

loop van baie jare kan bereik word. Intussen is daar sekere beginsels wat toegepas moet word op die gebruik van natuurlike arbeid in blanke gebiede sodat dit op so 'n wyse geskied dat dit nie die voortbestaan van die blanke ras en die Westerse beskawing in Suid-Afrika in gevaar kan stel nie.

46. Die belange en werkgeleenthede van die blanke werker moet beveilig en beskerm word.

47. Die beginsel van apartheid sal sover prakties moontlik in alle fabriek, bedryf en werksplekke deurgevoer word en dit sal nie toegelaat word dat blankes onder 'n natuur of op 'n voet van gelykheid met die natuur saam werk nie.

48. 'n Kwota-stelsel betreffende die getalsverhouding tussen blankes en natuurlike werkers in die bedryf sal waar wenslik en prakties moontlik toegepas word en waar wenslik sal die werkkring van blankes en natuurlike in sekere industrië afgebaken word.

49. Die verdringing van blankes deur natuurlike en kleurlinge uit bedryf wat tradisioneel die arbeidsveld van die blankes is, sal verhoed word. Elke seksie van die bevolking is geregtig op beskerming teen die onbillike ekonomiese konkurrensie van enige ander seksie.

50. Die Party verklaar hom teen die organisasie van natuurlike in vakbonde op hierdie stadium van hulle ontwikkeling aangesien die breë natuurlike-arbeidsmassa nog nie ryp is om die grondbeginsels en funksies van vakuniewese te begryp en te waardeer nie, maar die Party beskou dit as die plig van die staat as voog oor die natuurlike om 'n stelsel in die lewe te roep wat hulle belange op doeltreffende wyse sal kan behartig.

51. Naturellevakmanne in bou en ander bedryf moet hulle arbeidsveld vind in natuurlike woonbuurtes in stedelike gebiede.

#### Arbeid.

52. 'n Nasionale Stelsel van arbeidsreëling en arbeidskontrole sal in die lewe geroep word met 'n Sentrale Arbeidsburo en 'n doeltreffende netwerk oor die hele land om aanvraag en aanbod so snel en mobiel moontlik te laat fungeer en om die grootskaalse verkwisting van arbeid uit te skakel.

53. 'n Opname van die beskikbare Natuurlike-mannekrag in die stede, reservate en platteland sal gemaak word en op datum gehou word.

54. 'n Opname van die arbeidsbehoefte van die stede, platteland asook van die Natuurlike-mannekrag benodig vir die ekonomiese ontwikkeling en instandhouding van die reservate, sal gemaak word.

55. Sover moontlik moet 'n doeltreffende stelsel van verdeling van arbeid tussen die landbou, industrië, myne en stede ontwerp word.

56. Gereelde opgawes van die beraamde benodigde arbeid sal deur die bedryf en deur die stede by die Arbeidsburo ingehandig word.

57. Alle werklose natuurlike moet geregistreer word.

58. Leeglêery en leeglopery sal nie geduld word nie.

59. 'n Stelsel van verpligte mediese ondersoek van arbeiders moet ingestel word.

60. Sentrums vir die opleiding van huisbediendes en arbeiders en ander nodige bedrywe sal oorweeg word.

61. Gesorg moet word vir behoorlike huisvesting van arbeiders en ondersoek sal ingestel word in hoeverre die laaste van behuising gedra moet word deur die staat, plaaslike besture en veral die werkgewer.

62. Deskundige ondersoek sal ingestel word na al die aspekte van natuurleëarbeid en na die stelsel van trek-arbeid.

#### Naturelle Onderwys.

63. Die Party aanvaar die beginsel dat die naturel geregtig is op en behoefte het aan gesonde opvoeding en dat dit 'n deel van die taak van die blanke as voogde van die naturel is, om hom behulpsaam te wees met die verskaffing van die noodsaaklike onderwysgeriewe.

64. Die onderwysplan moet streng Christelik-nasionaal van karakter wees, moet sover doenlik by die Bantoe se eie volksaard, aanleg en agtergrond aanpas en moet Bantoe-nuttige en Bantoewaardige burger en burgeresse kweek.

65. Die skoolwese moet rekening hou met die ontwikkelingspeil en behoeftes van die massa naturelle en die leerplan, metodes en organisasie moet aanpas by die dinkpeil en maatskaplike struktuur van die naturel.

66. Die doel van die opvoeding moet wees om karakter te bou en die naturel aan sy eie omgewing te laat aanpas op die grondslag van sy eie samelewing en maatskaplike natuurleë struktuur met waardering van sy volkseielendomme en die aankweek van nasionale trots en eelfrespek.

67. Spesiale aandag moet gegee word aan die vaardigheidsvakke, b.v., handearbeid, nywerheideopleiding en landbou en kommersiële opleiding, huisarbeid ens.

68. Moedertaal- en Godsdiensonderwys moet 'n belangrike plek inneem, terwyl as tweede taal geleer sal word die taal van die blanke wat die meeste in die omgewing van die naturel gebruik word.

69. Onder die besef van die besondere belangrikheid van natuurleë-onderwys is dit die Party se standpunt dat dit 'n staatsaangeleentheid moet wees, waardeur die staat deeglike toesig sal moet hou oor die beleid en leerplanne. Behoorlike erkenning sal gegee word aan die werk van die Kerke en Sendinggenootskappe dog met die duidelike voorwaarde dat uitvoering gegee word aan die beleid van apartheid.

70. Kerke en Sendinggenootskappe wat 'n beleid volg wat indruis teen die Staat se beleid van apartheid sal nie toevertrou word met die onderwys van natuurleë nie.

71. Naturelle-onderwys moet onder die Unie Regering staan en moet ressorteer onder 'n aparte afdeling met sy eie direkteur van onderwys onder die Departement van Naturelle-sake.

72. Die finansiering van natuurleë-onderwys moet bereken word op die grondslag van sy kultuurpeil, sy ekonomiese drakrag en sy behoeftes en moet wees meer in verhouding met sy bydrae tot die staatsinkomste en moet gemik wees op die uiteindelijke selfversorging en selfstandige behartiging van sy eie uitgawes vir sy onderwys.

73. Waar nodig moet gesorg word vir hoër onderwys en Universitêre opleiding vir Naturelle in sy eie gebiede.

74. Spesiale voorsiening moet gemaak word vir die opleiding van naturelle wat leiding kan gee en gesag uitoefen in Naturellegebiede.

75. Die verskaffing van hoër onderwys moet gepaard gaan met die verskaffing van professionele en administratiewe poste vir naturelle in die reserwes. Ontwikkelde naturelle sal aangemoedig word om hulle dienste, professioneel en andersins tot die beskikking van hulle eie volk in hulle eie gebiede te stel.

#### Maatskaplike en Welsynsdienste.

76. 'n Stelsel van mediese dienste in die reserwes sal ingestel word en 'n begin sal gemaak word met die oprigting van hospitale en klinieke in die reservate waar die naturelle deur hulle eie mediese praktisyns, sover moontlik behandel sal word.

77. In die stedelike gebiede sal aparte fasiliteite by die blanke hospitale vir die naturelle besorg word terwyl klinieke in die stedelike naturelle dorpe opgerig sal word.

78. Spesiale aandag moet gewy word aan die opleiding van naturellemedici en verpleegsters.

79. 'n Stelsel van maatskaplike werk en voorligting veral ten opsigte van volksgesondheid, voeding en huishouding ens., ens., sal oorweeg word en fasiliteite sal verstrekkend word vir die opleiding van naturelle as maatskaplike werkers en werksters.

80. Dit sal die strewe wees om toe te sien dat naturelle oor die algemeen deur hulle eie mense bedien word.

81. Die verbod op die verkryging van sterk drank deur naturelle moet streng gehandhaaf word en drastiese stappe teen die smokkelhandel in drank sal geneem word.

82. Wat sy maatskaplike en welsynsdienste betref sal ook 'n stelsel gevolg word waardeur by die naturel 'n verantwoordelikheidsin aangekweek word en waardeur hy geleer word om uiteindelik selfonderhoudend en selfversorgend te wees.

