en hul die een of ander geskenk sal doen, „net so als aan die ambtenare”.

Hier kom dit my voor is Gen. Smuts 'n bietjie al te kwistig, en ek voel daar seker van, die onderwysers, pas so veronreg deur hom en sy kollegas, sal nie nalatig wees nie om hul stemme op hom uit te bring en om hom te bedank — vir niks!

Gen. Smuts se industriële politiek

Wat betref industrieë, herinnee Gen. Smuts ons, dat by die verkiesinge in 1921 die politiek van ontwikkeling van die land deur middel van 'n *forward industrial policy*, een van die hoofsaake was deur hom ondersteund.

Hy erken dat sy regering daar sleg in geslaag was, en onthou sig sorgvuldig van te verklaar wat hul politiek daaromtrent in die toekoms sal wees.

Een ieder ewewel van ons wat weet hoe oneensgesind die Smuts-regering oor hierdie saak is, en hoe uiteenlopend die belange van die S.A.P. lede daaromtrent, kan wel besef hoe weinig kans daar bestaan dat Gen. Smuts sig ooit sou waag om sy *forward industrial policy* op wiele te sit. Soals die geval is met soveel van sy regerings „*policies*”, staan dit wel daar op papier, maar daar sal dit ook bly.

Andere politieke voornemens van Gen. Smuts

Op dergelike trant gaan Gen. Smuts voort en maak hy gewag van nog sowat 9 ander politieke onderwerpe, te lang om hier almal genoem te word, waaraan hy van voornemens is om in die toekoms sy aandag te wy.

Onder hierdie onderwerpe kom voor nie minder dan vyf waarvan hy tot dusverre geen die minste aandag wou skenk nie, ten spyte van alle drang op hom uitgeoefen deur ons in die Parlement, maar wat hy sig nou, met die stembus in die gesig, holus-bolus oorneem en sig toe-eien.

Wat Gen. Smuts kan sluk

Dit is wonderlik wat Gen. Smuts kan sluk in tye van eleksies. Heel mooglik is dit die rede waarom sy verterings-vermoë so gering is daarna. Ek hoop ewewel dat na hierdie eleksie dit sal blyk beter te gaan daarmee, en dat in geval 'n ander regering aan bewind mag kom wat sig gewillig betoon om van die beloftes deur hom gemaak na te kom, hy nie sal trag om weer bevryd te raak van wat hy nou met so veel gretigheid insluk.

Tot my leed moet ek Gen. Smuts nou daarlaat met sy manifest, om tyd te hê vir 'n korte uiteensetting van wat die Nasionale Party beskou die mees dringende vraagstukke waaraan die volgende Regering hul kragte behoort te bestee en wat die onderwerpe van haar ernstige aandag sal wees indien sy aan bewind van sake kom.

Program van aksie van die Nasionale Party

1. Landbou ontwikkeling en meer simpatie met die boer.

Die Landbou het gedurende die laaste jare nie die simpatieke behandeling en aandag van die Regering geniet waartoe dit geregtig is. *Getuig*: b.v. die tabaksbelasting, die vrye invoer van slagvee ens.

Van die Landbou hang die toekoms van Suid Afrika af, voor alles. Die politiek van die bestaande Regering om die boer direk geldelik verantwoordelik te stel vir die wetenskaplike en Staats-toesig oor die Landbou en sy ontwikkeling, is 'n deur niks geregvaardigde politiek, ewe verderflik als kortsigtig. Dit is die oue Unionistiese politiek deur Sir Thomas Smartt nou te word toegepas, en wat nog simpatie vir die boer betoon nog ontwikkeling van die landbou kan bevorder.

Die politiek mag nie geduld word nie.

2. 'n Besliste politiek van ontwikkeling en beskerming van ons eie industrieë.

Elkeen in Suid Afrika voel die noodsaaklikheid dat industrieë wat hier lewensvatbaar is, behoort aangemoedig te word; maar ook dat sulke industrieë beskerming sal geniet van die Staat op 'n wyse wat behoorlik in ag neem die belange van die verbruiker en die arbeider.

Nogtans is tot dusverre geen beslist of bepaalde politiek daaromtrent deur die Regering gevolg nie; met die gevolg dat vandag alles op willekeur en

wispelturigheid berus, tot die grootste nadeel vir die ontwikkeling van ons industriële en met die verdere gevolg dat duisende van ons kinders wat andersins hul dienste tot nut van ons land sou bestee, tans ledig loop.

Dit mag so nie langer nie.

3. 'n Grondige en omvangryke poging tot oplossing van die toestand van armoede en werkeloosheid.

Die toestand van toenemende armoede en werkeloosheid in ons land mag nie langer lydelik deur ons Regering word aangesien, soos tot nogtoe is geskied, met 'n ophaling van skouers.

'n Diepgaande en omvangryke poging tot verwydering van die wortels van die kwaad moet met erns aangewend word.

Om die rede sal dit ook onder meer noodsaaklik wees, dat daar sal wees 'n *selfstandige ministeriële portefeuille vir arbeid*, eng gekoördineerd met die ander ministeriële departemente waarmee dit gedurig in voeling sal bly.

Wanneer Gen. Smuts in sy manifest sê: „Werkeloosheid is in hierdie land beveg geword soals in geen ander land”, dan rym dit so min met die waarheid dat men geneig is om te dink dat hy besig is om die spot te drywe. En tog is dit nie so nie. Dit is slegs die wyse waarop Gen. Smuts gewoon is om sigself in tye van verkiesinge te verheerlik ten koste van die waarheid. Die wat sy manifest in 'n ander sin opvat, doen Gen. Smuts 'n onreg.

4. Oplossing van die natuurlike vraagstuk

Met handhawing van die bestaan van die Europeaan en sy beskawing en die beskerming van beskaafde arbeid

Dit is gebiedend dat hierdie vraagstuk nou aangepak word en dat deur die oplossing daaraan gegee die witman in Suid Afrika verlos sal word van die gevoel van gevaar wat hom gedurig bedreig van die kant van die natuurel;

En dat tegelykertyd die natuurel sal gevoel dat die witman dit ook opreg met hom en sy vooruitgang bedoel.

Daar is plaas vir albei, en vir die geluk van albei, in Suid Afrika. Dit moet altwee kan voel, en om die gevoel teweeg te bring is dit nodig, dat ons kom tot 'n regvaardige oplossing van die natuurlike probleem.

Als uitgangspunt vir die oplossing moet geld die *handhawing van die bestaan van die Europese bevolking en van die Europese beskawing*, en om dit te verseker moet sorg gedra word dat daar in ons staatsdiens en in ons industriële lewe plek sal wees vir ons seuns en dogters om 'n bestaan te kan maak.

Beskaafde arbeid sal dus moet beskerm word teen die drang van die onbeskaafde arbeid binne die witman se gebied.

Wat die natuurel betref sal binne sy gebied nie minder sorg gedra word vir sy bestaan en ontwikkeling.

Generaal Smuts is erg begaan oor my politiek in verband met hierdie vraagstuk. Hy hoef nie besorg te wees nie. Hierdie kwessie sal opgelos word nie op die wyse waarmee hy gewoon is om te spring met belangryke vraagstukke, soals die van Rhodesië, maar met behoorlike raadpleging van die gehele volk indien vereis. Ook oor die belange van die natuurel hoef hy sig nie te bekommer nie. Nie minder dan hy hoop ek daarvoor te sorg.

Intussen mag sake nie toegelaat word langer voort te drywe soals tans geskied. Dit is die dood van beide Europeaan en natuurel.

5. Hersiening van ons belastingstelsel

Ons belastingstelsel is geen stelsel meer nie. In die laaste tyd is belastinge deur die Regering opgelê sonder iets meer in ag te neem dan die vraag: hoeveel geld moet ons nog hê? Moet dit 'n half-miljoen wees, dan kom daar 'n *Tabakbelasting*: moet dit £100,000 wees, dan kom daar 'n *Medesyne belasting*, — alles sonder sig af te vra of die tabakboer daardeur van die land gejaag word of nie; of in hoeverre die apoteker daardeur geknel gaan word en die arm man nog verder verdruk.

Dit mag so nie langer nie. Ons belasting moet in hersiening geneem word, en daarby moet behoorlik nagegaan word in hoeverre die *goud myne hulle regmatige aandeel* vandag dra in die belasting van die land.

Niemand wil die goudmyn industrie opsettelik benadeel, en sy behoort haar volle deel te geniet in die beskerming deur die Staat verleen aan sy industriële en onderdane, maar daar bestaan alle rede om aan te neem dat die myne deur die Regering in die verlede is begunstig op 'n wyse waar hul nie toe geregtig is nie.

Indien so, dan moet hul daartoe gebring word om hul regmatige aandeel in die toekoms te dra.

Wanneer dus Gen. Smuts sig bevrees verklaar oor wat sal gebeur met die goudmyne onder 'n Nasionale Regering; dan beangstig hy sig oor 'n loutere hersenskim — één van die vele nagmerries wat hom skynbaar nou ry solang hy besig is om naar stemme te soek. Gen. Smuts is 'n baie vernuftige man, maar hy sou wyser wees als hy andere minder dwaas ag.

6. *Beskerming van opvoeding teen die poging tot ondermyning*

Die passeer van die *Prowinsiale Finansies, Verhoudinge Wet*, onlangs deur die Regering, is berekend om ons opvoeding 'n dodelike wond toe te bring.

Dit sal ons plig wees om toe te sien dat dit nie geskied nie.

Wat meer is, dit moet die plig van 'n ieder wees wat dit wel meen met Suid Afrika, om te belet dat ons boere-kindere vir hul opvoeding afhanklik sal gestel word van 'n grondbelasting soos deur die Baxter Rapport bedreig.

Die Smuts Regering is behebt met die idee van 'n grondbelasting vir onderwys doeleinde. Die onreg en nadeel wat daardeur sal veroorsaak word sowel aan die boer als aan ons onderwys op die platteland gaan so goed als onherstelbaar wees.

Die Nasionale Party is vas besluit om te verhinder dat dit sal geskied en om die opvoeding van ons kindere te beskerm teen die poginge van die Regering om dit te ondermyn.

7. *'n Staatsbank*

'n Deeglike ondersoek naar die wenslikheid van die oprigting van 'n Staatsbank, word meer en meer gevoel, en dit behoort een van *die* sake te wees waaraan die volgende Regering sy aandag sonder versuim sal wy.

Die groot nadeel vir 'n volk om sy krediet beteugel en gekontroleer te hê deur private manne en private banke is nog nooit so duidelik en gevoelig geblyk als gedurende die laaste jare.

Van die verkrybare krediet van 'n land hang af in die eerste plaas, wat die prys van goedere en produkte en wat die staat van werkeloosheid sal wees.

Om dus aan private onderneming so goed als onbeteugel oor te laat wat die verkrybare krediet op enige tydstop sal wees, is geblyk nie te regvaardig te wees nie.

Selfs Gen. Smuts in sy manifes laat sig uit oor die behoefte wat gevoel word aan betere voorsiening tot krediet-verstreking deur middel van 'n Staatsbank. Hy skyn sig ewewel te wil beperk tot 'n handelsbank met bepaalde doel, dewyl daar m.i. veel meer behoefte bestaan aan 'n inrigting met uitgebreide werksaamhede en bevoegdhede.

U sien dus die Program van die Nasionale Party is nie so vol en omvangryk als die van die S.A. Party nie. Dog u hoef u daarvoor nie te bekommer nie. Die van die Nasionale Party is bedoeld om uitgevoer te word; die van Gen. Smuts is bestemd vir die snippermandjie.

Die volk vandag is moeg en sat van beloftes. Wat dit nou wil hê is nie langer *mooie woorde* nie maar die *praktiese aandurf* van ekonomiese en industriële vraagstukke waarvan die welvaart en geluk van ons bevolking afhang. Die wat met die eerste nog tevrede is mag vir Gen. Smuts stem; wie die tweede eis sal die Nasionale Party ondersteun.

Gen. Smuts mag soek om ons oogmerke te verdraai en ons strewe te doen misken deur verdagmakery of andersins, dog die Nasionale Party sal getrou voortgaan wanneer sy aan bewind kom, met haar strewe naar 'n *vreedsame ontwikkeling van die land*; 'n onpartydige behartiging van die belange van al die klasse en dele van ons bevolking, en 'n waaksame beskerming van die eer en welvaart van ons geliefd Suid Afrika.

Die *orde* sal gehandhaaf word so afdoende als ooit onder die Smuts-Regering; maar dit sal geskied in ooreenstemming met wat vereis word deur wet en reg en sonder die medepligtigheid van die Regering tot dade van wanorde.

Met die volste oortuiging dat die volk van die Unie vandag besef hoe dit in die verlede is mislei geword in sy beoordeling van die Nasionale Party en wat dit najaag, skroom ek nie om te sê dat *die* Party tans tot haar reg sal kom, en dat wanneer hierdie eleksies afgeloop is, op haar die gewigtige taak sal berus om toe te sien dat die land behoorlik regeer word.

Ten slotte,

wil ek u vandag my hartelike dank toebting dat, deur die trouhartige ondersteuning en vertroue wat Smithfield my, vanaf die eerste dag van my politieke loopbaan, so eensgesind en met soveel liefde en selfopoffering verleen het, ek in staat is gestel geword om met die getroue bijstand van mij partijgenote

die Nasionale Party te lei en te voer tot waar dit vandag staan op die drempel van oorwinning.

God gee, dat die Nasionale Party haar steeds met krag sal wy aan haar roeping om van die Afrikaanse volk 'n eensgesinde, welvarende en gelukkige volk te maak. So sy aan die roeping getrou bly sal geen klas of ras ooit rede tot misnoeging hê nie; en aan Smithfield sal in die eerste plaas die eer toekom, weëns haar onvermoeide poginge deur al die jare in belang van ons nasionale saak.

Met die belofte dat ek u gedurende hierdie verkiesinge nie weer sal lastig val met my teenwoordigheid, wens ek u my innige dank en waardering toe te bring dat u my weereens als u verteenwoordiger benoem het binne die Party.

Om te dink dat ek u vir reeds 16 jaar verteenwoordig en dat gedurende al die tyd ek nog nooit een enkel klagte van enigeen uit u midde ontvang het, en nog nooit 'n stem van ontevredenheid van u verneem het, vervul my met 'n gevoel van die diepste dankbaarheid jegens u almal, en sou my die reg gee om trots te gevoel, ware dit nie dat dit meer aan u verdienstelikheid dan aan my verdienste te wyte is.

My dank sy u toegebring, met my volle vertroue op u vrindskap.

1. Afskrif in Hertzogversameling, Staatsargief, Pretoria, ook gepubliseer in *Die Burger*, 5 Mei 1924.

Verkiesingsveldtog van Arbeiders Geopen.

KOL. CRESWELL VERDUIDELIK VERKIESINGS PROGRAM.

Die Sondelys van die Regering.

Groot en Geesdriftige Vergadering in Durban.

Kol. F. H. P. Creswell het gisteraand as leier van die Arbeidersparty die verkiesingsveldtog van sy party geopen in Durban. Hy het begin met die toespraak van genl. Smuts, wat hy merkwaardig en belaglik genoem het, aangesien die Eerste Minister dinge belooft wat hy gedurende die afgelope sitting van die Volksraad gewier het. Genl. Smuts het 'n meerderheid gehad; waarom het hy nie daardie beloftes uitgevoer nie? Of gaan hy die Volksraad weer ontbind as hy 'n meerderheid van 5 of 6 kry? Hy het reeds die Raad drie keer in vier en 'n half jaar ontbind, en daarom noem kol. Creswell hom die „Ontbindings-Premier.” Hy het nou sy eie party ontbind.

Die Arbeidersparty aanyaar die woord van eer van die Nasionale Party omtrent sesessie. Genl. Hertzog was so eerlik dat die Arbeiders hom nie durf wantrou nie. Genl. Smuts probeer egter nog om rassehaat daarmee te verwek en maak also genl. Hertzog en viervyftes van die Hollandssprekendes tot leuenars. Dit is weer 'n bewys dat genl. Smuts nie in voeling met die volk kan bly nie. Die Engelssprekendes sal hulle nie meer deur paaiboelies die skrik op die lyf laat ja nie.

VERKIESINGSVELD TOG VAN ARBEIDERS GEOPEN.

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DURBAN, Woensdag, 30 April.

—'n Uur en 'n half voor die aangekondigde tyd van die vergadering was die Durbanse stadsaal volgepak met belangstellendes om kol. Creswell aan te hoor, daar dit die verwagting was dat hy 'n verklaring sou aflê van die politiek van die Arbeidersparty by die aanstaande algemene verkiesing. Daar was stellig enige duisende toehoorders, onder wie 'n taamlike groot aantal dames.

Kol. Creswell is luid toegejuig toe hy die saal binnekom vergesel van mnre. Thomas Boydell, L.V., George Royburn, Arthur Haycock, Fabey en andere. Mnr. H.W. Coleman, die Arbeiders-kandidaat vir Durban, Sentraal, het die voorsitterstoel beklee.

Kol. Creswell is luid en langdurig toegejuig, toe hy opgestaan het om te praat. Nadat hy die gehoor bedank het vir die vriendelike ontvangs, het hy gesê dat hy twee jaar gelede, toe hy verkies was as verteenwoordiger van Stamford Hill die hoop uitgespreek het dat sy verbinding met Durban as Volksraadsverteenvoordiger 'n lange en gelukkige sou wees. Dit was 'n baie gelukkige, maar die omstandighede het verhinder dat dit 'n lange sal wees. As hy elke jaar twee of drie maande in Durban kan deurbring, sal hy miskien sy kollega's kon oorgehaal het dat Stamford Hill 'n veilige setel is, selfs al bring hy sy tyd deur met rondreise in die land. Hy kan egter sy kiesers die versekering gee—want hulle bly sy kiesers tot 9 Mei—dat hy altyd met dankbaarheid sal terugdink aan Stamford Hill.

'N MERKWAARDIGE TOESPRAAK, MAAR OOK 'N BELAGLIKE.

Wat betref die Eerste Minister se toespraak in Pretoria, het kolonel Creswell verklaar dat dit 'n merkwaardige toe-

spraak is en in sommige opsigte 'n belaglike toespraak. In die omstandighede verdeel hy die toespraak in twee dele. Die Eerste Minister het vertel van die pragtige dinge wat hy vir die land gaan doen as hy weer aan die bewind kom. In een of twee opsigte kan kritiek uitgeoefen word. Die Eerste Minister het verklaar dat hy die belasting op medisyne sal herroep. Slegs 'n paar weke gelede toe mn. Boydell in die Volksraad in 'n meesterlike toespraak gewys het op die belaglikheid en onregverdigheid van die belasting by die indiening van 'n mosie waarby die Raad gevra word om die belasting nie te vernu nie, het die Eerste Minister geweier om die mosie aan te neem om die belasting af te skaf. Ook wou hy nie eens hê dat die petisies voorgelees word nie.

Die Eerste Min. het verder verklaar dat hy die belasting op tabak gaan wysig, dat hy meer spoorweë gaan aanlê, geldelike hulp aan setlaars sal verleen, nywerhede sal aanmoedig en groot spoorwegwerke sal begin. "Daar is nie 'n enkele woord in die toespraak om aan te dui dat daar enige behoefte is om ons nywerheids- en ekonomiese bedrywighede onder beskouing te neem nie," het kol. Creswell verklaar. As al daardie dinge nodig is, waarom het hierdie Eerste Minister, wat 'n meerderheid in die Parlement het, en die mees gehoorsame gevolg wat nog ooit aan die geklap van die partysweep gehoor gegee het, dan nie 'n aanvang gemaak met daardie dinge nie? As hy 'n meerderheid van 5 of ses verkry, sal hy weer die Volksraad ontbind? Genl. Smuts het in 4½ jaar die Volksraad drie maal ontbind. " 'n Mens kan hom die Ontbindings-premier noem (gelag). Hierdie keer het hy nie alleen die Volksraad maar sy eie party ontbind."

OPSTOKING TEEN GENL. HERTZOG.

WAT VAN SESESSIE WORD.

Kol. Creswell het verder gesê dat die eerste gedeelte van genl. Smuts se toespraak 'n poging was om die Britse mening teen genl. Hertzog op te stook. Dit is onwaardig vir iemand wat die posisie van Eerste Minister beklee.

In verband met sesessie het kol. Creswell gesê dat genl. Smuts daardie paaiboelie in die lewe geroep het wat hom drie jaar gelede van so 'n groot diens was. Het genl. Smuts dan nie in 1921 daardie paaiboelie vernietig nie? Genl. Smuts het tenminste so verklaar, en waarom vind hy dit dan vandag weer in die lewe en gevaarliker as ooit van te vore? Een rede is dat die Nasionale—hierdie Nasionale wat oor niks anders as sesessie begaan is nie na die verkiesing kom met 'n ooreenkoms met die Arbeiders, en dat die Nasionale om gevolg te gee aan daardie ooreenkoms Arbeiderskandidate wat gekant is teen sesessie, getrou steun. Genl. Hertzog en die Nasionale het openhartig verklaar dat hulle opgegroeï het onder 'n republikeinse regering en hulle is nie skelm genoeg om dit aan die volk diets te maak dat alle republikeinse begrippe uit hul gemoed verban is, en dat hulle nie nou nog die voorkeur aan daardie regeringsvorm gee nie. Maar hulle het op ondubbelsinnige wyse verklaar: "Ons sal dit nooit as 'n saak van praktiese politiek beleid op die volk van Suid-Afrika afdwing nie, tot tyd en wyl die Engelse deel van die bevolking dit verlang." So 'n verklaring is op openhartige wyse gedoen, sonder voor-gewende sentiment, wat nie aanwesig was nie. Hy het dit aanvaar as die woord van 'n eerbare man, wie se eerlikheid om geen rede in twyfel kan getrek word nie. Genl. Hertzog en die leiers van die Nas. Party het hierdie verklaring aan spr. bevestig, en die onderneming is skriftelik aangegaan, sodat geen kieser daaraan kan dink dat sy stem vir enig an-

der doeleinde sal gebruik word nie. 'n Ondubbelsinnige en duidelike onderneming is 11 April openbaar gemaak dat by hierdie algemene verkiesing geen Nasionale Volksraadslid sy stem sal gebruik om die bestaande grondwetlike verhouding tussen Suid-Afrika en die Britse Kroon te verstoer nie. Hy vra genl. Smuts as 'n Britse Suid-Afrikaner, hy vra hom as 'n Hollandssprekende Afrikaner, of hy genl. Hertzog en vier-vyftes van sy mede Hollandssprekende Afrikaners as moedswillige leuenaars beskou. Dit is waar dit op neerkom.

GENL. SMUTS SE TEKORTKOMING.

Alhoewel kol. Creswell nie begerig was om die dienste van genl. Smuts teenoor Suid-Afrika te verkleineer nie, het hy gesê dat genl. Smuts nie die eienskap van meegevoel met die breë volksmassa besit nie, en die afwesigheid van daardie eienskap maak hom onbekwaam om die lotgevalle van die volk te bestier. Dat hy nie hierdie eienskap besit nie, word bewys dat hy so min simpatie het met vier-vyftes van die Hollandssprekende bevolking van die land. Hy kan die gevoelens van sy Unionistiese glansstellers en gevolg verstaan, maar hy skat en verstaan die algemene verlange van die groot massa van die bevolking wat van Britse afkoms is, heeltemal mis, indien hy meen dat die paaiboelie van sessie hulle die skrik op die lyf gaan ja.

VALSE STRYDVRAE.

Kol. Creswell het 'n beroep gedoen op sy toehoorders om hulle nie te steur aan valse strydvrae nie. Laat hulle hul aangedag bepaal by die toekoms van die tienduisende kinders wat in hierdie land opgroei. Die Arbeiders Party versoek die publiek om hul verbeeldingskrag uit te oefen, as hul oë dit nóg nie gesien het nie, met betrekking tot die werkloosheid wat oral in die Unie heers. Die Arbeiders is daar oortuig van dat die volk voel dat dit sy plig is om Suid-Afrika 'n land te maak waarin 'n man kan woon en sy kinders kan grootmaak, met die kans dat hulle in staat sal wees om 'n beskaafde lewensbestaan te maak in die land.

“Ons glo dat julle moeg is daarvan dat julle stemme gebruik word as pande ter bevordering van selfsugtige doeleindes wat grotendeels buite Suid-Afrika gevestig is; julle moeg is dat met jul welvoeglike gevoelens van rassegetrouheid gespeel word om politieke ambisie te bevredig; dat hulle die voorreg om jul stem uit te bring as 'n plig beskou om in die eerste plek te dink oor die blywende belange van die volk waarvan julle lede is, en dat julle verlang dat al die vraagstukke openlik voor julle geplaas moet word.”

OPTREDE VAN DIE REGERING HARTHANDIG EN WILLEKEURIG.

Spr. het 'n oorsig gegee van die geskiedenis van die Parlement sedert 1920 en het melding gemaak van genl. Smuts se poging om 'n ooreenkoms te tref, voordat die ineensmelting met die Unioniste plaasgevind het. In daardie voorgestelde “pact” het ons veelsydige Eerste Minister niks onsuiver en niks immoreel gesien nie.”

Die grondwet het in die afgelope vier jaar nooit in gevaar verkeer nie, behalwe van die kant van genl. Smuts en sy volgelingen (applous). In die vorige Parlement het genl. Smuts aan die staatsamptenare beloof dat hulle billik behandel sal word. Binne 'n paar weke nadat die Parlement bymekaar gekom het, is sonder raadpleging met die staatsamptenare, of die gehoorsame volgelingen van die Regering, aangekondig dat 'n gedeelte van die toelaag vir lewenskoste weggeneem sal word, en dat die res aan die end van die jaar

afgeneem sal word. Daardie optrede van die Regering is die sluitsteen van sy hele politiek – hardhandig en willekeurig.

Uit die oogpunt van die groot handelshuise was dit 'n uitstekende besigheidstreek en hulle het nie lank gewag om die voorbeeld van die Regering te volg nie. Veranderings is gemaak waardeur tussen 3,000 en 4,000 manne uit S.A. se vernaamste nywerheid – die goudmyne – op straat gegooi is. Dit het 'n vermindering van nie minder as £3,000,000 teweeg gebring in die loon waarop die blanke werkende bevolking leef.

'N VERDERFLIKE POLITIEK.

Wanneer hulle die volk vertel dat die land nog ly as gevolg van die staking moet hulle sê dat hulle nie die waarheid verkondig nie. Dit is vals. Wat die land aan gely het, en nog aan ly, is die gevolge van die politiek waarteen die staking 'n onsuksesvolle protes was. Die opposisie in die Parlement is met die stoomroller platgedruk en die opposisie daarbuite was toegelaat om te ontwikkel. Spr. wil graag 'n grondige ondersoek na die omstandighede hê. Byna op die laaste vergadering van die Volksraad het min. Jagger die reputasie van 'n man buite die Volksraad weggeneem en het hy geweier om in die openbaar daarmee te verskyn om die man 'n kans te gee om sy goeie naam te herstel in 'n gereghof. Min. Jagger se verskoning was dat die inligtings onder voorwaarde van geheimhouding verkry was van persone wat voorgestel was as spioene. Watter waarborg is daar dat die spioene binne die beweging nie onder die manne was wat tot geweldpleging opgestook het nie? Hierdie wyse om op te tree teenoor nywerheidsmoeilikhede is verfoeilik en moet nie weer in S.A. toegelaat word nie. Dit is die vaste politiek van die S.A.P. en min. Jagger het 'n ekonomiese loon van 3s 6d, per dag geproklameer waarop S.A. opgebou moet word.

DIE BELASTINGSPOLITIEK VERDRUK DIE SWAKKES.

As hulle die belastingspolitiek van die Regering ondersoek, vind hulle dat dit presies dieselfde is. Die klein tabakkwerker kan homself nie verdedig nie, en die tabakbelasting word deurgedruk. Daar is die arm man wat gebruik maak van gepatenteerde medisyne omdat hy nie die dienste van 'n geneesheer kan bekostig nie, en daar verskyn die belasting op gepatenteerde medisyne. En laaste van alles, val die Regering in die mees vernederende omstandighede die onderwysers-beroep en die opleiding van die kinders van Suid-Afrika aan. Al hierdie dinge word toegeskryf aan die wêreldtoestande. Dit is wonderlik dat dieselfde omstandighede nie die ander Dominiëms in gelyke mate aangetas het nie. Manne verlaat Suid-Afrika. Met die skepe wat elke dag ons hawens verby stoom, gaan honderde en duisende immigrante na Australië en Nu-Seeland om na werk te soek. Die politiek van die Regering het die slegte toestande verskerp en 'n rampspoedige toestand van sake is die gevolg. Die gevolg van 'n drie-jarige meedoënlose toepassing van die politiek van die Regering is dat werkloosheid en armoede uitgebreider is as ooit tevore. Die gevolg van die Regering se politiek is erger, want die spookgestalte van werkloosheid wat deur die land trek, het die toestand van honderde en duisende manne wat nog in diens is tot een van vernederende slaafsheid teruggebring, en dit is een van die ergste dinge vir die moraal en manlikheid van 'n volk. Dit het 'n toestand van sake geskep waaronder manne wat in hierdie land nodig is, die stof daarvan van hul voete geskud het en na meer gasvrye lande vertrek het. Die hele uitwerking is 'n verminderde koopkrag en 'n ingekorte binnelandse mark

—wat alles bydra tot die moeilikhede van die landbou-bevolking.

Met al ons nywerhede is dit dieselfde. Die goedkoper en minder beskaafde arbeider verdring die beskaafde arbeider wat 'n loon moet hê waarop hy homself en sy famielie kan onderhou. As hulle nie hul voet neerstamp nie en sê: “Nie 'n stap verder met hierdie politiek nie, sal die blanke beskawing in sy wortels aangetas word. Die gevolg van 'n driejarige uitvoering van hierdie politiek is groter diwidende en hoër statistieke omtrent rykdom en uitvoer, en daaroor juig die S.A.P.-pers vandag so luid. Dit is die verskil.

Die Arbeiders-party verklaar dat genoemde syfers nie 'n ware aanduiding van die voorspoed van S.A. is nie, tensy ook die syfers gegee word wat die gemiddelde standaard van gerief, sekerheid van werkverskaffing en die geluk van die volk van Suid-Afrika aantoon.

Die Arbeidersparty het die kiesers gewaarsku teen die groep van “die man en die uur” dog die kiesers het hulle na die Parlement gestuur met 'n baie klein minderheid en het daardeur die mag in hande gegee van hierdie treurige, parmantige manne wat daarop aanspraak gemaak het dat hul eie politiek vereenselwig kon word met getrouheid aan die vlag.

BUITENGEWONE OMSTANDIGHEDE.

Wat betref die Ooreenkoms het kol. Creswell verklaar dat die Arbeiders oor die hele wêreld skerp gekant is teen reëlings met ander partye waardeur hul eie vryheid ingekort sal word en die Arbeidersparty in S.A. is geen uitsondering op die reël nie. In ander opsigte verskil hulle ook nie van die Arbeiders in ander dele van die wêreld nie, omdat dit hul besigheid is om die land van verdrukking te bevry. “In die omstandighede waarin ons ons bevind het, het ons verklaar dat die posiesie te ernstig was. Ons het ons menings maar wat help hulle as die beskaafde bevolking uit die land gedryf gaan word, of anders in 'n soort van werkers compound. Ons het ingesien dat ons die land moes red deur 'n end te maak aan die rampspoedige politiek.”

Nadat kol. Creswell die onderhandelings met genl. Hertzog verduidelik het wat gelei het tot die Ooreenkoms, het hy verklaar dat daar ten minste twee dade in sy loopbaan is wat in belang van Suid-Afrika gebeur het. Die eerste was in verband met die Sjinese arbeiders en die tweede sy aandeel in verband met die bewerking van die “Pact”.

Wat betref die verklaring van genl. Smuts dat daar 'n geheime ooreenkoms is tussen spr. en genl. Hertzog in verband met die Ooreenkoms herinner spr. die Eerste Minister aan die Afrikaanse spreekwoord dat iemand wat agter die deur staan self agter die deur geluister het. Die S.A.P.-pers verfoei die Ooreenkoms nie omdat dit onsuiver is nie—en daar is ook geen onsuiverheid in die feit dat twee partye besluit om hul geskille te laat vaar teneinde hul land te red nie—maar omdat hulle 'n afbeelding daarin sien van 1921 en van 21 Arbeiders in die Volksraad. Hulle is bang vir die eis van die volk vir 'n Parlement wat die groot gros van die arbeidende manne en vroue van die land verteenwoordig. Die Ooreenkoms het die Regering tot 'n val gebring en die Eerste Minister gedwing om die Volksraad te onbind.

Wat is die

HOUDING VAN DIE ARBEIDERSPARTY

teenoor die volgende Volksraad? Hulle koester geen illusies nie daar hulle goed weet uit die aantal kandidate wat verkiesbaar is dat hulle geen volslae meerderheid sal verkry wat die Arbeiders in staat sal stel om die land te regeer nie, maar hulle hoop dat die Arbeiders met dubbel die aantal

lede die magsewewig in hande sal kry. Daardeur sal hulle in die posiesie wees om te verklaar watter party aan die bewind sal kom en hoelank hy aan die roer van sake sal bly. Dit sal 'n posiesie van groot verantwoordelikheid vir die Arbeidersparty wees en sover as wat dit spreker betref sal hulle nie met daardie mag speel nie. Die tye en die landsomstandighede is te ernstig vir politieke dwepery. Hul eerste optrede sal wees om die teenswoordige Regering van die kussings te lig en in die oppositiesebanke te plaas. Genl. Smuts het self die ander dag verklaar dat 'n Regering wat nie die toekoms van die opgroeiende jeug van die land behoorlik in ag neem nie, nie 'n minuut geduld mag word nie. Die land het dit drie jaar lank geduld, en die eerste kans wat die Arbeiders kry, sal gebruik van gemaak word om die Regering te verjaag. (Appl.)

Genl. Smuts het verklaar dat die Ooreenkoms onvrugbaar is omdat dit op 'n grondslag van haat gevestig is. Wat spr. betref, is daar geen greintjie van haat teenoor genl. Smuts of sy kollega's nie, maar wat spr. haat en verfoei is hul politiek en hy gaan daar 'n end aan maak. Die Arbeiders kry nie hul menings van die S.A.P.-pers nie, maar van hul eie waarnemings.

“Ons wil rus hê van hierdie politieke onrus oor denkbeeldige paaiboelies en ons verlang 'n tydperk waarin die Regering hom geheel en al sal toelê op die ekonomiese vraagstukke wat . . .” Op hierdie tydstip was daar skerp interrupties uit die saal en vir meer as twee minute kon spr. nie voortgaan nie. Later kon hy hervat en het hy verklaar dat hulle met vertroue die nuwe Regering tegemoet sien, ten spyte van alles wat in die pers verskyn.

Die nuwe Regering sal die ewewig tussen die twee blanke rasse bewaar soos hy homself verbind het om te doen. As die pers die teenoorgestelde verklaar, wil spr. net sy toehoorders daaraan herinner dat hulle 17 jaar gelede presies dieselfde verklaar het van generaals Botha en Smuts wat spr. destyds verdedig het teen die aanklag dat hulle die Engelse sal dwing. “Ons kyk op na die nuwe Regering om nie in die net te val van die land in die belang van groot besighede te regeer nie. Op al hierdie punte het die Nasionale Party homself verbind. As dit sy houding is, kan hy reken op die steun van die Arbeiders-party om sy beste te doen vir die land (appl.). As die Nasionale Regering rassevraagstukke te berde bring of die land vir gevestigde belange wil regeer, sal die Arbeiders net so min aarsel om hom van die kussings te lig soos in die geval van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party.

Die Nasionale het as opposisie baie geleer en hul werklike liefde vir die volk van Suid-Afrika sal hulle gou daartoe bring om die noodsaaklikheid te erken van die uitvoering van hul program van beginsels. Die Arbeiders het nie afgesien van hul program of beginsels nie.

Die eerste saak wat aangepak moet word, is die vraagstuk van die werkloosheid wat breedvoerig, omvattend en deeglik aangepak moet word. Dit is natuurlik dat hulle dit sal doen want sewe-tiendes van die werkloos behoor tot die ouer bevolking. 'n Ander beginsel wat sterk vasgehou sal word, is die vermindering van die houvas van groot besighedsbelange op die krediet en geldwese van die land.

STAATSBANK BEPLEIT.

Daardie stelsel moet afgeskaf word en die krediet van die land moet nie in die hande bly van twee partikuliere banke nie. Australië se voorbeeld moet gevolg word met die oprigting van 'n staatsbank. Die Arbeidersparty is voorstanders van die aanmoediging van ons nywerhede. Die Eerste Minister het niks gesê omtrent die toestand van die manne

wat werk en wat die goedere moet koop nie. Alle nywerhede wat deur invoerregte of wat ook al aangehelp word, sal egter voldoende waarborge moet verleen teen buitensporige pryse. Dit is in die belang van die verbruiker en van die arbeider wat verlangend is om 'n famielie op 'n beskaafde peil te handhaaf.

Die Arbeidersparty glo aan die ontmoediging van die intog van naturelle in die groot blanke stede en aan die ontmoediging van die naturelle om in geskikte reserwes te gaan woon. Hul erken die verskil tussen die ekonomiese standaard van die onbeskaafde naturel en die beskaafde man, blank of gekleurd, wat 'n loon moet hê wat hom in staat sal stel om 'n famielie te onderhou. Die S.A.P. bied niks anders as ontmoediging in hierdie opsig aan nie. Daardie party glo aan die politiek van goedkope arbeid wat die belange bevorder van diegene wat die land eksploiteer tot nadeel van die res van die bevolking.

Die rede waarom die Ooreenkoms bestry word, is omdat dit bereken is om die vraagstukke van die land op te los. In verband met die myne, ouderdomspensioene, die invoer van arbeid steun die Nasionaliste die Arbeiders.

GRONDBELASTINGS.

Die Arbeiders is nog van mening dat 'n belasting van onverbeterde grondwaardes wenslik is, en hy hoop dat die Nasionaliste later die wenslikheid daarvan sal insien. Maar hy steun hul omdat hul die ander vraagstukke sal aanpak en tot 'n oplossing voer. Hy meen dat ons uit die ondervinding van ander lande kan put en 'n belasting behoort te hef op die grond van die onheilige groot grondmaatskappye.

Die eerste groot vraagstuk is of die land gaan regeer word met politieke kuiperie of volgens 'n gesonde parlementêre stelsel. Dit is nie geëls. Hertzog en Smuts wat teenoor mekaar staan nie, maar wel genl. Smuts en die S.A.P., met al die invloede wat agter hulle skuil, wat staan teen die stelsel van parlementêre regering.

Die tweede vraag waaroor die land moet besluit, is of hy die politiek van die Regering gedurende die afgelope drie jaar kan ondersteun, en of hy die optrede van die Arbeidersparty goedkeur.

Die derde vraagstuk waaroor die kiesers moet besluit, is of hulle die ooreenkoms gaan steun soos hy dit duidelik gemaak het.

Genl. Smuts het die land in politieke, sosiale en ekonomiese onrus gehou. Die Arbeiders het die weg ingeslaan

wat die twee rasse in die land nader bymekaar gebring het as hul vir jare was.

Die vierde strydvraag is die paaiboelie van die band met Brittanje. Wie het meer gedoen om dit uit die wêreld te maak? Die S.A.P. met sy politiek van verarming en verspreiding van ontevredenheid in die land, of die Opposisie wat 'n end gemaak het aan daardie politiek?

Die vyfde en grootste strydvraag is: Wil hulle nog verder Parlemente hê wat op valse verkiesingskrete gekies is en deur groot besigheidsbelange onder die duim gehou word? Wil hulle voortgaan op die ingeslae weg wat die land tot 'n groot komponent van goedkoop arbeid sal verneder, of verkies hulle 'n vasgestelde nasionale politiek? 'n Politiek wat tot grondslag het die vaslegging van 'n stand van sake waaronder die manne en vroue in Suid-Afrika in die geleentheid sal wees om hul kinders op te voed met 'n sekere mate van vertroue dat hulle 'n beskaafde lewensbestaan sal maak in die land.

“Laat ons 1924 die aanvangspunt maak van die hervatting van werklike Suid-Afrikaanse sosiale en politieke ontwikkeling.”

Kol. Creswell het temidde van applous gaan sit nadat hy 'n uur en veertig minute lank gepraat het.—

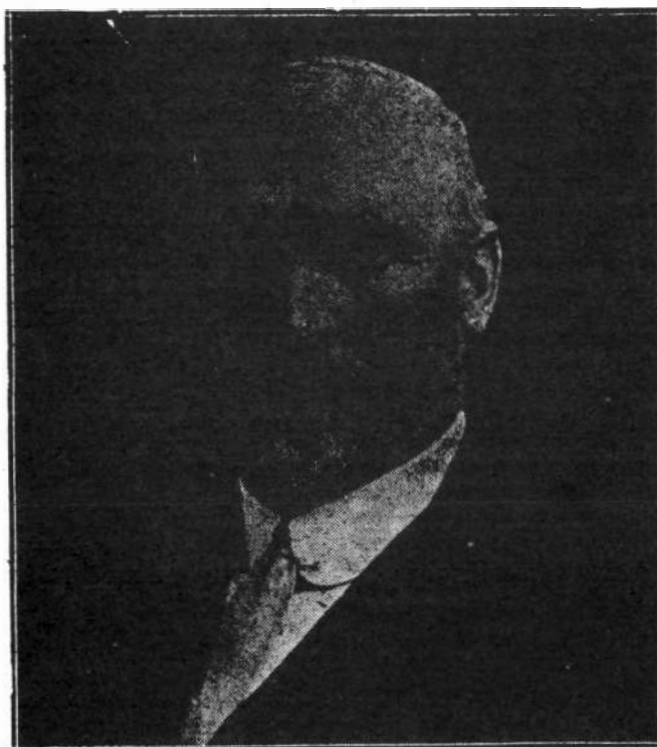
MNR. THOMAS BOYDELL, L. V.

Na kol. Creswell het mnr. Thomas Boydell, L. V. vir Greyville, gepraat. Hy het voorbeelde genoem om die wanbeheer van die Regering aan die kaak te stel, en het toe gesê dat die volk van S.A. die voorbeeld van Brittanje moet volg, en 'n ander Regering aan die bewind stel. (Toej.)

VRAE.

'n Hele aantal vrae is gestel. Kol. Creswell het geantwoord dat die Kommuniste aansoek gedoen het om aan te sluit by die Arbeidersparty, maar die Arbeiders het geweier. Vakverenigings is baie goed vir beskaafde mense maar kan gevaarlik wees vir onbeskaafde naturelle. In verband met die agturige werkdag, het kol. Creswell verklaar dat die Arbeidersparty staan vir 'n agturige werkdag in nywerheidsmiddelpunte en winkels, maar is nie van mening dat 'n agturige werkdag op die platteland prakties is nie, byvoorbeeld in die geval van 'n skaapwagter.

Die vergadering het gesluit met geesdriftige toejuiging vir die leier van die Arbeiders.



The Choice before the Country.

***"I confidently place the issue
before You."***

J. M. M. M.

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Genl. Smuts Great Speech.

S.A. Party Manifesto.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the last General Election a little over three years ago, the people of this country decided to entrust their government to the South African Party under my leadership. I have come to you to-night to render an account of our stewardship, and on the record of what we have done to appeal to you to continue your confidence in us for the future. I shall deal not only with our record but as far as time permits also with that of our opponents. This is necessary, because it is largely on these two records that the people will have to decide the question of their future government.

A MOMENTOUS DECISION.

It is indeed a most momentous decision that lies before the people. And it must be based on broad issues of policy, and not on the small details on which people are dissatisfied with the Government's work. This or that section of the public may be dissatisfied with the details of the Government's policy as affecting them. But it is not on these details that they are going to decide the question of their future government: They will look at the big things, the things that really matter. And they will look not only at the record of the Government but also and just as keenly at that of their opponents. For the Pact Parties claim to be the next government. They say the flowing tide is with them. The public are therefore bound to take them seriously, to look at the things they have stood for and to ask whether that is the sort of government they wish to rule them and to run this country in the years to come.

TAKE THE PACT SERIOUSLY.

I am afraid the tendency hitherto has been not to take the Pact seriously as an alternative government. But that is a profound mistake which may cost this country very dear. The more seriously the people study and ponder the record of the Pact Parties the better for this country and its future. I shall tonight put them in the limelight side by side with ourselves.

Let me first refer to the work of the Government for the last three years.

At the last General Election the South African Party set out to achieve certain great objects, in some of which they have succeeded completely while in others which do not admit of complete attainment they have made great and definite progress.

S.A.P. KILL RACIALISM. PACT'S IMITATION UNION.

Our first and greatest object was to get away from the racial line in our politics, to destroy the racial bar which had in the past kept the two great white races politically divided in South Africa. To that end a fusion took place of the old South African Party consisting mostly of Dutch speaking South Africans, and the old Unionist Party, consisting almost entirely of English speaking South Africans. We united into one

broad-based political party with a common political platform under a common leader and in a single organisation embracing the whole of the party throughout the four provinces of the Union. We succeeded beyond our fondest dreams; ever since its union the new South African Party has worked together in the party, in Parliament and in the Government with a harmony and a cordiality which has exceeded our highest expectations. The whole face of our politics has been transformed, the whole future of the South African nation has entered upon a new plane.

TWO-STREAM POLICY DEAD.

One result is that during the last three sessions of Parliament racial issues, which hitherto had been the principal item in our Parliamentary repertoire, were scarcely so much as referred to, and Parliament has been able to devote its attention to the business of the country instead of to racial passions. The two stream policy on which the Nationalist Party was founded, which almost tore out the vitals of the Union for its first ten years, has become largely a dead issue, and now could only be revived by some cataclysm in our politics. The two Opposition parties, struck and amazed by the success of our fusion, paid us the deep and flattering compliment of imitation. But Oh! what a difference there is between our real union and the imitation union which binds together the two Opposition parties in an uneasy and loveless embrace. Between the real honourable and sincere union which has taken place in the new South African Party and the artificial Pact which harnesses together our opponents, there is a difference greater than between night and day. And when Colonel Creswell flatters himself that the Pact has killed racialism he forgets that the Pact is only the fly on the wheel which crushed racialism, and that it is not the fly which is moving the wheel. No, this country can never forget that our Party did it, to them is due the praise for the greatest advance in the national life of South Africa. With that proud achievement behind us the South African Party can never really suffer eclipse in the future of this country. The results are already far-reaching. The going of racialism means so much to South Africa. We see all around us a new spirit of co-operation and friendliness springing up in South Africa. If General Botha were alive today—the Apostle of Reconciliation—he would rejoice to see that this work has prospered exceedingly, and that his great vision is coming true within a few years of his passing away.

SECESSION ISSUE.

"DANGER IS ONLY POSTPONED".

The second object we set out to achieve was the defeat of the secession issue which had been raised by the Nationalists after the War. With the successful issue of the War, which upset all the plans and expectations of the Nationalists, their party was indeed bankrupt, and to revive and keep going their drooping spirits, Mr. Roos with devilish ingenuity came forward with the secession issue. Secession became the fundamental plank in their platform. Mr. Roos in his letter of resignation as subscriber to "Die Burger" quite rightly and with justifiable indignation asked what would have become of the Nationalist Party if it had not adopted the secession issue. On that issue they spurned our offer of Hereniging at the Bloemfontein Conference; and on that we immediately, and to their surprise and consternation joined issue with them at the last General Election. We fought it out without any help from Colonel Creswell.

DECISIVE VICTORY.

Our victory was decisive, so decisive indeed that one wing of the Nationalist Party has ever since done nothing but run away from the issue, while the other wing has discreetly decided to postpone the issue and to revive it at a more convenient moment, when the Labour Alliance will no longer be wanted and will no longer be a check to their schemes. The danger is only postponed. The Nationalist leaders have made that perfectly clear. And the Pact makes it clear also. For remember, the Pact only says that the secession issue will not be raised in the next Parliament. The Pact therefore assumes that the issue is very much alive. It only at best provides a short breathing space for Colonel Creswell and those who choose to follow him. Colonel Creswell vainly boasts that the Pact has killed racialism. He has no similar boast in the case of secession. With the menacing figures and sinister intentions of Mr. Roos and General Kemp and the other Generals of the Nationalist Party before him, he is reduced to the humiliating expedient of begging for a little respite, the short life of the next Parliament please; and after that the deluge! In the meantime he will help General Kemp to become Minister of Defence and hand over the keys of the citadel to the secessionists to use after the short period of respite has expired. His desire to get rid of me and the Government has carried him to such lengths that he is prepared to help in laying the train and putting the match into the hands of the secessionists. So terrible and dangerous a thing is hatred in politics! No, gentlemen, if and when the fight over secession is once more renewed by the Nationalist Party, I have no doubt that we shall beat them again, as we have beaten them before. But we shall not have the assistance of Colonel Creswell and we shall succeed in spite of the assistance he has rendered the secessionists. No doubt he flatters himself that while he is there he will act as a brake on the secession movement. But it will once more be the story of the fly on the wheel.

"TURNED DOWN WITH CONTEMPT".

Four years ago when I made my proposal for a non-party government to the leaders of the other parties, the Nationalists replied that they were prepared to accept, provided (inter alia) the combination excluded the Labourites and Unionists and was confined to the other two parties, and for the life of that Parliament the secession issue would not be raised in Parliament, but might be spread in the country. In other words their conditions were: the maintenance of racialism in our politics and the slowing down of the secession issue only for a few years. These conditions the caucus of the old South African Party unanimously turned down with contempt, and they proceeded to fight it out and they beat the Nationalists on both these issues. What a difference between their courageous action, and the dangerous immoral experiment resorted to by Colonel Creswell! How much safer and sounder our future politics would have been if Colonel Creswell had acted with similar courage and faith. He has preferred to keep the secession policy alive for the future and in the meantime to strengthen its supporters.

SHIP OF STATE. REMISSION OF TAXATION NEXT YEAR.

The third of the great objects we set out to achieve was to steer the country with safety and credit through the troubled times ahead. It was clear that they were coming to us as they had already come to Europe and America. The Nationalists are never tired of stating that I promised great prosperity at

the last General Election. So far from doing that I gave a grave warning to the country. I said:—

"The internal situation is going to be one of exceptional difficulty. Grave problems of social and industrial development clamour for solution. At the same time the economic depression, which usually follows great wars, has already reached Europe and will sooner or later arrive to complicate our local situation. The temper of disorder and indiscipline which is paralysing the reconstruction of the Old World is not entirely absent from South Africa, and is growing both among the white and native population."

THE 1922 STORM.

But the violence of the storm which suddenly burst on us early in 1921 exceeded our worst anticipations. Depression such as the country had never known in its history, a sudden collapse of all values and prices after the great post war boom. On top of that a revolution on the Rand, which added greatly to the financial collapse and went to such lengths that the casualties involved exceeded those of the Rebellion in 1914. A great wave of unemployment swept the country. There followed three years of the greatest drought the country had known for the last fifty years; drought and the locusts, both on an unprecedented scale. They have been sad years, years of toiling onward through the night, through pitch darkness and unrelieved gloom. The elements seemed to conspire with our enemies to bring us to nought. In the violence of the storm, in the babel of dissension and condemnation, one could but simply and grimly do one's duty and expend one's last ounce of strength in trying to save the ship of state. And it has been saved. Unemployment was fought as in no other country, the locusts were destroyed by a herculean effort. And Heaven at last sent the beautiful gentle rain.

SKIES CLEARING.

The skies now are clearing. The great financial depression shows signs of passing, and will pass unless another upset is in store for us. The heavy railway and general financial deficits have disappeared, the railway budget for the last financial year shows a handsome surplus, and the national budget was not far from balancing last year and is estimated to more than balance this financial year. We look forward to the prospect of remitting taxation next financial year, and the first tax to go will be the Medicine Tax, while the Tobacco Tax will be simplified in its administration and will be taken off or at least eased off as regards the small producers. We have weathered the storm.

And we have come through it all with our credit unimpaired and indeed better than that of most of the Great Powers and probably as good as that of Great Britain; our pound sterling is worth more than the English pound sterling. We have avoided inflation; we have established a Central Bank which has been a tower of strength to our financial stability and probably prevented a great banking collapse with all its additional burden of suffering and ruin to tens of thousands of depositors.

THE PUBLIC SERVANTS. NO FURTHER DEMANDS UPON THEM.

We have had to make demands on our public servants and we acknowledge the spirit in which those demands have been met. We have proceeded in these matters as far as possible by the method of friendly negotiation with the Service organisations. We have also called into being under the Act of 1923 (which in many other respects greatly

improved the conditions of the Service) a National Advisory Council composed of representatives of the Service organisations which will be an established channel of communication and negotiation between the Service and the Government. In the case of the railway service the new scales have been applied with the same consideration for the present holders of offices and we will deal in the same way with the teachers. They have all brought their quota of sacrifice, just as the general public have had to bring an even greater quota. But they have done it for South Africa. That is their proud consciousness and their consolation.

SACRIFICE NOT IN VAIN.

And their sacrifice has not been in vain. It has helped to square the accounts of the country, and enabled us as a nation to face the world proudly and to look forward with confidence to the financial stability of the country in the future. If we had shirked our duty and let the financial situation drift, we would in the end have suffered more than the sacrifice we have now been called upon to make and the harm done to the recovery of the country would have been most serious. They have the further melancholy satisfaction that in other countries civil servants have had to carry heavier burdens than here. In New Zealand for instance, I am informed that present salaries were reduced by 10%, and even in a country of high financial stability like Holland present salaries were reduced by 20%, while in countries with a depreciated currency the sacrifice and suffering have been far higher. There is one more point I wish to emphasize in this connection. So far as we are concerned the end has been reached in the process of reducing salaries or emoluments in the public services, and we do not propose to make any further demands on our public or our railway servants or curtail reasonable existing privileges.

FACTS OMINOUS ATTITUDE.

I notice that Mr. Roos, speaking a week ago at Johannesburg, from the same platform as Colonel Creswell, and therefore speaking for the Pact as a whole, stated that they had in view a scheme of re-organisation of the services which would weed out the inefficient and effect great economies in the administration. These views have been repeated at Pretoria. Those are very ominous words, and they become even more ominous when taken in connection with many other declarations of Mr. Roos during the last few years in reference to the public service. A future government on the eve of a General Election does not make such menacing declarations unless it intends to proceed very far indeed. In my view these menaces and the whole policy of retrenchment foreshadowed are without justification. One of the solid services which the Government have rendered during these years of storm and stress was to put the public service on a secure footing under the administration of a non-partisan Public Service Commission. The root and branch overhauling which the Pact now threatens is not only without justification, it is also opposed to the whole spirit of the civil service reforms already placed on the Statute book. This policy is of course intended to introduce the American spoils system into our administration, to carry out Nationalist promises, and to fill the Services with their faithful political camp-followers. We shall fight this pernicious policy to the bitter end.

MORE RAILWAYS.

FURTHER MARKETS FOR UNION EXPORTS.

Another principal plank in our platform at the last General Election was the development of the

country through a forward industrial policy. Though much has been accomplished during the last three years, we cannot claim to have succeeded in the way we had hoped. The depressed and unsettled conditions of the country have proved too much for us. But even so a great deal has been done.

We successfully put through the largest programme of railway and harbour construction which has yet been attempted in South Africa, and if we are returned to power we intend to come forward with another similar scheme. Our subcontinent is unfortunately badly served with natural communications, and with a view to its development no money could be better spent than in creating means of transport and opening up communications. Railway construction not only opens up the resources of the country, but it provides the best means for employing white labour in times of unemployment such as we are passing through. Our experience has amply proved that white labour can be economically employed in this work, and I trust that a large programme of railway construction will be immediately undertaken which will provide work for our poor and keep them away from the demoralising influences of the alluvial diggings.

TRADE COMMISSIONER FOR AMERICA.

One of our principal preoccupations during the last three years has been to find markets abroad for our raw products. Happily we have succeeded in this to a very large extent. The appointment of Mr. Spilhaus as our Commissioner for Commerce on the Continent has been one of the best and soundest steps ever taken in the interests of the development of the country, and his services in finding openings for our produce on the Continent have been priceless. It is a curious commentary on our action that Colonel Creswell largely won the Stamford Hill seat from us on the prejudice he could raise over this appointment. The Government intend to follow this appointment up by making a similar one to North America. We have also extended our trade relations with our African neighbours, and we look to the African markets further north as among the most promising and natural outlets for our expanding commerce and industry. The Nationalists were prepared to jeopardise these opportunities by advocating the closing of our frontiers to cattle from the north. By friendly negotiation with our neighbours we have found a generally acceptable solution of this difficult question without in any way endangering our trade relations with them.

The Government have also taken the lead in conjunction with the steamship companies to improve the transport conditions in our fruit export abroad. I am informed on good authority that we are doing first class pioneering work in the new science of the cold storage and transport of fruit. The results are already evident in the improved state in which our fruit reaches the European markets and the better prices our farmers get. These prices have this season been practically double of what they were the season before. The prospects for our fruit farmers all over South Africa are in consequence rosy.

FRUIT EXPORT.

The Government has exerted all their influence to secure fair preferences for our export fruit, wine, tobacco, sugar and other products in the English markets. We have had no backing from the Opposition parties. On the contrary, by violently attacking us in Parliament in connection with this matter, they have created the impression that South Africa is divided or indifferent in regard to these preferences, they have helped to jeopardise the acceptance of these

preferences by the British Parliament and have thereby rendered the greatest disservice to our producers. Such is the policy of "South Africa First" in actual practice. It means Nationalist politics first!

HELP FOR FARMERS. PLANS TO BENEFIT AND ATTRACT SETTLERS.

As regards the agricultural industry we regard it as our primary and most important industry and our attitude to it in the past is a pledge that we shall continue in the future to help it forward in every legitimate way. This we shall do by opening up new markets abroad for our produce, by fostering agricultural co-operation and financing it through the Land Bank and otherwise, by building new railways and reducing railway rates as much as possible, and by giving sympathetic consideration to all the grave problems which confront our agricultural industries. We have solved the wine question for the present, anyhow, and we trust to be able to solve the meat and tobacco questions too if we are given the chance. We intend to take special steps to promote the cotton industry which ought soon to be of the first rank.

With regard to land settlement and irrigation we adhere to the statement of policy which was made by Colonel Reitz last session in Parliament. In all necessary cases a revaluation of settlement farms is going to take place and much longer terms of payment will be arranged for all present and future settlers alike. The Government will take over surplus irrigable land from owners for settlement purposes and so overcome the grave financial difficulties in which large numbers of irrigators find themselves under the existing Acts.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

In addition land settlement will be promoted by more funds being made available for the four fifths advances on the purchases of farms under clause 11 of the Act. The Government intend to provide sufficient money not only to help all suitable South African applicants but also to help in the same way and on an equal footing approved settlers from abroad who have had agricultural training with South African farmers or in South African training schools or farms. In this way a great impetus will also be given to immigration of the right type to South Africa. We have found that the system of advances under clause 11 is the best way to promote land settlement, and we intend to exploit it to the full.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY. SOLID WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I gave great prominence at the last General Election to the industrial policy of the new Government, but the times and circumstances of the country have been very adverse to the successful launching of that policy. Violent fluctuations of exchanges and currencies abroad have produced here as in Australia and other young industrial countries an atmosphere of uncertainty and caution. Manufacturers never knew definitely what competition they had to meet from abroad and were therefore inclined to await events. But the gravest difficulty of all has been financial stringency and curtailment of credit. Capital could not be found for starting many promising industries, and even where such capital was found, the absence of proper credit facilities and of working capital brought many others to grief. There are many factories which have closed down or are labouring under difficulties, not because the Government did not protect them or because they had not a good local market, but because they had not working capital to go on with, and the banks were not in a posi-

tion to finance them. That and not Government inaction, is the main reason for the slowing down of our industrial policy. The banking and the financial position is however rapidly improving, and the outlook for our South African industries ought soon to be much brighter.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY.

Take the case of our Iron and Steel industry, for which as our great future key industry I have laboured continuously these last three years. In spite of the most favourable technical reports, in spite of a most generous bounty system which we put through Parliament, the millions necessary for starting this industry have not yet been found. However, I have not lost heart or hope and mean to succeed in the near future.

Notwithstanding the difficulties I have referred to a good deal of solid ground work has been accomplished. Parliament has passed a scheme for a Board of Trade and Industries which investigates the chances of new industries and makes recommendations as to any changes in the Customs or railway rates or any other form of assistance and protection which might be required by such industries. The Board has already done a good deal of useful work and acquired valuable experience for the future. On their recommendation not only the Boot and Shoe industry but at least a score of others have had proper assistance and protection extended to them. The Board is going to be of first rate importance for the future industrial development of the country, especially when it is re-organised and strengthened in the way that experience has indicated.

ELECTRIC POWER.

An even more important step has been taken in the establishment of the Electricity Commission. The industrial future of the country depends on the supply in bulk of cheap power. The Government scheme which Parliament has accepted means the establishment by a public authority of Central Power stations in the coal areas and great industrial centres of the Union, from which the railways and municipal services and all forms of local industries will be supplied cheaply, without the necessity of making their own power. The system will reduce capital expenditure and working costs for every industry within the area of the great stations. It is a scheme much in advance of what has been done in any other country, and its effects on the future of our industrial development will be enormous. Already large stations are going up or are planned for Cape Town, Durban, Colenso and Witbank, and others will follow in due course. It is a move of first rate importance.

SPECIAL MINISTER. BANK TO ASSIST YOUNG FACTORIES.

What is our policy for the future? To my mind the coast is clear now for launching a really bold forward policy of industrial development. And the urgent needs of the country clamour for courageous action. We have reached a stage in our development as a country and a nation which calls for a great move forward, if we are not to stagnate and go backward. No government ought to be tolerated for a day which does not honestly and sincerely grapple with the problem of providing a future for our large and growing output of boys and girls. And industrial employment is and remains one of the most powerful means for absorbing our growing European popula-

tion. Let me sketch briefly the lines along which we would move, if we are once more returned to power.

In the first place I would constitute a new portfolio of Industries and Trade in the Cabinet. At present industrial interests are looked after by various Government departments, such as the Board of Industries, the Mines and Industries department, the Customs department and others. They are not always in agreement, and their activities sometimes cancel and neutralise each other; they tend to work in watertight compartments. For a proper forward policy there ought to be co-ordination of all the offices and departments which are concerned with industrial policy. And I intend to bring them all together under a Minister whose proper business it will be to assist, foster and promote our industrial and manufacturing development.

THE PROPOSED BANK.

Secondly, I would do for industries what we have hitherto done for agriculture. We have recognised from the beginning that the ordinary banking facilities are not enough for agriculture, and therefore we have established the Land Bank to render additional assistance to farmers. The experience of the last three years has proved how difficult it is for a struggling infant industry to get help from the banks. I propose to have an organisation established either in connection with the Land Bank, or separately from it, which will give financial assistance after proper investigation and with the necessary safeguards to young industries whose chances are good, but whose circumstances are such that the commercial banks will not grant them facilities. It is a difficult matter and an element of risk will remain in spite of all precautions. But I feel convinced that in the general public interest the time for such a move has come.

TO BUILD ENGINES HERE.

Thirdly, I would make an entirely new department in connection with our railway workshops. We have at present a number of such workshops scattered over the country, which are mostly engaged in repairing work, and to a limited extent in coach and wagon building. Much of our rolling stock and practically all our locomotives are still ordered from abroad. In this way large sums of money annually leave the country which should be spent here and give employment to our own people. But the existing workshops are not properly equipped with the latest mechanical appliances for such work. Our policy is to have all our work done in the Union, to establish a great railway workshop or factory fitted with the most up-to-date appliances, which will be capable of building economically not only all the rolling stock, but in time also all the engines which have hitherto been indented from abroad. It will be a huge and costly undertaking, but I feel convinced the time has come to make a big step forward along this line. And if simultaneously the Iron and Steel industry could be pushed through to success we shall have taken a far-reaching step in the industrial development of the country.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Fourthly and lastly I would energetically push technical education. I would make industry and technical education walk hand in hand to the brighter future which awaits us. We have covered the country with Universities and colleges and high schools; we have dotted the country with agricultural schools and colleges. But the technical and industrial side of our education has lagged behind. This omission should be repaired. Our whole educational system requires overhauling, but in any case the opportunities

for technical instruction and training for which there is a great and growing demand should be provided without further loss of time, and this training should be closely associated and co-ordinated with our local industries. The future European civilisation in this country depends to a large extent on our doing our duty promptly in this respect.

PERILS OF THE PACT.

HOW COUNTRY'S CREDIT WILL BE DAMAGED.

I have discussed our record for the past three years and have sketched the policy and programme we intend to carry out if again favoured with the confidence of the country. I now wish to say a few words about the intention of the Pact, so far as they have been revealed to us in the speeches of the leaders. True, General Hertzog has still to make his manifesto speech, and I trust he will try to speak with more definiteness and clarity than usual, so that the country does not go to the polls in a fog and in ignorance of what the Pact Parties are really going to do if they get into power. But something of their policy has already been indicated and I wish to make a few remarks thereon.

I have already expressed my complete disapproval of the scheme of civil service re-organisation which Mr. T. Roos has foreshadowed. I feel even deeper misgivings about his intention to cut down, if not to destroy the Defence organisation of the country. In view of the recession policy which may come into full operation after the expiration of the next Parliament, and the certainty that General Kemp will be their Defence Minister, I read the most sinister meaning into this important declaration. Mr. Roos has spoken frankly, and I hope the country will take his words to heart and that this will be a case where "forewarned is forearmed."

PAPER INFLATION POLICY.

Mr. Roos speaking for the Pact at the Johannesburg meeting, also explained that it is the intention of the Pact Parties to convert the Reserve Bank into a State Bank which will finance the miners and farmers and the industrialists. We know what capital the Reserve Bank has, but we are not told by Mr. Roos in his last speech where the new capital to finance these classes is to come from. For the last couple of years however he has expounded all over the country a policy of paper inflation. Why borrow money abroad when you can print paper here, he has repeatedly asked, just as the Russian Soviet has asked. The gold of the mines will be the security for this paper he says. We must therefore infer that the gold of the mines will be locked up in the vaults of the new bank instead of being sent overseas to pay for our imports, that the mines will be paid in paper for their gold, and that an inflated paper currency will become legal tender in this country. I leave it to the public to imagine what effect this policy will have on our credit at home and abroad, what collapse of values will ensue, and what damage will be done to our trade and industries.

THIN TIME FOR CAPITAL.

But whatever the intentions and plans of the Pact in regard to a State Bank and the printing of paper money, I must confess that I have the profoundest misgivings about the financial policy which the Pact government are likely to pursue. If I have to judge by the acts of the Pact majority in the last three or four years of the Transvaal Provincial Council I can only say that capital and industry will have a very thin time, that to find money for a host of impossible objects capital will be held held up to ransom,

and the credit of this country will receive a blow from which it will not easily recover.

I have equal misgivings as to the policy which the Pact government are going to pursue towards the mining industry, which as the strike of 1922 proved to us, is the key to the prosperity of every other industry in the country, including agriculture. In Parliament and out of Parliament, in season and out of season the Pact leaders have carried on a campaign of vendetta against this industry. The leaders and even the rank and file of both the Pact Parties have made the mining industry of the country their object of attack. Their principal charge against the Government is that the policy of the Government has been too favourable to the mines, that the mines should be much more highly taxed, and that measures should be adopted, whose inevitable effect would be to cripple the mining industry. I very much fear that the mining policy of the Pact will mean that the country will move under the Pact from one economic crisis to another, and that prosperity will only return when the Pact leaves.

SEGREGATION IDEA. COUNTRY WILL BE RUN ON THE ROCKS.

But my gravest fears of all are reserved for General Hertzog's segregation policy. General Hertzog is a political fanatic and I fear he is going to run this country on the rocks with his pet segregation idea. He is even under the delusion that the natives like and welcome his segregation policy!

His policy, as often explained by him, is as follows. All the natives of the Union must be segregated into territorial reserves, and in the Cape Province they will lose the vote for the Parliamentary elections, which should never have been given them. On the other hand the coloured people as distinct from the natives will have the same vote and citizen rights all over the Union as the whites, and the colour bar will completely disappear from South Africa. In addition he has also advocated what he calls industrial segregation of the natives which however he has prudently refrained from defining more clearly. Mr. Roos has however declared that it means that natives outside their reserves can only do unskilled work.

IMPOSSIBLE SCHEME.

I take the above to be in broad outline the segregation policy which the Pact intend to put through Parliament. And I have no hesitation in saying that it is an impossible scheme and that it will bring about the greatest commotion which has ever been seen in the history of South Africa, that in so far as the work of this country is dependent on co-operation between white and black it will bring the business of this country to a complete deadlock, and that it will produce such a sense of injury, injustice and oppression in the minds of the natives as will not be easily effaced again. The penalty that the white man will pay for this folly will be incalculable. This, like most of General Hertzog's pet ideas, is thoroughly unsound and dangerous.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

Not thus, ladies and gentlemen, will our Native question be solved. I have as Minister of Native Affairs during the last four years endeavoured to approach this great question in quite a different way. In the Native Councils Act I have provided for a native self-government in their present or future reserves. And in the Urban Areas Act of last year I have tried to strike at the root of the evils

which arise from natives living in or near the towns and great urban and industrial areas. In both these reforms I have carried white and native opinion with me. And only in that spirit of justice, consultation and fair play shall we ever be able to provide satisfactorily for the co-existence of white and black in this sub-continent.

FIVE PARLIAMENTS. NATIONALISTS AND WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

There is another matter on which the attitude of the Pact makes me seriously apprehensive and on which I should like to have a definite declaration from General Hertzog. Are the Pact Parties in favour of going back to a federal system in our Provincial relations? If so they are going to upset our work at Union and to impose five Parliaments and taxing bodies in the Union, which is more than our small population can bear. As far as we are concerned our policy is clear and definite.

The last Act places the Councils on a definite footing with curtailed taxing powers. If they make good under that Act, we shall be content to let them go on for the future. But if, especially in the two big Provinces, the Councils do not give satisfaction and do not discharge their constitutional functions properly, the Provincial system so far as these two Provinces are concerned will have to be reconsidered and radically altered.

REFLECTION ON WOMANHOOD.

I am concerned also at the attitude of open and declared hostility which the Nationalist leaders and Party have adopted towards the important question of Women's Franchise. Although we do not make a Party issue of it, the great majority of our Party favour this reform. We look upon our women as worthy to stand by the side of our men as their equals in the citizenship of the country. The attitude of the Nationalist leaders is a reflection on our South African womanhood which they do not deserve. They have tried to divert attention from themselves in alleging that I am in favour of female franchise for white and black throughout the Union. That is entirely false. I have advocated as the only workable solution in my opinion the fixing of a fairly high common qualification for women all over South Africa, and to leave the colour bar where the Constitution placed it, namely outside the Cape Province. I sincerely hope that along these or similar lines this reform will yet be carried with the assent of all parties, and as a gift of all parties to the womanhood of South Africa.

PERFECTLY PRACTICAL.

The policy I have sketched is in my opinion all that is really required in order to give our industrial and agricultural development the necessary start for the next stage. And it is a perfectly feasible and practical policy. If the measures I have mentioned are carried out, we can leave the rest to private enterprise and to the return of more favourable and prosperous conditions to the country. We do not want violent and heroic measures, which can only do harm. The country has been brought through a very serious illness by expert skill; let us leave the complete recovery and future development to nature, and not spoil it by constant governmental actions and interference.

PACT FADDISTS.

GRAVE ISSUE OF MOMENTOUS ELECTION.

And there is just where my fear for the future comes in. If a Pact government were to come into power and apply their amateurish ideas and faddist experiments to this country we shall see such shock, such uncertainty, and such general unsettlement that our chances for future development and a return of general prosperity will soon be clouded over once more. The country would have a government not of sane, shrewd, experienced heads, but a government of amateurs, faddists and extremists who in the past have stood for all that is most dangerous in our politics. These men will be bound to put in to practice at least some of the policies which they have advocated with such vehemence; their followers will expect and force them to practice at least part of what they have preached. And a blow will be dealt this country from which it will not easily recover. That is one of the grave issues in this momentous election.

One often hears it said that the present Government have been too long in power, that a change is desirable; and that, after all, no great harm would happen if a change took place. No attitude, no argument could be more dangerous than this. A change might be justified, it might even be desirable, if our place was going to be taken by men whose past is such that we could safely trust them for the future, by men against whom there was nothing, by men with a clean slate so to speak. But what is the position here? We are to make way for men who have the most dangerous and sinister records in our public affairs, whose past has darkened the recent history of South Africa, who would indeed have wrecked this country, but for the heroic sacrifices and efforts of General Botha and the sane and patriotic manhood of South Africa who stood by him.

NOT INNOCENT.

If the men who wish to replace us were merely inexperienced I would give them a chance. If only they were innocent, if only their record showed that they could be trusted with the government of this country. But they are not innocent, South Africa cannot afford to trust its fate to such men. To place them in command of the administration at this juncture would mean complete reversal of all the great issues that have been settled during the last fourteen years of our history. It could only open up another dark chapter in our history, and I for one have too much faith in the judgment of my countrymen to believe such a thing possible.

I would ask the people of South Africa to ponder the following questions on our recent history and to give the answer at the polls in the light of their conscience and the love they bear South Africa:

GRAVE INDICTMENT.

POLITICAL RECORD OF GENERAL HERTZOG.

Twelve years ago General Hertzog founded the Nationalist Party on the two stream policy in order to perpetuate and accentuate the racial divisions between our white people. To that General Botha and the South African Party offered the great ideal of one indivisible South African nation. What would our future as a nation and a civilisation have been if Hertzog's policy had triumphed, and if it had not been shattered by the stand we took, and subsequently followed up decisively in October, 1920?

Ten years ago, when the Great war broke out and the Rebellion followed in this country, General Hert-

zog, (in order, as he confessed, to retain the confidence of his republican following) retired to his tent and refused to say the word that might have meant peace. He, the great patriot, abandoned the country to its fate. What would have happened to South Africa if General Botha and I had taken a similar line, and had allowed the Rebellion to develop into a general civil war? Would South Africa not have become the graveyard of its people and of all our hopes, instead of having the proud and equal position which it to-day occupies among the nations of the world? At least one who led that Rebellion and joined the enemy in the Great War will be a member of his Cabinet and a colleague of Colonel Creswell, if the Pact comes into power.

Five years ago General Hertzog headed a Nationalist deputation to the Great Powers to ask for the dissolution of the Union of South Africa, and the restoration of the Transvaal and Free State to the status which they had occupied before the Anglo-Boer war. What would have happened if that supreme folly had been allowed to take place? By that act he declared himself the enemy of a United South Africa, which he had vainly tried to wreck before by his two stream policy and his policy in the Rebellion and the Great War. This is the man who now comes forward and claims to be entitled to become Prime Minister of a United South Africa. Will the people of South Africa allow that claim?

Four years ago General Hertzog, in order to keep his party fires burning after such defeats, put himself at the head of a campaign of secession from the British Empire and started a raging, tearing propaganda throughout the land and raised passions to fever heat. What would have happened if we had not accepted the challenge, if we had allowed this policy to run its wild course, to the undoing of South Africa, to the splitting up of its people into racial factions, perhaps to civil war and to war with the British Empire? We are now told by Colonel Creswell that this was all a delusion, that the people was bemused by me, and that there never was any secession campaign. I leave that point also to the judgment of the people, who do not turn political somersaults so suddenly and so easily as the gallant Colonel.

RAGING, TEARING PROPAGANDA.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have mentioned errors of judgment and policy on the part of General Hertzog, so grave, so terrible, so long continued that I do not see how the people of South Africa can forgive them. They are unpardonable in any leader who lays claim to a position where he can control the destinies of this country. They are indeed deadly sins against South Africa. They are not small paltry matters of detail like the Medicine Tax or the Tobacco Tax, or the other troubles which are brought up against me. They go to the roots of our unity and our future as a nation and a country.

NO REPENTANCE.

HERTZOG UNABASHED AND UNASHAMED.

What is worse: there has been no repentance on the part of General Hertzog. He remains unabashed and unashamed. He glories in the part he has played and continually poses as a martyr. It is better so than that South Africa should become the martyr, the victim of his policies.

No, there is no repentance, no confession of error, but instead a proud claim to be master of South Africa on the basis of his past record. If in the great trial which is now going on in this country, if in the quiet searching of hearts which is taking place in the towns and on the veld all over this great land, the claim of General Hertzog is allowed, then I say, ladies and gentlemen, South Africa will be passing judgment against herself, she will not be faithful to her own glorious past, and she will by her own deliberate act plunge herself into a position from which the hands of the wisest and the strongest may not be able to extricate her hereafter. I do not attack General Hertzog's private character, which is above reproach, I do not wish to question his personal competence, but I say deliberately that his past political record is such that South Africa cannot choose him for her Prime Minister without being untrue to herself and without running the gravest risk to her future. Not only my political record, but just as much, aye, even more so, the record of General Hertzog is in issue at this General Election. I have no personal wish to remain Prime Minister of this country for a day longer than I am wanted. I would serve my country as a private in the ranks just as willingly. I dare not, nor do I desire, to desert my own work. And I feel and believe sincerely that with General Hertzog as Prime Minister and the colleagues he will have in his Government, all that others and I have been able to achieve for this country in this generation will be involved in grave dangers, dangers which may easily develop into irremediable disaster. Fortunately it is not for me but for the people of this country to decide.

OUR "POLITICAL PURISTS" SCATHING ATTACK UPON THE PACT.

There is one more charge I make against General Hertzog, and I make it even more strongly against Colonel Creswell. They both pose as political purists. They both look on me as a political opportunist, not much devoted to principles, and they claim to be great men of principle. Gentlemen, they are convicted by their own Pact. If the Pact stands, we shall no longer conduct the public affairs and political life of South Africa according to principles. I say the Pact is an unclean, unwholesome thing, that it is a clear negation and flouting of all political principles and that it is a debauching and lowering of our public life. The Pact is in fact a conspiracy hatched in darkness and without the previous knowledge and consent of the rank and file of the two parties affected thereby. It is an election dodge meant to obscure the real judgment of the country at this election by making men of the most opposite and contradictory views vote together as if they were agreed. If this dodge succeeds and the election is won, the Pact will become the new instrument of Government in this country and continue to demoralise our politics and degrade our public life. The secessionists and the loyalists will appear to work together, while really trying to steal a march on each other. The socialism of the towns will collaborate cheek by jowl with the individualism and the conservatism of the backveld.

PRIVATE BARGAINING.

Nobody will know where he is or on what principles and policies the country is run; and everything will be done by private bargaining and arrangement, of which the ordinary decent citizen is sure to be the victim. I call this unclean unwholesome politics. It is not only a departure from all clearcut principles on which our public affairs should be conducted, but in the end

it will through the system of compromises and arrangements, of bargaining and bartering one interest against another, become an instrument of political tyranny and corruption. The Labour leaders favour the Pact because it will enable them to bring the Socialist gospel to the homes on the veld. The Nationalist leaders favour the Pact because it provides them with the necessary votes to come into office, and for what else do they care? I ask the judgment of the country to condemn these tactics and manoeuvres which are not honest, which are mischievous, and which will in the end bring about a complete indifference to and disregard for political principles and common political honesty.

CLEAN POLITICS ESSENTIAL.

Let us make this election a battle for clean politics and for conducting the affairs of this country on clear political principles. If the Pact is turned down now, unscrupulous politicians in future will think twice before they try again to smother the voice and the wishes of the people through election dodges and subterfuges.

THE IMMENSE ISSUES.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I would ask you to honour me once again with your confidence as your representative, as you have done for the last five general elections. And I would ask the country to vote for the South African Party on its work and record, and on the constructive programme which I have outlined to you to-night on behalf of the Party. I ask the country to say that it is not going to turn back on its own past, but that it is going to march forward with full confidence in itself and in the principles and policies which have brought success to it in the past. I ask you to say that in the future as in the past this country cannot afford so dangerous a leader as General Hertzog. I ask you to say that the measures which the Nationalist party stands pledged to are not in the interest of this country, will produce great confusion and unsettlement, and will seriously retard the financial recovery and industrial progress of the country. And I finally ask you to disapprove of the Pact and to vote for clean politics, clear principles and platforms and the maintenance of a high standard of morality and honesty in public life. These are the immense issues for your decision in this election.

It all comes back to the one great question which has dominated our politics ever since Union, namely, are we going to build up a great South African Nation, united in itself and respected in the world? Make our slogan in this election the South African Nation first, and away with all party Pacts and sectional or class interests.

The Speech contained herein is a verbatim report of that delivered by General Smuts at Pretoria West in Wednesday evening the 23rd April, 1924, and may be regarded as the S.A. Party Manifesto for the General Election of 1924.



General Secretary,
South African Party.

28th April, 1924.

GENERAL HERTZOG'S SEVEN POINTS

THE POLICY OF THE PACT

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS THE FIRST PLANK

A MINISTRY OF LABOUR

Smithfield, Saturday.

General Hertzog, accompanied by his son and Senator Brebner, motored over from Bloemfontein to-day, the party being met a few miles outside Smithfield by a mounted commando comprising some 300 men and women, a fleet of about 60 motor-cars, and large numbers of carts of all descriptions.

Hearty cheers greeted the arrival of the Free State Nationalist leader, who, mounting a horse, rode in triumphal procession into Smithfield.

At three o'clock, General Hertzog addressed a largely-attended meeting from the grand stand of the local sports grounds of between 1,000 and 1,500 people. General Hertzog spoke for seventy-five minutes.

General Hertzog said that suddenly, though not unexpectedly, the Smuts Government had made the discovery that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people. (Hear, hear). The deception and false pretences through which it was called into being in 1921 never gave the Government the right to lay claim to any such confidence from the side of the people. Under the circumstances there was nothing surprising in the fact that even at the first by-election the people displayed their dissatisfaction with the Government, so that the majority of 24 with which the Smuts Government began in 1921 soon dropped to a majority of eight. A majority of eight in a House of 124 was, however, not too small a majority to enable a Government to attend properly to the interests of the country. But in spite of the considerable majority which he still had at his disposal, General Smuts had decided to dissolve Parliament and go to the polls.

"However hard General Smuts may try to make the people believe it," said General Hertzog, "no one will seriously credit that his decision is solely attributable to a sudden awakening to the fact that he and his colleagues no longer possess the confidence of the people. Such a degree of scrupulous regard for what is and what is not becoming transcends everything that we have been accustomed to see in General Smuts, and is nowhere to be found in his conduct.

NO CONFIDENCE!

"As is again revealed in this present contest, General Smuts knows that he

never possessed the confidence of his electors. They knew only too well how the victory in 1921 had been gained, by false representations and misleading promises, by deliberately slandering their opponents and exciting racial feeling by the English-speaking people against the Nationalists. The reckless conduct of General Smuts during the 1921 elections, as at the preceding elections in 1920, has cost the country much in money but even more in blood. Now he is busy, according to his manifesto published on April 24, to avail himself of the same methods and election tactics which gained him the victory in 1921, but which at the same time was a blighting disaster for the people."

The speaker proceeded that nothing was so characteristic of General Smuts as his apparent want of dignity and responsibility when it comes to satisfying his ambitions and taking the authority of the State in his own hands. "The selfish conceit which radiates from practically every line of his recently-published manifesto," said the speaker, "is nothing more than we have for years been accustomed to get from him; but just because this is so commonplace we run the risk of not realising how fatal that arrogance is to us as a people."

"How this conceit often leads him to a wrong conception of his responsibility as head of the State is apparent to all, in the role he played as 'lawyer' at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, when, to gratify his ambitions to shine as a jurist, he was prepared to discard his responsibility as a delegated statesman of the Union as something of no consequence. (Hear, hear.) But even more characteristic is the light-heartedness with which, during the course of 1923, he brought South Africa to the brink of another bloody war, namely, with France. The secrets of his attitude in the City Hall, Capetown, early in the year and later again in Bloemfontein on the occasion of the S.A.P. Congress will be revealed by history later on, but it remains a deed so recklessly irresponsible and so unjust towards the people of the Union that it should be sufficient for ever to bar him out of the government of the country as Prime Minister (Hear, hear.)

THE 1922 UPHEAVAL

"No less irresponsible was the action of General Smuts in connection with the strike of 1922. His conduct as Prime Minister on that occasion was that of a child who has lighted a fire in the vicinity of a haystack, in the quiet ex-

pectation that it would burst into flames and provide him with the pleasure of putting it out with his water-bucket.

"According to his own admission, General Smuts stood by passively until the fire of violence had blazed up in order to put it out afterwards with still greater violence. How his sense of responsibility contrasts with that of a Lloyd George, a Baldwin, and a Ramsay MacDonald."

Dealing with General Smuts's election programme, the speaker said it was clear to all that General Smuts was resolutely determined to prejudice the English-speaking people against the Nationalists in order in that way to prevent any "toenadering" between English-speaking and Dutch-speaking Africanderdom. To this very moment he is still animated with the same aim, and is still trying, by exciting the racial feeling of the one section, to excite the two sections in enmity and bitterness against each other.

"According to General Smuts," said the speaker, "there would be no place for the English-speaking under a National Party Government. It would be unheard-of for a Prime Minister of a country to make such a gross accusation against almost half, if not more, than half of the white population subject to his authority, even if there was ground for it. But where the accusation is devoid of all truth and is wholly supported by the attempt by means of deception to maintain himself in the position of Prime Minister, surely that person deserves nothing less than the deepest con-

tempt of us all. Yet this once again constitutes the main theme of General Smuts's manifesto. After the election of 1921, scarcely were the men who were to bring "prosperity and millions" into the country at the head of affairs than an unprecedented wave of depression, financial stringency, and adversity, was upon us.

WASTE, NOT WAR

"As for General Smuts's contention that our sad economic plight since 1921 is to be ascribed to the European War," said the speaker, "this is only partly true, and indeed only for the minor part. For the greater part, it is due to the Government's extravagance and incompetence. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been squandered in buying useless land, further hundreds of thousands on miscarried land settlements that were badly enquired into, while millions have been wasted on irrigation works, and further millions on half-

hearted and injudicious relief works and doles.

"Verily, only an incorrigible optimist can appear to be so satisfied with his bungling (knoeiwerk) as General Smuts is with that of his Government. But as regards General Smuts's election promises in 1921, the crowning one was that 'peace' which he so loudly guaranteed if he should carry the day at the polls. You will still remember how he had predicted that blood would flow if the Nationalists should be returned to power. He and his Government were to preserve the peace and guard the people against the spilling of blood. How did he fulfil his promise?

"Within twelve months of his assumption of office, the Union had once again to be watered with the blood of her own subjects. For the fourth time within the short period of nine years, General Smuts had to resort to force of arms, and this for the most part against men who had just previously placed him in power. And what a spectacle he held up to our view—machine guns, cannon, aeroplanes, and bombs; man, woman, child, guilty and innocent—there was no distinction." Thus, said General Hertzog, were his promises fulfilled.

The speaker proceeded that General Smuts's manifesto for the present election could be divided into four parts: (1) casting reflections on and exciting people against his opponents, (2) an appeal to vote for him on the score of his past as Prime Minister, (3) what he proposes doing if he again gets into power, and (4) his promises, or what he intends giving, if he again becomes Prime Minister. General Smuts's hysterical attack on the agreement between the Nationalists and the Labourites would perhaps, as a new terrifying bogey, merit a few words from him (the speaker) if self-interest was not so evidently the cause of all General Smuts's care and anxiety.

"I am very sorry for General Smuts that the axe which is to behead him is so ghastly to him," said the speaker, "but he ought to console himself with this, that he himself is its discoverer and recommender. Even a Robespierre had to console himself with something similar." (Laughter.)

As to General Smuts's election programme, the speaker referred to the Prime Minister as having slept a long time on the Treasury Benches. They could imagine how King Barbarossa would make the world reverberate if he one day awoke after sleeping hundreds of years on his stone chair! In regard to industries, everyone who knew how divided the Smuts Government was on that point would realise how little hope there was of General Smuts's forward industrial policy eventuating.

SEVEN PLANKS

Turning to the problems which would be the subjects of its serious consideration if the National Party is called upon to form a Government, General Hertzog mentioned the following matters:

THE PACT'S PROGRAMME

"First, agricultural development, and more sympathy with the farmer. In recent years agriculture has not enjoyed the sympathetic handling and attention of the Government to which it is entitled—(loud cheers)—as witness the tobacco tax and the free importation of slaughter stock from Rhodesia, and so forth. The future of South Africa depends upon agriculture above everything. The policy of the present Government

to make the farmer directly financially responsible for the scientific and State supervision over agriculture and its development is a policy that can be justified by nothing, and is as pernicious as it is short-sighted. This is the old Unionist policy, now to be applied by Sir Thomas Smartt, which neither shows sympathy with the farmer nor can it promote the development of agriculture. That policy cannot be tolerated.

"Secondly, a clear-cut policy of development and protection of our own industries. Everyone in South Africa feels the necessity that industries that are nascent here should be encouraged, but also that such industries shall enjoy that protection from the State which takes due cognizance of the interests of the consumer and the worker. Yet up to the present no fixed or definite policy has been followed by the Government in regard thereto, with the result that to-day everything rests upon caprice and fickleness, to the greatest detriment of the development of our industries, and with the further consequence that thousands of our children who otherwise would give their services to the benefit of our country are to-day walking about idle. This cannot, must not, go on any longer.

UNEMPLOYMENT

"Thirdly, a thorough and comprehensive attempt to solve the condition of poverty and unemployment. The state of growing poverty and unemployment in our country can no longer be regarded passively by the Government, as has been the case heretofore, with a shrug of the shoulders. A penetrating and comprehensive attempt should be earnestly made to remove the roots of the evil.

"For this reason it would be necessary, among other things, that there should be an independent Ministerial Portfolio of Labour, closely co-ordinated with the other Ministerial departments with which it should keep in constant touch.

"Fourthly, a solution of the native question, with the maintenance of the existence of the European and his civilisation and the protection of civilised labour. It is imperative that this question shall now be tackled, and that through this solution the white man in South Africa shall be freed of the sense of danger which is constantly threatening him from the side of the native, and that at the same time the native shall feel that the white man also sincerely means well with the native and his development. There is room for both, and for the happiness of both, in South Africa. Both should be able to feel this, and to bring about this feeling it is necessary that we come to a just solution of the native problem. That solution must be based on the maintenance of the existence of the European population and European civilisation, and to secure this care should be taken that in our Civil Service and in our industrial life there shall be room for our sons and daughters to be able to make a living

NATIVE "TERRITORIES"

"Civilised labour will thus have to be protected against the pressure of the uncivilised labour within the white man's territory. As regards the native, equal care will be taken for his existence and development within his territory.

The speaker spoke of proper consultation with the entire people if necessary on this point, and added that in the meantime matters could not be allowed

to drift along any longer as was now the case. This was fatal to both European and native.

"Fifthly, a revision of our fiscal system. Our system of taxation," said General Hertzog, "is no longer a system. Lately, taxes have been imposed by the Government without regard to anything beyond the question of how much money do we require. If it is to be half a million, then a tobacco tax comes along. If it is to be £100,000, then there comes a medicine tax—without inquiring whether the tobacco farmer would thereby be driven off the land or not, or in how far the chemist would be squeezed and the poor man still further oppressed.

"This state of things cannot go on any longer. Our taxation must be revised, and at the same time it must be carefully investigated in how far the mines are to-day bearing their fair share in the taxation of the country. (Hear, hear.) Nobody desires deliberately to damage the gold mining industry, and it ought to enjoy its full share in the protection which the State accords its industries and subjects; but there is every reason to believe that the mines have been favoured by the Government in the past, in a manner to which they are not entitled. If that is so, then they must be brought to bear their fair share in the future.

THE MINES

"When, therefore, General Smuts declares himself anxious as to what would happen to the gold mines under a Nationalist Government, he is making himself uneasy on account of a pure chimera—one of the many nightmares which are worrying him now while he is engaged looking for votes.

"Sixthly, the protection of education against the attempt to undermine it. The passing of the Provincial Financial Relations Act recently by the Government is calculated to deal a fatal blow at our education, and it will be our duty to see that this does not take place. What is more, it ought to be the duty of everyone who means well by South Africa to prevent our country children being made dependent for their education on a land tax, as threatened by the Baxter Report. The National Party is firmly resolved to prevent that taking place and to protect the education of our children against the attempts of the Government to undermine it.

"Seventhly, a State bank. Thorough

inquiry as to the desirability of establishing a State Bank is being felt more and more to be necessary, and this ought to be one of the things to which the next Government shall devote its attention without delay. The great loss to a people to have its credit restricted and controlled by private persons and private banks has never shown up so clearly and effectively as during recent years. On the available credit of a country depends, in the first place, the prices of commodities and produce, and what the state of unemployment shall be. To leave it practically unrestricted to private enterprise to determine what the available credit is to be at any given moment has been proved to be not justified.

"You see, therefore," said General Hertzog, "that the programme of the National Party is not so full and comprehensive as that of the S.A.P. But you need not be anxious on that account. That of the National Party is intended to be carried out; that of General Smuts is destined for the waste-paper basket.

AFRICAN LABOUR tary Election

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, S.A.L.P.

the Dominion status of South Africa as the Prime Minister himself. The Governor-General was advised to dissolve Parliament, and the notorious "Hour and the Man" election was held.

The plan succeeded in the only aim it ever had, as the Labour Party told you at the time. By an orgy of flag-wagging the electors were cozened into substituting Unionists (now called S.A.P.) for Labour men in some dozen constituencies.

A Parliament was thus obtained to the Prime Minister's liking. He had an obedient majority of twenty, pledged to nothing at all, except to support himself and his Government.

It satisfied the repugnance of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to any effective popular control of Government by an elected assembly. And if the cost of this election was great, Big Business was justified by the event in looking upon the expenditure as a sound investment.

THREE YEARS OF "THE MAN AND THE HOUR."

And now mark well what followed.

The first rude awakening was not long delayed. Before the election General Smuts had pledged his Government that the public servants should have a square deal. And largely on that promise thousands voted for his candidates.

But hardly had the new Parliament assembled when the Government announced that a portion of the cost of living allowance to public and railway servants was to be cut off forthwith; and the whole of it was to be abolished by the end of the year whether the cost of living had then come down or not.

This first act was the key note to the whole economic policy of the Government. It was a policy which attacked all along the line, the interests of the civilised wage and salary earners and of the mass of the civilised population of South Africa, white and coloured, in the interests of the Great Trusts and Corporations which control the economic life of the nation.

At the end of the same year the announcement was made, and carried into effect, under circumstances too tragic to need recalling, of changes the effect of which was to throw out on the street three to four thousand mine workers and reduce by 3½ million sterling per annum the wages upon which the white mine workers lived. This huge lessening in their spending power was quickly and disastrously felt, and is still felt, by the trading, shop-keeping, farming and professional classes. Insolvencies and more unemployment were the order of the day.

All opposition and resistance to its policy inside or outside of Parliament was brushed aside by the Government or ruthlessly suppressed. All opposition and resistance to its policy, inside or outside of Parliament, was brushed aside by the Government or ruthlessly suppressed.

In their taxation policy the same attitude has characterised the Government. Every interest not strong enough to defend itself has been in turn attacked. The small tobacco growers were nearly ruined by the tobacco tax. The chemists and the poor man's medicines were hit by the iniquitous patent medicine tax. And last of all the teaching profession and the education of the nation's children were attacked under circumstances of peculiar discredit to the Government.

To all criticisms the Government pleaded that "world conditions" were to blame for the depression under which the country has been suffering.

Strange indeed these "world conditions" should so little have effected the other Dominions that thousands of workers pass our shores to find work in Australia and New Zealand—these same shores from which many of our own people are forced to emigrate in search of employment.

No. The policy of this Government instead of mitigating such effect as the "world conditions" may have had, has been to accentuate them to a terrible and dangerous extent.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION MANIFESTO

**PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE NATIONAL
COUNCIL, S.A.L.P.**

TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH AFRICA—

If you have any real Patriotism.

If you are alive to the terrible and widespread poverty and unemployment which surrounds you.

If you have any decent regard for the future of the tens of thousands of children growing up in our midst. If you cannot tolerate your country degenerating into a huge compound of cheap servile labour exploiting its resources for a favourite few.

Then you will vote Labour at this election, and where there is no Labour Candidate you will vote against the S.A.P.

It is your duty to do what lies in you to make South Africa a country in which men and women can bring up their children with confidence that they will be able to earn a civilised livelihood here when they grow up.

Do you think it is good that your votes shall be used as counters to serve selfish plans and ambitions?

Do you believe it is good that your decent feelings of race loyalty should be constantly played upon to serve financial interests largely external to South Africa?

Do you think any old fiction will do, so long as it will serve the turn of those who use it?

The Labour Party is confident you do not. You are sick of the S. A. Party, its Government, and its Press. You believe that the right to vote imposes a duty on you to study not only your own welfare but that of the men and women who live around you, and of the nation of which you are a member.

You believe that political jugglery is not statemanship.

Then be true to yourselves, your children, and your country.

THE GOVERNMENT'S RECORD

Do you realise that this is the third general election in the short four and a half years of General Smuts' Premiership?

The first took place in March, 1920.

You were then so disgusted with the way the S. A. Unionist Parties (masquerading as Government and Opposition) had acquiesced in the shameful profiteering of the war period that you voted in your own interests and sent 21 Labour Members to Parliament.

You did wisely. In the one session of that Parliament more attention was paid to the needs of the masses than in any session before or since. But it was a Parliament which did not suit the imperious temper of the Prime Minister.

He had no steam roller majority.

Nor did it suit his Unionist friends, who were so reduced in number that they could no longer carry on the pretence of being the Official Opposition—least of all did it suit the Big Business connection of either of those two Parties. Now note well the political jugglery that ensued.

The Prime Minister's first move was a proposal to form a Ministry under his leadership in which representatives of all Parties should be included, and as a natural consequence effective Parliamentary criticism could be stifled.

Such a "Pact", to be contrived over the heads of the electors, between Members of Parliament just elected to repre-

sent opposing views, had in it in 1920 no element of Political "impurity", you will notice, in the eyes of our versatile Prime Minister.

He proposal was declined.

Then, when the session was over, efforts were made to bring about a fusion of the South African and Nationalist Parties.

These efforts also failed.

As a last resource a fusion was then effected, with the ever facile Unionists.

But this was not enough. The two Parties combined did not give the Prime Minister a steam roller majority. A new Parliament had to be procured.

A pretext had to be found to give the ex-Unionists a chance of getting back seats they had lost to Labour a few months earlier. And what better plan than to have just one more turn at the Old Unionist flag-wagging game?

Accordingly the shameless pretence was foisted on you that the British connection was in danger in a Parliament in which 90 (including every Labour Member) out of 134 Members were as definitely and fully pledged to maintain the Dominion status of South Africa as the Prime Minister himself. The Governor-General was advised to dissolve Parliament, and the notorious "Hour and the Man" election was held.

The plan succeeded in the only aim it ever had, as the Labour Party told you at the time. By an orgy of flag-wagging the electors were cozened into substituting Unionists (now called S. A. P.) for Labour men in some dozen constituencies.

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To all criticisms the Government pleaded that "world conditions" were to blame for the depression under which the country has been suffering.

Strange indeed these "world conditions" should so little have affected the other Dominions that thousands of workers pass our shores to find work in Australia and New Zealand—these same shores from which many of our own people are forced to emigrate in search of employment.

No. The policy of this Government instead of mitigating such effect as the "world conditions" may have had, has been to accentuate them to a terrible and dangerous extent.

THE COUNTRY TO-DAY

The result of three years ruthless application of that policy, with cold indifference to the suffering of the people has been disastrous.

Unemployment among the civilised elements of our people, white or coloured, has been and still is more terrible and wide spread than ever in our history.

The spectre of unemployment and the knowledge of the power that this condition of affairs gives to the employer, has reduced the condition of those in employment, in many thousands of cases, to a state resembling servitude, in which they fear even to make complaint.

Numbers of men have left our shores or contemplate leaving, despairing of the prospects the country offers to their children. Thousands more who should be earning a good livelihood on useful work are eking out an existence on relief works.

And the whole process, reducing the spending power of the mass of the people, has meant the dwindling purchasing power of our internal markets, which in turn has immensely increased the difficulties of the agricultural population.

Cheap uncivilised workers, indentured and largely imported are steadily ousting the workers, white or coloured, who require a wage on which they can live and support their families on civilised standards. And the country is drifting towards a state of things in which European civilisation in South Africa is threatening to wither at its roots.

That is the cost at which has been purchased the increased output of mineral and other wealth and the increased dividends about which the S.A.P. and its Press boast.

Such is the Government's record. Such has been the result of the "Man and the Hour" Parliament.

Have you not had enough of this using of your votes for the support of policy directed against your welfare?

AND NOW THE OPPORTUNITY

And now, how comes it that the people have an opportunity of pronouncing judgment on the Government's policy a full 18 months before they had hoped possible?

It is because whatever may be the difference in their political views the two—Opposition parties, Labour and Nationalists—have this in common: Each represents masses

of men and women who, with their children, have to live and work and die in South Africa.

It is because each party early realised the trick that was played on the people in 1921 and the disastrous effect of the Government's economic policy on the abiding interest of the people and its peril to the country's destiny.

It is because it became apparent to them, as the policy developed, that it was their duty to place their political and racial differences second and the welfare of the people and the interest of South Africa's children first, and to co-operate to make the Government submit itself and its policy to the judgment of the people at the earliest possible date.

The object has been achieved.

The S.A.P. Government was torn by internal dissensions carefully veiled from the public eye. The Party, still obedient when the whip cracked, was so restive that the Government was impotent to carry any important measure although possessing a working Parliamentary majority.

At last on the morrow of a bye-election defeat the Prime Minister has had to advise the ignominious dismissal of the Parliament so triumphantly elected three years ago.

Opposed as it traditionally is to any understanding or agreement with any other party which fetters its jealously-guarded freedom of action, the Labour Party has no doubt as to its duty in the present crisis in the country's affairs. That duty is to carry out loyally and fully in the spirit and in the letter the agreement made 12 months ago with the Nationalist Party in contemplation of this election and to do its utmost to secure the crushing defeat of the S.A. Party and its policy.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT—WHAT IT MUST DO

The first duty of the new Parliament will be to see that measures are taken to retrieve the prosperity of the people from the condition of depression, poverty and unemployment into which the policy of the present Government has flung them—and to see that these measures include such changes in our economic system as will free South Africa from that baneful influence in our social and political development, of Financial Trusts and Corporations which has been so productive of so many of our troubles in these last thirty years. A Government which faces this task manfully and honestly will have our support.

Vigorous, effective and comprehensive measures must be taken to relieve the present pressure of unemployment and poverty by the carrying out of useful reproductive public works, by the stopping of importation of cheap uncivilised labour, and by any other means which investigation may show to be effective.

The mineral laws must be reformed that mining rights held from the State shall be exercised by the holders or automatically revert to the State. Steps must be taken to unlock the huge areas of land which are not being used but held as a speculative asset. While every measure must be taken which will tend to foster industrial development in the country, it is necessary that any assistance given by the State to any industry, whether by way of protective duty or bounty, shall be accompanied by safeguards to the consumer against excessive prices and to the worker against wage rates upon which civilised standards cannot be maintained.

It is urgent and essential that South Africa shall control its own credit and monetary policy, and as a first step to this end a State Bank must be established.

The new Parliament must be one under which no such sinister attack will be possible as that made last session, on the pretext of economy, upon the teaching profession, and upon the education of our children.

In native affairs, the present policy of "drift" must be succeeded by a coherent and definite National Policy which shall recognise the difference in the economic standards of the native and the European. It is a national necessity that a firm stand be taken against the present process by which the wage level of the least civilised native is used as a lever to pull down, in turn, the standards of the native who aspires to a civilised life, of the coloured man, and of the European worker.

The new Parliament must direct its earnest attention to the solution of the Asiatic question. The Labour Party holds that the principles of such a solution should be the insistence by the enforcement of Municipal and Public Health Laws and the establishment of wages boards, of standards of life conforming to European civilisation; and the provision of liberal financial assistance to such Asiatics as desire under such conditions to emigrate to their own racial homeland.

Our system of taxation will require a thorough overhauling by the new Parliament not only with a view to placing the burden of taxation upon the shoulders best able to bear it, but also to see that its incidence encourages activity and discourages the holding idle of natural resources whose development is essential to the general prosperity.

The story of South Africa in our generation has been too tragically disfigured by political and financial juggling with the interests of the mass of the people and by the exploiting and inflaming of racial prejudices and passions for selfish ends.

Let there be an end to this.

THE CALL HAS COME

The Labour Party calls on you to make the election of 1924 a landmark in our history and the opening of a happier chapter. Spurn as unworthy of you appeals to your racial prejudices be they ever so cunningly disguised.

Elect a Parliament which will represent you and you only. A Parliament which will seek to measure the country's prosperity in no mere terms of Ledger Balances or dividend lists, but by the evidences of increasing confidence, good will and contentment among the people.

The Labour Party calls on you to do this and by doing so make self Government a reality and the blessing to the country it should be.

Some words of final warning.

A LIE

You are told that there is a secret agreement between the Nationalist and Labour Parties other than that recorded in the published letters exchanged between the Leaders of the Two Parties and approved by the respective Party Congresses. The statement is a lie—there is no such secret agreement.

You are told that the Labour Party by entering into the Pact has endangered the British connection. And the S.A.P. will try to frighten you again with the Republican bogey.

Another invention.

The truth is that even those leaders of the Nationalist Party who hold most truly the Republican idea have said over and over again that they will never press for it as a measure of practical politics unless and until the bulk of the English speaking South Africans want it. Of course, the S.A.P. Press does not give this prominence. And in addition, Gen. Hertzog with the full approval and agreement of his Party has given the explicit and categorical assurance that if the Nationalist Party come into power at this election no Nationalist member of Parliament will use his vote to upset the existing constitutional relation of South Africa to the British Crown.

The fact is that the Labour Party, who are probably ninety per cent of British blood, have done as much to safeguard the British connection by the Pact as the S.A.P. have done to endanger it by identifying the Flag with a policy which has done its best to make self-government a traversy of reality, which has violated every truly British tradition of fair play and humanity, and on the pretext of defending the British connection, has inflicted misery and suffering on the mass of the people.

It is the S.A.P. and their friends who stand for the keeping up of racialism and who keep the country in perpetual turmoil.

THE SUPREME ISSUE

They rail at the Pact because by doing so much to kill racialism it has killed their power too. And because it has shown the people that there is only one supreme issue at this election.

It is whether South Africa is to be a home for contented and civilised men and women, or a big cheap labour compound run for the benefit of a few of the S.A.P.'s friends.

1929

17 JUNIE/JUNE

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower/ Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Suid-afrikaanse Party (SAP) 2. Die Nasionale Party (NP) 3. Die Suid Afrikaanse Arbeids Party (Hoofbestuur) 4. Die Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party (Creswell-seksie) 5. Onafhanklike	61 78 3 5 1	1. The South African Party (SAP) 2. The National Party (NP) 3. The South African Labour Party (Council section) 4. The South African Labour Party (Creswell section) 5. Independents

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

- (a) Die Stembus, Maandag, 6 Mei 1929.
"Die SAP Verkiesings-program. Besielende Toespraak deur Generaal Smuts."
- (b) Verklaring van Staatsbeleid van die SA Party.
Notule van de Neende Unie Kongres van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party. 6 en 7 Desember 1928, pp. 14-16.
- Naas Generaal Hertzog se openbare toespraak op Smithfield wat die verkiesingsveldtog amptelik ingelui het, is daar ook 'n amptelike manifest uitgereik.
 - Hertzog-toespraak. Smithfield.
Die Burger. 19 April 1929.
 - Die Swartmanifest. Die Burger.
(Uitgegee op las van die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party, deur J H Conradie, LV., Sekretaris, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.)
- Suid Afrikaanse Arbeids Party.
Veg Program.
Aangeneem deur die Konferensie, Januarie 1929.
(Uitgegee deur die Outoriteit van die Nasionale Hoofdkomitee, Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party, William Wanless, Algemene Sekretaris).
- Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party.
Algemene Verkiesing, 1929. Manifest (Uitgegee deur die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad, Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party, Kerkstraat, Johannesburg)
- Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.

Sources of election manifestos

- (a) The Cape Argus, Wednesday, 1st May 1929. Election Programme of the S.A. Party. Genl. Smuts Opens The Campaign
(b) Declaration of Policy of the S.A. Party.
- In addition to General Hertzog's public speech at Smithfield which officially opened the election campaign the National Party also issued an official manifesto.
 - Hertzog's speech at Smithfield. The African Sun, 20th April 1929.
 - The Black Manifesto. (Published by authority of the Federal Council of the National Party of South Africa, by J H Conradie, M.L.A (Secretary), 30 Keerom Street, Cape Town.
- South African Labour Party. Fighting Programme adopted by Conference, January, 1929. (Issued by authority of the National Council, South African Labour Party. William Wanless, General Secretary)
- No English text could be traced.
- No official manifesto could be traced.

DIE S.A.P. VERKIESINGS-PROGRAM.

BESIELENDE TOESPRAAK DEUR GENERAAL SMUTS.

Blankë Beskawing vir Suidafrika.

KAFFERSTAAT-"GOGGA" ABSOLUUT ONTKEN.

WAT ONS GEDOEN HET EN WAT ONS SAL DOEN.

BEGINSELS WAT DIE ELEKSIES SAL WIN.

Die Pretoria Stadsaal, die toneel waar so baie geskiedenis gemaak is, waar sô baie groot toesprake gelewer is, was Dinsdag-aand weer die byeenkomsplek van oor die twee duisend Afrikaners wat gekom het om te luister na die groot toespraak van 'n groot Volksleier. Die geesdriftige ontvangs deur Generaal Smuts geniet en die manier waarop sy pragtige toespraak toegesê is, het weer bewys, as daar bewys nodig was, dat die Suidafrikaanse Party as een man agter sy voorman staan, en dat die politiek deur Generaal Botha begin en so getrou deur Generaal Smuts voortgeset, nog die ware en die enigste politiek vir Suidafrika is.

Generaal Smuts het met diepe erns gepraat en hy het die program van die Suidafrikaanse Party haarfyn uiteengeset sodat daar nie die minste twyfel kan oorbly selfs nie onder mense wat willens blind is, aangaande die beginsels waarvoor hy en sy volgelinge staan. Die toespraak het op die hoog peil gestaan wat altyd deur die groot voorman gehandhaaf is, en van begin tot einde het hy hom van alles wat ook maar in die minste op persoonlikheid kon gelyk het, onthou. "Vir Generaal Hertzog persoonlik het ek die grootste respek en ook vir sy posisie as Eerste Minister het ek die grootste respek," het ons leier gesê, en sy woorde het oor beginsels gehandel en nie oor persone. "As ek hierdie eleksie nie op skoon manier kan win nie, dan wil ek glad nie win nie," het hy verkeer. Ons kan hoop dat dit 'n voorbeeld sal wees vir ons teenstanders en dat alleen beginsels en geen persoonlikheid in die groot stryd ingebring sal word.



Genl. Smuts.

DIE S.A.P. VERKIESINGS-PROGRAM

BESIELENDE TOESPRAAK DEUR GENERAAL SMUTS

Blanke Beskawing vir Suidafrika

KAFFERSTAAT-“GOGGA” ABSOLUUT ONTKEN WAT ONS GEDOEN HET EN WAT ONS SAL DOEN

Beginsels wat die eleksies sal win

Die Pretoria Stadsaal, die toneel waar so baie geskiedenis gemaak is, waar so baie groot toesprake gelewer is, was Dinsdagaand weer die byeenkomsplek van oor die twee duisend Afrikaners wat gekom het om te luister na die groot toespraak van 'n groot Volksleier. Die geesdriftige ontvangs deur Generaal Smuts geniet en die manier waarop sy pragtige toespraak toegejuig is, het weer bewys, as daar bewys nodig was, dat die Suidafrikaanse Party as een man agter sy voorman staan, en dat die politiek deur Generaal Botha begin en so getrou deur Generaal Smuts voortgeset, nog die ware en die enigste politiek vir Suidafrika is.

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Namens die Party het Genl. Smuts die kaffer-kwessie behandel en hy het verduidelik, eens en vir altoos, verklaar dat die Suidafrikaanse Party, net soos in die verlede, nog altoos staan vir die handhawing van die blanke beskawing in Suidafrika. Dat die S.A. Party nie staan vir gelyke kiesreg vir blank en swart—soos deur sommige van ons teenstanders valslik beweerd word, is meer as duidelik geblyk. “Ons Party-program sedert 1911 het nooit die minste aanduiding van so'n gedragslyn gegee nie.”

Ook op al andere punte het die Leier van die Party sy politiek duidelik uiteengeset. Die Suidafrikaanse Party staan vir 'n groot blank Suidafrika, 'n land waar elkeen wat dit as sy vaderland beskou, met oop arms ontvang sal word, 'n land waar 'n groot toekoms lê vir elkeen wat met ons in vrede en rus wil saamwerk. By die Suidafrikaanse party bestaan daar geen rasse-gevoelens nie. Ons ondersoek die verlede, neem daaruit al wat skoon is en skep op die manier ons toekoms. Dis die motto van ons Party; Generaal Smuts het die groot beginsels waarop Generaal Botha en die ander ou voormanne die party gestig het gehandhaaf, verdedig en behoed en dit is die beginsels wat in die Stadsaal van Pretoria weer die volstreekte ondersteuning verwerf het van die meer as 2000 geesdriftige persone wat na die besielende taal van ons voorman geluister het. Dit is op die beginsels dat die komende eleksie geveg sal word en deur die beginsels steeds hoog te hou sal ons seker segevierend uit die groot stryd kom.

'N OPLOSSING VAN MEIDE-STEMREGKWESSIE

Die grote stadsaal van Pretoria was oorvol toe Generaal Smuts, onder daverend gejuig, op die platform gekom het. Die toespraak van die groot volksleier het die volle aandag van die groot gehoor geniet en alhoewel nou en dan daar 'n enkel klein interruptie gekom het van persone wat andersgesind was, het die spreker sig nie uit sy koers laat slaan deur iets van die aard. Buite die saal het 'n groot vergadering van persone wat nie in kon kom nie omdat die saal vol was die heel aand lang geduur en die gejuig en gejou was duidelik hoorbaar in die saal.

Adv. P.U. Rissik het die voorsitterstoel ingeneem en Generaal Smuts kort aan die gehoor voorgestel.

Onder daverend gejuig het die Leier van die S.A. Party sy toespraak begin.

“Laat my begin,” het Generaal Smuts gesê, “met te verwys na die resente toespraak van die Eerste Minister te Smithfield. Vir die Pakt sal die toespraak nie baie help nie en ek glo nie dat ons daarvan baie in hierdie verkiesingsveldtog sal hoor nie. Dit bevat meer opgeblasenheid en spoggerij as ware, opbouende staatsmansbeleid. Die onbeduidendhede word herhaal wat die Eerste Minr. die afgelope paar jaar tot vervelens toe verkondig het. Die Pakt het ander ammunitie nodig as hy met lof deur hierdie veldtog wil kom.

Geen persoonlikhede

“Ek betreur die Eerste Minr. se persoonlike verwysing na sy teenstanders. Geen verstandige man uiter op daardie manier openbare veragting en beledigings jeens sy teenstanders nie. Maar die Eerste Minr. is besorg en beswaard en hiermee moet mens rekening hou, net sowel as met die ongelukkige manier waarop hy openbare strydvrage behandel. Ek vrees dat sy volgelinge hom sal na-aap en die sluise van persoonlikhede en belediging sal in hierdie eleksieveldtog wyd oopgemaak word.

“Reeds het die hooforgaan van die Nasionaliste in Transvaal my die opvolger van Dingaans genoem en 'n baie gevaarliker vyand vir die blanke beskawing as daardie kafferpotentaat. En hierdie soort beledigings word politiek genoem! Ek sal die voorbeeld van die Eerste Minr. nie volg nie. Hoe baie ek ook van hom verskil respekteer ek hom sowel persoonlik as in sy amptelike hoedanigheid. Die tyd is tog seker verby om ons toevlug te neem tot so'n manier van uitskelde-ry en belediging in ons politieke veldtogte. As ek hierdie stryd nie op 'n skoon manier kan win nie, wil ek glad nie win nie. Laat ons die toon van die openbare lewe nie verder verlaag nie. Dis een van my ernstigste aanklagte teen hierdie Rege-ring, dat die toon van die openbare lewe verlaag is. As gevolg hiervan het die Parlement in die openbare agting gedaal en sy gesag word ernstig ondermyn. Die openbare lewe sal langsaamerhand nie meer beskou word as 'n skone saak nie, maar as iets wat deur eerbare manne vermy moet word.

“Nêrens is hierdie ontaarding erger as in verband met die Staatsdiens nie. Die Staatsdiens word verlaag tot 'n blote partymasjien. Ministers het openlik voorkeur gegee aan Nasionaliste by aanstellings in die Staatsdiens. 'n Politieke inkwiesie word gehou na 'n kandidaat se menings. Openlik word gepraat van begunstiging van vriende en famieliebetrekkings. Oral sluip partypolitiek in en vervuil al die kanale van die openbare lewe en die Staatsdiens.

Die baantjiesstelsel

Die baantjiesstelsel wat die vloek gewees is van ander lande, word hier aanvaar. Die Pakt predik openlik dat baantjies vir vriendjies 'n gewenste gedragslyn is. Ons veroordeel dit as 'n verderflike gedragslyn wat hierdie land baie duur sal kos.

Ons Staatsdiens was in die verlede hierbo verheewe; ons het 'n verheewe tradisie gehad van 'n skoon en onpartydige Staatsdiens, die trots van die land. Die jongste voorbeeld van hierdie demoralisasie van die Staatsdiens is die Spoorweg-sirkulêre insake beskaafde arbeid, waarvoor die Hoofbestuurder van Spoorweë nie verantwoordelik is nie, maar wat hy gedwing is om as departementele verslag uit te vaardig. Dit is van begin tot end 'n partypolitieke dokument; en mens hoor dat ander dergelike verslae gepubliseer sal word in hierdie verkiesing om die Pakt van ammunisie te voorsien. Die Staats- en Spoorwegdiens is nie vry van partypolitiek nie en as 'n amptenaar hierdie beginsel bestry, loop hy ernstig gevaar en verval hy in ongenade.

Verlaagde moreel

“Geen wonder dat baie van ons beste mense die diens verlaat en dat die Staatsdiens verarm raak en sy moraal verlaag word nie. Die land kan geen beter diens bewys word nie as deur terug te keer tot die verheewe tradisie van 'n onpartydige Staatsdiens nie. Die selfrespek en onafhanklikheid van 'n getroue, belanglose Staatsdiens is in elke opsig van onskatbare waarde vir die land. As ons aan die bewind kom sal ons dit as mandaat beskou om die nodige hervorming aan te bring en toe te sien dat die Staatsdiens nie onderhewig bly aan hierdie soort misbruik nie. Die Staatsdiens behoort virsover moontlik in 'n posisie geplaas te word, waarin sy onafhanklikheid en selfrespek beskerm word en misbruik vir partypolitiek—deur watter party ook al—onmoontlik sal wees.

“Die Eerste Minister het twee groot aanklagte teen die S.A.P. en in altwee word die party beskuldig van gevaarlike rassehaat. Die eerste is dat die S.A.P. in werklikheid 'n ou-Unioniste-Party is, waarin die ou-Unioniste die botoon voer. Die tweede is dat die S.A.P. 'n pro-naturelle of negro-filistiese Party is en ywer vir 'n swart S.-Afrika.

Onwaar en gevaarlik

Hierdie aanklagte is nie alleen ongegrond en ontdaan van alle waarheid nie, maar baie gevaarlik. Hulle is 'n belediging vir die naturelle en vir dié deel van ons blanke bevolking wat voorheen tot die Unioniste-Party behoort het. Altwee word voorgedra as 'n gevaar vir S.A. Afgaande op die Eerste Minr. se aanklagte kan mens slegs tot die slotsom geraak dat die ou-Unioniste en die naturelle die vyande van S.A. is. Is daar iets meer kinderagtig en gevaarlik?

“Die ou-Unioniste verteenwoordig 'n groot deel van ons Engelse medeburgers. Dit skyn 'n sonde te wees! Hulle is nog steeds ‘vreemde fortuinsoekers’. Mnr. Jagger, so word ons vertel, is nog nie S.-Afrikaner nie, trots liefde en diens aan hierdie land. Kan iets anders hom tot S.-Afrikaner maak, behalwe onderworpenheid aan die Pakt? Hierdie beledigings en rasse-hoon is tog seker die Eerste Minr. van hierdie land onwaardig. Hulle maak die mense wat net sulke S.-Afrikaners is as die Eerste Minr. seer (hoor, hoor).—In sir Thos. Smartt het ons 'n getroue en toegewyde burger verloor maar volgens die standaard van die Eerste Minister is hy oorlede nie as 'n burger van die land nie. Die Eerste Minr. se opvatting van S.-Afrikaanse patriotisme is van so'n aard dat daar geen plek is vir die Smartts, Jaggars en Duncans en ook nie vir jonger S.-Afrikaners wat hulle lot met ons ingewerp het nie.

“‘Verlaat die huis van die vreemdeling’ word nog steeds die Afrikaanssprekende Sappe toegeroep. En dis die kern van genl. Hertzog se Smithfieldse toespraak. Ons Engelssprekende medeburgers is tereg net so trots as ons op hulle burgerskap, liefde vir S.A. en sy volk en volkome vereensel-

wysiging met die land en sy belange (hr., hr.) Hierdie hoon is net 'n blyk van die Eerste Minr. se ingekankerde rassehaat. Dis 'n blyk dat hy niks geleer en niks vergeet het sedert die De Wildt-toespraak van 1912 nie (gelag).

Onvergeeflike sonde

“My onvergeeflike sonde is dat ek in 1920 ons Engelse medeburgers na die S.A. Party uitgenooi het, op 'n voet van gelyke kameraadskap. Vandaar hierdie aanklag dat ou-Unioniste in die S.A.P. gehuisves word. Ons is trots op die stap wat toe gedoen is. Dit was die nekslag vir rassehaat in ons politiek. Ons S.-Afrikaanse gees is ruim genoeg om altwee rasse op 'n gelyke voet te omvat. Agt jaar het ons saam gewerk binne en buite die regering; ons het saam gewerk in volmaakte trou aan mekaar en dis die trots van ons party dat vir ons hoegenaamd geen rassekwessies bestaan nie.

“Die Eerste Minr. beskuldig ons van onmag. Onmag? Die party wat S.A. deur sy grootste tydperk van ontwikkeling sedert Unie gehelp het, word beskuldig van onmag! As ons werklik onmagtig was ten aansien van al die gevare wat die land van binne en van buite bedreig het, sou genl. Hertzog vandag nie op ons skouers staan en kraai oor die soewereine onafhanklikheid van S.A. nie (hr., hr.) In daardie dae het ‘die Party van durf en doen’ sy durf grotendeels getoon deur ons pogings te dwarsboom om hierdie land veilig te hou en sy eer onbesoedel. Sy ‘doen’ het hoofsaaklik bestaan in die ‘ontdoen’ van die werk van Unie en in sendings wat ten doel gehad het om die Unie op te breek. Noudat, as gevolg van ons optrede, sy oorlogs- en sy sesessiepolitiek finaal misluk het en in die steek gelaat is, pluk hy die vrugte van ons arbeid en hy openbaar 'n spoggees wat hom in die omstandighede nie pas nie.

“As die loop van die omstandighede so sou wees, dat die Nattes 'n suiwere meerderheid sou kry, sou dit tog die plig van die Nattes wees om die Arbeiders te vra by hulle te bly staan in die verantwoordelikheid vir die regering van die land.”

Tielman Roos op “Afrikanerdag”

Witwatersrand,

“Ons Vaderland” 25.11.1924.

Die swaar jare

“In die jare van depressie wat hierdie land meegemaak het, net soos elke ander land na die oorlog, is ons pogings lamgeslaan en ons moes alles in die werk stel om sake aan die gang te hou. Ons het daarin geslaag, trots al die pogings van ons teenstanders om wetloosheid, twis en onrus te stook. Die Eerste Minr. sê dat ons die landsfinansies in treurige toestand agtergelaat het in 1924. Waarheid is dat ons opvolgers genoeg in die Staatskoffer gevind het om ons tekorte te betaal en om van die balans £500,000 te gee vir verbetering van paaie, £200,000 vir landnederstelling en £1,700,000 vir skuldaflissing. Dit is die neseier wat ons agtergelaat het, pleks van die bankrotskap, waaroor die Nasionaliste dit nog steeds het. 'n Regering wat in staat is om die land te bring deur die swaarste depressie van sy geskiedenis en soveel geld agterlaat vir sy opvolger om mee te speel, kan nie so onmagtig gewees het as die Eerste Minr. probeer voorgedra nie (hr., hr.).

“In plaats van de groote hoofdzaken in kwestie, de grote beginselen die in 't spel zyn, in 't oog te houden, is men dikwels nolens volens, maar besig met 't antwoorden op alle mogelyke ondergeschikte punten of op lastertaal en verdraaiing van feiten; zoo onttaardt de politieke stryd al meer,

gelyk iemand zeide, in onderlinge scheldery en verdachtmakery en dergelyke meer. Zo zakt en ontaardt ons jong geslacht, het gansche volk al meer.”

Prof. P.J.G. de Vos,
“Die Burger” 28 Mei 1924.

“ En wat is die verlede van ‘die Regering van durf en doen’ in vergelyking hiermee? Hy het half 1924 aan die bewind gekom, toe die handelsgety oor die hele wêreld gekeer het. In die volgende vier jaar het hy batige saldos gehad van altsaam £5 milj., maar, soos die verkwister, het hy meer uitgegee as hy kon bekostig en vandag is die uitgawe £5 milj. per jaar méér as in 1924. Die Regering neem £5 milj. per jaar meer uit die sak van die volk as ons gedoen het. As die dag van vergelding kom en die handelsgety opnuut verander, sal ons miskien te staan kom voor ’n finansiële kriesis wat die grootste lyding aan ons volk sal veroorsaak. Deur besuiniging in ons openbare uitgawes het ons die jaarlikse koste van ons dienste tussen 1921 en 1923 verminder met £2½ milj.

Uitgawes styg

“Maar al dié werk is te niet gedoen en in resente jare het ons uitgawes met rasse skrede gestyg totdat dit vandag, nog afgesien van die Spoorweë, £30 milj. per jaar kos om ’n land te bestuur met ’n blanke bevolking van minder as 1¼ milj. By die spoorweë het die uitgawe nog vinniger toegeneem

“Buiten dat ons onderneem het om geen stappe te neem om die konstitusionele verhouding tot Groot Brittanje te verander nie, is dit niks meer as ’n eleksie-ooreenkoms, en sodra die verkiesing verby is sal daar ’n end wees aan die Pakt.”

Adv. E.G. Jansen, L.V. Speaker in die Parlement, uit ’n brief van hom in “Die Burger”, 10 April, 1924.

en die toestand is selfs baie sorgwekkender, sodat, in plaas van ’n bate, die spoorweë hard opweg is om ’n finansiële las vir die land te word. In die Pakt-dienstyd was daar by die spoorweë tekorte en alleen hierdie jaar is op die een of ander manier ’n klein batige saldo bymekaar geskraap vir eleksiedoel. Hierdie enorme inflasie van ons openbare uitgawe beteken ’n inflasie in ander rigtings en sal eindelik ’n styging tengevolge hê van die koste van lewensonderhoud, wat die armer klasse en die ontwikkeling van die land baie swaar sal tref. Die waarde van die grond het al aansienlik gedaal. Die grootste seën wat ’n Regering vir ’n land kan bring is goedkope en suinige administrasie. Volgens hierdie standaard is die vertoning van die Pakt-Regering baie swak.

“Die Eerste Minr. spog dat al die eleksiebeloftes van 1924 vervul is. Wat het geword van die belofte van besuiniging, gelet op bostaande syfers? Die Pakt het die land laat weergalm van gedonder teen ons ‘verkwisting’ toe ons in werklikheid besuinig en die uitgawes in alle rigtings verminder het. Pleks van die belofte van besuiniging uit te voer het hy op hol geslaan toe sy kans gekom het en die Regering sal in die geskiedenis van die land bekend staan as die spilsugtigste wat ons ooit geken het (hr., hr.). Hy spog dat sy groot batige saldo’s die industriële ontwikkeling van die land weer spieël, maar dis ydele gepraat.

Slegte beraming

“Inkomste van invoerregte het mnr. Havenga se skattings in die jare 1926–29 oortref met die baie hoë bedrae van

£847,000, £991,000 en £1,255,000. Die batige saldo’s is hoofsaaklik te danke aan invoer en nie aan binnelandse industriële ontwikkeling nie. In die drie jare was daar ook die

“Die Nasionale Party verteenwoordig vandag vier-vyfdes van die land se oppervlakte terwyl die S.A.P. slegs ’n paar strate verteenwoordig. Die S.A.P. skreeu altyd oor bolsjewisme, maar bolsjewisme bestaan in die stede en die S.A.P. verteenwoordig daardie stede en nie die Nasionale Party nie.”

Tielman Roos te Nelspruit
“Ons Vaderland”, 20.7.‘26.

buitengewone diamantontdekkings in Lichtenburg en Namaqualand, wat nog baie meer inkomste en ook die vermeerderde invoer en invoerregte veroorsaak het. Dit is suiwer toevallig en as hy in hierdie opsig nie so gelukkig was nie, sou mnr. Havenga altemit dieselfde droewige figuur geslaan het as mnr. Malan se spoorwegbegroting in werklikheid gedoen het in die afgelope vyf jaar.

Die industriële ontwikkeling

“Die landsontwikkeling was in ander opsigte heeltemal normaal. Industrieë het hulle ontwikkel, maar nie vinniger as tydens S.A.P.-bestuur nie. Selfs die motorindustrie, waarvan die Eerste Minister in sy toespraak melding maak dank sy ontwikkeling nie aan die Pakt nie. Ek self het reeling getref vir oprigting van daardie industrie in Londenê Vyf jaar gelede. Die afgelope vier jaar het die fabrieksproduksie toegeneem van ongeveer £80 milj. tot £100 milj. Dis teen omtrent £5 milj. per jaar en dit kom baie ooreen met die gemiddelde toename in die voorafgaande agt jaar van S.A.P.-regering. En in die syfers aangaande die aantal blanke werkers is ’nselfde normale styging. Lede van die Regering het aanhou spog oor hulleself en hulle finansiële en industriële politiek, totdat sommige mense hulle werklik laat ompraat het. Maar as mens die syfers ontleed en die feite ondersoek, sien hy dat daar niks meer is nie as normale ontwikkeling in goeie tye, plus die swaar oorgewig van uitgawe wat opgelê is deur die Regering. Genl. Kemp reis die land rond met sy sprokie dat die Pakt belastings verminder het met £6 milj. Dis net soos die wildewolhaar-stories wat hy op die platteland verkoop dat dit die politiek van die S.A.P. is om gelyke stemreg aan blanke en swartes te gee, aan manne en vroue tegelyk. Volgens die Minr. van Finansies is die belastings met nie meer as £2 milj. verminder nie en selfs hierdie syfer is betwisbaar, terwyl trots daardie vermindering, die werklike bedrag wat uit die belastingbetaler gepers is, sedert 1924 toegeneem het met meer as £5 milj. per jaar.

Lewensbehoefte kos meer

“Die invoerregte in die algemeen het gestyg, die prys van baie lewensbehoefte het vermeerder en die lewenskoste is groter. In 1928 het invoerregte op kromberse £534,000 bedra, op klerasie £794,000 en op voedingsmiddele en ander lewensbehoefte £2,100,000. En hierdie belastings raak die arm mense meer as die rykes. Die Regering hou staande dat hy ’n armmans regering is, net soos ’n arm delwersregering. Maar die arm man het swaarder laste te dra as ooit tevore en die arm delwer lê platgedruk onder die nuwe Diamantwet en die Staatsdelwerye, terwyl die Diamant-Sindikaat nooit méér gebloei het as onder minr. Beyers nie (hr., hr.).

“Die afgelope vyf jaar het die Staatskuld vermeerder met meer as £35 milj.—van £208 milj. in 1924 tot £243,500,000 in 1929. Die Eerste Minister spog egter dat die onproduk-

tiewe skuld verminder het onder die Pakt met £20 miljoen en wil blykbaar die gevolgtrekking laat maak dat dié skuld met hierdie enorme bedrag afbetaal is. Natuurlik is niks meer misleidend nie. Die £20 miljoen is gebaseer op 'n berekening wat nie werklike afbetaling van skuld beteken nie. Volgens die Ouditeur-Generaal se verslag bedra die landskuld wat werklik van 1923 tot 1928 afbetaal is, nie meer as £6,128,019 nie. Die syfers vir die afgelope jaar is nog nie geouditeer nie. Die Eerste Minister is gretig om ander onjuisthede ten laste te lê. Ek laat dit aan die publiek oor om te oordeel oor die korrektheid van sy verklarings oor hierdie belangrike saak.

Die naturellekwessie

“Ek kom nou tot die vernaamste kwessie waaroor die Pakt hierdie verkiesing gaan voer—ek bedoel die naturellekwessie. Die Eerste Minister weet baie goed dat hierdie of enige ander verkiesing nie sal help om die naturellekwessie op te los nie. Sy doel is nie om die naturellekwessie op te los nie, maar om dit te gebruik as eleksiekreet sonder meer. Dis 'n suiwer party-maneuwer en daarby besonder betreurenswaardig en afkeuringswaardig (hr., hr.) As dit hom erns was om die naturellekwessie op te los sou hy dit buite die partypolitiek en buite hierdie verkiesing gelaat het. Onder die Grondwet is 'n oplossing volgens partypolitiek onmoontlik. Die Grondwet vereis 'n twee-derde meerderheid van al die lede van altwee Huise van die Parlement in Gesamentlike Sitting vir wysiging van die naturellekiesreg in Kaapland. Geen Party sal waarskynlik ooit so'n meerderheid kry nie en dit was klaarblyklik bedoeling van die opstellers van die Grondwet, waaronder genl. Hertzog, om die Kaapse naturellekiesreg deur daardie onveranderlike bepaling buite die partypolitiek te hou. Watter sienswyse ons ook al mag hê oor die naturellekwessie, moet ons dit as voldonge feit aanvaar dat onder die Grondwet geen oplossing van partypolitieke aard moontlik is nie. Niemand weet dit beter as die Eerste Minister nie. Dis sy doel om die verkiesing te win deur dié volk bang te maak, deur die mense te oorrumpel met 'n saak wat, meer as enige ander, koele en gesonde staatsmansbeleid vereis (hr., hr.)

Onwaardige maneuvres

“Sy maneuer om die naturellekwessie tot vernaamste eleksiekreet te maak is derhalwe besonder verkeerd en verdien die straf wat dit, na ek vertrou, sal ontvang in hierdie verkiesings (applous). Ek hoop dat hierdie verkiesing politesie sal leer dat dit gevaarlik is om met vuur te speel en dat dit ook nie betaal nie.

“Dit was 'n tyd lank reeds al duidelik dat dié noodlottige stap gedoen sou word. Verlede jaar het minr. Roos te Ermelo verklaar dat die naturellekwessie die beste 'slagveld' is wat die Pakt kan kies vir hierdie verkiesings en hy het die hoop geuit dat die S.A.P. vir die Kaapse naturellekiesreg sou stem, opdat die Nasionaliste met daardie vraagstuk die verkiesing kan ingaan. Die Eerste Minister het minr. Roos se onheilspellende raad gevolg. Minr. Roos het in 1919 die Eerste Minister en sy kollegas op 'n nuttelose reis na Amerika en Europa gestuur om die Unie te verbreek, terwyl hy hom buite dié dwase spelletjie gehou het. Hy het die Eerste Minister ook in hierdie noodlottige veldtog gebring.

In sy toespraak in Pretoria Wes, begin van dese jaar, het die Eerste Minister duidelik laat blyk dat hy vasberade was om die naturellekwessie tot die voetbal te maak van ons party-politiek.

Die swart manifes

“Sy bedoeling het nog duideliker uitgekóm in sy swart Afrika-manifes, wat altyd 'n swart plek sal bly op sy eie vermaardheid. Die skandelikste vertoning waarvoor 'n partypolitiekus hom nog ooit in hierdie land geleen het, (hr. hr.).

“Mnr. Ben Jenkins, 'n gewese Voorsitter van die Arbeidersparty en geen vriend van my nie maar 'n eerlike teenstander (gelag) het oor hierdie manifes taal gebruik wat ek nie kan verbeter nie. ‘Ek aarsel nie om te sê nie’, so verklaar hy, ‘dat dit die fynste stukkje politieke propaganda is wat die wêreld ooit gesien het.’ Ek laat dit daarby.

“Maar julle sal nou al gesien het dat hierdie misleidende propaganda die vernaamste strydmiddel van die Pakt is in hierdie verkiesing. Van elke verhoog op die platteland hoor mens dit uitbulder dat ek tengunste van 'n swart S.A. is, dat ek die Unie wil oplos in 'n see van barbarisme, dat ek 'n gevaar is vir die blanke beskawing. Dis net maar omdat ek 'n gedragslyn van vriendskap en politieke toenadering verkondig het—en nog sterk verkondig—teenoor die jong Britse State in die Noorde, wat ons ware industriële en politieke hinterland is (appl.). Ek sien uit na die tyd dat ons politiek en ons hulpbronne nouer verbind sal wees en dat die naam S.A. 'n baie ruimer betekenis sal hê as vandag. Ek is oortuig dat daar geen enkele billike en vaderlandsliewende S.Afrikaner is wat nie met my hierin saamstem nie. Dis die tradisionele noordwaartse politiek van S.A. en dit sal ons toekoms beïnvloed soos ons verlede.

Losse verklarings

“Hierdie geloof is my sonde. Die Eerste Minr. noem die Britse state in die Noorde kafferstate wat, as hulle aangeraak word, sekere melaatsheid sal beteken vir S.A.! Hy moet tans bekend wees met die ernstige afkeuring wat hy in die Noorde uitgelok het en die groot skade wat gedoen word aan ons belange deur hierdie losse verklarings. Daarom krabbel hy nou terug. S. en N.Rhodesië word, hoewel hulle dieselfde naturellepolitiek as Kaapland volg en hoewel ook hulle 'n groot oorwig van naturelle het nie ingesluit in die veroordeling van enige toekomstige federasie of bondgenootskap met ons nie. Wel, laat my die Eerste Minr. vertel dat ekself ook nie uitbreiding na die Noorde verder as Rhodesië praktiese politiek ag vir onse tyd en onse geslag nie. Ek sal meer as tevrede wees as ek in my tyd 'n billike aansluiting sien met S. en N.-Rhodesië. Die res laat ek aan die toekoms oor. Maar my gedragslyn van vriendskap en saamwerking met die res van Brits S.A. bly onveranderd en ek sal dié State altyd beskou as jonger lede van die gesin. Om hulle te steun in ons gemeenskaplike beskawingsaak sal sowel plig as voorreg wees vir die Unie” (luid appl.).

‘n Stem: “U sal dit volbring.”

Geen gelyke kiesreg

“Naas hierdie wanvoorstelling is daar die ander dat dit die politiek van die S.A.P. is om gelyke kiesreg te gee aan swart en blank deur die hele Unie. Hierdie aanklag is netso ongegrond as dié insake 'n swart Afrikaanse gedragslyn. Gelyke kiesreg was nooit die politiek van die S.A.P. nie. So'n verklaring is nooit met my goedkeuring en uit naam van die Party gedoen nie. Ons party-program sedert 1911 het nooit die minste aanduiding van so'n gedragslyn gegee nie. In Des. j.l. het ons Bloemfonteinse Program nog as breë grondslag van naturellepolitiek vasgestel dat ons bestaande regte respekteer en streef na verbetering en beter ekonomiese aanwending van die bestaande reserwes en lokasies en na uitbreiding van plaaslike bestuur in naturellegebiede. G'n en-

kele woord oor kiesregte nie! Die natuurlike maak daarop geen aanspraak en die blankes sal so iets seker nie toestaan nie (hr., hr.) Die aanklag skyn gegrond te wees op 'n verklaring wat 'n paar weke gelede gedoen is deur die Aartsbiskop van Kaapstad, sir James Rose-Innes, prof. Fremantle, mnr. Morris Alexander en ander. Hulle praat nie namens die S.A.P. en is selfs nie lede van die Party nie. 'n Week nadat mnr. Alexander daardie verklaring geteken het, het die Eerste Minr. hom gesteun in sy kandidatuur vir Kaapstad-Tuine in die Sionistesaal, Kaapstad (gelag en appl.). Dis die gedraglyne van mnr. Alexander, wat so hard gesteun word deur die Eerste Minr., maar nie ons natuurlikepolitiek nie. Enigeen wat êrens in hierdie verkiesingsdae sê dat gelyke stemreg vir blankes en kaffers ons politiek is, sê iets wat vals is en waarvan hy weet dat 't vals is (hr., hr) **Hieraan wil ek duidelik toevoeg dat genl. Hertzog vir sy plan om Parlementêre regte aan kaffers in die Noorde toe te ken nie die steun van die S.A.P. sal ontvang nie.**

Ons steun dit nie

“Hierdie verklaring van ons natuurlikepolitiek het nie betrekking op die kleurlinge nie. Aan die Kaapse grondslag behoort nie getorring te word virsover dit die kleurlinge aangaan nie. Hulle regte onder die Grondwet behoort geëerbiedig te word. Ons natuurlikepolitiek is vervat in ons Bloemfonteinse program, soos hierbo aangetoon. Ons glo daarin om die kaffer regverdig en billik te behandel en redelike kans te gee om hom te ontwikkel; ons glo nie in 'n politiek van verdrukking wat seker sy terugslag sal hê op die blankes nie. Aangaande politieke regte glo ons dat ooreenkomstig die Grondwet geen gedraglyne moontlik is wat nie uitgevoer word met goedkeuring van al die partye en waarin die natuurlike nie redelik geken word nie. Die enigste manier waarop mens kan vorder, is derhalwe deur 'n Nasionale Konvensie byeen te roep om hierdie saak te behandel by wyse van gesamentlike oorleg deur die partye en al die mense wat daarby betrokke is. Hierdie weg het ek aangeraai op die Bloemfonteinse kongres van 1925. Vir my is dit so duidelik as daglig dat in hierdie opsig geen ander middels van enige nut sal wees nie. Ek hoop dat, as ons aan die bewind kom, ons die samewerking sal kry van die ander partye in die ondersoek van hierdie vraagstuk deur middel van so'n konvensie. Ek is meer as hoopvol dat in daardie atmosfeer, buite die party-politiek om, 'n oplossing gevind sal word, tenminste vir ons tyd, selfs as geen oplossing vir so'n ernstige en moeilike vraagstuk moontlik is nie (appl.). Die kaffers self verwelkom hierdie manier van behandeling van hul status en regte.

Die veiligste gedraglyne

“Ek wil hieraan toevoeg dat die posiesie m.i. nooit veilig sal wees vir die blanke beskawing nie tensy die ewewig tussen die bevolking herstel is. Ses milj. natuurlike teenoor anderhalf milj. blankes is 'n feit wat mens nie oor die hoof kan sien nie. Die enigste en veiligste gedraglyne is 'n goed georganiseerde stelsel vir vermeerdering van die blanke bevolking en verandering van die verhouding van die blanke tot die natuurlike bevolking. Immigrasie is die verklaarde politiek van die S.A.P. sedert sy ontstaan in 1911. Ek glo dat 'n behoorlike immigrasiepolitiek in 'n paar geslagte wonder sal verrig. Maar ook hier staan ons teenoor teenstand van die ander kant. Die syfers kan verander word deur 'n aanhoudende en wyse immigrasie-gedraglyne. Die vrees, gewek deur 'n vroeëre direkteur van Sensus, dat die natuurlike só toeneem dat S.A. gedoem is om 'n swart land te word, het geen voldoende grond nie. Senator Roberts het die sensussyfers baie noukeurig en sorgvuldig nagegaan en aangetoon

dat die natuurlikegeboortes vinnig verminder en die posiesie glad nie onrusbarend is nie. As die blanke versterk word deur middel van 'n gesonde immigrasiestelsel sal die posiesie nie alleen verbeter nie, maar ook nie meer vrees vir ons toekoms hoef te bestaan nie. M.i. is 'n gesonde immigrasiepolitiek die ware en blywende oplossing van die natuurlikevraagstuk (hr., hr.) daardeur sal die vrees verdwyn wat nou swaar op ons toekoms druk. Dis baie beter as die hopelose gedraglyne van die Eerste Minr. Geld wat op hierdie manier oordeelkundig uitgegee word sal die beste belegging wees van hierdie land om sy toekoms te verseker, om sy hulpbronne te ontgin en sy binnelandse markte te verbeter.

“Ek sal nou kortliks 'n opsomming gee van die vernaamste punte op die program van aksie waarmee ons die verkiesing tegemoet gaan. Die program self is deur ons Party saamgestel op die Bloemfonteinse Kongres in Des. j.l., waarna ek u verwys vir nader besonderhede. Ek maak alleen melding van die vernaamste punte.

Ons status

“Ons staan by die Nasionale status binne die Britse Gemeenbes van Nasies, soos verklaar op die Rykskonferensie en verkry vir ons deur die getroue diens en opoffering van ons dapper seuns (appl.). Ons voel bly dat daardie status nou algemeen aanvaar is en dat die politiek van afskeiding van die Ryk nou heeltemal in die steek gelaat is.

Die Duitse Verdrag

“Ons keur die Duitse Verdrag af omdat dit inbreuk doen op die voorkeur binne die Ryk en 'n onnodige bedreiging is vir ons buitelandse mark (appl.). Tensy die Verdrag in hierdie opsig gewysig word sal ons dit by die eersvolgende geleentheid verwerp. Elke stem vir die Pakt sal 'n stem wees vir instandhouding van die Verdrag, met al sy gevare vir ons produseerders.

Die Noorde

“Ons hou vas aan die gedraglyne insake die Noorde, soos hierbo aangegee. Ons hoop dat dit naderhand sal lei tot federasie met S. en N. Rhodesië en tot saamwerking en losse vorm van aansluiting in die toekoms met die ander Britse state in die Noorde. Ons kom op vir 'n groot saak en dis in belang van S.A. dat ons Noordwaarts kyk.

Vrouestemreg

“Ons is tengerunste van vrouestemreg. Met die oog op die moeilikhede aangaande natuurlikevroue in Kaapland is ek daarvoor om hulle regte oor te laat aan die beslissing van 'n Nasionale Konvensie, saam met die regte van natuurlike. Maar dit behoort nie die toekenning van stemreg aan ons vroue, as een van die eerste dade as ons aan die bewind kom, te verdraag nie. Ek sien dat die Eerste Minr. te Benoni sy belofte in die Volksraad om sulke wetgewing in 1930 in te dien, herroep het. Te Pietermaritzburg het die Eerste Minr. gisteraand weer na sy ou belofte verwys maar in gewysigde vorm, nl. dat hy in 1930 die wetsontwerp sal indien maar dat die verantwoordelikheid by die S.A.P. berus. Die S.A.P. sal van die saak nie 'n partysaak maak nie en sal genl. Hertzog se hulp verwelkom. Daar mag nie langer met die saak gespeel word nie. Afgaande op wat die Arbeiders en genl. Hertzog oor die saak gesê het is daar van hulle nie baie te verwag nie. Ek hoop dat Pretoria my sal help om die saak deur te sit.

Die natuurlikekwessie
Reeds behandel.

Asiate

“Ons gedraglyne bly onveranderd, en kan as volg opgesom word: ‘Geen Asiatiese immigrasie nie en repatriasie so spoedig moontlik, sonder kans om terug te keer.’

Staatsdiens en Spoorwege

“Ons is tengeruste van ’n suiwer Staatsdiens, geskei van politiek en ondersoek van ’n politieke aard en van ’n veranderde Staatsdienskommissie. Ons waarborg bestaande lone en diensvoorwaardes en billike ondersoek na griewe. Ons is teen aanstellings van buite, behalwe waar professionele en tegniese kwalifikasies vereis word. Die blanke werkvolk op die Spoorweë hoef nie bang te wees vir ontslag nie en alles sal gedoen word om hulle posisie op grond van verdienste te verbeter.

Die Loonwet

“Ons is tengeruste van die Nywerheidsversoeningwet as bolwerk van industriële vrede, soos dit geblyk het sedert dit deur die S.A.P.-regering in 1924 gepasseer is. **Die Loonwet sal gehandhaaf maar beperkt word tot ongeorganiseerde industrie en bedrywe waar hongerloon betaal word, waarvoor dit trouens gepasseer is.** Dit sal billik toegepas word, sodat nie alleen die heeltemal bekwame nie, maar ook die half geskoolde werker beskerm word. Die moeilikhede wat ontstaan het deur die loonbepalings vir winkelbedienendes en kelners, sowel as in ander gevalle, toon dat ’n verandering in sy toepassing nodig is. Dieselfde loonsgedraglyne wat in Australië gevolg is kragtens die ‘Arbitration Acts’ is ernstig afgekeur deur die resente Britse Kommissie van Ondersoek as bron van industriële onrus en beroering. Nouliks was die Loonwet in werking of baie van die bepalinge is deur die Howe ongeldig verklaar. Maar dit mag tot dieselfde moeilikheid lei as in Australië, tensy die toepassing beperk word tot ongeorganiseerde bedrywe.

Woningbou

“Ons is ook tengeruste van ’n **kragdadige gedraglyne insake woningbou, wat deur ons begin is** en wat van onskatbare waarde geblyk het vir die werkers en die mense met klein inkomens. Die heilsame uitwerking van fatsoenlike behuising vir al die klasse kan nie oorskat word nie.

Landnedersetting en immigrasie

“Die gedraglyne van voldoende toelae vir aankoop en verbetering van grond vir goedgekeurde S. Afrikaanse en immigrante-boere is hierbo uiteengesit. Ons is tengeruste van ’n ooreenkoms met die Britse Regering onder die Emigrasieskema waardeur sy samewerking, finansieel en andersins, verkry sal word. Waterbore op plase sal goedkoper en vlugger gemaak word en die treurige toestand van die vee- en tabakboerdery sal ernstig aandag geniet.

Mosambiek-ooreenkoms

“Ons keur die bepalinge af in die Mosambiek-ooreenkoms wat die toevoer van werkvolk uit Mosambiek in vyf jaar beperk met 80,000, die diens tyd verkort, repatriasie verplig van al die Portugese kaffers wat op plase werk en ernstig die handel met Mosambiek-kaffers op die Rand beperk. Dis ons bedoeling om so spoedig moontlik wysiging van hierdie bepalinge voor te stel. Ondersoek moet gedoen word na die manier om die lewensduur van die myne van lae gehalte, waarvan die voorspoed van die Rand grootliks afhang, te verleng. Prospekterdery en mynontginning deur die klein man sal op alle maniere aangemoedig word. Die Diamantwet behoort gewysig en inkorting van delwers en eienaars se regte verwyder te word.

Staatsdelwerye

“Die posisie op die Staatsdelwery in Namakwaland vereis ook grondige ondersoek. ’n Einde moet gemaak word aan die ernstige misbruike waartoe dit gelei het. Die stappe wat gedoen sal word ten opsigte van daardie delwerye sal afhang van so ’n ondersoek. Die Regering het vreklik opgetree.

“Die steenkoolbedryf en die vloeiarmaking van steenkool sal ons steun hê. Die bedryf verdien dit, gelet op sy ontsaglike betekenis vir die land.

“Ons is tengeruste van beskerming van plaaslike industrie wat regmatige aanspraak het op steun, maar ons is teen staatsbestuur en onnodige staatsbemoeiing en gee daar die voorkeur aan om privaat inisiatief aan te moedig.

Beskerming

“Ons meen ook dat die koste van lewensonderhoud nie verhoog behoort te word deur oordrewe beskerming nie, **maar dat die invoerregte op onbeskermdes artikels wat nie beskerming nodig het nie verlaag behoort te word tegelyk met die oplegging van beskermende regte.** Ons is ’n land van boere en myne en dit behoort die gedraglyne te wees om lewenskoste te verminder. **Ons keur die gedraglyne af van onnodige hoë invoerregte, wat inkomste mag vermeerder en batige saldo’s skep, maar wat die lewe vir die armes en die loontrekkers swaarder maak en die ontwikkeling van die land strem.**

Yster en staal

“Ons is tengeruste van die Yster- en Staalnywerheid, wat die beginsel is van die S.A.P. sedert Unie (appl.) Ons is van plan om die industrie te vestig, selfs al meen dit uiteindelik seker wysigings in die bestaande skema.

Spoorwegstelsel

“Die S.A.P. beskou die huidige posisie van ons spoorwegstelsel as onbevredigend en is tengeruste van hersiening van die spoorweggedraglyne en spoorwegtariewe om beter die algemene ontwikkeling te bevorder en die bepalinge van die Grondwet uit te voer in verband met die bestuur van die Spoorweë op besigheidsgrondslag en ontwikkeling van die binneland en om daarby volle ekonomiese gebruik te maak van motorvervoer.