#### VERTEENWOORDIGING VAN NATURELLE IN DIE UNIE SE WETGEWENDE LIGGAME.

83. Die Naturelle sal in die Senaat verteenwoordig word deur sewe blanke senatore, drie waarvan deur die Regering aangestel word op grond van hulle besondere kennis van naturellesake en vier waarvan deur die verskillende naturellerade gekies word.

84. Die verteenwoordiging van die Kaapse Naturelle in die Volksraad sal afgeskaf word.

85. Met die oog op die verskuiwing van naturelle-onderwys en ander naturellebelange is dit nie meer nodig dat naturelle in die Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland verteenwoordig sal word nie.

86. Die Party verklaar hom beslis teen die uitbreiding van die stemreg aan naturelle in die Unie en is ten gunste van die afskaffing van die huidige verteenwoordiging van naturelle in die Volksraad en in die ondergeskikte wetgewende liggame van die Unie.

87. Die Naturellesakekommissie sal afgeskaf word en in die plek daarvan sal 'n Permanente Raad van deskundiges soos bepaal in Artikel B-11 in die lewende geroep word.

88. Die Senatore in die Senaat wat Naturellebelange verteenwoordig sal 'n staande Komitee vir Naturellebelange vorm.

89. Hierdie Senatore sal nie die reg hê om oor die volgende sake te stem nie:-

- (a) Mosie van wantroue in die Regering;
- (b) Oorlogsverklaring; en
- (c) sake rakende die uitbreiding van die kiesreg.

#### EIE REGERINGSTELSE EN BESTUUR IN RESERWES.

90. Die Party staan voor dat 'n eie stelsel van regering en bestuur, min of meer op die grondslag van die Boenga-stelsel, waarby die naturellehoofde volledig ingeskakel word en wat die beste aanpas by die naturel se volkstruktuur, vir die reserwes ingestel word, waardeur hulle volle geleentheid sal kry om hulle politieke en staatkundige aspirasies uit te lewe en konstruktief ingespan kan word vir hulle eie opbou.

91. So 'n Raad sal vir elke reserwe in die lewe geroep word en sal bestaan uit die opperhoof van die gebied en sy erkende indoenas met 'n aantal verkose verteenwoordigers.

92. Alleen manlike naturelle wat in die reserwes gevestig is sal hiervoor die stemreg hê.

93. Aanvanklik sal hierdie Reserwerade staan onder leiding en advies van blanke amptenare en deskundiges met soveel speling vir eie leiding en inisiatief moontlik vir die naturelle self. Namate verantwoordelikheid aan die dag gelê word sal hulle geleidelik oorgaan in die hande van die naturelle self.

94. Aanvanklik sal die Reserwerade beperkte bestuursmagte hê wat uitgebrei sal word, namate erns en verantwoordelikheid aan die dag gelê word, tot selfstandige wetgewende liggame wat volle verantwoordelikheid vir die Regering en administrasie van die gebied ten opsigte van alle naturellebelange in die gebied aanvaar, (onder toesig van die Unie Regering.)

95. Die Goewerneur-generaal besit die veto-reg oor wetgewing van die Reserwerade.

96. Die Naturelleraad sal afgeskaf word en uiteindelik vervang word deur Rade vir elkeen van die etniese groepe en hoof-subgroepe soos bepaal in artikel E-3.

97. In die stedelike lokasies sal lokale rade ingestel word wat deur die geregistreerde bewoners van die lokasies gekies word en wat verantwoordelik sal wees vir die bestuur en administrasie van die lokasies onder toesig en beheer van die Munisipaliteite; hierdie Rade sal nooit tot selfstandige liggame kan ontwikkel nie.

#### JUDISIËL.

98. Die eie Regstelsel van die naturel sal erken en waar nodig uitgebou word.

99. Naturellereg, wat nie strydig is met die algemene beginsels van menslikheid wat dwarsdeur die beskaafde wêreld erken word, sal van toepassing wees in alle siviele sake



en in kriminele sake van mindere belang tussen naturel en naturel.

100. Appel kan aangeteken word na die Naturelle-appelhof.

101. Kriminele sake van ernstiger aard sal voor die blanke howe dien tot tyd en wyl die naturelle in hulle eie gebied ryp is vir hulle eie selfstandige howe.

102. Die beleid is om die naturel ook op hierdie gebied te lei tot sy eie selfstandige regspleging onder toesig van die blankes.

#### ADMINISTRASIE.

103. Die Goewerneur-generaal word beskou as die opperhoof van die naturelle.

104. Die Departement van Naturellesake sal onmiddellik hervorm word ten einde hom aan sy dubbele roeping van opvoedende leiding en doelbewuste administrasie te laat beantwoord.

105. Alle naturellebelange en - aangeleenthede moet onder die Departement van Naturellesake ressorteer met sub-departement vir al die belangrike afdelings.

106. Die Minister sal bygestaan word deur 'n permanente Raad van deskundiges en 'n doeltreffende Etnologiese Instituut, met 'n goed toegeruste personeel vir elke etniese volksgroep.

107. Sub-afdelings vir spesiale behartiging van die belange van plaasnaturelle en stedelike naturelle sal gestig word.

108. Amptenare behoort gebruik te word waar hulle dienste die nuttigste is afgesien van rang en bevordering.

#### F. BELEID TEENoor INDIERS.

1. Die Party huldig die beskouing dat die Indiërs 'n vreemde en uitheemse element is wat nie assimileerbaar is nie. Hulle kan nooit eie aan ons land word nie en hulle moet dus as 'n immigrante-gemeenskap behandel word.

2. Die Party aanvaar as grondslag van sy beleid die repatriasie van soveel Indiërs as wat moontlik is, en stel voor 'n deeglike ondersoek na die uitvoerbaarheid van so 'n beleid op grootskaal. Met die oog op die erns van die vraagstuk moet Suid-Afrika gewillig wees, indien nodig, om groot finansiële opofferings vir die bereiking van hierdie doel te maak.

3. Geen Indiër immigrante sal in die land toegelaat word nie.

4. Solang as wat Indiërs nog in die land is sal 'n besliste beleid van apartheid tussen blankes en Indiërs op alle terreine toegepas word sowel as tussen die Indiërs en ander inheemse nie-blanke groepe sover moontlik.

5. Die Wet op Grondbesit van Asië en stamreg aan Indiërs van 1946 sal dadelik in hersiening geneem word en -

(a) Geen verteenwoordiging sal aan Indiërs gegee word in die wetgewende liggame van die land nie.

(b) Indiërs sal gevestig word in aparte

gebiede en hulle sal nie toegelaat word om in blanke gebiede te woon of vaste eiendomme te besit nie.

- (c) Blankes sal nie toegelaat word om in Indiërgebiede te woon, handel te drywe of vaste eiendomme te besit nie.
- (d) Sover moontlik sal die beleid van apartheid deurgevoer word ten opsigte van die Indiërs en die inheemse rasse.
- (e) Behoorlike vergoeding sal uitbetaal word vir eiendomme wat in die blanke of Indiër-gebied gekonfiskeer word.

6. Fasiliteite om handel te drywe buite sy eie gebiede en veral in blanke gebiede sal drasties ingekort word.

7. Indiërs sal geleidelik nie toegelaat word om in natuurellegebiede of lokasies handel te drywe nie. Hierdie reg moet vir die natuurelle self verseker word.

8. Inter-provinsiale beweging van Indiërs moet doeltreffend aan bande gelê word.

9. Die Vrystaat moet sy beskerming teen Indiërs behou.

10. Kaapland moet behoorlik teen die indringing van Indiërs beskerm word veral wat betref besit van vaste eiendomme en die handel.

11. Gesinstoelae aan Indiërs moet afgeskaf word.

12. Die Party sal drasties optree teen Indiërs wat die nie-blanke rasse teen die blankes opstook.

(Geteken) P.O. Sauer, L.V. (Voorsitter.  
" Prof. dr. G.B.A. Gerdener.  
" Dr. E.G. Jansen, L.V.  
" J.J. Serfontein, L.V.  
" M.D.C. de Wet Nel, L.V. (Sekretaris).

B Y L A E.

KORT OPSOMMING VAN AANBEVELINGS UIT VERSLAG  
VAN HERENIGDE NASIONALE PARTY KAAPLAND SE  
KOMMISSIE OOR DIE KLEURLINGE.

1. Apartheid tussen blankes en kleurlinge moet gehandhaaf en uitgebrei word op politieke, sosiale en industriële gebied - artikel 4.

2. Kleurlinge moet beskou word as 'n middel-posisie te beklee tussen blankes en natuurelle - artikel 4.

3. 'n Volksregistrasie moet gehou word om die verskillende afdelings van die bevolking te klassifiseer vir die toekoms - artikel 5.

4. 'n Staatsdepartement vir kleurling-sake onder 'n ander Minister as die van natuurelle-sake word in die lewe geroep - artikel 6.

5. 'n Kleurling-verteenwoordigende Raad word daargestel vir Kaapland, gekies op 'n kiesafdeling-stelsel met byvoeging van nominees van die Regering; - artikel 7.

6. Kwalifikasies om op kleurling-kieserslys te kom word nie vergemaklik nie - artikel 7.

7. Kleurlinge stem nie meer vir blanke verteenwoordigers van die Parlement nie - artikel 8.

8. Kleurlinge sal deur drie blanke verteenwoordigers in die Parlement en wel in die Volksraad verteenwoordig word - in elk geval solank die naturelle verteenwoordiging daar het - met inagneming van paragraaf 2 artikel 9. Die Kleurling word gekies in die Parlement deur die Kleurling-verteenwoordigende Raad - artikel 8.

9. Kleurling-verteenwoordigers in die Parlement sal oor sekere kwessies, soos byvoorbeeld vertroue en oorlog nie kan stem nie - artikel 8.

10. Kleurlinge sal drie blanke lede hê in die Provinsiale Raad, ook gekies deur die Kleurling-verteenwoordigende Raad van Kaapland met inagneming van paragraaf 2 artikel 9.

11. Die beginsel van apartheid moet gehandhaaf en uitgebrei word wat plaaslike Rade betref namate die behoefte daartoe ontstaan wat stads- en dorpsrade betref - moet dadelik opgetree word in ooreenstemming met die aanbevelings van artikel 10.

12. Aparte woon-areas moet geskep word vir blankes en nie-blankes met inagneming van paragrawe 1 - 6 van artikel 11.

13. Gemengde huwelike en verbastering moet kragtig teengegaan word - artikel 12.

14. Maatskaplike dienste moet uitgebrei word vir die kleurlinge waaronder o.a., moet ressorteer:-

- (1) Die stigting van klubs vir stads-dogters en -seuns waar klasse gegee word in naaldwerk, kookkuns, gesondheidsleer, ouerlike opvoeding ens.; en
- (2) ontspanning en vermaaklikheid verkry kan word van gesonde en morele aard.
- (3) Publieke baddens moet daargestel word in digbewoonde areas om die higiëniese toestande in hul huise te probeer verbeter.
- (4) Kleurling-sosiale organiseerders moet opgelei en gebruik word asook verpleegsters en hospitaal- en distriksverpleging.
- (5) Spesiale opleiding behoort gegee te word vir huisbediendes en kinderoppassers, hoteljongens en dergelike werkkringe.
- (6) Daar behoort in die stede meer speelgrond te wees vir kinders om hul van die strate af te hou - artikel 13.

15. Ekonomiese en veral sub-ekonomiese behuising-skemas moet in die lewe geroep word beide in die dorpe en op die platteland vir beter behuising vir kleurlinge.

16. Die voordele van sub-ekonomiese behuising

behoort aan boere en industrieë toegeken te word vir behoorlike behuising van hul kleurling-arbeiders - artikel 14.

17. Aparte woonareas moet geskep word vir die beter klas kleurling.

18. Behuisingskemas moet aangê word met inagneming van die nabyheid tot die werksplekke van die inwoners - artikel 14.

19. Binne kleurling areas moet sover moontlik die publieke dienste van die munisipaliteit en ander publieke liggame en dienste van die Staat deur kleurlinge self verrig. word - artikel 14.

20. Die toekenning van handels- en dergelike lisensies moet onder strenge beheer geplaas word en die kleurling moet aangehelp word tot die verkryging daarvan in sy eie areas en beskerming moet aan hom gegee word teen uitbuiting van ongewenste elemente - artikel 14.

21. Hulp moet gegee word vir die stigting van Senior Ko-operatiewe winkels waar dit wenslik gevind word.

22. Apartheid moet meer ingevoer word in die verkeerswese.

23. Wat lang ritte betref behoort kleurlinge en naturelle sover doenlik, geskei te word. Voorsiening behoort gemaak te word vir beter dienste aan kleurlinge, veral die wat aan 'n beter klas behoort - artikel 16.

24. Die kleurling moet ook die voordele ontvang van die ekonomiese behuisings en mediese dienste soos voorgestel in die Nasionale Party se sosiaal-ekonomiese plan - artikel 17.

25. Veral na aparte woonbuurtes 'n werklikheid geword het moet kleurling-onderwys herskep word om meer aan te pas by sy behoeftes en karakter.

26. 'n Institusie vir hoër onderwys vir kleurlinge moet in die lewe geroep word met fakulteite wat tot nut van die kleurling kan wees - artikel 19.

27. Toelating-standaard tot Normaal-kolleges behoort verhoog te word - artikel 19.

28. Wat plaas-onderwys betref, moet dit veral aangepas word by die ekonomiese en landbou-behoeftes van die omgewing om kinders te bekwaam vir aanpassing by die plaaslewe - artikel 20.

29. Die verspreiding van Kommunisme moet kragtig teengewerk word - artikel 21.

# NASIONALE PARTY SE KLEURBELEID

## HANDHAWING VAN BLANKE RAS AS HOOGSTE TAAK

### Gekleurdes se Welsyn in Aparte Ontwikkeling

#### DEEL I

**D**R. D. F. MALAN, hoofleier van die Nasionale Party, het 'n kort opsomming van die Kleurbeleid van die Party aan die pers vir publikasie oorhandig.

Die volledige verslag van die H.N.P.-kommissie oor kleursake is in die hande van die Partyleiding en hierdie kort opsommings is gegrond op die volledige verslag.

#### A. Inleiding

Ons het, wat betref beleid teenoor die nie-blanke bevolkingsdele, twee rigtings in Suid-Afrika.

Aan die een kant is daar die beleid van gelykstelling wat voortaan gelyke regte vir alle beskaafde en ontwikkelde mense, afgesien van ras of kleur, binne dieselfde staatsstruktuur en die geleidelike toekenning van die stemreg aan die nie-blankes namate hulle bevoeg word om van die demokratiese regte gebruik te maak.

Aan die ander kant het ons die beleid van apartheid wat gegroei het uit die ervaring van die gevestigde blanke bevolking van die land, en gegrond is op die Christelike beginsels van reg en billikheid. Dit beoog die handhawing en beskerming van die blanke bevolking van ons land as 'n suiwer blanke ras, die handhawing en beskerming van die inheemse rassegroepe as aparte volksgemeenskappe, met moontlikhede om in eie gebiede te ontwikkel tot selfversorgende volkseenhede, en die aantrekking van nasionale trots, selfrespek en wedersydse agting by die verskillende rasse van die land.

Ons kan alleen in een van twee rigtings beweeg, of ons moet die weg van gelykstelling opgaan, wat op die duur nasionale selfmoord vir die blanke ras sal beteken, of ons moet op die weg van apartheid beweeg, waardeur elke ras se karakter en toekoms beskerm en veilig gemaak word, met volle geleenthede van ontwikkeling en selfhandhawing binne sy eie gebied, sonder dat die belange van 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.