Prowinsiale rade

“Die S.A.P. meen dat die huidige omslagtige en grotendeels politieke stelsel van Prowinsiale Rade hersien en noukeurig ondersoek ingestel behoort te word na ’n bevredigender vorm van plaaslike bestuur in die Unie, op voorwaarde dat in geen Provinsie die Prowinsiale Rade afgeskaf word tensy ’n referendum in die Provinsie uitval ten gunste van afskaffing nie (appl).

Nasionale paaie

“Ons is tengeruste van ’n nasionale paaie-gedraglyne, met ’n behoorlike fonds, wat die werk van die Provinsies ten opsigte van ons nasionale en grootpaaie sal koördineer. Ons dink nie dat die beste resultaat verkry sal word deur die huidige regering se gedraglyne, n.l. om af en toe bydraes te gee vir die Unie as geheel, en die ontvangste aan motor- en bensiëbelasting behoort heeltemal voldoende te wees vir daardie doel. Daar is nog ’n saak wat ek wil aanroer.

Natuurlike hulpbronne

“Dis die praktiese toepassing van die wetenskap wat ’n enorme verskil sal maak vir ons hulpbronne en die waarde van verskillende distrikte meer as verdubbel. Die plantkundige

en veeartsenykundige departemente het pragtige werk ge-
doen wat lof oor die hele wêreld uitgelok het. 'n Groot voor-
waartse beweging het moontlik geword, en dit is die be-
doeling van ons Party om so spoedig as ons die geleentheid
kry, 'n begin te maak. Terselfdertyd sal 'n vasberade po-
ging aangewend word om agteruitgang van die veld te voor-
kom, die bronne van ons riviere en ons waters te beskerm
en beter ekonomiese gebruik te maak van ons natuurlike
hulpbronne. Ons Party het hom tot hierdie gedragslyn ver-
bind. Die dwase vernielsug moet vergoed gestop word. S.A.
en sy natuurlike hulpbronne behoort nie as vyandige grond
beskou te word nie, maar as moeder, as iets wat ons lief is,
wat ons wil vertroetel en beskerm. Jong S.A. wat van die
Uniwersiteite kom, het 'n nuwe nasionale bewussyn; weten-
skap het by hom groter verering vir al die natuurlike dinge
geskep. En hy gaan gebruik maak van sy nuwe kennis om
'n unieke natuur te beskerm en nuttiger en mooier te maak.
En ons is van plan om op alle maniere hierdie nuwe houding,
hierdie diepere wetenskaplike en estetiese patriotisme te be-
vorder. Politiek behoort nie al ons aandag in beslag te neem
nie en ons ware aandag behoort gegee te word aan die sake
wat ons groot natuurlike erfstuk sal verbeter, verryk en ver-
fraai. Ons wil wetenskap aan die lewe verbind en so die nu-
we S.A. skep wat ons soek. Geen party kan beter leiding
gee op hierdie nuwe weg as die S.A.P. nie'' (hr., hr.)

Waarvoor ons staan

Ten slotte sê genl. Smuts:

“Ek het die algemene standpunt uiteengesit van die S.A.P.
in die politiek van ons land. Ek het noodsaaklikerwys kleiner
punte weggelaat en daarna sal later verwys word. **Teenoor
die enge rasse- en klasse-vooroordel van die teenstan-
ders staan die S.A.P. vir 'n groter S.Afrika en 'n ruimere
nasionalisme.**

“Ons probeer om hierdie groot Unie op te bou op die
grondslag wat genl. Botha gelê het en wat die toets van die
tyd deurstaan het, op kameraadskap en vertroue tussen die
rasse, op getrouheid en eer, op billike en regverdige behan-
deling van arm en ryk, wit en swart. Dis ons tradisie van
die verlede en ons strewe vir die toekoms. Dis die geloof
wat die S.A.P. inspireer en wat ons in praktyk sal bring so
goed ons kan.

“Die groter S.A., die ruimere nasionalisme, moet ons
wagwoord wees in die stryd wat ons gaan probeer win” (lui-
de en langdurige toejuiging).

Adv. Stallard

Adv. Stallard spreek 'n paar woorde op versoek van die voor-
sitter en sê dat dit 'n groot vergadering was met 'n groot
toespraak van 'n groot man (applous). Die volk van S.-Afrika
soek iemand om hom te lei uit die modder van slegmakery.
Die leiding is vanaand gegee (toej.) Genl. Smuts het baie
opgeoffer vir land en volk en hy gaan nog voort sonder om
te aarsel. Die S.A.P. is die enigste party wat billik optree
teenoor alle klasse en dele van die gemeenskap. Die S.A.P.
sal sy gang gaan. Wat die S.A.P. betref sal die verkiesing-
stryd skoon wees (toej.) **Die Transvalers sal hul nie om
die tuin laat lei met praatjies van 'n swart land nie (appl).**
Genl. Smuts sal Transvaal nooit verrai nie.

Hy stel 'n mosie van dank aan genl. Smuts voor en sê dat
die Generaal nog altyd die belange van Suid-Afrika behar-
tig het.

Die mosie word eenparig aangeneem. Die vergadering sluit
onder groot geesdrif en met drie hoeras vir genl. en mev.
Smuts.

(Volgens manuskript ingehandig deur Genl. J.C. Smuts,
Doornkloof, Irene. Inleiding en hofies deur H.J. Poutsma,
Posbus 404, Pretoria.)

IRRIGASIE SKEMAS

“Ons moet probeer om die veroordeel teen groot bevoeiings-
werke in die land weg te neem. Daardie werke het nog nie
'n redelike kans gekry. Selfs al sou die Staat verplig wees
om nog verder 'n groot som geld daaraan te spandeer, sou
sulke werke geregverdig wees vir die land in sy geheel”

(Tielman Roos op die Irrigasie Kongres, gehou te Cradock
in 1924.)

**“Die toekoms gaan ons wys dat ons die gelykden-
kendes in een kamp sal kry TEENOR DIE UNIO-
NISTE EN ARBEIDERS.”**

(Tielman Roos, te Rietfontein (Lydenburg). “Ons
Vaderland,” 13.7.'29.)

Kol. N.J. Pretorius, L.V. vir Witwatersberg.

Die laaste Delimitasie Kommissie het die Kiesafdeling
W.W.Berg verander en grotendeels verenig met 'n stuk van
die vroeëre Kiesafdeling Pretoria Suid en die nuwe saam-
stelling gaan nou onder die naam van Magaliesberg, en dis
die afdeling waarvoor die Kolonel nou ons kandidaat is.

W. O'Brien, L.V. S.A.P.-kandidaat vir Pietermaritzburg
(Distrikt).

GENL. SMUTS IN DIE LOKASIE

Maar was Genl. Hertzog daar dan ook nie?

In 'n artikel in “Ons Vaderland” onder die opskrif “Genl.
Smuts in die Lokasie” is die lesers van daardie koerant met
groot ophef vertel dat Genl. Smuts in die lokasie was. Dis
die wyse waarop die waarheidsliewende Nat.-orgaan mel-
ding maak van die feit dat Genl. Smuts in die Kaap Prov.,
n.l. te Herschel, 'n aantal naturelle-kiesers toegesprek 't.
Die aankondigingsbiljet, wat op die strate vertoon word en
aankondig wat die vernaamste inhoud van die geadverteer-
de koerant is, het dieselfde opskrif gehad.

“Geen woord word natuurlik gerep oor Genl. Hertzog wat
in die Transkei (Ciskei) oorals Naturelle toegesprek 't. Ons
sê daar niks teen nie, dis mos heeltemal reg vir en die plig
van 'n Eerste Minister om oorals in die Unie rond te gaan
en blank sowel as swart voor te lig en te lei. Op 29 Mei a.s.
sal Genl. Hertzog ook 'n vergadering toesprek op dieself-
de plek (Herschel) as waar Genl. Smuts kort gelede was.

Waarom vertel “Ons Vaderland” sy lesers nie met groot
swart letters wat Genl. Hertzog op 12 Oktober, 1928, te Reitz
(O.V.S.) gesê het soos gerapporteer in die andere nuus-blaai
van die Unie:—

**“Dis my gewoonte om die Kaffers met die hand te
groet as ek uit die huis vertrek en as ek kaffers ont-
moet op openbare vergaderings in die Vrystaat druk
ek gewoonlik die hand van die kafferkapteins.”**

En te Kroonstad op 24 Julie, 1928, het Genl. Hertzog die
kaffers in hulle lokasie toegesprek. Toe Genl. Hertzog na
afloop na sy motorkar wou stap, kom 'n klein kaffermeid-
jie, as bruid gekleed, netjies met sluier en al, en bied hom

'n ruiker aan. Die Genl. ontvang die ruiker en bedank met 'n handdruk.

Komaan, "Ons Vaderland", ontken nou bowestaande!!

AANSTOTELIKE "GRAP"!

Senator Langenhoven, die offisiële Nat. grapmaker van die Senaat, is ook nou die Nas. Eleksie grapmaker geword!

Die ander dag het hy aan die Nat. kiesers op 'n publieke vergadering te Worcester gesê volgens die verslag van "Die Burger":

"As julle 'n Sap na die Parlement wil stuur, kies dan die onbekwaamste wat daar te kry is—as julle 'n dooi man kan stuur, dan soveel te beter."

Nouja!

Aanhalings, meedelings, verklarings, ens., ens., voorkomende op hierdie bladsy, tensy anders vermeld, is saamgestel deur Louis Esselen, 147 Maraisstraat, Brooklyn, Pretoria.

Geteken deur G. Pilkington, St. James, Kaapstad

Generaal J.B.M. Hertzog het die volgende betekenisvolle verklaring gemaak in die Paarl met geleentheid van die Nas. Party demonstrasie aldaar op 23 Maart j.l.

"Dit is ongetwyfeld 'n bietjie optimisties om 'n werkende meerderheid by onself te verwag. Ek wil egter nie hier gaan sê dat ons by onself 'n meerderheid gaan kry nie, en indien ons dit nie kry nie, sal ons met die grootste gereedheid weer doen wat ons in 1924 gedoen het. Ons sal die hand uitsteek naardie deel van die Arbeidersparty, wat ons sedert 1924 getrou bygestaan het." ("Ons Vaderland"-verslag d.d. 25 Maart, 1929.)

Verklaring van Staatsbeleid van die S.A. Party.

1. — DIE UNIE, DIE BRITSE GEMENE BES EN DIE VOLKEBOND.

Die S.A. Party staan vir die instandhouding van die Suidafrika Wet en van die Dominion Status soos verklaar deur Rykskonferensies en aangeneem deur die Parlement.

Hy staan vir Saamwerking en handhawing en uitbreiding van voorkeur binne die Britse Gemenebes.

Hy staan vir erkenning van die Volkebond en vir internasionale vrede en vrindskap.

2. — INTER-AFRIKAANSE BELEID.

Aangesien baie van die grotere kwessies waarmee die Unie te doen het die beste opgelos kan word met die welwillende gesindheid van ander Afrikaanse State, is die S.A. Party daarvoor om 'n houding aan te neem wat lei tot die aankweking van spesiale vrindskap en handel met ander Afrikaanse State, teneinde nouere betrekkings in die lewe te roep.

3. — KIESREG HERVORMING.

Die S.A. Party staan vir vroue stemreg.

4. — DIE NATURELLE-VRAAGSTUK.

Die S.A. Party staan vir behandeling van alle Naturelle vraagstukke volgens billike en regverdige beginsels, vir die respekteer van bestaande regte, vir ontwikkeling en beter gebruikmaking van die Naturelle gebiede, vir uitbreiding van plaaslik selfbestuur van Naturelle en vir beter supervisie van stads-lokasies en die instroom van Naturelle in sulke lokasies.

5. — ASIATE

Die S.A. Party staan vir die behoud van restriksies insake immigrasie van Asië en vir regeringshulp vir permanente repatriasie.

6. — STAATSDIENS.

Die S.A. Party staan vir skoon en doelmatige bestuur en is heeltemaal teen die politiek van "baantjies vir boeties," of enige vorm van politieke voorkeerkery in die Staatsdiens. Hy staan vir handhawing van die bestaande regte van Staatsamptenare. Hy is ten gunste van nouer kontak tussen die verenigings van amptenare en die Staatsdiens-kommissie, en is sterk teen aanstellings van buitekant die diens, buiten en behalwe waar spesiale professionele of tegniese kwalifikasies vereis word.

7. — DIE SPOORWEGDIENS

Die S.A. Party staan vir die instandhouding van die bestaande regte van spoorweg-beamptes van alle grade en klasse, vir 'n billike ondersoek na en wegneming van bestaande griewe en vir verbetering van diens-voorwaardes op grond van bekwaamheid. Die S.A. Party is teen alle kondiesies wat daarop bereken is om die standaard van beskawing in Suidafrika te verlaag.

8. — MAATSKAPLIKE BELEID.

Die S.A. Party staan vir 'n politiek van maatskaplike regverdigheid vir alle klasse; vir die instandhouding van ouderdomspensioene en versekering teen werkloosheid en gebrekkigheid.

Vir die instandhouding van die industriële versoenings-politiek en wet deur die Party in die lewe geroep;

Vir die beperking van die Loonwet tot slegbetaalde en ongeorganiseerde stedelike industrieë;

Vir 'n sterke Nasionale Behuisings-politiek en vir uitbreiding van geleenthede vir werkverskaffing deur middel van tegniese, industriële en handels-onderwys, saam met industriële en landbou-uitbrieding.

9. — LAND POLITIEK

Die S.A. Party staan vir aktiewe bewerking van die grond, bevordering van besproeiing, vir 'n vooruitstrewende Nedersettings-politiek, waardering van grond bewoon deur settelaars, op 'n billike en redelike basis en die snelle toeneming van plaas-eiendom deur Regerings-voorskotte, vir 'n sterke politiek

van uitbreiding en beter markte in eie land en daarbuite, vir die boerebedryf meer aantreklik te maak en onder ander blywende verbeterings op plase vry te stel van Inkomstebelasting.

10.—IMMIGRASIE

Die S.A. Party is vir 'n sistematiese immigrasie-politiek teneinde die blanke bevolking te versterk, voorsiening te maak vir verminderde koste van oorkom uit ander lande, uitsoek van en onderrig aan settelaars en fasiliteite vir aankoop van grond onder die Nedersettings Wette.

11.—MYN POLITIEK.

Die S.A. Party erken die myn-industrie, na landbou, as ons tweede grote industrie, waardeur aan 'n groot deel van die bevolking lewensonderhoud verskaf word en tewens buitengewoon veel bydra tot die algemene vooruitgang en verryking van die land. Hy is vir maatreels wat daarop bereken is om die instandhouding van bestaande myne te bevorder en 'n voldoende toevoer van arbeidskragte te verseker, die ontginning van nuwe ondernemings en betere organisasie, veral van alluwiale delwerye en die verwydering van regverdige griewe, ontstaan deur die wetgewing van die laaste tyd in verband met diamante. Die S.A. Party is in beginsel teen die direkte ontginning van myne deur die Staat; maar is sterk vir ontwikkeling van ons groot steenkool-voorrade en vir die voortbrenging van petrol uit olie-houdende klippe, nie alleen om die uitvoerhandel te bevorder; maar ook om die olie-fabrikasie en ander produkte uit steenkool te bevorder.

12.—INDUSTRIELE POLITIEK.

Die S.A. Party staan vir 'n billike politiek van beskerming bedoel om die voortbrenging van artikels in Suidafrika te bevorder deur invoerregte, spoorweg-tariewe en andersins.

Die Party is ten gunste van aanmoediging van private ondernemings en inisiatief, en vir toepassing van die nodig Staats-toesig met die minst moontlike bemoeiing.

13.—KOSTE VAN LEWENSONDERHOUD.

Onderhewig aan die industriële gedragsslyn, soas hierbo geformuleer, staan die S.A. Party verlaging voor van invoerregte, en van belasting in die algemeen ten einde die koste van lewensonderhoud te verminder.

14.—SPOORWEG POLITIEK.

Die S.A. Party beskou die teenwoordige posisie van ons spoorweg-sisteem as onbevredigend en is om die rede vir 'n hersiening van die spoorweg-beleid en van vragpryse, teneinde 'n betere algemene ontwikkeling te bevorder en om uitvoering te gee aan die voorsienings van die Suidafrika Wet met betrekking tot die beheer van ons spoorweë volgens besigheids beginsels en die ontwikkeling van die binneland en gelyktydig volledig ekonomies gebruik te maak van motor transport.

15.—PROWINSIALE RADE.

Die S.A. Party meen dat die bestaande omslagtige en grootliks politieke stelsel van Prowinsiale Rade hersien behoort te word en noukeurige ondersoek ingestel met die oog op totstandbrenging van 'n meer bevredigende vorm van plaaslike bestuur vir die Unie, mits die Prowinsiale Raad in geen provinsie afgeskaf word nie tensy by 'n referendum blyk dat die provinsie ten gunste van afskaffing is.

16.—WEË POLITIEK.

Die S.A. Party is vir 'n nasionale weë-politiek met 'n Nasionaal Weë Fonds.

17.—WETENSKAPLIKE POLITIEK.

Aangesien die toepassing van wetenskap noodsaaklik is by 'n behoorlike ontwikkeling van die landbou en ander hulpbronne, is die S.A. Party vir 'n betere organisasie van onse wetenskaplike dienste sowel as vir 'n omvattende skema van wetenskaplik ondersoekingswerk waarvoor voldoende fondse beskikbaar behoort te wees.

18.—NATUURLIKE HULPBRONNE.

Die S.A. Party staan vir beskerming en ontwikkeling van ons natuurlike en see-hulpbronne, van ons rivier-bronne en die boswese, is vir voorkoming van grond-verspoeling en vir alle andere maatreels wat kan dien tot 'n beter ekonomies gebruikmaking van die grond van die Unie.

die Burger, 191

S.A. MOET WITMANS GENL. HERTZOG SE OPROEP.

SKITTERENDE PRESTASIE VAN NAS. REGERING.

**Hoe Unioniste Genl. Smuts met
Onmag Geslaan het.**

NASIONALISTE SE AEGPROGRAM.

**Voortsetting van Voortuitstrewende
Beleid die Grondtoon.**

Suid Afrika kom alreeds 'n witman land sly as 'n natuurlike vraagstuk onverwyl aangepik word. Dit is die grondtoon van die groot toespraak wat die Eerste Minister gisterand op Smithfield gehou het. Hy het verwys na die verklaring van 'n bekende Engelse geleerde dat Suid Afrika hierdie ideaal alleen kan verwesenlik deur die verhouding van blankes tot naturelle so hoog as moontlik te hou. Die Generaal het daarop, gewys dat die beleid van genl. Smuts, soos uit sy onlangse toespraak op Ermele geblyk het, lynreg in stryd is hiermee en het 'n beroep op die volk gedoen om Suid Afrika van die gevaar van Kaffer oorheersing te red deur die Nasionale Regering weer aan die bewind van sake te stel.

Genl. Hertzog het verder 'n oorsig gegee van die huidige toestand waarin die land verkeer het toe die teenswoordige Regering in 1924 aan die bewind gekom het en het die beleid van die huidige Regering op skitterende wyse verdedig. Hy het o.a. verduidelik hoe tekort verander is in oorskotte nieentoele die feit dat die belastinge ten bedrae van twee miljoen per jaar verander is.

Hy het ook die strydprogram van die Nasionale Party uiteengeset. Dit kom hoofsaaklik hierop neer dat die fundamente van die voorspel van die land net gele is. Daar sal voortgegaan word op die ingesette weg deur ons nywerhede te beskerm, die land te help en voorsiening te maak vir die ontginning van die hulpbronne van die land deur stappe te doen om die land te steun volkoomlik in kragt en te sit, besproeiingswerke en land we te reup en 'n voortuitstrewende paaiebeleid te volg. Dit was 'n skitterende rede en die gehoor, wat etlike duisende getel het, het die Generaal een van sy mees geesdriftige

S.A. MOET WITMANSLAND BLY GENL. HERTZOG SE OPROEP.

SKITTERENDE PRESTASIE VAN NAS. REGERING.

Hoe Unioniste Genl. Smuts met Onmag Geslaan het.

NASIONALISTE SE VEGPROGRAM.

Voortsetting van Vooruitstrewende Beleid die Grondtoon.

Suid-Afrika kan alleen 'n witmansland bly as die natuurlike vraagstuk onverwyld aangepak word. Dit is die grondtoon van die groot toespraak wat die Eerste Minister gisteraand op Smithfield gehou het. Hy het verwys na die verklaring van 'n bekende Engelse geleerde dat Suid-Afrika hierdie ideaal alleen kan verwesenlik deur die verhouding van blankes tot natuurlike so hoog as moontlik te hou. Die Generaal het daarop gewys dat die beleid van genl. Smuts, soos uit sy onlangse toespraak op Ermelo geblyk het, lynreg in stryd is hiermee en het 'n beroep op die volk gedoen om Suid-Afrika van die gevaar van Kafferoorheersing te red deur die Nasionale Regering weer aan die bewind van sake te stel.

Genl. Hertzog het verder 'n oorsig gegee van die huidige toestand waarin die land verkeer het toe die teenswoordige Regering in 1924 aan die bewind gekom het en het die beleid van die huidige Regering op skitterende wyse verdeel. Hy het o.a. aangetoon hoe tekorte verander is in oorskotte niesteatande die feit dat die belastinge ten bedrae van twee miljoen per jaar verminder is.

Hy het ook die strydprogram van die Nasionale Party uiteengesit. Dit kom hoofsaaklik hierop neer dat die fondamente van die voorspoed van die land net gelê is. Daar sal voortgegaan word op die ingeslae weg deur ons nywerhede te beskerm, die landbou aan te help en voorsiening te maak vir die ontginning van die hulpbronne van die land, deur stappe te doen om die reusagtige steenkoolvoorraad in krag om te sit, besproeiingswerke in die lewe te roep en 'n vooruitstrewende paaiëbeleid te volg. Dit was 'n skitterende rede en die gehoor, wat etlike duisende getel het, het die Generaal een van sy mees geesdriftige ontvangste gegee wat hy nog ooit op Smithfield gehad het.

(Van ons Spesiale Beriggewer.)

SMITHFIELD. Donderdagaand, 18 April.—Na 'n aange-name eetmaal in die stadsaal ter ere van genl. Hertzog, het die inwoners van Smithfield en omgewing in 'n optog na die Jongelingsaal gegaan om die Eerste Minister te hoor. Die strate wat lei na die saal was vol soos die strate van elke dorpie wanneer die kerk uitgaan op 'n Nagmaalsand, en elkeen het gewonder waar daar in Smithfield 'n saal was om so 'n menigte mense te bevat. Die Smithfielders het die moeilikheid maklik opgelos deur eenvoudig die stoele uit die saal te verwyder. Met uitsondering van 'n paar dames wat voor in die saal gesit het, moes almal staan. Almal het

vorentoe gedring, almal wou so naby as moontlik wees om elke woord van genl. Hertzog te vang. In hul geesdrif het hulle in so 'n digte massa saamgepak dat daar heelwat meer as 2,000 persone in die gebou vergader het om die Generaal te hoor.

Dié wat nie binnekant kon plek kry nie, het rondom die saal vergader, met 'n paar gelukkigies vooraan wat plek gekry het by die vensters en deure. Miskien was hulle nie die gelukkigies nie, want hulle is onophoudelik van agter bestorm met vrae: "wat sê hy nou?" By wyle is daar ook 'n hoor-hoor! deur die venster na binne gestuur, gewoonlik 'n bietjie laat wanneer die nuus eers na buite deurgedring het.

Genl. Hertzog het onder dawerende toejuiging die saal binnegestap. Die spontane en geesdriftige toejuiging het my laat dink aan die moed, liefde en vaste vertroue waarmee genl. Hertzog in 1924 na die verkiesingstryd gestuur is. Wat die uitslag van die verkiesing gaan wees, daaraan twyfel Smithfield altans nie.

Mnr. J.A. Euvsard, die burgemeester, het die voorsitterstoel ingeneem. Adresse is voorgelees van die Stadsraad van Smithfield, Nasionale Vroueparty van Bethulie, Nasionale Vroueparty, Smithfield, Nasionale Party-takke, Bethulie en die Distriksbestuur van die Nasionale Party, Smithfield.

Onder dawerende toejuiging kom genl. Hertzog hierna aan die woord. Sy rede was as volg:

"Toe ek vyf jaar gelede hier voor u verskyn het, het ek dit gedoen om 'n ernstige beroep op die volk te doen om die land van die S.A.P.-Unionistiese samestelling onder genl. Smuts te bevry. Op daardie beroep is geredelik geantwoord en vir die afgelope vyf jaar is die regering van die land toevertrou aan en behartig deur die Nasionale Party met die troue steun van die Arbeidersparty in die Volksraad, en dit is nie sonder 'n gevoel van tevredenheid en trots dat ek u vanaand durf nader, nie alleen om aan u en die volk rekenskap te gee van elke regeringsraad wat ons verrig het nie, maar meer spesiaal weens die ryke oes van sukses wat ons pogings en ondernemings bekroon het in die diens van ons vaderland. 'n Gevoel van maatskaplike vrede en tevredenheid, wat onder die Smuts-regering onbekend was, heers vandag oral in plek van die opstande en geweld van vorige jare. Ons nywerhede is gedurende die tydperk van ons bewind met ongestoorde vrede en bloei geseën. Die vryheid van ons volk staan vandag op die onaantasbare grondslag van soewereine onafhanklikheid en oor ons hoofde wapper die oranje, wit en blou as die onmiskenbare simbool van ons vrye onafhanklike volksbestaan—die vrye vlag van 'n vrye volk. In voorspoed en nasionale welsyn wat betref vooruitgang, prestige en gesag, het Suid-Afrika vandag 'n peil bereik wat hy nog nooit tevore bereik het nie en nie onder 'n S.A.P.-Unionistiese regering sou bereik het nie, weens die onvermydelike verdeeldheid binne daardie party en die teenstrydigheid van sy elemente. Geen ander politieke beginsel het in die praktyk algemene steun geniet as die beleid van niksdoen en *laissez-faire*, die enigste beleid waaromtrent daar ten minste 'n mate van eenstemmigheid van daad en dink onder die gelede van die Smuts-regering van 1924 was.

TOEKOMS BELOWEND.

"Ons toekoms skyn ook belowend te wees en ons het alle rede om met vertroue en optimisme die toekoms tegemoet te gaan. Die oplossing van ons geskille oor die vraagstuk van ons status en onafhanklikheid het 'n stadium bereik waar daar vrede verklaar is tussen Hollandssprekende en Engelssprekende Suid-Afrika na ons honderdjarige stryd

vir vryheid. As gevolg hiervan is die nodige toestande geskep vir 'n nasionale Suid-Afrikaanse bewussyn wat albei rasse besiel met die gevoel dat hulle seuns is van een en dieselfde vaderland. Die oplossing van die status-vraagstuk het die weg getoon na daardie hartlike samewerking wat elkeen as noodsaaklik besef vir die toekomstige vooruitgang en geluk van ons geliefde vaderland.

TOESTAND IN 1924.

“Om 'n juiste berekening te maak van wat deur die huidige Regering behaal is gedurende die kort tydperk van vyf jaar van sy administrasie, is dit nodig om 'n besef te hê van die toestand van die land toe ons in 1924 aan die roer van sake gekom het.

“Die finansies van die land was in 'n betreurenswaardige toestand. Nie alleen was die skatkis leeg en begrotings en tekorte sinoniem nie; nie alleen was die inkomste wat volgens wet vir skulddelging beskikbaar was verkeerd aangewend vir die dekking van lopende koste en is die verskillende pensioenfondse van die land tot 'n toestand van bankrotskap gevoer nie, maar die hele geldelike beleid van die Regering en die finansiële uitvlugte van die Minister het sulke primitiewe gebrek aan oordeel getoon en het sulke algehele onbevoegdheid en onkunde aan die dag gelê, dat dit nie verbasing wek nie dat tot nogtoe geen enkele kiesafdeling van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party sy deur vir die vorige Minister van Finansies van die Smuts-regering oopgemaak het om hom te verwelkom nie.

Om mnr. Burton egter geen onreg aan te doen nie dien vermeld te word dat dit 'n onderskeiding is wat hy met verskeie van die kollegas van 1924 van genl. Smuts deel. Weens die onbevoegdheid van die S.A.P.-regering was die geldelike posisie van die Unie in 1924 in 'n toestand wat nie alleen die grootste sorg gebaar het nie, maar dit het ook die welsyn van ons nywerheidslewe en ons hele bevolking ernstig bedreig.

Laat ons nou vir 'n oomblik by die boerebedryf stilstaan en die toestand in hersiening neem toe ons aan die roer van sake gekom het. Die noodlottige verbod op die uitvoer van goud het nog gegeld, en onberekenbare skade waarvan ons nooit 'n behoorlike besef met enige sekerheid sal kry nie is daardeur die boere van Suid-Afrika berokken. Elke boer was die slagoffer van hierdie maatreël en geen seksie van die samelewing is harder as die boerebedryf getref.

Die onmag sowel as die dwaasheid van die Smuts-regering kom nêrens duideliker uit as in die toepassing van hierdie vir die boere so noodlottige maatreël nie lank nadat die afwesigheid van enige noodsaaklikheid daarvoor vir die ministers moes duidelik gewees het. In 1924 het die boere in die Unie nog gesug onder die las van hierdie verbod. Die afskaffing daarvan deur die Ooreenkoms-regering binne een jaar nadat hy aan die bewind gekom het, en ondanks die sterke teenstand van die S.A.P., was een van die grootste seëninge wat enige regering ooit aan Suid-Afrika ten deel laat val het.

DIE TOESTAND IN 1924.

'n Valse Voorspoed.

“Maar laat ons verder die geldelike toestand van die land in 1924 nagaan. U sal onthou dat ek in 1920 u vanaf hierdie verhoog gewaarsku het teen die skynbare finansiële herlewing wat toe begin het en hoe daardie valse voorspoed en spekulasie, grootliks aangemoedig deur die sleg oorwoë uitlatings van ministers, 'n abnormale styging in grondpryse ten gevolge gehad het, waardeur baie boere uiteinde-

lik in die insolvensiehof beland het as die slagoffers van die onnoselheid van ministers en banke.

“Asof die alles nog nie 'n voldoende las op die boer en die boerebevolking geplaas het nie, het die S.A.P.-regering soos u miskien sal onthou, die boer met 'n grondbelasting vir die opvoeding van sy kinders gedreig. Buite dit alles vind ons dat 'n tabakbelasting gehef is, wat so skadelik was in sy uitwerking dat ons gesien het hoe dit die tabakbedryf in baie dele van Transvaal en die Kaapprovinsie geruïneer het en feitlik die ontwikkeling van baie groot dele van die land tot stilstand gebring het.

“Gelyktydig vind ons toe ons in 1924 aan die bewind gekom het dat die veeboerdery in 'n toestand van druk en agteruitgang verkeer het. In 1924 het daar dus in amper al die takke van die boerdery 'n toestand van bedruktheid en agteruitgang geheers.

DIE NYWERHEDE.

“Maar wat was die toestand van die nywerhede in 1924? Ten opsigte van ons nywerhede in die stede in die algemeen, het die Smuts-regering altoos 'n beleid van skynbare simpatie gevolg. In werklikheid was hul beleid bereken om die nywerheidsbelange ondergeskik te maak aan en op te offer vir die belange van die groothandelaars en invoerders, 'n beleid wat die regstreekse gevolg was van kenmerkende S.A.P.-Unionistiese houding van *laissez-faire*, die enigste beleid waaromtrent daar in 1924 onder die Ministers ooreenstemming was. In watter mate daardie *laissez-faire*-beleid verantwoordelik was vir die algemene agterlikheid wat nywerheidsontwikkeling betref, blyk baie duidelik as ons die vinnige vooruitgang en ontwikkeling nagaan wat sedert 1924 plaasgevind het as gevolg van 'n vasberade beleid van nywerheidsbeskerming wat die huidige Regering aangeneem en gevolg het. Daardie niksdoen-beleid in daardie besondere vorm deur generaal Smuts destyds ontwerp, die beleid van sake te laat ontwikkel, was meer in besonder, soos ons almal weet, die onmiddellike oorsaak van die ramp wat Suid-Afrika in 1922 getref het. Ek het hier die oog op die staking in die myne, wat uitgeloop het op geweld en die geratel van die masjiengewere totdat in 1924 die huidige Regering aan die bewind gekom het. Niks as uiters lafhartige pogings is ooit gemaak, hetsy in die belang van die werkers in die nywerhede of vir die ontwikkeling van nywerhede in ons stede om vir hulle 'n permanente bestaan te verseker nie. “Die gevolg was dat ons in 1924, met uitsondering van die mynbedryf, niks aangetref het as 'n kwy-nende industriële lewe en 'n arbeidersgemeenskap in ons nywerhede, waaronder, in die myne sowel as elders, die gevoel van verwaarlosing en geringskatting deur die Regering reeds so 'n bittere gees van teenstand gewek het, dat genl. Smuts by drie verskillende geleenthede getrag het om dit met geweld te onderdruk en met behulp van die mag van die geweer.

WERKLOOSHEID.

“Om 'n juiste denkbeeld te kry van die toestand soos ons dit in 1924 aangetref het, is dit hier nodig om u te herinner aan die enorme massas werkloses, die s.g. arm blankes wat aan ons as erfenis van die Smuts-regering oorhandig is. Nêrens het die onmag van daardie regering met sy beleid van *laissez-faire* meer bittere vrugte gedra nie. Ek het reeds verwys na die rampspoedige staking van 1922 toe deur die opsetlike nalatigheid van die Smuts-regering om op die juiste oomblik in te gryp en 'n vreedsame oplossing van die vraagstuk te bereik, die beleid van sake te laat ontwikkel, die onvermydelike gevolg gehad het dat dit in bloed geëin-

dig het, wat die staat miljoene aan geld gekos en die aantal werkloos met duisende vermeerder het. 'n Verdere gevolg van die beleid van niksdoen was dat die Smuts-regering, in verband met onbedrewe arbeid op die spoorweë en in ander staatsinrigtings en staatsbedrywe, die gedraglyk aange- neem het om voorkeur te gee aan natuurlike-arbeid. Geen oortuigender bewys van hoe magteloos die Smuts-regering geword het daar die samesmelting van die S.A.P. en die Unioniste in 1921, en van die oorwegende invloed wat die unionistiese element onmiddellik in die Regering begin uit- oefen het, kan gevind word as hoe snel na die benoeming van min. Jagger 'n verandering aangebring is ten opsigte van die werkverskaffing aan blankes op die spoorweë. In die dae van die ou onvervalste S.A.P.-regering, voordat die samesmelting van die S.A.P. en Unioniste plaasgevind het, was dit nie alleen die gebruik om blankes op die spoorweë te gebruik vir bedrewe sowel as onbedrewe werk nie, maar dit was die vasgestelde beleid van die S.A.P. en die beleid wat hulle gedurende my dienstermyn onder die Botha- regering, d.w.s. voor 1913, gevolg het.

BLANKE ARBEIDSBELEID.

Unioniste se Invloed Merkbaar.

“Die samesmelting van die S.A.P. met die Unioniste was al op sigself wat die S.A.P.-regering betref, 'n erkenning van hul onmag. Daardie erkenning van hulpeloosheid het, as gevolg van die verskil van politieke insigte en politieke doeleindes wat bestaan het tussen die Unioniste en die S.A.P.-Afrikaners, in die praktyk vinnig verander in 'n toestand van magteloosheid om te regeer.

Daardie onmag om te regeer het die nuwe S.A.P.-Unionis goed gehelp om die Unionistiese beleid die oorwe- gende rol te laat speel in die s.g. S.A.P.-regering, en die eerste voorbeeld waar die invloed hom laat geld het, was die verandering van die beskaafde arbeidsbeleid na dié van natuurlike-arbeid op die spoorweë.

Die gevolg was dat toe ons die landsbestuur in 1924 van die Smuts-regering oorgeneem het, daar omtrent 7,000 be- trekkings was wat voorheen deur blankes gevul was, maar toe deur natuurlike. Die gevolg van een en ander was die toe- name in die aantal werklose arm blankes in die Unie met omtrent 30,000.

“In hoever dieselfde in die ander takke van die staats- diens gebeur het, kan nie vasgestel word nie, maar dat die- selfde gedraglyk daar gevolg is, laat geen twyfel nie en dit alles is gedoen, soos aan ons vertel word, omdat die dienste van die natuurlike verkry kon word teen 'n laer loon. Blanke seuns en dogters van Suid-Afrika is derhalwe uitgesluit van die moontlikheid om 'n lewensbestaan te maak, omdat die natuur in staat is om op mieliepap te lewe. Ons voel dadelik hoe kenmerkend Unionisties, d.w.s. hoe strydig met die werklike Suid-Afrikaanse gees, daardie leer is. In hoever daardie leer ten gunste van natuurlike-arbeid beïnvloed is en nog beïnvloed word deur die natuurellestem, is 'n onderwerp waaroor ek nou nie sal uitwei nie, maar dit is hierdie by uit- stek Kaapse Unionistiese leer wat opsetlik die Nasionale Suid-Afrikaanse leer van blankes of beskaafde arbeid vir staatsondernemings verwerp.

WAAR WAS HULLE?

“Die vraag ontstaan natuurlik waar die ou S.A.P.- ministers in die S.A.P.-Unioniste-regering was toe die eis van die blanke arbeider op 'n bestaan op die spoorweë van die blanke so minagting oor die hoof gesien is. Waar was generaal Smuts en sy Transvaalse kollegas? Waar was sy

vroeër S.A.P.-ministers? Waar was die ou S.A.P.-lede van die Parlement? Hulle was met onmag geslaan en uitoorlê deur die Unionistiese element in die Kabinet en die party.

“Daar was vir hulle maar een uitweg uit die moeilikheid en dit was om na gewoonte ooreenkomstig hul *laissez-faire*- beleid te handel en te dans na die pype van die Unioniste.

“Hierdie niksdoen-beleid van die Smuts-regering was nooit duideliker sigbaar nie as na die samesmelting van die S.A.P. en Unionistiese Party gedurende die jare 1921 en 1924. Dit hoef daarom geen verbasing te wek nie dat toe die verkiesing in 1924 aan die gang was, daar in ons land volgens die amptelike opgawes nie minder as van 150,000 tot 170,000 werklose blankes was nie. So kritiek was die toestand ten opsigte van werkloosheid, dat gedurende die maand April of Mei, onmiddellik voor die verkiesing nie minder as 90 vakmanne Suid-Afrika verlaat het om hul ge- luk elders te beproef. Dit alles sal dit vir u duidelik gemaak het in watter betreurenswaardige toestand die Smuts- regering die land in 1924 aan ons oorgegee het.

Die Smuts-regering self was, soos ek later sal aantoon, so verswak dat vir 'n geruime tyd, ja vir 'n aantal jare voor die ontbinding van die Parlement, die enigste daad van die regering dié was wat nodig was om hulle altans 'n skyn van regering te gee en dié wat nodig was om die gewone admi- nistrasie van die land te laat aangaan. Dit is geen geheim nie dat genl. Smuts se beroep op die volk in 1924, omtrent 18 maande voor die tyd wat die wet vereis, niks anders was nie as 'n wanhoopsdaad waartoe die Smuts-regering gedryf was deur die toestand van volslae onmag waarin hulle deur inwendige verdeeldheid verval was. Hierdie vroeë ontbin- ding van die Parlement het neergekom op 'n erkenning deur genl. Smuts van die absolute mislukking van sy nuwe S.A.P.-Unionistiese kombinasie; en sy beroep op die kiesers sonder dat hy daartoe gedwing was deur ander re- des, was niks anders nie as 'n politieke uitvlug waarmee hy probeer het om homself te red uit die onbenydenswaardige toestand van onmag waarin hy en sy regering deur die in- wendige verdeeldheid en onbekwaamheid geraak het.

'N GOEIE DAAD.

“Ek glo dat ek nie te veel sê nie as ek beweer dat die bedan- king van die Smuts-regering van 1924 altans in die herinne- ring sal voortleef as die mees prysenswaardige diens wat die S.A.P.-Unioniste-regering gedurende sy hele ampstyd aan Suid-Afrika bewys het. Toe daardie regering van die toneel verdwyn het, was Suid-Afrika bevry van die ramp- spoedige gevolge van hul gevaarlike *laissez-faire*-beleid met die ewels wat dit meegebring het, nl. van onbeskaafde arbeid en nywerheidsnoluste.

DIE PROGRAM VAN 1924.

“Die verkiesingsprogram van die Nasionale Party in 1924 het hom ten doel gestel: (1) landbou-ontwikkeling en meer steun aan die boer; (2) 'n besliste beleid van ontwikkeling en beskerming van ons eie nywerhede; (3) die hersiening van ons belastingstelsel; (4) 'n ernstige en omvattende po- ging om die vraagstuk van werkloosheid en verarming op te los; (5) die handhawing van die bestaan van die blanke en sy beskawing en die beskerming van beskaafde arbeid teen die natuurlike-arbeidsbeleid van die S.A.P.-Unionistie- se Regering; (6) die oplossing van die natuurlike-vraagstuk; (7) beskerming van die onderwys teen die poging van die Smuts-regering om dit te ondermyn; (8) 'n deeglike onder- soek na die wenslikheid van die stigting van 'n Staatsbank.

“Tydens sy reis deur die land en deur die Vrystaat enige maande gelede, het genl. Smuts op sy vergaderings ver-

klaar dat die Regering nie sy beloftes aan die volk ten opsigte van bogenoemde punte en vraagstukke nagekom het nie. Geen groot waarde kan te enige tyd aan die verklaring wat genl. Smuts van politieke platforms maak, geheg word nie, en hierdie verklaring is van alle waarheid ontbloot.

“Geen enkele vraagstuk wat ek in die verkiesingsprogram van die Nasionale Party van 1924 aangestip het, kan genoem word wat nie getrou aangepak en, met die enkele uitsondering van die naturellevraagstuk, nie met die grootste sorg afgehandel is nie.

SIMPATIE VIR DIE BOER.

Wat die Regering vir Hom Gedoen het.

“Vir die eerste maal sedert Unie is 'n party aan die bewind gewees wat kan roem dat hy sy verkiesingsbeloftes getrou, nagekom het. Nooit tevore is die boer, van watter ras of klas ook, dwarsdeur die lengte en breedte van Suid-Afrika met groter simpatie en agting as deur die huidige Regering behandel nie. Die Departement van Landbou is gereorganiseer met die oog op groter doeltreffendheid, sprinkane is uitgeroei, ons boere is gehelp deur die uitroeiing van die ooskuskoors en deur 'n gedeeltelike verbod op die invoer van beeste van buite die Unie. Brandsiekte is byna geheel en al verwyder en die gehalte van ons wol is verbeter. Die vrugteboere is gesteun deur die reorganisasie van ons vrugteuitvoer, en boere oor die algemeen deur doeltreffender koelkamergeriewe en die nuwe skeepvaartkontrak wat hulle in staat stel om hul produkte baie goedkoper te bemark. Die belaglike tabak-belasting van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party is afgeskaf. Verdere verligting is verleen deur die vermindering van invoertariewe op boerderygereedskap, en onlangs weer deur spesiale prysgewing van inkomstebelasting. Boonop is groot bedrae vir noodleniging as gevolg van die droogte beskikbaar gestel, terwyl beide die Departement van Lande en die Departement van Landbou meer gunstige voorwaardes aan nedersetters en boere verstrekket. Orals word die boere met die mees simpatieke behandeling tegemoet gekom. Plaastelefone is opgerig, padmotordienste ingestel, spoorwegtariewe op die produkte van die boere is aansienlik verminder en orals is tasbare hulp verleen.

“Wat die beleid van die huidige Regering reeds vir die ontwikkeling van ons eie nywerhede gedoen het, blyk uit die toesprake van voorsitters van kamers van nywerhede dwarsdeur die land. In sy rede op die gesamentlike vergadering van die Kamers van Koophandel in April 1928 het mn. Seals-Wood, die gewese voorsitter van die Suid-Afrikaanse Verenigde Kamers van Nywerhede, getuig:

‘Ek wil van hierdie geleentheid gebruik maak om te sê dat ek gedurende my onlangse toer deur Suid-Afrika in my hoedanigheid as voorsitter van hierdie organisasie verbaas gestaan het oor die ontwikkeling in die fabrieksnywerhede van die land.’

“Die beleid van ‘niks-doen’ en ‘laat maar loop’ van die Smuts-regering is vervang deur 'n beleid van durf en doen, van besliste beskerming met die gevolglike heilsame herlewing van ons nywerhede, en dit ten spyte van teenstand van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party. In die groot skoen- en stewelfabriek wat in 1924 in 'n kwynende toestand verkeer het, is nuwe lewe geblaas. In Kaapland en in die Noorde word kombors-fabriek opgerig terwyl in Port Elizabeth die motorbedryf bloei.

'N SLEUTELBEDRYF.

“Nieteenstaande die bittere teenstand van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party is 'n aanvang gemaak met die groot sleutelbe-

dryf van yster en staal, waarop baie ondergeskikte bedrywe soos dié vir die vervaardiging van draad, sink- en staalplate, ysterpale en droppers, pype en allerhande soorte landbou-gereedskap en -masjinerie onvermydelik sal volg.

“Die diamantslypery-bedryf waaraan baie Suid-Afrikaanse seuns verbonde sal wees, is in volle gang. Die stelling ‘woorde wek, maar daad trek’ is ook hier van toepassing. Die De Beers-maatskappy volg die goeie voorbeeld van die Regering deur soortgelyke fabriek vir die slyp van diamante op te rig. Vanuit alle dele van die land hoor ons van nuwe nywerhede, van nuwe ontwikkeling en aan hierdie nywerheidsherlewing is die nasionale welvaart wat ons vandag geniet, grootliks toe te skrywe.

“Die bestaan en die voortbestaan van ons blanke beskawing in Suid-Afrika word deur die Regering verseker nie alleen deur sy naturellebeleid en sy beleid van beskerming nie, maar ook deur dikwels nywerheidsbeskerming onderhewig te maak aan die indiensneming van 'n redelike gedeelte beskaafde arbeid in die betrokke bedrywe, saam met die verwerping van die verderflike beginsel van onbeskaafde arbeid wat deur die Smuts-regering in praktyk gebring is, en die terugkeer tot die beleid van beskaafde arbeid.

GELDELIKE BELEID.

Tekorte Verander in Oorskotte.

“Op geen ander gebied het die beleid van die Regering 'n meer gesonde uitwerking gehad in die belang van alle seksies van die bevolking as in sy geldelike beheer nie. Finansies is die senukrag van 'n volk. Ongesonde finansies het 'n verlamme uitwerking op die hele gemeenskap. Gelukkig vir ons is ons geldelike toestand vandag baie gesond. Die gedurige tekorte wat onder die S.A.P.-regering kronies geword het, het plek gemaak vir jaarlikse oorskotte, terwyl ons nie-produktiewe skuld gedurende die afgelope 5 jaar met £20 miljoen verminder is. Dit het ons nasionale krediet versterk, en het algemene vertroue by ons geskep. In plek van wat genl. Smuts voorspel het, nl. dat kapitaal sou afgeskrik word, trek ons dit aan soos ons belowe het.

“Ons belastingstelsel is deeglik hersien, en hervorm. Daardie verspotte tabak-belasting van die Smuts-regering is afgeskaf en dit is die geval met die belasting op patente medisyn. Met betrekking tot inkomstebelasting is groot veranderinge aangebring. Gedurende 1925 is die korting met betrekking tot kinders van £50 tot £60 verhoog en in 1929 tot £75, terwyl terselfdertyd die ouderdomsbepערking van 18 tot 21 jaar verhoog is. Hierdie heilsame verligting sal vir groot families van baie steun wees. Gedurende 1926 is die korting vir getroude persone van £300 tot £400 verhoog, terwyl gedurende 1928 en 1929 die inkomstebelasting dwarsdeur met 20 persent verminder is, 'n vermindering wat die Minister van Finansies hoop om permanent te maak. Verdere vermindering van belasting is gemaak deur na die pennie-postarief terug te keer, deur die verhoogde vrystelling op boedel-belasting, en deur ons invoertariewe op 'n meer wetenskaplike grondslag te plaas. Deur hierdie maatreëls is verligting veral aan die minder-welgestelde seksies van die bevolking gebring. Om op te som, geniet die volk van Suid-Afrika vandag 'n jaarlikse vermindering van belasting van meer as £2 miljoen. Die beloofde ondersoek insake die wenslikheid van 'n staatsbank is in 1925 gemaak deur twee wêreldberoemde deskundiges, nl. prof. Kemmerer en dr. Vissering. Hul raad is gevolg.

“Uit die voorafgaande moet dit vir elkeen duidelik wees waarom genl. Smuts wil hê dat die mense moet glo dat die Regering nie sy beloftes nagekom het nie. Die feit bly staan

dat die Nasionale Party getrou sy beloftes met die verkiesing een en almal nagekom het, en dit met die hoogste moontlike mate van sukses.

NATURELLEVRAAGSTUK.

“Wat die naturrellevraagstuk betref, het die Regering elke moontlike poging aangewend om 'n bevredigende oplossing te bereik. Dat ons totnogtoe nie daarin geslaag het nie, moet toegeskryf word aan die toestand van hulpeloosheid waartoe genl. Smuts selfs in die Opposisie gedoem is deur sy S.A.P.-Unionistiese beleid. Nog 'n keer het die Kaapse Unionistiese element in die S.A.P. die botoon gevier oor genl. Smuts en sy ou S.A.P.-ondersteuners uit die Noorde.

“Ek herhaal dat met uitsondering van die naturrellevraagstuk daar geen enkele belofte tydens die verkiesing van 1924 deur of namens die Nasionale Party gemaak is, wat nie stiptelik volgens die letter en gees daarvan nagekom is nie. Hierdie Regering het 100 persent meer gedoen as wat hy tydens die verkiesing onderneem het, nie alleen omdat hy verplig was om soveel van die warboel wat deur die S.A.P.-regering agtergelaat is reg te maak nie, maar ook omdat hy oplossings moes vind vir menige vraagstuk wat onder die Smuts-regering aandag vereis het, maar nie opgelos kon word nie weens die toestand van onmag waarin daardie regering verval het. Daar is 'n Engelse spreekwoord wat lui: ‘The way to destruction is paved with good intentions.’ Van die Smuts-regering kan gesê word: ‘Its way to destruction was devoid of good intentions. It new only shelved problems.’ Die verklaring van ons nasionale onafhanklikheid, die daarstelling van die landsvlag, die sluiting van die Mosambiek-verdrag, die beperking van die invoer van slagvee van Rhodesië, dit was almal vraagstukke wat onder die Smuts-regering tevergeefs op 'n oplossing gewag het. Dis waar dat die vraagstukke wel op een of ander tydstip almal deur daardie regering aangeraak is maar met geen ander gevolg as om spoedig weer te laat vaar en daarna met haat en onwil bejeën te word. *Ons weet hoedat genl. Smuts, eertyds 'n kampvegter van nasionale onafhanklikheid en 'n voorstander van 'n nasionale vlag, die bittere vyand van albei geword het.*

SAPPE INGESLUK!

“Onder die talryke vraagstukke wat op oplossing van die kant van die Smuts-regering gewag het, maar eers deur die huidige Regering aangepak en deurgedruk is, is die Wysigingswet op Prowinsiale toelaes en Belastingsbevoegdheide, die Drankwet, die Mynteringwet, die Wet op Edelgesteentes, die Loonwet en die Woekerwinswet.

“Dieselfde onmag, gebore uit die meningsverskil tussen Sap en Unionis, was die rede waarom die Smuts-regering nie kon besluit om tot die goudstandaard terug te keer nie, waarom brandsiekte nie uitgeroei kon word nie, waarom dit nie met voldoende vasberadenheid en bevoegdheid in die uitroeiing van sprinkane kon optree nie. Maar die belangrikste punt in verband met hierdie omvang van die S.A. Party is die feit dat in elkeen van die baie gevalle waar die Smuts-regering verlam en tot niksdoen gedoem was as die Unioniste beswaar opper,

dit altyd die Unionistiese beleid was wat seëvierend te voorskyn getree het en uiteindelik as die beleid van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party aanvaar is. Dit was die geval met die vlag, met ons onafhanklikheid, met die naturrellevraagstukke en dit is vandag weer die geval met hul poging om blanke Suid-Afrika in die Kafferstaat te laat verdwyn. Die S.A.P. is blykbaar verslind deur die Unioniste wat vyandig gesind is teenoor alles wat 'n ware Suid-Afrikaanse nasionale stempel dra.

PROGRAM VAN DIE NASIONALE PARTY.

Die Ingeslae Weg Sal Gevolg Word.

“Ek wil nou aan u meedeel wat die Nasionale Party van plan is om te doen indien hy as gevolg van die komende verkiesing in staat gestel word om die werk van die land voort te sit. Die vernaamste vraagstukke wat die Nasionale Party in 1924 moes aanpak en waarmee ons nog te doen het, was en is van so 'n aard dat die pogings wat gemaak word om hulle op te los nog vir 'n aantal jare die simpatieke sorg en ondersteuning van die Regering vereis. Die Regeeringsbeleid van nywerheidsbeskerming is een voorbeeld. As gevolg van daardie beleid verheug die land hom vandag in 'n ongekende toestand van nywerheidsvoorspoed. Dit is een van ons belangrikste middels om tot die ongewenste oplossing te kom van die werkloosheid- en armblankevraagstukke. Bestaan daar die geringste twyfel oor die gevolge as die noodlot die Smuts-Unioniste-regering weer aan die bewind bring, met sy invoerders en groothandelaars en vryhandelaars, een en almal daarop uit om beskerming dood te maak en Kafferarbeid die grondslag van ons nywerheidslewe te maak?” vra genl. Hertzog.

“As die simpatieke sorg en beskerming van die Nasionale Regering vandag aan ons nywerhede onttrek word, wat sal dan word van ons yster- en staalonderneming? Kan iets noodlottiger vir die ontwikkeling van daardie bedryf bedink word? Nie alleen sou die poging wat nou aangewend word om die nodige werke op te rig, gesmoor word nie, maar ons kan daarvan seker wees dat vir jare daar nie gedink sal word aan die oprigting van 'n nywerheid van hierdie aard in Suid-Afrika nie. Verder het genl. Smuts onlangs deur die land gereis en die publiek opgesweept teen die Loonwet, iets wat hy sal verwyder uit die wetboek sodra hy weer aan die bewind sou kom. Inplaas van te poog om met behulp van die Loonraad 'n billike toepassing te kry van daardie wet en aldus ons nywerheidslewe te beskerm teen die euwels van die hongerloonstelsel, sal die Smuts-regering, so word aan ons vertel, nog voordat daar 'n kans was om die nywerheidsbestaan van die seuns en dogters van Suid-Afrika op 'n gesonde grondslag te plaas, hulle weer blootstel aan die uitbuiting van gewetenlose werkgewers en aldus sal ons nywerheidslewe weer verpes word deur die nywerheidsonrus en geweld. Dit moet vir elkeen duidelik wees dat die bestaande omstandighede dit vandag gebiedend noodsaaklik maak dat die nywerheidsbeleid van die huidige Regering verder gevolg word op die grondslag waarop dit vandag gevolg word.

BOERE SE BELANGE.

“Net so sal ons pogings om werkloosheid soveel moontlik te keer deur beskaafde arbeid te gebruik, gehandhaaf word as die huidige Regering weer aan die bewind kom.

“Wat betref die ontwikkeling van landbou en veeteelt, sal simpatieke hulp en ondersteuning verder gegee moet word. Die Regering sal ernstige aandag moet skenk aan die vraagstuk van middele te vind om die boere te help om voorsorgsmaatreëls te tref teen die steeds wederkerende droogtes. Van die krag en gesondheid van die boerdery hang die lewenskrag en gesondheid van ons volksbestaan, maatskaplik, industrieel en politiek af. Ten einde vir ons landbou die noodsaaklike krag en gesondheid te verseker, sal die Regering sowel as die boer voortdurend waaksaam moet wees. Dit sal die plig van die Regering wees om, waar moontlik leiding te gee en die boer sonder aarseling te help.

“Suid-Afrika is begerig om te ontwikkel. Die ontwikkeling is afhanklik van die gebruik van krag. Die myne en die

boerdery is almal bereid om van wetenskaplike metodes gebruik te maak sodra laasgenoemde daarin slaag om die krag wat in ons steenkoolrykdomme sit, te ontwikkel.

“Die waarde van die steenkoolrykdom word op £200,000,000,000 geskat. Dit is die plig van die Regering om in die ruimste mate die ontginning van daardie rykdomme aan krag te bevorder. Daarom het die Regering reeds die som van £30,000 daarvoor toegeken, maar dit sal die plig van die volgende regering wees om alle pogings aan te wend om die gewenste doel te bereik.

“Die toekomstige regering sal metodes moet oorweeg om die besproeibare gebiede in elke deel van die Unie te vergroot. Dit behoort die onvermoeide strewe van die regering van die land te wees om te bewerkstellig dat die land nie van enige land afhanklik is wat die dringende lewensbehoefte van die bevolking betref nie. Dit kan alleen bereik word deur 'n vasberade en stelselmatige vashou aan die taak van uitbreiding en vermeerdering van ons besproeiingswerke. Die program wat die Nasionale Party van plan is om uit te voer as hy die oorwinning in die volgende verkiesing behaal, is:

IETEMS IN DIE PROGRAM.

- (1) Voortsetting van landbouontwikkeling in die rigting wat tot dusver gevolg is, waarby die verbetering van ons veestapel en kleinvee in die oog gehou word; (a) die verhoging van die vrugbaarheid van die bodem; (b) verhoging van die draagkrag van die grond;
- (2) stabilisasie van die boerdery deur die toestaan van die nodige fondse om lenings vir verbeterings aan boere teen 'n lae rentekoers en op billike voorwaardes te kan verstrek;
- (3) die voortsetting en uitbreiding van die nasionale beleid van beskerming van nasionale nywerhede, waarmee gepaard gaan die indiensneming van beskaafde arbeid in die nywerhede;
- (4) die beginsel van beskaafde arbeid op die spoorweë en elders in staatsondernemings sal gehandhaaf word;
- (5) die aanwending van 'n gedeelte van die opbrengs van die staats-diamantdelwerye in Namakwaland vir die oprigting van besproeiingswerke en ander werke wat kan bydra tot die verhoging van die produksievermoë van die lewenskrag van die boerderybedryf;
- (6) 'n uitgebreide ondersoek na die middels om krag uit die steenkool van ons land te wen;
- (7) 'n kragdadige vooruitstrewende beleid van ontwikkeling van die land deur middel van die aanleg van paaie deur die Prowinsiale Rade, daartoe in staat gestel deur hulp van die sentrale regering;
- (8) vir Suid-Afrika die toekoms as 'n witmansland te verseker met die beskawing van die blanke;
- (9) die verwerping van die leer van die S.A.P. deur genl. Smuts op Ermelo afgekondig van die inlywing of federasie van die Unie van Suid-Afrika met die Britse natuurle-gebiede van Oos- en Noordoos-Afrika;
- (10) die oplossing van ons natuurlevraagstukke in die rigting van politieke- en gebiedsegregasie, soos aangedui in die wetsontwerpe deur my in die Parlement ingedien.

DIE NATURELLEVRAAGSTUK.

Blankes het Rede om Besorgd te Wees.

“Nou wil ek 'n paar woorde tot die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika rig oor die belangrike vraagstuk van ons verhouding teenoor die natuurel en veral wys op die groot gewig van die vraagstuk waarvan die sekerheid van die bestaan van die witman en sy beskawing in Suid-Afrika afhang. Ek

wil vanaand hier verklaar dat wat die natuurlevraagstuk betref daar nie 'n enkele mening van enige belang is waaraan ek in 1925 uiting gegee het, waarvan ek vanaand nie net so sterk of selfs sterker oortuig is nie.

Die feite wat sedert onder my aandag gebring is sowel as die verwikkelings wat plaasgevind het, het slegs gedien om my te sterk in my oortuiging dat die oplossing van die natuurlevraagstuk soos in 1925 deur my bepleit en onlangs weer aan die Parlement voorgelê, gebiedend noodsaaklik is as ons inderdaad verlang dat Suid-Afrika 'n witmansland sal bly.

Wanneer ek klem lê op die belange van die witman, sê ek weer nadruklik dat ek dit nie doen omdat ek die belange van die natuurle wil veronagsaam of omdat ek dit van minder belang as dié van die witman beskou nie, maar alleen omdat ek absoluut oortuig daarvan is dat daar geen beter weg vir die behoorlike behartiging van die belange van die natuurle is nie as om aan die blanke te waarborg dat Suid-Afrika altyd die erfenis van sy nageslag met sy beskawing onbedreig deur die natuurel en sy stem sal bly. Hoe seer die selfsugtige polietikus met 'n oog op die stembus dit probeer verberg en die kortsigtige negrosiel sy oë daarvoor mag sluit, wat ook die on-Afrikaanse Jingo met niks meer as 'n verbygaande belang in Suid-Afrika en sy bestemming mag sê, in die gemeedere van die Suid-Afrikaanse volk wat Suid-Afrika as hul eie en enige vaderland, hul land en dié van hul kinders, beskou, bestaan daar 'n sterk gevoel van onrus en vrees met die oog op die leerstelling van gelykheid van kiesreg vir blankes en natuurle. In daardie leerstelling sien elke Suid-Afrikaner, en tereg ook, die bestaan van sy volk en van die witman in Suid-Afrika bedreig. Suid-Afrikaners het alle rede om besorgd te wees. *Die steun wat die S.A.P.-lede en leiers onlangs in die Volksraad aan die stelling van gelykheid met die natuurle verleen het, kan nie anders as diegene van ons wat nog vir Suid-Afrika as 'n witmansland voel, met 'n gevoel van onsteltenis en vrees vir die toekoms vul nie.*

GELYKHEID VIR STEMREG.

“In die Kaapprovinsie is gelykheid van stemreg nie meer 'n leerstelling nie, maar 'n feit. Terwille van die politieke voordeel wat die Suid-Afrikaanse Party put uit die reg van die natuurel om op 'n grondslag van gelykheid met die blanke te stem, is die S.A.P.-lede van die Kaapprovinsie nie alleen sterk voorstanders van die gelykheid vir die Kaapprovinsie nie, maar ook kampvegters van gelykheid van stemreg tussen swart en wit dwarsdeur die lengte en breedte van Suid-Afrika. Ek voel my derhalwe verplig om vanaand te herhaal wat ek in 1925 aan u gesê het, dat tensy die natuurlestem van dié van die blanke geskei word, die stemreg van die natuurle in Kaapland die oorsaak van die grootste treurspel in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika sal wees. Die toespraak van genl. Smuts op Ermelo, saam met die besprekings daaroor in die Volksraad, is meer as 'n verbygaande aanduiding. Vir ons is dit die bewys van wat in die gedagtes van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party omgaan en wat die bedoelings van hul leiers ten opsigte van Suid-Afrika as 'n witmansland is. Die beleid wat genl. Smuts en sy Unionistiese ondersteuners voorstaan, kom ooreen met wat ons van die kampvegters van gelyke regte vir swart en wit kan verwag. Alleen manne wat so 'n leerstelling voorstaan, kan sonder vrees vooruit kyk na die dag wanneer Suid-Afrika, as deel van die natuurle-gebiede, Oos en Noordoos van ons, sy onafhanklike bestaan sal prysgee. Alleen manne vir wie Suid-Afrika as 'n witmansland nie langer van enige betekenis is nie, kan so 'n saak voorstaan.

VREES VIR DIE TOEKOMS.

“Vir die seun van Suid-Afrika wat vir Suid-Afrika voel as ’n witmansland, moes die toespraak op Ermelo as ’n geweldige skok gekom het. Die vrees en besorgheid van die blanke vir sy toekoms en nageslagte, is aansienlik deur daardie toespraak, en wat later in die besprekings daarvan in die Volksraad openbaar is, vererger. Die masker is daardeur voldoende gelig om ons te oortuig dat die leiers van die S.A.P., met genl. Smuts inkluis, ’n beleid volg wat noodwendig moet eindig in die neerstorting van Suid-Afrika as ’n blankemansland. Hoe onbetwisbaar juis ek is met hierdie bewering, word bewys deur die hoofartikel van die *Cape Times* van 8 Maart l.l. In daardie hoofartikel is aan ons vertel dat in die gemelde natuurellegebiede, waarmee volgens genl. Smuts en sy Unionistiese vriende ons uiteindelik ’n verenigde geheel behoort te vorm; “daar ’n beleid gevolg sal word wat fundamenteel in stryd is met die beleid wat deur genl. Hertzog en die Nasionale Party voorgestaan word,” wat beteken dat die beleid sal gevolg word wat sal voer tot die oorheersing van die belange van die natuurel oor dié van die blanke man, en dat waar daar ’n botsing is tussen die belange van die natuurel en die blankes, voorkeur gegee moet word aan die belange van die natuurel. In hierdie gees gaan die *Cape Times* voort om die beleid van Kafferoorheersing aan ons op te dra, as dié wat in Suid-Afrika deur ons behoort aanvaar te word. Daardie beleid, wat deur die Britse Regering in die natuurellegebiede gevolg is, wil die *Cape Times* vir ons voorhou as

“oortuigende bewys dat die beleid van onderdrukking van die Nasionaleste geheelenal uit voeling is met die moderne denkwysse. Hulle sal rekening moet hou met ’n vasberade opposisie nie alleen van die kant van Latynse Afrika (d.w.s. Franse, Belgiese en Portugese Afrika) nie, maar ook van die kant van Brits Afrika.”

“Dus beveel die vernaamste blad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party in die Kaap openlik en sonder skaamtegevoel nie alleen die beleid van ‘Afrika vir die Natuurel’ aan ons in Suid-Afrika as die beleid aan wat die beste rigting van moderne opvattinge huldig nie, maar die blad het werklik die vermetelheid om ons te dreig dat as ons nie daardie beleid aanvaar nie, Brits-Afrika, d.w.s. daardie natuurellegebiede, ons sal dwing om dit te doen. Daarheen lei genl. Smuts en sy Unionistiese vriende ons. Laat my hier sê dat ek nooit gemeen het om Rhodesië, hetsy Suid- of Noord-Rhodesië, in te sluit in my protes teen die beleid van genl. Smuts, soos deur hom op Ermelo afgekondig nie.

“Genl. Smuts probeer nou om die skyn te wek dat ek gekant is teen die sluit van vriendskapsbande met die Britse gebiede van Noord- en Oos-Afrika. Dit is absolute onsin waarmee genl. Smuts die volk probeer mislei. Die huidige Regering het altoos verkondig dat ons as volk moet probeer om die nouste vriendskapsbande te sluit en samewerking met daardie gebiede te bereik. Ons as Nasionaleste is daarteen dat Suid-Afrika as staat sal toelaat om deur federasie of deur unifikasie verenig te word met die gebiede wat nooit iets anders sal wees as natuurellegebiede nie. Om te toon hoe absoluut juis ek is in my veroordeling van die natuurellestade-beleid van genl. Smuts en sy partygenote, wil ek graag die woorde van prof. Toynbee van die Uniwersiteit van Londen insake daardie soort beleid hier aanhaal. Die woorde kom voor in ’n boek wat hy onlangs gepubli-

seer het. Hy sê in verband met Suid-Afrika wat betref ons verhouding tot die natuurelle:

ENGELSE GELEERDE SE MENING.

“ ‘Dit is moontlik dat die Unie sal besluit om sy gebied te beperk tot streke wat geskik is om daarvan “blankemansland” te maak en dat S.A. dit as ’n vaste doel stel om die persentasie van blankes in verhouding tot dié van natuurel in die bevolking so hoog moontlik te hou, selfs as ingesien sou word dat die segregasiebeleid nooit tot die logiese einddoel kan uitgevoer word dat die Unie gemaak word tot ’n heeltemal blanke afgeronde geheel in ’n swart wêrelddeel nie. Aan die ander kant het die oorspronklike Unie van vier provinsies in S.A. die voorbeeld van die oorspronklike Unie van dertien state in Noord-Amerika gevolg. Deur na die binneland van die wêrelddeel uit te brei, is dit moontlik dat ’n groot federale staat ontstaan wat hom uitstrek van die Kaap tot die ewenaar. ’n Afrikaanse teenhanger van Brasilië in die suidelike halfronde en van Indië in die Noorde. As dit die bestemming van die Suid-Afrikaners gaan wees, sal hulle amper seker vroeër of later daarvoor moet betaal deur die prysgee van die ideaal van ’n blanke Suid-Afrika. In dié geval sal dit op die ou end baie min praktiese verskil maak of hulle dan soos die Hindoes die instelling van kastes invoer as ’n monument van ’n wanhopige poging om rasvermenging te weerstaan, of dat hulle soos die Brazilianers hulself met blydschap oorgee aan die diens van die godin, ‘Pammixia’.”

Prof. Toynbee is nie afhanklik van die natuurellestem nie en sien derhalwe alte duidelik waarheen ’n beleid soos dié deur genl. Smuts op Ermelo verkondig, vir ons sal eindig, nl. in die prysgee van ons ideaal van ’n blanke Suid-Afrika. “Daardie beleid moet nie toegelaat word om die oorwinning te behaal nie. Dit is die ernstige plig van alle Suid-Afrikaners, sowel Afrikaans- as Engelssprekend, om dit te voorkom, en om so ’n ramp te voorkom het ek hier vanaand gekom om op die volk, op elke seun en dogter van Suid-Afrika ’n beroep te doen om in die komende verkiesing die Nasionale Party te steun in sy poging om Suid-Afrika te beveilig as ’n blankemansland.”—(R.)

Genl. Hertzog het vir ruim twee-en-’n-half uur gepraat, meld ons beriggewer. Die groot gehoor het met gespanne aandag geluister en uitdrukkings soos “Luister oom Sors,” het getoon dat die Eerste Minister die puntjies beantwoord het wat al dikwels ernstige meningsverskil voor die staldeur veroorsaak het. Selfs die vreemdeling voel hier dat Smithfield moet opsien na sy Volksraadslid om leiding en voorligting. Dit kan ook nie anders nie, want genl. Hertzog verteenwoordig hierdie afdeling nou vir 22 jaar. Smithfield het hom in donkere tye vertrou en gevolg. Hul vertroue was nie misplaas nie en vandag verstaan Smithfield swaar dat die hele land die Eerste Minister nie eenparig en geesdriftig steun nie.

Dit was die boodskap van die adresse en welkomswoorde aan genl. Hertzog, nadat die Eerste Minister die betrokke liggame hartlik bedank het vir hul adresse en ’n voorstel van volle vertroue met uitbundige toejuiging aangeneem is, het die vergadering verdaag.

(Weens vertraging van die verslag van ons verteenwoordiger, moes ons die Reuter-verslag van die Generaal se rede gebruik. Dit is egter volledig oorgesein.—Red.)

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KRAGTIGE PROTES VAN NASIONALE LEIERS

Wat die Ideaal van Genl. Smuts behels.

GROOT SWART DOMINIUM.

Die Beleid in Kenia reeds 'n
Vingerwysing.

Ons vaardig hierdie protes uit nie bloot as leiers van drie van die vier provinsiale afdelings van die Nasionale Party nie, en ons rig dit nie bloot aan partygenote of aan diegene van wie ons graag partygenote wil maak nie. Die saak wat hier ter sprake is, soos deur genl. Smuts so pas aan ons op Ermelo voorgelê, is groter as enige en alle partybelange. Wat op die spel is, is die voortbestaan of die ondergang van die witman en sy beskawing in Suid-Afrika. Dit geld die vraag of die volk van Suid-Afrika lydelik gaan toesien dat Suid-Afrika, soos deur genl. Smuts gewild, van die kaart sal geskrap word om as deel op te gaan in 'n groot Kafferstaat strekkende van die Kaap tot aan die Soedan. Die saak is dus groter as hierdie of daardie verbygaande of selfs aanhoudend voortgaande ekonomiese vraagstuk. Die saak is ook groter as die geskille tussen die een blanke ras en die ander, wat van tyd tot tyd ons politieke lewe, en gelukkig al minder en minder ons maatskaplike lewe, verstoort.

Daarom het ons die reg om met al die erns waartoe ons in staat is 'n beroep te doen op elke burger, Hollandsprekend of Engelssprekend—en wat ook sy politieke neigings of vaste oortuigings mag wees—om met al die erns waartoe hy in staat is sy gewig en invloed met ons s'n te verenig en saam met ons te protesteer teen die nuwe beleid wat nou, namens die Suid-Afrikaanse Party, en by monde van sy leier, aangekondig is.

'N OORWOË VERKLARING

Ons het te doen met die toespraak van genl. Smuts op Ermelo op 17 deser. Die toespraak is so buitensporig dat dit ons genoë sou gedoen het as ons dit stilswygend kon verbygegaan het as 'n onverantwoordelike uitlating. Maar daar is 'n dodelike kalmte van beraad en opset in die woorde. Dit kom van genl. Smuts as 'n aankondiging van die beleid waarop een van ons groot politieke partye die ondersteuning van die kiesers sal vra by die algemene verkiesing wat op hande is: en dit kom kort ná die kongres waarop daardie party hierdie selfde vraagstuk onder ernstige oorweging gehad het.

Ons wil genl. Smuts hier self aan die woord laat, soos hy letterlik in die eerste persoon, tussen aanhalingstekens gerapporteer is:

“Die dag sal,” sê hy, “gewisselik kom, wanneer ons nie net sal dink aan wat ten Suide lê van die Limpopo nie, maar wanneer die Britse State in Afrika almal lede sal word van 'n groot Dominiem van Afrika (African Dominion), onafgebroke uitgestrek oor die hele Afrika.

“Die Politiek is 'n eenvoudige saak. Op die duur werk dit nie uit volgens skelmstreke en slimstreke nie, maar as 'n saak van geloof. Dit is die Geloofsbelydenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party: ons sal nie werk vir Suid-Afrika alleen nie, maar ons sal vriende wees van ons mede-Afrikaanse State en ons oog hê op 'n verenigde Britse Afrika. Dit is die

kardinale punt van my politiek. Wanneer die Suid-Afrikaanse Party weer aan die bewind kom, sal hy sy bes doen om daardie gees van samewerking en broederskap te koester wat op die end sal lei tot hierdie groot federasie van die State van Afrika. Die naam Suid-Afrika sal gewisselik eendag weggegooi word uit ons nasionale woordeskat, en daar sal 'n verenigde Britse Afrika wees wat die oplossing van ons dringende vraagstukke 'n maklike taak sal vind.”

VAARWEL AAN S.A. AS WITMANSLAND

Teen die leer hier deur genl. Smuts verkondig, voel ons ons gedwonge om in die mees duidelike bewoording protes aan te teken in die naam van die blanke Afrikanerdom.

Dit is duidelik dat genl. Smuts besig is om vaarwel te sê aan Suid-Afrika as 'n witmansland. Daarom verkondig hy dit as die kern van sy politieke beleid (*“a cardinal point in my policy”*) dat Suid-Afrika sal deel uitmaak van 'n gebied behelsende die Kaffergete in die Noorde tot aan die Soedan, en verklaar hy selfs dat in daardie politiek bevat is die *Geloofsbelydenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party*, 'n geloofsbelydenis wat volgens hom, die Suid-Afrikaanse Party hom voorgeneem het om te verwesenlik sodra dié party weer aan bewind van sake kom.

Soseer is generaal Smuts opgeneem met daardie *cardinal point in his policy*, daardie nuwe geloofsbelydenis van sy party, dat hy reeds die dag voorspel wanneer selfs die naam Suid-Afrika in rook sal verdwyn op die altaar van sy vurig begeerde Kafferstaat.

Genl. Smuts se weiering om enige samewerking te verleen by die natuurelvraagstuk waar dit geld verandering van die stemreg van die Kaapse natuurel, moet vir iedereen nou glashelder wees. Die man wat homself tot apostel verklaar van 'n swart Kafferstaat waarvan Suid-Afrika so 'n onderdeel sal vorm dat hy selfs haar naam nie meer sal ken nie, kan onmoontlik 'n ander leer daarop nahou as die van gelyke politieke regte vir almal—Kaffer en witman orals op 'ge-lyke voet'.

EEN VAN TWEE WEË

Dit moet vir iedereen duidelik wees dat geen leier van welke party ook, wat na so 'n doel streef as wat daar nou so uitdruklik en ondubbelsinnig deur genl. Smuts aangekondig is, enige samewerking kan verleen aan 'n poging soos deur ons aangewend om Suid-Afrika te beveilig vir die witman. Die weg deur ons hier bewandel, kan die weg van genl. Smuts onmoontlik wees, en word ook deur hom verklaar dit nie te wees nie.