#### B. Algemene Grondslag

Die Party aanvaar as hoogste taak en roeping van die staat die bevoor-

dering 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 verwezen kan word deur die handhawing en beskerming van die blanke ras 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 stel. Tegelyk verwerp die Party enige beleid van onderdrukking en uitbuiting van die nie-blankes deur die blankes as strydig met die Christelike grondslag van ons volkslewe en onversoenbaar met sy beleid.

Die Party glo dat 'n besliste beleid van apartheid tussen die blanke ras en die nie-blanke rassegroepe en die toepassing van die apartheidsbeginsel ook ten opsigte van die nie-blanke rassegroepe die enigste grondslag is waarop die karakter en toekoms van elke ras beskerm en veilig gemaak kan word en waardeur elke ras geleidelik kan word om te ontwikkel ooreenkomstig eie volksaard, aanleg en roeping. Alle huwelike tussen blankes en nie-blankes sal verbied word.

In hul eie gebiede sal die nie-blanke rassegroepe op elke gebied volle geleentheid van ontwikkeling kry en sal hulle hul eie inrigtings en maatskaplike dienste kan ontwikkel, waardeur die kragte van die progressiewe nie-blankes tot eie volksopbou ingespan sal word. Die landsbeleid moet so opgestel word dat dit die ideaal van uiteindelijke algehele apartheid op 'n natuurlike wyse sal bevorder.

'n Vaste raadgewende liggaam van deskundiges oor nie-blanke aangeleenthede sal in die lewe geroep word. Die Staat sal volle toesig oor die vorming van die jeug uitoefen. Die Party sal nie inmenging van buite en afbrekende propaganda na buite oor die rassevraagstukke van Suid-Afrika duld nie.

#### C. Sendingbeleid

Die Party wil dat alle nie-blankes op 'n kragtige wyse geleidelik sal word om die Christelike godsdienst te maak die grondslag van hul lewe en sal die kerke in hierdie taak met alle moontlike hulp bystaan. Kerke en genootskappe wat die beleid van apartheid ondermyn en volksvreemde beskouinge propageer, sal hierin teengegaan word.

#### D. Beleid Teenoor die

##### Kleurlinge

##### DIE PLEK VAN DIE KLEURLINGE

Die Kleurlinge neem 'n middelposisie tussen die blankes en die naturelle in. 'n Beleid van apartheid tussen blankes en Kleurlinge en tussen naturelle en Kleurlinge sal toegepas word op maatskaplike, residensiële, industriële en politieke gebied. Geen huwelike tussen blankes en Kleurlinge sal toegelaat word nie. Die Kleurlinge sal op terreine waar hulle reeds gevestig is teen onbillike konkurrensie van die naturel beskerm word.

##### POLITIEKE VERTEENWOORDIGING

Die Kleurlinge sal in die Senaat verteenwoordig word deur 'n blanke verteenwoordiger wat op grond van sy kennis van Kleurlingaangeleenthede deur die Regering benoem sal word.

Die huidige ongesonde stelsel wat toelaat dat Kleurlinge in Kaapland saam met blankes as kiesers geregistreer word en saam met die blankes vir dieselfde kandidaat stem, sal afgeskaf word en die Kleurlinge sal deur drie blanke lede in die Volksraad verteenwoordig word. Hulle sal gekies word deur die Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad. Hierdie lede sal nie kan stem oor: (1) kwessies van vertroue, (2) oorlogsverklarings en (3) verandering van poli-

tieke regte van die nie-blankes nie. 'n Staatsdepartement van Kleurlingsake sal in die lewe geroep word.

In die Provinsiale Raad van Kaapland sal hulle deur drie blankes, gekies deur die Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad, verteenwoordig word.

Vir Kaapland sal 'n Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad in die lewe geroep word, wat sal bestaan uit verteenwoordigers gekies deur die Kleurlinge met die huidige kwalifikasies vir stemreg op 'n kiesafdelingsgrondslag, die hoof van die Departement van Kleurlingsake en verteenwoordigers deur die Regering benoem.

In hul eie gebiede sal die Kleurlinge hul eie rade met eie openbare dienste hê, wat deur hulle self behartig sal word binne die raamwerk van die bestaande rade met hoër gesag.

#### **MAATSKAPLIKE EN WELSYNSDIENSTE**

Besondere aandag sal gegee word aan die verskaffing van maatskaplike, gesondheids- en welsynsdienste waarin die kragte van die Kleurlinge self ingespan kan word en waar hulle geleer sal word om sover moontlik selfversorgend te word.

'n Stelsel van onderwys sal ontwerp word wat die vrugbaarste sal wees vir die Kleurling en sy gemeenskap.

### ***E. Beleid Teenoor die***

#### ***Naturelle***

##### **ALGEMENE STELLING**

Die beleid sal beoog om sover moontlik die vernaamste etniese groepe en sub-groepe van die Bantoe in hul eie onderskeie gebiede saam te trek, waar elke groep sal kan ontwikkel tot selfversorgende eenhede.

##### **NATURELLEGROND**

Die beginsel van gebiedsegregasie tussen blankes en naturelle word in die algemeen aanvaar. Verdere grond onder die wet van 1936 sal alleen op 'n oordeelkundige wyse en ná deeglike ondersoek toegeken word, terwyl 'n kragtige beleid vir die herwinning van die grond en 'n veldtog teen roofbou, waarin die kragte van die natuurel self ingespan sal word, gevoer sal word.

'n Liggaam van deskundiges vir die oordeelkundige gebruik van die grond in die naturellegebiede sal in die lewe geroep word.

##### **DIE NATURELLERESERWES**

Die naturellerreserwes moet die ware vaderland van die natuurel word. Daar moet sy onderwysinrigtings staan en daar moet die betere dienste vir die natuurel beskikbaar gestel word, in teenstelling met die huidige beleid wat dit in die stedelike lokasies beskikbaar stel. Prestige en aansien moet op alle terreine aan die naturelle in die reserwes gegee word, sodat hulle toonaangevend sal wees en as mondstukke van die Bantoe kan optree.

'n Groter verskeidenheid van ekonomiese bedrywighede sal geleidelik tot stand gebring word om groter produktiwiteit en stabiliteit vir die reserwes te bewerkstellig en vir hierdie doel sal plannekomitees in die lewe geroep word.

##### **NATURELLE IN STEDE**

Die Party besef die gevaar van die toestroming van naturelle na

die stede en onderneem om die blanke karakter van ons stede te bewaar en op kragtige en doeltreffende wyse te sorg vir die veiligheid van persone sowel as eiendomme en die vreedsame lewe van die bewoners.

Alle naturelle moet in aparte woonbuurte geplaas word en saamdromming in ons stedelike gebiede moet teengegaan word. Die natuurel in ons stedelike gebiede moet beskou word as 'n „besoeker” wat nooit op enige politieke regte of gelyke maatskaplike regte met die blanke in sy gebiede sal kan aanspraak maak nie.

Die ontstamde getal naturelle moet bevries word. Daarna sal die koms van die naturelle na die stede en hul gereelde vertrek deur die Staat op 'n landwyse grondslag onder beheer geneem word, in samewerking met die stedelike bestuure. Die naturellegebiede moet onder 'n doeltreffende uitstromingsbeheer en die stede onder 'n instromingsbeheer geplaas word. Alle oortollige naturelle in die stede moet teruggestuur word na die platteland of naturellerreserwes waarvandaan hulle gekom het.

Naturelle van die platteland en die reserwes sal in die toekoms alleen toegelaat word om as tydelike werkers na die blanke stede en dorpe te gaan en sal gereeld na verloop van hulle dienskontrak na hulle tuiste terug moet gaan.

'n Vereenvoudigde stelsel van uitkenning en doeltreffende beheer sal toegepas word.

##### **DIE BLANKE WERKERS**

Die belange en werkgeleenthede van die blanke werker in die blanke gebiede sal beveilig en beskerm word. Die beginsel van apartheid sal in fabriek, bedrywe en werksplekke sover prakties moontlik deurgevoer word.

Die Party is teen die organisasie van die naturelle in vakbonde en staan voor 'n stelsel waardeur die staat as voogd hul belange sal behartig.