Ooreenkoms en samewerking moet dus noodwendig uitgesluit wees, en wat vandag oorbly vir die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika is niks meer as 'n keuse van een van twee weë, langs die een waarvan deur ons na 'n oplossing van behoud gesoek word; terwyl langs die ander 'n gewisse afgrond deur genl. Smuts gestel word as einddoel.

Die volk is nou geroepe om te verklaar watter van die twee weë gevolg moet word. Die blanke man in Suid-Afrika, die blanke vrou en kind, het die reg om te weet waartoe Suid-Afrika bestem is—tot 'n witmansland of tot 'n Kafferdom?

Die antwoord moet afhang daarvan of daar in die witman vandag nog heers die siel van die Voortrekker en die pionier, of wel die van die politieke smous.

BESLISTE ANTWOORD NODIG

Dog wat ook die antwoord mag wees, 'n ieder het die reg om te eis dat die antwoord 'n besliste sal wees sodat hy sal weet wat hom en sy kinders te wagte staan. As Suid-Afrika werklik aan die natuurel moet afgestaan word, laat die wit-

man dit dan weet, sodat ons ons kan voorberei op die nodige beveiligingsmaatreëls, selfs al sou dit moet wees die verhuising na elders.

Dat by aanvaarding van die weg deur genl. Smuts bepleit, Suid-Afrika noodwendig aan die Kaffer sal oorhandig word, en dat die nuwe "British Dominion" niks anders sal wees nie as een groot Kaffer-staat van die Kaap tot aan Egipte, vereis geen lang betoog nie.

Laat ons slegs wys op 'n paar syfers, uit die jongste gesaghebbende opgawes aangehaal:

Die Unie beslaan 'n oppervlakte van 472,347 vierkante myl, en die Britse besittings, waarby Suid-Afrika moet ingelyf word, naamlik Suid- en Noord-Rhodesië, Niassaland, Tanganjika, Kenia en Oeganda, saam 1,167,644 vierkante myl. Die Europese bevolking van die Unie bedraag een miljoen aghonderd duisend en die natuurlikebevolking 'n ses miljoen. Die genoemde Britse besittings bevat saam 'n Europese bevolking van slegs vier-en-sestig duisend met 'n natuurlikebevolking van nie minder nie as dertien miljoen vierhonderd duisend.

Met vandag se getalle dus sou; wat ons betref, die vermeerdering van blankes deur die voorgestelde toevoeging van grondgebied 64 duisend wees, sodat ons een miljoen 864 duisend sal tel, terwyl die natuurlike-getalle meer as verdrievoudig sou word. En waar ons nou, soos ons is, dit reeds so moeilik vind om die vraagstuk van ses miljoen inboorlinge op te los—ja, selfs om samewerking daartoe deur die blankes te verkry—sal dit 'n maklike taak word, voorspel genl. Smuts ons, om die vraagstuk van twintig miljoen, verstrooi oor die ontsaglike afstande van die vasteland, opgelos te kry!

En daardie oplossing sal moet verder dien as net vir vandag! Hy sal moet voorsiening maak vir die verdubbeling en verviervoudiging van daardie ontsettende getalle in die loop van weinige geslagte: dit wil sê, in die leeftyd van ons komende kinders en kindskinders, wanneer ons daardie miljoene inboorlinge sal opgelei en beskaaf het tot ekonomiese, maatskaplike en burgerlike wedywer.

'N ANDER BEWYS

Dog daar is nog ander bewys as net dié van syfers om ons te toon hoe volslae Suid-Afrika sal ondergaan in die see van Kafferdom as die politiek van genl. Smuts aangeneem word. In sy openingsrede aan die Wetgewende Raad op Dar-es-Salaam gehou op 11 Januarie 1928 het die Goewerneur van Tanganjika dit nodig gevind om te beklemtoon wat vasgestel was deur die Britse regering 'n paar jaar tevore in 'n voorskrif handelende oor die bestuur van Kenia.

"Hoofsaaklik" (so lui dit) "is Kenia 'n Afrikaanse grondgebied, en Sy Majesteit se regering beskou dit nodig om met beslistheid hul oorwoë mening te boekstaaf: dat die belange van die natuurlike van Afrika oorheersend (paramount) moet wees, en dat indien en wanneer hul belange en die belange van die immigrante (blanke) rasse in botsing kom, die eerste die oorhand moet hê."

Met die beginsels hier neergelê, druk die verslag van die Hilton-Young-Kommissie sy volle instemming uit, omdat die Kommisaris oortuig is nie alleen van die regverdigheid nie, maar van die dienstigheid daarvan.

NATUREL KRY EERSTE PLEK

In al die geweste waarby Suid-Afrika sal ingelyf word, is dus reeds aan die naturel verseker dat dit in die eerste plek is sy land en dat sy belange daar oorheersend sal wees: en dat waar sy belange in botsing kom met dié van die witman, sy belange die oorhand sal en moet hê oor dié van die witman!

Wie sal hierna die onbeskaamdheid durf hê om te sê dat die British Dominion waarna genl. Smuts streef, bedoel is om 'n witmansland en nie 'n Kafferstaat te wees nie? En wie sal hierna nog van genl. Smuts of van die Suid-Afrikaanse Party verwag dat hulle enige samewerking met die Nasionale Party sal verleen tot beveiliging van die witman en van sy beskawing in Suid-Afrika?

Dit kan gesê word, daardie plan van genl. Smuts sal nie uitgevoer word nie, al sou die Suid-Afrikaanse Party weer, en al was dit vir hoe lank, aan die bewind kom—dat geen party in Suid-Afrika sy leier op so'n weg tot so'n uiteinde toe sal volg nie. Dis nie vir ons om te spekuleer tot watter uiterstes genl. Smuts sal moet gaan voordat die laaste oorblyfsel van sy party hom repudieer nie. Maar of daar aan so'n leiding gevolg gegee sal word of nie, die plan self is 'n uitdrukking van die gees waarin die leier die vraagstuk genader het, en van die soort beleid waardeur, en die soort beginsels waaronder, hy 'n oplossing sal soek, hoe ver die oplossing ook aan die grootsheid van die oorspronklike ontwerp mag kortskiet.

WAT ONS TE WAGTE STAAN

So'n gees getuig nie van 'n beset van die soort vaderlandsliefde en volkstrou wat in elke ander land en in elke ander volk van die wêreld beskou word as die eerste elementêre en instinkmatige burgerdeug nie; maar wel van 'n konsepsie, as hoogste ideaal, van die soort nasionale lewe en besieling wat daar te wagte sal wees in 'n verenigde Britse Swart Staat van Afrika.

En daarmee moet ons hierdie skrywe sluit. Daar is hier geen plek om soiets as 'n opsomming te gee van die gevaar waarmee ons bedreig word namens 'n party wat jarelank aan die bewind van ons sake was en kragtens die dreigement nou soek om weer daar te om nie. Koelbloedig word ons opswelging deur die Kafferdom voorgestel. Ons nasionale trots, ons vaderlandsliefde, die eer wat ons ontvang het om hoog te hou uit die roemryke geskiedenis van ons verlede, waarin die beskerming en beskawing van die natuurlike self, sowel as ons eie behoud en vooruitgang bewerstellig is op 'n wyse wat sonder weerga is onder die voorttrekkervolke van die wêreld—dit alles moet uitgewis word soos die naam van ons dierbare Suid-Afrika geskrap moet word uit ons nasionale woordeskat.

Maar ons stem met genl. Smuts saam "dat die politiek nie op die lange duur volgens jakkalsstreke en slimigheid uitwerk nie."

(Geteken) J.B.M. HERTZOG

T.J. ROOS

D.F. MALAN

Kaapstad, 28 Januarie.

Uitgegee op las van die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party, deur J.H. Conradie, L.V., Sekretaris, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad en gedruk by die Nasionale Pers, Beperk, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.

Suid Afrikaanse Arbeids Party



Veg Program

Aangeneem deur die Konferensie,
Januarie 1929.



Uitgegee deur die outoriteit van die Nasionale
Hoofdkomitee, Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party,
WILLIAM WANLESS, Algemene Sekretaris.

VEG PROGRAM.

Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidersparty is genoodsaak om te veg vir die verandering van die teenwoordige ekonomiese sisteem van 'n mededingende na 'n koöperatiewe. Sy wil haar doel bereik deur vreedsame, ordelike en konstitusionele wyse. Sy sal haar eie politiek en program volg sonder inagneming van enigiets behalwe die mense van Suid-Afrika.

Haar kandidate is verbonde aan die volgende vegprogram:—

1. Werkeloosheid Assuransie.

Geen Goewerment—onder die kapitalistiese sisteem—kan wegdoen met werkeloosheid. Die maatskaplike stelsel waaronder ons lewe het werkeloosheid nodig om voort te bestaan. Dit kan nie daarsonder bestaan nie.

Die Arbeidersparty is die enigste party wat daarop uit is om die stelsel te verander. Ander partye huiwer wanneer hulle geforseer word om hulle private belange te beskerm. Ons sal dit verander om die belange van die mense te verseker.

So'n verandering is egter nie dadelik moontlik nie en die werklose man en vrou moet lewe. Die Arbeidersparty met die eleksie sal staan vir Werkeloosheid Assuransie. Dit staan vir werk of onderhoud. As die publiek sake so reël dat 'n gewillige man of vrou nie kan werk kry nie, dan moet die publiek wyse van bestaan vind totdat hulle werk kan kry.

Die Arbeidersparty sal haarself daarop toelê om toelae te kry vir die egte werklose.

2. Mynterings' Pensioene.

Die Arbeidersparty staan vir 'n nuwe politiek delende met myntering, 'n siekte wat almal 'n afskrik gee aan dié soort van werk.

Die hoof prinsiep waaronder kompensasië totnogtoe toegeken was aan slagoffers, was in ronde somme kontant betaal.

Die Arbeidersparty wil dit veranderd hê. Sy wil aan elke persoon 'n permanente pensioen gegee hê. Op dié prinsiep sal sy die komende eleksie veg en vir die verandering sal sy streef in die volgende parlement.

3. Die 44 Ure Week.

Die werkers kry te min betaling om terug te koop wat hulle produseer. Dit veroorsaak werkloosheid en hongersnood van oorvloed. Hierdie resultate is vererger en vermenigvuldig deur die wereldwyd verandering van hand produksie deur bekwame handwerksmanne, tot massa produksie deur masjienerie, sonder enige herstelling van die drie vernaamste betrokke faktore n.l.: die totaal van handelsartikels wat nuttig kan verbruik word; die menslike arbeid wat nodig is om die totaal voort te bring en die gelyke en redelike verdeling van die werke van produksie tussen die mense wat verkrygbaar is om die werk te doen, en wat, andersins, slegs lewe as 'n las op, of 'n bedreiging vir, die maatskappy as 'n geheel.

Die werkers wat in diens is het 'n reg op gemak. Die ledige rykes het volop, die werkers moet dit ook hê. Hulle maak alle goed wat die lewe vrolik maak en hulle moet tyd hê om die te geniet.

Die Arbeidersparty staan vir die verwydering van werkloosheid deur die tweenvoudige politiek om vir die Staat kontroleuring te verkry van die middels van produksie en deur die vermindering van werkure van mense wat in diens is, totdat daar nie meer werklose is nie.

As 'n stap in hierdie rigting, sal die Party aanhoudend veg vir 'n vermindering van werkure tot 44 ure per week in his tussentyd. Ons dink dit is essensieel dat ekstra tyd wat gewerk word op enig een dag sal erken en voor betaal word as ekstra tyd. Ons is teen die sisteem van verdelingsure (spreadover) wat nou toegepas word op die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë en ender Industrieë.

4. Beheersing van Pryse.

In Suid-Afrika is byna alle handelsartikels beheers deur ringe en gevolmagtigde liggame. Ons het die Bank Trust, die Suiker Trust, die Kool Ring, die Koelkamers Vereniging, die Verenigde Meulenaars en so aan, insluitende lokale besighede, soas bakkers ringe.

Pryse is van dag vasgestel en beheers deur private belange vir private profyt. Pryse is veels te hoog. Die produseerder kry te min en die verbruiker betaal te veel, terwyl die klein uitdeler, alhoewel in naam nie, is in werklikheid niks meer dan 'n beloningsslaaf.

Diegene wat die ringe en truste saamstel word vet deur die produseerder, die verbruiker en die klein uitdeler te eksploiteer.

Die Staat moet instap en pryse kontroleer deur middel daarvan 'n eerlike wins aan die produseerder te verkry, 'n beuredigende prys aan die verbruiker en 'n redelike aandeel aan die uitdeler. Geldmakery moet ophou.

5. Uitbreiding van Staats-Onderneming.

Die prinsiep van Staatsonderneming is oral in Suid-Afrika aangeneem soos in ander plekke. Die Staat en plaaslike outoriteite is reeds besig om baie dienste vir die mense te verskaf.

Ons staan vir die aanmoediging van so'n poging. In baie publieke behoeftes van vanday fungeer private ondernemings onvoldoende en het 'n verwurgende invloed op die maatskappy. Nuwe industrieë moet geëien en gekontroleer word deur die Staat.

Die Arbeidersparty sal daarop aandring om Staatsontrolering van krediet te verkry, deurmiddel van 'n Staatsbank, Staatsverskeping, Staatskoelkamers, Staatskoolmyne, en Staatsvervaardiging van Misstowwe. Ons, wat grotendeels verantwoordelik is vir die passering van die Yster en Staal Koöperasie Wet, sal aandring op die instelling van die mees belangrike wordings industrie, in terme van die Wet en vir die instelling van ons eie Spoorweg werkplekke en die vervaardiging van ons eie landboukundige gereedskap.

Ons wil hê dat die mense moet realiseer dat as hulle wil hê dat na hulle besigheid moet gesien word, hulle self daarna moet kyk. "Benoei jou met jou eie sake" is 'n eksellente motto vir die mense van Suid-Afrika.

6. Uitbreiding van Konsiliasie en Loon Wette Goewerments Dienste.

Die Goewerments van vandag stel lone en voorwaardes vas vir buite aanbode deur die Loon Raad en deur die werking van die Industrieë Konsiliasie Wet. In baie gevalle betaal sy minder en gee slegter voorwaardes haarself dan sy aan anders voorskrywe. Dit moet verander word. Net soos private werkers is Goewerments dienare geregtig op die voorregte van Konsiliasie Rade, Loonwette, ens, en harde werk is maar ewe wisselvallig wanneer dit verrig word deur 'n Goewerments of private werker.

Die Arbeidersparty sal streef om die Konsiliasie Loningswette uit te brei om Goewerments dienare in te sluit. Sy het tevore probeer maar dit was 'n mislukking. Sy sal weer probeer met herhaalde krag en onderneming. Seker dodelike invloede is nou verwyder en Arbeid kan nou meer doen dan in die vorige paar jare.

Daar is baie griewe in die Spoorweë, egte griewe, wat nie reggesit kan word onder die teenwoordige gekkige rade en appelle nie. Die party se voorstel sal ide Spoorweg mense en Goewermments dienare in staat stel om weer na hulle griewe te laat sien.

Die Industriële Konsiliase Wet moet agter geamendeer word in ooreenstemming met die rekommandasie van die Gesamelike Komitee van die Vakunie Kongres en die Nasionale Raad. Die Loon Wet moet geamendeer word deurmiddel van vorige ondervinding, sodat wernemers en wergewers daarop verteenwoordig is. Die administrasie van albei wette het verbetering nodig. Ons sal daarvoor strew.

7. Nasionale Mienimum Loon.

Die land ly vandag aan lae lone. Die onbedrewe werkers se standaard is te laag. Op aandrang van Arbeid het die teenwoordige Goewerment iets gedoen om die lot van die onbedrewe werkers te verbeter, maar selfs vandag is die betaling van onbedrewe werkers skandelik laag en die Goewermments Spoorweë en ander Goewermments departemente is onder die ergstes.

Net in een Departement, die Departement van Publieke Werke, het die eertydse Minister Mnr. Walter Madeley in weerwil van geweldige teenstand, 'n mienimum loon van 8/- per dag vasgestel. Dit is ook onvoldoende.

Die Arbeidersparty sal strew vir 'n nasionale mienimum loon van 10/- per dag in industrie. Landbou, alhoewel nie vandag in 'n posisie om so'n mienimum te betaal nie, sal instaat wees om dit te doen as en wanneer dit beskerm is van eksploitasie en deur die vasstelling van Staatskontrolering van krediet, Staats-skoelkamers, Staatsverskeping en Staatskunsbemisting en landboukundige gereedskap fabrieke.

Die mate van ons sukses sal afhang van ons krag. As ons swak is kan ons weinig doen. As ons sterk is kon ons veel doen. Dit hang van die mense af. Dit was deur ons dat 'n mienimum loon vasgestel was in Suid-Afrika, en reeds is daar honderde duisende van ponde by die werkers se lone gevoeg. As die werkers as 'n geheel Arbeid stem, kan dit miljoene gemaak word.

8. Huisvesting vir die Mense.

Daar is nie genoeg huise vir die mense in Suid-Afrika nie. Duisende lewe in klomp bymekaar in smerigheid en ellende. Dit is onmoontlik om beskaafde lewes te ly in agterbuurtes. Private onderneming in bou, het tot niet gegaan. Die aanvraag vir huise oortref grootliks die voorraad. Die Staat moet tussenbei kom en kyk na haar hulpelose.

Die prinsiep is al reeds wyd en syd aangeneem in Suid-Afrika. In Durban, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein en in baie ander dorpe is daar gemakvolle en ordentlike huise, gebou deur die maatskappy, te verkoop of te huur teen terme waardeur die werker 'n eersteklas huis kan verkry.

Die Arbeidersparty wil verder gaan. Sy wil 'n groot skema hê, gemodelleer op die van Nu-Seeland. Sy glo dat 'n vierkamer huis en alle toebehore kan verhuur word teen 23 10s. Od. per maand en sy is daarop uit om die Goewerment te kry om die vraag ernstig aan te pak.

9. Industrie.

Die Arbeidersparty erken die belangrikheid van ons aanvanklike industrie soos bevoorbeeld Mynbou en Landbou. Sy is nie daarop uit om die Mynbou skade aan te doen nie, nog minder glo sy aan 'n prikkelende politiek. Onderworpe om aan die werkers in die industrie genoegsame omstandighede, betaling en beskermings te verkry deurmiddel van arbeid verhoudings of andersins, teen die vermindering van blanke arbeidmag in die industrie, sal die Arbeidersparty bereid wees om simpatiek, die toekenning van alle redelike gemakke vir die volste ontwikkeling van die industrie te oorweeg. In die geval van die landboukundige industrie, glo die Arbeidersparty om dit minder afhanklik te maak van 'n oorsé mark, deur die ontwikkeling as gevolg van haar politiek van 'n altyd groeiende lokale mark. Behalwe dit te beskerm deur die vasstelling van 'n Staatskontrolering van krediet, Staatskoelkamers, Staatsverskeping, Staatskunsbemisting en landboukundige gereedskap fabrieke, keur die Arbeidersparty die verdere vasstelling van besproeiingsskemas goed, Staatsbemarking oorsee, van ons surplus landboukundige produkte (met 'n waarborg van mienimum pryse aan boere) en Staatskontrolering van invoer.

Ons glo om die sekondêre industrie aan te moedig, deur 'n politiek van beskerming deurmiddel van tariewe, mildadighede en kontrolering van invoering, onderworpe aan genoegsame beskerming teen die eksploitasie deur sulke industrie van die produseerders en verbruikers.

As die volk van Suid-Afrika 'n Goewerment vir die mense begeer en nie vir groot belange, hetsy vir finansies of land, sal hulle stem vir offisiële andidate van die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidersparty.

Die party is vry van alle verbonde. Sy sal vry en onafhanklik bly en haar krag gebruik in die Parlement, met een doel alleenlik—DIE WELVAART VAN DIE MENSE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

SUIDAFRIKAANSE ARBEIDS PARTY

ALGEMENE VERKIESING, 1929

STEMDAG: WOENSDAG, 12DE JUNIE

MANIFES

Die volgende Kandidate is deur die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad goedgekeur:

TRANSEVAAL:

Benoni: R. B. WATERSTON.

Bezuidehouth: C. H. H. AYWARD.

Boksburg: J. J. McMENAMIN.

Denver: F. H. P. CRESWELL.

Germiston: GEO. BROWN.

Jeppie: H. W. SAMPSON.

Johannesburg (Noord): JOHN DUTHIE.

Roodepoort: J. R. OELOFSE.

Springs: JAS. MACKAY.

Turffontein: A. C. FORDHAM.

KAAP:

Kaapstad (Sentraal): Dr. R. FORSYTH.

Oos Londen (Sentraal): JAS. STEWART.

Kimberley: J. WILLS.

Mowbray: JOHN LOMAX.

Port Elizabeth (Sentraal): M. LAZARUS.

Port Elizabeth (Noord): E. JORDAN.

Soutrivier: W. J. SNOW.

Woodstock: W. FREESTONE.

NATAL:

Durban (County): FRANK NETTLETON.

Durban (Greyville): THOS. BOYDELL.

Maritzburg (Noord): T. G. STRACHAN.

O.V.S.:

Bloemfontein (Noord): FRED. SHAW.

AAN DIE KIESERS VAN SUID AFRIKA.

Die tragiese gebeurtenisse op die Rand in 1922 het elke stemgeregtigde Arbeider van die land oortuig dat die vaste politiek van die Arbeidsparty wat weier om met enige ander Party saam te werk, vir tyd en wyle opsy geskrywe moes word totdat die S.A. Party Regering so gou moontlik uit die weg geruim kan word. Gevolglik is die Ooreenkoms gevorm en in 1924 is Generaal Smuts en die S.A.P. Regering van die kussens gewerp. In die Parlement wat toe gekies is het geen een van die Partye oor 'n meerderheid van die hele Huis beskik nie.

Die les wat die Party geleer het uit die uitslag by 'n groot aantal verkiesinge was dat die voordeel van 'n strenge nakoming van die politiek van "geen alliansies" in die besondere toestande waarin ons in ons staat van ontwikkeling in S.A. verkeer baie twyfelagtig was, hoe noodsaaklik en nuttig daardie politiek ook al elders mag geblyk het. Die Parlementêre toestand as gevolg van die 1924 verkiesing het die Party gedwing om te kies tussen twee alternatiewe.

Of dit moes voortgaan met die samewerking met die Nasionale en Generaal Hertzog se uitnodiging aanvaar om die verantwoordelikheid van Regering te help dra of dit moes terugkeer na die ou politiek van "geen alliansies." Laasgenoemde alternatief sou ongetwyfeld as gevolg gehad het 'n reeks agtereenvolgende verkiesinge totdat een of ander, van die twee groter partye 'n onafhanklike meerderheid behaal het terwyl die Arbeidsverteenvoording net so ongetwyfeld sou gelyk het. Die waarskynlikste onmiddellike gevolg sou gewees het 'n verkiesing binne 12 maande net soos in 1921, en met geen verkiesingsooreenkoms tussen Arbeiders en Nasionale sou die oorwinning van Generaal Smuts en die S.A. Party feitlik verseker gewees het.

SUIDAFRIKAANSE ARBEIDS PARTY

ALGEMENE VERKIESING, 1929

Stemdag: Woensdag, 12de Junie

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Die Partykongres van 1924 het met 'n oorweldigende meerderheid besluit dat Generaal Hertzog se uitnodiging behoort aangeneem te word en die Ooreenkomsregering is toe gevorm geword.

Die land het nou vyf jaar ondervinding van Ooreenkomsregering.

Ten spyte van obstruksie van die kant van 'n Senaat wat die instrument van die S.A. Party gebly het—'n obstruksie wat ons oortuig van is nie meer sal bestaan nie na die verkiesing—is daar meer ware vooruitgang gemaak in die rigting waarin die Arbeidsparty vir baie jare hard geywer het, dan in die hele 14 jaar van die S.A.P. bewind.

Die oprigting van die Arbeidsdepartement, sodat daar 'n veel nouer voeling kon wees wat betref die belange van die loonarbeiders; die toepassing van die industrieële wette, sodat die arbeiders in staat gewees is om hulle belange te handhaaf sonder gedrewe te word om hulle toevlug te neem tot die kostelike noodmiddel in die vorm van 'n staking: die passeer van die Loonwet en die oprigting van die Loonraad die bepalinge waarvan voortdurend dien as middel om hongersnood af te skaf; die gestadige bestryding van werkloosheid deur die invoer van die beleid van beskaafde arbeid en die stoot aan sekondêre industrie gegee deur die regering se beskermingsbeleid; die passeer van die Yster-

en Staalnywerheidswet, sodat die nuwe nywerheid tot voordeel van die volk sal wees en nie net van oorsese geldbase nie; die stigting van die Staatsdelewerye en die stoot wat oplaas gegee is aan diamantslypery in Suid Afrika tenspyte van teenwerking van die kant van die diamantbase—al hierdie en baie ander maatreëls wat opgenoem kan word toon in baie opvallende wyse aan die onderskeid tussen die ooreenkomsregering se houding en beleid en die van die S.A.P. Regering met hulle gewoontegeworde onderdanigheid aan die geldbase en hulle gebruikelike beleid om industrieële moeilikhede te laat "ontwikkel". Beskou uit die oogpunt van die Arbeidsparty het die laaste vyf jaar 'n baie merkwaardige vooruitgang opgelewer ten opsigte van die algemene rigting wat die Party vir soveel jare voorgestaan het, en hulle regverdig ten volle die wysheid van die Party se besluit by die 1924 Kongres.

Die Parlement wat in 1924 gekies was het nou opgehou om te bestaan en 'n nuwe Parlement moet op 12 Junie gekies word.

Die algemense strewing en die platform van die Arbeidsparty bly dieselfde as wat dit gewees het sinds sy stigting. Of die nuwe Parlement so samegestel is dat die Arbeidsparty met die Regering sal saamwerk, soos in die laaste Parlement, en hulle invloed van binne onophoudelik uitoefen, en of hulle, sonder daardie voordeel, hulle kragte sal moet beperk tot bepleiting op die vloer van die Huis, sal die Parlementêre verteenwoordigers van die Arbeidsparty, wat goedgekeur is deur die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad, hulle beste kragte inspan om die beleid van die Party in belang van die volk te bevorder.

Die sake wat o.a. wat die Party sy bes sal doen om in die volgende Parlement op die voorgrond te stoot is:

- (1) Volksversekering teen werkloosheid en onbekwaamheid.
- (2) Meer voldoende ouderdomspensioene.
- (3) Omwerking van die Werkliede Skadeloosstelling Wet om dit in ooreenstemming te bring met die vereistes van die moderne industrieële lewe, en wysiging van die Nywerheidsversoening -Fabrieke- en Leerling- Wetsontwerpe, om hulle uitwerking meer affektief te maak.
- (4) Opvolging van die uitbreiding van die beleid om lone en toestande te beheer sowel deur ooreenkomste van Industriële Rade as deur Loonwetbepalinge.
- (5) Uitbreiding van die Beskaafde Arbeidsbeleid met die oog op 'n minimum loon van 10/- per dag vir beskaafde arbeiders in industrie en die Goewermentsdiens.
- (6) Verdere uitbreiding van die agt urige dag in die Goewerments- en Spoorwegdiens; erkenning van die beginsels dat elke dag afsonderlik bereken word; en ondersoekinstelling in die stelsel van verlofvoorregte met die oog om die verlof van persone in die verskillende grade meer eweredig te maak.
- (7) Ondersoekinstelling in die werking van die Mynteringwette en griewe wat daaruit spruit met die oog om hulle sover doenlik te herstel.
- (8) Vrye opleiding van Goewerments-Tegniese en Ambagskole in al die provinsies volgens beginsels wat vroeër in Transvaal geheers het.
- (9) Uitbreiding van Staats- en Munisipaledienste.

By die verkiesing van 1924 was die een onomwonde praktiese vraag waarop ieder kieser sy antwoord gegee het, toe hy sy briefjie in die stembus gewerp het, of hy verlang het om Generaal Smuts en die S.A.P. aan bewind te hou en of hy 'n verandering wou hê. Daardie verandering is bewerkstellig en die hele land het daarby baat gevind.

By hierdie verkiesing is daar eweneens so 'n duidelik en

onomwonde praktiese vraag voor iedere kieser. Wil hy hê dat die voordelige beleid wat gedurende die vyf jaar gevolg is moet voortgesit word? Of wil hy terugkeer na die regering van Generaal Smuts en die S.A. Party met die daarby samegaande onrus en onveiligheid?

Die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad van die Arbeidsparty het ooreengekom met die respektiewe beherende liggame van die Nasionale Party in die vier Prowinsies om met hierdie verkiesing saam te werk soos ons in 1924 gedoen het. Vas oortuig dat Arbeiders dwarsdeur die land baie begerig is om te sien dat die betere Regering waaruit hulle geduren-

de die laaste vyf jaar voordeel getrek het sal voortgaan, maak die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad 'n ernstig beroep op alle Arbeidsgesinde Kiesers om hulle troue hulp te gee aan iedere ooreenkoms kandidaat hetsy hy Arbeider of Nasionalis is.

(Get.) J.D.F. BRIGGS, Voorsitter.
W.A. Wood, Algemene Sekretaris.

Uitgegee deur die Nasionale Administratiewe Raad, Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party, Kerk Straat, Johannesburg. Gedruk deur Pitman's 46, Anderson St., Johannesburg.

ELECTION PROGRAMME OF THE S.A. PARTY

GEN. SMUTS OPENS THE CAMPAIGN

GREAT FIGHTING SPEECH AT PRETORIA LAST NIGHT

NATIVE QUESTION THE MAIN ISSUE

GERMAN TREATY TO BE DENOUNCED

STATE-AIDED IMMIGRATION AND VOTES FOR WHITE WOMEN

IN a great speech at Pretoria last evening General Smuts outlined the election policy of the South African Party. He summarised it in a word as "A Greater South Africa and a Wider Nationalism."

General Smuts declared that if General Hertzog had any serious intention of solving the native question he would have kept it out of the party arena and out of this election. Along party lines a solution was impossible under the South Africa Act.

"NORTHWARD" POLICY

The leader of the Opposition reiterated his "northward" policy. He did not look upon our extension northwards beyond the Rhodesias as practical politics for our day and generation; he said, but his policy of friendship and collaboration with the rest of British Africa remained unaffected.

General Smuts foreshadowed, as a means of increasing the European population and altering the ratio of our white and native population, a sound immigration policy. Money wisely and judiciously spent here, he said, would be the best investment this country could make to ensure its future, to develop its resources and to increase its inland markets.

THE GERMAN TREATY

The German Treaty was condemned as a breach with the settled policy of Empire preference and a menace to our best foreign market, and General Smuts indicated that unless it was amended the party would denounce it at the earliest possible moment.

The party stands for the enfranchisement of European women as one of the first acts if they come into power, the question of Cape native women's votes being left to a convention to settle the rights of native men.

hears that other similar reports will be published during these elections to provide the Pact Party with ammunition.

The Public and Railways Services are not free from party politics, and if an official resists this policy, he runs grave risks and is looked upon with disfavour. No wonder many of our best men are leaving the Service, and that the Service is being impoverished and its morale lowered. No greater service can be rendered this country than a clean sweep of these practices, and a return to the high tradition of an impartial Public Service.

PROTECTING THE SERVICE

The self-respect and the independence of a loyal and disinterested Civil Service is of innumerable value to the country in every respect. If we are returned to power we shall look upon it as a mandate to make the necessary reforms and to see that in future the Service does not remain liable to this sort of party abuse. The Service should, as far as possible, be placed in a position which will protect its independence and its self-respect, and prevent its being abused for party purposes, whatever party it may be.

The Prime Minister makes two great charges against the South African Party, and both charges convict them of dangerous racialism. The first is that the South African Party is in reality an old Unionist Party, in which the interests of the old Unionists predominate. The second is, in effect, that the South African Party is a pro-native or negrophilist party, and is working for a black South Africa.

These charges are not only wild and baseless, devoid of all truth, but they are most dangerous. They can do no good to the native mind and they are an insult to that section of our white people who formerly belonged to the Unionist Party. Both are held up as a menace to South Africa. Judging from the Prime Minister's charges, one can only conclude that the old Unionists and the natives are the enemies of South Africa.

RACIAL INSULTS

Could anything be more hostile and more dangerous? The old Unionists represent a large section of our English fellow citizens. That seems to be their sin. They are still foreign adventurers. Mr. Jagger, we are told, is not yet a South African, in spite of a lifetime of devoted love and service to this country. Can anything make him a South African except knocking down to the Pact?

Surely these racial insults and taunts are unworthy of the Prime Minister of this country. They are very wounding and are felt very deeply by people who are as good South Africans as the Prime Minister himself.

The Prime Minister's conception of South African patriotism is that there is no place for the Smutss, Jaggers and the Duncans. For the more recent South Africans who have thrown in their lot with us, "Come out of the house of the stranger," is still the appeal which is continually being addressed to the Dutch-speaking

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FULL TEXT OF SPEECH

Pretoria, Wednesday.

General Smuts addressed a meeting of the Pretoria branches and supporters of the South African Party in the Pretoria Town Hall last evening, admission being by ticket only.

General Smuts was supported on the platform by many leaders of the South African Party and former members of Parliament. The undercurrent of excitement which had been running through Pretoria all day rose to fever heat as the time for the meeting drew near, and half an hour before it was scheduled to begin the Town Hall was crowded, and a huge concourse of people were struggling outside to gain admittance.

The police and voluntary helpers formed themselves into two living barricades, through which a few people were admitted at a time.

When General Smuts walked on to the platform at eight o'clock, his arrival was the signal for a wonderful and spontaneous reception. The great crowd rose as one man, cheer-

ing and stamping wildly for several minutes. The outburst concluded with three mighty cheers for General Smuts.

As soon as order was restored the chairman, Mr. U. Rissik, briefly referred to the great reception, and said it was fitting that, on the eve of the election campaign, support should be shown to their leader in such an unmistakable fashion.

On rising to make his speech General Smuts received another tremendous ovation. "I regret," said General Smuts, "that the exigencies of space do not permit of larger numbers being admitted. The workers of the party must have the first chance, and there is not a large enough hall in Pretoria to admit more. I hope that the effect of this meeting will be such as will not only be felt in this hall but over the whole town and country."

During the speech numerous interruptions in the form of hammering at the door and shouts from the disappointed crowd outside were heard.

THE SPEECH

General Smuts said:—

Let me begin by referring to the recent speech of the Prime Minister at Smithfield. To the Pact it will not prove a very helpful speech, and I do not think we shall hear much of it in this election campaign. It is more full of vainglory and boasting than of real constructive statesmanship. It repeats the platitudes which the Prime Minister has been saying ad nauseam on the platform these last few years.

The Pact will require different ammunition if they are to get with some credit through this campaign. I deplore the Prime Minister's personal references to his opponents. No wise man expresses public contempt and insult for his opponents in that style but the Prime Minister is worried and weary and allowance must be made for this as well as for his unfortunate methods of public controversy. I fear his followers will much improve upon his style and we shall see the floodgates of personality and abuse opened wide during this election campaign.

Nationalist abuse

Already the chief organ of the Nationalists in the Transvaal has called me the successor of Dingaan and a much more dangerous enemy to white civilisation than that kafir potentate, and this sort of abuse is called politics. I shall not follow the methods of the Prime Minister. However deeply I differ from him I respect him both personally and in his official position. The time surely is past when such methods of vituperation and abuse should be resorted to in our political campaign.

If I cannot win this fight cleanly I would not care to win at all. Let us not lower public standards further. It is one of my grave charges against the present Government that the standard, the tone of public life has now been lowered. As a result Parliament has gone down in public estimation, and its authority is being gravely undermined. Public life is beginning to be looked upon as not a clean thing and something to be avoided by honest men.

Nowhere is this deterioration worse than in relation to the Civil Service. The Civil Service is becoming degraded into a mere party machine. Ministers have openly declared their preference for Nationalists in appointments to the service. A political inquisition is held into a candidate's opinions. Favouritism and nepotism are much talked about. Party politics is creeping in everywhere and polluting all the channels of public life and public service.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Jobs for Pals as a "Desirable Policy"

The spoils system, which has been the curse of other countries, is being adopted in South Africa. Jobs for pals is publicly preached by the Pact as a desirable policy. We condemn this as a pernicious policy which will cost this country very dear. Our Public Service has in the past been above this sort of thing. We have had a high tradition of a clean and impartial Public Service, which has been the pride of this country.

The latest instance of this debauching of the Service is the railway circular on civilised labour, for which the General Manager of Railways is not responsible, but which he has been forced to issue as a departmental report. It is a political partisan document from beginning to end, and one hears that other similar reports will be published during these elections to provide the Pact Party with ammunition.

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Surely these racial insults and taunts are unworthy of the Prime Minister of this country. They are very wounding and are felt very deeply by people who are as good South Africans as the Prime Minister himself.

The Prime Minister's conception of South African patriotism is that there is no place for the Smartts, Jaggers

and the Duncans. For the more recent South Africans who have thrown in their lot with us, "Come out of the house of the stranger", is still the appeal which is continually being addressed to the Dutch-speaking Saps, and that is the real appeal of his Smithfield address.

Our English-speaking fellow citizens justly pride themselves as much as we do on their South African patriotism, their love of South Africa and its people, their complete identification with the country and its deepest interests. These taunts simply convict the Prime Minister of deeply-rooted racialism. They prove that he has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing since his De Wildt speech in 1912.

On an equal footing

My unforgivable sin is that in 1920 I invited our English fellow citizens into the S.A.P. on a footing of equal comradeship, hence this repeated charge of harbouring old Unionists in the S.A.P. We glory in the step which was then taken. That was the real death blow to racialism. In our politics our South Africanism is wide enough to embrace both races on an equal footing.

For eight years we have worked together in office and out of office. We have co-operated in perfect loyalty to each other, and it is the pride of our party that no racial issues exist for us in any shape or form. The Prime Minister charges us with impotence in office—impotence! The party that has seen South Africa through all its greatest phases of development since Union is charged with impotence! If we had really been impotent in face of all the dangers which threatened this country from within and from without, General Hertzog would not to-day be standing on our shoulders and crowing over the sovereign independence of South Africa.

In those days the do and dare party showed their daring mostly in thwarting our efforts to keep this country safe and its honour untarnished. Their doing consisted mostly in undoing the work of Union and in missions and campaigns for the breaking up of the Union. Now that owing to our actions their war policy and their secession policy have finally failed and been abandoned, they are reaping the fruits of our labours and they show a spirit of boastfulness which ill becomes them under the circumstances.

The S.A. Party nest egg

In the years of depression which overcame this country as they overcame every other country after the war our efforts were crippled and we had to strain every nerve to keep things going and we succeeded in spite of all the efforts of our opponents to promote lawlessness and to foment strife and unrest.

The Prime Minister says that we left the finances of the country in a deplorable state in 1924. The fact is that our successors found sufficient in the coffers of State to repay our deficits, and from the balance left by us to devote £500,000 to road improvements, £200,000 to land settlements and to pay £1,700,000 into the sinking fund for debt redemption.

That was the nest egg we left them, instead of the bankruptcy they keep harping on. A Government that could manage to nurse the finances of the country through the fiercest depression of its history and leave such a balance behind for its successors to play with cannot have been so impotent as the Prime Minister tries to make out.

And what in comparison is the record of the do and dare Government? They came into power in the middle of 1924 when the tide of trade was turning in a worldwide movement. They had surpluses during the next four years which

totalled over five millions, but like the spendthrift they lived up to their income and their expenditure to-day is five millions per annum more than it was in 1924.

HIGHER TAXATION OF THE PEOPLE

When the Tide Turns

They take five millions per annum more out of the pockets of the people through taxation than we did. When the day of reckoning comes and the tide of trade turns in its recurrent cycle, we may have to face a financial crisis which will inflict the greatest suffering on our people.

Through economy in public expenditure we reduced the annual cost of our services between 1921 and 1923 by two and a half millions, but all this painful work has been undone and our expenditure in recent years has gone up by leaps and bounds until now, apart from the railways, it costs thirty millions per annum to run a country with a white population of less than one and three quarter million.

In the railways the rate of increased expenditure has been more rapid and the position is even much more alarming, so that instead of an asset the railways are fast becoming a financial liability to the country. The Pact regime in the railways has been one of deficits, and it is only this year that by hook and crook a small surplus has been scraped together for election purposes.

Dearer living

This enormous inflation of our public expenditure means inflation in other directions and the eventual rise in the cost of living, which will hit the poorer classes and the development of the country very hard.

The value of the pound has already sensibly gone down. The greatest blessing a good Government can confer on a country is cheap and economical administration, and judged by that standard, the performance of the Pact Government is lamentable.

The Prime Minister boasts that all the election promises of 1924 have been fulfilled. What about their promise of economy in the light of these figures? They made the welkin ring with their thunder against our spendthrift policy at a time when we were actually economising and lowering expenditure in every direction. Instead of carrying out their promise of economy they ran amuck when their chances came, and they will go down in the history of the country as the most wasteful administration the country has ever seen.

Their boast that their big budget surpluses reflected the industrial and manufacturing progress of the country will not stand a moment's examination. Revenue from customs exceeded Mr. Havenga's estimates in the three years, 1926 to 1929, by the very high figures of £847,000, £991,000 and £1,225,000. The boasted surpluses were largely due to importations into the country and not to internal industrial development.

Diamond revenue

During these three years there were also the phenomenal diamond discoveries in Lichtenburg and Namaqualand, which accounted for another large addition to the revenue as well as for the swollen importations and customs figures. But for these elements of pure accident and luck the budgets of Mr. Havenga might have told the same sorry tale that Mr. Malan's railway budget has been actually telling the last five years.

The progress of the country has in other respects been quite normal. Industries have developed, but not more so than they did under the South African Party regime. During the last

four years the manufacturing production of the country has increased from roughly £80,000,000 to £100,000,000 in round figures. That is at the rate of about £5,000,000 per annum, which is very much the same as the average rate during the preceding eight years under the South African Party Government.

And the white employment figures show a similar normal rise. Members of the Government have boosted themselves and their financial and industrial policy ad nauseam until some people have actually been taken in by their constant reiteration. But when the figures are analysed and the facts examined, their record appears to be nothing but the normal expansion of the country in good times plus the heavy topweight of expenditure which they have imposed.

General Kemp goes about the country with his fairy tales that taxation has been decreased by £6,000,000 under the Pact. It is on a par with the wild and woolly story which he also spins to the backveld that the native policy of the South African Party is to give equal franchise rights to white and black alike and to male and female alike.

The Minister of Finance does not claim to have decreased taxes by more than about £2,000,000, and even that figure is disputable, while in spite of that reduction, the actual taxation screwed out of the taxpayer has admittedly increased by over £5,000,000 per annum since 1924. The customs duties have on the whole been raised. The prices of many of the necessities of life have increased and the cost of living figures have gone up.

During 1928 customs collections on blankets amounted to £534,000, on clothing to £794,000, and on foodstuffs and other necessities of life to £2,100,000, and these taxes hit the poor far more than the rich. They claim to be a poor man's government just as they claim to be a poor diggers' government, but the poor man has heavier burdens thrown on him than he carried ever before, and the poor digger lies stunned and flattened out under the new diamond law and the State diggings, while the diamond syndicate has never been more flourishing than under Mr. Beyers.

The public debt

During the last five years the public debt has gone up by over £35,000,000 from £208,000,000 in 1924 to £243,500,000 in 1929. The Prime Minister boasts, however, that the unproductive debt has gone down by £20,000,000 under the Pact, and apparently wishes the inference to be drawn that that debt has been paid off by that enormous amount. Of course, nothing could be more misleading. The figure of £20,000,000 is based on a Treasury calculation, which does not mean actual payment of debt.

According to the Auditor-General's reports, the public debt actually paid off from 1923 to 1928 amounts to no more than £6,128,019. The figures for the last year have not yet been audited.

The Prime Minister is prone to accuse others of inaccuracy. I leave it to the public to judge the accuracy of his statements on this important matter.

NATIVE QUESTION THE MAIN ISSUE

Premier's Party "Stunt"

I now come to the main issue on which the Pact is fighting this election. I refer to the native question. The Prime Minister knows perfectly well that this general election, or any other general election, will not avail to solve the native question. What he is really aiming at is not to solve the native question, but to use it as a party stunt to win the general elec-

tion. It is a purely party manoeuvre, and a particularly lamentable and reprehensible one.

If he had any serious intention of solving the native question, he would have kept it out of the party arena and out of this election. Along party lines a solution is impossible under the South Africa Act. That Act requires a two-thirds vote of all the members of both Houses of Parliament at a joint sitting for any alterations of the native franchise at the Cape.

No party is ever likely to get such a majority, and it was the clear intention of the framers of the South Africa Act, including General Hertzog, under that unchangeable provision to take the Cape native franchise out of party politics.

Whatever views we may take of the native question, we must accept it as a bedrock fact that under the South Africa Act no solution on party lines, or by way of general elections, is possible. No one knows that better than the Prime Minister.

His object is to win the election by scaring the people by playing on their fears and passions, by stampeding them on a matter which above all others requires cool and sane statesmanship. His manoeuvre in making the native question his chief party cry on this occasion is therefore particularly discreditable and deserves the punishment which I trust it will receive in these elections.

Playing with fire

I hope these elections will teach politicians that it is dangerous to play with fire, and that the game is not only dangerous but will not pay.

That they were going to take this fatal step had been clear for some time. Last year, Mr. Roos declared at Ermelo that the native question was the best battleground which the Pact could choose for these elections, and he expressed the wish that the South African Party would vote for the Cape native franchise, so that they could go to the country on this question. The Prime Minister has followed his sinister advice.

Mr. Roos in 1919 sent the Prime Minister and his colleagues on a wild goose chase to America and Europe for the disruption of the Union, while he himself kept out of the silly farce. In the same way he has launched the Prime Minister on this fatal expedition.

The Prime Minister, in his Pretoria West speech at the beginning of the year, showed clearly that he was determined to make the native question the football of our party politics. His intention was still more clearly shown shortly after by his black Africa manifesto, which will ever remain a black blot on his own fair fame. It was the most disgraceful exhibition to which a party politician has ever lent himself in this country.

The black manifesto

Mr. Ben Jenkins, an ex-chairman of the Labour Party and no friend of mine, but an honest opponent, used language about this manifesto on which I could not improve. "I have no hesitation in saying," he declared, "that it is the choicest piece of political propaganda the world has ever seen."

I leave it at that, but you will know by this time that this lying piece of blackguardism is the main plank of the Pact in these elections. From every platform in rural South Africa you hear it thundered forth that I am for a black South Africa; that I want to dissolve the Union in a flood of barbarism; that I am a menace to white civilisation. And all this because I have advocated a policy of friendship and political rapprochement with the young British States to our north, which are our real industrial and political hinterland.

I look forward to the time when our politics and our resources in African civilisation will bear a far wider meaning than it does to-day. I believe there is not a single fair-minded and patriotic South African who does not agree with me in this hope, this outlook, this aspiration for the future. It has been the traditional northward policy of South Africa, and it will influence our future as it has our past.

Deep resentment

This faith is my sin. The Prime Minister calls the British States to the north kafir States, whom to touch would be certain leprosy for South Africa. He must have been made aware by now of the deep resentment he has caused in the north, and the great injury which is being done to our interests by these wild statements, so he is now back-peddalling.

The two Rhodesias, although they follow the same native policy as the Cape, and although they, too, have a vast preponderance of native over white population, are not included in this ban from any future federation or alliance with us.

Well, let me tell him that I myself do not look upon our extension northwards beyond the Rhodesias as practical politics for our day and generation. I should be more than satisfied if I could see a fair linking up with the two Rhodesias in my time. The rest I leave to the future. But my policy of friendship and collaboration with the rest of British Africa remains unaffected, and I shall always look upon them as junior members of the family whom to befriend and support in our common task of civilisation would be both a duty and a privilege for the Union.

Besides this mare's nest, there is the other, that the policy of the South African Party is to give equal franchise rights to black and white alike throughout the Union.

This charge is just as baseless as the previous one of a black African policy. The equal franchise has never been the policy of the South African Party. No declaration has ever been made with any authority on behalf of the party.

Not the South African Party policy

Our party programme from 1911 onwards never gave the least indication of such a policy, and only last December our Bloemfontein programme laid down as the broad principles of our native policy that we respected existing rights, that we aimed at the improvement and better economic use of the existing reserves and locations, and at the extension of native local self-government in native areas. Not a word about equal franchise rights.

The natives do not claim them, and the whites certainly will not concede any such claim. The charge seems to be based on a declaration issued some weeks ago by the Archbishop of Cape Town, Sir James Rose-Innes, Professor Fremantle, Mr. Morris Alexander and others. They do not speak for the South African Party.

A week after Mr. Alexander had signed the declaration, the Prime Minister was supporting him in his candidature for Gardens at the Zionist Hall in Cape Town. It is the policy of Mr. Alexander, whom the Prime Minister so fervently backs, but it is not our native policy.

Anyone who anywhere in these election days says that the equal white and native franchise is our policy is stating what is false, and what he knows to be false.

To this I wish to add clearly that General Hertzog's proposed scheme of Parliamentary rights for the natives of the northern provinces will not receive the support of our party.

The coloured people

This statement of our native policy does not cover the coloured people. The existing Cape basis ought not to be tampered with so far as the coloured people are concerned. The rights conferred upon them by the South Africa Act should be respected.

As regards our native policy, it is contained in our Bloemfontein programme as just indicated. We believe in giving our natives justice and fairplay and reasonable scope for self-development. We do not believe in a policy of repression, which is certain to recoil on the whites. And, as regards political rights, we believe that in terms of the South Africa Act no policy is feasible or possible which is not carried by the general consent of all parties, and in which the natives are not fairly consulted.

The only way to make any progress is, therefore, to call a National Convention to deal with the matter by way of negotiation, understanding and agreement between parties and others interested. This course I advised at the Bloemfontein Congress. To me it is as clear as daylight that no other method will prove of any use in this connection.

I hope when we are returned to power that we shall have the co-operation of the other parties in exploring this question by means of such a convention, and I am more than hopeful that in that non-party atmosphere a workable solution will be found—for our time, at any rate, even if no permanent solution is possible on so grave and difficult an issue.

Balance of population

The natives themselves welcome and will respond to such a method of dealing with their status and other rights. In saying this, I wish to add that in my opinion the position will never be quite safe for European civilisation unless the balance of population is seriously redressed. Six million natives against one and three-quarter million whites is a brute fact which no laws or administration can get away from.

The only sane and safe policy is a well-regulated system for increasing the European population and altering the ratio of our white and native population.

Immigration has been the declared policy of the party since its foundation at Bloemfontein in 1911. I believe that a proper immigration policy spread over some generations will work wonders in this respect. But here again we are up against stubborn opposition from the other side. The figures can be redressed by a continuous policy of immigration.

The scare started by the former Director of Census that the natives were increasing at such a rate as to doom South Africa to being a black country in future has no substantial foundation. Senator Roberts has reviewed the census figures most carefully and minutely, and shown that the native birth-rate is rapidly slowing down and that the position is by no means alarming. If the white birth-rate were reinforced by a sound immigration system, the position would not only be eased, but might cease to inspire fear for our future.

Immigration

To my mind, a sound immigration policy is the real and permanent solution of the native question in that it will remove the fear which now lies heavily on our future. It is far preferable to the Prime Minister's hopeless policy. Money wisely and judiciously spent here would be the best investment this country could make to ensure its future, to develop its resources and to increase its inland markets.

THE PARTY'S ELECTION PROGRAMME

Votes for Women

Summarising briefly the main items in the election programme of the South African Party, General Smuts said the programme itself was formulated by the party at the Bloemfontein Congress last December, to which he referred his audience for further details. He would mention only the main points.

(1) Status in the Empire

As regards our national status within the British Commonwealth of Nations, we stand by it as it has been declared at the Imperial Conference and won for us by the loyal service and sacrifice of our brave sons. We rejoice that this status is now generally accepted and that the policy of secession from the Empire has been definitely abandoned.

(2) Preference within the Empire

We condemn the German Treaty as a breach with the settled policy of preference within the Empire and as an unnecessary menace to our best foreign market. Unless the Treaty is amended in this respect, we shall denounce it at the earliest opportunity. Any vote for the Pact will be a vote for the indefinite continuance of this Treaty, with all its dangers for our producers.

(3) Northern Policy

We stand by the northern policy as above indicated, which we hope will eventually lead to federation with the two Rhodesias and to co-operation and some loose form of linking up in the future with the other British States to the north.

(4) Women's enfranchisement

We stand for the enfranchisement of women. In view of the difficulties about native women at the Cape, I would favour leaving their rights over for settlement at the Convention along with the rights of native men, but this should not delay the grant of the franchise to our women as one of our first acts if we come into power. I note the Prime Minister at Benoni receded from his promise in Parliament to introduce such a measure in 1930. He now makes it dependent on the settlement first of the native questions at some future date. This is a pretty hopeless prospect for our women, and they had better expect nothing from either the Prime Minister or Colonel Creswell, or their parties, who have repeatedly betrayed this great cause.

(5) The Native Question

Our policy has been stated above.

(6) Asiatics

Our policy remains unaltered, and may be summarised as "no Asiatic immigration" and repatriation as fast as possible, and with no chance of return.

(7) The public and railway services

We stand for a clean service divorced from politics or tests of a political nature, and for a reformed public service commission. We guarantee existing pay and conditions and a fair inquiry into grievances. We oppose appointments from outside, except where professional or technical qualifications are required. The civilised labourers on the railways need have no fear of dismissal, and every effort will be made to improve their position on the grounds of efficiency.

(8) Social, wage and housing policies

We stand by the Conciliation Act as the real bulwark of industrial peace, which it has proved to be since it was passed by the South African Party Government in 1924. The Wage Act will be maintained, but will be restricted to unorganised or sweated industries for which it was passed, and will be fairly administered so as not merely to protect the highly skilled but also the semi-skilled worker. The difficulties which have arisen from the wage determinations for shop workers and hotel workers, as well as in other recent cases, show the necessity for a change in its administration. The same wage policy was pursued in Australia under the Arbitration Acts has been severely condemned by the recent British Commission of Inquiry as a potent source of industrial unrest and upheaval. The Wage Act has so scarcely begun to function, as many of the determinations have been upset by the law courts, but it may lead to the same trouble as in Australia unless its application is definitely restricted so as not to affect the organised trades. We also favour a vigorous prosecution of the national housing policy, which was first begun by us and has proved a priceless boon to the workers and to people with small incomes. The beneficial effect of decent housing for all classes cannot be over-estimated.

(9 and 10) Land and immigration

The policy of adequate advances for the purchase and improvement of land for approved South African and immigrant farmers alike has been stated. We favour an agreement with the British Government under the migration scheme, whereby their co-operation, financial and otherwise, will be enlisted. Water boring on farms will be cheapened and speeded up on a large scale, and the deplorable state of the cattle and tobacco industries will be vigorously dealt with.

(11) Mining policy

We condemn the provisions in the Mozambique agreement which curtail the labour supply from Mozambique by 25,000 men in five years, shorten the period of service, compel the repatriation of all Portuguese boys working on farms, and severely curtail trading by Mozambique boys on the Rand. It is our intention to move for the alteration of these provisions at the earliest opportunity. Inquiry should be made how best to prolong the life of the low grade mines on which the prosperity of the Rand is largely dependent, and every step should be taken to secure a continuance of the life. Prospecting and mining by the small man will be encouraged and made easier in every possible way. The diamond law should be amended so as to remove the undue restrictions on diggers' rights and owners' rights which were passed last year.

The position of the State diggings in Namaqualand calls for a thorough inquiry with a view to putting a stop to the grave abuses to which it has led. The Government has behaved with the greatest meanness. What action should be taken with regard to these diggings will depend on such an inquiry. The coal and oil fuel industry will receive, as it will deserve, our strongest support in view of its immense importance for this country.

(12 and 13) Protection and the cost of living

We stand for protection for local industries which legitimately call for support, but we are against State management and undue State interference, and prefer to encourage private initiative and enterprise. We also think that the cost of living should not be raised by such protection, but that the duties on unprotected articles not calling for protection should be lowered *pari passu* with the imposition of prospective duties.

This is mainly a farming and mining country, and to keep the cost of living low should be a matter of cardinal public policy. We condemn the policy of unnecessarily high customs duties, which may swell the revenue and create surpluses, but make life harder for the poor and the wage earners, and cripple the development of the country. We stand by the iron and steel industry, which has been the policy of the South African Party since Union.

(14) Railway policy

The South African Party considers the present position of our railway system unsatisfactory and favours a reconsideration of railway policy and railway rates in order better to prompt general development and give effect to the provisions of the South Africa Act in regard to management on business principles and the development of the Interior, and concurrently to make full economic use of motor transport.

(15) The Provincial Councils

The South African Party consider that the present elaborate and largely political provincial council system should be reviewed and careful inquiry made towards devising a more satisfactory form of local Government for the Union, provided that in no province shall the provincial council be abolished unless on a referendum vote of that province in favour of such abolition.

(16) Road policy

We favour a national road policy, with a proper fund which will co-ordinate with the provincial activities in regard to our national and main roads. We do not think the best results will be obtained by the present Government policy of occasional subventions to the provinces. There should be a co-ordinated policy for the Union as a whole, and the funds available from the motor and petrol taxes ought to be amply sufficient for the purpose.

(17 and 18) Science and natural resources

The practical application of science will make an enormous difference to our resources, and more than double the value of many districts. The botanical and veterinary divisions have done magnificent work, which has received world-wide praise. A great forward movement has become possible, and it is the intention of our party to make a start as soon as we get the opportunity.

At the same time, a determined effort will be made to prevent veld deterioration, to protect the sources of our rivers and our water supplies, and to make better economic use of our natural resources. To that policy our party stands pledged.

The drift towards waste and senseless destruction must be definitely arrested. South Africa and her natural resources should be treated, not as mere alien ground but as our mother, as something dear to us which we mean to foster and protect and cherish.

Young South Africa, pouring from the universities, has a new national consciousness, science has kindled in them a deeper reverence for all our natural things, and they are going to make use of their new knowledge for the conservation of a unique nature and for making her more fruitful and beautiful, and we mean to back this new attitude, this deeper scientific and aesthetic patriotism in every way.

Politics should not absorb all our attention, and our real devotion should be for the things that will improve and enrich and render beautiful our great natural heritage. We want to wed science to life, and from that union to create the new

South Africa we are seeking. No party can give a greater lead on this new road than the South African Party.

Concluding his speech, General Smuts said: 'I have explained to you the broad general standpoint which the S.A.P. takes up in the politics of our country. I have had to omit many details and minor points which will be dealt with on other occasions.

A greater South Africa

As against the narrowness and race or class sectionalism of our opponents we stand for the greater South Africa and for a wider nationalism which knows no distinction among our citizens. We seek to build this great Union on the foundations which General Botha laid and which has stood the test of time, on the comradeship and trust between the races, on loyalty and honour, and on a fair and just deal with the poor and rich alike and with white and black alike.

That is our tradition from the past and that is our vision for the future. That is the faith which inspires the S.A.P. and which we shall carry out in practice to the best of our ability. May these ideals win in the coming elections. The greater South Africa and wider nationalism. Let that be our slogan in the fight which we shall do our best to win.

Speech in Afrikaans

Having spoken for one and a half hours in English General Smuts repeated the principal points in Afrikaans. On resuming his seat he was again warmly applauded.

Replying to a question on the Language Act General Smuts said that the Act would probably be all right if it were administered fairly and not as an engine of oppression.

Colonel C.F. Stallard, chairman of the Witwatersrand Division of the South African Party, said that they had had that evening a great lead from a great man to whom they could look to pull them out of the slough of despond into which the country had fallen. The South African Party stood for giving a square deal to everyone.

It had been said that this was going to be the dirtiest election that had been fought. Let those who said it fight it that way. The South African Party would fight cleanly always. He hoped they would feel that they were going forward to a great victory and a great cause under the leadership of General Smuts.

Colonel Stallard then called for three cheers for General Smuts and Mrs. Smuts and these were given with great heartiness, and the meeting terminated in great good humour.

(News by J.M. Cuthbertson, 15, Church-square, Pretoria.)

Declaration of Policy

of the S.A. Party.

1.—THE UNION, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The S.A. Party stands for the maintenance of the Act of Union, and of Dominion Status as declared by Imperial Conferences and adopted by Parliament.

It stands for co-operation and the maintenance and extension of preferences within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It stands for the League of Nations and for international peace and goodwill.

2.—INTER-AFRICAN POLICY.

As many of the larger questions confronting the Union can best be solved in harmony with our African neighbours, the S.A. Party favours the policy of fostering special friendship and trade with other African States with a view to closer relations.

3.—FRANCHISE REFORM.

The S.A. Party stands for the enfranchisement of women.

4.—THE NATIVE QUESTION.

The S.A. Party stands for the treatment of all native questions on fair and just lines, for respecting existing rights, for the development and better use of native reserves, for the extension of native local self-government, and for the better regulation of town locations and of migration thereto.

5.—ASIATICS.

The S.A. Party favours the maintenance of restrictions on Asiatic immigration and of Government assistance for permanent repatriation.

6.—THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

The South African Party stands for clean and efficient government, and is whole-heartedly opposed to the policy of "jobs for pals," or any form of political discrimination in the Government services. It stands for the maintenance of the existing rights of public servants; it favours closer contact between the service organisations and the Public Service Commission, and is strongly opposed to appointments from outside the ranks of the services, except where special professional or technical qualifications are required.

7.—THE RAILWAY SERVICE.

The S.A. Party stands for the maintenance of the existing rights of railway servants of all grades and classes, for fair inquiry into and remedy of existing grievances, and for the improvement of conditions on grounds of efficiency. It is opposed to all conditions which tend to lower the civilised standard in Africa.

8. SOCIAL POLICY.

The S.A. Party stands for a policy of social justice for all classes; for the maintenance of old age pensions, and the adoption of unemployment and disability insurance, and for the maintenance of the Industrial Conciliation policy, an Act which it initiated.

For the restriction of the Wages Act to sweated and unorganised urban industries.

For a vigorous National Housing policy; and for extending opportunities of employment by means of technical, industrial and commercial education, coupled with industrial and agricultural expansion.

9.—LAND POLICY.

The S.A. Party stands for the active development of agricultural and irrigation resources of the Union, for a forward Land-Settlement Policy, valuation of settled lands on a fair and reasonable basis, and the rapid increase of farm ownership through State advances.

For a vigorous policy of extension and improving markets at home and abroad, for making farming more attractive, and for inter alia excluding permanent farm improvement from Income Tax.

10.—IMMIGRATION.

The S.A. Party favours a systematic immigration policy to strengthen the European population, providing for reduced passages, selection and training of settlers, and facilities for land purchase under the Settlement Acts.

11.—MINING POLICY.

The S.A. Party recognises mining as, after agriculture, our second great basic industry, supporting a large population, and making an outstanding contribution to general progress and public finance of the country. It favours measures tending to prolong the life of existing mines and to secure an adequate labour supply, the opening of new fields and the better organisation especially of alluvial mining and the removal of the legitimate grievances arising from the recent Diamond Legislation. It is in principle opposed to direct State exploitation of mines.

It favours the development of our vast coal and oil shale resources, not only by fostering the export trade, but also by assistance towards the manufacture of oil and other coal products.

12.—INDUSTRIAL POLICY.

The S.A. Party stands for a policy of protection, designed reasonably and fairly to foster South African industries by Customs Tariffs and otherwise.

It favours encouragement to private enterprise and initiative, and the carrying out of any necessary State supervision with the minimum amount of interference.

13.—COST OF LIVING.

Subject to the industrial policy as above formulated, the South African Party favours the reduction of the Customs Tariff and of taxation generally with a view to cheapening the cost of living.

14.—RAILWAY POLICY.

The S.A. Party considers the present position of our Railway System unsatisfactory and favours a reconsideration of railway policy and railway rates in order better to promote general development and give effect to the provisions of the S.A. Act in regard to management on business principles and the development of the interior, and concurrently to make full economic use of motor transport.

15.—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

The S.A. Party considers that the present elaborate and largely political Provincial Council system should be reviewed and careful inquiry made towards devising a more satisfactory form of local government for the Union, provided that in no Province shall the Provincial Council be abolished unless on a referendum vote of that Province in favour of such abolition.

16.—ROAD POLICY.

The S.A. Party favours a national road policy with a National Road Fund.

17.—SCIENTIFIC POLICY.

As the practical application of Science is essential to the proper development of the agricultural and other resources of the country, the S.A. Party favours a better organisation of our scientific services, as well as a comprehensive scheme of scientific research, which should be provided with ample funds for the purpose.

18.—NATURAL RESOURCES.

The S.A. Party stands for a policy of conserving and developing our natural land and marine resources, the protection of our river sources, and forest flora, the prevention of soil erosion, and for other measures leading to the better economic use of the soil of the Union.

THE NATIONAL PARTY'S VICTORY PROGRAMME

Prime Minister's Rousing Speech at Smithfield

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION

A Clear Course Set for the Country

ALTERNATIVE FOR THE ELECTORATE

Reactionary Do-Nothing Policy or Further Vigorous Developments

A ROUSING reception was given to the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog at Smithfield on Thursday when as is his custom in making important announcements he went to his constituents to proclaim his Party's programme for the General Election.

In a most eloquent speech, the full text of which follows General Hertzog painted a graphic picture of the state of the country when his Government took office in 1924, described the clean-up effected by the Pact, and showed how his Government had fulfilled every one of the promises he made in the same hall on the eve of the last election.

Finally he placed the choice before the country, a reversion to the reactionary regime of General Smuts, or the continuation of a further vigorous programme of agricultural and industrial development under a National Government.



GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG.

clamouring for attention, but which could not then be solved owing to the state of impotence into which that Government had fallen.

The declaration of our national independence; the creation of the National flag; the conclusion of the Mozambique Treaty; the restriction of the importation of slaughter cattle from Rhodesia,—all these are questions which under the Smuts-Government clamoured for a solution and clamoured in vain.

We know now how General Smuts, from once being a champion of the National Independence, and an advocate of a National flag, became the bitter enemy of both.

Impotence, born of Sap-Unionist dissension, has been the reason why the Smuts-Government could not decide to return to the gold-standard, why scab could not be eradicated, why it could not act with sufficient determination and efficiency in the matter of the extermination of the locusts.

And in every one of the many instances in which the Smuts-Government was paralysed, it was the Unionist policy which won the day and was eventually accepted as the policy of the S.A.P. It was so in the case of the flag; in the case of our independence; in the case of native questions, and so it is again at the present day in connection with the attempt to let white South Africa disappear in a Native State. The National South African Party man seems to fuse into the Unionist, hostile to everything that bears a truly South African national character.

(Continued on page 10.)

The National Party's Victory Programme

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POLICY OF THE PACT VINDICATED

General Hertzog said: Once more I have the privilege of appearing before you on the eve of the general election, not only with the object of again being favoured with your support, but also to render you an account of the stewardship entrusted to me as the leader of the National Party by the victory of 1924.

Five years ago, I appealed to the people to make a serious attempt to rid the country of the S.A.P.-Unionist Combine under General Smuts. That appeal met with a ready response and for the last five years the Government of the country has been entrusted to, and administered by, the National Party with the loyal assistance in the House of Assembly of the Labour Party. It is not without a feeling of satisfaction and pride that I give the people an account of every act of the Government because of the rich harvest of success which has crowned our endeavours in the service of our Fatherland.

Industrial Peace and Security

A feeling of social peace and contentment unknown under the Smuts Regime prevails everywhere to-day. Instead of the upheavals and violence of former years our industries, have been blessed during our period of office with undisturbed peace and prosperity. The terrible depression under which our people laboured until 1924 and which so nearly caused its ruin has given way to prosperity and happiness; where financial chaos and retrogression once reigned, there to-day we find sound policy and progress.

The liberty of our people is to-day placed on the unimpeachable basis of sovereign independence, and above our heads flutters the orange, white and blue as the unmistakable symbol of our free independent national existence—the free

flag of a free people. To-day we see around us a prosperous and happy South Africa, marching side by side with the free nations of the world unwavering in faith on the road to prosperity and greater development.

South Africa has risen to a position never before attained by her, which could not possibly have been attained by her under a S.A.P.-Unionist Government, owing to the inevitable divisions within that Party and the incompatibility of its elements which had no political principle other than the policy of *do nothing* and *laissez faire*.

Co-operation Follows Peace

The settlement of differences on the question of our status and independence has at the same time been a declaration of peace between Dutch and English speaking South Africa in our 100 years struggle for liberty. The necessary conditions have thus been created for a National South African consciousness, both races being imbued with the feeling that they are sons of one and the same fatherland. The solution of the status question has paved the way for that cordial co-operation which everybody to-day realises to be essential for the future prosperity and happiness of our beloved country.

A Study in Contrasts

In 1924 the finances of the country were in a deplorable state. The Treasury was empty; Budgets and deficits were synonymous terms. Revenue, which by law had to be used for debt redemption was misappropriated for defraying current expenditure. The various pension funds had been brought to a state of bankruptcy. The entire financial policy of the Government as well as the financial expedients of the Minister, displayed such a primitive lack of judgment, and were indicative of such rank incompetence and ignorance that it is not surprising that up to the present not a single electoral division of the South African Party has opened its doors to the former Minister of Finance of the Smuts-Government. And this is a distinction which Mr. Burton shares with many another of General Smuts' colleagues of 1924! (laughter)

The finances of the Union in 1924 was in a condition which not only gave rise to the gravest misgivings but seriously threatened the welfare of our industrial life.

Farming Handicapped

Consider also the condition of the farming industry when we came into power. This disastrous embargo on the export of gold was still in force. Incalculable harm, the extent of which can never be computed was thereby done to the farmers of South Africa. The impotence as well as the ineptitude of the Smuts-Government is nowhere more clearly evidenced than by the enforcement of such a deadly measure to the farmer long after the absence of its necessity must have been apparent to Ministers.

Its abolition by the National Government within a year after their coming into power in the teeth of S.A.P. opposition has been one of the greatest boons ever conferred by any Government upon South Africa.

Excessive Taxation

You will perhaps remember that in 1920 I warned you from this platform against the apparent financial revival which had then set in, and how that false prosperity and speculation, encouraged largely by the ill-considered utterances of Ministers, resulted in a boom in landed property, which finally landed numerous farmers in the bankruptcy court. As if all this was not a sufficiently heavy burden on the farming

community, the S.A.P. Government, threatened the farmer with a land-tax for the education of his children.

On top of all this came a tobacco-tax, so detrimental in its effects that it ruined the tobacco industry in many parts of the Transvaal and the Cape, and practically put a stop to development in large areas of the country. Similarly we found the cattle-industry in a state of depression and decline.

As regards our industries the Smuts-Government followed a policy calculated to sacrifice industrial interests to those of the wholesale merchants and importers.

The extent to which this *laissez faire* policy was responsible for the general backwardness of our industrial development, becomes abundantly clear when we consider the rapid progress and development which have since 1924 resulted from the determined policy of industrial protection adopted by the present Government.

The Do Nothing Policy

This policy of "let-things-develop" was the immediate cause of the disaster which befell South Africa in 1922. I refer to the strike on the Mines ending in violence and the crackle of machine guns.

Until 1924, when the present Government came into power, none but the most half-hearted attempts had ever been made, either in the interest of the industrial workers, or for the development of urban industries to ensure their permanent existence in South Africa. The result was that in 1924, with the exception of the Mining industry, we found industrial life languishing, and an industrial labour community in which, on the Mines as elsewhere, the feeling of neglect and disregard by the Government, had already fostered such a bitter spirit of antagonism that General Smuts on three separate occasions endeavoured to suppress it by force of arms.

Unemployment General

For the proper realisation of the situation as we found it in 1924, it is necessary to remind you of the large numbers of unemployed . . . the so-called poor whites—that were left to us as the heritage of the Smuts-Government. Nowhere did the impotence of that Government with its policy of *laissez-faire* bear such bitter fruit. Through the failure of the Smuts-Government to intervene at the right moment and bring about a peaceful solution, the 1922 strike came to a sanguinary end which cost the State millions in money and caused the number of unemployed to increase by thousands.

No more convincing proof of how thoroughly impotent the Smuts-Government became through the Sap-Unionist fusion in 1921, and the reponderant influence which the Unionist element began to exercise in that Government, is to be found than the rapid change which took place in connection with the employment of civilised labour on the Railways, after the appointment of Mr. J.W. Jagger as Minister.

Civilised Labour

In the days of the old incorrupt S.A.P. Government—before the fusion of the S.A.P. and Unionist Party—white labour on the Railways, both skilled and unskilled, was not only the rule, but was the fixed policy of the Government during my period of service under General Botha.

When we took office in 1924, there were about 7,000 jobs, which formerly had been filled by whites, filled by natives, with a consequent increase, of course, of about 30,000 unemployed poor whites in the Union.

The question naturally arises where were the old S.A.P.

Ministers in the Sap-Unionist Government when the claim of the white labourer to a livelihood on the Railways of the white man was so ignominiously slighted? Where were General Smuts and his Transvaal colleagues? Where were his former S.A.P. Ministers? Where were the old S.A.P. members of Parliament? (Cheers)

Stricken by impotence and out-generated by the Unionist element in Cabinet and Party, there was for them only one way out of the difficulty, and that was to dance to the tune of the Unionists and stick to the policy *laissez-faire*.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that when in 1924 the elections were in progress, there were in our country, according to the official returns, no less than from 150,000 to 170,000 unemployed whites.

The Act of Despair

The Smuts-Government itself had, weakened to such an extent that for a couple of years prior to the dissolution of Parliament, the only acts of Government were those necessary to carry on the ordinary administration of the country. It is no secret that General Smuts' appeal to the people in 1924, about eighteen months before the time required by law, was nothing but an act of despair to which the Smuts-Government was driven by their condition of absolute impotence.

PACT PLEDGES

How they have been redeemed

The Prime Minister proceeded to recall the programme he placed before the people on the eve of the last election, and refuted the charge that his Government had failed to redeem its pledges as stated by the Opposition Leader.

Not a single one of the problems, enumerated by me in the election programme of the National Party of 1924, (stated general Hertzog) can be mentioned that has not faithfully been tackled and with the sole exception of the Native problem, has been given effect to.

Take the endeavours of the Government to foster the development of agriculture. The Department of Agriculture, with a view to greater efficiency has been reorganised. Locusts have been exterminated. Cattle-farmers have been helped by the eradication of the East Coast Fever and by a partial embargo on the importation of cattle from outside the Union. Scab has been almost completely eradicated and the quality of our wool improved. The fruit-farmer has been assisted by the reorganisation of our fruit-export and the farmers generally by better cold-storage facilities and the new shipping contract, which enable them to market their products much more cheaply. The ridiculous S.A.P. Tobacco tax has been abolished, and further relief has been given by reducing customs duties on farm implements, and again quite recently by special income-tax rebates.

In addition large sums of money have been voted for drought distress relief, while both the Department of Lands and the Department of Irrigation have granted more favourable terms to settlers and farmers. Everywhere the farmer is met with the most sympathetic treatment. Farm telephone lines have been constructed, motor road services begun; railway tariffs for the products of the farmer have been considerably reduced.

Development of Industries

What the policy of the present Government has already accomplished for the development of our own industries may be gathered from the speeches of the Chairmen of the Chambers of Industries throughout the country.

In his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in April, 1928, Mr. Seals Wood, the former President of the South African Federated Chambers of Industries, testified:—

“I would like to take this opportunity of saying that in my recent Presidential tour of South Africa I was amazed at the progress made in the manufacturing industries of the country.”

The big boot and shoe factories which in 1924 were in a languishing condition, have taken a new lease of life. At the Cape and in the north blanket factories are being started, while in Port Elizabeth the motor industry flourishes. Notwithstanding the furious opposition of the S.A.P. a start has been made with the great steel and iron key industry, on which many subsidiary industries (such as those for the manufacture of wire, galvanised iron and steel plates, fence poles and droppers, piping and all sorts of agricultural implements and machinery) will inevitably follow.

The diamond cutting industry, where many South African youths will be apprenticed is in full swing. The saying “Practice is better than precept” applies here also. De Beers Company are also following the good example set them by the Government by establishing similar diamond cutting factories.

Progress smiles at us from every corner. From all parts of the country we hear of new industries of fresh developments, and to this revival of our industries the national prosperity that we are enjoying to-day is largely due.

Openings for Europeans

The existence of the European and the continuance of our European civilisation in South Africa are assured by the Government, not only by its Native policy and its policy of protection, but also by often making industrial protection subject to the employment of a reasonable proportion of civilised labour in the industries concerned.