##### **ARBEID**

'n Nasionale stelsel van arbeidsreëling en arbeidsbeheer sal in die lewe geroep word, met 'n sentrale arbeidsburo en 'n doeltreffende netwerk oor die hele land, om aanrag en aanbod so beweeglik moontlik te laat werk en om die grootskaalse verkwisting van arbeid uit te skakel.

'n Behoorlike opname van die arbeidskrag en arbeidsbehoefte sal gemaak word en 'n doeltreffende stelsel van verdeling van arbeid tussen die landbou, nywerhede, myne en stede sal gemaak word. Deskundige ondersoek sal ingestel word ra alle aspekte van arbeid en na die stelsel van trekarbeid.

##### **NATURELLE-ONDERWYS**

Die onderwysplan moet streng Christelik-Nasionaal wees en moet rekening hou met die behoeftes en ontwikkelingspeil van die massa naturelle. Dit moet karakter bou en die natuurel anker in sy volkseien-domlike. Die Staat moet deeglik toesig daaroor hou. Dit moet val onder 'n aparte afdeling van die Departement van Naturellesake.

Die finansiering van naturelle-onderwys moet bereken word op die grondslag van sy kultuurpeil, sy ekonomiese drakrag en behoeftes en moet meer in verhouding tot sy bydrae tot die staatsinkomste wees

as wat tans die geval is. Die natuurel moet uiteindelik self sorg vir die uitgawe en beheer van sy onderwys onder toesig van die blankes.

#### **MAATSKAPLIKE EN WELSYNSDIENSTE**

Die natuurel moet geleidelik word om sy eie maatskaplike, gesondheids- en welsynsdienste in sy reserwes op te bou. Sy eie kragte sal daartoe ingespan word.

#### **POLITIEKE VERTEENWOORDIGING**

Afgesien van die drie blanke Senatore wat die Regering volgens die grondwet benoem, weens hulle besondere kennis van naturellesake, sal die naturelle in die Senaat verteenwoordig word deur vier blanke Senatore, gekies deur die verskillende naturellerade. Hierdie sewe Senatore sal 'n staande komitee oor naturellesake uitmaak.

Die Naturelleverteenvooudigers sal nie kan stem oor: (1) kwessies van vertroue in 'n regering (2) oorlogverklarings (3) verandering van die politieke regte van nie-blankes

Die verteenwoordiging van naturelle in die Volksraad en Provinsiale Raad sal afgeskaf word.

Die Kommissie oor Naturellesake sal vervang word deur 'n kommissie van deskundiges oor naturellesake. 'n Doeltreffende etnologiese instituut sal opgerig word.

##### **EIE STELSEL VAN BESTUUR**

Die Party staan voor 'n eie stelsel van plaaslike bestuur, min of meer op die grondslag van die Bungalstelsel, waarby die naturellehoofde volledig ingeskakel word en wat tegelyk geleentheid bied aan die ontwikkelde natuurel om hom vir eie volksdiens in te span. So 'n raad sal vir elke reserwe in die lewe geroep word en sal kan ontwikkel tot aparte sentrale rade vir die verskillende etniese groepe en sub-groepe.

Aanvanklik sal hierdie rade onder leiding van blanke amptenare staan en sal hulle beperkte wetgewende en administratiewe magte kry namate verantwoordelikhed aan die dag gelê word om hulle self te bestuur in hul eie gebiede, maar altyd onder toesig van die Staat as voogd. Die Naturelleraad sal afgeskaf word. In die stedelike lokasies sal rade saamgestel word, wat egter nooit tot selfstandige liggame sal kan ontwikkel nie.

Onder hierdie stelsel sal die natuurel uiteindelik uiting vind vir sy politieke aspirasies in die reserwes, instede van politieke regte in die blanke gebiede soos die Verenigde Party dit wil hê.

##### **ADMINISTRASIE**

Die Departement van Naturellesake moet onmiddellik hervorm word ten einde hom aan sy dubbele roeping van opvoedende leiding en doelbewuste administrasie te laat beantwoord.

Alle naturellebelange en -aangeleenthede moet onder die Departement van Naturellesake val met onderdepartemente vir al die belangrikste afdelings.

### ***F. Beleid Teenoor***

#### ***Indiërs***

Die Party huldig die beskouing

dat die Indiërs 'n vreemde en uitheemse element is, wat nie assimileerbaar is nie. Hulle kan nooit eie aan ons land word nie en moet dus as 'n immigrante-gemeenskap behandel word.

Die Party aanvaar as grondslag van sy beleid die repatriasie van soveel Indiërs as moontlik is en stel voor 'n deeglike ondersoek na die uitvoerbaarheid van so 'n beleid op groot skaal, in samewerking met Indië en/of ander lande. Met die oog op die erns van die vraagstuk moet Suid-Afrika gewillig wees, indien nodig, om groot finansiële opofferings vir die bereiking van hierdie doel te maak.

Geen Indiër-immigrante sal in die land toegelaat word nie.

Solank Indiërs nog in die land is sal 'n besliste beleid van apartheid tussen blankes en Indiërs op alle terreine toegepas word, en ook sover

moontlik tussen die Indiërs en ander inheemse nie-blanke groepe.

Die Wet op Grondbesit van Asië en Stemsreg aan Indiërs van 1946 sal dadelik in hersiening geneem word en —

(a) Geen verteenwoordiging sal aan Indiërs gegee word in die wetgewende liggame van die land nie.

(b) Indiërs sal gevestig word in aparte gebiede en sal nie toegelaat word om in blanke gebiede te woon of vaste eiendom te besit nie.

(c) Blankes sal nie toegelaat word om in Indiër-gebiede te woon nie, handel te dryf of vaste eiendom te besit nie.

(d) Sover moontlik sal die beleid van apartheid deurgevoer word ten opsigte van die Indiërs en die inheemse rasse.

(e) Behoorlike vergoeding sal uitbetaal word vir eiendom wat in

blanke of Indiër-gebiede onteien word.

Geriewe om handel te dryf buite hul eie gebiede, veral in blanke gebiede, sal drasties ingekort word.

Geleidelik sal Indiër-handelaars in natuurellegebiede of lokasies moet verdwyn. Hierdie reg moet vir die natuurle self verseker word.

Die beweging van Indiërs tussen die provinsies moet doeltreffend aan bande gelê word.

Die Vrystaat moet sy beskerming teen die Indiërs behou.

Kaapland moet behoorlik teen die indringing van Indiërs beskerm word veral wat betref die besit van vaste eiendom en in die handel.

Gesinstoelae aan Indiërs moet afgeskaf word.

Die Party sal drasties optree teen Indiërs wat die nie-blanke rasse teen die blankes opstook.

## APARTHEID IS DIE WAARBORG VIR RASSEFREDE STEM NATIONAAL

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[Opgestel en uitgegee deur die H.N.P.-Inligtingskomitee en gedruk deur die Nasionale Pers, Bpk., Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.]

# RASSEVREDE LANGS DIE WEG VAN APARTHEID

## SPEZIALE OPLEIDINGSKANSE VIR KLEURLINGE

### Sosiale Wrywing Moet Uitgeskakel Word

#### DEEL II

**H**IERONDER verskyn die tweede deel van dr. D. F. Malan, hoofleier van die Nasionale Party, se verklaring oor die Kleurbeleid van die Party wat aan die pers vir publikasie oorhandig is. Die eerste deel het reeds verskyn en was 'n algemene oorsig van die beleid ten opsigte van die natuurlike Kleurlinge en Indiërs.

Hierdie deel handel oor die beleid van die Nasionale Party teenoor die Kleurling.

Die volledige verslag van die H.N.P.-kommissie is in die hande van die Partyleiding en hierdie kort opsommings is op die volledige verslag gegrond.

Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid-Afrika tel 900.000 siele. Daarom sal enige Regering wat werklik Nasionaal is, wel deeglik rekening moet hou met die belange van die Kleurling op *ekonomiese, maatskaplike en politieke* gebied.

Die Nasionale Party se beleid van *apartheid* waarborg 'n goeie *verhouding tussen blankes en Kleurlinge*.

Ekonomiese, sosiale en politieke wrywing tussen die blanke en die Kleurling moet uitgeskakel word.

Die blanke man moet sy posisie van *voogdskap* bly behou. Die Kleurling andersyds moet *geleentheid* kry om sowel geestelik as stofflik te ontwikkel.

#### Apartheid

'a) Die Nasionale Party is bereid om die Kleurling se ontwikkeling te bevorder, maar dan op grondslag van sekere beginsels waardeur *apartheid* op maatskaplike, politieke en sover doenlik ook op nywerheidsgebied tussen die blanke en die Kleurling verseker moet word.

(b) Daar moet ook sover prakties moontlik *apartheid* tussen Kleurling, Indiër en natuurel wees.

(c) Veral moet die Kleurling beskerm word teen onbillike mededinging met die natuurel, en die Kleurling moet *weens sy aanvaarding van die Europese lewenswyse* beskou word as 'n bevoorregte posisie teenoor die natuurel in te neem.

#### Volksregistrasie

Ten einde *apartheid* te kan toepas, sal deur middel van 'n *volksregistrasie* bepaal word wie tot die blanke groep, die Kleurlinggroep, die *natuurel*groep en die Indiërs behoort.

#### Staatsdepartement vir

##### Kleurlingsake

'n Staatsdepartement vir Kleurlingsake moet in die lewe geroep word met onderafdelings, byvoorbeeld vir *Volkswelsyn*. In so 'n departement kan Kleurlinge ook as beampptes aangestel word.

#### Verteenwoordigende

##### Raad

'n Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad moet in die lewe geroep word met Kleurlinge as lede, verkies op 'n kiesafdelingsgrondslag. Die kiesers sal nog sekere kwalifikasies moet hê.

Op die Raad sal ook dien die hoof van die departement vir Kleurlingsake en ander persone deur die Regering benoem.

#### Verteenwoordiging in die Parlement

Die Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad sal drie blanke persone kies om die stemgeregtigde Kleurlinge in die Volksraad te verteenwoordig. Hulle sal die gewone regte van lede hê, behalwe dat hulle nie sal kan stem of deelneem aan debatte wat handel oor die kwessie van vertroue in die Regering of oor dié van verklaring van oorlog nie en ook nie oor die verandering van politieke regte nie. Kleurlinge sal nie langer



vir dieselfde kandidate as blanke kiesers stem nie.

Die Kleurlinge sal in die Senaat verteenwoordig word deur 'n blanke verteenwoordiger wat op grond van sy kennis van Kleurling-aangeleenthede deur die Regering benoem sal word.

## Provinsiale Rade

In Kaapland sal 'n Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad ook drie blankes aanwys as lede van die Provinsiale Raad. Kleurlinge sal nie verder regstreeks stem vir of sitting hê in die Provinsiale Raad nie.

Ook wat plaaslike rade betref, sal daar op die grondslag van apartheid verteenwoordiging verleen word.

## Aparte Woongebiede

(a) Aparte woonbuurtes vir blankes en Kleurlinge moet met geduld en trapsgewys totstand gebring word.

(b) Daar moet ook aparte woonbuurtes vir Kleurlinge en naturelle geskep word.

(c) By die vasstelling van aparte gebiede moet die staat geldelike verliese dra deur kompensasie of koop van eiendomme.

(d) Die staat moet toesien dat woonbuurtskeiding algemeen deurgevoer word.

## Behuising

Dis die staat se plig om toe te sien dat behoorlike behuisingsgeriewe aan blankes verskaf word.

*Maar ook die behuisingstoestand van die Kleurling moet behoorlik verbeter word. Sowel in die stede as op die platteland moet sub-ekonomiese behuisingskemas uitgevoer word.*

## Handel en Bestuur

(a) Die toekenning van handelslisensies in kleurlinggebiede moet onder strenge beheer geplaas word ten einde uitbuiting te voorkom.

(b) Binne die Kleurlinggebiede moet die handel sover doenlik, en waar wenslik op kooperatiewe grondslag in die hande van Kleurlinge gelaat word.

(c) Ook die munisipale en ander dienste soos in Pskantore binne sulke gebiede moet onder blanke leiding sover moontlik deur Kleurlinge self verrig word.

## Maatskaplike Reëlings

(a) Gemengde huwelike tussen blankes en Kleurlinge moet verbied word.

(b) Kleurlinge moet opgelei word as sosiale werkers en verpleegsters vir hospitaal- en distriksverpleging vir diens onder hul eie mense.

(c) In stedelike gebiede behoort spesiale opleiding gegee te word vir huisbediendes en kinderoppassers.

(d) Behoorlike gesondheidsdienste moet verstrek word onder 'n sentrale gesondheidsdiens ook aan die Kleurlinge.

(e) Aparte parke en ontspanningsoorde vir Kleurlinge veral by strande moet tot stand gebring word.

## Reisgeriewe

In die verkeerswese soos op treine moet apartheid streng toegepas word tussen blankes en Kleurlinge.

Wat lang ritte op treine betref, behoort Kleurlinge en naturelle sover doenlik geskei te word.

Voorsiening behoort gemaak te word vir beter aparte dienste aan Kleurlinge op treine.

## Onderwys

(a) 'n Behoorlike stelsel van plaasonderwys moet ingevoer word ten einde Kleurlinge te bekwaam vir aanpassing by die arbeid op plaas.

(b) Die onderwys van die Kleurling moet aanpas by sy aard en karakter en hom voorberei om in sekere uitgesoekte bedrywe bekwaam te word as vakman.

(c) 'n Universitêre inrigting vir die Hoer-onderwys van Kleurlinge moet in die lewe geroep word, waar Kleurlinge aparte opleiding in professionele rigtings kan ontvang vir diens onder hul eie mense.

## Kommunisme

Die Kommunisme onder Kleurlinge moet beveg en uitgeroep word. Dit kan geskied deur die skepping van beter lewenstoestande en strenge wetlike maatreëls.

As die beginsel van apartheid tussen blankes en Kleurlinge eers eenmaal deur albei rasse aanvaar en uitgevoer word, sal rassevrede baie gouer 'n werklikheid word.

# **Die Nasionale Party Glo in Apartheid en Rassevrede**

## ARBEIDSPARTY MANIFES

### PARLEMENTÊRE VERKIESING.

#### VERLAGING VAN DIE LEWENSKOSTE.

Dit kan gedoen word as die Regering omgehaal kan word om die plan te aanvaar wat deur die Arbeidsparty en die Vakbonde voorgestel word, en waardeur die produksie van goedere waaraan daar vandag 'n tekort is, verhoog sal word, die pryse en die grondspekulasie doeltreffend beheer, en die rente wat op lenings gehef word, afgebring sal word.

#### BESKERMING VAN DIE LOONPEILE.



Daar is talle onkundige mense wat vas glo dat die beste manier om die lewenskoste af te kry, is om die salarisse en lone te besnoei. Dis 'n uiters gevaarlike dwaalbegrip. Enige neiging in hierdie rigting moet heftig teëgewerk word, omdat dit die nasionale welvaart totaal sal ondermyn.

#### WAARBORG VAN VOLLE WERKVERSKAFFING.

'n Moderne ekonomiese beleid sal wegdoen met die gevaar van immer terugkerende handelsoplewings en -slaptes. Dit sal 'n volle werkverskaffing vir almal en maksimum produksie verseker.

#### TOEKENNING VAN TOEREIKENDE PENSIOENE.

Ons burgerlike, militêre en toringpensioentrekkers darf nie hul ou dae in nooddruk deur te sukkel nie. Diegene wat hul land eervol en getrou gedien het, behoort op hul oudag gemaklik en tevrede agteroor te leun.

#### NASIONALE GESONDHEIDSDIENSTE

Die Gluckman-Kommissie het hiervoor 'n bloudruk gepubliseer. Die aanbevelings wat daarin bevat word, moet so gou moontlik uitgevoer word. Die dienste van 'n dokter en 'n hospitaal behoort tot die beskikking van elkeen in die land te wees.