In no sphere has the policy of the National Government had a more salutary effect in the interest of all sections of the community than in financial control. Finance is the driving power of a nation. Unhealthy finance has a paralysing effect on the whole of the community. Fortunately for us our financial position is to-day exceptionally sound. The ever recurring deficits, which had become chronic under the S.A.P. Regime, have given way to annual surpluses, while our unproductive debt has in the course of the last 5 years been reduced by £20,000,000. This has strengthened our national credit and general confidence in S. Africa created. Instead of frightening away capital thus, as General Smuts predicted, we attract it. (Cheers.)

£2,000,000 Less Direct Taxes

As promised, too, our system of taxation has been thoroughly revised and reformed. The stupid tobacco tax of the Smuts-Government has been abolished and the same has been done in the case of the quack tax on patent medicines.

With regard to the income-tax also great changes have been wrought. In 1925 the rebate in respect of children was increased from £50 to £60, and in 1929 still further to £75; at the same time the age limit was raised from 18 to 21. This beneficial relief will be of very great assistance to large families. In 1926 the rebate in respect of married people was increased from £300 to £400, while in 1928 and 1929 income-tax was reduced all round by a 20 per cent cut which the Minister of Finance now hopes to make permanent. Further reductions of taxes have been made by the return to the

penny postage, by the increase exemption increase on estate duties, and by placing our customs tariffs on a more scientific basis—by which means relief has principally been given to the less wealthy sections of our population. The people of South Africa to-day enjoy an annual reduction of taxes of more than £2,000,000.

State Bank Enquiry

The enquiry promised into the desirability of the establishment of a State Bank was made in 1925, and was held by two experts of world repute—namely Professors Kemmerer and Dr. Vissering. Their advice has been followed.

As regards the Native question, the Government made every endeavour to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem. That we have not yet succeeded in doing so must be attributed to the state of powerlessness to which General Smuts even in opposition is reduced by his S.A.P.-Unionist policy. Once again has the Cape Unionist element in the S.A.P. triumphed over General Smuts and his old S.A.P. supporters from the North.

Leaving aside the Native question therefore, there is not a single promise made at the elections of 1924 by or on behalf of the National Party, which has not been given effect in the letter and the spirit.

The present Government has in fact done more than it had undertaken to do, because it was obliged to straighten out so much of the muddle left behind by the S.A.P. Government, and because it had to find solutions for many a question which under the Smuts-Government had been clamouring for attention, but which could not then be solved owing to the state of impotence into which that Government had fallen.

The declaration of our national independence; the creation of the National flag; the conclusion of the Mozambique Treaty; the restriction of the importation of slaughter cattle from Rhodesia—all these are questions which under the Smuts-Government clamoured for a solution and clamoured in vain.

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And in every one of the many instances in which the Smuts-Government was paralysed, it was the Unionist policy which won the day and was eventually accepted as the policy of the S.A.P. It was so in the case of the flag; in the case of our independence; in the case of native questions, and so it is again at the present day in connection with the attempt to let white South Africa disappear in a Native State. The National South African Party man seems to fuse into the Unionist, hostile to everything that bears a truly South African national character.

A FRESH MANDATE

Programme on which people must choose

Having dealt exhaustively with the past record of the Government, the Prime Minister went on to outline the Party's programme for the future on which the Government appeals to the country for a fresh mandate. But first he warned his audience of the dangers of a reactionary policy if the Smuts

regime got back, the undoing of all the constructive work and the reversion to the do-nothing-policy.

Steel Industry in Pretoria

If (he went on) the sympathetic care and protection of the National Government were to be withdrawn to-day from our industries, what would become of our iron and steel enterprise? Could anything more fatal to the development of this industry be imagined? Not only would the attempt which is now being made to erect the necessary works be nipped in the bud, but we may be sure that for years to come there would be no thought of establishing an industry like this in South Africa.

General Smuts recently toured the land inciting the public against the Wage Act—something that he would have removed from the Statutes as soon as he should return to power. Instead of in a reasonable manner trying, with the assistance of the Wage Board, to obtain a fair application of that Act, and so safeguard our industrial life from the evils of the sweating system, the Smuts-Government, we are told, will, even before there has been a possibility of placing the industrial existence of the son and daughter of South Africa on a firm and sound basis, expose them once again to exploitation by unscrupulous employers; and so once again pollute our industrial life with industrial unrest and violence.

Present Policy must go on

It must be clear to everyone that circumstances to-day imperatively require that the industrial policy of the present Government be continued on the basis on which it is carried on to-day, and that our endeavours to check unemployment as much as possible by means of civilised labour, be maintained.

The same applies to the Nationalist policy concerning the development of agriculture and stock farming. Sympathetic assistance and support will have to be continued, but that which now more than ever before should engage the serious attention of the Government, is how to provide by means of Government aid, such precautionary measures as will enable the farmer to cope with the ever recurring droughts and thus protect him against the ruin which under the conditions at present obtaining must inevitably be his fate.

The farming industry is not only the corner-stone, it is the very foundation of our existence, both now and for the future; and upon the strength and healthy condition of the farming industry, depends the vitality and health of our national existence, whether social, industrial or political.

To ensure that our farming industry shall enjoy that vitality and health, will demand the constant watchfulness of both the farmer and the Government; and it will be the duty of the Government, where necessary, to give guidance and assist the farmer without flinching.

Power from Coal

What South Africa to-day is anxious to achieve is development. That development is dependent on power. The mines, industries and farming; all are ready with a forward movement to respond to the call of science, so soon as the sources of power to-day concealed in the two hundred thousand million pounds (200,000,000,000) of coal deposits in South Africa shall be unlocked by her.

It is the duty of the Government to assist to the fullest extent in the unlocking of those sources of power. For the purpose of research the Government has already allocated the sum of £30,000. But it will be the duty of the future Government to make every attempt possible to attain the desired end.

One of the first duties resting on the future Government will be to try and increase the areas of irrigable land in every part of the Union.

It should be the unwavering endeavour of the Government of the country to see that South Africa be not dependent on any other country for the vital needs of her population. This can only be arrived at by a determined and systematic application to the task of extending and increasing our irrigation works.

The Victory Programme

The programme which the National Party intends to give effect to in the event of victory at the forthcoming elections, may, therefore, be summarised as follows:

1. Continuation of agricultural development along the lines followed up to the present, with a view to—
 - (a) improvement of our herds and flocks;
 - (b) increased fertility of the soil;
 - (c) increase of the carrying capacity of the land.
2. Stabilisation of the farming industry by granting the necessary funds for loans to farmers at a low rate of interest and on reasonable terms for improvements, such as boreholes, etc.
3. The continuance and further extension of the National Policy of protection for National industries, combined with the employment of civilised labour in such industries.
4. The principle of civilised labour on the Railways and elsewhere in State enterprise, to be maintained.
5. The application of part of the proceeds of the State diamond diggings in Namaqualand to the erection of irrigation and other works which will improve the productivity of the soil and increase the security of the farming industry.
6. An energetic forward policy of development of the country by means of road construction through the Provincial Councils assisted thereto by the Central Government.
8. Ensuring South Africa's future as a White man's land with the civilisation of the white man.
9. Rejection of the doctrine of the S.A.P. as proclaimed by General Smuts at Ermelo, of the incorporation or federation of the Union of South Africa with the British Native territories of East and North East Africa.
10. Solution of our native problem along the lines of political and territorial segregation as indicated in the bills introduced by me in Parliament.

NATIVE PROBLEMS

Menace to European civilisation

In conclusion the Prime Minister dealt briefly with the fate of his Native Bills and the future of native policy of the soundness of which he was more than ever convinced. He was not prepared to retreat or change a single idea or proposal as outlined in his previous declaration of policy on the same platform four years ago. On the contrary, he proceeded:

The facts which have since that time been brought to my notice, as well as the developments which have since the time taken place, have only strengthened me in the conviction that a solution of the native problem along the lines advocated by me from this platform in 1925, and as recently again submitted to Parliament, is an imperative necessity if we are indeed determined that South Africa shall remain a white man's land.

In discussing this matter when I lay stress on the interests of the white man then, I again repeat, this is not done because I wish to disregard the interests of the native, or because I consider them of less importance than of those of the white man, but only because I am so deeply convinced that for the proper care of the interests of the natives there is no better way than to guarantee to the European that South Africa shall ever remain the heritage of his posterity, safe with his European civilisation unendangered by the native and his vote.

The Selfish Politician

However much the selfish politician, with an eye on the ballot box, may try to hide it, and the shortsighted negrophilist may close his eyes to it; whatever the un-South African jingo, with nothing more than a transitory interest in South Africa and her fate, may say, in the minds of the South African people, who regard South Africa as their true and only fatherland—their country and that of their children—there is a strong feeling of anxiety and fear in view of the doctrine of franchise equality for white and black. In that doctrine every true South African sees, and rightly so, existence of his people endangered and threatened, the end of the white man in South Africa.

South Africans have every reason to be concerned. The measure of support which has recently been extended to the doctrine of native equality by the S.A.P. members and leaders in the House of Assembly, cannot but fill every one of us, who still feel for South Africa as a white man's land, with a feeling of anxiety and fear for the future.

In the Cape Province that franchise equality is not merely a doctrine; it is a fact. For the sake of the political advantages which the S.A.P. derives from the right of the native to vote on a footing of equality with the European the S.A.P. members of the Cape are not only strong supporters of that equality for the Cape Province, but they are also the advocates of the doctrine of franchise equality between black and white throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

Faced with Tragedy

I therefore feel compelled to-night to reiterate what I said to you in 1925, that unless the native vote be separated from that of the white man, the Cape Native vote will be the cause of the greatest tragedy in the history of South Africa.

General Smuts's speech at Ermelo, together with the discussion thereon in the House of Assembly, are more than a passing indication to us; it is the proof of what is passing in the minds of the S.A.P. and what the intentions of their leaders are with reference to South Africa as a white man's country. What was advocated by General Smuts and his supporters is in harmony with what one may expect from the protagonists of equal rights for black and white. Only men in favour of such a doctrine can with equanimity look forward to the day when South Africa, as part of the Native territories to the North and North-east of us, shall relinquish her independent existence. Only men to whom South Africa as a white man's country has ceased to have any meaning, can plead such a cause.

The Ermelo Doctrine

To the son of South Africa who feels for South Africa as a white man's land, the speech at Ermelo must have come as a tremendous shock. The anxiety and concern of the white man for his future and his posterity has been very considerably heightened by that speech and what was revealed afterwards during the discussions thereon in the House of Assembly.

The veil has thereby been sufficiently lifted to convince us that the leaders of the S.A.P., General Smuts included, follow a policy that must inevitably result in the downfall of S. Africa as a white man's land.

How unquestionably correct I am in making this assertion, is evidenced by the leading article of the Cape Times of the 8th March last. In that leading article we are told that in the said native territories, with which according to General Smuts, and his Unionist friends, we should eventually form one united whole,

“there will be followed a policy which is fundamentally opposed to the policy advocated by Genl. Hertzog and the National Party,”

that is to say, that there will be followed the policy that the interests of the native shall be predominate over those of the white man's and that where there is conflict of interests between the native and the white population, preference should be given to the interests of the natives.

And in this strain the Cape Times continues to commend to us the policy of native supremacy as one which should be adopted by us in S. Africa.

That policy, laid down by the British Government for the native territories, the Cape Times wishes to hold up to us as:

“convincing proof that the policy of suppression of the Nationalists is entirely out of touch with modern ways of thinking: they will have to reckon with a determined opposition not only from the side of Latin (i.e. French, Belgian and Portuguese) Africa, but also from the side of British Africa”.

Here we see how the principal organ of the S.A.P. in the Cape openly and unashamed not only recommends the policy of *Africa for the Native* for us in South Africa as the policy embodying *the best movement of modern thought*; but actually has the temerity of threatening us, that if we do not accept that policy, British Africa, i.e. those native territories, will force us to do so. This is where Genl. Smuts and his Unionists are leading us.

Rhodesia's Protest

Let me here explain that I have never yet thought of including Rhodesia, either South or Northern Rhodesia, in my protest against the policy of Genl. Smuts as enunciated by him at Ermelo.

General Smuts now tries to make it appear that I am adverse to the cementing of friendly relations with the British territories of North and East Africa. That is absolute nonsense, by which General Smuts tries to mislead the people. The present Government has always advocated that we, as a people, must try and maintain the closest links of friendship and co-operation with those territories. The thing against which I and my National friends protest however, is that S. Africa, as a State, should ever allow itself to be united, either by way of federation or unification, to those territories, which will never be anything else than Native territories.

To show you how absolutely right I am in condemning the Native State-policy of General Smuts and his partisans, I would like to quote to you here the words of Professor Toynbee of the University of London regarding that kind of policy. In a book recently published by him, he says, speaking of South Africa in relation to the natives:

“It is possible that the Union might decide to restrict its area to territories which are capable of being made into a ‘white man's land’ and might make it a permanent aim to keep the proportion of whites to blacks in the population as high as possible—even if it were recognised that the policy of segregation could never

be carried to the logical conclusion of shaping the Union into a wholly white enclave in a black continent. On the other hand if the original Union of four provinces in South Africa followed the example of the original union of thirteen states of North America by expanding into the interior of the continent, it might grow into a vast federal state extending from the Cape to the Equator—an African counterpart of Brazil in the Southern Hemisphere and of India in the Northern.

“If *that* proved to be the South Africans’ destiny, they would almost certainly have to pay for it, sooner or later, by the sacrifice of the “White South Africa” ideal; and in that event it would make little practical difference in the long run whether, like the Hindus, they set up the institution of caste as a monument to a desperate attempt to resist miscegenation or whether,

like the Brazilians, they joyfully abandoned themselves to the cult of the Goddess Pammixia.”

Professor Toynbee is not dependent upon the native vote and therefore sees only too clearly where a policy such as the one advocated by General Smuts at Ermelo would end for us to wit:

the sacrifice of our ideal of a White South Africa.

This policy must not be allowed to triumph. It is the bounden duty of the Africander—both Dutch and English speaking—to prevent this. And it is to prevent such a calamity that I have come here to-night to appeal to the people, to every son and daughter of South Africa, in the coming elections to support the National Party in its attempt to make South Africa safe as a white man’s land. (loud and prolonged cheering).

MANIFESTO BY LEADERS OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

The following is the text of the Minister's manifesto:

We issue this protest not merely as leaders of three of the four Provincial sections of the Nationalist Party; nor do we address it merely to adherents of our party or to those whom we would wish to convert to adherence. The issue here involved, as recently raised by General Smuts at Ermelo, is greater than any and all party interests.

What is at stake is the continued existence of the dominion of the white man and his civilisation in South Africa. It endures the question whether the people of South Africa shall peacefully stand up and watch South Africa being wiped off the map as General Smuts desires, in order to be dissolved into a huge Kafir State stretching from the Cape to the Sudan.

The issue is, therefore, greater than that of the other pressing, or even persistent, economic problem. It is even greater than the differences between the one white race and the other, which form part to this day of our political life and, happily, to a less and less extent, of our social life.

AN EARNEST APPEAL.

We are, therefore, to appeal, with all the earnestness of which we are capable, to every citizen, English-speaking or Dutch-speaking, whatever his political inclinations or personal convictions may be, to unite with ours all his weight and influence, and, with all the earnestness of which he is capable, to join us in protesting against the new policy which is now advocated in the name of the S.A. Party by its leader.

We refer to the speech made by General Smuts at Ermelo on the 17th inst. The speech is so extravagant that we should have preferred to pass it by in silence as an irresponsible utterance. But there is a deadly coldness of deliberation and intent in the phrasing; it is put forward as an announcement of the policy upon which one of our great political parties will seek the support of the electorate at the general election that is at hand, and it is so close upon the Congress at which that party had this same problem under serious consideration.

ERMELLO SPEECH QUOTED.

When General Smuts here speaks, it is as if he was personally present in the first person in involved matters. "The day will surely come when we shall not think of South Africa as a European only, but when the British States in Africa will become members of a GREAT AFRICAN DOMINION stretching from the Cape throughout Africa."

"It is a simple matter," he stated, "to give a hint at the end, it works out, not in terms of trickery, or the mere art of shrewdness, but in terms of truth. THIS IS THE ARTICLE OF FAITH OF THE S.A.P. WE SHALL be a member of the African States, and SHALL LOOK FOR A UNITED BRITISH AFRICA THAT IS THE CARDINAL POINT IN MY POLICY." When the South African Party comes into power, it will do its best to foster the spirit of co-operation between the white and the black. THIS GREAT

AFRICAN FEDERATION OF STATES. THE TERM SOUTH AFRICA WILL SURELY ONE DAY BE DROPPED from our national vocabulary, and THERE WILL BE A UNITED BRITISH AFRICA which will find the solution of our pressing problems as easy matter."

Against the doctrine here preached by General Smuts we feel ourselves constrained to record our protest in the clearest terms in the name of white South Africa.

PRINCIPAL OF EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

IMPLICATION OF GEN. SMUTS' SPEECH

It is evident that General Smuts is here bidding farewell to South Africa as a white man's country. That is why he affirms it to be "the cardinal point of his policy" that South Africa shall form part of a country embracing the Kafir territories in the North up to the Sudan, and why he goes so far as to declare that that policy is an article of faith of the South African Party—a faith which, according to him, that party is determined to carry into realization as soon as it once more comes into power.

So intensely is General Smuts assured of that cardinal point in his policy, that new article of faith of his Party, that he already foretells the day when even the name of South Africa will vanish like smoke upon the altar of the Kafir State he so ardently desires.

Why Gen. Smuts reforms of the franchise in connection with the problem of the white man in the Cape is involved, must now be made to everybody. The man who puts himself forward as the saviour of a black Kafir State, of which South Africa is to form a subordinate constituent part that she will know her own name no more, cannot possibly hold another doctrine than that of equal political rights for all—Kafir and white men everywhere on an equal footing.

It must be clear to everyone that no leader of any party whatever that aims at such an object as has now been expressly and unequivocally announced by General Smuts, can co-operate in an endeavour, such as we are putting forth, to make South Africa safe for the white man. The path we are here pursuing can by no possibility be the path for General Smuts, and he himself insists that it cannot be.

CHOICE OF TWO WAYS.

Agreement and co-operation must therefore, necessarily be excluded, and what remains for the white population of South Africa is no other than a choice of one of two ways, one of which seeks a solution of preservation, while the other holds out a sure and certain abyss as its final destination.

The country is now called upon to declare which of these ways shall be followed.

The white man in South Africa, the white woman and the white child, are entitled to know whether South Africa is destined to be a white man's country or a Kafir land?

The answer must depend upon whether the white man is still animated by the spirit of the pioneer and the Voortrekker, or by that of the political "smuts."

But, whatever may be the answer, each one of us is entitled to demand that the answer shall be decisive, so that he may know what it is that awaits him and his children. If South Africa must really be handed over to the native, then let the white man know it, in order that we may prepare ourselves by the needful measures of safety, even though it means seeking a home elsewhere.

"A HUGE KAFIR STATE."

That upon adoption of the policy recommended by General Smuts, South Africa must inevitably be handed over to the Kafir, and that the new British Dominion will be nothing else than a huge Kafir State, extending from the Cape to Egypt, requires no lengthy demonstration. Let us merely point to a few figures taken from the most recent authoritative returns.

The Union comprises an area of 473,347 square miles, and the British possessions with which South Africa is to be incorporated, namely, South and North Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, a total area of 1,167,644 square miles. The European population of the Union amounts to 1,800,000. The British possessions mentioned contain in the total a European population of only 64,000, with a native population of no less than 13,120,000.

Assuming the best available figures, therefore, the increase of whites by the proposed addition of territory would be 64,000, so that we would number 1,864,000, while the native population would be 13,184,000.

And when we consider that the problem of 6,000,000 natives, now, given to set the white man much as to co-operate for that purpose, it will be an easy task, Gen. Smuts promises us, to solve the problem of 20,000,000, dispersed over the enormous distances of the continent. And that solution will have to serve further than merely for today. It will have to make provision for the doubling and quadrupling of those appalling figures in the course of not many generations; that is to say, in the lifetime of our children and children's children that are to come, when we shall have trained and civilised those millions of natives for economic, social and political competition.

IMPERIAL POLICY IN AFRICA.

"INTERESTS OF NATIVES MUST BE PARAMOUNT."

But there is further proof than is afforded by figures to show us how effectually South Africa must be submerged in a Kafir ocean if the policy of Gen. Smuts be adopted. In his opening speech to the Legislative Council at Dar-es-Salaam, held on January 11, 1928, the Governor of Tanganyika found it necessary to insist on what was laid down by the British Government a few years before in a White Paper dealing with the administration of Kenya.

"Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that it, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict the former should prevail."

With the principles here laid down the Hilton Young Report expresses its "complete agreement," the Commission being "convinced not only of their justice, but of their expediency."

In all the territories, therefore, with which South Africa is to be incorporated, the native has been assured that the country is in the first place HIS, that HIS interests there will be predominant, and that where they conflict with those of the white man they shall prevail over those of the white man.

After this, who will dare to be so presumptuous as to say that the British Dominion General Smuts desires after will be a white man's land and not a Kafir State?

And who after this will still expect from General Smuts or from the South African Party that they will join hands with the Nationalist Party to ensure the safety of the white man and his civilisation in South Africa?

It may be said that that scheme of General Smuts will not be carried into execution, even if the South African Party should again, and no matter for how long, come into power—that no party in South Africa will follow its leader on such a course to such a goal. It is not for us to speculate as to what extreme financial smuts will have to undergo before the ultimate remnant of his party repudiates him.

AN UNPATRIOTIC SPIRIT.

But, whether such a wishship be followed out or not, the scheme is to be an expression of the spirit in which the white man is approached by the native, and the spirit in which the native is approached by the white man.

Such a spirit does not afford evidence of a sense of the kind of patriotism and national fidelity which in every other country and by every other people in the world are esteemed to be the primary, elementary and instinctive duty of the citizen, but is evidence of a conception, as the highest ideal, of the sort of national life and inspiration that is to be looked for in a united British black South Africa.

And with that we conclude. This is not the place for even a summary of the peril with which we are threatened in the name of a party which was for years at the helm of our affairs and now seeks to get back there.

Our absorption by Kafirism is cold-bloodedly proposed. Our national pride, our patriotism, the honour we have to uphold as our heritage from the glorious history of our past, in which the protection and civilisation of the natives themselves, as well as our own maintenance and advancement, were brought about in a manner without parallel amongst the pioneer peoples of the world—all this is to be scrapped, as the name of our beloved South Africa is to be blotted out from our national vocabulary.

But we agree with General Smuts that in the long run politics does not work out "in terms of trickery and chicanery."

(Signed) J. B. M. HERZOG.

T. J. ROOS.

D. F. MALAN.

Cape Town, January, 1929.

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What is at stake is the continued existence or the downfall of the white man and his civilisation in South Africa. It embraces the question whether the people of South Africa shall passively stand by and watch South Africa being wiped off the map, as General Smuts desires, in order to be dissolved into a huge Kafir State stretching from the Cape to the Soudan.

The issue is, therefore, greater than this or the other passing, or even persisting, economic problem. It is even greater than the differences between the one white race and the other, which from time to time disturb our political life and, happily, to a less and less extent, our social life.

AN EARNEST APPEAL

We are entitled, therefore, to appeal, with all the earnestness of which we are capable, to every citizen, English-speaking or Dutch-speaking, whatever his political inclinations or rooted convictions may be, to unite with ours all his weight and influence, and, with all the earnestness of which he is capable, to join us in protesting against the new policy that is now announced in the name of the S.A. Party by its leader.

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ERMELO SPEECH QUOTED

We will let General Smuts here speak for himself as he was verbally reported in the first person in inverted commas: "The day will surely come when we shall not think of south of the Limpopo only, but when the British States in Africa will all become members of a GREAT AFRICAN DOMINION stretching unbroken throughout Africa.

"Politics is a simple affair," resumed General Smuts after a burst of applause. "In the end, it works out, not in terms of trickery, or chicanery, or of slimness, but it is a matter of faith. THIS IS THE ARTICLE OF FAITH OF THE S.A.P. WE SHALL be a friend of our fellow African States, and SHALL LOOK FOR A UNITED BRITISH AFRICA. THAT IS THE CARDINAL POINT IN MY POLICY. When the South African Party comes into power again it will do its best to foster that spirit of co-operation and brotherliness which will in the end lead to THIS GREAT AFRICAN FEDERATION OF STATES. THE TERM SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE SURELY ONE DAY BE

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So intensely is General Smuts enamoured of that cardinal point in his policy, that new article of faith of his Party, that he already foretells the day when even the name of South Africa will vanish in smoke upon the altar of the Kafir State he so ardently desires.

Why Gen. Smuts refuses all co-operation in connection with the native problem where a change in the native franchise in the Cape is involved, must now be obvious to everybody. The man who puts himself forward as the apostle of a black Kaffir State of which South Africa is to form so subordinate a constituent part that she will know her own name no more, cannot possibly hold another doctrine than that of equal political rights for all—Kaffir and white men everywhere on an equal footing.

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Assuming the latest available figures, therefore, the increase of whites by the proposed addition of territory would be 64,000 so that we would number 1,864,000 while the number of natives would be more than trebled.

And while now already we find it such a difficulty to solve, the problem of 6,000,000 natives, nay, even to get the whites so much as to co-operate for that purpose, it will be an easy task, Gen. Smuts promises us, to solve the problem of 20,000,000, dispersed over the enormous distances of the continent. And that solution will have to serve further than merely for to-day. It will have to make provision for the doubling and quadrupling of those appalling figures in the course of not many generations; that is to say, in the lifetime of our children and children's children that are to come, when we shall have trained and civilised those millions of natives for economic, social and political competition.

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It may be said that that scheme of General Smuts will not be carried into execution, even if the South African Party should again, and no matter for how long, come into power—that no party in South Africa will follow its leader on such a course to such a goal. It is not for us to speculate as to what extremes General Smuts will have to exceed before the ultimate remnant of his party repudiates him.

An unpatriotic spirit

But, whether such leadership be followed out or not, the scheme itself is an expression of the spirit in which the leader has approached the problem, and of the sort of policy and principle according to which he will seek for a solution however far the solution may fall short of the original design.

Such a spirit does not afford evidence of a sense of the kind of patriotism and national fidelity which in every other country and by every other people in the world are esteemed to be the primary, elementary and instinctive duty of the citizen, but is evidence of a conception, as the highest ideal, of the sort of national life and inspiration that is to be looked for in a united British black South Africa.

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South African LABOUR PARTY



Fighting Programme

Adopted by Conference,
January, 1929.



Issued by authority of the National Council,
:: South African Labour Party ::
WILLIAM WANLESS, General Secretary.

FIGHTING PROGRAMME.

The South African Labour Party is pledged to fight for the alteration of the present economic system from a competitive to a co-operative one. It seeks to secure its object by peaceful, ordered and constitutional means. It will pursue its own policy and programme without regard to any consideration other than the development of South Africa in the interests of the people of South Africa.

Its candidates are pledged to the following Fighting Programme:

1. Unemployment Insurance.

No Government—under the Capitalist system—can abolish unemployment. The system of Society under which we live needs unemployment in order to carry on. It cannot exist without it.

The Labour Party is the only party out to change the system. Other parties tinker when forced to safeguard their private interests. Labour will alter it to secure the interests of the people.

Such a change is however not possible at once, and the unemployed man and woman must live.

The Labour Party at this election will stand for unemployment insurance. It stands for work or maintenance. If the community so arranges things that a willing man or woman cannot find employment, then the community must find means of existence till he can find work.

The Labour Party will press for allowances for the genuine unemployed.

2. Miners' Phthisis Pensions.

The Labour Party stands for a new policy in dealing with the dread occupational disease, Miners' Phthisis.

The main principle under which compensation has been awarded up till now to the victims has been the payment of cash lump sums.

The Labour Party wants this changed. It wants the man given a permanent pension.

On that principle it will fight this election and for that change it will press in the next Parliament.

3. The 44-Hour Week.

The workers get too little pay to buy back what they produce. This itself creates unemployment and starvation in the midst of plenty. These results have been aggravated and multiplied by the world-wide change from hand production by craftsmen, to mass production by machinery, without any readjustment of the three principal factors involved, viz., the total of commodities which can usefully be consumed; the human labour required to produce that total; and the apportionment of the tasks of production evenly and equitably amongst the people available to perform the work, and who, otherwise, cannot live but as a burden upon, or a menace to, the community as a whole.

The employed workers have a right to leisure. The idle rich have plenty, the workers must have it too. They make all the things that make life pleasant, and they must have time to enjoy them.

The Labour Party stands for the elimination of unemployment by the two-fold policy of securing to the State control of the means of production and by the reduction of the working hours of people employed until those unemployed have been absorbed.

As a step towards the aforementioned objective, the Party will fight consistently for a reduction of working hours to 44 per week in the meantime. We consider it essential that extra time worked on any one day shall be recognised and paid for as overtime. We are opposed to the "spread over" system as applied now on the South African Railways and in other industries.

4. Control of Prices.

In South Africa nearly every commodity is controlled by rings and trusts. We have the Banking Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Cold Storage Combination, the Coal Ring, the Millers' Combine, and so on, including local concerns such as Bakers' rings.

To-day prices are fixed and controlled by private interests for private profit.

Prices are much too high. The producer gets too little and the consumer pays too much, while the small distributor, although not in name, is in reality nothing more than a wage slave.

Those who constitute the Rings and Trusts wax fat by exploiting the producer, the consumer and the small distributor.

The State must step in and control prices, securing a fair return to the producer, a satisfactory price to the consumer, and a reasonable margin to the distributor. Profiteering must stop.

5. Extension of State Enterprise.

The principle of State Enterprise is widely accepted in South Africa, as elsewhere. Already the State and Local Authorities are engaged in providing many services for the people.

Labour stands for the increase of such effort. In many public needs to-day private enterprise is functioning inefficiently and has a stranglehold on the community. Key industries must be owned and controlled by the State.

The Labour Party will press to secure State control of Credit by means of the State Bank; State Shipping; State Cold Storages; State Collieries; State Manufacture of Fertilisers. Labour, which is largely responsible for the passing of the Iron and Steel Corporation Act, will press for the establishment of this most important key industry in terms of the Act and for the construction of our own railway rolling stock and the manufacture of our own agricultural implements and railway requirements.

Labour wants the people to realise that if they want their business attended to they must do it themselves. "Mind your own business" is an excellent motto for the people of South Africa.

6. Extension of Conciliation and Wage Acts to Government Services.

The Government to-day, through the Wage Board and through the operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act, lays down wages and conditions for outside trades. In many cases it pays less and gives worse conditions itself than it prescribes for others. This must be altered. The Government servants are entitled to the privileges of Conciliation Boards, Wage Acts, etc., just as private employees are, and sweating is equally vicious when practised by a Government or a private employer.

The Labour Party will endeavour to get the Conciliation and Wage Acts extended to cover Government servants. It has tried before but failed, but it will try again with renewed vigour and enterprise. Certain deadening influences are now removed, and Labour can do more now than in the last few years.

There are many grievances in the Railway service, real grievances, which cannot be put right under the present system of farcical boards and appeals. The Party's proposals will enable the Railway men and all Government servants to have their grievances redressed.

The Industrial Conciliation Act, however, must be amended in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the National Council. The Wages Act, in the light of experience, must be amended so as to have employees and employers represented thereon. The administration of both Acts needs perfecting, Labour will press for this.

7. National Minimum Wages.

This country to-day suffers from low wages. The unskilled workers' standard is too low. The present Government, under Labour pressure, has done something to improve the lot of the unskilled workers, but even to-day the pay of unskilled workers is scandalously low, and the Government Railways and other Government Departments are amongst the worst sinners. In one Department alone, the Public Works Department, the ex-Minister, Mr. Walter Madeley, in the face of fierce antagonism, established a minimum of 8/- per day. This also is inadequate.

The Labour Party will press for the establishment of a national minimum wage of 10/- per day in industry. Agriculture, although to-day not in a position to pay such a minimum, will be able to do so if and when it is protected from exploitation and by the establishment of State Control of Credit, State Cold Storages, State Shipping, and State Fertiliser and Agricultural Implement Factories.

The amount of our success will depend upon our strength. If we are weak we can do little. If we are strong we can do much. It depends upon the people themselves. It was through Labour that minimum wages were established in South Africa, and already hundreds of thousands of pounds have been added to the workers' wages.

If the workers as a whole vote Labour, this can be made millions.

8. Housing for the People.

There are not enough houses in South Africa for the people. Thousands are huddled together in squalor and misery. It is impossible to live civilised lives in slums.

Private enterprise in building has broken down.

The demand for houses greatly exceeds the supply. The State must step in and look after its helpless citizens.

The principle is already widely accepted in South Africa. In Durban, Capetown, Bloemfontein, and many other towns there are comfortable, decent houses, built by the community, sold or let at terms whereby the worker can acquire a real home.

The Labour Party wants to go much further. It wants a big scheme on the New Zealand lines. It believes that a four-room house and all accessories can be let at £3 10s. 0d. a month, and it is out to try and get the Government to tackle this question seriously.

9. Industry.

The Labour Party recognises the importance of our primary industries, such as mining and agriculture. It is not out to harass the mining industry, nor does it believe in a policy of pinpricks. Subject to securing adequate conditions and pay for the employees in the industry and adequate safeguards by means of Labour ratios or otherwise against the shrinkage in the white labour force in the industry, the Labour Party will be prepared to consider sympathetically the granting of all reasonable facilities for the fullest possible development of the industry.

In the case of the agricultural industry, the Labour Party believes in making it less dependent on an overseas market by the development as a result of its policy of an ever-growing Home Market. In addition to protecting it by the establishment of State Control of Credit, State Cold Storages, State Shipping, and State Fertiliser and Agricultural Implement Factories, the Labour Party favours the further establishment of irrigation schemes, State marketing overseas of our surplus agricultural products (with a guarantee of minimum prices to farmers) and State control of imports.

We believe in fostering secondary industries by a policy of protection by means of tariffs, bounties and control of imports, subject to adequate safeguards against the exploitation by such industries of the producers and consumers.

If the people of South Africa desire Government for the People, and not for Big Interests, whether of Finance or Land, they will vote for official candidates of the South African Labour Party.

The Party is free of all alliances. It will remain free and independent and use its power in Parliament with one aim only—the welfare of the people of South Africa.

1933

17 MEI/MAY

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower/ Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Party (Koalisie)	61	1. The South African Party (Coalition)
2. Die Nasionale Party (Koalisie)	75	2. The National Party (Coalition)
3. Die Suid Afrikaanse Arbeids Party (Raadseksie)	2	3. The South African Labour Party (Council section)
4. Die Suidafrikaanse Arbeids Party (Koalisie)	2	4. The South African Labour Party (Coalition)
5. Roosiette	2	5. Roos "Party"
6. Home Rule Party	2	6. Home Rule Party
7. Onafhanklikes	6	7. Independents

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Die Burger, 20 April 1933 "Twee Generaals se Beroep Op Die Kiesers. Steun Alleen Amptelike Kandidate. Gesamentlike Manifest."
2. Die Burger, 20 April 1933. "Twee Generaals se Beroep Op Die Kiesers. Steun Alleen Amptelike Kandidate. Gesamentlike Manifest."
3. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
4. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
5. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
6. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
7. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.

Sources of election manifestos

1. The Cape Argus. 20 April 1933. "Leaders' appeal to electors. Why they should vote for Coalitionists. Joint statement by Premier and General Smuts."
2. The Cape Argus. 20 April 1933. "Leaders' appeal to electors. Why they should vote for Coalitionists. Joint statement by Premier and General Smuts"
3. No official manifesto could be traced
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In die Unie:
Daaglikse oor die Pers:
£2-5-0 per jaar.
£1-2-6 per halfjaar.
11s 6d. vir drie maande.
Aflevering deur Agente:
5s. vir een maand.
Rhodesië: £2-15-0 per jaar.
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18de JAARGANG. No. 1. (gevestigd te ...)

TWEE GENERAALS 'N BEROEP OP DIE KIESERS

„Steun Alleen Amptelike Kandidate“

GESAMENTLIKE MANIFES

Adv. Tielman Roos in Rustenburg



GENL. HERTZOG.

IN 'n verklaring uitgereik deur generaals Hertzog en Smuts gesamentlik doen die twee leiers 'n beroep op alle kiesers wat die nuwe regering ondersteun, om getrou te staan by die ooreenkoms en alleen die amptelik genomineerde party-kandidaat te steun.

Die twee leiers betreur dit dat in sommige kies-afdelings die amptelike kandidate geopponeer word deur mense wat voorheen verbonde was aan een van die twee groot partye. Dit is niks minder as verwerping van die ooreenkoms nie en 'n hou gemik teen die Regering.

KRAE AAN ADV. ROOS

... doen die twee Generaals 'n ...

TWEE GENERAALS SE BEROEP OP DIE KIESERS

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VRAE AAN ADV. ROOS

Ten slotte doen die twee Generaals 'n ernstige beroep op hul onderskeie ondersteuners om geen onafhanklike, wie hy ook al mag wees, te steun nie en die verkiesing van die amptelike kandidate te verseker.

Adv. Tielman Roos het met sy veldtog begin op Mamagaliaskraal. Die vergadering was taamlik rumoerig; baie vrae is gestel en die twee mosies is nie tot stemming gebring nie.

PRETORIA, Woensdag.

Genl. J.B.M. Hertzog en genl. J.C. Smuts het 'n gesamentlike beroep op die kiesers van die Unie, met betrekking tot benoemings en verkiesings, opgestel.

Die twee leiers verklaar:

“Die ooreenkoms tussen die partyleiers vir 'n nuwe regering is met algemene en hartlike byval begroet, waarvoor ons innig dankbaar is. Daar het egter reeds 'n tyd verloop sedert die ooreenkoms aan die publiek voorgelê is, en intussen het die redes vir die verkiesing en die betrokke stryd-vraag tot 'n mate op die agtergrond geraak, en in verskeie kiesafdelings het misverstand ontstaan. Dit het dus vir ons nodig geword om daardie stryd-vraag weer kort en helder voor die publiek te lê.

DIE STRYDVRAAG

“Om 'n dreigende volksgevaar te bestry, is 'n nuwe regering gevorm, die grondslag waarvan in ons gesamentlike verklaring van 11 Februarie vervat is. Nou moet daardie Regering hom onderwerp aan die goedkeuring van die kiesers. Die stryd-vraag vir die kiesers is dus eenvoudig of hulle tevrede is met die nuwe Regering op die grondslag

soos aangegee, al dan nie. In die verkiesing wat op hande is, word nie van die kiesers verlang dat hulle moet besluit oor die bekwaamheid van die Nasionale en Suid-Afrikaanse Partye om die land te regeer nie.

“Hulle moet alleen 'n oordeel vel oor 'n regering wat gevorm is op 'n grondslag van samewerking tussen hierdie partye, met die doel om 'n verkiesing op hierdie grondslag te voer, op so 'n wyse dat partytwis uitgeskakel word.

“Ons het dit nodig gevind om 'n reëling te tref insake die nominasie van kandidate op wie die kiesers hul stemme moet uitbring ter ondersteuning van die nuwe Regering.

DIE REËLING

“Hierdie reëling is dat die partye nie mekaar sal beveg in die setels wat hulle tans in die Volksraad hou nie, maar dat elke party sy eie setels behou en van sy eie lede benoem as kandidate vir sodanige setels.

“In navolging van hierdie reëling het die Nasionale en Suid-Afrikaanse Partye nou ooreenkomstig hul party-konstitusies, kandidate benoem in die kiesafdelings wat aan hulle toegewys is, en hierdie kandidate is dus diegene wat die volle en onverdeelde steun moet geniet van almal wat die nuwe regering ondersteun, afgesien van partye.

“Ons betreur die feit dat die offisieel benoemde kandidate nou in baie gevalle bestry word deur persone wat in die verlede verbonde was aan een van ons partye. Sulke kandidate, noem hulself “koalisioniste”.

VERWERPING VAN OOREENKOMS

“In werklikheid is hulle kandidatuur 'n verwerping van die koalisie-ooreenkoms, en 'n hou gemik teen die nuwe Regering. Dit is na aanleiding van die huidige ernstige ekonomiese druk dat die Regering dit wenslik geag het dat die gevaar bestry moet word in 'n gees van nasionale eenheid. Ons vra dat 'n verenigde nasie sy seën moet skenk aan die Regering se pogings daartoe.

“Om hierdie rede voel ons geregverdig om 'n beroep te doen op ons onderskeie ondersteuners om geen steun te verleen aan onafhanklikes nie, of hulle hulle nou koalisioniste of iets anders noem, maar om alles in hul vermoë te doen om die verkiesing van die amptelike benoemde kandidaat te verseker.

“Selfs waar ons lede persoonlik nie tevrede is met die kandidaat wat die ander party benoem het nie, doen ons tog 'n beroep op hulle om vir sodanige kandidaat te stem, en sodoende die ooreenkoms wat ons in die belang van die land aangegaan het, te eerbiedig.

“Ons hoofdoel in hierdie verkiesing is om die volk te laat saamtrek in 'n groot nasionale nood, en onafhanklike kandidate wie se verskyning slegs die politieke vrede kan versteur, moet nie aangemoedig word nie.”

(w.g.) J.B.M. Hertzog.

(w.g.) J.C. Smuts.

LEADERS' APPEAL TO ELECTORS

WHY THEY SHOULD VOTE FOR COALITIONISTS

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES REPUDIATED

JOINT STATEMENT BY PREMIER AND GENERAL SMUTS

It is because of the present grave economic emergency that the Government has found it desirable that that unity should be met in a spirit of national unity. We ask that a united front should be met in a spirit of national unity. We ask that a united front should be met in a spirit of national unity.

For that reason we feel justified in asking you to support the Government. We ask that a united front should be met in a spirit of national unity. We ask that a united front should be met in a spirit of national unity.

COALITIONISTS

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

JOINT STATEMENT BY PREMIER AND GENERAL SMUTS

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LEADER'S APPEAL TO ELECTORS

WHY THEY SHOULD VOTE FOR COALITIONISTS

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES REPUDIATED

JOINT STATEMENT BY PREMIER AND GENERAL SMUTS

Pretoria, Wednesday.

General J.B.M. Hertzog and General J.C. Smuts have signed a joint appeal to the electorate of South Africa in regard to nominations and elections. They say:

"The agreement between the party leaders for a new Government has met with the widest and most cordial support, for which we are deeply grateful. Some time has, however, elapsed since that agreement was brought before the public and in the meantime the reason for the elections and the issue involved have been to some extent obscured and in several constituencies misunderstanding has arisen.

"It becomes necessary therefore for us again to present that issue briefly and clearly to the public a new Government has been formed to meet a pressing national emergency, its basis being set forth in the joint statement issued by us last February.

THE ELECTION ISSUE

"That being so it is necessary for that Government to submit itself to the approval of the electorate. The issue before the electorate is therefore simply whether or not it approves of the new Government on the basis set forth in that statement.

"At the coming elections the voters are not being called upon to pronounce on the respective fitness of the Nationalist and South African Parties to govern the country. They are asked simply to pronounce on a Government formed on a basis of co-operation between these parties. With a view to the conduct of an election on this basis in such a way as to eliminate party strife we found it necessary to make an arrangement in regard to the nomination of can-

didates for whom the electors might record their votes in support of the new Government.

THE ARRANGEMENT

"This arrangement is that the parties do not fight each other for the seats they at present hold in the Assembly, but that each keeps its present seats and holds nomination among its own members for candidates for such seats in terms of this arrangement.

"The Nationalist and South African Parties respectively have now, in accordance with their party constitutions selected their candidates in the constituencies allotted to them, and these are therefore the candidates who should receive the full and undivided support, irrespective of party, of all who support the new Government.

"We deplore the fact that in many cases there are coming forward in opposition to the official candidates other candidates who have in the past been connected with one or other of our parties. Such candidates are labelling themselves 'Coalitionists'. In reality their candidature is a repudiation of the coalition agreement and a blow directed at the new Government.

"It is because of the present grave economic emergency that the Government has found it desirable that that emergency should be met in a spirit of national unity. We ask that a united nation should accord its blessing to the Government's efforts to do so.

DUTY OF ELECTORS

For that reason we feel justified in calling upon our respective supporters to lend no assistance to the Independents, whether they call themselves Coalitionists or otherwise, but to do all in their power to secure the return of the official Coalitionist candidate in each case.

"Even where our members may not personally approve of any particular candidate whom the other party has selected, we appeal to them to vote for such candidate, and thus to honour the agreement which we have made in the interests of the country.

"Our supreme object in this election, is to make the people pull together in a great national emergency, and independent candidates whose coming forward can only disturb the political peace should not be encouraged."

The appeal is signed by Generals Hertzog and Smuts.—(Reuter.)

1938

18 MEI/MAY

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower/ Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Verenigde Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Party) (VSANP) 2. Die Nasionale Party (NP) 3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty 4. Die Dominium Party (Dom.P.) 5. Sosialiste Party	111 27 3 8 1	1. The United South African National Party (USANP) 2. The National Party (NP) 3. The South African Labour Party (SALP) 4. The Dominion Party (Dom.P.) 5. The Socialist Party

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Die Hertzog-toesprake. Deel 6, Oktober 1932–Sept. 1942. 51 Toespraak: "Prestasies van die Verenigde Party — Smithfield, 1938" pp. 235–244.
2. Die Nasionale Party se Verkiesingsmanifes. Algemene Verkiesing 1938. (Uitgegee namens die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party deur Dr D F Malan, Dr N J v.d. Merwe en Adv. J G Strydom en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers Bpk., Keeromstraat, Kaapstad.)
3. Arbeid Staan Vir Brood en Botter Politiek. Algemene Eleksies 1938. Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty. Die Weg na Vrede en Voorspoed.
4. Geen Afrikaanse weergawe kon opgespoor word nie.
5. Geen amptelike manifes kon opgespoor word nie.

Sources of election manifestos

1. The Star, 5 May 1938. Gen. Hertzog Launches U.P. Election Campaign. Party Proud Of Its Record. Five Years' Proof Of "Unity is Strength". Much Still To Be Done.
2. Election Manifesto of the National Party. General Election 1938. (Issued on behalf of the Federal Council of the National Party by Dr D F Malan, Dr N J v.d. Merwe and Adv. J G Strydom).
3. Labour Stands For Bread And Butter Politics. General Elections 1938. South African Labour Party. The Way to Peace and Prosperity.
4. Manifesto. Published by E T Stubbs, Organizing Secretary of the Dominion Party, Johannesburg.
5. No official manifesto could be traced.

DIE HERTZOGTOESPRAKE

DEEL 6
Oktober 1932–September 1942

Saamgestel deur 'n redaksiekomitee bestaande uit
Prof. F. J. du T. SPIES, Prof. D.W. KRÜGER en
Prof. J.J. OBERHOLSTER



Perskor-uitgewery

51. Toespraak: Prestasies van die Verenigde Party — Smithfield, 1938.¹

Meneer die Voorsitter etc.

U kan dit wel verstaan, dat dit nie sonder 'n sekere mate van selfvoldoening is, dat ik hier vandag voor u staan. — Selde, tog, word dit 'n lid van die Parlement geskenk om weereens, na vir 'n onafgebroke tydperk van 31 jaar lid te gewees het van 'n Kiesafdeling, deur sy konstituente geroepe te word om hul vir 'n ander termyn van 5 jaar in die Volksraad te verteenwoordig.

Ik dank u! en wil u verseker van my hartelike waardering en erkentelikheid. Daardie 31 jaar is my gewees 'n tydperk waaraan ik steeds sal terug dink met wyding, en met liefdevolle herinnering aan die Smithfield en Smithfield-Rouxville Kiesafdeling.

In my toespraak hier laaste jaar het ik u korteliks herinner aan die ryke oost van belangryke gebeurtenisse en praestasies deur die Afrikanerdom, en meer bepaaldelik deur die Afrikaans-sprekende Afrikaner, gedurende daardie korte tydperk van 30 jaar ingesameld.

Binne daardie korte paar jaar, tog, is die grootste nasionale vraagstukke, rakende ons onafhankelike volksbestaan; ons taalgelykheid; ons volkseenhed, tot oplossing gekom; en is op die gebied van ons ekonomiese en maatskappelijke samelewing beslissinge geneem, beginsels aanvaard, en maatregels getref, van so diep ingrypende aard, dat die ware betekenis daarvan eerst reg besef en gewaardeer sal word deur latere geslagte.

Enige van hierdie beslissinge, en beginsels, hoop ik later op terug te kom.

Intussen moet ik daarop wys dat ons so goed as reeds staan in die midde van die strydperk van 'n nuwe Algemene Verkiesing, van drie kante bestook deur verskillende partye, elk waarvan voorgee beter geregtigd dan die Verenigde Party te wees tot die regering van die land.

Of dit so is: of die Arbeids-party, of Kol. Stallard met sy dominioniete, of Dr. Malan met sy gesuiwerde nasionaliste, 'n beter aanspraak op die regering van die land het dan die Verenigde Nasionale Party, sal deur die stembus beslis word. Intussen neem ik die vryheid om te sê, dat die lede van die Verenigde Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Party vast gedetermineerd is dat die verenigde Afrikaner volk van Suid-Afrika sal bly 'n verenigde volk, geregeerd, ewe as gedurende die laaste 5 jaar, deur 'n *Verenigde Party* Regering.

Die rede vir daardie vaste voornemen en besluit lê voor die hand. Reeds vir 'n tydperk van 5 jaar, tog, het die Verenigde Party Regering bewys gelewer sowel van sy Afrikaner hart en vaderlandsliefde as van sy toewyding en trou aan die belange van die wat hy geroep was om te regeer. Daardie liefde vir Suid-Afrika; daardie toewyding en trou aan die volk, is nie maar gewees mondpraatjies uitgeskree vanaf politieke 'platforms' nie, dit staan aangetekend as onuitwisbare feite, beliggaamd in wette van die land en in besluite van die Parlement; uit *dade* dus wat uit eie self getuig, sonder behoefte aan luidrugtige reclame, of aan ondergrondse geheime influisteringe.

Wanneer dus die Verenigde Party vandag weer eens die volk nader met die versoek dat hy ander maal sal gemagtigd word om die Land te regeer, dan is dit geen ongeregvaardigde aanmatiging, maar 'n vrymoedigheid waartoe hy voel geregtig te wees, op grond van die grote dienste wat hy aan die volk in 'n gees van trou en toegewyde pligsbetragting betoon het, by die behartiging van die belange van volk en Staat gedurende die laaste 5 jaar.

Die Verenigde Party tog het reeds agter sig 'n loopbaan van 5 jaar, waar dit met eer en trots op kan terug wys:

Die

Status en Segel Wette;
die Naturelle Wette;
die Vreemdelinge-immigrasie-Wet;
die Boere-Bystands Wet —

— om maar op 'n paar van sy verrigtinge in die Parlement te wys — sal in ons geskiedenis bly staan as monumentale praestasies getuigende van die durf en

krag waarmee 'n verenigde volk, deur middel van die Verenigde Party, in staat is gewees om die belange van die land, ten spyte van alle kleinlike politieke weerstand, op waardige wyse te doen segevier.

Dog wetgewing is maar een van die weë waarlangs deur 'n Regering die belange van die volk beskerm en bevorderd word, en daarmee is dus nog geensins uitgeput wat deur die Verenigde Party Regering verrig en vir die land gedoen is gedurende die 5 jaar waarin dit die land geregeer het.

'n Ander weg, en gewoonlik 'n veel meer gevolgryke en afdoende weg om die belange van die land te behartig, is die weg van 'n kragtige en gesonde Administrasie. Ook weer hier — langs administratiewe weg — is deur die Regering beginsels aanvaard en beleid gevolg, wat nog maar enkele jare gelede as revolutionair beskoud is geword; maar wat, vir sover aangaan die welsyn van die volk en die toekomst van ons land, nie anders mag beskou word dan as beslissend.

Laat my toe om ook hier maar 'n paar voorbeelde aan te haal:

Dat die Arbeider langs administratiewe weg versekerd sal word teen werkeloosheid, is 'n beleid deur die Regering reeds in werking gesteld; en sal as beginsel vir die toekomst gehandhaaf word. Volgens die beginsel deur die Regering aanvaard, is die tyd nie meer, wanneer deur 'n Suid Afrikaanse Regering mag uitgeroep word: *Ben ik my broeders hoeder?*

Deur die Regering word opgetree as beskermheer, nie alleen van die werkelose, maar ook van die arme en verarmdes in die algemeen en waar die arbeider versekerd word teen werkloosheid, word die arm man, vrou en kind gewaarborgd teen gebrek aan *Voedsel; Kleding; Behuising en Mediese Verpleging.*

Dit alles is reeds in werking; en hoewel nog nie tot sy uiterste konsekwensies uitgestrek, word met die volvoering van hierdie beleid alle poginge aangewend; en sal geen Regering in die toekomst die beginsel waarop hierdie beleid gebou is, weer durf oor die hoof sien nie.

Wanneer hierby daar verder gelet word op welke reuse skaal vandag voldoen word aan die lang gekoesterde ideaal van die Afrikaner volk om die vloedwaters van ons riviere op te vang, tot benutting van irrigasie doeleindes; op waffer omvangryke wyse bestryding van grondverspoeling en die bou van damme gedurende die laaste jare plaas gevind het en nog word voortgeset; hoe ons jong geslag voorsien word met geleentheid vir liggaams-oefening en discipline, vergeseld van verskaffing van geskikte dienstbetrekkinge vir duizende — alles op koste van die Staat, belopende millioene ponde van jaar tot jaar, — dan word besef hoeseer, ten einde dit alles te kan doen en uitvoer, dit noodsaaklik is dat die Regering van die land gevestigd sal staan op die wil van 'n verenigd volk met 'n verenigde volksregering.

Ik wens dan ook hier met nadruk en beslistheid te verklaar, dat wat die Verenigde Party Regering gedurende die korte tydperk van 5 jaar op die gebied van wetgewing en administrasie gepraesteer het tot geluk, voortgang en ontwikkeling van land en volk, deur geen Regering uit enig ander van die bestaande partye in Suid-Afrika kon verrig geword het nie; en dat 'n praestatie soas die gelewerd deur die Verenigde Party gedurende die verloope 5 jaar, noodwendig moet lê buite die mag van enig regering die sy krag moet put uit volksverdeeldheid.

Die ervaring van die mensdom is nog steeds gewees;

Verdeeldheid lei tot die graf.

Laat ons as volk in diepe eerbied die oue leus huldig

Eendrag maak mag!

want alleen deur eendrag sal ons in staat wees om ons volk te lei tot lewe en geluk!

By die aangaan van Vereniging deur die twee partye in 1933, het ik u van die verhoog alhier verseker dat vereniging volstrek noodsaaklik was, indien dit ons erns was dat verkry sou word,

dat die twee grote volksdele onder ons — die Afrikaans- en Engels-sprekende Afrikanerdom — tot één Nasie sou samegevoeg en geconsolideerd word; en het ik u daarop gewys, hoe noodsaaklik ook dit was dat die verenigde kragte van hierdie twee volksdele in dienst en tot opbou van volk en land sou samegevat en ingespan word.

Die resultate van samewerking as 'n Verenigde Party behaald sedert 1933, getuig tans tot oorfloed nie alleen hoe noodsaaklik dit toe was, dat vereniging sou plaasvind, maar ook eweseer, hoe noodsaaklik dit nog vandag is, dat die

Regering van die land sal rust op die skouers van 'n Verenigde party geïnspireerd deur 'n verenigde volk.

Verdeeldheid, met sy: Anti-Afrikaner; Anti-Brits; Anti-Joods; Anti-Asiat; Anti-Kleurling; Anti-Naturel politiek, — 'n politiek wat in die grond der saak *anti-alles* is waar nie politieke munt uit kan geslaan word nie — is 'n beleid van wanhoop, gedra op die vluels van selfsug en haat; wat sy eie ingewande uiteet en sy eie vernietiging bewerk.

Soas ten oorvloede blyk uit die ondervinding van die laaste 5 jaar, kan alleen langs die weg van 'n verenigde volk iets groots en blyvends vir Suid-Afrika tot stand gebring word, en alleen met die verenigde kragte van die volk in sy geheel, sal die Regering van Suid-Afrika in die toekomst op suksesvolle wyse die welvaart en die redding van die volk kan behartig.

Met vernieuwde kragte dus sal die Verenigde Party, na die komende Eleksies, sy reeds aanvaarde beleid van:

Volks-eenheid;
Nasionale Ontwikkeling; en
Volkswelvaart;

voortset, sowel binne die Parlement as deur die Regering; en daarby sal die beginsels wat in die laaste 5 jaar as grondslag gedien het by sy optreding

tot herstel en opbou van die bevolking;

tot bestryding van Werkeloosheid;

tot versekering van 'n behoorlike lewenstoestand aan die minder gegoede; steeds as leidraad en as basis van verdere voortbou aanvaar word. Die einddoel van die Regering sal steeds wees *'n gesonde; 'n gelukkige en 'n welvarende volk.*

Uit wat ik so ewe gesê het aangaande die voornemens van die Regering omtrent die beleid wat gevolg sal word na die Eleksies, is duidelik dat die Regering daarop uit is om met krag voort te set sy program van nasionale ontwikkeling en opbou waarmee dit nou al reeds met so veel sukses vir enige jare besig is. Voordat die volle oost van hierdie beleid kan ingesamel word en die volk die volle betekenis daarvan kan kom te waardeer, sal dit nodig wees dat dit eerst in voller omvang toegepas word dan wat kon geskied in die korte tyd sedert daarmee 'n begin is gemaak.

Ik wil aanneem dat met die opsomming van die Verenigde Party se voornemens, soas deur my hier voor u gelê, betreffende wat die Verenigde Party Regering van plan is om na die Algemene Verkiesinge tot uitvoer te bring, die Opposisie nie tevrede sal wees nie. — Die Opposisie tog, wat, behalwe woorde en beloftes, nog niks gepraesteer het wat hom aanspraak gee op die vertrou en ondersteuning van die volk nie, is dit meer te doen om die *skyn* dan om die *werkelikheid*. Met 'n kwistig hand sprei hy dus beloftes uit naar alle winde, sonder sig oor die nakoming daarvan te bekommer.

Die Verenigde Party daarentegen, is nie alleen die draër van verantwoordelikheid teenoor die volk nie; dit besef tewens dat waar iets word beloof, die belofte ook uitgevoer moet word.

Die beleid van die Opposisie

Soas al reeds deur my op gewys, word daar deur die Offisiele Opposisie by die volk aanspraak op gemaak, dat by die komende verkiesinge hom 'n meerderheid sal verskaf word, sodat die gesuiwerde party gemagtig sal wees om, in plaas van die Verenigde Party, die Regering van die land te voer. Met daardie doel, word ons gesê, word daar sowat 'n 100 gesuiwerde Nasionale Party kandidate in verskillende kiesafdelinge gestel.

Ek geloof nie dat daar baie van ons is wat ons oor hierdie aanspraak behoef te verontrust nie. Die aantal kandidate deur die Gesuiwerde Party gestel sal wel spoedig blyk meer in proporsie te wees tot die som geld waaroor die party te beskik het, dan in eweredigheid tot die gegrondheid van die gesuiwerde aanspraak.

Tog sal dit interessant wees om korteliks na te gaan waarop daardie aanspraak gebaseerd is. Met die oog daarop wil ik dan ook somar dadelik vra:

„Wat is die beleid van die Gesuiwerde Party waarop die aanspraak gebaseer word, dat die volk hom genoegsaam sal vertrou om aan hom die regering van die land toe te vertrou?”

Die Gesuiwerde Party is vanaf sy ontstaan nog steeds in gebreke gebly om 'n beleid van sy eie gegrond op beginsel, of op die een of ander nasionale doel, te formuleer. Sy onvermoë om vir homself so 'n aktiewe beleid te formuleer wat hy voor die volk kan lê om deur die volk as geheel goedgekeur of afgewys

te word, toon dadelik aan die beuselagtige, of wel gebrek aan, grond waaraan hy sy ontstaan te dank het.

Die sogenaamde *beleid* van die Gesuiwerde Party, bestaan uit niks meer as uit propaganda beweringe en stellinge oor geleentheids onderwerpe, of oor ondergeskikte sake en toestande van geïsoleerde en tydelike aard. Soas gewoonlik die geval is in die politiek met so 'n gekunstelde beleid, is die hoofdoel waarmee dit in die lewe geroep is dit, dat die gesuiwerde Party dit kan gebruik as lokaas om by 'n verkiesing stemme te vang. Doel en oogmerk van hierdie sogenaamde beleid van die gesuiwerde Party, is nie die bevordering van die belange van volk en land nie, maar wel die van die Party en sy aanhangers, — daar moet stemme gevang word!

Hoe seer die sogenaamde Opposisie beleid op niks anders berekend is as op die vang van stemme, waardeur die gesuiwerde party dan hoop om die regering van die land in hande te kry, sal dadelik blyk by die ontleding — soas ik van voornemens is om tans te doen — van enkele van die onderwerpe van sogenaamde gesuiwerde Nasionale Party beleid.

Daar die gesuiwerde leiers in die Parlement baie trots skyn te wees op hul

Republikeinse beleid

wil ik begin met 'n analyse van hul gesuiwerde Nasionale

Republikanisme,

wat sal insluit hul gesuiwerde *ernst, opregtheid en vaderlandsliefde.*

Ek begin met Oud Regter Beyers, gesuiwerde republikeinse kandidaat vir die Fauresmith Kies-afdeling, teen Minister Havenga. In 'n toespraak van hom gerapporteer in die Suiderstem van 1 Maart j.l. vind ik gerapporteer dat hy:

„Generaal Hertzog aangeval het vir sy verandering van 'n sterk republikein tot 'n bitter teenstander”.

Oud Regter Beyers het volkome reg. Ek was 'n sterk — baie sterk — republikein; en ek was dit gebly solang dit in belang van my volk nodig en dienstig was om dit te wees. Daarom het ik vanaf die eerste dag van die Boer oorlog afstand gedoen van die regbank, nie om deel te gaan neem in 'n eleksie nie, maar om met die wapen in die hand te gaan veg vir die Republieke; en is ik in die geleedere van my mede-republikeine in die veld gewees tot op die laaste oomblik van die stryd.

En Oud Regter Beyers, toe in die fleur van sy lewe, waar was hy?

Op dieselfde oomblik haast as wat ik besig was om die wapen op te neem, en my naar die vegterrein te spoed om die republiek, waar Oud Regter Beyers nou naar soek, te verdedig, was ook hy besig — baie besig — maar nie om te gaan veg nie! Soas iemand onlangs dit beskryf het, hy was besig

„Om sy goedjies in Johannesburg, waar hy sy brood verdien het, in te pak, ten einde hom te haas na die beskerming van die Britse vlag in Kaapstad !”

En hierdie man neem my dit vandag kwalik, dat ik nie sy helde moed besit om 'n gesuiwerde republikein te wees nie! — Nou dat daar geen gevaar en geen noodsaakelikeit toe bestaan nie!

Ons ken hierdie vuurvreter republikeine! — Niewaar?

Laat my toe, Meneer die Voorsitter, om u weer daaraan te herinner, dat ik slegs besig is om aan te toon waffer waarde geheg moet word aan die sogenaamde republikeinse beleid van die gesuiwerde Party, en dat dit niks meer is as oneerlike propaganda om stemme te vang. Daarom wil ik billik wees en aanneem, dat ook hier in die geval van Oud Regter Beyers, een swawel geen somer maak nie, en dat u geregtig sou wees om hom te beskou as 'n uitsondering, — 'n swart skaap onder die gesuiwerde trop — Ja! as hy daar alleen sou staan! — Ongelukkig vir gesuiwerde republikanisme en sy reputasie, is dit die geval nie. Hoeveel andere swartskape behorende aan die Beyers kategorie en aan andere klasse soas Townguards en Britse „intelligence officers” uit die Boer-oorlog periode, daar onder die gesuiwerde republikeine van vandag is, is ons nie so onbekend nie. Hoeveel van daardie soort swartskape daar in die Parlement alleen gevind word, onder die gesuiwerdes, is in die laaste paar maande herhaaldelik op gewys in die kolomme van die Vaderland en die Suiderstem.

Oud Regter Beyers is dus geen uitsondering. As nagegaan word wie daardie andere swartskape onder die gesuiwerde republikeine is, en waffer verantwoordelike posisies hul inneem in die gesuiwerde Party, dan openbaar sig die oneerlike spel van gesuiwerde republikanisme op 'n wyse wat die gesuiwerde voormanne van die gesuiwerde Party tot die diepste oneer strek.

Hul sogenaamde republikeinse beleid, is niks meer as 'n stuk gesuiwerde propaganda, waarmee hul besig is om te smous, met die republikeinse sentiment van die Afrikaner, ten einde daardie eerbiedwaardige republikeinse gevoel, deur bloed en daad geheiligd by die ou bevolking van Vrystaat en Transvaal, en ook van 'n groot deel van die Kaap, uit te buit tot eie politieke eer en voordeel.

Neem ons nou 'n ander onderwerp van gesuiwerde *beleid* en laat ons sien of dit daar beter mee geleë is, en of daar meer ernst en opregtheid agter sit dan wat die geval is met die gesuiwerde republikeinse smousery. — Laat ons die gesuiwerde

Naturelle beleid

'n bietjie van naby beskou. Van waar en wanneer daardie gesuiwerde beleid, wat daar opsettelik op aangelê is om te belet dat die Naturelle van die vier Provinsies sal verkry die grond wat hul sedert 1917 en vroër is toegesê, 'n toesegging wat sedert 1924 herhaaldelik deur die lede van die ou Nasionale Party, ingesluit Dr. Malan en al sy gesuiwerde voormanne in die Parlement, gekonfirmeer is geword? — Erger troubleuk dan die waaraan hierdie gesuiwerde voormanne van 'n gesuiwerde party hul skuldig maak in hierdie saak, is nouliks te bedink. Hul ontrou aan die gegewe woord, is niks minder dan 'n skandvlek op die goeie naam van die Witman in Suid-Afrika; temeer wanneer in aanmerking word geneem, dat wat hul nou besig is om aan die Naturelle te onthou, niks minder is dan wat aan die Naturelle verskuldigd is, as vergoeding wat hul deur die Parlement plegtiglik belooft is, in kompensasie vir sekere regte aan hul ontnem.

As die gesuiwerde ontrou van die Witman hier sou segevier, sou dit 'n klad wees op die karakter van die Afrikaner wat hom vir altoos sou brandmerk as ontrou en onvertroubaar.

Vergun my nou om u aandag te vestig op 'n ander geval van hierdie skokkende troueloosheid waarmee die gesuiwerde party besig is om die vertroue van ons gekleurde bevolking in die woord van die Witman te vernietig. Ik doel op die

Kleurling beleid

van die gesuiwerde voormanne.

Dieselfde valsheid en ontrou waardeur die gesuiwerde Naturelle beleid gekarakteriseer word, herhaal sig by die gesuiwerde *Kleurling beleid*.

By die poging tot oplossing van die Naturelle vraagstuk langs die weg van segregasie, was herhaaldelik deur die Kleurlinge die vrees uitgespreek dat hul bang was dat as die Witman eers die Naturel gesegregeer het, hy verder sou gaan en ook die Kleurlinge, hoewel hul daar sterk afkerig van was, sou segregeer. Daarop het die ou Nasionale Party, met my aan die hoof, en met volle goedkeuring van Dr. Malan en die gros van diegene wat vandag as gesuiwerdes agter hom sit, ten einde nie die stem van die Kaapse Kleurling te vervreemd nie, herhaaldelik aan die Kleurlinge die versekering gegee, dat segregasie nie sou toegepas word op die Kleurling bevolking nie, en dat daar geen ander skeidslyn tussen Wit en Kleurling sou toegepas word as die van sosiale afskeiding. — Vandag, nou dat met hulp van die Kleurling stem Naturelle segregasie verkry is, word gevind dat die gesuiwerde party lede in die Parlement besig is — met Dr. Malan aan die hoof — om, nie alleen op sosiale gebied, maar ook op politiek en ekonomies gebied, die Kleurling teen sy wil te segregeer.

Dit is, as of die gesuiwerde beleid met opset daarop aangelê is, om geen rekening te hou met die noodsaaklikheid van trou en eer en opregtheid nie, en dat ten opsigte van die Kleurlinge en van die Naturellebeleid daar sorg sal gedra word, dat by die uitoefening daarvan, ontrou en troueloosheid die leidraad sal wees vir die Witman in Suid-Afrika, waarnaar hy sy gedrag sal te bepaal hê by die vervulling van sy pligte as voorgd. Alleen deur 'n aanname van hierdie aard, kan verklaar word die poging wat daar gedoen is by die jongste sitting van die Volksraad om te verkry, dat op die Kleurlinge van die Kaap, in sekere gevalle, te same met die Naturelle, segregasie sal toegepas word, en dat hul daarby nog sal verplig word tot aparte verteenwoordiging in Volksraad en Senaat. Met andere woorde, direkt in stryd met die belofte wat ons aan die Kleurling gedoen het toe ons sy stem nodig had vir die passering van segregasie teen die Naturel, sal ons nou, na die segregasie wet gepasseer is, moet heen gaan en sowel politieke as ekonomiese segregasie toepas op die Kleurling! — Waffer valsheid en ontrou!

Ik stel tans, in alle ernst, weer die vraag wat ik so ewe gedoen het:

Wat is die beleid van die gesuiwerde opposisie Party waarop die aanspraak deur hul gebaseer word, dat die volk hul genoegsaam sal vertrou om aan hul die Regering van die land toe te vertrou?

Waar sou die eer van die Afrikaner bly as dit moet afhang van die politieke moraliteit van die gesuiwerde party en sy parlementaire voormanne!

Al die stembus krete, deur die gesuiwerde party voormanne verhoogd tot die Status van *Beleid*, is niks anders as soveel poginge om kiesers te mislei, stralende van onopregtheid, ontrou en onvertroubaarheid, soas getuig deur die gesuiwerde Republikeinse, die gesuiwerde Naturelle en die gesuiwerde Kleurling *Beleid* — Dit is kensketsend van hierdie *Stembus beleid*, dat dit alle morele grondslag mis, en daarom onafhankelik van enig beginsel, sedelike beperkinge, of verpligtinge, beoefen word. Hierdie gebrek aan sedelike beheersing by die uitoefening van gesuiwerde beleid word, so word ons versekerd, deur die stembus geheiligd! Of dit is geweld, onwaarheid, of troubreuk, die gesuiwerde sedeleer bekommer sig daar nie oor nie; die suksesvolle resultaat in belang van gesuiwerde Nationalisme, heilig mos alles!

Gesuiwerde voormanne weet natuurlik heel goed, dat hul geen die minste gevaar loop om tot die Regering van die land geroep te word nie, — daarom al die ligsinnige beloftes en beleids-verklaringe wat hul weet hul nooit geroep sal word om uit te voer, of na te kom nie. So word dan op die meest onverantwoordelike wyse deur hul aan alle klasse van die bevolking, waar hul stemme meen te kan opraap, die meest roekelose beloftes gedoen. — Die boer hoef sig nie te bekommer oor sy geldelike verpligtinge nie, want as die gesuiwerde Party aan die bewind kom, sal al sy skulde deur die gesuiwerde Regering betaal en vry geskeld word! 'n Gesuiwerde Party Regering sal die rente koers van lenings op eigendomme, maar ook op alle plaasverbande onverskillig wanneer gevestigd! ja, alle verbande sal deur die Staat oorgeneem word! — Ook die plaashuurders en deelsaaiers sal deur gesuiwerde wysheid van hul skulde en verpligtinge verlos word!

Soas aan u almal goed bekend, Meneer die Voorsitter en Here, put hierdie staaltjies van heerlike gesuiwerde party beloftes geensins alles uit waartoe gesuiwerde voormanne en politici hul reeds onder verpligting gestel het, — 'n proses wat nog steeds van dag tot dag voortgaan!

Die rede van dit alles lê voor die hand! So lang die opposisie voormanne nie aan bewind van sake kan kom nie, moet ons verwag dat hul sal toesien, dat hul en hul party, kos wat wil, gaande en staande gehou word! Vandaar hierdie *Stembus beleid* met sy roekelose beloftes, waarvan bitter weinig ooit uitgevoer sal word, gestel dat die gesuiwerde party ooit met die regering van die land sou toevertrou word.

Dit moet 'n ieder duidelik wees, die maar 'n weinig aandag skenk aan die beloftes van gesuiwerde voormanne, dat dit net een doel het, en dit is, om, deur beroep te maak op die laë motiewe en instinke van selfsug en eie belang by die onkundige en onnadenkende onder die bevolking, eie belang en eie politieke oogmerke te bevorder.

Hierdie *Stembus beleid*, met sy gebrek aan beginsel en aan sedelike grondslag, is deur gesuiwerde voormanne tot 'n kunst ontwikkel, en beheers vandag elk verrigting en onderneming by hul op politiek terrein.

Die gevolge daarvan word dan ook waargeneem oorals deur die land en by alle klasse van die bevolking, dog nergens het dit so 'n vernietigende uitwerking op die volk as juist daar waar sedelike krag en geestelike opwekking tot wat skoon en edel en deugdsaam is, meest vereis word.

In tye van druk en kommer, word die bedrukte en bekommerde, in stede van deur aanmoediging en bezieling tot 'n hoopvolle stryd opgewekt te word, om, waar moeglik, deur eie kragte in nodige behoeftes te voorsien, onstemd en ontsenuwd deur verwysing op die Regering en op versinde regeringspligte, met haast geen ander doel dan alleen om tweedrag te stig onder die volk en vyandskap te verwek teenoor die Regering van die land. — Die onmiddellike gevolg, by die volk van so 'n politiek, is dan ook niks anders dan die opwekking van haat, hebsug en stryd. M.a.w. *Volksverdeeldheid* en *burgerstryd* is die noodwendige vrug van gesuiwerde party beleid.

Die vraag doen sig voor: Hoe lang sal dit nog voortgaan? Die antwoord kan nouliks iets anders wees dan: So lang as wat die volk sig deur die Stembus politiek laat influenseer; d.w.s. solang as daar genoeg manne en vroue onder die stemgeregtigde publiek van die Unie sal gevind word, wat gereed is om hul te laat mislei deur daardie gesuiwerde politiek van onopregtheid en ontrou.

Gelukkig is daar reeds tekens van verset by ons bevolking teen al hierdie

misleiding en demoralisasie waaraan ons kieser publiek nou al vir enige jare onderwerp is geword.

In verset hierteen, is reeds die *Jeugdfront* ontstaan, 'n verset wat reeds heel waarskynlik in die kiesinge sy heilsame invloed sal doen geld.

In die naam van 'n gesonde Volkslewe, wil ik dan ook hier vandag 'n beroep doen op ons Vrystaatse, nee, op ons Afrikaner Vrou en Man:

Handhaaf die sedelike hoogheid van ons volksbestaan! en verwerp alles wat berekend is om afbreuk te doen aan die hoogheid van die Afrikaner karakter.

Hierdie algemene verkiesinge waartoe ons tans opgeroep is, stel aan ons die keuse om te sê wat die Afrikaner volk wil hê: 'n Verenigde Volks Regering staande op die basis van 'n verenigde Afrikanerdom; of 'n Regering wat sy ontstaan sal te dank hê aan skeuring en tweedrag, en sy lewensbestaan sal put uit volkstwist en ontrou.

Wat die antwoord van die Afrikanerdom op hierdie vraag gaan wees, het ik nog nooit vir 'n enkel oomblik aan getwyfel:

Suid Afrika! Hy sal antwoord op u roepstem!

Dit is dan ook met die volste vertroue dat ik die beslissing tans laat in die hande van u en van die volk van die Unie.

Tot Siens!

1. Oorgeneem van 'n getikte afskrif in die Hertzogversameling, band 93. Die juiste dag van die toespraak word nie hier gemeld nie. Dit moes egter aan die begin van Mei gewees het, want op daardie stadium was genl. Hertzog en mnr. Havenga deur die Suid-Vrystaat op reis.

4/

Die Nasionale Party
se
Verkiesingsmanifes

Algemene Verkiesing
1938

— Uitgegee namens die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party
deur Dr. D. F. Malan, Dr. N. J. van der Merwe en Adv. J. G. Strydom
en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers Beperk, Keeromstraat, Kaapstad.

Verkiesingsmanifes van die Nasionale Party.

I. BUITELANDSE BELEID EN VERDEDIGING:

Die Party sal vashou aan sy beleid sedert 1914 verkondig, van nie-intervensie in buitelandse twiste en oorloë en sal ons verdediging inrig suiwer met die oog op ons eie veiligheid en die beskerming van ons neutraliteit. Met hierdie doel sal hy ook pogings aanwend om die Simonstad-ooreenkoms te hersien. Met inagneming van hierdie beleid sal hy verder enige welgemeende en praktiese poging aan die kant van die gesamentlike volkegemeenskap ondersteun om die wêreldvrede te verseker.

II. REPUBLIKEINSE STREWE: Die stigting van 'n republiek afgeskel van die Britse Kroon en Ryk is en bly die doelwit van die Party se strewe. Verder verklaar hy dat ooreenkomstig sy Program van Beginsels hierdie konstitusionele verandering alleen tot stand gebring sal word ingevolge 'n spesiale en besliste opdrag daartoe van die volk en nie bloot as gevolg van 'n parlementêre meerderheid, wat by 'n gewone algemene verkiesing verkry mag word nie.

III. POLITIEKE EN EKONOMIESE SELFSTANDIGHEID: Die Party onderneem —

- (a) die afskaffing van die reg van appèl na die Geheime Raad;
- (b) die hersiening van ons nasionaliteitswette om alle sweem van dubbele nasionaliteit daaruit te verwyder en die misleidende benaming van „Britse onderdaan” af te skaf;
- (c) die daarstelling en uitsluitende erkenning van 'n eie Suid-Afrikaanse volkslied;
- (d) stappe om die oorheersing van uitlandse skeepvaartmaatskappye te verbreek sowel deur die geleidelike aanskaffing van ons eie skeepvaart as deur 'n oordeelkundige gebruikmaking van die subsidie-stelsel.

IV. IMMIGRASIE EN JOODSE VRAAGSTUK: Terwyl die Party in die algemeen die immigrasie van geskikte, assimileerbare, blanke elemente verwelkom, sal hy met die oog op Suid-Afrika se spesifieke probleme maatreëls neem om verdere immigrasie van Jode te beëindig, die gebruikmaking van naamsveranderings teen te gaan, strenger beheer uit te oefen oor naturalisasie en 'n beroeps-permitstelsel vir ongenaturaliseerde vreemdelinge in die lewe te roep, soos dié wat in Engeland, Frankryk en ander lande bestaan. Verder sal hy alle moontlike stappe doen om Suid-Afrika se eie oorspronklike Afrikaans- en Engelsprekende volkselemente vir 'n lewensbestaan in alle rigtings te bekwaam en hulle teen onbillike konkurrensie te beskerm.

V. KLEUR-VRAAGSTUKKE: (a) Die Party beoog die hersiening van ons bestaande Naturelle-wetgewing met die doel om die naturelle-stemreg vir die Volksraad en die Kaaplandse Provinsiale Raad af te skaf, die toestroming van oortollige naturelle na stedelike gebiede te belet, hul verwydering daaruit effektief te bewerkstellig en die woningsegregasie van naturelle in sodanige gebiede doeltreffender te maak.

(b) Die Party sal die huidige grootskaalse aankoop van grond vir naturelle deur die Staat beëindig en die verkry van grond deur naturelle laat geskied meer op

hul eie inisiatief en ooreenkomstig hul werklike behoeftes.

(c) Die Party beoog verder die konsekwente deurvoering van die segregasie-beginsel ten opsigte van alle nie-blankes as synde in die beste belang beide van die blanke en die nie-blanke rasse en onderneem daarom om wetgewing in te dien vir:—

- (1) aparte woonbuurtes, vak-organisasies en sover uitvoerbaar ook aparte werkplekke vir blankes en nie-blankes;
- (2) die voorbehoud van werkverskaffing in bepaalde rigtings vir blanke arbeid en/of ooreenkomstig 'n vasgestelde en billike kwota vir blankes en nie-blankes;
- (3) aparte verteenwoordiging in ons wetgewende liggame vir die stemgeregtigde Kaaplandse Kleurlinge; en
- (4) die uitbreiding van die Ontugwet 1926 tot alle nie-blankes, en die beletting van gemengde huwelike en van die indiensneming van blankes deur nie-blankes.

VI. ALGEMENE EKONOMIESE HERVORMING:

- (a) Die Party beloof 'n onmiddellike en deurtastende ondersoek na die styging in lewenskoste.
- (b) Teneinde die regmatige belange van produsente, distribueerders, werknemers en verbruikers respektiewelik te alle tye te waarborg en teneinde verder alle klasse teen uitbuiting van enige aard te beskerm, beloof die Party om 'n Sentrale Ekonomiese Raad in die lewe te roep met opdrag om met betrekking tot prysbepalings, produsente-distribueerders- en verkooporganisasies, planmatige ekonomiese ontwikkeling en ander nodige maatreëls die Regering van tyd tot tyd te adviseer.

VII. BANKWESE: Die Party onderneem om ons Bankwese te hervorm en 'n end te maak aan die oorheersing van buitelandse banke deur:

- (a) die Reserwebank om te skep in 'n Staatsbank ooreenkomstig die utiliteitsbeginsel;
- (b) die Landbank te versterk en uit te brei teneinde besondere kort- en langtermyn-kredietfasiliteite te skep, wat verels word deur die besondere omstandighede van die landbou;
- (c) 'n Nywerheidsbank op te rig met die oog op kragdadige beskerming en ontwikkeling van ons eie industrieë.

VIII. LANDBOU: Die Party beloof om die boerebedryf kragdadiglik te ondersteun en te beskerm deur—

- (a) die uitvoering van 'n Verbandslas-aflossings- en 'n rentesubsidie-skema op die grondslag van die Van der Horst-plan minstens tot 'n pell wat sal aanpas by die ekonomiese draagkrag van eiendomme in terme van hul opbrengsvermoë.
- (b) doeltreffende maatreëls vir die bemaking van landbouprodukte deur een kanaal onder genoegsame beheer van produsente;
- (c) die bevellinging van ons binnelandse markte teen nadelige mededinging van buite;
- (d) markte uit te brei en verder te skep deur—
 - (1) sekondêre nywerhede te bevorder soos b.v. die bewerking van mielies, graan, vlees en ander produkte, en
 - (2) staatsondersteunde reklame sowel binne- as buitelands, en beter handelsbetrekkinge met

lande wat in staat is om ons landbouprodukte te koop;

- (e) die skepping van voerdépôts as redmiddel teen droogtes, die verskaffing van groter fasiliteite vir verkryging van veevoer en ruimer staats-ondersteuning vir boorgate en omheining;
- (f) die beskerming en ondersteuning van besproei-ers deur—
 - (1) die aanbou van damme waar nog geen besproeiing is nie en veral ook by bestaande besproeiing waar watervoorrade onvoldoende is, en
 - (2) die uitbreiding van fasiliteite vir lenings aan indiwiduele besproei-ers.

IX. LANDNEDERSETTING: (a) Die Party sal onmiddellik stappe doen om ooreenkomstig 'n uitgewerkte grootskoolse skema die landelose boerebevolking as besitters op die grond te vestig en sal, sover vereis, deur onteining in ooreenstemming met die wet op Onvoordelige Okkupasie van Plase, 1937, daarvoor ook aanwend gronde, veral van maatskappye, wat nie deur blankes voordelig geokkupeer of bewerk word nie of wat bloot vir spekulatiewe doeleindes gehou word.

(b) Hy sal daartoe ook die aankoop van grond vergemaklik deur die afskaffing van die verpligting om een-tiende van die koopprys by te dra en deur neder-setting op 'n bestaanbare ekonomiese grondslag te plaas deur herwaardasie ook van gronde onder seksie 11 van die Nedersettingswet verkry.

X. MYNBEDRYF: Die Party sal ons mynbou in die algemeen kragdadiglik bevorder. Hy sal egter toesien dat deur strenger staatsbeheer en 'n oordeelkundige belastingbeleid—

- (a) die Staat 'n groter aandeel in ons minerale ryk-dom sal verkry;
- (b) die bedryf sal ophou om die jagterrein te wees van parasitiese spekulante;
- (c) dat die werkers in goudmyne sal verkry—
 - (1) 'n algemene hersiening van die verouderde Lucas-Kommissie-toekenning van 1927
 - (2) die erkenning van Dingaansdag as vakansiedag met betaling;
 - (3) die uitbetaling van 'n ronde som plus 'n pensioen aan lyers aan gewone tuberkulose en lyers aan myntering in die ante- en primêre stadium en aan hul afhanklikes;
 - (4) 'n Pensioen- en gratifikasieskema as voorsorg vir alle ondergrondse mynwerkers ten einde ondergrondse werk na 12 jaar te kan verlaat; en
 - (5) beter voorsiening vir die weduwees en wese van mynwerkers;
 - (6) deurtastende ondersoek na en hersiening van mediese standaarde van die myntering-buro meer gunstig vir die mynwerkers.
- (d) dat die alluwiële diamantdelwers verseker sal wees van die oopsit van genoegsame diamant-houdende grond, die beperking daarvan tot be-roepsdelwers en van die vermindering van uit-voerbelasting op alluwiële diamante.

XI. STAATSDIENS: Die Party onderneem—

- (a) om salarisskale te hersien teneinde veral die laer-betaaldes se posisie te verbeter;

- (b) om die tweetaligheidsbeginsel konsekwent toe te pas by aanstellings en promosies;
- (c) om die burgerregte van onderwyers en van alle persone in diens van die Staat te eerbiedig en te beskerm; en
- (d) om ondersoek in te stel na die werk van die Staatsdienskommissie en veral die bevorderings deur hulle aanbeveel.

XII. DIE SPOORWEE: Die Party stel hom ten doel—

- (a) om onmiddellik 'n end te maak aan die verkwisting deur wanbestuur, wat plaasvind op die spoorweë;
- (b) laer spoorweg-tariewe om die land ekonomies te ontwikkel en veral om landbou en nywerhede te bevorder;
- (c) die hersiening van diensvoorwaardes, salaris-en loonskale met die oog op redeliker werkure of ekstra beloning en die versekering van 'n hoër loonskaal aan die laer range van die personeel, sowel werkers as klerke wat nou vir 'n behoorlike en beskaafde lewensbestaan te laag betaal word.

VERDER ONDERNEEM DIE PARTY—

- (1) om die beperkings van die huidige Regering op die bevordering van blanke arbeiders na gegra-deerde poste gestel, te verwyder, en om hulp en aanmoediging tot sodanige bevorderings te gee;
- (2) om 'n behuisingplan uit te voer vir spoorweg-amptenare wat hulle in staat sal stel—
 - (a) om eie huise te bou met Staatsvoorskotte teen die heersende 3½ persent rentekoers, en
 - (b) om op huise wat hulle reeds besit met ver-bande daarop teen buitensporige rente, ver-bandlenings te verkry teen 'n lae rente-koers;
- (3) om die nouste samewerking te bevorder tussen die spoorwegadministrasie en die personeel-verenigings sonder inmenging in hul huishou-delike aangeleenthede; en
- (4) om 'n weduwee-pensioenfonds vir spoorwegwer-kers in die lewe te roep.

XIII. ONGESKOOLDE ARBEID: Die Party beoog die vasstelling van minimum-lone vir getroudes van 8s. tot 10s. per dag vir ongeskoolde en half-geskoolde blanke arbeiders by werke onder staatsbeheer soos spoorweë, paaie, bos-aanplantings, besproeiings- en onderstandswerke en met uitsondering van die landbou, ook by ander bedrywe na gelang deur kwota-bepalings of andersins blanke-werkverskaffing daar teen onbillike konkurrensie beskerm word.

XIV.—DIE PARTY SAL STAPPE DOEN VIR—

- (a) Uitgebreider en beter gekoördineerde mediese dienste vir die volk insluitende distriksverple-ging, die opleiding van 'n genoegsame getal verpleegsters, die voorkoming van ondervoeding en versekering teen siekte en ongeskiktheid;
- (b) beter beskerming teen buitensporige huishuur deur die hersiening van die Huurgelde-wet; en
- (c) die invoer van 'n doeltreffende nasionale be-huisingkema, wat 'n end sal maak aan agter-buurties en behoorlike behuising sal verseker in stedelike en plattelandse gebiede.

ARBEID STAAN VIR

BROOD
en
BOTTER
Politiek

Algemene Eleksies 1938
Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty

DIE WEG NA VREDE
EN VOORSPOED

ARBEIDSPARTY SE PROGRAM VAN AKSIE

Planne om Volk Ekonomies op te Hef

Die „Arbeidsplan“ het in ander lande van die wêreld waar dit in praktyk gebring is geblyk die regte plan te wees. As die volk van Suid-Afrika inderdaad begerig is om vir hul land 'n gelukkiger en welvarender toekoms te verseker, moet die hervormings voorgestel in die weloordagte skema van die Arbeidsparty stellig 'n diepe indruk op hulle maak.

STAATSBEHEER.

Organisasie van 'n binnelandse ekonomie vir die distribusie van die produksie en dienste van die Unie op 'n wyse wat vir alle persone wat kan werk 'n voldoende inkomste waarborg vir hulleself en hul afhanklikes, met al wat nodig is om 'n huis en huise-like lewe in die beste en suiwerste betekenis van die woord te maak, maar dit kan alleen bereik word as finansies en handel, nywerheid en landbou volgens 'n nasionale plan onder leiding van die Staat uitgevoer word. Billike kompensasie sal uitbetaal word aan eienaars en aandeelhouders van enige nywerheid wat vir die algemene welsyn oorgeneem word. Dit wil sy planne uitvoer sonder om enige individu onreg aan te doen.

VREDE

Om al wat moontlik is te doen om 'n regverdige en duursame vrede te verseker, en om met ander nasies saam te werk opdat almal welvarend mag wees. Om daardie doel te bereik word saamwerking en kameraadskap tussen alle volkere en alle nasies vereis, opdat almal gelyke kans hte om in die oorvloedige rykdom en ekonomiese kanse van die wêreld deel te neem. Dit wil op afskaffing van oorlog aandring, en op die instelling van 'n waarlik kollektiewe vredestelsel wat alle nasies sekerheid sal gee. Dit wil ondersteuning gee aan die versterking en hervorming van die Volkebond as 'n werklike Wêreldparlement. Intussen is dit nodig om sodanige gewapende mag te onderhou as wat

vereis word om die grense van die Unie te verdedig en om alle verpligtings as lid van die Volkebond na te kom. Die beheer, vervaardiging en bestuur van alle oorlogsmateriale moet onder die Staat wees.

Demokrasie

Die Arbeidsparty staan vas vir Demokrasie. Dit is teen alle diktatorskap deur enige persoon, party of groep. Dit sal enige aanval op die volkswyheid teenwerk en beveg, hetsy dit van binne of buite die Unie kom. Dit staan vir behoud van vryheid, die regte van minderhede sonder aansien van ras of geloof—en die snelle en doeltreffende werking van die demokratiese sisteem. Dit sal aandring op maatreëls om te voorkom dat sy voorstelle waardeloos gemaak word deur gevestigde belange en onverteenuddigende liggame.

Arbeid besef dat die volk van die Unie bedreig word deur twee hoogs ernstige gevare, waarteen onmiddelik handelend opgetree moet word. Die kragte van demokratiese opinie in Suid-Afrika moet kragtige leiding gee in die stryd teen die oprysende Fascistiese en Nazi-idees, en in die tweede plek moet planne gemaak word om te belet dat Suid-Afrika ly soos dit vanaf 1930 gedoen het.

Arbeid is gekant teen anti-Semitiese propaganda, meer besonderlik omdat dit noodsaaklikerwys die voorloper van die stigting van 'n diktatorskap moet wees en omdat dit minderhede wil onderdruk.

BEVEG FASCISME.

Arbeid wil die leiding neem in die

stryd teen die magte van Fascisme en Nazisme wat vandag ons land bedreig. Dit wil enige vorm van diktatorskap beveg, hetsy Fascisties of Nazisties of Kommunisties, of enige ander regeeringsvorm wat inbreuk trag te maak op die volkswyheid. Dit wil daarna streef om, onmiddellik wanneer die Parlement byeenkom, die volgende wetgewing ingevoer te kry:

(a) Om die invoer van Nazi- en Fascistiese literatuur in Suid-Afrika te verbied, en ook om die organisasie van alle bewegings te belet wat opelik die omverwerping van die demokratiese stelsel en vervanging daarvan deur 'n diktatorskap verkondig.

(b) Om te verbied om politieke uniforme te dra.

(c) Om dit 'n kriminele oortreding te maak om enige ras as geheel te belaster.

(d) Om 'n publieke fonds te verskaf vir die stigting van 'n buro om op elke wyse propaganda vir demokrasie en demokratiese instellings te maak.

(e) Om Suidwes-Afrika as 'n vyfde provinsie in die Unie in te lyf en die hiervoor genoemde maatreëls in daardie gebied van krag te maak.

(f) Om handelsverdrae te sluit met lande wat bereid is om die demokratiese sisteem te handhaaf, en om bestaande verdrae met Fascistiese en Nazi-lande en met lande wat in aanvallende oorlogsdade gewikkel is af te skaf, sowel as alle subsidies aan Fascistiese lande.

Geen ras-onderskeiding mag toegelaat word om die werklike vraagstukke in Suid-Afrika te bemantel nie. Arbeid is voor die volste gelykheid van regte vir beide offisiële tale van die Unie.

FINANSIES

Arbeidsmaatreëls sou ernstig in gevaar gebring word, tensy dat die produksie, handel en uitvoer van goud gekontroleer word. Ook kan die ekonomiese lewe van die land nie gereël word nie tensy die Staat sy krediet, sy finansies en sy finansiers kontroleer. Geld moet tot die dienaar van die publiek gemaak word. Die sentrale kredietstelsel van die Unie moet sodanig gekontroleer word dat dit die hoogste gebruikmaking en distribusie van die bronne van die land verseker.

Die Staatsbank moet gemagtig wees om alles te doen wat nodig is vir die uitvoering van die Arbeidsplanne, b.v. onbeperkte mag om staatspapiere te koop en verkoop, staatslenings te onderskryf, en aan die Staat alle nodige geldsomme voor te skiet vir die aankoop en bemaking van alle produkte van die land.

'n Staats Ontwikkelingsraad kan lenings aan nywerhede toestaan en aandeelhouders daarin wees. Hierdie stelsel van Staats-voorskotte sal die instrument wees om finansiering op lang termyn te verskaf vir allerhande ontwikkelingskemas; en om te sorg dat dit die voordeligste koerse kry sal die Staatsbank die mag hê om sy lenings te onderskryf. Dit sal alle buitelandse fondse verkry vir uitgevoerde produkte kontroleer, en die oorsending van alle oorsese fondse van en na die Unie, en alle krediet, want onverskillig waar geld vir publieke doeleindes vandaan kom, dit kan alleen verkry word deur die landskrediet in pand te gee. Dus sal die Staat self, in plaas van private persone of private instellings, sy krediet verpand. Die landskrediet sal vir die ontwikkeling van staatsbates verpand word. Die Staat moet toegang hê tot alle geproduseerde rykdom. Solank as bates en rykdom geskep word sal 'n geldstelsel gebaseer op die Arbeidsplan gesonder wees as enige ander stelsel wat tans van krag is. Die verskil tussen die twee stelsels is tussen verpanding van die landskrediet om dit te produseer, en die verpanding van die landskrediet om lenings daarop op te neem vir private wins.

Ingeval die handelsbanke en ander finansiële inrigtings nie met die Staatsbank saamwerk nie, sal spesiale magte verleen word om alle nodige finansiële belange in ooreenstemming te bring. Die Staatsbank kan die reserwes bepaal wat ander finansiële instellings daarin moet belê, en kan van alle finansiële instellings alle informasie eis wat vir die doeltreffende en gereëde werking van die land se finansiële bronne en sisteem nodig is.

Spekulasies op die Aandelebeurs sal streng beperk en beheer word.

Nuwe geldbeleggings sal beheer word deur 'n Nasionale Beleggingsraad wat ons finansiële bronne sal gebruik om dit in die regte kanale te lei, en om die Regering advies te gee omtrent sy finansiële planne vir die volle gebruik van die volk. Groot skemas vir nasionale ontwikkeling, met insluiting van behuising, elektrifikasie, transport, vervaardiging van olie uit steenkool, ens. sal ingestel word.

Alle moontlike poginge sal aangewend word om die groots moontlike

stabiliteit van handel en arbeid te verseker.

Nuwe wetgewing sal ingevoer word, en die bestaande wette sodanig gewysig dat uitbuiting van die volk en verwoesting van industrie deur gewetenlose finansiers belet word.

Belasting sal gebruik word om 'n beter distribusie van rykdom en koopkrag te verseker, en om fondse te verskaf vir instelling en uitbreiding van sosiale dienste. Die oprigting van kooperatiewe verenigings sal aangemoedig en ondersteun word.

Suksessieregte, inkomste-, super- en erfnisbelasting sal skerper gegradeer word en op alle eiendom in die Unie toegepas word, onverskillig wie die eienaars mag wees. Belasting op private maatskappye vir verbruiksartikels sal verhoog word totdat hulle in verloop van tyd staatseiendom word.

Wetenskaplike navorsing sal aangemoedig word. Private belange sal nie toegelaat word om nuwe uitvindings te verydel nie. Die Staat sal, as die algemene belang dit eis, 'n sodanige industrie as 'n staatsonderneming finansier en ontwikkel.

BEVEG "DEPRESSIES."

Voorsiening moet onmiddellik gemaak word om aanvalle op die ekonomiese posisie van die land te beveg. Aanvalle wat gewoonlik „depressies” genoem word, soos vanaf 1930. Arbeid sal, deur kontrole op die finansiële en kredietstelsel van die land, die gevolge van sodanige aanvalle beveg.

MINERALE RYKDOM.

Die minerale rykdom, vrugbaarheid en produksievermoë van Suid-Afrika word algemeen erken, en die taak van Arbeid sal wees om skemas in te voer om al die bronne te ontwikkel en die resultate vir die nasie beskikbaar te stel.

Ook sal onmiddellik skemas opgestel word vir staatswerke op groot skaal, soos hidro-elektriese uitbreidings, spoorweë, uitbreiding van telefoon- en telegraafnet, nuwe paaie, ontwikkeling van lard- en bosbou, bestryding van grondverspoeling, oprigting van poskantore en ander staatsgeboue, nuwe skole, staatsbehuising, en ander werke van nasionale belang. Voldoende lone sal aan die arbeiders op daardie skemas betaal word, en 'n 35-urige werkweek sal vir hulle van toepassing wees.

Deskundiges sal in alle kringe van nywerheid aangestel word om planne op te trek vir die bou van fabriek op nasionale basis, om die grondstowwe van Suid-Afrika te verwerk.

LAND EN BOERE

Staatsplanning vereis dat die gebruik van alle land in die algemene belang gekontroleer word—in die belang van die mense, hetsy vir industriële, landbou of ander doeleindes. Huise, skole en ander noodsaaklike geboue (stedelike en plattelandse), speelterreine, oop ruimtes, ens. moet verskaf word. Die Staat sal die mag hê om grond wat dit vir enige doel nodig het sonder uitstel teen redelike prys aan te koop. Klein huis- en grondeienaars sal egter in die onbetwiste besit van hul huise en plase gelaat word. Beskerming van huurders, pachterboere ingesluit, sal verseker word. Operasies op groot skaal

sal ingestel word vir die terugkeer van die volk na die land en vir nedersetting van alle geskikte persone wat hulle op die land wil vestig op die basis van spesialisasie, ooreenkomstig oppervlaktes, klimaatstoestande, ens., met inagneming van alle omstandighede, soos afstand van hoofpaaie, spoorweë, ens. Fondse sal beskikbaar gestel word vir opleiding van settelaars, en om alles te doen tot versekering van blywende nedersetting en bewerking op winsgewende basis.

Surplus gedeeltes van groot plase sal ter beskikking van die „Spesialisieraad” vir hierdie doel teen redelike prys gestel moet word. Boere sal teen die laags moontlike rentekoers geld van die Staat verkry, en al hul skulde sal gereël word om te verseker dat die waarde van hul grond en van die huur van enige erfpag nie die huurwaarde van die grond te bo gaan nie, en dat die totale bedrag en terme van al hul verpligtings sodanig sal wees dat hulle, na aftrek van alle gewone lopende uitgawe, en na aftrek van die onderhoud vir hulleself en hul gesinne in 'n redelik gerieflike staat, redelikerwys kan verwag om in staat te wees om aan hul verpligtings te voldoen, hetsy uit hul eie fondse, of deur geld op redelike voorwaardes van die Staat te leen.

Belasting sal geëf word op alle geboue en op onverbeterde landbougrond wat nie in gebruik is nie.

VERBANDE OP PLASE.

Alle verbande sal deur die Staat oorgeneem word en die rentekoers, waar nodig, verlaag, en in geen geval sal die rente die geleende kapitaal te bo gaan nie. Die huidige spekulatiewe aard van die inkomste van boere sal afgeskaf word.

Pryse vir hul produkte sal aan die boere gewaarborg word. Die pryse moet vir elke jaar standvastig bly. 'n Spesiale markdepartement sal ingestel word om die uitvoer en verkoop van produkte te beheer, wat deur die Staat vir uitvoer oorgeneem sal word. Die verwagting is egter dat, met die hoër lewenstandaard van die volk en die groter krediet in omloop, die hoeveelheid van produkte vir uitvoer feitlik tot nul sal daal. Die gewaarborgde pryse en regulering van die binne-landse mark sal die produsent in staat stel om homself en sy afhanklikes in redelike staat van gerief te onderhou.

LEWENSKOSTE EN PROFITERING

Die verbruiker sal arduense beskerm word teen uitbuiting deur die **vasstelling van maksimum kleinhandelpryse** vir eetware ooreenkomstig die staats-ekonomie onder die Arbeidsplan. Arbeid sal nie toelaat dat Suid-Afrikaanse produkte ten nadele van die verbruikers uitgevoer word nie, **en sal sorg dat vroue behoorlik verteenwoordig is op rade, publieke instellings, ens.** wat sake van invloed op die beheer en prys van eetware behandel. 'n **Wet tot Voorkoming van Profitering** sal ingevoer word om hoër winste te belet en dus 'n styging van lewenskoste te voorkom. Alhoewel produksiekoste mag styg, sal die groter omset tengevolge van die groter koopkrag van die volk meer as 'n teenwig teen die hoër koste vorm.

Indien nodig, sal die beheer van alle sake in verband met eetware onder 'n Ministeriële Departement gebring word. Werkers in die landboubedryf sal verseker wees van 'n redelike standaard van gerief, behoorlike behuising, regulasies vir werkure, ens. deur hul aandeel in die winste wat die nywerheid oplewer.

Konkurensie in transport is verkwistend, ondoeltreffend en gevaarlik. Alle transport per pad, lug en spoor sal gekoördineer word. Alle transportdienste wat geskik daarvoor is, sal in die staatsdiens opgeneem word. Die volk moet 'n veilige, goedkope en doeltreffende transportsisteem hê, met goeie lone en salarisse en arbeids- en lewenskondisies vir die werkers.

MYNBEDRYF EN KRAGPRODUKSIE

Die bestuur van alle myne is ondoeltreffend en geheel in die belang van private ondernemings. Alle mynbedryf moet onder staatseigendom verenig word, met insluiting van bemaking en uitvoer. Die Staat moet alle natuurlike bronne van die land, met insluiting van alle minerale en olie, in eien-dom hê.

FABRIEKE.

Die vervaardiging van olie en ander waardevolle byprodukte van steenkool is ernstig verwaarloos en moet beslis onmiddellik deur die Staat aangepak en nie aan private onderneming oorgelaat word nie.

MYNWERKERS SE LONE.

Alle mynwerkers stel hul lewe in die waagskaal vir onvoldoende lone en onder ongeskikte arbeidskondisies. Die eerste koste vir die nywerheid sal wees behoorlike lone en veiligheid vir die mynwerker.

DIE GOUDPREMIE.

Intussen moet die goudpremie aan die Staat teruggegee word.

Elektrisiteit en gasproduksie en ander nywerhede sal geheel onder staatseigendom gebring word. Die lewering van hitte, lig en krag sowel vir huislike as vir industriële gebruik, sal gekoördineer word ten einde goedkope en voldoende voorraad vir almal beskikbaar te stel.

Meer voordele: Arbeidsbeleid sal groot voordele oplewer vir die ganse volk—volop voedsel, arbeid, goeie lone en behuising, vry tyd en sekerheid.

'n Arbeidsregering sal met die vakunies saamwerk om werkloosheid af te skaf, en om lone, standaards en arbeidskondisies te verbeter.

Vakansiedae met behoud van loon sal 'n wetlike verpligting wees, en wetgewing sal ingevoer word vir korter werktyd gebaseer op 35 uur per week met voldoende beloning en met sodanige aanpassings as nodig mag wees.

WERKLOOSHEID.

Die vrees vir werkloosheid en verlies van 'n lewensbestaan sal aangepak word deur invoering van maatreëls om meer werk te verskaf, en om die werk wat voorhande is op te dra aan diegene wat die beste geskik daarvoor is.

Dingansdag en Meidag sal publieke vakansiedae wees.

WERKLOOSHEID.

'n Wetlike minimum loon of salaris om 'n voldoende lewenstandaard te verseker vir alle werkers—hand- of breinwerkers—sal ingevoer word.

GROTER KOOPKRAG.

Die Staat moet waarborg dat daar nooit besnoeiing van lone of salarisse in die diens van die Staat of van deur die Staat gekontroleerde bedrywe sal wees nie, en moet die lewenstandaard van die volk verhoog deur die koopkrag in die land te versterk.

POLITIEKE REGTE.

'n Wet tot opheffing van politieke diskwalifikasie sal ingevoer word wat vryheid van spreke en volle politieke regte verleen aan alle werkers insluitende diegene in diens van die Staat en van deur die Staat gekontroleerde bedrywe, en om vas te stel dat enige vereniging van sodanige werkers met enige politieke party kan aansluit en fondse uit sy inkomste kan toewys vir bevordering van politieke doeleindes. Alle werkers wat as kandidate vir openbare ampte wil staan moet verlof toegestaan word om dit te kan doen.

ONDERWYS.

Die onderwysstelsel sal die beste geleentheid verskaf vir onderwys van kinders, van die kinderskool tot die universiteit. Alle kinders sal tot op geskikte leeftyd in die skool (en buite nywerhede) gehou word—met toelaë vir onderhoud waar dit nodig is.

PENSIOENE

Pensioene sal ingestel word om aftreding uit bedryfslawe aan te moedig, ook pensioene vir ongeskiktheid weens ongevalle; pensioene vir weduwees; alle onregverdighede, waaronder die middele-toets, in verband met ouderdomspensioene (wat nie minder as £10 per maand moet wees nie) sal afgeskaf word; pensioene vir blindes, ens. Pensioene op 60-jarige ouderdom sal vir almal verskaf word.

WERKERS' KOMPENSASIE.

Die Werkers Kompensasiewet sal gewysig word om die bestaande onbillikheid weg te neem, meer en groter voordele te verskaf, en voorsiening vir 'n Staatsversekeringsfonds te maak.

VOLK SE GESONDHEID.

Staats-gesondheidsdienste sal uitgebrei word.

'n Nasionale kostelose stelsel van gesondheidsversekering sal ingevoer word wat alle fasiliteite aanbied vir herstel en onderhoud van gesondheid. Die euwels van ondervoeding moet verwyder word en oorvloedige goeie voedsel moet vir almal teen billike prys beskikbaar wees, en goedkoop elektrisiteit en ander brandstof om dit te kook. Nasionale skemas vir liggamelike kragtigheid is nutteloos tensy die vraagstuk van ondervoeding afdoende behandel word. Die treurspel van bevreemde oorproduksie in landbou, terwyl ernstige ondervoeding onder die grootste deel van die bevolking bestaan, word in Suid-Afrika in veel groter mate afgespeel as in die meeste ander lande. (Sekretaris vir Volks-gesondheid.) Spesiale sorg vir moeders en 'n eerlike kans vir elke kind moet verseker word.

'n Staats-mediese diens moet ingestel word, en sodanige maatreëls moet getref word dat in die behoeftes van alle blankes en nie-blankes voorsien word. Hospitale moet deur die Staat gestig word en in alle distrikte moet voldoende hospitaal-fasiliteite verskaf word waar dit nodig is.

WERKLOOSHEID.

Onderhoud vir werkloos sal verskaf word, vir diegene wat buite werk is sowel as vir diegene wat vir werk ongeskik is.

LAER HUISHUUR.

Huishuur moet verlaag word tot 'n bereikbare standaard vir almal sodat elkeen definitief kan bekostig om in behoorlike kondisies te lewe. Arbeid streef daarna dat huishuur nie meer as een-agste van die huurder se inkomste opneem nie.

RECTE VAN DIE VROU.

Arbeid—die Party wat die vrou die eerste maal stemreg gegee het—sal 'n vroue-regstoestand invoer. Alle onredelike wetlike en ander nadele sal verwyder word en gelyke regte in die volste sin van die woord sal verseker word.

Gesonde moederskap en alle fasiliteite vir gesondheid en versorging van kinders sal die eerste taak wees.

HANDEL EN WINKELS.

Vir manlike en vroulike werkers in kantore, winkels, handel en industrie moet behoorlike gesonde arbeidskondisies verseker word, sowel as voldoende betaling,—geen „sweating,” redelike werkure, en vakansiedae met behoud van loon.

NATURELLE

Onder die Arbeidsplan sal naturelle geheel van die blankes afgesonderd word, territoriaal, sosiaal en ekonomies, deur 'n gedeelte van die land toe te wys, wat in alle opsigte, vir nywerheid, landbou, ens. geskik moet wees, waar die naturellebevolking in staat sal wees om langs hul eie natuurlike lyne te ontwikkel, met alle nodige advies en hulp van deskundiges, finansiële en andersins, wat nodig mag wees.

ARM-BLANKE VRAAGSTUK.

Arbeid beskou die aanwesigheid van 'n groot massa van die bevolking wat onder die broodlyn leef, en onder die ongesondste en ellendigste kondisies, as die ernstigste vraagstuk van die eeu in Suid-Afrika, 'n vraagstuk wat die nalatenskap is van die kapitalistiese stelsel deur vorige regerings sedert 1908 in ons land gevolg, en wat ander partye van plan is om verder te volg as hulle weer aan die bewind kom. Alhoewel die vraagstuk so 'n reusagtige omvang verkry het (so erg dat alle partye erken dat hulle geen middel daarteen het nie), het Arbeid 'n plan. Die vraagstuk moet onmiddellik aangepak word deur invoering van 'n verstrekkende plan—gepaard met 'n kort-tyd beleid van afdoende noodleniging waaronder herstel van wat byna 'n hele nasie is bewerkstellig sal word, onverskillig wat dit mag kos. Die hele plan sal waarskyn-

lik oor meer as drie-kwart een loop en sal baie kosbaar wees, maar dit sal lei tot die opbou van 'n wonderlike nasie van 'n sterk, gesonde, welopgevoede ras van Suid-Afrikaanse burgers. „Die kinders van vandag sal die hekwame regeerders van môre wees,” maar van 'n verskillende kwaliteit as die teenswoordige regeerders. Ons plan is kortliks die volgende:—

1. Alle persone bo 60 jaar sal definitief versorg word, sodat hulle die res van hul lewe in gerieflike en fatsoenlike omgewing kan deurbring.
2. Die beheer oor die welsyn van alle persone van 30 tot 60 jaar sal ooreeneem word deur 'n Spesiale Staatsdepartement, ingestel vir die doel om die bedoelde seksie van die bevolking te red. Uitgestrekte Staatsplase en nedersettings sal beskikbaar gestel word om voorsiening te maak vir voldoende werk onder goeie en aangename toestande. Diegene wat vir boerewerk—wat in die beste sin van die woord deur deskundiges onderwys sal word—ongeskik is, sal ander beroepe en ambagte geleer word wat by die boerderybedryf aanpas tot daaraan toegevoeg word. Die welsyn, geluk en opvoeding van al daardie mense sal deur deskundiges sielkundig en in alle onderdele bestudeer word. Die hoofdoel sal wees om hulle tot 'n hoër lewe op te hef en aldus uiteindelik aan die armlanke-vraagstuk 'n end te maak. Hulle sal daar onder moderne toestande leef en op allerhande maniere versorg word om dus die Suid-Afrikaanse ras te vestig wat Arbeid in die oog het.
3. Alle persone van 15 tot 30 jaar sal opgelei word in dié rigting wat in elke persoonlike geval die geskikste is. Hierdie klas sal spoedig die uitstaande seksie van die „nuwe” ras word. Hulle sal opgevoed en geoefen word op plase geheel afgesonder van dié wat in punt 2 beskrywe is. Ook sal hulle allerhande beroepe en ambagte geleer word. Diegene wat vir boerdery geskik is sal uiteindelik op die land geplaas word onder 'n uitgebreide kollektiewe boerdery-sisteem, en andere sal in hul ambagte en beroepe ingeskakel word soos die beste geskik is.
4. Kinders sal tot op 14-jarige leeftyd by hul ouers bly sover as dit moontlik is, terwyl alle moontlike aandag gewy sal word aan die versorging van die kinders, onder toesig van welsyn-deskundiges, ens. Spesiale skole, kolleges, ens. sal verskaf word en uiteindelik sal diegene wat die bekwaamheid daarvoor het vir hul finale opleiding na universiteite gestuur word.

SLOTOPMERKINGS

Die huidige sisteem om 'n nasie van armlankes te bly opbou op 6/- per dag, waardeur die room van die platteland afgetrek word, sal ophou. Daar is meer in die vraagstuk as net maar werk te verskaf en dan sulke persone aan hul lot oor te laat om vir hulle-

self met hul gesinne te sorg in slums en onder die ellendigste omstandighede, waaronder die kinders (die toekomstige ras van Suid-Afrika) alleen maar kan versink en die geleedere van die armlankes vermenigvuldig totdat hulle uiteindelik die hele land oorstroom.

Arbeid erken dat dit onmoontlik is om die ouer gedeelte van daardie bevolking wesenlik te verander. Ons moet ons bepaal tot versorging in gerieflike omstandighede tot hulle eindelijk uitsterf. Intussen word vir die tweede seksie voorsiening gemaak vir hul opheffing, opvoeding en opleiding om hul plek in die skema op te neem, totdat die ideale toestand tot stand gebring is. Tegelykertyd word die jonger geslag, van 15 tot 30 jaar, as burgers geoefen vir hulle plek in die skema, terwyl die kinders versorg en vir die toekoms opgelei word.

As ons die ouer geslag nie geheel kan genees of oplei nie dan moet ons ons beste doen onder die geskikste skema en toestande wat vir hulle moontlik is, terwyl ons die kinders—die jonger geslag—by die hand neem en sorg dat hulle, terwyl ons trapsgewys die bestaande vreeslike toestand en stelsel afskaf, opgevoed word tot werklike, goeie, gesonde burgers, geleer en opgelei vir al wat in 'n waarlik ideale Staat onmisbaar is, en aldus sal die armlanke-vraagstuk uiteindelik opgelos word.

Dit kan alleen opgelos word deur staatsplanning onder Arbeidsbeleid. Groot moeilikhede sal daarby ontstaan, maar hulle kan en sal uit die weg geruim word. Dit sal tyd vat, maar niks anders kan gedoen word tensy dit op hierdie manier aangepak word nie. op dieselfde wyse as in ander lande gedoen is, onverskillig wat die koste mag wees nie.

MYNTERING

Die mense wat slagoffers van hierdie vloek van die myne word, was eenmaal—altans liggamelik—die room van die Suid-Afrikaanse volk, wat deur myntering hopelose liggamelike wrakke geword is. Die nasie behoort geen poging of koste te spaar om hul toestand te verbeter nie.

Die eerste konsiderasie moet die gesondheid van die mynwerker wees, en wanneer dit alreeds verlore is, **om voldoende voorsiening te maak vir 'n gereëide pensioen vir homself en sy afhanklikes.**

Daar moet 'n wet ingevoer word om die lewensduur van die mynwerkers te verleng. Die Minister van Mynwese skyn 'n dergelike mensliewende maat reël glad nie nodig te ag nie.

Terwyl die minister bereid is om alles in sy vermoë te doen om die lewensduur van die myne te verleng, het die Regering nog nie dieselfde besorgheid vir die lewensduur van die mynwerker getoon nie.

Vandag is daar duigende ondergrondse werkers. Hulle het die strengste mediese toets deurstaan, maar volgens syfers deur die minister verstrekte, het slegs een-derde van die werkers wat vir keuring aan die Buro gekom het, die toets deurstaan.

Dit moet nie vergeet word dat nie-

mand na die Buro gaan tensy dat hy homself as gesond en sterk beskou nie—en dan kan slegs een-derde van hulle deurkom.

Die Arbeidsparty stel die volgende skema voor, wat 'n totale wysiging in die bestaande Mynteringwet sal aanbring. In die eerste plek maak dit voorsiening vir verlenging van die lewensduur van die mynwerker, en ten tweede maak dit voorsiening vir die werkers—en hul afhanklikes—wat as mynteringlyers afgedank is.

(1) **Die Fonds:** Die bestaande heffing van 7s. 6d. per dag per man word betaal deur die gelyste myne, en 'n bydrae van £2.5s. per maand van die Gekonsolideerde Inkomste van die Staat. Dit kom op £144 per jaar per man plus 5 persent rente. Dit sal die Fonds vorm waaruit die mynwerker betaal sal word sodra hy tengevolge van myntering afgeset word.

(2) As 'n mynwerker sterf of tengevolge van myntering die myne verlaat, sal aan hom of sy afhanklikes die **volle bedrag** uitbetaal word wat vir elke werkdag van hom intetaal is, plus 5 persent rente. Na afloop van tien jaar b.v. sal die mynwerker of sy afhanklikes £1,951 ontvang.

PENSIOEN VIR ALMAL.

(3) As 'n mynwerker binne tien jaar myntering kry sal hy geregtig wees tot kompensasië ooreenkomstig die skaal neergelê in die Werkers Kompensasiëwet van 1934, sowel as tot die bedrag aan hom betaalbaar onder die skema neergelê in art. (1) en (2).

Die doel van hierdie ekstra las op die myne is om te verseker dat die bepalinge van Regulasie 58 (2) (b) uitgevoer word. As daardie regulasie uitgevoer word, sal daar geen gevalle van myntering binne tien jaar wees nie.

(4) Die definisie van „myntering” moet sodanig wees dat die Buro, by die eerste „bespeurbare” tekens van die siekte gemagtig sal wees om die mynwerker te waarsku dat hy aan myntering ly.

(5) Aan mynwerkers wat ervaring van boerdery het moet die nodige fasiliteite gegee word om, terwyl hulle nog in diens van die myne is, grond te koop onder die Staats-40-jarige-stelsel, en hulle moet nie verplig word om op die grond te woon voordat hulle ophou om onder grond te werk nie.

(6) Die Mediese Raad van Beroep moet bestaan uit drie deur die mynwerkers genomineerde lede, die Minister van Mynwese, en die Kamer van Mynwese. Beslissings van hierdie Raad behoort onderworpe te wees aan die hoogste hof in die land.

Dit sal opgemerk word dat werkers met elf jaar diens, onder hierdie skema, miskien minder uitkering sal ontvang as die mynwerker wat binne tien jaar myntering kry; maar dit is om die mynwerker aan te moedig om die myne te verlaat sodra hy tien diensjare vervul het.

Die skema streef na **voorkoming van myntering** deur dit vir die Kamer van Mynwese gebiedend noodsaaklik te maak om regulasies in te voer wat die aantal siektegevalle sal verminder.

Verder maak die skema dit moontlik om praktiese mense met ervaring en kapitaal na die land terug te kry

en aldus die opeenhoping in stede te voorkom.

Die mynwerker het tien jare om

homself vir sy toekoms voor te berei.

Onder hierdie skema kan 'n gesonde man met omtrent £2,000 na die land terug gebring word.

GEN. HERTZOG L.

PARTY PROUD OF ITS RECORD

FIVE YEARS' PROOF OF "UNITY IS STRENGTH"

MUCH STILL TO BE DONE

SMITHFIELD, Tuesday.

The Prime Minister launched the United Party's election campaign in a speech to his constituents here this afternoon.

He detailed the Government's achievements of the last five years in its programme of national development, and its resolve to expand this work after the election.

"Let us as a nation," he added, "honour with deep respect the old motto 'Union is Strength.'"

"PURIFIED" NATIONALISTS

In vigorous words the Prime Minister attacked the Nationalists with their "purified republicanism and spurious native and coloured policies"—their republicanism propaganda "exploiting for political gain that venerable republican feeling sanctified by blood and deed."

Malapropos opposition to the Government's native land policy led the Prime Minister to recall their former attitude, and to declare, "their disloyalty to their word of honour is nothing less than a shameful blot on the good name of the white man in South Africa."

VIGOROUS ATTACK ON THE "PURIFIED" PARTY

Members of the United Party, General Hertzog said, "are unwaveringly determined that the united people of South Africa shall remain a united nation governed, as in the past five years, by a United Party Government."

The cause and justification for that determination are obvious. For a period of five years the United Party

of a united nation with a united national Government.

And I want to declare here to-day, emphatically and decidedly, that what the United Party has achieved legislatively and administratively, for the welfare, the progress and the development of land and people, could not possibly have been attained by any Government of any of the other existing political parties.

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GEN. HERTZOG LAUNCHES U.P. ELECTION

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"Members of the United Party," General Hertzog said, "are unwaveringly determined that the united people of South Africa shall remain a united nation governed, as in the past five years, by a United Party Government."

"The cause and justification for that determination are obvious. For a period of five years the United Party has provided proof not only of its South African heart and patriotism but also of its devotion and loyalty to the interests of those whom it was called upon to govern."

"That love for South Africa, that devotion and loyalty to the service of the nation, have not been mere lip-service yelled from political platforms, but they stand recorded as indelible facts embodied in laws of the land and as decisions of Parliament—deeds, therefore, that speak for themselves without necessity for clamorous publicity or secret and subterranean promptings."

"Where, therefore, the United Party is now approaching the people with the request that this party should again be empowered to govern the country it does so without unfair presumption, and with a candour to which it claims to be fully entitled by reason of the great services it has rendered the nation, in a spirit of loyal and devoted dutifulness, while promoting the interests of people and State during the past five years."

PARTY'S CAREER

"The United Party has behind it a career of five years, in respect of which it can point back with honour and pride to the Status and Seals Acts, the Native Acts, the Immigration of Foreigners Act, the Farmers' Assistance Act."

"These, to mention only a few of the party's activities in

Parliament, will go down to our history as monumental achievements testifying to the courage and power with which a united nation, through the medium of the United Party, was able to cause the interests of the country to triumph worthily, despite all manner of petty political opposition.

"But legislation is but one of the channels through which a Government promotes and protects the interests of the nation, and this by no means exhausts what the United Party Government has accomplished during its five-year regime."

"Another channel, and generally a much more purposeful and, efficient channel of promoting the interests of the land, is a sound and powerful administration."

WORK FOR THE POOR

"Here, too, the Government has pursued a policy and principles that, only a few years ago, would have been considered revolutionary but which, in so far as the welfare of the people and the future of the country are concerned, cannot be looked upon as other than decisive."

"The Government has put into operation a policy whereby the labourer, through administrative means, shall be ensured against unemployment, and this principle will be maintained for the future."

"The Government is stepping in as protector not only of the unemployed but also of the poor and the impoverished in general, and where the labourer is being insured against unemployment, the impoverished man, woman or child is being guarded against lack of food, clothing, housing and medical attention."

"All this is already in operation, and, though not yet extended to its logical limits, every effort is being made for the fulfilment of this policy. No future Government will dare to overlook the principles on which this policy has been founded."

ACHIEVEMENTS

"When, in addition, consideration is given to the gigantic scale on which practical effect is being given to-day to the long-cherished and vital ideal of the South African people regarding the harnessing of our rivers and the impoundment and conservation of the flood waters of our country for irrigation purposes; when heed is given to the systematic and embracing manner in which soil erosion has been combated and a network of dams has been constructed during the past five years as part of a progressive policy of land reclamation; when attention is paid to the State facilities provided the younger generation for physical training and discipline, combined with the provision of suitable employment for thousands, at a cost of millions per annum to the State—when all these things are borne in mind, you will appreciate that to undertake and to give practical effect to such national programme it is imperative that the Government of the country shall be firmly established on the will of a united nation with a united national Government."

"And I want to declare here to-day, emphatically and decidedly, that what the United Party has achieved legislatively and administratively, for the welfare, the progress and the development of land and people, could not possibly have been attained by any Government of any of the other existing political parties."

"UNION IS STRENGTH"

"Achievements such as those which stand to the credit of the United Party during its five years of office must inevitably lie beyond the scope of any Government that has to derive its strength from national division."

“The experience of mankind has ever been: Division leads to death. Let us as a nation honour with deep respect the old motto: ‘Union is strength.’ By unity alone shall we be able to lead our nation to vitality and happiness.

“At the inception of fusion between the two parties in 1933 I impressed upon you from this platform that unity, founded on sincerity, was imperatively desirable, that our two main national elements—English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans—should be knit together and consolidated into a single national entity, and I pointed out how necessary it was that the energies of these two elements should be pooled and exerted in a combined effort to serve and to build up our country and its people.

“The results of the co-operation obtained by the United Party since 1933, provide abundant proof not only of how necessary it was then that fusion should take place, but also how necessary it is now that the Government of the country should be sustained on the shoulders of a united party inspired by a united nation.

“POLICY OF DESPAIR”

“Division, with its anti-South African, anti-British, anti-Jewish, anti-Asiatic, anti-coloured and anti-native policy—a policy that is inherently anti-everything from which political capital can be struck—is a policy of despair, carried on the wings of selfishness and hate, eating out its own entrails and promoting its own destruction.

“The experience of the past five years has shown beyond all doubt that nothing great and lasting can be achieved for South Africa except along the road of united nationhood, and only by the united forces of the nation as a whole will the Government of South Africa be able in future to promote the welfare and the salvation of the people successfully.

“After the election, the United Party will continue to pursue, with renewed vigour, its policy of national unity, national development, national welfare.

“It will pursue this policy both in Parliament and through the Government. In conjunction therewith, those principles that have served the Government for the past five years as a basis of action—for rehabilitating and building up the population, for combating unemployment and for ensuring proper living conditions to the needy—will continue to serve as a guide and a basis for further national construction.

“The ultimate aim of the Government is a sound, a happy and a prosperous nation.

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

“From what I have just said regarding the intentions of the Government in respect of the policy to be pursued after the elections, it follows that the Government is bent on a determined furtherance of the programme of national development and upbuilding on which it has concentrated with such marked success for several years.

“Before the full harvest of this policy can be reaped, and before the people can appreciate its wide significance, it will be necessary to apply the policy in fuller scope than has been possible during the short period since its inception.

“I am quite aware, of course, that the Opposition will not be appeased by what I have briefly summarised as the United Party’s course of action after the general elections.

“The Opposition, however, which apart from words and promises, has done nothing to entitle it to the confidence and support of the people, deals in illusions rather than actualities. With an extravagant hand it sows promises to the four winds of heaven, without bothering about the upshot.

“As I have pointed out, the official Opposition lays claim

to public support at the general elections so that the ‘purified’ party, instead of the United Party, shall be entitled to the conduct of the government of the country. With that object in view, one is informed, the ‘purified’ Opposition has put up about 100 candidates in various constituencies.

“I do not think we need worry about this claim. The number of candidates put up by the ‘purified’ party will soon appear to be more in proportion to the large sum of money which that party has at its disposal than to the foundation of its ‘purified’ claim.

“It would be interesting, nevertheless, to trace the factors on which that claim is based. With this end in view, I would immediately ask:—

“What is the policy on which the ‘purified’ party bases its claim to public confidence and to be entrusted with the government of the country?

TRIVIALITIES

“Ever since its inception, the ‘purified’ party has been in default regarding the formulation of a policy of its own based on principle or some national object or other.

“Its inability to formulate for itself an active policy that could be submitted to the public for approval or rejection is a direct indication of the trivialities to which it owes its existence, or proof at least of its baselessness.

“The so-called policy of the ‘purified’ party consists of nothing more than propaganda allegations and these on opportunistic subjects, or doctrines on subordinate matters and on phases of an isolated or temporary character.

“As is generally the case in politics with such a spurious policy, the ‘purified’ party has conceived it for the primary purpose of using it as a bait to catch votes at elections.

“The aim and object of the so-called ‘purified’ party is not the promotion of the interests of land and people, but the promotion of the interests of the party’s adherents—and for this votes must be caught.

REPUBLICANISM

“In how far this so-called policy of the Opposition boils down to mere vote-snatching, by means of which the ‘purified’ party hopes to capture the government of the country, will appear from the analysis which I shall make presently of some of the subjects that constitute this policy.

“Since the ‘purified’ leaders in Parliament appear to be very proud of their republican policy, I want to start with an exposition of their ‘purified’ republicanism, an exposition that will include their ‘purified’ sincerity, genuineness and patriotism.

“I commence with ex-Judge Beyers, the ‘purified’ republican candidate for the Fauresmith division against Mr. Havena.

“It was reported on March 1 that Mr. Beyers ‘attacked General Hertzog for changing from a strong republican to a bitter opponent of republicanism’.

“Mr. Beyers is perfectly right, I am a strong—a very strong—republican; and I remained a strong republican so long as it was necessary and of service to my people to be such. For that reason I departed from the Judicial Bench at the very start of the South African War.

“I left the Bench not to take part in an election, but to take up arms in defence of the Republics, and I remained in the field with my fellow-republicans to the last moment of the war.

WHERE WAS HE?

“And ex-Judge Beyers, then in the prime of his manhood, where was he?

“About the same time that I was busy taking up arms to hasten to the fields of battle, in order to defend the republic which Mr. Beyers has now suddenly decided to seek, he was also busy—very busy—but not with any intention of fighting.

“As someone aptly described it recently, he was busy ‘packing his belongings in Johannesburg, where he had been earning his bread, in order to hasten to the protection of the British flag in Capetown.’

“Yet this man takes it amiss of me to-day that I do not possess his heroism to be a ‘purified’ republican—now that there is no danger, and no necessity for such action.

“But we all know our fire-eating republicans!

“I am engaged merely in showing what importance one can attach to the so-called republican policy of the ‘purified’ party, and that it boils down to nothing more than a dishonest propaganda for the purpose of vote-catching.

BLACK SHEEP

“I want to be fair, therefore, and to accept that in this case of ex-Judge Beyers, too, one swallow does not make a summer, and that you might be justified in looking upon him as an exception—a black sheep among the ‘purified’ flock. Yes—if he had stood alone!

“But unfortunately for ‘purified’ republicanism and its reputation, this is not the case.

“It is not so unknown to us how many other black sheep belonging to the Beyers category, and to other classes, such as Town Guards and British Intelligence officers of the South African War period, there are among the ‘purified’ republicans of to-day.

“It has been repeatedly pointed out during the past few months how many of that sort of black sheep are to be found in Parliament only among the ‘purified’.

“Ex-Judge Beyers is therefore no exception. If one considers who those other black sheep among the ‘purified’ are and what responsible positions they occupy in the ‘purified’ party, then the dishonest game of ‘purified’ republicanism reveals itself in a way that redounds to the deepest dishonour of the leaders the ‘purified’ party.

“Their so-called republican policy is nothing but a piece of ‘purified’ propaganda with which they are busy hawking the republican sentiment of the Afrikaans-speaking South African in order to exploit for their own political gain that venerable republican feeling, sanctified by blood and deed in the heart of the old populations of the Free State, the Transvaal and a large part of the Cape.

LAND FOR NATIVES

“Let us take another subject of ‘purified’ policy to see if this appears in a better light or if it is backed by a greater measure of sincerity and genuineness than in the case of ‘purified’ republican hawking.

“Let us view the ‘purified’ policy from close quarters. Whence, and since when, the ‘purified’ policy which is deliberately calculated to prevent the natives of the four provinces from obtaining the land promised them since 1917 and earlier—a promise repeatedly confirmed since 1924 by members of the old Nationalist Party, including Dr. Malan and all his ‘purified’ lieutenants in Parliament?

“A graver breach of faith than that of which these ‘purified’ leaders of a ‘purified’ party have made themselves guilty can scarcely be conceived.

“Their disloyalty to their word of honour is nothing less than a shameful blot on the good name of the white man in South Africa; the more so when it is borne in mind that they are endeavouring to deprive the natives of what is due to

them, and what has been solemnly promised them by Parliament in compensation for certain rights taken from them.

“If the ‘purified’ infidelity of the white man were to triumph here, it would cast a blot on the character of the Afrikaner that would for ever brand him unfaithful and untrustworthy.

“SHOCKING INFIDELITY”

“Permit me now to focus your attention on another instance of this shocking infidelity with which the ‘purified’ party is busy destroying the confidence of the coloured community in the word of the white man. I refer to the coloured policy of the ‘purified’ leaders.

“The falsity and infidelity characterising the ‘purified’ native policy are duplicated in the ‘purified’ coloured policy.

“While it was sought to solve the native question by segregation, the coloured people repeatedly expressed the fear that once the white man had segregated the native he would go further and segregate the coloured people, even though the coloured people were strongly opposed to such a step.

“In reply to this, the old Nationalist Party, with myself at the head and with full approval of Dr. Malan and the bulk of those who sit behind him in Parliament to-day as ‘purified’, in order not to alienate the vote of the coloured people, repeatedly gave the coloured people the assurance that segregation would not be applied to the coloured population and that no demarcation in respect of Europeans and coloured people would be applied other than social separation.

“To-day, after native segregation has been put through with the aid of the coloured vote, we find that the ‘purified’ party members in Parliament, with Dr. Malan at the head, are endeavouring to segregate the coloured people not only socially, but politically as well.

FAITH AND HONOUR

“It seems as though ‘purified’ policy has been deliberately conceived to evade the requirements of faith and honour and sincerity, and that in giving practical effect to coloured and native policy care should be taken that disloyalty and faithlessness, shall be the guiding line of the white man in South Africa in determining and fulfilling his duties as guardian of the non-European.

“Only an assumption of this nature can explain the attempt made at the recent session of Parliament to have segregation applied in certain respects to the coloured people of the Cape together with the natives, and to compel them in addition to separate representation in the House of Assembly and in the Senate.

“In other words, we must now apply political as well as economic segregation to the coloured community, notwithstanding the fact that this is in direct conflict with the undertaking we gave the coloured people when we needed their votes for the application of segregation against the natives. What falsity and infidelity!

“In all earnestness I again put this question—What is the policy on which the ‘purified’ party bases its claim to public confidence and to be entrusted with the government of the country?

“What would become of the honour of the Afrikaner if it had to depend on the political morality of the ‘purified’ leaders?

“All those election cries, promoted to the status of a policy by the ‘purified’ party leaders, are nothing but so many attempts—radiating insincerity, faithlessness and unreliability—to mislead the electorate, as witness the ‘purified’

republican, the 'purified' native and the 'purified' coloured policy.

"It is characteristic of this ballot-box policy that it misses all moral foundation and is therefore pursued regardless of any principle, moral restriction or obligation.

"This lack of moral restraint in the pursuance of 'purified' policy, we are assured, is sanctified by the exigencies of the ballot-box! Whether it be violence, untruth or breach of faith, is a matter of no concern to 'purified' morality—the successful results in the interests of 'purified' nationalism sanctifies everything!

RECKLESS PROMISES

"The 'purified' leaders, of course, realise full well that they are not in the least danger of being called to govern the country; hence all the mischievous promises and declarations of policy, which they know they will never be called upon to fulfil or put into effect.

"Under these circumstances, and in a completely irresponsible manner, they make the most reckless promises to all sections of the community offering a prospect of votes.

"The farmer, for instance, need no longer bother about financial commitments because, if the 'purified' party come into power, all his debts would be paid by the 'purified' Government; a 'purified' party Government would decrease the rate of interest on all urban as well as on all farm property, no matter when bonds are contracted! In fact, all bonds would be taken over by the State and farm renters and share farmers would be released from all debts and obligations by 'purified' wisdom!

"As you know only too well, these few examples of glorious 'purified' promises by no means exhaust the programme to which 'purified' leaders and politicians have committed themselves—and the process of 'purified' bidding continues from day to day.

BALLOT-BOX POLICY

"The reason for all this is obvious.

"So long as the Opposition leaders cannot get into power we must expect them to devise means, no matter at what cost, of keeping their party going. Hence this ballot-box policy, with its reckless promises of which, assuming that the 'purified' party would ever be entrusted with the government of the country, precious little could possibly be carried out.

"It must be clear to everyone who has given some thought to the promises of the 'purified' leaders that these promises have but one object—to promote self-interest and personal political ambition by appealing to those lower motives and instincts of selfishness and personal interest among the uninitiated and thoughtless.

"This ballot-box policy with its absence of principle and moral foundation, has been developed to a fine art by 'purified' leaders, and to-day permeates all their political activities.

"Its result may be detected throughout the country and with

all classes of the population. But nowhere has its destructive effect on the nation been more unfortunate than where moral strength and spiritual stimulation, in respect of what is clean and noble and virtuous, are to be particularly expected.

"In times of stress and anxiety the dejected and the depressed, instead of being encouraged and inspired to hopeful effort so that they might provide for themselves through their own initiative as far as possible, are unnerved and rendered impotent by references to the Government and to duties invented for the Government with scarcely any object other than to establish division among the people and create hostility against the Government of the country.

HATE AND STRIFE

"The immediate effect of such politics on the people is to provoke hate, covetousness and strife. In brief, national division and civil strife are the inevitable fruits of 'purified' party policy.

"The question arises: 'How long will this continue?' The reply can scarcely be anything but, 'So long as the people permit themselves to be influenced by ballot-box policies; that is, so long as a sufficient number of enfranchised men and women are prepared to allow themselves to be misled by that 'purified' policy of insincerity and infidelity.'

"Fortunately there are signs of resistance among the population against all this deception and demoralisation to which the electorate has been subjected for some years.

"As one reaction the South African Youth Front has come into being—a reaction that will not be without salutary influence at the impending elections.

CLARION CALL

"In the name of sound nationhood I want to make the following appeal to every Free State man and woman; nay to every South African man and woman:—

"Maintain the moral loftiness of our national existence! Reject everything calculated to detract from the loftiness of our South African character.

"The general election to which we are now being exhorted confronts the South African people with this choice: A united national Government based on a united South African nationhood, as against a Government that will owe its origin to schism and strife and that will derive the lifeblood of its existence for national disruption and infidelity.

"Never for a moment have I doubted what the reply of the South African nation is going to be: The South African nation will heed the clarion call for a united South Africa.

"It is with the utmost confidence that I leave this decision to you and to the people of South Africa as a whole."
—Reuter.

(News by B. Bennett and D.J. Hamman, 42, East Burger Street, Bloemfontein.)

Election Manifesto
of the
National Party

General Election
1938

§ — Issued on behalf of the Federal Council of the National Party by Dr. D. F. Malan, Dr. N. J. van der Merwe en Adv. J. G. Strydom and printed by the Nasionale Pers Beperk, Keerom Street, Cape Town.

Election Manifesto of the National Party.

I. FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENCE: The Party adheres to its policy, as enunciated since 1914, of not intervening in any foreign disputes or wars and will organise our defences with an eye to our own safety and the protection of our neutrality. To this end it will make every effort to revise the Simonstown agreement. With due observance of this policy it will further support every concerted, well intentioned and practical effort made by the nations of the world to ensure world peace.

II. REPUBLICAN AIMS: The establishing of a Republic independent of the British Crown and Empire is and remains the aim of the Party. Further, the Party declares that in accordance with its Program of Principles this constitutional change shall only be brought about in response to a special and unquestionable mandate from the people and not merely as a result of a Parliamentary majority obtained at an ordinary general election.

III. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE:
The Party undertakes—

- (a) to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council;
- (b) to amend our nationality Acts so as to remove all trace of any double nationality and to abolish the misleading term "British Subject";
- (c) the declaration and sole recognition of an own South African National Anthem;
- (d) to take steps to break the dominance of foreign shipping companies through the gradual acquisition of our own shipping as also by the judicious employment of the subsidy system.

IV. IMMIGRATION AND JEWISH QUESTION: While the Party welcomes in general the immigration of suitable, assimilable European elements, it will, with an eye to South Africa's special problems, take steps to put a stop to any further immigration of Jews, to combat the usage of changing of names, to exercise stricter control over naturalization and to institute the professional permit system for un-naturalized foreigners along the lines existing in England and France and other countries. Further it will take all possible steps to equip South Africa's original Afrikaans- and English-speaking elements to make a livelihood in every possible walk of life and to protect them from unfair competition.

V. COLOUR PROBLEMS: (a) The Party aims at the revision of our existing Native legislation with the object of abolishing the Native franchise for the House of Assembly and the Cape Provincial Council; prohibiting the flocking of the surplus natives into our urban areas, effectively to bring about their removal therefrom and to make residential segregation in such areas effective.

(b) The Party will put a stop to the present wholesale buying of land by the State for the native and leave the acquiring of land by the native more to his own initiative and in conformity to his real needs.

(c) The Party further aims at the logical application of the segregation principle in regard to all non-Europeans as being in the best interests of the

Europeans and non-Europeans and therefore undertakes to introduce legislation for—

- (1) Separate residential areas, trade unions and as far as practical also separate places of work for Europeans and non-Europeans;
- (2) the restriction of employment in certain directions to European labour only and/or in accordance with a determined, just and equitable quota for Europeans and non-Europeans;
- (3) separate representation for the enfranchised Cape Coloureds in our legislative bodies;
- (4) the application of the Immorality Act, 1927, to all non-Europeans and the prohibiting of mixed marriages and the employment of Europeans by non-Europeans.

VI. GENERAL ECONOMIC REFORM: (a) The Party promises an immediate and thorough enquiry into the rise of the cost of living;

(b) In order at all times to safeguard the legitimate interests of the producers, distributors, employees and consumers respectively and further to protect all classes of persons from exploitation of any nature, the Party promises to establish a Central Economic Council with instructions to advise the Government from time to time in regard to price fixing, producers', distributors' and sellers' organizations; schematic economic development and other necessary measures.

VII. BANKING: The Party undertakes to reform our banking system and put an end to the dominance of the foreign banks by—

- (a) converting the Reserve Bank into a State Bank in conformity with the principle of essential services;
- (b) strengthening the Land Bank and extending its powers in order to provide special facilities for short and long term credit which is demanded by the peculiar circumstances of our farming industry;
- (c) establishing Industrial Banks with a view to the vigorous and active protection, and development of our own industries.

VIII. AGRICULTURE: The Party promises vigorous and active assistance and protection to the farming industry by—

- (a) the carrying into effect of a bond redemption and interest subsidy scheme on the principle of the Van der Horst plan at least to an extent that will adjust the economic capacity of the properties in terms of their productive capacity;
- (b) effective measures for the marketing of agricultural products through one channel under sufficient control of the producers;
- (c) the safeguarding of our home markets from detrimental competition from abroad;
- (d) extending and creating new markets by—
 - (1) encouraging secondary industries, for example for the manufacturing of commodities from mealies, grain, meat and other products, and
 - (2) state-assisted national and foreign reclamé

and improved trade relationship with countries which are in a position to buy our agricultural products;

- (e) the establishing of fodder depôts as a method of combatting the drought; the granting of greater facilities for obtaining cattle fodder and ampler state assistance for boreholes and fencing;
- (f) the protection and assistance of irrigators by—
 - (1) the erection of dams where there is as yet no irrigation and further also at existing irrigation works where the water supplies are insufficient;
 - (2) the extension of facilities for loans to individual irrigators.

IX. LAND SETTLEMENT: (a) The Party will in accordance with a properly planned big scale scheme take immediate steps to establish the landless farming community as owners on the land and will in so far as it is necessary by expropriation in accordance with the Act on the Unbeneficial Occupation of Farms, 1937, appropriate for this purpose land—more especially of companies—which is not occupied or cultivated to advantage by Europeans, or which is held solely for the purpose of speculation.

(b) For this purpose it will also facilitate the purchase of land by abolishing the obligation to contribute one-tenth of the purchase price and by placing the settlements on a workable economic basis by revaluation also of land acquired under Section 11 of the Land Settlement Act.

X. MINING INDUSTRY: The Party will in general vigorously and actively further the interests of the mining industry. It will, however, see to it that by stricter State control and a policy of judicious taxation—

- (a) the State will acquire a greater share of our mineral wealth;
- (b) the industry shall cease to be the happy hunting ground of parasitical speculators;
- (c) that the workers in gold mines shall obtain—
 - (1) a general revision of the obsolete Lucas Commission Concessions, 1927;
 - (2) the recognition of Dingaans Day as a public holiday with full pay;
 - (3) the payment of a round figure plus a pension to all persons suffering from ordinary tuberculosis or suffering from miners' phthisis in the ante or primary stages and to their dependants;
 - (4) a pension and gratuity scheme for all underground workers to enable them to leave underground work after 12 years;
 - (5) better provision for the widows and orphans of miners;
 - (6) a thorough investigation into and revision of the medical standards of the Miners' Phthisis Bureau so as to make them more favourable to the miners.
- (d) that the alluvial diamond diggers shall be assured of the proclaiming of sufficient diamondiferous ground, and restricting of it to professional diggers and of a reduction in the export duty on alluvial diamonds.

XI. CIVIL SERVICE: The Party Undertakes:

- (a) to revise salary scales, particularly with a view

to improving the position of the small salaried man;

- (b) to apply consistently the principle of bilingualism in the case of appointments and promotions;
- (c) to respect and protect the rights as citizens of teachers and all persons in the service of the state;
- (d) to enquire into the work of the Civil Service Commission and specially the promotions recommended by them.

XII. RAILWAYS: The Party makes it its object—

- (a) to bring to an immediate end the waste on the Railways caused by mismanagement;
- (b) to grant lower railway tariffs to develop the country economically and especially to further farming and industry;
- (c) to revise the conditions of service, salaries and wage scales with a view to more reasonable working hours and extra pay and the assurance of a higher wage scale to the lower grades of the personnel, labourers and clerks alike, who are at present paid too little to maintain a civilized standard of living.

THE PARTY FURTHER UNDERTAKES—

- (1) to remove the restrictions placed by the present Government on the promotion of the unskilled European labourers to graded posts and to lend assistance and encouragement to such promotion;
- (2) to carry into effect a housing scheme for railway servants which will enable them—
 - (a) to build their own homes with the assistance of Government advances at the revised interest rate of 3½ per cent., and
 - (b) to obtain loans on mortgage at a low rate of interest on houses which they already possess but which are bonded at an excessive rate of interest;
- (3) to promote the closest co-operation between the railway administration and the personnel unions without meddling in their domestic affairs;
- (4) to establish a widows pension fund for railway employees.

XIII. UNSKILLED LABOUR: The Party aims at the establishing of a minimum wage of 8s. to 10s. per day for unskilled and half-skilled married European labourers on all undertakings under State control such as the railways, roads, afforestation, irrigation and relief works, with the exception of agriculture, also to protect European labour against unfair competition in other undertakings, on a quota basis or otherwise.

XIV. THE PARTY WILL TAKE STEPS TO BRING ABOUT:—

- (a) enlarged and better co-ordinated medical services for the nation, including district-nursing, the training of sufficient numbers of nurses, the prevention of mal-nutrition, and insurance against illness and physical disability;
- (b) more effective protection against excessive house rents by the revision of the Rent Determination Act, and
- (c) the establishment of an efficient national housing scheme which will put an end to slums and will ensure proper housing in urban and country areas.

LABOUR STANDS FOR

**BREAD
AND
BUTTER
Politics**

General Elections 1938
South African Labour Party

**THE WAY TO PEACE
AND PROSPERITY**

Printed by The Commercial Printing Co. (Pty.), Ltd., 12 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

LABOUR'S PROGRAMME OF IMMEDIATE ACTION

Reforms To Ensure A Permanent Prosperity

"Labour's Plan" has been tested and proved right in other countries of the world. If the people of South Africa are genuinely anxious to ensure a happier and more prosperous future for their country, they cannot fail to be impressed by the reforms proposed by the Labour Party in this carefully planned scheme.

STATE CONTROL.

To organise an internal economy that will distribute the production and service of the Union in a way that will guarantee to all persons able to work an income sufficient to provide them and their dependants with everything necessary to make a home and home life in the truest and best sense of the meaning of those terms, but this can only be attained if finance and trade, industry and agriculture conform to a national plan under the guidance of the State. Labour will not confiscate property, nor destroy the value of existing investments. Fair compensation will be paid to owners and shareholders of any industry which is taken over for the common good. It will carry out its plans without inflicting injustice on individuals.

PEACE.

To do everything possible to ensure a just and lasting peace, and to co-operate with other nations, so that all may prosper. To attain this end co-operation and comradeship between all peoples and all nations is required, all having equal opportunities to share

in the abundant wealth and economic opportunities of the world. It will press for the abolishment of war, for the establishment of a real collective peace system, which will give security to all nations. It will support the strengthening and reform of the League of Nations as a real Parliament of all mankind. It is necessary meanwhile to maintain such armed forces as are required to defend the boundaries of the Union and to fulfil any obligations as a member of the League. The control, manufacture and management of all munitions of war must be a State responsibility.

DEMOCRACY.

The Labour Party stands firmly for Democracy. It is opposed to all dictatorship by any individual, party or group. It will resist and attack all attempts on the liberty of the people, either from inside or outside the Union. It stands for preservation of freedom, the rights of minorities irrespective of race or creed—and the swift and effective operation of the democratic system. It will press for measures to prevent its proposals being defeated by vested interests, and un-representative bodies.

Labour realises that two very serious dangers threaten the people of the Union, and that action against them must be taken at once. The forces of democratic opinion in South Africa must give a determined lead in the fight against the rising tide of Fascist and Nazi ideas, and secondly, plans must be made to prevent South Africa suffering, as it did from 1930 onwards.

TO FIGHT FASCISM.

Labour is opposed to anti-Semitic propaganda, more particularly as it is of necessity the forerunner of the establishment of a dictatorship, and aims at oppressing minorities.

Labour will give the lead in carrying on the fight against the forces of Fascism and Nazism, which menace our land to-day. It will fight any form of dictatorship, whether it is Fascist, Nazi or Communist or any other government which attempts to make any inroads on the liberty of the people. It will strive to have legislation, dealing with the following, put on the Statute Book immediately Parliament assembles:—

(a) To prohibit the importation into South Africa of Nazi and Fascist

literature, and to prohibit the organisation of all movements which have as their openly declared policy the overthrow of the democratic system, and the substitution of a dictatorship.

(b) To prohibit the wearing of political uniforms.

(c) To introduce a law which will make it a criminal offence to libel or slander any race as a whole.

(d) To provide public funds to establish a bureau to make propaganda in every way for democracy and its institutions.

(e) To incorporate South-West Africa as a fifth province of the Union, and to apply the foregoing provisions in that territory.

(f) To conclude trade treaties with countries prepared to maintain the democratic system, to abolish those at present in existence with Fascist and Nazi countries and countries engaged in acts of aggression, and to abolish all subsidies to Fascist countries.

No racialism must be permitted to camouflage the real issues in South Africa. Labour believes in fullest equal rights for both official languages of the Union.

VITAL MEASURES OF RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE.

Labour measures would be considerably endangered, unless the production, handling and exportation of gold were controlled. Neither could the country's economic life be planned unless it controls and issues its credit, its finance and its financiers. Money must be made the servant of the public. The central credit system of the Union must be controlled so as to ensure the maximum utilisation and distribution of the country's resources.

The State Bank must have power to do all that is necessary for the carrying out of Labour plans, among these being full power to buy and sell Government securities, underwrite Government loans, and advance to the Government all necessary money for the purchase and marketing of all the country's products.

A State Development Board may make loans to industry, and be shareholder therein. This State Advances system will be the instrument for providing long-term finance for all kinds of development schemes, and in order that it may secure the best possible rates the State Bank will have power to underwrite its loans. It will control all foreign exchange funds resulting from the country's exports, and the transfer of all overseas funds to and from the Union, also issue of all credit, as no matter where money comes from for public purposes, it is obtained only by pledging the public credit, and the State will, therefore, pledge its credit to itself, instead of to individuals or private institutions. The public credit will be pledged for the development of national assets. The State must have access to all

wealth created. As long as assets and wealth are created, a money system built on Labour's plan will be sounder than any other system at present in force. The difference between the systems is between pledging the public credit to produce it, and the pledging of the public credit to raise debts upon it for private profit.

Should the commercial banks and other financial institutions not co-operate with the State Bank, powers will be made available to bring about adjustment of all such financial interests as may be necessary. The State Bank may regulate the reserves which other financial institutions must keep with it, and call for and receive from all necessary financial institutions all information required for the efficient and smooth working of the country's financial resources and system.

Operation on the Stock Exchanges will be severely curtailed and controlled.

New investments will be controlled through a National Investment Board which will mobilise our financial resources to guide them into the right channels, and to advise the Government on its financial plan for the full employment of the people. Large schemes of public development, including housing electrification, transport, extraction of oil from coal, etc., will be instituted.