#### OMVATTENDE MAATSKAPLIKE VEILIGHEIDSKEMA.

Lande soos Swede, Denemarke, Nu-Seeland en andere is goed op pad om volle maatskaplike veiligheid van die wieg tot die graf bewerkstellig te kry. Suid-Afrika behoort hom ook met alle mag hiervoor te beywer.

#### GOEDKOOP VOEDSEL EN DOELTREFFENDE LANDBOU.

Die landboubeleid wat deur die resente regerings gevolg is, het die voedsel duur en die boerdery totaal ondoeltreffend gemaak. Die Arbeidsparty se landbouplan sal die plaasboer aanhelp en beskerm, en goedkoop voedsel vir die verbruiker verseker.

#### ONS BELOOF PLEGTIG DAT ONS ALLES IN ONS VERMOË SAL DOEN VIR DIE:

#### VERDEDIGING VAN DEMOKRASIE.



Ons het so pas die verskriklikste oorlog in die menslike geskiedenis, ter verdediging van ons demokratiese instellings, agter die rug. Ons oorlogspoging sal nie voltooi wees as ons nie met hierdie verkiesing die vrede bestendig nie. Vandag, terwyl die demokratiese instellings aan baie fronte bedreig word, is dit lewensbelangrik dat Suid-Afrika beskerm sal word teen anti-demokratiese bedreigings, van watter bronne ookal afkomstig is — en

die grootste onmiddellike gevaar kom tans van die kant van die Nasionale Party en sy satelliete. Om hierdie rede het die Arbeidsparty 'n verkiesingsooreenkoms met die Verenigde Party aangegaan met die uitsluitlike doel om te verseker dat die Nasionale Party en hul bondgenote nie die kans sal kry om deur 'n minderheidstem setels te verower nie. Dit beteken nie dat die Arbeidsparty engeen van sy tradisionele beginsels opoffer, of enige verantwoordelikheid vir die beleid van die Verenigde Party aanvaar, of enigins van sy vryheid om te kritiseer prysgee nie. Albei partye doen 'n beroep op hul volgelinge om die kandidaat te steun wat deur die twee partye genomieneer word.

#### VERNIETIGING VAN RASSEHAAT.

'n Oorwinning deur die Nasionale Party gaan onvermydelik lei tot 'n hewige uitbarsting van rassetwis en tweedrag. Dis nog 'n rede vir die ooreenkoms.

#### BESKERMING VAN DIE VAKBONDE.



Die Nasionale Party en hul satelliete het die beperking van die Vakbonde se vryheid openlik verkondig — nog 'n rede vir die ooreenkoms.

#### SAMEWERKING MET DIE BRITSE GEMENEDES EN DIE WESTERSE DEMOKRASIEË.

In hierdie tyd van waansinnige wêreldonrus is dit vir Suid-Afrika van nog groter lewensbelang as ooit tevore om die samewerking met sy broederlande te bewaar. Die Nasionale Party daarenteen het openlik gesê dat Suid-Afrika hom moet isoleer en uit die Britse Gemenebes moet onttrek. Nog 'n ander rede waarom ons 'n verkiesingsooreenkoms met die Verenigde Party gesluit het.

## OPLOSSING VAN DIE NATURELLE- VRAAGSTUK.

Dit kan alleen gedoen word deur blank sowel as nie-blank regverdig en eerlik te behandel. Van al die Volks-



raadspartye het nog net Arbeid tot dusver 'n volledige plan hiervoor opgestel. Voorsiening word daarin gemaak vir die maatskaplike en woonbuurtlike apartheid van die blanke en nie-blanke rasse; vir die ontwikkeling van die naturrellegebiede, op die gebied van nywerheid en landbou, sodat die naturrelle nie geforseer sal word om na die dorpe toe te stroom om 'n lewe te maak nie; vir die skep-

ping van satellietdorpe vir daardie naturrelle wat hulle vir goed in die blanke gebiede gevestig het; en vir die verhoging van die naturrelle se lone sodat hulle nie gebruik sal word om die blanke lone te ondergraaf nie.

## HUISE WAT DIE MENSE KAN BEKOSTIG.

Die Arbeidsparty eis 'n daadwerklike nasionale be-

huisingsplan vir die verskaffing van huise teen redelike pryse.

## VERNIETIGING VAN MONOPOLIEË.



Niemand verdedig hulle nie, dog nie een van die ander partye kan dit bekostig om hulle amptelik aan te val nie. Arbeid sal nooit ophou om oorlog teen hulle te voer nie.

## KOMMUNISME.

Ons is teen Kommunisme wat voortspruit uit armoede en onderdrukking. Arbeid se beleid is die beste bolwerk teen hierdie gevaar, omdat dit armoede en onderdrukking uit die weg sal ruim.

## HELP ONS OM 'N BETER SUID-AFRIKA TE BEPLAN EN TE BOU.

Uitgereik deur Colin Legum, Algemene Sekretaris, S.A. Arbeidsparty, Kerkstraat, 32, Johannesburg, namens die kandidaat. Gedruk deur Prompt Drukkery Kie. (Edms), Beperk, Harrisstraat 7, Westgate, Johannesburg.

# STATEMENT OF THE UNITED PARTY POLICY

## THE UNITED PARTY STANDS FOR:

- (1) National Unity and whole-hearted co-operation between the two main sections of the European population.
- (2) Maintenance of White civilisation and of the way of life known as Western Democracy with unwavering opposition to Fascism, Nazism, Communism and all other forms of undemocratic Government.
- (3) Full and hearty co-operation in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the preservation of our present constitutional position.
- (4) The promotion of international goodwill and co-operation and the maintenance of world peace.
- (5) Protection of the fundamental rights of the individual, especially freedom of speech, of religion, and of the press.
- (6) Recognition of the important role which individual initiative and private enterprise must play in the development of the Union.
- (7) A policy of social security based on full employment and special regard for the under-privileged.

## MORE PARTICULARLY the United Party stands for:

- (8) A Defence policy of preparedness for the security of the Union and the defence of the national rights and interests.
- (9) Particular regard for the interests of those men and women who joined the armed forces of the Union and fought for freedom and the destruction of Dictatorship.
- (10) The maintenance of the sound financial position which the Union at present enjoys; the protection of its international credit and prestige and the attraction of capital from overseas for the speedier and fuller development of its resources.
- (11) An equitable system of taxation based upon sound financial practice and encouraging a sound and rapid expansion of the Union's economy.
- (12) The provision of educational facilities as a primary right of the people, with special attention to technical education and vocational guidance.
- (13) Controlled and selective immigration into the Union from countries of kindred stock and outlook, of settlers who can assist in the rapid development of the Union and create new opportunities and fresh avenues of advancement for South African Youth.
- (14) Conservation of the Union's water resources on regional lines as the basis of its future agricultural, mining and industrial development.
- (15) The development of new mining enterprises and the continuation for as long as possible of the lives of existing mines, more especially through the solution of the problem of raising working costs.
- (16) The establishment and maintenance of a reasonable standard of living for the country's wage-earners, with due regard to the different levels of civilisation of races in the Union. The speedy adjustment of industrial disputes, and the recognition of workers' organisations.
- (17) Adequate provision to safeguard the health of the people and the improvement of the insanitary.
- (18) A transport system which will meet the growing requirements of the greater South Africa efficiently and speedily.