Every effort will be made to ensure the greatest possible stability of trade and employment.

New legislation will be introduced, and existing laws amended so as to prevent the exploitation of the people and the ruin of industry by unscrupulous financiers.

Taxation will be used to secure a better distribution of wealth and purchasing power, and to provide funds for introduction and extension of social services. The formation of co-operative societies will be encouraged and assisted.

Death duties, income, super and inheritance taxation will be more steeply graded and apply to all property in the Union irrespective as to where owners may be. Taxation on privately owned utility corporations will be increased until they are in due course taken under public ownership.

Scientific research will be encouraged. Private interests will not be permitted to frustrate new inventions. The State will, if the national interest demands it, finance and develop such an industry as a public enterprise.

FIGHT DEPRESSION.

Provision must be made immediately effectively to fight attacks on the country's economic position, so often referred to as "depression," such as from 1930. Labour would, through its control of the country's financial and credit systems combat the effects of these attacks.

MINERAL RESOURCES.

South Africa's mineral wealth, fertility and production power is unquestioned, and Labour's task will be to institute schemes to develop those resources and make the result available to the people of the country.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Schemes will also be prepared immediately for large-scale public works to be commenced as soon as necessary,

such as hydro-electric extensions, railways, telegraph and telephone extensions and improvements, new roads, land development and afforestation, elimination of soil erosion, erection of postal and other public buildings, new schools, State housing, and other work of value to the community. Adequate wages will be paid to all workers on these schemes to whom a 35-hour week will also apply.

Experts will be appointed in all spheres of industry to prepare schemes for the building of factories on a national basis, to use the raw materials and products of South Africa.

LAND AND FARMERS

National planning requires that the use of all land will be controlled in the public interest—in the interests of all the people, whether for agriculture, industry or other purposes. Houses, schools, and other necessary buildings (rural and urban), playing fields, open spaces, etc., must be provided. The State will have power to acquire such land as they need for any purpose whatsoever without delay and at a reasonable price. Small householders, and small owner occupiers, however, will be left in undisputed possession of their homes and farms. Protection of tenants, including tenant farmers, will be instituted. Large scale operations will be inaugurated for the return of the land to the people, and settlement of all suitable persons who desire to settle on the land on the basis of specialisation, according to areas, climatic conditions, etc., bearing in mind all circumstances such as distance to main road, railways, etc. Funds will be made available for training settlers, and to do everything to ensure permanent settlement and operations on a profitable basis.

Surplus portions of large farms will be required to be placed at the disposal of the "Specialisation Board" (at reasonable prices) for the purpose of this scheme. Farmers will obtain finance at the lowest possible rates from the State and their liabilities will be adjusted so as to ensure that the value of their property and that the rent of any leasehold does not exceed the rental value of that property, and that the total amount and terms of all their liabilities are such that after allowing for all normal current expenditure and providing for the maintenance of themselves and family in a reasonable state of comfort, they may reasonably be expected to meet their liabilities, either out of their own moneys or by borrowing on reasonable terms from the State.

A tax will be imposed on all building and agricultural unimproved land not in use.

FARM BONDS.

All bonds will be taken over by the State and interest reduced where and when necessary, and in no case shall interest exceed capital advanced. The present speculative nature of farmers' incomes will be abolished.

Prices will be guaranteed to farmers for their produce. The prices must remain stable for each year. A special marketing department will be

established, to handle the export and sale of produce, which will be taken over by the State for exportation. It is, however, anticipated that with the raising of the standard of living of the people, increase of credit in circulation, the quantity of produce exportation will practically be reduced to nothing. The guaranteed prices and regulation of the home market will enable the producer to maintain himself and his dependants in a reasonable standard of comfort.

COST OF LIVING AND PROFITEERING.

The consumer will be adequately protected against exploitation by the **establishment of maximum retail prices** for foodstuffs fixed according to the country's national economy under Labour's plan. Labour will not permit the exportation of South African products to the detriment of consumers and will ensure adequate representation of women on boards, public institutions, etc., dealing with all questions affecting the control and prices of foodstuffs.

A) "Prevention of Profiteering" Act will be passed to prevent increases in the rates of profits, and so prevent the cost of living increasing. Although production costs may be increased, the increased turnover resulting from the greater purchasing power of the people would more than balance any increased costs. If necessary, the control of all matters affecting the food of the people will be placed under a Ministry of State. Workers in agricultural industry will be assured of a fair standard of comfort, also decent housing conditions, regulation of hours, etc., through their participation in the benefits accruing to this industry.

TRANSPORTATION.

Competition in transport is wasteful, inefficient and dangerous. All transportation by road, air and rail will be co-ordinated. All transportation services that are suitable will be transferred to public ownership. The nation must have a safe, cheap and efficient co-ordinated transport system, with good wages and salaries, conditions of labour and living for its employees.

MINING AND POWER

The management of all mines is inefficient and entirely in the interests of private enterprise. All mining industry must be unified under public ownership, including marketing and exportation. The State must own all natural resources of the land, including all minerals and petroleum. The extraction of all oil and other valuable by-products from coal has been badly neglected and must definitely be taken in hand at once by the State and not left to private interests.

MINERS' WAGES AND SAFETY

All miners risk their lives and health for inadequate wages under unsuitable working conditions. The first charge on the industry will be an adequate wage and safety for the miners.

GOLD PREMIUM.

Meanwhile, the gold premium must be returned to the State.

Electricity and gas supply and other industries will be brought completely under public ownership. The national supply of heat, light and power, both for domestic and industrial purposes, will be co-ordinated so as to make cheap and efficient supplies available to all.

More benefits: Labour policy will bring great benefits to all the people—abundant food, employment, good wages and housing, leisure and security.

WAGES AND CONDITIONS.

A Labour Government will co-operate with the trade unions to eliminate unemployment, improve wages, standards and conditions.

Holidays with pay will be a legal obligation, and legislation will be introduced for shorter hours based on a 35-hour week with adequate remuneration and with such adaptations as may be necessary.

Fears of unemployment and loss of livelihood will be tackled by the introduction of measures to increase employment, and to concentrate the available work on those best fitted to perform it.

HOLIDAYS.

Dingaan's Day and May Day to be paid public holidays.

MINIMUM WAGE.

A statutory minimum wage or salary to provide an adequate standard of living for all workers—whether by hand or brain will be legislated for.

~~NO. TWO~~ MORE "CUTS."

The State must guarantee there will be no wage or salary cuts in any State or State controlled institutions at any time and must improve the standard of living of the people, thereby increasing the spending power in the country.

POLITICAL FREEDOM.

A Political Disabilities Removal Act will be passed granting freedom of speech and full political rights to all employees including State and State-controlled institutions, and to provide that any society of such employees, trade unions or industrial unions may affiliate with any political party and make grants from its funds for the furtherance of political objects. All employees, desirous of contesting seats for public office, to be granted leave of absence for so doing.

The education system will provide the maximum possibilities for advancement of children from nursery schools to university. All children will be kept at school (and out of industry) to a suitable age—with maintenance allowance where necessary.

PENSIONS

Pensions to encourage retirement from industry will be provided, also pensions on the grounds of invalidity; pensions to widows; all injustices, including the means test, will be removed relating to old age pensions (which must not be less than £10 per month); pensions to the blind, etc. Pensions at 60 will be provided for all.

STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The Workmen's Compensation Act will be amended to remove the present injustice, provide greater and higher benefits and provide for State Insurance Fund.

STATE HEALTH SCHEME.

Health service by the State will be extended.

A national free health insurance service will provide every facility for the restoration and maintenance of health. Evils of underfeeding must be removed and a plentiful supply of good food made available to all at fair prices, with also cheap power and fuel to cook it. National physical fitness schemes are useless unless the problem of malnutrition is effectively dealt with. The tragedy of alleged agricultural over-production is the presence of gross malnutrition among the bulk of the population is being enacted in South Africa to a much greater extent than in most countries. (Secretary for Public Health.) Special care for mothers and a fair chance for every child must be ensured.

To provide a State medical service and introduce such measures that will adequately serve the needs of all Europeans and non-Europeans. That hospitals should be established by the State and adequate hospital facilities be instituted in all areas where such institutions are considered necessary.

Unemployment maintenance will be adequately provided for those who are unemployed and unemployable.

REDUCED RENTS.

Rents must be reduced to within reasonable reach of all people, so as to ensure that everyone can afford and definitely be provided with a decent living condition. Labour will aim at rents not exceeding one-eighth of each householder's income.

WOMEN'S CHARTER.

A woman's charter will be introduced by Labour—which party first gave women the vote. All unreasonable legal and other disabilities will be removed, and equal rights in the true sense of the word will be instituted.

Healthy motherhood and all facilities for health and care of children will be the first charge.

SHOP AND COMMERCIAL.

For men and women office, shop, commercial and industrial workers decent healthy working conditions must be provided, together with adequate remuneration—no sweating, reasonable hours of labour, and holidays with pay.

NATIVES.

Under Labour's plan, natives will be completely separated from Europeans, territorially, socially and economically by setting aside and providing a portion of the country, which must be suitable for all purposes, i.e., industry, agriculture, etc., whereon the native population will be enabled to develop along its own lines with all necessary specialist advice and assistance—financially and otherwise as far as may be required.

POOR WHITE PROBLEM

Labour regards the presence of a large mass of the population living below the breadline, and under the most unhygienic and terrible conditions in many cases, as the most serious problem of the present century in South Africa and one which is the inheritance of the capitalistic system pursued by previous governments in South Africa since 1908, and still proposed to be continued by the other parties if returned to power. Although this problem has assumed such enormous proportions (so much that all the parties admit their inability to supply a remedy) Labour has a plan. The problem must be taken in hand at once by the introduction of a definite long-range plan—coupled with a short-term policy of effective alleviation under which, what almost constitutes a whole nation shall be emancipated regardless of cost. This plan will probably extend over more than three-quarters of a century and the cost will be very considerable, but will result in the building up of a wonderful nation of good, strong, physically fit, healthy, educated race of South African citizens. "The children of to-day will be the capable rulers of to-morrow," but of an entirely different calibre to our existing rulers. Our plan, briefly, is as follows:—

1. All persons of 60 and over will definitely be provided for so that they will be able to spend the rest of their lives in comfort and under decent conditions.
2. The control and welfare of all persons from 30 to 60 years of age will be taken over by the Special State Department constituted for the purpose of rehabilitating this section of the population. Giant State farms and colonies will be provided on which suitable employment will be provided whilst ensuring real, good, happy living conditions. Those not suitable for farming—which will be taught in the finest sense of the term by specialists—will be taught other professions and trades which become part of, additional to, or secondary to these farming operations. The welfare, happiness and education of all these people will be studied psychologically and in every way most minutely by experts. The main object will be to uplift them to a higher plane of life and so ultimately eliminate the poor white problem. They will live under modern conditions, be provided for in every way necessary to establish the South African race which Labour visualises.
3. All persons from 15 to 30 will be trained in every way most suited to each case. This class will rapidly become the outstanding section of the "new" race. They will be educated and trained in every way on farms which are separate to those described in the second section. They will also be taught trades and professions of every description. Those suitable for farm-

ing will ultimately be placed on to the land under a huge collective farming system and others will be drafted out to their professions and trades as considered fit.

4. Children, up to the age of 14, will remain with their parents in as far as this is possible, whilst every care is taken to ensure their correct upbringing, education, etc., under the more modern conditions possible.

Parents will be taught the most-up-to-date hygienic methods necessary for the care of the children, under the care of welfare specialists, etc. Special schools, colleges, etc., will be provided and ultimately all those suitable may pass through into Universities for final training.

FINAL REMARKS

The present system of continuing to build up a nation of poor white labourers at 6/- per day, which is attracting the cream of the countryside, will cease. The problem is something more than one of providing employment and then leaving such persons to make shift for themselves, their wives and families in slums, and living under most terrible conditions in which the children (the future race of South Africa) can only descend into and swell the ranks of the poor whites until ultimately almost swamping the whole of the country.

Labour admits that it is not possible to change materially the older section of this population. We therefore must provide for their comfort until this section ultimately ceases to exist. Meanwhile, the second section is being provided for, trained, uplifted and being prepared to take up their portions of the scheme until the ideal conditions which will be provided. Concurrently, the younger generation from 15 to 30 are being trained as real citizens to strengthen their part in the scheme, whilst the children are also being provided for and trained for their future.

If we cannot completely cure or train the older generation, we must do our best under the most suitable scheme and conditions possible for them whilst taking the children—the younger generation—in hand and ensuring that, whilst we are gradually eliminating the present terrible conditions and system the young generation will be trained and brought up as real, good, healthy citizens, educated and trained to all that is essential in a real ideal state and so, ultimately, the poor white problem will be solved.

It can only be solved by national planning under Labour's policy. Great difficulties will be occasioned, but these can and will be overcome. It will take time, but nothing else can be done unless seriously tackled in this manner, similar to what has been completed in other countries and regardless of all necessary cost.

MINERS' PHTHISIS.

The men who become the victims of this scourge of the mines were once—physically, at any rate—the

cream of South Africa's population, reduced by phthisis to hopeless physical wrecks. The nation should spare no expense or effort to improve their position.

The first consideration should be the health of the mineworker—and if that is lost, to make adequate provision for a regular pension for himself and for his dependents.

A law must be introduced to lengthen the miners' expectation of life. The Minister of Mines did not seem to think such a humane measure at all necessary.

While the Minister is prepared to do everything in his power to lengthen the life of the mines, the Government has not yet shown the same concern for the length of life of the miner.

There are thousands of men working underground to-day. They have passed the strictest medical tests, but according to figures supplied by the Minister of Mines only a third of the men who present themselves to the Bureau for examination passed the tests.

It must not be forgotten that nobody goes to the Bureau unless he considers that he is a healthy and strong man—and even then only one-third of them manage to pass.

The Labour Party proposes the following scheme, which will bring about a radical change in the present Miners' Phthisis Legislation. In the first place, it makes provision to lengthen the life of the miner and, secondly, it provides for the men—and their dependents—who have been put out as phthisis sufferers.

(1) **The Fund.**—The present levy of 7s. 6d. a day per man which is being paid by the scheduled mines and a contribution of £2 5s. per month from the Consolidated Revenue of the State. This will amount to £144 per year per man plus 5 per cent. interest. It will make up the Fund from which the miner will be paid as soon as he is put off as the result of phthisis.

(2) If a miner dies or leaves the mines as the result of phthisis the full amount which has been paid in as per (1) for every shift worked will be paid to the miner or his dependents, plus 5 per cent. interest. For instance, at the end of ten years the miner or his dependents will receive £1,951.

PENSIONS FOR ALL.

(3) If a miner contracts silicosis within ten years, he will be entitled to compensation according to the scale of pensions laid down in the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1934, as well as the amount payable to him under the scheme set forth in articles (1) and (2).

The object of this extra burden on the mines is to ensure that the provisions of Regulation 58 (2) (b) are carried out. If this regulation is carried out there will be no cases of silicosis within ten years.

(4) The definition of "silicosis" ought to be such that at the first "detectable" signs of the disease the Bureau will be empowered to warn the miner that he is suffering from silicosis.

(5) The necessary facilities ought to be given to miners, who have experi-

ence of farming, to buy ground under the Government 40-year system while they are still employed on the mines, and that they need not occupy this land until they have to stop working underground.

(6) The Medical Board of Appeal should consist of three members nominated by the miners, the Minister of Mines and the Chamber of Mines. Decisions of this Board should be subject to appeal to the highest court of the land.

It will be noticed that men who have eleven years' service will, under this scheme, perhaps receive less benefits than the miner who contracts silicosis within ten years, but that is to encourage the miner to leave as soon as he has completed the ten years.

The scheme aims at the prevention of silicosis by making it imperative for the Chamber of Mines to introduce regulations which will lessen the incidence of the disease.

The scheme further makes it pos-

sible to put practical men with experience and capital back on the land and thus prevent the crowding in the cities.

The miner has ten years to prepare himself for his future.

Under this scheme a healthy man with about £2,000 capital will be put back on the land.

The Dominion Party of South Africa

MANIFESTO

The General Election now upon us is not only of outstanding importance but unique in respect that the Government which has been ruling the country for the past four years has never had its principles endorsed by a vote of confidence from the country.

Coalition as a temporary measure was approved. Fusion of Nats and Saps on the principles adopted by the United National Party has never been submitted to the Electors.

On the character and composition of the Parties now claiming the confidence of the country depends the quality of the Government that may be expected in the future, and on this rather than on special items in any particular programme the attention of the country is instinctively turned.

The Purified Nationalists, under Dr. Malan, frankly stand for a Republic of South Africa and for all that that implies. The Fusion Party have in their Articles of Association permitted propaganda for a Republic, although they are for the moment content with the Union as a sovereign independent state under a King of its own, who must act and can only act on the advice of South African Ministers, irrespective of the course followed by the other Governments of the Empire. At Biesjesvlei, the Minister of Lands told his audience: "The constitution of the United Party allows members to engage in propaganda for a Republic. That is our aim."

The Dominion Party alone stands for Empire unity with the several Dominions free partners therein; that is, for Dominion status.

The relationship between Fusionists and Malanites calls for deep consideration. The two Generals, Hertzog and Smuts, of the one group, and Dr. Malan of the other, are not professors of different doctrines aiming at different ideals, but competitors for personal prestige and leadership and the gaining of the sole right to expound the Nationalist policy—whether of the United or Purified brand matters little, for both lead, if not by the same, by parallel roads to a common end. They draw on a common political philosophy, and it is significant that all the main constitutional changes for which the Government have been responsible have been carried with the active vote and support of the Malanite members of Parliament. Further, let it be noted, the initiative in many of these matters has come from the Malanite ranks.

Status Act, Seals Act, King's Abdication Act, were all heartily backed by the joint votes of the supporters of the Government and Dr. Malan's followers; the Dominion Party alone offering constant criticism and steady opposition to these and all other measures which are subversive of the Constitution which, until 1934, served the people of the Union so well.

No constitutional issue has ever been RAISED by the Dominion Party.

The Government attempted at the last Imperial Conference to secure its approval for the abolition of the term "British Subject." This effort was prompted by Dr. Malan, in the House of Assembly and the principle was at once accepted by General Hertzog; General Smuts and his old S.A.P.'s who had followed him into Fusion sitting mute. So much for the argument: "Support the Fusion Government and control it from within."

What Dr. Malan suggests to-day the Government approves to-morrow, and well might Mr. Pirow say, as he did lately at Jacobsdal and again at Petrusburg and repeated elsewhere only a few days ago, that there was very little substantial difference between the Government and the Malanites; that he was convinced the split would be only temporary and that in the not very distant future the breach would be healed. There was not, he added, sufficient difference between these two parties to warrant the maintenance of the split.

On May the 28th of last year, Colonel Deney's Reitz and General Kemp addressed a public meeting at Harrismith, in the course of which the latter said, "I am still a Republican and will always remain one," and pointed out that the Constitution of the United Party allowed of this propaganda amongst its members, and said that if all Afrikaners joined that Party and if they all subscribed to the republican ideal it could be obtained by peaceful development in the United Party. Colonel Reitz sat mute, and thus gave tacit consent to the statement.

When all the juice has been squeezed out of the existing Fusion, recalcitrants of the old S.A.P. element who, wittingly or unwittingly, have served the purpose of the Generals and may hereafter wish to draw the line against further surrenders in a republican direction, will be cast away like an empty fruit skin.

In the introduction of a South African Governor-General; in arranging for "Die Stem" to take the place of "God Save the King" as the National Anthem in South Africa; in the repudiation of British

nationality within the Union; in the wished for discontinuance of the use of the term "British subject" in reference to South African citizens; in the maintenance of a policy of Union neutrality in time of war; in the strict and even stricter enforcement of bi-lingualism throughout the Public Service, the hearts of the two Generals and Dr. Malan beat as one.

On all these matters the Dominion Party alone is a constant and unrelenting opponent of both, and the question the voter must ask himself is: "Why should I help on Malanism by recording a vote for a Government candidate?"

The Government's ideal is a Parliament without an Opposition, where such differences and conflicting opinions as may be permitted will be settled behind the closed doors of a caucus room or by petitions humbly submitted at the backstairs of a Ministry.

Intolerance of opposition and a desire to dictate are the hall marks of the Government.

Open admiration for Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini has been expressed by the Prime Minister, and the re-introduction of Germany as an armed and potent factor in the continent of Africa is the objective of the Minister of Defence, and therefore of the Cabinet. Yet the aims of Nazi Germany undoubtedly include the Union.

No minority can have rights or safety if the Government ideal of blotting out all opposition is granted by the Electorate, and no citizen of the Union will have freedom to live his own life when the technique of Nazism or Fascism is adopted by a triumphant and all-powerful Government within the Union; and in our hearts we know perfectly well that our very existence depends upon our becoming again a partner in the British Empire.

The danger is real and very grave, and the concentrated venom with which Government organs and speakers have emitted upon the Dominion Party is a recognition that its existence is the greatest obstacle in their course.

In the realms of economics the Government's record is one of amazing folly. Owing to the increased price of gold, our chief export, and the Government's appropriation of more than half the profits therefrom arising, the Treasury coffers have been filled and have overflowed, and the yearly surplus which Mr. Havenga's proposals have produced is the measure of incompetent finance in that much more has been taken from the taxpayer than the Minister of Finance considered necessary at the beginning of each year.

The policy of the Government has been to maintain high local prices for food and other commodities of local consumption, an end which has been maintained by limiting the supply. The maintenance of this high level naturally left a large surplus of foodstuffs which the community was too poor to buy at the ruling prices, and by Government action the exportation of this surplus has been enforced, notwithstanding that the prices obtained overseas were a fraction only of those current in South Africa and that this process involved heavy losses which were made good to the exporters by a huge cash levy on the profits of the gold mining industry. Since 1929 over 11 millions (£11,000,000) have been spent on export subsidies of one kind or another.

It is not that the foodstuffs were not required by the people of South Africa; they have been and are under-nourished, and much disease and misery is attributable to this cause. About half the population is either just on the poverty line or definitely below it; and yet, when taken to task by the Dominion Party for the rise in the cost of living, the Government's reply was that prices are still below those of the year 1927 and therefore a further rise might well be expected.

So inadequate are the wages paid to great branches of the Civil Service, of which a notable example is the Railway Administration, that it is recognised that decent housing at commercial rates are beyond the means of many of its servants, and sub-economic schemes of housing have been resorted to. Surely it is right for any employer, and more than any for the Government, with great surpluses at its disposal, to pay its servants such a rate as would enable them to buy sufficient food, clothing, and pay for decent housing for themselves and their families.

The policy of the Government has been to deny this standard, to give less than an adequate wage—to give doles in the nature of housing schemes at uneconomic rents.

The efforts of the Dominion Party have been constantly directed to the reduction in the cost of living; to the payment of sufficient wages to secure the food, clothing and housing required for the health and comfort and the betterment of the provision already made for the aged.

If an enquiry was made as to the productive capacity of the country, having regard to its differences of soil, climate and rainfall, and if a corresponding enquiry was made as to the consuming capacity and needs of the population of our land, the problem of the Government should be to secure the matching of the supply from the one to the requirements of the other. By securing increased purchasing to those who are unable to buy at the present time, the reduction if not the elimination of exportation of commodities at unprofitable rates may be secured and the Gold Mining Industry relieved of the burden of subsidising ridiculous exports.

The Government has never faced up to these problems. It is doubtful if they have even thought of them, so busy have they been

with pouring money into the Platteland to command votes against such eventuality as the present.

The Dominion Party appeals to the Electors of South Africa to support all its Candidates in order to get the purchasing power of its population matched to its needs; in order to secure the external safety of the country by remaining an integral part and an indivisible part of the British Empire; and to secure the protection of the freedom of all groups and of all individuals by the maintenance of the principles of Democracy.

If the public of the Union desires to preserve any "Opposition" in Parliament, let them say by their votes whether they wish the Opposition to be Purified Nationalists or Dominion Party.

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1943

7 JULIE/JULY

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Verenigde Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Party (VP)	89	1. The United South African National Party (UP)
2. Die Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP)	43	2. The Re-United National Party (HNP)
3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty	9	3. The South African Labour Party (SALP)
4. Die Dominium Party (Dom.P.)	7	4. The Dominion Party (Dom.P.)
5. Onafhanklikes	2	5. Independents
6. Die Afrikanerparty (A.P.)	0	6. The Afrikaner Party (A.P.)

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Die Volkstem. 2 Junie 1943. Genl. Smuts Benadruk Erns van Algemene Verkiesing.
2. Verklaring uitgereik aan die pers. Die Transvaler, 15 Junie 1943.
3. Geen Afrikaanse weergawe kon opgespoor word nie.
4. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
5. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.
6. Die Vaderland. 22 Mei 1943. Vir Eenheid — Teen Imperialisme. Afrikanerparty se Manifest.

Alhoewel die Afrikanerparty geen setel verower het nie, en maar net 13 964 (1,6%) stemme ontvang het, word die Party se verkiesingsmanifest tog gepubliseer. In die Algemene Verkiesing van 1948 wen dit in samewerking met die Herenigde Nasionale Party die verkiesing en vorm die regering van die land.

Sources of election manifestos

1. The Cape Argus. 2 June 1943. First Task To Win The War. Gen. Smuts's Stirring Call to South Africa.
2. Statement issued to the press. The Star. 15 June 1943.
3. Labour's Manifesto to the nation. 1943. Forward, 28 May 1943.
4. No official manifestos could be traced.
5. No official manifestos could be traced.
6. Manifesto of The Afrikaner Party. (Issued by Louis Olivier, Old Mutual Buildings, Hoffman Square, Bloemfontein and printed by Die Afrikaanse Pers, Bpk., 3 Plein Street, Johannesburg.) Although the Afrikaner Party did not win a seat and only polled 13 964 (1,6%) votes, its election manifesto is also published. In 1948 a coalition of the Afrikaner Party and the H.N.P. won the General Election and formed the government of the country.

GENL. SMUTS BENADRUK ERNS VAN ALGEMENE VERKIESING

WAARSKUWING TEEN VREDESPRAATJIES

KAAPSTAD, DINSDAG:

DIE TAAK WAT ONS IN AFRIKA ONDERNEEM HET, IS AFGEHANDEL. DIT WAS 'N GROOT HOOFSTUK IN ONS GESKIEDENIS EN DIT SAL BIKEND STAAN AS EEN VAN DIE SKITTERENDSTE VAN ALMAL," HET GENL. SMUTS VANAAND HIER OP 'N GROOT BYEENKOMS VAN VERENIGDE PLYAAR ONDERSTEUNERS IN DIE SKIEREILAND VERKLAAR TOE HY DIE WOORD GEVOER HET IN DIE STADSAAI.

Die Eerste Minister het die land gewaarsku teen voorbarige redagtes aan vrede. Dit kan 'n vorm van defaitisme wees. Die Unie het tot dusver 20,000 ongevallie gely aan gesneuweldes, gewondes en krygsgevangenes. Sover dit die Vrygeweste betref, het slegs Australië swaarder verliese as die Unie gely. Ek wil hê ons volk moet daardie hoë gees van toewyding, wat hulle sedert die aanvang van die oorlog openbaar het, handhaaf."

In verband met die algemene verkiesing het genl. Smuts gesê dat hy en die lede van die Kabinet hulle oorweging geskenk het aan die vraag of 'n algemene verkiesing in oorlogstyd gehou moet word al dan nie. Hulle het geantwoord dat tensy daar ernste redes bestaan het om al te ryk van ons Grondwet, die bepalings daarvan uitgevoer behoort te word.

Daar was slegs twee moontlike redes waarom ons nie nou 'n algemene verkiesing kon hou nie. Die een sou wees as die toestand aan die front 'n ernstige wending tot ons nadeel geneem het. Die ander rede sou wees as die binelandse toestand so sou wees dat dit 'n algemene verkiesing moes uitstel. Nie een van daardie twee redes bestaan vandag in die Unie nie.

PAL BLY STAAN

Ons is natuurlik gedagtig aan die gevare wat ons ontsnap het. Sedert 1939 het die toestand onontkenbaar verander en ek is baie dankbaar daarvoor. Ek dink dat die Regering minstens krediet verdien vir die wyse waarop hy die storm trotseer het.

Ons het 'n verbetering in die binelandse toestand tevoeg gebring, gedeeltelik deur basis op te tree en gedeeltelik deur verdragte te wees. Ons het niemand soek nie en ons het geen natelare gemaak nie, het genl. Smuts gesê.

Die huidige toestand is bevredigend. Ek het baie algemene verkiesings deurgemaak, maar ek kan nie een onthou toe die toestand in die land meer bevredigend was as vandag nie. Dit is meer bevredigend as wat dit in meer jare was. Daar is vandag geen toestand in die land wat ons kan lei om die wet uit te voer nie."

Maar te hys was om die soldate te hys toe te stuur want hulle het 'n

in drie gestort sodat die toestand waarin hulle 'n algemene verkiesing moet heveg, hoeltemal anders is as die wat hulle verwag het.

Die Opposisie het 'n Duitse oorwinning verwag, en het gehoop om 'n Republiek van Hitler te ontvang. Stadig maar seker het 'n verandering gekom en vandag is die hoop van die Opposisie verbydel. Daar is geen Hitler oorwinning in sig nie. Alles wat hulle van daardie oorwinning verwag het, is tot niet en waar is al die jong Fuehrers en jong leiers wat gehoop het om ons in Suid-Afrika na 'n nuwe orde te lei? Dit was hul eerste verkeerde berekening en hul tweede fout, waarop hulle te veel gebou het, was 'n "verenigde Afrikanerdom." Hulle het gedink dat wat ons gedoen het, die stap wat ons gedoen het om tot die oorlog toe te tree, alle Afrikaner-elemente in een groot rassieblok sou dryf, en dat daardie rassieblok ons eenvoudig sou vernietig. Waar is daardie "verenigde Afrikanerdom"? Ek soek nog daarin en dr. Malan soek nog harder as ek! Die Opposisie het die verkeerde keuse gedoen en het al dieper en dieper in die moeilikheid geraak.

Hul verdeeldheid het vernienigvuldig en vandag staan ek onverskillig teenoor hierdie verdeeldheid. Of hulle bymekaar kom of nie, ons gaan hulle so 'n pak gee soos hulle nog nooit gehad het nie.

Die Opposisie is die mees onpatiotiese opposisie wat hy nog ont in Suid-Afrika geken het. Hulle het alles in hul vermoë in hierdie jare gedoen om ons oorlogspanning te sahoteer. Wat ookal gedoen kon word en dit vir ons moeilik te maak om ons plig uit te voer, is gedoen. Hulle was uiters onverantwoordlik en aan die einde was hulle mees ondoeltreffend. Die Opposisie wet dat hul planne misluk het en nu vertel hulle dat hulle nie voortsien na hierdie verkiesing nie, maar wel na die volgende. "Laad ons al ons kartele bymekaar bring en laat ons die soldate te kontroleer."



GENL. SMUTS

niks anders as veragting en smaad vir die soldate nie. Miskien sal die Opposisie die wapens van die soldate aan die Oosewandbrandweg gee.

Die oorlogspoging sal tot 'n einde kom en 80,000 man, wat in ammunisiefabrieks werk, ontslaan word. Die skape wat Unie-hawens nou aandoen, sal wegby.

Indien iets verkeerd loop met die verkiesing en die verwagtinge van die Opposisie verwesenlik word, sal ons in 'n oogknip die grootste krisis, die grootste werkloosheid hê wat Suid-Afrika ooit ondervind het.

Wat sal die Geallieerdes doen? Ons sal waarskynlik ons hawens verloor. Ons bondgenote sal hulle waarskynlik oorneem en dan ons vryande word. Dink aan wat met Noordland sal gebeur, aan die botsings wat sal plaasvind. Die Opposisie moet werklik dink dat ons mense mil is en van hul sinne herof om hulle te vra om vir hulle (die Opposisie) te stem sodat hulle aan bewind kan kom.

Ons sal onder sulke toestande nie op die vredeskonferensie toegelaat word nie."

REPUBLIEK TOE VERGEET

Die Opposisie verklaar dat hulle 'n Republiek wil hê, maar toe hulle aan bewind was, het hulle gerieflikheidshalwe alles oor 'n Republiek vergeet en dr. Malan het verklaar dat Groot Brittanje die moeder van ons vryheid is. Die weg wat die Nasionaliste na 'n Republiek volg, is niks anders as die weg na ruinisie en verdeeldheid nie.

Ek sluit nie die moontlikheid uit nie dat ons miskien eendag 'n Republiek in Suid-Afrika sal word nie. Niemand lê struikelblokke in die weg van die ontwikkeling van 'n volk nie. Maar as ons 'n Republiek buite die Britse Gemeenbes het, moet dit die Verenigde besluit van die volk wees. Engelsman en Afrikaner sal as 'n verenigde volk moet optree as hulle 'n Republiek wil hê. Spraker het altyd aangeneem dat dit genl. Hertzog se beskouing was. Hy het gewaarborg dat die Opposisie nie 'n Republiek op hul manier sou verkry nie.

Die Opposisie het altyd die Kommunistiese spook voorgeloen, maar hierdie spook is deur Stalin verdryf. Wie so hêle beleid daarop bereken was om "Internasionale Kommunisme" in Rusland self uit te was.

Suid-Afrika moet in die eerste plek die oorlog wen en tweedens die vrede. Dit help nie om aan nuwe toestande in Suid-Afrika te

se die volgelinge het dit nie ernstig opgeneem nie.

Ons het Suid-Afrika skoongemaak, maar voor die oorwinning daar is, sal ons nog baie opofferings moet doen. As ons 'n beter wêreld in die toekoms begeer, moet ons al ons kragte inwerp om die oorlog te wen.

Vredespraatjies op die huidige oomblik mag 'n vorm van defaitisme word. Ons loop gevaar met die vredesgedagtes. Ek wil die mense van Suid-Afrika daarteen waarsku. Ek wil hê dat ons mense daardie hoë gees van toewyding wat hulle sedert die begin van die oorlog aan die dag geleë het, moet handhaaf. Ek is tot dusver baie trots op Suid-Afrika. Geen volk het 'n hoër gees van selfopoffering in hierdie wêreldnood aan die dag geleë nie, het genl. Smuts verklaar.

SAL SORG VIR SOLDATE.

In sy toekomsbeleid moet Suid-Afrika eerstens billike en redelike voorsiening vir sy soldate maak. Suid-Afrika se ongevallie aan gesneuweldes, gewondes en krygsgevangenes beloop 22,000 en onder die Vrygeweste is die Unie seigs deur Australië oortref. Die klein Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap het sy plig gedoen en die jongmense wat hul loopbane verloor het vir aktiewe diens, kan nie vergeet word nie.

Stappe word reeds gedoen om hulle te help en elke middel sal aangewend word om toe te sien dat diegene wat aangesluit het, die beste kans gegee word wanneer hulle opnuut die lewep 'n redelik manier begin. Die Regering maak reeds planne om die oorlogswywerhede in vredetystydse wywerhede te omakep en spr. buldig die sienwyse dat die land sy vordering op industriële gebied tydens die oorlog, na die stryd sal kan bestendig. As dieselfde toewyding aan hierdie vraagstuk bestee word, sal 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika uit die oorlog gebore word.

Daar moet werk vir elke man, blank of nie-blank, wees. Die dag is nie meer ver wanneer die klein bevolking van Suid-Afrika voldoende sal wees om al die hulpbronne van die land te ontwikkel nie.

My ondervinding het my oortuig dat ons veral in hierdie afgelope drie jare 'n stadium bereik het wanneer ons ons deure sal moet oopgooi en aan elke Suid-Afrikaner, wat of swart, 'n redelike en goeie lewensstandaard sal moet besorg."

Daar sal moet gedoen word vir behuising, voeding en volgesondheid en aan die toestand van werkloosheid wat in die handelskrisis voorkom, moet die hoof gebied word met 'n stelsel van bestaansveiligheid. Dit kan verrig word as die volk dieselfde gedagte, dieselfde krag en dieselfde toewyding aan die vrede skenk as wat hulle aan die oorlog geskenk het.

KEURLINGE.

Suid-Afrika se grootste moontlikheid is die kleurling. Onvolgende aandag is in die verlede aan die vraagstukke van die Natuurelle bestee, maar die nodige aandag sal hieraan gegee moet word en alkeen sal die vragte daarvan pluk. Die toestand van die Kleurlingbevolking is ook nie wat dit moet wees nie. Hulle kan 'n groot hydrae lewer en dit is met daardie gedagte dat die Regering besluit het om 'n Adviseerende Raad vir Kleurlingke daar te stel, sodat hul vraagstukke met die Regering bespreek en stappe gedoen kan word vir hul maatskaplike en ekonomiese opheffing.

Spr. wil om die Kleurlingbevolking sagtegeer of 'n enkele reg van hulle uitnem om. Die Kleurlingbevolking moet hul eie oed

GENL. SMUTS BENADRIK ERNS VAN ALGEMENE VERKIESING

WAARSKUWING TEEN VREDESPRAATJES

Kaapstad, Dinsdag

“Die taak wat ons in Afrika onderneem het, is afgehandel. Dit was ’n groot hoofstuk in ons geskiedenis en dit sal bekend staan as een van die skitterendste van almal,” het genl. Smuts vanaand hier op ’n groot byeenkoms van Verenigde Party-ondersteuners in die skiereiland verklaar toe hy die woord gevoer het in die Stadsaal.

Die Eerste Minister het die land gewaarsku teen voorbarige gedagtes aan vrede. Dit kan ’n vorm van defeatisme wees. Die Unie het tot dusver 20,000 ongevalle gely aan gesneuweldes, gewondes en krygsgevangenes. Sover dit die Vrygeweste betref, het slegs Australië swaarder verliese as die Unie gely. “Ek wil hê ons volk moet daardie hoë gees van toewyding, wat hulle sedert die aanvang van die oorlog openbaar het, handhaaf.”

In verband met die algemene verkiesing het genl. Smuts gesê dat as daar per ongeluk iets verkeerd loop en die Opposisie—die mees onpatriotiese wat hy kan onthou—aan bewind gestel word, sal die oorlogsinspanning stopgesit word en in ’n oogknip sal die land te doen hê met die grootste werkloosheidsvraagstuk.

Die Eerste Minister het verklaar dat hy en die lede van die Kabinet baie oorweging geskenk het aan die vraag of ’n algemene verkiesing in oorlogstyd gehou moet word al dan nie. Hulle het egter gevoel dat tensy daar ernstige redes bestaan het om af te wyk van ons Grondwet, die bepalinge daarvan uitgevoer behoort te word.

Daar was slegs twee moontlike redes waarom ons nie nou ’n algemene verkiesing sou hou nie. Die een sou wees as die toestand aan die front ’n ernstige wending tot ons nadeel geneem het. Die ander rede sou wees as die binnelandse toestand so sou wees dat dit ’n algemene verkiesing moes uitkakel. Nie een van daardie twee redes bestaan vandag in die Unie nie.

PAL BLY STAAN

“Ons is natuurlik gedagtig aan die gevare wat ons ontsnap het. Sedert 1939 het die toestand onherkenbaar verander en ek is baie dankbaar daarvoor. Ek dink dat die Regering minstens krediet toekom vir die wyse waarop hy die storm trotseer het.

“Ons het ’n verbetering in die binnelandse toestand te weeg gebring, gedeeltelik deur beslis op te tree en gedeeltelik deur verdraagsaam te wees. Ons het niemand geskiet nie en ons het geen martelare gemaak nie,” het genl. Smuts gesê.

“Die huidige toestand is bevredigend. Ek het baie algemene verkiesings deurgemaak, maar ek kan nie een onthou toe die toestand in die land meer bevredigend was as vandag nie. Dit is meer bevredigend as wat dit in jare was. Daar is vandag geen toestand in die land wat ons kan belet om die wet uit te voer nie.”

Sedert die uitbreek van die oorlog het die Opposisie die Regering uitgedaag om ’n algemene verkiesing te hou, maar noudat die Regering dit doen, is die Opposisie verskriklik kwaad. Nadat hulle ons gespot, ons uitgetart en uitgedaag het, nou sê hulle: “Nee, julle is te haastig. Julle moes dit nie gedoen het nie.” Baie van wat die Opposisie verwag het,

het verkeerd geloop. Hul planne het in duie gestort sodat die toestand waarin hulle ’n algemene verkiesing moet beveg, heeltemal anders is as die wat hulle verwag het.

Die Opposisie het ’n Duitse oorwinning verwag en het gehoop om ’n Republiek van Hitler te ontvang. Stadig maar seker het ’n verandering gekom en vandag is die hoop van die Opposisie verydel. Daar is geen Hitler oorwinning in sig nie. Alles wat hulle van daardie oorwinning verwag het, is tot niet en waar is al die jong Fuehrers en jong leiers wat gehoop het om ons in Suid-Afrika na ’n nuwe orde te lei? Dit was hul eerste verkeerde berekening en hul tweede fout, waarop hulle te veel gebou het, was ’n “verenigde Afrikanerdom”. Hulle het gedink dat wat ons gedoen het, die stap wat ons gedoen het om tot die oorlog toe te tree, alle Afrikaner-elemente in een groot rasseblok sou dryf, en dat daardie rasseblok ons eenvoudig sou vernietig. Waar is daardie “verenigde Afrikanerdom”? Ek soek nog daarna en dr. Malan soek nog harder as ek! Die Opposisie het die verkeerde keuse gedoen en het al dieper en dieper in die moeilikheid geraak.

Hul verdeeldheid het vermenigvuldig en vandag staan ek onverskillig teenoor hierdie verdeeldheid. Of hulle bymekaar kom of nie, ons gaan hulle so ’n pak gee soos hulle nog nooit gehad het nie.

Die Opposisie is die mees onpatriotiese opposisie wat hy nog ooit in Suid-Afrika geken het. Hulle het alles in hul vermoë in hierdie jare gedoen om ons oorlogsinspanning te saboteer. Wat ookal gedoen kon word om dit vir ons moeilik te maak om ons plig uit te voer, is gedoen. Hulle was uiters onvaderlandliedwend en aan die einde was hulle mees ondoeltreffend. Die Opposisie weet dat hul planne misluk het en nou vertel hulle dat hulle nie vooruitsien na hierdie verkiesing nie, maar wel na die volgende. “Laat ons al ons magte bymekaar bring. Moenie laat ons verslap nie. Moenie laat ons optree of oorwinning sonder enige inspanning seker is nie. Ons kan en ons gaan wen, maar ek wil hê dat ons oorwinning hierdie keer op sodanige skaal sal wees dat hulle nie sal bly droom van oorwinning in die verkiesing daarna nie. Doen alles in jul vermoë. Laat ons hierdie stryd aan die politieke tuisfront voer soos die manne dit in Noord-Afrika, Abessinië, by El Alamein en oral gevoer het. Ons doen dit nie bloot as ’n Party nie, maar omdat ons weet dat ons die pleganker van hierdie land is. Ons weet dat die lotsbestemming van Suid-Afrika by ons berus en indien dinge verkeerd loop, sal dit te wyte wees aan ons verslapping en omdat ons nie al ons kragte ingespan het nie. Ons behoort derhalwe te verseker dat ons oorwinning hierdie keer oorweldigend gaan wees.

ONAFHANKLIKES

“Pas op vir onafhanklikes. Ek weet dat daar talle manne is wat graag op die golf na oorwinning wil ry. Hulle sê dat hulle die oorlogspoging honderd persent steun. Inderdaad beveg hulle my manne en hou my manne daaruit. Sommige van hulle mag goeie manne wees, maar sommige mag skeurders wees.

“Ek vra julle dus om in hierdie stryd die geleedere te sluit. As ’n persoon amptelik genomineer is, kies hom, al hou julle nie van die kleur van sy hare nie. Dis ons plig. Dit was nooit duideliker nie. Die Opposisie begeer nog steeds ’n oorwinning deur die vyand. En dr. Malan het duidelik gesê dat hy honderdmaal liever ’n Duitse oorwinning as ’n Britse oorwinning sou sien omdat ’n Britse oorwinning dan ’n Russiese oorwinning sou beteken. Die Opposisie verklaar dat as hulle die verkiesing wen, hulle die oorlogspoging sal stop-

sit, al Suid-Afrika se troepe van die front terugbring en probeer om met die vyand in verbinding te tree en met hom oor vrede te onderhandel.

Indien hulle in hul beleid slaag, sal die volgende ding wat dr. Malan en sy volgelinge sou doen, wees om na die vredeskonferensie te gaan teneinde Suid-Afrika te verteenwoordig. Laat die volk daaraan dink. Suid-Afrika sal op die vredeskonferensie verteenwoordig wees, maar dr. Malan en sy volgelinge sal nie daar wees nie.

Indien die Opposisie die verkiesing wen, sal daar in Suid-Afrika 'n groot leër wees, wat hulle nie wil hê nie. Die Opposisie sal maar te bly wees om die soldate huis-toe te stuur want hulle het niks anders as veragting en smaad vir die soldate nie. Miskien sal die Opposisie die wapens van die soldate aan die Ossewabrandwag gee.

Die oorlogspoging sal tot 'n einde kom en 60,000 man, wat in ammunisiefabriek werk, ontslaan word. Die skepe wat Unie-hawens nou aandoen, sal wegbly.

“Indien iets verkeerd loop met die verkiesing en die veragting van die Opposisie verwesenlik word, sal ons in 'n oogknip die grootste krisis, die grootste werkloosheid hê wat Suid-Afrika ooit ondervind het.

“Wat sou die Geallieerdes doen? Ons sal waarskynlik ons hawens verloor. Ons bondgenote sal hulle waarskynlik oorneem en dan ons vyande word. Dink aan wat met hierdie land sal gebeur, aan die botsings wat sal plaasvind. Die Opposisie moet werklik dink dat ons mense mal is en van hul sinne beroof om hulle te vra om vir hulle (die Opposisie) te stem sodat hulle aan bewind kan kom.

“Ons sal onder sulke toestande nie op die vredeskonferensie toegelaat word nie.”

REPUBLIEK TOE VERGEET

Die Opposisie verklaar dat hulle 'n Republiek wil hê, maar toe hulle aan bewind was, het hulle gerieflikheidshalwe alles oor 'n Republiek vergeet en dr. Malan het verklaar dat Groot Brittanje die moeder van ons vryheid is. Die weg wat die Nasionaliste na 'n Republiek volg, is niks anders as die weg na ruïnasie en verdeeldheid nie.

“Ek sluit nie die moontlikheid uit nie dat ons miskien eendag 'n Republiek in Suid-Afrika sal word nie. Niemand lê struikelblokke in die weg van die ontwikkeling van 'n volk nie. Maar as ons 'n Republiek buite die Britse Gemenebes het, moet dit die Verenigde besluit van die volk wees.” Engelsman en Afrikaner sal as 'n verenigde volk moet optree as hulle 'n Republiek wil hê. Spreker het altyd aangeneem dat dit genl. Hertzog se beskouing was. Hy het gewaarborg dat die Opposisie nie 'n Republiek op hul manier sou verkry nie.

Die Opposisie het altyd die Kommunistiese spook voorgedhou, maar hierdie spook is deur Stalin verdryf, wie se hele beleid daarop bereken was om “Internasionale Kommunisme” in Rusland self uit te wis.

Suid-Afrika moet in die eerste plek die oorlog wen en tweedens die vrede. Dit help nie om aan nuwe toestande in Suid-Afrika te dink nie tensy daar vrede in die wêreld is—'n vrede wat Suid-Afrika teen aggressie sal beskerm.

Die groot fout wat na die vorige oorlog begaan is, was Amerika se onttrekking aan die Volkebond en om die pad van isolasie te volg. Amerika het sy les geleer en gesien dat daar op die pad van isolasie, geen veiligheid is nie. Ons het

almal ons les geleer—die volgende keer sal ons almal daarin wees.

Spr. sien vooruit na 'n organisasie, hoofsaaklik gebaseer op die Verenigde Volke, wat beheer sal neem oor die vernietigende magte en die mensdom sal beskerm teen 'n herhaling van die huidige rampe.

BEHEER DIE WAPENS

Laat daar geen vrede van wraakneming wees nie. Laat mense die reg hê om te leef, hul reg om handel te dryf, hul reg op die ekonomiese hulpbronne wat nodig is vir hul volksbestaan, of hulle nou al 'n ou Geallieerde land of 'n ou vyandlike land is.

Maar beheer die middele van vernietiging en sorg dat daar ontwapening van ons ou vyande is en beheer die wapens in die toekoms sodat dit onmoontlik sal wees om 'n herhaling te hê van die ramp wat ons nou beleef.

Tensy dit gedoen word, is daar min hoop vir ons menslike ras. Hierdie wêreld van ons sal 'n wêreld vir struikroery word, vir die wet van die oerwoud en daar sal nie meer menslike vooruitgang wees nie.

Hierdie beskouing word al meer aanvaar. Ons het mense gehad wat sê dat hierdie dinge nie gedoen kan word nie. Maar ons het ons les geleer en net soos ons polisie in die land aanhou, net soos ons wet en orde in 'n gemeenskap handhaaf, net so sal dit in die wêreldgemeenskap van die toekoms wees.

Spr. is daarvan oortuig dat Rusland nie sal inmeng met die binnelandse aangeleenthede van ander lande nie. Die argument dat die Kommunisme in Suid-Afrika aangekweek sal word omdat Suid-Afrika 'n bondgenoot van Rusland is, is ongegrond. Die Russe in Suid-Afrika het hulself heeltemal afsydig gehou van die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek. Die Kommunisme is 'n ondergeskikte beweging in hierdie land. Dit ontvang geen steun van Rusland nie en as die noodsaaklikheid daarvoor bestaan, sal die regering op gepaste wyse teen die beweging optree.

Selfs mnr. Pirow het verklaar dat die Kommunisme in Suid-Afrika nie 'n ernstige saak is nie. Nadat hul pogings in ander rigtings misluk het, keer die Opposisie na 'n nuwe maatskaplike en ekonomiese beleid. Dit was die ene lapwerk en selfs dr. Malan se eie volgelinge het dit nie ernstig opgeneem nie.

Ons het Suid-Afrika skoongemaak, maar voor die oorwinning daar is, sal ons nog baie opofferings moet doen. As ons 'n beter wêreld in die toekoms begeer, moet ons al ons kragte inwerp om die oorlog te wen.

Vredespraatjies op die huidige oomblik mag 'n vorm van defaitisme word. Ons loop gevaar met die vredesgedagtes. Ek wil die mense van Suid-Afrika daarteen waarsku. Ek wil hê dat ons mense daardie hoë gees van toewyding wat hulle sedert die begin van die oorlog aan die dag gelê het, moet handhaaf. Ek is tot dusver baie trots op Suid-Afrika. Geen volk het 'n hoër gees van selfopoffering in hierdie wêreldnood aan die dag gelê nie, het genl. Smuts verklaar.

SAL SORG VIR SOLDATE

In sy toekomsbeleid moet Suid-Afrika eerstens billike en redelike voorsiening vir sy soldate maak. Suid-Afrika se ongevallen aan gesneuweldes, gewondes en krygsgevangenes beloop 22,000 en onder die Vrygeweste is die Unie slegs deur Australië oortref. Die klein Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap het sy plig gedoen en die jongmanne wat hul loopbane verruil het vir aktiewe diens, kan nie vergeet word nie.

Stappe word reeds gedoen om hulle te help en elke middel sal aangewend word om toe te sien dat diegene wat aangesluit het, die beste kanse gegee word wanneer hulle op-

nuut die lewe op 'n redelike manier begin. Die Regering maak reeds planne om die oorlogsnwywerhede in vredestrydse nywerhede te omskep en spr. huldig die sienswyse dat die land sy vordering op industriële gebied tydens die oorlog, na die stryd sal kan bestendig. As dieselfde toewyding aan hierdie vraagstuk bestee word, sal 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika uit die oorlog gebore word.

Daar moet werk vir elke man, blank of nie-blank, wees. Die dag is nie meer ver wanneer die klein bevolking van Suid-Afrika voldoende sal wees om al die hulpbronne van die land te ontwikkel nie.

“My ondervinding het my oortuig dat ons veral in hierdie afgelope drie jare 'n stadium bereik het wanneer ons ons deure sal moet oopgooi en aan elke Suid-Afrikaner, wit of swart, 'n redelike en goeie lewensstandaard sal moet besorg.”

Baie sal moet gedoen word vir behuising, voeding en volksgesondheid en aan die toestande van werkloosheid wat in die handelsiklus voorkom, moet die hoof gebied word met 'n stelsel van bestaansveiligheid. Dit kan verrig word as die volk dieselfde gedagte, dieselfde krag en dieselfde toewyding aan die vrede skenk as wat hulle aan die oorlog geskenk het.

KLEURLINGE

Suid-Afrika se grootste moeilikheid is die kleurlyn. Onvoldoende aandag is in die verlede aan die vraagstukke van die Naturelle bestee, maar die nodige aandag sal hieraan gegee moet word en elkeen sal die vrugte daarvan pluk. Die toestand van die Kleurling-bevolking is ook nie wat dit moet wees nie. Hulle kan 'n groot bydrae lewer en dit is met daar-

die gedagte dat die Regering besluit het om 'n Adviserende Raad vir Kleurlinge daar te stel, sodat hul vraagstukke met die Regering bespreek en stappe gedoen kan word vir hul maatskaplike en ekonomiese opheffing.

Spr. wil nie die Kleurlingbevolking segregeer of 'n enkele reg van hulle ontnem nie. Die Kleurlingbevolking moet hul eie gedagtes vorm en spr. vertrou dat dit moontlik sal wees om hierdie Raad 'n ware krag vir die welsyn van die Kleurlingbevolking te maak.

Nog 'n aspek wat die Regering voortdurend in gedagte hou, is die Heel-Afrikaanse idee. Suid-Afrika wil 'n nouer verwantskap en beter samewerking met die buurstade na die Noorde bewerkstellig want die toekomstige voorspoed en ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika is daarmee gemoeid. Spr. het sy bes gedoen om 'n beter gees oor die hele suidelike Afrika te skep en daar is tans 'n beter gevoel en meer samewerking as ooit tevore. Hy sien uit na die dag wanneer daar gereeld adviserende vergaderings gehou sal word om die gemeenskaplike belange en beleidsaangeleenthede van Suidelike Afrika te bespreek sonder dat enige staat sy huidige politieke regte ontsê sal word.

In die verlede het die lugspieëling van afskeiding al die Unie se bure afgeskrik en die Unie moes daaronder ly. Daar het tans 'n uitstekende kans gekom—die kans van uitbreiding op 'n kolossale grondslag, 'n kans wat net eenkeer in geslagte voorkom.

“Daardie kans lê voor Suid-Afrika. Moenie dit hierdie keer laat verbygaan nie,” het genl. Smuts ten besluite verklaar.

(Berig deur L.M. Wiid, “New Zealand House”, Burgstraat, Kaapstad.)

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DINSDAG 16 JUNIE 1943

S.A. KAN HOM NOG SELF RED, MAAR

Dan Moet Dit Nou Geskied,
 Sê Dr. Malan

SAMEVATTING VAN H.N.P. SE BELEID

(Van Ons Verantwoordiger)

DR. MALAN, Hooftleier van die **Herenigde Nasionale Party**, het onderstaande verklaring vir publikasie aan Die Burger oorhandig:

Die **offisiële nominasie** is verby. In elke be-
 strade **kamferdaling** weet die **kleinere** nou **groter** wat
 die **kauses** is **waarvoor** hulle op 7 Julie sal **staan**.
 Op hierdie **stadium** is daar **hele** **minder** **goed** **inge-**
ligtes wat **graag** 'n **korre** **samenvatting** wil hê van
 die **Herenigde Nasionale Party** se **politieke** **beleid**.
 Aan hierdie **begerte** voldoen ek **nou** op die **vol-**
gende **wyse**:

(1) Die **H.N.P.** is die **offisiële** **Opposisie** en
 gevolglik die **alternatiewe** **regering**. Sy **beleid** is
 daarom **nasionaal**, **omvattend** en **verantwoordelik**.
 Stemme op **partytjies**, wat **wel** **teen** die **Regering**
 is, **maar** **geen** **hoop** **het** om ooit aan die **bevind** te
 kom **nie**, is **stemme** wat **weggegooi** word. **Nee**,
erger, **dis** **stemme** wat in baie gevalle **net** die **teen-**
oorgestelde **sal** **bereik** as wat dit **oënskynlik** **voor**
bedoel is.

Die **totale** **getal** **stemme** wat
 teen **veldmaarskalk** **Smuts** en
 alles **waarvoor** hy **staan**, **uitge-**
bring is, **sal** **gou** **vergeet** **wees**.
 Die **wereld** **sal** sy **setels** **tel** en
 onthou. En die **nasionaalgesinde**
Afrikanerdom **sal** **vir** daardie
weggegoede of **misbruikte** **stem-**
me **miskien** **vir** **altyd**—moet
poel.

(2) Ons **staan** **suiwer** en **vier-**
kant **vir** **Suid-Afrika** en dit **be-**
heers al ons **stewe** en ons **hele**
beleid. Ons **wil** 'n **een-**
gesinde, **NIE-BLANKES**

'n **baie** **verskerpte** **form** — 'n
tiendubbele **ramp**.

Dis ook **geen** **gegriefdheid** of
vyandskap **teen** **Engeland** **nie**.
 Dis 'n **saak** van **gesonde**, **prak-**
tiese **beleid** in **Suid-Afrika** se
 eie **belang**. Alleen so **sal** ons
ware en **blywende** **volkseenheid**
 verkry **omdat** **buitelandse** **be-**
lange **ons** **dan** **nie** **meer** **keer** **op**
keer **soos** **tot** **hiertoe** **sal** **ver-**
skeur en **verdeel** **hou** **nie**.

Kerk Se Waardering

OP 'n **versadering** van die **ker-**
kerkring van die **N.A.A.** of **N.**
Kerk aan die **Rand** **was** **gely-**
ogend **in** **Johannesburg** **gely-**
is **die** **volgende** **bespreking** **ge-**
hê **ter** **versadering** **van** **die** **N.A.A.**
kerk **aan** **die** **Rand** **op** **die** **14**
de **maand** **het** **die** **kerk** **se** **be-**
leids **beleg** **vir** **die** **toekomst** **van**
die **kerk** **aan** **die** **Rand** **in** **die**
toekomst **van** **die** **kerk** **aan** **die**
Rand **in** **die** **toekomst** **van** **die**
kerk **aan** **die** **Rand** **in** **die** **toe-**
komst **van** **die** **kerk** **aan** **die** **Rand**

burgers **hul** **verpleging** **het**
teenoor **die** **staat**, **om** **dat** **die**
staat **ook** **die** **verpleging** **het**
om **vir** **elke** **burger** **aan** **sy**
dige **en** **versekerde** **lewens**
stande **te** **skep**.

MEENSLIKE WAARDES

Dit **betek** **al** **die** **besta-**
nde **maatskappij** **van** **die** **volg-**
heid, **insluitende** **die** **besta-**
nde, **gesondheids**, **werk-**
skap, **lone** **en** **hulp** **aan** **die**
dividue **en** **gesond** **was** **in**
staat **is** **om** **hulpsel** **te** **gee**.

Die **tweede** **is** **die** **in-**
die **staat** **van** **menslike** **waardes**
kan **bloot** **finansiële** **belange**. **Die**
Skat **is** **daar** **vir** **die** **volk** **en** **nie**
die **volk** **vir** **die** **Skat** **nie**.

Die **derde** **is** **die** **ver-**
meerdering **van** **die** **volk** **se** **totale**
inkomste **deur** **die** **plaatse** **ontwikkeling**
van **al** **ons** **hulpbronne**, **maar** **ge-**
veerd **daar-**
mee **ook** **die** **regverdigde** **distrie-**
te **daarvan** **en** **die** **verwydering** **van**
alle **parasitiese** **bedrywighede**. **Dit**
ver-
onderstel **'n** **sentrale** **ekonomiese**
raad, **wat** **protekte**, **pryse** **en** **lone**
sal **teel** **op** **so** **dat** **alle** **eko-**
nomiese **aksies** **behoorlik** **kan** **le-**
en **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te**
te **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te** **te**

IN NYWERHEDE

Monopolies, **skutbedrywe**, **die**
goud **en** **die** **bank** **moet** **ander**
be-
heer **kom** **in** **die** **staat** **wat** **ver-**
teen-
woordig **moet** **kry** **in** **die** **direk-**
ties **met** **die** **doel** **om** **te** **ver-**
seker **dat** **die** **belange** **van** **die** **pub-**
liek **be-**
skerm **sal** **word** **en** **dat** **die** **arbe-**
ders **op** **billike** **wyse** **sal** **deel** **in** **die**
wel-
vaart **van** **die** **land** **self** **help** **skep**.

S.A. KAN HOM NOG SELF RED, MAAR . . .

Dan Moet Dit Nou Geskied, Sê Dr. Malan

SAMEVATTING VAN H.N.P. SE BELEID

KAAPSTAD, Maandag.

Dr. Malan, Hoofleier van die Herenigde Nasionale Party, het onderstaande verklaring vir publikasie aan Die Burger oorhandig:

Die offisiële nominasie is verby. In elke bestrede kiesafdeling weet die kiesers nou presies wat die keuse is waarvoor hulle op 7 Julie sal staan. Op hierdie stadium is daar baie minder goed ingeligtes wat graag 'n korte samevatting wil hê van die Herenigde Nasionale Party se positiewe beleid. Aan hierdie begeerte voldoen ek nou op die volgende wyse:

(1) Die H.N.P. is die offisiële Opposisie en gevolglik die alternatiewe regering. Sy beleid is daarom nasionaal, omvattend en verantwoordelik. Stemme op partytjies, wat wel teen die Regering is, maar geen hoop het om ooit aan die bewind te kom nie, is stemme 'wat weggegooi' word. Nee, erger, dis stemme wat in baie gevalle net die teenoorgestelde sal bereik as wat dit oënskynlik voor bedoel is.

Die totale getal stemme wat teen veldmaarskalk Smuts en alles waarvoor hy staan, uitgebring is, sal gou vergeet wees. Die wêreld sal sy setels tel en onthou. En die nasionaalgesinde Afrikanerdom sal vir daardie weggegooide of misbruikte stemme miskien vir altyd—moet boet.

(2) Ons staan suiwer en vierkant vir Suid-Afrika en dit beheers al ons strewe en ons hele beleid. Ons wil 'n eensgesinde, gelukkige en welvarende volk in ons eie vaderland hê . . .

Die ou verslete beskuldiging, dat ons slegs vir een ras staan en alle ander uitsluit, is vals. Dis die propaganda van daardie kapitalistiese kliek en hul pers wat Suid-Afrika regeer en wat uit onderlinge wantroue en verdeeldheid vir hulself voordeel wil behaal. Ons waarborg aan die Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende seksie van ons bevolking albei dieselfde beskerming vir hul politieke taal- en kulturele regte.

(3) Ons beskou dat Suid-Afrika sy eie gemeenskaplike en onafhanklike nasieskap alleen in 'n republiek ten volle kan uitlewe. Dit is aan ons kant geen blote sentimentele eis nie.

MOET NOU GESKIED

As gevolg van die Regering se nie-blankebewapeningsbeleid en van onbeteuelde kommunistiese opswepery, het hierdie vraagstuk reeds so 'n akute stadium bereik, dat die ernstigste gevolge ons voor die deur staan, tensy daar dadelik gehandel word. Onder die kapitalistiese Smuts-regering sal die nasleep van die oorlog bitter wees en onverbidlik. Uitstel van 'n verandering in die Regering totdat inflasie verhoogde lewenskoste, werkersmoelikhede en grootskaalse werkloosheid die pad van die kommuniste na 'n swart rewolusie nog tienmaal makliker sal maak het, is onvergeeflike roekeloosheid.

Suid-Afrika kan homself nog red. Maar dan moet dit nou geskied.

(4) Ons is anti-imperialisties, maar ook anti-kapitalisties en die groot kapitaliste wat tans ons land regeer, weet dit. As die oorlog self 'n ongeluk is,

dan is vir ons die voortsetting van die vooroorlogse toestande van armoede en gebrek—moontlik nog in 'n baie verskerpte vorm—'n tiendubbele ramp.

Dis ook geen gegriefdheid of vyandskap teen Engeland nie. Dis 'n saak van gesonde, praktiese beleid in Suid-Afrika se eie belang. Alleen so sal ons ware en blywende volkseenheid verkry omdat buitelandse belange ons dan nie meer keer op keer soos tot hiertoe sal verskeur en verdeeld hou nie.

NIE-BLANKES

So ook alleen sal ons daardie nodige samewerking verkry om ons grootste en ernstigste vraagstukke doeltreffend op te los soos onder andere die kleur- en Jodevraagstukke sowel as die grootskaalse armoede en agteruitgang van ons eie ryk land.

(5) Ons staan vir die handhawing van die posisie en die Christelike beskawing van die blanke ras gepaard met die regverdige, en billike behandeling van die nie-blanke rasse en die verskaffing van die nodige fasiliteite vir hul ontwikkeling op eie terrein. Dit kan alleen geskied langs die weg van rasse-suiwerheid en apartheid van woonbuurte en van die uitoefening van hul politieke en maatskaplike regte.

DOELTREFFENDE ANTWOORD

Uit opoffering en bloed en tranes moet daar 'n beter en gelukkiger wêreld verrys. Indien nie, dan staan die swarte wanhoop ons voor die deur.

Ons sosiaal-ekonomiese program is duidelik omlyn en aan die land bekend. Dit staan in skerp kontras tot die Smuts-regering se tentoongestelde beleidloosheid en holle verkiesingsbeloftes wat nog holler voorkom as dit gesien word teen die agtergrond van valse voorspieëlings en verbroke beloftes van die vorige oorlog.

Dit beliggaam ook die doeltreffendste antwoord wat gegee kan word aan die kommunistiese bedreiging wat deur 'n kapitalistiese regering, soos ons nou het, uiteindelik alleen gesmoor sal word in bloed. Ons roep 1922 tot getuie.

Ons sosiaal-ekonomiese beleid berus op vier grondpilare. Die eerste is die beskouing dat die volk 'n eenheid is waar die burgers hul verpligtings het teenoor die staat, maar waar die staat ook die verpligtings het om vir elke burger menswaardige en versekerde lewenstoestande te skep.

MENSLIKE WAARDES

Dit beteken al die bekende maatreëls van maatskaplike veiligheid, insluitende behoorlike behuising, gesondheidsdienste, werkverskaffing, lone en hulp aan die indiividue en gesinne wat nie in staat is om hulself te help nie.

Die tweede is die inagneming deur die staat van menslike waardes bokant bloot finansiële belange. Die Skatkis is daar vir die volk en nie die volk vir die Skatkis nie.

Die derde is die vermeerdering van die volk se totale inkomste deur die planmatige ontwikkeling van al ons hulpbronne, maar gepaard daarmee ook die regverdige distribusie daarvan en die verwydering van alle parasitiese bedrywighede. Dit veronderstel 'n sentrale ekonomiese raad, wat profyte, pryse en lone sal reël op sodanige wyse dat alle ekonomiese sektors behoorlik kan lewe en tegelyk beskerm sal wees teen uitbuiting van enige aard.

IN NYWERHEDE

Monopolies, sleutelbedrywe, die goudmyne en banke moet onder beheer kom van die staat wat verteenwoordiging moet kry in die direksies met die doel om te verseker dat die belange van die publiek beskerm sal word en dat die arbeiders op billike wyse sal deel in die welvaart wat hulle self help skep.

Die vierde grondpilaar is die versekering dat Suid-Afrika 'n witmansland kan bly, ook deur die neem van sulke ekonomiese maatreëls wat blanke werkverskaffing en blanke lone sal beskerm. In plaas van die teenswoordige dodende kompetisie in die arbeidsmark, waardeur die blanke met sy hoër lewenspeil uitgedruk word en na die agterbuurte moet afsak, moet werkverskaffing in alle industrieë volgens 'n billike kwota verdeel word tussen blankes, kleurlinge en naturrelle. Dit sal outomaties ook 'n beter beheer verseker oor die grootskaalse trek na die stede, die swarter word van ons stede, soos dit nou vinnig plaasvind, voorkom en grotendeels ook die ernstige plaasarbeidsvraagstuk oplos.

OORLOGSDEELNAME

(6) Ons staan vir die rehabilitasie van die boerebevolking as die ruggraat van ons land en die vaste anker van ons volksbestaan. Dit kan alleen geskied deur 'n doeltreffende verbandaflosskema en die versekering van lonende markpryse.

(7) Ons is gekant teen die dieper intrek van Suid-Afrika in die oorlog deur die deelname daaraan buite Afrika, veral waar die posisie van Rusland die grootste gevare meebring vir ons land met sy ontvlambare miljoene van nie-blankes. Dit sal ons nie baat om die hele wêreld te win en ons eie land en ons eie siel te verloor nie.

Ons staan daarom vir die terugbring van ons troepe tot binne die grense van Suid-Afrika en hulle gebruik vir die verdediging van ons eie land alleen in afwagting van 'n formele vredesluiting op aanneemlike terme. Ons staan ook vir die onmiddellike demobilisasie van die nie-blankes nou in aktiewe diens.

(8) Ons het onderneem om die pensioene- en ander voorregte wat die Parlement aan blanke soldate toegeken het, onverminderd te handhaaf. Ons het nog altyd die soldaat geëer, wat sy politieke beskouing ookal mag wees, wat sy lewe veil het vir sy oortuiging. Die bewering van die teenoorgestelde is 'n propagandistiese leuen. Ons het ons egter nog altyd gekant teen die bende van oorlogskreeuendes wat in veiligheid en gemak tuis sit, hope geld uit die oorlog maak en agter die bloed van ander skuil.

(Berig deur H. de V. Coetzee, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.)

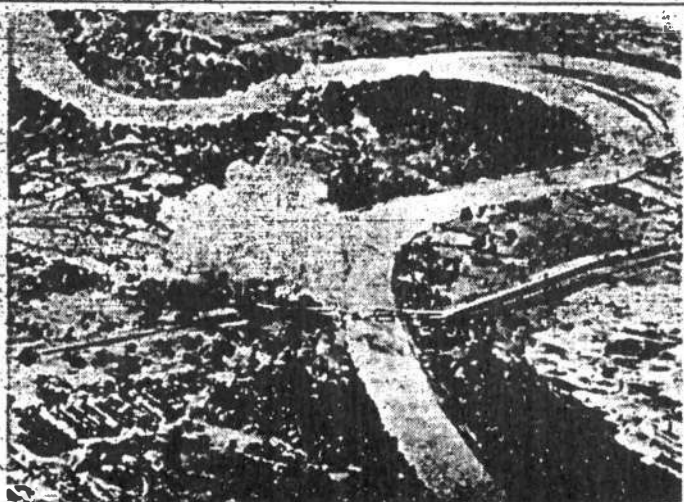


Die Vaderland

JAARGANG VII. No. 2964.

JOHANNESBURG, SATERDAG, 22 MEI 1943.

VIR EENHEID—TEEN IMPERIAL



**Japanners
Kry Dit
Uit Lug**

Totwyl Amerikaanse bomme.

KOLSKOTE op lewensbelangrike Japanse brug in Birma. Bostaande foto toon die vernietiging van 'n hele spanning van die Japanse Hjitnge-brug naby Mandalay. Die kolskote is deur vlieërs van die 10de Amerikaanse Leër-lugmag onder aanvoering van brig.-genl. Clayton L. Bissell behaal. Oor hierdie brug moet alle Japanse spoore en ander verkeer vanaf Midde- en Suid-Birma na hulle basis in Mandalay, Lashio en Mjitkina gaan. Ná hierdie aanval het die Japanners die brug twee keer probeer herstel, maar Amerikaanse vliegtuie het dit keer op keer buite gebruik gestel.

Afrikanerparty Se Manifes BOU OP BEPROEFDE HERTZOG-BASIS

Die volgende manifes is vanmore in Johannesburg uitgereik deur die gesamentlike Hoofbesture van die Afrikanerparty in die Vrystaat en Transvaal.

„Toe die oorlogsverklaring in September 1939 die imperialistiesgesinde en die nasionaalgesinde dele van die ou Verenigde Party uitmekaar laat vlieg het, was die nasionale deel, d.w.s. die Hertzog-groep, van mening dat eenwording tussen hulle en die ander nasionale element in die land, d.w.s. die Gesuiverde Nasionale Party, 'n vanselfsprekende ontwikkeling sal wees.



Mnr. N. C. Havenga, leier van die Afrikanerparty.

**Al 21 Ke
Van A.P.
Vir Volk**

Met die uitsondering van die Afrikanerparty alle Vrystaatse setels reeds in nege kiesafde kanerparty benoem, t nog voortgegaan word land is in die kiesafde kandidaat van die Afri

AFRIKANERPARTY SE MANIFES

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Ontstaan van Party

“Twee hoofoorsake het daardie verwagting verýdel en die Afrikanerparty as afsonderlike nasionale party laat ontstaan. Die twee oorsake was:

1. Die gees van onversoenlikheid wat ’n invloedryke element in die Gesuiwerde Party aan die dag gelê het en wat gewortel het in ’n sieklike nalewing van vroeëre sleggesindheid sowel as in die gees van politieke jaloesie wat uitdrukking gevind het in openlike aanwakkering van agterdog en ondergrondse ondermyning van Hertzog-groeplede tot ’n mate wat uiteindelik gelei het tot die uitdruwing van genl. Hertzog self; en
2. Die gedraglyk van ’n party-leiding wat gedurig daarop uit was om die partyliggaam te “suiwer” in plaas van te versterk en volksgenote te verstrooi in plaas van te vergader—’n gedraglyk wat, soos die ou vader genl. Hertzog aan die einde profeties gewaarsku het, bestem was om die Afrikanerdom na die woestyn te dryf deur dat dit onophoudelik Afrikanerkragte vervreem en verdryf wat onmisbaar is vir die Afrikanersaak en -taak.

Doelstellings van Party

“In opstand dus teen die ondankbare vernedering waaraan genl. Hertzog onderwerp is ná sy nooit te vergelde dienste aan die volk, en in opstand teen die proses van vernietiging van die volk se stem, van sy krag en van sy politieke toekoms, het die Afrikanerparty ontstaan met die volgende hoof-oogmerke:

1. Om nasionalisme in Suid-Afrika te herstel as ’n lewenshouding in plaas van ’n kreet waarmee individue eie verheerliking soek na te streef, as ’n gesindheid teenoor die vaderland en as ’n uitgangspunt vir die behartiging van ons vaderland se belange in plaas van as ’n middel en die ambisies van politieke groepe en leiers te bevorder ten koste van ander nasionale groepe en leiers, en ten koste van die groot volksbelang.
2. Om vir nasionalisme goeie wil en vertroue te kweek, in plaas van haat en vrees;
3. Om punte van ooreenkoms tussen nasionaalgesinde Afrikaners te soek en te beklemtoon en nie aldurend verskille onder ’n vergrootglas te plaas, verdeling en verdeeldheid daarop te baseer en onderlinge vetes daaroor aan te wakker nie;
4. Om die grondgedagte van Suid-Afrikaanse nasionalisme en Afrikanerskap te herstel op die enigste praktiese en regverdige, die reeds beproefde basis neergelê deur die vader daarvan, genl. Hertzog, naamlik die geleentheid vir albei volksdele om deel daaraan te hê, gepaard met

die waarborg van veiligheid en gelyke kulturele en burgerregte vir albei; en

5. Om, met hierdie opvatting van nasionalisme en Afrikanerskap as grondslag, die nasionaalgesinde Afrikanerdom weer te verenig in een magtige politieke liggaam, verenig in ’n gesindheid van onderlinge vertroue en verbind deur geloof in die volk, wat by magte sal wees om die seggenskap van die Afrikaner in die landsbestuur en in die volksbestemming terug te vorder van die onnasionale en aan die vreemde gediensstige kombinasie wat dit op die oomblik in hande het.

Republikeinse Strewe

“In aansluiting by die bostaande sal die Afrikanerparty, ooreenkomstig sy Program van Beginsels, steun soek vir die republikeinse regeringsvorm en hom inspan om publieke mening daarvoor ryp te maak. Die party verwerp absoluut alle bewerings en suggesties aangaande onderhorigheid, en betwis die versinsel dat die bestaande regeringsvorm enige perke hoegenaamd aan ons volkswyheid en staatkundige onafhanklikheid suggereer. Intendeel bely die party dankbare erkentlikheid vir die groot konstitusionele stryd wat genl. Hertzog suksesvol en finaal gevoer het sowel as vir die steun in verskillende stadiums van hierdie stryd aan hom verleen deur die ou Nasionale en Arbeiderspartye sowel as deur die latere Verenigde Party onder sy leiding. Dog hoewel die party uitgaan van die standpunt dat ons Staat soewerein en ons volk se seggenskap absoluut en finaal is, beskou hy dat die huidige konstitusionele vorm minstens ten dele verantwoordelik is vir die verkragting van die volksbelang op 4 September 1939 en sedertdien. Deur die wyse waarop ons land die oorlog ingesleep is, het die party oortuig geraak dat die konstitusionele konneksie met Groot-Brittanje ’n voedingsaar is vir die historiese sentimentskonneksie wat die een helfte van ons bevolking met daardie land het, watter sentimentskonneksie volgens die party se oorwoë oordeel grotendeels verantwoordelik gehou moet word vir die oorlogsverklaring van 1939 en vir die gevolglike mislukking van die, tot op daardie oomblik so suksesvolle en vrugbare, samewerking tussen die twee volkselemente. Die party herhaal egter dat enige verandering in die land se regeringsvorm net aangebring kan en sal word op die breë grondslag van die volkswil.

Verkiesingsoogmerke

“Voortvloeiende uit die bogenoemde grondredes vir sy ontstaan en die fundamentele oogmerke wat hy hom in Suid-Afrikaanse politiek stel, gaan die Afrikanerparty in die algemene verkiesing wat op hande is, hoofsaaklik twee groot doelwitte by die volk bepleit:

1. Onmiddellike stopsetting van die stelselmatige negering van die hele gees van Suid-Afrikaanse soewereiniteit waarop die huidige bewind hom toelê deur sy slaafse navolging van buitelandse besluite ooreenkomstig buitelandse konsiderasies en belange, sowel as onmiddellike beëindiging van die uitmergeling van Suid-Afrikaanse middele en bates vir ’n oorlog wat in Europa gevoer word en in Europa beslis sal word.

“Die party hou rekening daarmee dat, sedert wyle generaal Hertzog se voorstel tot welwillende neutraliteit by die uitbreek van die oorlog, en sedert die daaropvolgende vredesvoorstelle in die Volksraad, die Unie deur die rampspoedige optrede van sy Regering so ingetrek is in die hele oorlogstrategie dat enige poging van Unie-kant om vandag ’n afsonderlike vrede te sluit, waarskynlik gevolg sal word deur

Geallieerde militêre besetting soos gebeur het in die geval van 'n ander vorige bondgenoot, Frankryk. Die party is nie voornemens om so'n ellende oor Suid-Afrika te bring nie. Die opoffering van Afrikanerbloed en die besteding van Suid-Afrikaanse geld aan 'n magsoorlog tussen buitelandse grootmoondhede kan en sal egter beëindig word.

Pogings tot Eenheid

“In ag nemende die uiterste belangrikheid van hierdie vraag voor die volk, namelik of voortgegaan sal word met die nasionale selfvernietiging waarmee die huidige bewind besig is, het die Afrikanerparty herhaaldelik mede-nasionaalgesinde organisasies uitgenooi tot 'n verenigde front in die verkiesing teen die oorlogskombinasie. Die Afrikanerparty verkeer onder die besef dat daar onderlinge verskille bestaan wat dit noodsaaklik maak vir iedere deelnemende organisasie om sy eie identiteit te behou en sy bestaansreg te handhaaf. Tegelykertyd is die Afrikanerparty oortuig dat geen onderlinge verskil tussen nasionaalgesindes so aktueel of selfs so groot is om op te weeg teen die één brandende vraag wat die verkiesing van 7 Julie a.s. sal moet beantwoord nie. Die party wil dit hier boekstaaf dat dit na sy mening, van al die tragedie van die afgelopen drie jaar, die grootste treurspel is wat ons nog beleef het dat die Afrikanerdom op 'n moment soos hierdie nie groot genoeg kon wees om sy onderlinge verskille selfs tydelik opsy te lê terwille van gemeenskaplike volksbelang nie.

“So was dit egter. Die Herenigde Party het geweier. En daarom gaan die Afrikanerparty in die volgende sewe weke 'n tweede groot beroep doen op die volk:

2. “Om deur middel van sy stem die indrukwekkendste moontlike protes uit te spreek teen party-politiek wat in alle omstandighede die belang van die party stel bo die belang van die volk.

Die Kommuniste

“Die Afrikanerparty neem met groot besorgdheid die toenemende Kommunistiese invloed in Suid-Afrika waar—toename wat grotendeels gewyt moet word aan die neutrale, en soms selfs aktief-aanmoedigende houding wat die huidige regering teenoor die euwel aanneem. In 'n land soos Suid-Afrika is die Kommuniste 'n dodelike verskynsel, en 'n beleid wat dit laat wortel skiet terwille van tydelike politieke voordeel, kan nie sterk genoeg veroordeel word nie.

Die Segregasie-beginsels

“Die Afrikanerparty maak sterk beswaar teen die halfhartige belydenis en halfhartige toepassing van die segregasie-beginsel, wat hy as hoeksteen van die Unie se staatkunde beskou. Om die betreffende wetgewing te beskerm teen aanslae wat reeds in verskillende rigtings bespeur kan word en dit na letter en gees uit te voer, is een van die dinge waartoe hy hom verbind.

Ekonomiese Sekuriteit

“Die party neem aan dat, naas die magstryd wat tans tussen twee volke-kombinasies gevoer word, die wêreld as geheel besig is om 'n omwenteling in maatskaplike en ekonomiese opvattinge te ondergaan. Alle regerings en alle politieke partye sal hulle gedurende en aan die einde van die ewolusieproses moet aanpas by ekonomiese vereistes, en aangesien niemand vandag in staat is om die aard te voorspel van die toestande en probleme wat [op] ons wag nie, is dit onbegon-

ne vir 'n politieke party wat eerlik met die volk wil wees, om vandag 'n ekonomiese program vir daardie toestande te probeer aanbied. Die Afrikanerparty wil hom nie skuldig maak aan gewone stemme-smousery deur voor te gee dat hy dit kan doen nie, maar daar kan wel gesê word dat die Afrikanerparty voornemens is om dinge aan te pak soos hy hulle sal kry, met die hoof-oogmerke om:

1. die land as geheel ekonomies selfstandig te maak; en
2. aan elke landsburger 'n toestand van ekonomiese sekuriteit te verseker, in gelyke mate as wat die Party politieke vryheid en veiligheid wil waarborg.

“Ter uitvoering van hierdie oogmerke gaan die Party o.a. sodra hy die mag kry, hom met vasberadenheid toelê op wetenskaplike voortsetting van die industrialisasie van die land waaraan sy leidende lede reeds soveel gedoen het, en gaan hy in ooreenstemming met sy Program van Beginsels wat bepaal dat die bestaan en welsyn van die landelike bevolking die onderwerp sal vorm van besondere strewe en toewyding, hom spesiaal beywer om ook ná die beëindiging van vyandelikhede 'n redelike en bestaanbare pryspeil vir boerderyprodukte te verseker. Hy bepleit verder dat reeds onder bestaande toestande van regeringsweë alle aanmoediging verstrekkend sal word om die algemene ekonomiese en skuldelaasposisie van die boer te verbeter deur veral weg te doen met die bepalinge van die bestaande oorwinstbelastingwetgewing, wat daarop neerkom dat boere wat werklike kapitale bates omset deur die verkoop van surplus-vee, baie swaar getref word.

“Die Party het waargeneem dat, as deel van die omwenteling wat besig is om plaas te vind, daar 'n byna wêreldwye bewuswording ontstaan het van die mens se behoefte aan ekonomiese sekuriteit ook in tye van teenspoed. Aan die algemene aandrang om bevrediging van hierdie behoefte sal alle regerings en alle partye in die toekoms moet gevolg gee. Dit is geen onderwerp vir een besondere partyprogram nie, maar eenvoudig 'n komende nuwe stadium in die ontwikkeling van die menslike maatskappy waaraan ook ons in Suid-Afrika sal moet voldoen.

“Ons Party is natuurlik nog jonk, en hoewel hy in die kort tyd van sy bestaan veral in die Vrystaat en Transvaal 'n party-masjinerie opgebou het wat reeds die hoogste verwagtinge oortref, het hy begryplik nog nie die stadium bereik waar hy oor die organisasie en die middele beskik om kandidate in alle kiesafdelings te benoem nie. Die Hoofbesture het die beleid gevolg om die Party se vaandel te laat dra net in die kiesafdelings waar die party-masjinerie in staat is om die verkiesing te behartig en waar hulle goeie kans staan om die oorwinning te behaal.

“Ten behoeve van hierdie kandidate rig die Hoofbesture hiermee hulle beroep op die Afrikanervolk. Hulle vra steun teen die verwoestende opoffering van Suid-Afrika aan buitelandse belange, en hulle vra steun teen volksverskeuring wat ons vaderland selfs in die uur van sy nood ten offer wil bly bring aan die party-afgod.

“Die Hoofbesture se beroep op die volk is om te stem vir eenheid—teen imperialisme wat, teruggevoer, neerkom op die oorspronklike wekroep van nasionalisme in Suid-Afrika: Stem vir Suid-Afrika Eerste!

“Namens die Hoofbesture van die Afrikanerparty in die Vrystaat en in Transvaal.”

(Get.) N.C. HAVENGA.

WORLD ORGANISATION TO KEEP THE PEACE

After discussing the trip to the United States, General Smith urged the party to beware of "bribe-baiters." They say, "We support General Smith and the war effort," but they are selling men on."

"The great mistake last time was that at the most critical stage America stepped out. I think that was the beginning of the woes of mankind. America has learnt her lesson. She has seen that on the path of isolation there is no salvation. Next

"I do not want to segregate them from the whites, but to help them and improve social and economic conditions among them. Our intention is purely benevolent, but it is for the coloured people to make up their own minds. It is for them to say whether they like it or not."

News & P. P. Harrison The Argus
Buildings St. George's-st. Cape Town.

There is a growing body of research that suggests that the use of technology in the classroom can enhance student learning and engagement. This research is based on the idea that technology can provide students with access to a wide range of resources and tools that can help them to learn more effectively. For example, students can use technology to access online resources, such as videos and interactive simulations, which can help them to understand complex concepts more easily. Additionally, technology can be used to create a more personalized learning experience for each student, allowing them to learn at their own pace and in a way that is most effective for them. This research also suggests that technology can be used to increase student motivation and engagement, as students are more likely to be interested in learning when they are using technology. Overall, the research suggests that technology can be a valuable tool for enhancing student learning and engagement in the classroom.

FIRST TASK TO WIN THE WAR

GEN. SMUTS'S STIRRING CALL TO SOUTH AFRICA

WORLD ORGANISATION TO KEEP THE PEACE

A world organisation to prevent aggression and a council of Southern African States to discuss their common problems were visualised as post-war developments by the Prime Minister, General Smuts, in a stirring address in the City Hall last night. He urged, however, that all energy must be concentrated first on winning the war.

General Smuts also emphasised that the Coloured Advisory Council had been instituted without any intention of discriminating against coloured people, but for the purpose of helping them to secure their rights.

The occasion was a United Party rally, and the Prime Minister was given an enthusiastic reception by an audience that packed the hall.

He said there could have been only two reasons for postponing the general election due this year. The war situation might have made one impossible or the internal situation might have precluded it.

HULLABALOO OVER

"As far as our internal conditions are concerned," he said, "you know it is all over bar the shouting. All that wild hullabaloo, all that storm that was to have set this country by the ears and drive me from office, where is it? All gone with the wind.

"We are very mindful of the dangers we have escaped. But we have weathered the storm, partly by firmness and partly by moderation. Not a drop of blood has been shed by us, but we have laid those rascals by the heels and there is peace and quiet in the land, and we can hold a general election. We have made no martyrs. The general situation is probably more satisfactory to-day than it has been for many many years." (Cheers)

After discussing the Opposition election cries, General Smuts urged the party to beware of Independents. "They say: 'We support General Smuts and the war effort', but they are fighting my men."

The local Communist movement, he said, was not supported by Russia. It was a problem due to local conditions, and it would have to be dealt with by removing the causes that led to unrest.

ELECTION PROGRAMME

The United Party election programme was, first, to win the war: next, to win the peace.

"We want to concentrate all our energy and all our attention on winning the war," he said. "Unless we do that it is useless to speculate about a new world. Win the war first, then other things may come right. Lose the war first and everything will be lost.

"Win the war first, then win the peace. It is no use trying to think of new orders or a better world here in South Africa unless we have peace in the world, a peace that will guarantee us against aggression in the future. There will be no social security in South Africa unless there is security against aggression in the world."

PATH OF ISOLATION

The next step after winning the war would be the formation of an international organisation which would guarantee all against aggression.

"The great mistake last time was that at the most critical stage America stepped out. I think that was the beginning of the woes of mankind. America has learnt her lesson. She has seen that on the path of isolation there is no salvation. Next time we shall all be in it." (Cheers)

There must be no peace of vengeance. All people, friends as well as enemies, must have the right to live. But the means of destruction must be controlled to prevent a recurrence of war. The world must be policed as countries were policed to-day.

This time, too, they must make fair and decent provision for the soldiers. They must be resettled in civil life, given a fair start and the opportunity to take up their careers where they dropped them.

EVIL INTO GOOD

Again, the switching over from war industry to civil industry must be carefully planned. "I hope this war will not be only a calamity for us," General Smuts said. "In essence it is a dreadful calamity, but there is no evil that cannot be turned to good. And we want this calamity in the end to turn out a blessing for South Africa.

"If we bring the same energy and devotion to bear on this problem of switching over from war to peace conditions as we have brought to fighting the war, you may see a new South Africa. I feel we are on the doorstep of this new South Africa." (Cheers)

Great problems lay ahead, but they were all soluble, and he was heartened by what had already been achieved.

The greatest difficulty was that of colour. They had never given enough attention to the problems connected with the vast native population, but that would have to be done and everybody in the country would reap the benefit!

THE COLOURED PEOPLE

"And our coloured people. They are a serious concern to me. They can make a very great contribution, and it was with this thought in the background and from this point of view that the Government, after having thought over the matter, decided to have an advisory council from among the coloured people themselves who could discuss their problems with us and inform us of their needs and the steps that should be taken for their social and economic improvement.

"We had no other motive whatever except the good and the improvement of the conditions among our coloured people, who are not getting their just due in the existing state of affairs. We are not in sufficient touch with them.

"To put them on separate lists! That has never entered my mind at all. I do not want to take away a single right from them. I want to give them more rights and better conditions.

"I do not want to segregate them from the whites, but to help them and improve social and economic conditions among them. Our intention is purely benevolent, but it is for the coloured people to make up their own minds. It is for them to say whether they like it or not."

PAN-AFRICAN IDEA

The United Party was committed to the pan-African idea. They looked forward to a closer relationship, better co-operation and large collaboration with the neighbouring

countries to the north. To-day all over Southern Africa there was a better feeling than there had ever been before.

“We suggest no interference with their sovereignty. We do not want to annex them. But we look forward to the day when we may have a common council discussing the common affairs of this sub-continent. We look forward to a council that will meet regularly to discuss the common interests and policies of the countries of Southern Africa, without any of them renouncing their present political connections.

“We are going to win the war,” General Smuts said. “Let us also win the peace. And let the war in that way and the peace following it become a new milestone for South Africa. That is the policy we are following, and I ask the people of South Africa to stand together, as our boys have stood together in the north, and build up this country into something which the coming generations will be proud of.” (Cheers)

(News by F.P. Rousseau, The Argus Buildings, St. George's-st. Cape Town.)

GOVERNMENT'S GOOD

UNION START

TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION CLEAR ON WAR ISSUE

NOMINATIONS ANALYSED

By Our Political Correspondent

THE RESULTS OF YESTERDAY'S official nomination of candidates for the parliamentary elections prove conclusively that South Africa is overwhelmingly behind General Smuts and his efforts to win both the war and the peace.

The unopposed return of 11 Government candidates compared with four in the 1938 elections in which the United Party won 111 of 150 seats, indicates that four years of war have hardened and crystallised public opinion against the neutrality policy of the Opposition factions.

It cannot be denied that the Coalition Government has made an auspicious start in the elections—a start that is promising, but dangerous if it breeds complacency among Government supporters. The advantage gained yesterday might be frittered away unless the Union's 1,262,000 voters are prepared to give practical effect to their views on polling day, July 7.

MAIN FIGHT FOR TRANSVAAL

Experience in other belligerent countries, such as America and Canada, has shown that the aggregate poll in war-time elections tends to be small. The smaller the percentage vote is on July 7, the better will the anti-war opposition shape, and the realer will be their prospects of keeping the National Union and other issues of the peace and thus handing a decided defeat to the Government.

their deposits—but taken together they are liable to confuse the main issues before the electorate and in that way to hamper the war effort.

Unopposed candidates, nor will the main Government which is now being elected, particularly if the electorate refuses to be deflected from the main questions of the hour.

NATIONALISTS' HOPES

In the urban areas the Nationalists who constitute the main challenge to the Government, are relying chiefly on the apathy of voters and on the presence of Independents. On the Rand particularly they are depending on so-called pro-war Independents to split the Government vote and give them a chance of winning a number of

seats. The election will be decided largely by what happens in the Transvaal where the Nationalists are making their main drive. In the Transvaal there are 54 Government candidates and 100 Nationalist candidates.

There are 10 Government candidates in the Cape and 14 in the Free State.

It is probable that the United Party will more than hold its own in the Cape, Free State and Natal. In the latter two of these three provinces the Government seems assured of a majority over the combined Opposition forces which would be a very important factor in the election.

The Nationalists are making a strong drive in the Transvaal, where they are expected to win a number of seats. In the Orange Free State they are expected to win a number of seats.

Yesterday the first war-time election yet held in the Union. Every vote cast on July 7 for the 334 nominated candidates may well be of more importance than any vote recorded in previous elections, including that of 1938 when 258 candidates stood.

The stakes are far greater this time and the size of the poll may have far-reaching effects on South Africa's destiny.

INDEPENDENTS' DANGER

The Government is contesting 133 seats, the Nationalists 110, the Afrikaner Party, in association with the smaller Opposition groups 36, and Independents of various political shades 33 seats, chiefly in the important electoral areas of the Rand, Durban and elsewhere.

Many of these Independents may lose their deposits in 1938. 20 out of 28 Independents lost

GOVERNMENT'S GOOD ELECTION START

TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION CLEAR ON WAR ISSUE

NOMINATIONS ANALYSED

By Our Political Correspondent

The results of yesterday's official nomination of candidates for the parliamentary elections prove conclusively that South Africa is overwhelmingly behind General Smuts and his efforts to win both the war and the peace.

The unopposed return of 17 Government candidates, compared with four in the 1938 elections in which the United Party won 111 of 150 seats, indicates that four years of war have hardened and crystallised public opinion against the neutrality policy of the Opposition factions.

It cannot be denied that the Coalition Government has made an suspicious start in the elections—a start that is promising, but dangerous if it breeds complacency among Government supporters. The advantage gained yesterday might be frittered away unless the Union's 1,262,000 voters are prepared to give practical effect to their views on polling day, July 7.

MAIN FIGHT FOR TRANSVAAL

Experience in other belligerent countries, such as America and Canada, has shown that the aggregate poll in war time elections tends to be small. The smaller the percentage vote is on July 7 the better will the anti-war Oppositions shape and the rosier will be their prospects of keeping the worn-out racial and other issues of the past alive and thus hampering the development of the Union in the post-war period.

Yesterday the die was cast for what may prove to be the most significant election yet held in the Union. Every vote cast on July 7 for the 338 nominated candidates may well be of more importance than any vote recorded in previous elections, including that of 1938 when 358 candidates stood.

The stakes are far greater this time and the size of the poll may have far-reaching effects on South Africa's destiny.

INDEPENDENTS' DANGER

The Government is contesting 132 seats, the Nationalists 110, the Afrikaner Party, in association with the smaller Opposition groups 36, and Independents of various political shapes 33 seats, chiefly in the important electoral areas of the Rand, Durban and elsewhere.

Many of these Independents may lose their deposits; in 1938 20 out of 28 Independents lost their deposits—but taken together they are liable to confuse the main issues before the electorate and in that way to hamper the war effort.

It is safe to assume that none of the mushroom growths, such as the Communists and one or two-man parties, are likely to survive the elections. No Union Parliament has ever been overburdened with Independents, nor will the ninth Parliament which is now being elected, particularly if the electorate refuses to be deflected from the main questions of the hour.

NATIONALISTS' HOPES

In the urban areas the Nationalists, who constitute the main challenge to the Government, are relying chiefly on the apathy of voters and on the presence of Independents. On the Rand particularly they are depending on so-called pro-war Independents to split the Government vote and give them a chance of winning a number of seats.

The election will be decided largely by what happens in the Transvaal, where the Nationalists, as well as the other Opposition factions, are making their main drive. In the Transvaal there are 54 Nationalist candidates compared with 38 in the Cape and 14 in the Free State.

It seems probable that the United Party will more than hold its own collectively in the Cape, Free State and Natal. In the total of seats in these three provinces the Government seems assured of a majority over the combined Opposition parties which would, therefore, have to conquer the Transvaal if they are to return to Parliament in greater strength than they now possess.

Throughout the Union there will be 82 straight fights, most of them between Government and Opposition candidates. In 46 divisions there will be triangular contests. Jeppe, Germiston, East London North and Rosettenville have four candidates each.

(News by H.O. Fick, Church Square, Pretoria.)

28-5-1943 ^{FORWARD} Labour's Manifesto To The Nation

THE South African Labour Party appeals to the electorate of South Africa, particularly to the workers, socialists and friends of Labour, to go to the polls to vote Labour, and where there is no Labour Party candidate to vote for the United Party candidates.

We have entered into an election agreement with General Smuts's party because we consider that in this General Election, the paramount issue is the war issue — and that the freedom of the workers, indeed the freedom of mankind, is dependent on the victory of democratic rule over the dark forces of Nazism and Fascism.

The Labour Party, while co-operating with the Government and giving it its wholehearted support in the prosecution of the war, has always been, and still remains, free to fight for the realisation of its economic and social programme in the interests of all the people of South Africa, to which it is pledged.

Our Socialist objective has in no way been suspended. On the contrary, at no time in the history of man has the conviction been so strong and widespread that Capitalism is the cause of war and of all our economic evils, and that only a system of production and distribution for use and not for gain — in short, Socialism, can abolish misery and want, and bring about a society in which all will have the opportunity to work and to share in the full fruit of their labour.

South Africa needs a strong Labour Party because only to the extent that Labour is united and strong can we hope to curb and destroy the greed and power of vested interests.

The old world of slumps, depressions, unemployment, starvation, fear and want must die with this war.

The new world offering full employment, economic security and equal opportunities for all can be achieved only by the will and determination of the people to translate into action the principles of the Labour Party.

Our Immediate and Post-War Policy:—

In the old world, labour was only employed where Capitalists could make profits.

In the new world, labour must be employed to produce wealth for the people.

PRODUCTION FOR USE—AND NOT PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT—IS THE KEYNOTE OF LABOUR'S POLICY.

Finance

Control and creation of credit by the State, instead of by private profit-seekers, is a primary condition for the reconstruction of the economic life of South Africa.

Social and Economic Security

production, and the general improvement of the standards of living of the different sections of the people of South Africa is not possible unless land monopoly is smashed and all land held by land companies and absentee landlords is nationalised.

Industrialisation of South Africa must go hand in hand with a dynamic new agricultural policy which seeks to utilise scientifically our land resources and to conserve our land for future generations.

Minimum Wage

A national minimum wage, to be scientifically determined, covering all workers without exception, should be established with the least possible delay.

Housing

A vast and dynamic housing scheme should be initiated immediately giving to every family the opportunity of owning a home or of being decently housed at a rental commensurate with income. Slums must be declared a national crime.

Food

Labour demands the immediate introduction of total price control and rationing of certain scarce commodities, which together with scientifically-applied subsidies to agricultural producers, must ensure an adequate supply of foodstuffs to the people of South Africa, at a fixed maximum price to the consumer and a guaranteed minimum price to the producer.

Cost of Living

We demand an up-to-date cost of living allowance to all, based on the actual increase in the price of commodities.

National Health Scheme

The health of the people is the responsibility of the State. We urge the introduction of a comprehensive health service for all the people of South Africa aiming at the promotion of health, the prevention and treatment of disease, and the rehabilitation of the unfit.

Education

Universal, free and compulsory edu-

cation for all the people of South Africa as well as the immediate preparation of schemes for a vast re-training programme for returned soldiers, war workers and unskilled workers is an urgent necessity.

An extensive free, national vocational training scheme and free university education for all showing the necessary aptitude, should be instituted.

Taxation

Taxation must be based on the individual's ability to pay, and steeply graded so as to put a "ceiling" on large incomes.

This summary of the Labour Party's war and post-war policy, indicates the scope of the struggle before the Labour Party. It is now for the voters of South Africa to ensure that our war effort is prosecuted with the maximum vigour, that our Home Front is safeguarded against the profit-seekers and against the unequal distribution of the necessities of life, that the solemn pledge made to our fighting men and women be honoured on demobilisation, and that all the people of the land are protected against the evils of the aftermath of war. If Labour's demand for production for use is put into effect, there need be, when the war is ended, no unemployment and no depression.

HELP US TO PLAN AND BUILD A NEW AND HAPPIER SOUTH AFRICA.

IN THE NAME OF THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING AND RISKING THEIR LIVES THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE FREE TO GO FORWARD TOWARDS THE BETTER LIFE, IN THE NAME OF THE COMING GENERATION WHO MUST NOT KNOW THE MISERY AND WANT WHICH IS SO WIDESPREAD AT PRESENT—WE APPEAL TO THE ELECTORS TO VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

**Help us to win the War and Peace
VOTE LABOUR**

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We have entered into an election agreement with General Smuts's party because we consider that in this General Election, the paramount issue is the war issue—and that the freedom of the workers, indeed the freedom of mankind, is dependent on the victory of democratic rule over the dark forces of Nazism and Fascism.

The Labour Party, while co-operating with the Government and giving it its wholehearted support in the prosecution of the war, has always been, and still remains, free to fight for the realisation of its economic and social programme in the interests of all the people of South Africa, to which it is pledged.

Our Socialist objective has in no way been suspended. On the contrary, at no time in the history of man has the conviction been so strong and wide-spread that Capitalism is the cause of war and of all our economic evils, and that only a system of production and distribution for use and not for gain—in short, Socialism, can abolish misery and want, and bring about a society in which all will have the opportunity to work and to share in the full fruit of their labour.

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FINANCE

Control and creation of credit by the State, instead of by private profitseekers, is a primary condition for the reconstruction of the economic life of South Africa.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Labour demands the immediate introduction in this country of Labour's Social and Economic Security Code, applying to all people living in the Union. This code will co-ordinate all social services, increase existing, and create new benefits which will ensure to the people at least the minimum of their requirements in times of need.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Our future is dependent on the extent of the industrial development of South Africa's resources, which must be developed in the interest of the entire nation. The essential basis for this development must be an adequate reward for

the workers, by hand or by brain, who contribute to the up-building of new industries.

PRODUCTION

To play our part in the final victorious phase of the war and to ensure work for our soldiers and civilian workers after the war, this country must greatly increase its productive capacity.

For this we need central planning for the control of our whole economic life, with active participation by the mass of the people, the working-class, in the framing of the plan, in carrying out the plan and in exercising full and proper democratic control.

We need a central production council, having supreme power over all production and supply to control the material resources, industrial capacity, plant and the allocation of credit.

LAND AND AGRICULTURE

Joint worker-management production committees working through local and regional committees, under the central production council, will ensure a vast increase in our production.

Greater industrial and agricultural production, and the general improvement of the standards of living of the different sections of the people of South Africa is not possible unless land monopoly is smashed and all land held by land companies and absentee landlords is nationalised.

Industrialisation of South Africa must go hand in hand with a dynamic new agricultural policy which seeks to utilise scientifically our land resources and to conserve our land for future generations.

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land are protected against the evils of the aftermath of war. If Labour's demand for production for use is put into effect, there need be, when the war is ended, no unemployment and no depression.

HELP US TO PLAN AND BUILD A NEW AND HAPPIER SOUTH AFRICA.

In the name of those who are fighting and risking their lives that the people of South Africa may be free to go forward towards the better life, in the name of the coming generation who must not know the misery and want which is so widespread at present—we appeal to the electors to vote for the candidates of the Labour Party.

HELP US TO WIN THE WAR AND PEACE VOTE LABOUR

MANIFESTO OF THE AFRIKANER PARTY

The following manifesto was issued by members of the Executive Committees for the Free State and Transvaal of the Afrikaner Party, following a meeting in Johannesburg on May 22, 1943:

"When the declaration of war in September, 1939, separated the Imperialists from the national-minded section of the old United Party, the National section — that is to say the Hertzog Group — felt that unification between its members and the other national element in the country, namely the Purified Nationalist Party, would follow as a matter of course.

Origin of the Party

Two main causes prevented that eventuality, and resulted in the formation of the Afrikaner Party as a separate national party. The two causes were:—

1. The irreconcilable spirit displayed by an influential element in the Purified Party, which resulted in a tragic spread of existing ill-feeling, as well as a spirit of political jealousy. This found expression in the sowing of suspicion against members of the Hertzog Group and in undermining their position to the extent that this ultimately led to the ejection of General Hertzog himself.
2. An attitude in the Party leadership which led constantly to "purifying" the party instead of strengthening it — scattering its own followers instead of unifying them — An attitude which, as the old father General Hertzog so prophetically warned, could only result in driving Afrikanerdom to the desert, as it increasingly alienated Afrikaners who were indispensable to the cause and objectives of the Afrikaner.

Objects of the Party

Therefore, in bitter protest against the tragic degradation which General Hertzog suffered after the incalculable services he had rendered to his people, and in revolt against this process of destroying the voice of the people, together with its power and political future, the Afrikaner Party was established with the following main objectives:—

1. To restore nationalism in South Africa as a philosophy, instead of a political cry through which individuals seek self-glorification; to allow nationalism to become an attitude toward the fatherland, and a principle through which the best interests of the fatherland may be served, instead of a means to further the ambitions of political groups

and leaders at the cost of rival national groups and leaders, sacrificing the best interests of the people in the process.

2. To inculcate goodwill towards nationalism and confidence in it, instead of hatred and fear.
3. To seek and emphasise points of agreement between national-minded Afrikaners, instead of continually searching for small differences with a magnifying glass in order to encourage disunity and kindle petty differences.
4. To restore the basic principle of South African nationalism and Afrikanership to the only practical, just, and tested basis laid down by its originator, General Hertzog. This was, that there should be opportunity for both sections of the people to share in our nationalism, together with a guarantee of security and equal cultural rights as well as rights of citizenship for both sections.
5. Taking this conception of nationalism and Afrikanership as a basic principle, to reunite national-minded Afrikanerdom into one mighty political body, joined by a spirit of mutual confidence, and to cement it by a strong reliance upon those who are capable of regaining the power of the Afrikaner to legislate in his country; to regain the destiny of the people from the non-national, foreign, subjective elements in whose possession it is at present.

Republican Aims

In conjunction with the above aim, the Afrikaner Party will seek support for a Republican form of Government, in accordance with its programme of principles, and will endeavour to ripen public opinion in support of this form of government. The party absolutely rejects any suggestion that such a form of government would be subordinate, and denies the invention that our present form of government limits in any way our freedom and our legislative and constitutional independence. On the contrary, the party is grateful for the constitutional struggle so successfully and decisively conducted by General Hertzog and it acknowledges with gratitude the assistance given him at different stages of this struggle by the old National and Labour Parties and later the United Party under his leadership. But although the Afrikaner

Party is launched from the standpoint that our state is sovereign and the authority of our nation is complete and final, it considers the present constitutional position at least partly responsible for the violation of the interests of the people on September 4, 1939 and thereafter.

The manner in which our country was dragged into war has convinced the party that the present constitutional connection with Great Britain is a stimulant for the historical sentiment that is retained by one half of the people for that country. This sentiment was, according to the considered opinion of the party, largely responsible for the declaration of war in 1939 and the resultant failure of what had until that moment been such successful and fruitful collaboration between the two peoples of our country. The party insists, however, that any change in the country's form of government may and can only be brought about on the broad basis of the people's will.

Election Aims

In consequence of the basic reasons for its establishment mentioned above, together with its fundamental aims in South African politics, the Afrikaner Party will place before the people at the coming general election the two following main objectives:—

1. An immediate end to the systematic negation of the whole spirit of South African sovereignty practised by the present Government through its servile obedience to foreign decisions governed by foreign considerations and interests; also immediate cessation of the squandering of South African materials and assets to prosecute a war waged in Europe which will be decided in Europe.

The Party accepts the fact that since the time when the late General Hertzog made his proposal, at the outbreak of war, to maintain a state of benevolent neutrality, and since the various peace proposals that followed in Parliament, the Union has become deeply drawn into the whole strategy of the war through the disastrous decisions of its Government. Therefore, any effort on the part of the Union to sue for a separate peace would probably be followed by an Allied occupation of South Africa as happened in the case of France. It is not the Party's intention to bring about any such calamity in South Africa. However, the sacrifice of Afrikaner blood and the expenditure of South African money on behalf of

a war of might — between great foreign powers — can and must be stopped.

Efforts to Secure Unity

In view of the immense importance of this national question as to whether South Africa's self-destruction should be continued, the Afrikaner Party has repeatedly invited similar nationally-inclined organisations to join in forming a united front against the war in the election. The Afrikaner Party frankly admits that differences exist among Afrikaner elements which make it necessary for every collaborating organisation to maintain its identity and right of existence. At the same time the Afrikaner Party holds that no differences among those who are nationally-minded can be so great as to outweigh the one burning question which will have to be decided at the election on July 7. The Party desires it to be placed upon record that in its view the greatest tragedy of the past three years is the fact that Afrikanerdom, at a significant moment such as the present, was not great enough to set aside its differences, even temporarily, in the interests of the people as a whole.

Such, however, was the case. The Herenigde Party stood apart. And for that reason the Afrikaner Party is about to make a second great appeal to the nation during the coming weeks.

2. Through the instrument of its vote, the Afrikaner Party will protest in the most impressive manner possible against party politics of a kind which set the interests of the party before the interests of the people.

Communism

The Afrikaner Party observes with great concern the growing influence of Communism in South Africa. This growth must be ascribed to the neutral and even encouraging attitude which the present Government adopts towards the evil. In a country such as South Africa, Communism is a dangerous phenomenon, and a policy, which, through temporary political expediency, allows it to take root, must be emphatically condemned.

Segregation

The Afrikaner Party objects very strongly to the half-hearted acceptance, and the half-hearted application of the principle of segregation, which it considers to be fundamental to the progress of the Union. A policy to which it binds itself is the protection of legislation to ensure segregation. This segregation is at present being subjected to attack from various quarters. The Afrikaner Party, on the other hand, pledges itself to carry out such legislation in the spirit and in the letter.

Economic Security

To-day there is in full swing a struggle between two combinations of power. The Afrikaner Party realises that the world as a whole is undergoing a revolution in regard to social and economic progress. During this revolutionary progress, and at its conclusion, all Governments and Parties will be compelled to adapt themselves to new economic requirements. Since nobody to-day is capable of foreseeing the character, conditions, and problems that lie ahead, it is futile for a political party which desires to be honest with the nation, to endeavour to offer an economic programme for the future. The Afrikaner Party does not intend to stoop to the usual cheap method of vote-catching by pretending that it is capable of drawing up such a programme. But it can be stated that the Afrikaner Party intends tackling matters as it finds them, and as they arise, with the following aims in view:—

1. To make the country as a whole economically independent.
2. Just as every citizen is guaranteed political freedom, so will he be ensured economic security.

In the execution of these objectives, the Afrikaner Party will, on assuming power, foster on scientific lines the industrialisation of South Africa, to which its leading members have contributed so much. Its programme of principles stipulates that the existence and welfare of the rural population should form the subject of special attention and devotion. The Afrikaner Party pledges itself to obtain reasonable price levels for farming products after the war. It goes further, and urges the improve-

ment under existing conditions of the situation with regard to farmers' debts. It advocates removal of existing legislation with regard to excess profits as a result of which farmers who convert capital assets through the sale of surplus cattle are hit very hard.

The Party has also observed that as part of the revolution now proceeding, there has developed a world-wide consciousness of man's need of economic security. As a result of the general demand that such requirements should be met, all Governments and all Parties will in future have to give this problem serious consideration. It is not a question confined to any particular party programme, but is simply a new stage that is approaching in the development of human society — a development which we in South Africa will also have to comply.

Our Party is, of course, still young. Although, in the short period of its existence — more particularly in the Free State and the Transvaal — it has succeeded in building up a party machine which already exceeds the greatest expectations, it has naturally not yet reached a stage where it has at its disposal an organisation and the means to nominate candidates in every constituency. The Chief Executive Committees have adopted a policy of carrying the party's banner only in those constituencies where the party machine is able to conduct an election, and where there is a reasonable chance of winning.

The Executive Committees of the Party herewith appeal to the Afrikaner nation on behalf of their candidates. They ask for help against the futile sacrifice of South Africa to foreign interests. They seek support in their efforts to resist the division of the people — a division which seeks to sacrifice our fatherland to the party idol in an hour of emergency.

The Executive Committees of the Afrikaner Party appeal to the people to vote for unity against imperialism. This is the original clarion call of nationalism in South Africa: Vote for South Africa First.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committees of the Afrikaner Party in the Free State and the Transvaal.

N. C. HAVENGA.

1948

26 MEI/MAY

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Verenigde Party (VP) 2. Die Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) 3. Die Afrikanerparty (AP) 4. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty	65 70 9 6	1. The United Party (UP) 2. The Re-United National Party (HNP) 3. The Afrikaner Party (AP) 4. The South African Labour Party (SALP)

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Beleid en Beginsels van Die Verenigde Party. Uitgereik namens die Verenigde Party deur O.A. Oosthuizen, Aigemene Sekretaris, Pretoriusstraat 183, Pretoria. Gedruk deur Wallachs' P. & P. Co., Bpk., Andriesstraat 160, Pretoria.
2. Die Volledige verslag van die Kommissie is op beperkte skaal versprei. 'n Kort samevatting van die verslag is in twee dele op groot skaal versprei.
 - (a) "Verslag van die Kleurvraagstukkommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party." Opgestel en uitgegee deur die HNP-Inligtingskomitee en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers, Beperk, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.
 - (b) Nasionale Party se Kleurbeleid. Handhawing van Blanke Ras As Hoogste Taak. Gekleurdes se welsyn in Aparte Ontwikkeling.
DEEL I (Opgestel en uitgegee deur die HNP-Inligtingskomitee en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers, Bpk., Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.
 - (c) Nasionale Party en die Kleurling. Rassevrede Langs die Weg van Apartheid. Spesiale Opleidingskanse vir Kleurlinge. Sosiale Wrywing moet Uitgeskakel word.
DEEL II Opgestel en uitgegee deur die HNP-Inligtingskomitee en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers, Bpk., Keeromstraat, 30 Kaapstad.
3. Geen amptelike manifest is uitgereik nie.
4. Arbeidsparty Manifest.
Parlementêre Verkiesing.
Woensdag, 26 Mei 1948.
(Uitgereik deur Colin Legum, Algemene Sekretaris, Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidsparty, Kerkstraat 32, Johannesburg).

Sources of election manifestos

1. Statement of the United Party Policy. Issued on behalf of the United Party by O.A. Oosthuizen, General Secretary, 183 Pretorius Street, Pretoria. Printed by Wallachs' P. & P. Co. Ltd., 160 Andries Street, Pretoria.
2. The full text of the report of the Commission was distributed on a limited scale. A condensed summary of the report was distributed in two parts on a much larger scale.
 - (a) "Report of the Colour question commission of the Re-United National Party." Written and published by the H.N.P. Information Office, and printed by Nasionale Pers, Bpk., 30 Keerom Street, Cape Town, 1948.
 - (b) The National Party's Colour Policy. Separation on Christian Principles of Justice and Reasonableness. Part 1. (Written and published by the H.N.P. Information Office, and printed by Nasionale Pers, Bpk., 30 Keerom Street, Cape Town.
 - (c) No English text could be traced.
3. No official manifesto was issued.
4. Labour Party Manifesto.
Parliamentary Elections.
Wednesday, May 26, 1948.
(Issued by Colin Legum, General Secretary, S.A. Labour Party, 32 Kerk Street, Johannesburg).

BELEID EN BEGINSELS VAN DIE VERENIGDE PARTY

DIE VERENIGDE PARTY STAAN VIR:

- (1) Nasionale eenheid en hartlike samewerking tussen die twee vernaamste seksies van die blanke bevolking.
- (2) Handhawing van die blanke beskawing en van die lewenswyse wat bekend staan as die Westerse demokrasie, met onwrikbare teenstand teen Fascisme, Nazisme, Kommunisme en alle ander vorms van ondemokratiese regering.
- (3) Volle en hartlike samewerking in die Britse Gemenebes van Nasies en die handhawing van ons huidige konstitusionele posisie.
- (4) Die bevordering van internasionale goeie gesindheid en samewerking en die handhawing van wêreldvrede.
- (5) Beskerming van die fundamentele regte van die individu; veral die vryheid van spraak, van geloof en van die pers.
- (6) Erkenning van die belangrike rol wat individuele inisiatief en privaat onderneming moet speel in die ontwikkeling van die Unie.
- (7) 'n Beleid van bestaansveiligheid gegrond op volle werkverskaffing met spesiale aandag aan die minder-bevoorregtes.

Die Verenigde Party staan in sonderheid vir:

VERDEDIGING.

- (8) 'n Verdedigingsbeleid van voorbereidheid vir die beveiliging van die Unie en die verdediging van die nasionale regte en belange.
- (9) Besonder aandag aan die belange van die manne en vroue wat hulle by die gewapende magte van die Unie aangesluit en geveg het vir vryheid en die vernietiging van diktatorskap.
- (10) Die handhawing van die gesonde finansiële posisie wat die Unie op die oomblik geniet; die beskerming van sy internasionale krediet en prestige en die aantrekking van kapitaal van oorsee vir die vinniger en vollediger ontwikkeling van sy bronne.
- (11) 'n Regverdige stelsel van belasting gegrond op gesonde finansiële gebruike en die aanmoediging van 'n gesonde en vinnige uitbreiding van die Unie se ekonomie.
- (12) Die verskaffing van onderwysfasiliteite as 'n primêre reg van die volk, met spesiale aandag aan tegniese onderwys en beroepsvoorligting.
- (13) Beheerde en gekeurde immigrasie na die Unie, uit stamverwante lande, van immigrante wat kan help met die vinnige ontwikkeling van die Unie en geleenthede kan skep en nuwe werkkringe kan bied vir die opleiding van die Suid-Afrikaanse jeug.
- (14) Bewaring van die Unie se waterbronne op streeksgrondslag as die basis vir sy toekomstige landbou, myn- en nywerheidsontwikkeling.
- (15) Die ontwikkeling van nuwe mynondernemings en die verlenging so lank moontlik aan die lewe van die bestaande myne, veral deur die oplossing van die vraagstuk van die stygende bedryfskoste.
- (16) Die daarstelling en handhawing van 'n redelike lewenstandaard vir die land se loontrekkers, met behoorlike inagneming van die onderskeie beskawingspeile van die rasse in die Unie. Die vreedsame oplossing van nywerheidsgeskille en die erkenning van die werkers se organisasies.

- (17) 'n Progressiewe beleid om die gesondheid van die volk te beskerm en om die ongeskiktes by te staan.
- (18) 'n Vervoerstelsel wat op vinnige en doeltreffende wyse sal voldoen aan die toenemende eise van die groter Suid-Afrika.

NYWERHEDE

- (19) 'n Beleid van intensiewe nywerheidsontwikkeling wat bevorder sal word deur:
 - (a) die aanmoediging van privaat onderneming, aangevul deur staatsonderneming, waar dit noodsaaklik is;
 - (b) die beskerming van nywerhede, veral jong nywerhede, waar spesiale redes vir hulp bestaan;
 - (c) die aanmoediging van oorsese nywerars om die pogings van Suid-Afrikaners aan te vul;
 - (d) die verskaffing van afdoende navorsingsfasiliteite en van standaarde van gehalte van Suid-Afrikaanse nywerhede;
 - (e) die aanmoediging van die vrye beweging van goedere en betaalmiddels onder die lande van die wêreld.
 - (f) die ontwikkeling van buitelandse markte vir ons goedere in die algemeen en op die Afrikaanse Vasteland in die besonder;
 - (g) en die vinnige uitbreiding van die Unie se kus- en internasionale skeepvaart.

LANDBOU

- (20) 'n Landboubeleid wat sal lei tot groter produksie en redelike ekonomiese stabiliteit vir die boere. Hierdie beleid sal omhels:
 - (a) prysvasstelling, met inagneming van die regte van produsente, verbruikers en die handel;
 - (b) 'n intensiewe beleid van herwinning en bewaring van die Unie se natuurlike hulpbronne, insluitende sy water, sy grond en sy bosse;
 - (c) die uitbreiding van skemas i.s. elektriese krag om lig en krag aan plase en die klein dorpie te verskaf;
 - (d) verskaffing op toenemende skaal van landbou- en veeartsenykundige navorsing.

NATURELLE

- (21) Die uitbreiding van verdere regte en funksies aan die Verteenwoordigende Naturelleraad en ander Naturelleliggame, onderhewig aan die gesag van die Regering en die Parlement en om aan hulle geleidelik magte te gee om hul eie sake te bestuur.

ANDER ELEMENTE

- Betreffende die ander elemente van die bevolking, erken die Verenigde Party die tradisionele posisie van die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking as 'n aanhangsel van die blankes en sover dit die Indiërs betref, herbevestig en staan die Verenigde Party, by die beginsels van die Indiërwet.
- (22) Die huisvesting van 'n stabiele Naturelle-arbeidsmag in afsonderlike dorpe in nywerheidsgebiede, waar die Regering 'n aandeel sal neem in die finansiële verantwoordelikheid vir die verskaffing van behoorlike behuising en gesondheidsdienste vir die Naturelle in sulke afsonderlike dorpe en die uitbreiding van geleenthede aan hierdie Naturelle om 'n toenemende aandeel te neem in hul eie stedelike bestuur;

- (23) 'n Breë nasionale behuisingsbeleid om te voorsien in die behoeftes van alle seksies van die bevolking en om uiteindelik 'n volk van huiseienaars te skep.
- (24) Voortdurende pogings om die stygende lewenskoste te bestry deur vermeerderde produksie, regverdige toepassing van prysbeheermaatreëls en samewerking tus-

sen die handel, die nywerheid en die landbou om 'n verlaging van die kostestruktuur te weeg te bring en in die algemeen deur die gevaar van inflasie te bestry.

Uitgereik namens die Verenigde Party deur O.A. Oosthuizen, Algemene Sekretaris, Pretoriusstraat 183, Pretoria. Gedruk deur Wallachs' P. & P. Co., Bpk., Andriesstraat 160, Pretoria.

V E R S L A G

VAN DIE

KLEURVRAAGSTUK-KOMMISSIE

VAN DIE

HERENIGDE NASIONALE PARTY.

A. INLEIDING.

Ons het, wat betref beleid teenoor die nie-blanke rasse, twee rigtinge in Suid-Afrika. Aan die eenkant is daar die beleid van apartheid en aan die anderkant het ons die beleid van gelykstelling.

Gelykstelling.

In die beleid van gelykstelling vind ons twee skole van gedagtes. Die een skool, kommunisties georiënteerd, ontken die fundamentele aard van die bestaande verskille tussen blank en nie-blank en stuur derhalwe doelbewus en openlik af op die daarstelling van een gemengde volk in Suid-Afrika waar kleur-apartheid en kleurskeidslyne, sonder meer en geheel-en-al, uitgewis is. Die ander skool van gedagte is nie juis ten gunste van bloedvermenging nie en bepleit ook nie openlik maatskaplike gelykstelling nie, maar weier om daadwerklike stappe te neem teen rassevermenging en bepleit gelyke regte en geleentheid vir alle ontwikkelde mense, afgesien van ras of kleur, binne dieselfde staatstruktuur. Namate die nie-blanke rasse die bewys lewer dat hulle bevoeg is om van die demokratiese regte gebruik te maak, wil hulle geleidelik die stemreg aan hulle toeken. Hulle is ten gunste van die uiteindelijke verwydering van alle kleurslagbome uit ons volkslewe. Benader met nugtere realisme is dit glashelder dat albei hierdie skole van gedagtes op uiteindelijke gelykstelling afstuur. Daar is slegs verskil oor die manier en tyd waarop dit verwesenlik sal word.

Die beleid van gelykstelling of enige wisselvorm daarvan moet noodwendig lei tot die ondermyning en uiteindelijke vernietiging van die blanke ras as 'n selfstandige en regerende volk. Dit is die logiese konsekwensie van die getalsoorwig en snelle ontwikkeling van die nie-blanke rasse. Enige ander bespiegeling oor die saak is wensdenkery en 'n hersenskim.

Apartheid.

Die beleid van apartheid het gegroei uit die ervaring van die gevestigde blanke bevolking van die land, Afrikaanssprekend sowel as Engelssprekend. Dit is gegrond op die Christelike beginsels van reg en billikheid en op die oortuiging dat die aparte ontwikkeling van die blanke en nie-blanke volksdele in ons land die enigste grondslag is waarop alle volksdele in waarheid met reg en billikheid behandel kan word en elk die volle kans sal kry om sy eie besondere volksaard en -karakter te behou en te ontwikkel. Enige vorm van onderdrukking word dus verwerp as verkeerd, volkskadelik vir beide blankes en nie-blankes, en in stryd met die beleid van apartheid.

Die beleid van apartheid beoog in hoofsaak:-

1. Die handhawing van die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika as 'n suiwer blanke ras deur die algehele uitskakeling van enige rassevermenging tussen blanke en nie-blanke; sy bestending as 'n onafhanklike staatkundige gemeenskap en sy verdere ontwikkeling op Christelik nasionale grondslag deur die nodige beskerming op alle terreine die deurvoering van 'n duidelike skeidslyn tussen blank en nie-blank en daarmee die uitskakeling van alle moontlike bronne van belange-botsings tussen blank en nie-blank.

2. Die handhawing van die inheemse nie-blanke rasse-groepe van Suid-Afrika as aparte volksgemeenskappe deur die bestryding van alle invloede wat hulle onderskeie identiteite ondermyn en die daarstelling van moontlikhede vir hulle om apart op 'n natuurlike wyse te ontwikkel ooreenkomstig eie volksaard, aanleg en roeping aangevul en bevrug deur die Christelike beskawing tot selfversorgende volkseenhede.
3. Die handhawing van die tradisionele voedskapbeginsel. Die aankweking van nasionale trots en selfrespek by elke groep en die bewerking van wedersydse agting en respek tussen die verskillende rasse en rasse-groepe van die land.

Een van Twee Rigtings.

Ons kan alleen in een van twee rigtings beweeg of ons moet die weg van gelykstelling opgaan en uiteindelik gelyke politieke, ekonomiese en maatskaplike regte aan die nie-blankes toeken, wat op die duur vir die blanke ras nasionale selfmoord en vir die nie-blanke rasse-groepe vernietiging van eie identiteit sal beteken, of ons moet op die weg van apartheid beweeg waardeur elke ras se karakter en toekoms binne sy eie gebied beskerm en veilig gemaak word en waardeur aan elke ras in sy eie tuiste volle geleentheid om te ontwikkel gegun word en van die onvervreemdbare reg van selfhandhawing en selfbesikking verseker word, sonder dat die belange van die een in botsing kom met die belange van die ander en sonder dat die een die bestaan en ontwikkeling van die ander as 'n ondermyning of bedreiging vir homself aanvoel. Enige middelweg of kompromis is op sy beste tydelik van aard en blote lapwerk.

Die enigste gesonde weg.

Tensy menslike regte verkrag word is die beleid van apartheid dus die enigste grondslag waarop die posisie en toekoms van die blanke ras veilig gemaak en verseker kan word vir die geslagte wat kom, waardeur die nie-blanke rasse-groepe gelei kan word om te ontwikkel tot selfversorgende eenhede, waar nodig met 'n eie volkstruktuur waarbinne elke individu sy persoonlik en nasionale aspirasies ten volle kan uitlewe met volle geleentheid vir die ontplooiing van 'n gesonde en gelukkig volkslewe en waardeur rassebotsings uitgeskakel kan word sodat blank en nie-blank gelukkig kan saamlewe in Suid-Afrika.

B. ALGEMENE GRONDSLAE.

1. Die Party aanvaar as hoogste taak en roeping van die staat die bevordering van die welvaart van Suid-Afrika en die geluk en heil van sy bevolking, blank en nie-blank, en beskou dat hierdie doel die beste verseker kan word deur die handhawing, beskerming en bestendiging van die blanke ras en daarmee die Christelike blanke beskawing in Suid-Afrika en aanvaar dit as fundamentele grondslag van sy beleid. Die Party onderneem derhalwe om die blanke ras behoorlik en doeltreffend te beskerm teen enige beleid, leerstelling of aanslag wat sy voortbestaan ondermyn of in gevaar kan stel.
2. Die Party verwerp met die grootste beslistheid enige beleid wat uiteindelik op gelykstelling en vermenging van blank en nie-blank met die verlies van eie identiteit van die betrokke rasse mag uitloop.

3. Terselfdertyd wil die Party dit as sy vaste oortuiging boekstaaf dat enige beleid van onderdrukking en uittuiging van die nie-blankes deur die blankes strydig is met die beginsel van die beskawing en met die etiese en Christelike grondslag van ons volkslewe en geheel-en-al onversoensbaar met sy beleid.

4. Die Party huldig die beskouing dat God dit so beskik het dat daar 'n verskeidenheid van rasse en volke sal wees wie se voortbestaan en natuurlike groei geëerbiedig moet word as 'n deel van 'n ewige Godsplan. In Suid-Afrika het God in sy Alwyse Bestuur die blanke ras en die nie-blanke rasse-groepe geplaas met diepgaande raskundige en ander verskille. Elke ras en rassegroep besit sy eie karakter, volksaard, aanleg roeping en bestemming.

Die Party glo dat 'n besliste beleid van apartheid tussen die blanke ras en die nie-blanke rasse-groepe en die toepassing van die apartheidsbeginsel ook ten opsigte van die nie-blanke rasse-groepe die enigste grondslag is waarop die karakter en toekoms van elke ras en rassegroep beskerm en veilig gemaak kan word, waardeur elke ras gelei kan word om te ontwikkel ooreenkomstig eie aard, aanleg en roeping en waardeur alle moontlike bronne van rassebotsings uitgeskakel kan word.

5. Kragtens die tradisionele beginsel van Christelike Voogdyskap aanvaar die Party die taak en verantwoordelikheid om die nie-blanke rasse-groepe waar nodig te beskerm en hulle geleidelik op natuurlike en gesonde wyse te help, stoflik sowel as geestelik, om ooreenkomstig eie volksaard, aanleg en roeping te ontwikkel en uiteindelik op selfstandige en verantwoordelike wyse hulle eie sake te behartig.

6. In hulle eie gebiede sal die nie-blanke rasse-groepe volle geleentheid van ontwikkeling kry op elke gebied en sal hulle eie inrigtings en maatskaplike dienste ontwikkel waar die kragte van die ontwikkelde en progressiewe nie-blankes tot eie volksopbou ingespan kan word.

7. As uiteindelijke ideaal en doelwit word gestel algehele apartheid tussen blankes en naturelle, wat sover as wat dit prakties moontlik is geleidelik deurgevoer sal word, altyd met inagneming van die land se behoeftes en belange en met die nodige sorg teen ontwrigting van die land se landbou, nywerhede en algemene belange.

8. Die landsbeleid moet so opgestel en toegepas word dat dit die apartheidsideaal op 'n gesonde en natuurlike wyse sal bevorder.

9. Sover moontlik moet apartheid tussen die verskillende nie-blanke volks-groepe bewerk word en erkenning gegee word aan die apartheidsbeginsel ook ten opsigte van die etniese groepe van die Bantoe.

10. 'n Stelsel van verpligte volksregistrasie vir alle dele van die bevolking sal ingestel word. Die huidige passtelsel sal vervang word deur 'n meer betroubare en minder griewende identifikasie stelsel vir naturelle in blanke gebiede en blankes in naturellegebiede.

11. 'n Permanente raadgewende liggaam van deskundiges oor die nie-blanke aangeleenthede sal in die lewe geroep word en 'n deeglik toegeruste etnologiese instituut sal opgerig word.

12. Die Staat oefen volle toesig en leiding uit oor die onderwys en algemene vorming van die nie-blanke jeug.

13. Die Party wil die feit beklemtoon dat die rasse-vraagstukke van ons land 'n huishoudelike aangeleentheid is,

waarmee die geluk en heil van ons vaderland gemoeid is en wat slegs met deeglike kennis en simpatie benader kan word. Gevolglik sal inmenging van buite en afbrekende propaganda na buite nie geduld word nie.

14. Die Party wil die beginsel van samesprekings van belanghebbende regerings en blanke groepe in Afrika en by name die van Suidelike Afrika aanmoedig met die doel om eenvormigheid te probeer kry oor die groot beginselsake ten opsigte van die Kleurvraagstukke.

15. Die Party huldig die beskouing dat die Kleurvraagstuk 'n nasionale vraagstuk is en gevolglik 'n saak is waarby alle bevolkingsdele van die land die hoogste gemeenskaplike belang het. Daarom stel hy hom ten doel om aansluiting te soek by alle bevolkingsdele wat die beginsel van apartheid onderskryf en op hierdie gesamentlike grondslag alle kragte saam te snoer vir die verwesenliking van die ideaal van apartheid tussen blank en nie-blank.

C. SENDINGBELEID.

1. Die Party wil dat die nie-blankes op 'n daadwerklike en kragtige wyse gelei sal word om die Christelike Godsdiens te maak die grondslag van hulle hele lewe, sodat ook by hulle 'n gesonde Christelike-Nasionale lewensbeskouing opgebou word.

2. Hy beskou die verkondiging van die Evangelie aan alle rasse, volke en bevolkingsgroepe as die roeping van die Christelike Kerk op aarde.

3. Die Party wil gesonde sendingwerk onder die nie-blankes met alle moontlike middels en steun help bevorder.

4. Hy ag hom egter geroepe om te waak teen sodanige bedrywighede van Kerk, Genootskappe en Bewegings wat die gesag van die Owerheid ondermyn, verwarrende en volksvreemde beskouings propageer en die beginsel van aparte ontwikkeling misken.

5. Hy sien die vorming van selfregerende, selfonderhoudende en selfuitbreidende Kerke as die mikpunt van sendingwerk. Daartoe moet die opleiding en gebruik van inheemse werkkragte sy regte plek in die program van aksie van Kerke en Genootskappe kry, sodat blanke leiding geleidelik minder word en elke groep in sy eie gebied in alle opsigte selfstandig voorbestaan.

D. BELEID TEENOR DIE KLEURLINGE.

Die Plek van die Kleurlinge.

1. Die Kleurlinge neem oor die algemeen 'n middelposisie tussen die blankes en die naturelle in en derhalwe moet die beleid van apartheid tussen Blanke en Kleurling en tussen Kleurling en Naturel gehandhaaf word. Die Kleurling moet aangemoedig word om sy volkseie te waardeer en 'n nasionale trots en selfrespek te ontwikkel.

Apartheid tussen Blankes en Kleurlinge.

2. Hulle moet hulle aparte woongebiede hê waar hulle gelei kan word om hulle eie sake te behartig.

3. 'n Beleid van apartheid tussen Blankes en Kleurlinge op maatskaplike, residensiële, industriële en politieke gebied moet toegepas en deurgevoer word.

4. Spesiale aandag sal gegee word aan die deurvoering

van 'n beleid van apartheid in ons industrië, werksplekke en verkeerswese sover as wat dit prakties uitvoerbaar is.

5. Gemengde huwelike tussen blankes en kleurlinge moet verbied word en verbastering tussen blankes en kleurlinge sal met alle middels bestry word.

Apartheid tussen Kleurlinge en Naturelle.

6. Die beginselbeleid van apartheid tussen Blankes en Kleurlinge sal mutatis mutandis van toepassing gemaak word tussen Kleurlinge en Naturelle.

7. Die Kleurling moet in gebiede en op terreine waar hy reeds gevestig is teen indringing en onbillike konkurrensie van die kant van die naturel beskerm word.

POLITIEKE VERTEENWOORDIGING.

Staatsdepartement vir Kleurlinge.

8. Met die doel om die gesonde opbou van die Kleurlinggemeenskap aan te moedig sal 'n aparte staatsdepartement van Kleurlingsake in die lewe geroep word.

Kleurling Verteenwoordigende Raad.

9. 'n Kleurling Verteenwoordigende Raad vir Kaapland sal in die lewe geroep word. Dit sal bestaan uit:-

- (a) Verteenwoordigers gekies deur die Kleurlinge op 'n Kiesafdeling basis.
- (b) Die hoof van die Departement van Kleurlingsake.
- (c) Addisionele lede deur die Regering benoem.

10. Hierdie Raad sal verteenwoordigend wees van Kaapland en sal adviserende magte hê.

11. Die huidige kwalifikasies vir stemreg van Kleurlinge op Kiesers van die Kleurling Raad van toepassing gemaak word.

12. Aangesien die huidige stelsel van stem deur blankes en kleurlinge vir dieselfde kandidate in die Volksraad en Provinsiale Raad tot allerlei wrywing en wanprakteke lei moet dit afgeskaf word.

Verteenwoordiging in die Parlement.

13. Solank die naturelle verteenwoordiging in die Volksraad het sal dit nie reg wees om die Kleurling verteenwoordiging alleen in die Senaat te gee nie, ofskoon dit miskien vir hom die mees gewenste liggaam sal wees, gevolglik sal die Kleurlinge deur drie blankes in die Volksraad verteenwoordig word. Wat verkies sal word deur die Kleurling Verteenwoordigende Raad.

14. Van die vier lede wat deur die Regering in terme van die Suid-Afrika Wet in die Senaat weens hulle besondere kennis van die Kleurlingrasse benoem word sal een benoem word om meer bepaald die Kleurlinge se belange te verteenwoordig.

15. Hierdie sodanige verteenwoordigers in die Parlement sal nie die reg hê om oor die volgende sake te stem nie -

- (a) 'n mosie van wantroue in die Regering;

(b) Oorlogsverklaring en;

(c) sake rakende die uitbreiding van die Kiesreg.

Verteenwoordiging in Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland.

16. Die Kleurlinge sal deur drie blankes in die Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland verteenwoordig word. Hulle sal gekies word deur die Kleurling Verteenwoordigende Raad.

Eie Lokale Rade.

17. In hulle eie gebiede sal die Kleurlinge geleentheid kry om hulle eie rade te hê met hulle eie publieke dienste wat deur die Kleurlinge self behartig word binne die raamwerk van enige bestaande rade met hoër gesag.

Ander Lokale Rade.

18. Die beginsel van apartheid moet toegepas word waar nodig en wenslik ten opsigte van alle ander lokale rade.

Maatskaplike en Welsynsdienste.

19. In die stede moet vir die onderwys van volwassenes gesorg word waardeur onderrig gegee word in noodhulp, naaldwerk, kookkuns, huishouding, gesondheidsleer, ouerlike opvoeding ens., ens.

20. Met die oog op die verbetering van die maatskaplike en gesondheidstoestande en die sedelike peil van die Kleurlingbevolking sal doeltreffende mediese, welsyns en ander maatskaplike dienste aan die Kleurlinge verskaf word met medewerking, finansieel en andersins van die kant van die Kleurlinge en beoefen daarom sover moontlik deur die Kleurling self.

21. Spesiale aandag moet gewy word aan die opleiding van Kleurling-sosiale werkers en verpleegsters. Geleenthede moet verskaf word vir die opleiding van huisbediendes, kinderoppassers, hoteljongens, winkel- en distribusiebediendes en vir ander geskikte werkkringe.

22. Spesiale aandag sal bestee word aan die gesonde opbou van die gesinslewe van die Kleurlinge en met hierdie doel voor oë sal besondere aandag gegee word aan behuising. Die Sub-ekonomiese Behuisingskema moet nie alleen vir die stede maar ook vir die plase beskikbaar gestel word.

23. Aan die vooruitstrewende Kleurling moet spesiale fasiliteite wat betref behuising verskaf word en die beginsel van gebruikmaking van eie Kleurling-kragte word erken.

Onderwys.

24. Volle geleenthede vir 'n doeltreffende onderwys moet aan die Kleurlinge beskikbaar gestel word.

'n Praktiese onderwysstelsel wat rekening hou met die Kleurling se behoeftes, aanleg en toekomstige loopbane moet ontwerp word om van die grootste waarde en nut vir die Kleurling bevolking te wees.

Spesiale aandag moet gegee word aan opleiding in praktiese en nuttige vakke, geleentheid vir vakopleiding en veral aan die aard van plaasonderwys.

25. Die Kleurlinge sal nie alleen laer onderwys ontvang nie, maar voorsiening sal gemaak word vir hoër onderwys met hulle eie opleidingskolleges en 'n eie universi-

têre opleiding waar hulle gelukkig kan wees en waarop hulle trots kan wees en van gelykwaardige gehalte met die van die blanke Universiteite is.

Verslag Kommissie oor Kleurlinge.

26. Vir die motivering en verdere uitwerking van die beleid teenoor die Kleurlinge word verwys na die Verslag van die Kaaplandse Herenigde Nasionale Party Kommissie oor die saak wat as 'n aanhangsel bygevoeg word.

E. BELEID TEENoor DIE NATURELLE.

Algemene Stellings.

1. Die naturel moet in sy volkseienendomlike vasgeanker word. Hy moet gelei en opgevoed word om sy kultuur en nasionale instellings te waardeer en uit te bou. Hy sal slegs geleidelik gelei word om hom waar nodig by die westerse beskawing aan te pas. Alle immorele en volkskadefike elemente in sy kultuur en nasionale instellings moet uitgeskakel word.

2. Die Naturelle moet gelei word om 'n aparte volkstruktuur van hulle eie op te bou, waarbinne hulle in alle opsigte kan ontwikkel met volle geleenthede vir elke individu en alle kanse om hulle nasionale ideale en aspirasies in hulle eie gebiede uit te lewe.

3. Die beleid sal beoog om sover moontlik die vernaamste etniese groepe en sub-groepe in hulle eie onderskeie gebiede saam te trek, waar elkeen uiteindelik sy eie sentrale regeringstelsel kan opbou en waar hulle gelei kan word om as aparte nasionale eenhede te ontwikkel.

4. Sover as wat dit prakties moontlik is moet aparte woongebiede in die stede vir Kleurlinge, Naturelle en Indiërs aangewys word.

5. In die Naturellegebiede moet Naturellebelange deurslaggewend wees en in die blanke gebiede blanke belange.

Naturellegrond.

6. Die Party aanvaar in die algemeen die beginsel van gebiedsegregasie tussen blankes en naturelle.

7. Alle sogenaamde "swart kolle" in blanke gebiede en "wit kolle" in naturellegebiede sal mettertyd verwyder word.

8. Die Party voel bekommerd oor die agteruitgang van die grond in die reserwes weens oorbewoeding, rooibou en swakke bewerking en veral ten opsigte van die grond toegeken onder die wet van 1936 en meen dat met die oog op die nasionale voedseltekort, alle toekomstige toekennings alleen moet geskied met die grootste omsigtigheid en met die versekering dat daardie gronde nie verwaarloos sal word of dat sy produktiwiteit tot 'n groot mate verlore sal gaan en mits -

(a) deeglike wetenskaplike ondersoek na die drakrag, moontlikhede van ekonomiese ontwikkeling en oordeelkundige gebruik van daardie gronde; en

(b) alle pogings aangewend is om die tans verwaarloosde gronde in die gebiede weer tot produktiwiteit te bring.

9. 'n Liggaam van deskundiges sal daargestel word

wat deeglike ondersoek sal instel na die drakrag, moontlikhede van ekonomiese ontwikkeling en oordeelkundigste gebruik van die grond in die natuurlikegebiede.

10. Blankes sal uiteindelik nie toegelaat word om grond in natuurlikegebiede te besit nie. Indiërs en Kleurlinge sal nie toegelaat word om vaste eiendomme in natuurlikegebiede te besit nie of om daar te woon of handel te drywe en mag slegs met spesiale verlof toegelaat word om die gebiede binne te gaan.

11. Naturelle sal nie toegelaat word om grond in blanke gebiede te besit nie.

Die Naturellerereserwes.

12. Die Naturellerereserwes moet die Vaderland van die Naturel word. Dit moet die wieg van sy nasieskap wees en die akker waarop sy vaderlandsliefde en nasionale trots kan groei en uitgebou word. Vir elke naturel moet dit 'n geestelike tuiste wees. Dit moet die setel van sy regeringstelsel wees. Dit moet die hoofstandplaas van sy Kerke wees. Daar moet sy vernaamste onderwysinrigtings staan. Kortom dit moet gemaak word die bakermat van sy persoonlike en nasionale ideale en aspirasies.

13. In die naturellerereservate moet toestande en geleenthede geskep word waar die naturel aspirasies sal kan uitlewe en verwesenlik, sodat selfs die begaafde en progressiewe naturel, uit die stedelike gebiede, deur oorgewings ook van eie belang, na daardie gebiede getrek kan word, waar hulle inisiatief en werkvermoë tot volle uiting kan kom en in diens van verdere opbou van hulle eie volk ingespan kan word.

14. 'n Prestige en aansien op alle terreine moet aan die naturelle in die reserwes gegee word, sodat hulle wat die Bantoe in die algemeen betref, toonaangewend sal wees en as mondstuk van die Bantoe kan optree, instelle van die huidige verdwaalde enkelinge wat hulle hierdie reg aanmatig.

15. Die beste maatskaplike, welsyns- en volksorgdienste vir Naturelle moet in die reservate beskikbaar gestel word, in teenstelling met die huidige beleid van begunstiging in die stede, sodat bejaarde, gebrekklike en ander hulpbehoewende naturelle ook daarheen gelok kan word, instelle van na die dorpslokasies.

16. Die Party beoog 'n kragtige beleid van rehabilitasie van die natuurlikegebiede waarin die naturel se eie arbeid aangewend sal word en waardeur hulle geleer sal word om 'n gesonde en oordeelkundige ekonomiese lewe op te bou.

17. Opnames van al die hulpbronne van die naturellegebiede sal gemaak word.

18. 'n Groter verskeidenheid van ekonomiese bedrywighede sal geleidelik tot stand gebring word om groter produktiwiteit en stabiliteit van die reserwes te bewerkstellig.

Vir hierdie doel sal deskundige plannekomitees in die lewe geroep word om streekplanne vir elke gebied te ontwerp, voorstelle te doen oor die toewysing van grond in die gebiede vir landbou, beweidings, bebossing, stigting van dorpe; aanbevelings te doen vir die ontwikkeling van nywerhede, vervoerfasiliteite, grondbewaring en ander maatreëls wat die ekonomiese en maatskaplike welsyn van die bevolking sal bevorder.

19. 'n Naturelle Nywerheids Ontwikkelingskorporasie sal opgerig word vir die finansiëring, garansie en bestuur van onderneminge in die naturellegebiede en om naturelle daarvoor op te lei.

20. Groter geleenthede vir die opleiding van naturelle in die handel sal geskep word en die oprigting van naturelle koöperatiewe besighede, waar nodig onder strengse staatstoelig, sal aangemoedig word. Enige vorm van uitbuiting en onredelike winste sal teengegaan word.

Naturelle op Plase.

21. Die beheer en verdeling van die arbeidskragte moet op sodanige wyse geskied dat die landbou doeltreffend bedien word.

22. 'n Spesiale afdeling onder die Departement van Naturellesake moet in die lewe geroep word, wat hom sal toelê op die regulering van plaasarbeid en die bestudering van alle vraagstukke in verband met die saak.

23. Alle pogings moet in die werk gestel word om die wegstroming van naturelle van die boereplase te keer.

24. Onderzoek moet ingestel word na die moontlikhede om dit vir die naturel so aanloklik moontlik te maak op die boereplase om hom te wys op die groot voordele wat die lewe op die plase bied bo die van die stede en dorpe.

25. Hoofstuk 4 van die Naturelle Grond en Trust Wet van 1936 moet dien as 'n basis vir die verwydering van die plakker- en "kafferboerdery-euwel".

Naturelle in die Stede.

26. Die Party neem met besorgdheid kennis van die geweldige en ongebalanseerde toename van die naturelle-bevolking in ons stede met die gepaardgaande ewels en probleme.

27. Die Party wil die blanke karakter van ons stede, bewaar en op 'n kragtige en doeltreffende wyse sorg vir die veiligheid van persone sowel as eiendomme en die vreedsame lewe van al die bewoners.

28. Alle naturelle moet in aparte en uitsluitlik naturelle woonbuurtes geplaas word. Geen naturelle sal toegelaat word om in te woon in blanke gebiede, behalwe met spesiale verlof en blankes sal nie toegelaat word in naturellewoonbuurtes nie.

29. Saamdromming van naturelle in omstedelike gebiede sal nie toegelaat word nie.

30. 'n Stelsel van registrasie van stam naturelle en ontstamde naturelle in die stede sal dadelik uitgewerk word.

31. Die ontstamde naturelle in die stede moet bevries word en voorkeur wat arbeid en ander regte betref sal aan hulle in die stede gegee word solank as wat hulle daar is en tot tyd en wyl die ideaal van algehele apartheid bereik is.

32. Die Naturel in die stedelike blanke gebiede moet as 'n "besoeker" beskou word, wat kom om sy dienste aan te bied tot voordeel van homself en tot voordeel van die blanke.

33. 'n Plan vir die geleidelike vermindering van die getal ontstamde naturelle in stedelike gebiede deur ander voorsiening vir hulle te maak, sal ontwerp word. Maar

solank as sodanige Naturelle nog in stedelike gebiede verkeer moet met inagneming van die verskillende volksgroepe aparte woongebiede vir hulle daargestel word waar hulle geleidelik onder toesig van die betrokke stadsraad, hul eie maatskaplike en welsynsdienste sal hê en hul eie rade kan kies. Dit moet egter duidelik wees dat hul teenwoordigheid in die stedelike gebiede beskou word as tydelik en dat hulle daar nooit op gelyke politieke regte van enige aard met die blankes sal kan aanspraak maak nie, en dat hulle nooit in die gebiede vaste eiendomme sal kan besit nie.

34. Die beleid in die stede moet daarop gemik wees om die stamverband te herstel en die naturel weer aan sy volkseie vas te anker en ook om by hulle die besef aan te kweek dat die reservate, geestelik en andersins hulle volkstuiste is, waarheen hulle geleidelik terug gelei word.

35. Die koms van die naturelle na die stede en hulle gereelde vertrek sal deur die staat op 'n doeltreffende wyse en op 'n landswye basis onder beheer geneem word in samewerking met die stedelike besture.

36. Die verstedeliking van naturelle is in stryd met die beleid van apartheid en die naturel kan dus nooit 'n integrerende deel van die stedelike bevolking vorm nie. Die intog na die stede sal aan alle moontlike beperkings onderhewig gemaak word en die naturel sal ingelig word oor die nadele van verstedeliking en die voordele van 'n eie nasionale tuiste.

37. Die Naturellegebiede moet onder 'n doeltreffende Uitstromingsbeheer geplaas word en die stede moet onder 'n doeltreffende instromingsbeheer geplaas word.

38. Alle naturelle wat in stryd met die wet in die stede kom, moet onverwyld op aanvraag van die plaaslike bestuur, deur die staat verwyder word. Waar die staat oortuig is dat 'n plaaslike bestuur nie die beleid uitvoer nie sal die staat die nodige stappe doen.

39. Alle Munisipaliteite moet die bepalinge van artikel 12 van Wet 25/1945 sodanig toepas dat geen permitte uitgereik word vir die indiensneming van buitelandse naturelle nie. By diensverlating moet bestaande permitte verval en nie oordraagbaar wees nie.

40. Naturelle van buite die Unie moet:-

- (a) Onder strenger kontrole geplaas word;
- (b) as tydelike arbeiders beskou word wat onderhewig is aan repatriasie na vasgestelde dienstryd of wanneer wenslik.

41. Die stelsel van identifikasie en kontrole moet streng toegepas word.

42. Die hele stelsel van kontrole moet in noue voeling staan met die Nasionale Stelsel van arbeidsreëling deur die arbeidsburo, soos later uiteengesit word.

43. Die Party beoog die desentralisasie van nywerhede onder meer ook met die doel om die grootskaalse saamdromming van naturelle te voorkom en om die beginsel van apartheid te bevorder.

44. Die oprigting van nywerhede naby naturellegebiede sal ondersoek word.

45. Die ideaal waarop gemik moet word is die geleidelike uitskakeling van Naturelle uit nywerhede in blanke gebiede, maar dit word besef dat dit alleen in die