- (19) A policy of national industrial development which will be furthered by:
  - (a) the encouragement of private enterprise, but not at the expense of state enterprise where this is essential;
  - (b) the protection of industries especially in cultural areas where special reasons for assistance exist;
  - (c) the encouragement of overseas industrialists to utilise the efforts of South Africans;
  - (d) the provision of adequate research facilities and high standards of quality by South African industries;
  - (e) the encouragement of free movements of goods and exchange among the countries of the world;
  - (f) the development of foreign markets for our goods generally, and especially on the African continent;
  - (g) and the rapid expansion of the Union's coastal and international shipping.
- (20) An Agricultural policy leading to greater productivity and reasonable economic stability for the farmer. This policy will comprise:
  - (a) Price fixation, having due regard to the rights of producers, consumers and the trade;
  - (b) An intensive policy of reclaiming and conserving the Union's natural resources including its water, soil and its forests;
  - (c) Extension of electric power schemes to provide lighting and power for farms and the smaller townships;
  - (d) Provision on an expanding scale of Agricultural and Veterinary research.
- (21) The extension of further rights and functions to the Native Representative Council and other native bodies, subject to the authority of Government and Parliament, and their gradual equipment with powers to run their own affairs. As regards other elements in the population, the United Party recognises the traditional special position of the Cape Coloured people as an appendage to the White, and for the Indians reaffirms and maintains the principles of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act.
- (22) The accommodation of a stable native labour force in separate townships parallel to industrial areas, with the Government's share in the financial responsibility for the proper housing and health services for natives in such separate townships; and the extension of opportunities to those natives to take an increasing part in their own civic government.
- (23) A broad national housing policy to meet the needs of all sections of the people and eventually to create a national home ownership.
- (24) Continued effort to cope with the rising cost of living through increased production, equitable application of price control measures and co-operation between commerce, industry and agriculture to bring about a lowering of the cost structure, and generally through combating the danger of inflation.

Issued on behalf of the United Party by G. A. Oosthuisen, General Secretary, 183 Pretorius Street, Pretoria. Printed by Wallachs P. & P. Co. Ltd., 160 Andries Street, Pretoria.

# STATEMENT OF THE UNITED PARTY POLICY

## THE UNITED PARTY STANDS FOR:

- (1) National Unity and whole-hearted co-operation between the two main sections of the European population.
- (2) Maintenance of White civilisation and of the way of life known as Western Democracy, with unswerving opposition to Fascism, Nazism, Communism and all other forms of undemocratic Government.
- (3) Full and hearty co-operation in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the preservation of our present constitutional position.
- (4) The promotion of international goodwill and co-operation and the maintenance of world peace.
- (5) Protection of the fundamental rights of the individual; especially freedom of speech, of religion, and of the press.
- (6) Recognition of the important role which individual initiative and private enterprise must play in the development of the Union.
- (7) A policy of social security based on full employment and special regard for the under-privileged.

## MORE PARTICULARLY the United Party stands for:—

- (8) A Defence policy of preparedness for the security of the Union and the defence of the national rights and interests.
- (9) Particular regard for the interests of those men and women who joined the armed forces of the Union and fought for freedom and the destruction of Dictatorship.
- (10) The maintenance of the sound financial position which the Union at present enjoys; the protection of its international credit and prestige and the attraction of capital from overseas for the speedier and fuller development of its resources.
- (11) An equitable system of taxation based upon sound financial practice and encouraging a sound and rapid expansion of the Union's economy.
- (12) The provision of educational facilities as a primary right of the people, with special attention to technical education and vocational guidance.
- (13) Controlled and selective immigration into the Union, from countries of kindred stock and outlook, of settlers who can assist in the rapid development of the Union and create new opportunities and fresh avenues of advancement for South African Youth.
- (14) Conservation of the Union's water resources on regional lines, as the basis of its future agricultural, mining, and industrial development.
- (15) The development of new mining enterprises and the continuance for as long as possible of the lives of existing mines, more especially through the solution of the problem of rising working costs.
- (16) The establishment and maintenance of a reasonable standard of living for the country's wage-earners, with due regard to the different levels of civilization of races in the Union. The peaceful adjustment of industrial disputes, and the recognition of workers' organisations.
- (17) A forward policy to safeguard the health of the people and to succour the incapacitated.

- (18) A transport system which will meet the growing requirements of the greater South Africa efficiently and speedily.
- (19) A policy of intensive industrial development which will be furthered by:
  - (a) the encouragement of private enterprise supplemented by state enterprise where this is essential;
  - (b) the protection of industries, especially youthful industries, where special reasons for assistance exist;
  - (c) the encouragement of overseas industrialists to supplement the efforts of South Africans;
  - (d) the provision of adequate research facilities, and of standards of quality by South African industries;
  - (e) the encouragement of free movement of goods and exchange among the countries of the world;
  - (f) the development of foreign markets for our goods generally and especially on the African continent;
  - (g) And the rapid expansion of the Union's coastal and international shipping.
- (20) An agricultural policy leading to greater productivity and reasonable economic stability for the farmers. This policy will comprise:
  - (a) Price fixation, having due regard to the rights of producers, consumers and the trade.
  - (b) An intensive policy of reclaiming and conserving the Union's natural resources including its water, its soil and its forests.
  - (c) Extension of electric power schemes to provide lighting and power for farms and the smaller townships.
  - (d) Provision on an expanding scale of Agricultural and Veterinary research.
- (21) The extension of further rights and functions to the Native Representative Council and other native bodies, subject to the authority of Government and Parliament, and their gradual equipment with powers to run their own affairs.  
As regards other elements in the population, the United Party recognises the traditional special position of the Cape Coloured people as an appendage to the Whites, and for the Indians reaffirms and maintains the principles of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act.
- (22) The accommodation of a stable native labour force in separate townships parallel to industrial areas; with the Government's share in the financial responsibility for the proper housing and health services for natives in such separate townships; and the extension of opportunities to those natives to take an increasing part in their own civic government.
- (23) A broad national housing policy to meet the needs of all sections of the people and eventually to create a nation of home owners.
- (24) Continued effort to cope with the rising cost of living through increased production, equitable application of price control measures, and co-operation between commerce, industry and agriculture to bring about a lowering of the cost structure, and generally through combating the danger of inflation.

(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.)



# THE NATIONAL PARTY'S COLOUR POLICY

## Separation on Christian Principles of Justice and Reasonableness

**The National Party's policy of separation between Europeans, Natives, Coloureds and Indians is a guarantee for racial peace and the maintenance of the Christian European civilization.**

"There are two schools of thought in South Africa in regard to the policy affecting the non-European community. On the one hand there is the policy of equality, which advocates equal rights within the same political structure for all civilised and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the franchise to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights.

### CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

"On the other hand there is the policy of separation (apartheid) which has grown from the experience of the established European population of the country, and which is based on the Christian principles of justice and reasonableness.

"Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure white race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and the stimulation of national pride, self-respect and mutual respect among the various races of the country.

### "WHITE SUICIDE"

"We can act in only one of two directions. Either we must follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the white race, or we must take the course of separation (apartheid) through which the character and the future of every race will be protected and safeguarded with full opportunities for development and self-maintenance in their own areas, without the interests of one clashing with the interests of the other, and without one regarding the development of the other as undermining or a threat to himself.

### CHRISTIAN BASIS

● "The party therefore undertakes to protect the white race properly and effectively against any policy, doctrine or attack which might undermine or threaten its continued existence. At the same time the party rejects any policy of oppression and exploitation of the non-Europeans by the Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life and irreconcilable with our policy.

"The party believes that a definite policy of separation (apartheid) between the white races and the non-white racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-white racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and on which each race can be guided so as to develop its own national character, aptitude and calling.

"All marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans will be prohibited.

"In their areas the non-European racial groups will have full opportunity for development in every sphere and will be able to develop their own institutions and social services whereby the forces of the progressive non-Europeans can be harnessed for their own national development (volksopbou). The policy of the country must be so planned that it will eventually promote the ideal of complete separation (algehele apartheid) in a national way.

● "A permanent advisory body of experts on non-European affairs will be established.

"The state will exercise complete supervision over the moulding of the youth. The party will not tolerate interference from without, and destructive propaganda to the outside world in regard to the racial problems of South Africa.

"The party wishes all non-Europeans to be strongly encouraged to make the Christian religion the basis of their lives and will assist churches in this task in every possible way. Churches and societies which undermine the policy of apartheid and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked.

### COLOURED PEOPLE'S POSITION

"The Coloured community takes a middle position between the Europeans and the Natives. A policy of separation (apartheid) between Europeans and Coloureds and between Natives and Coloureds will be applied in the social, residential, industrial and political spheres. No marriages between Europeans and Coloureds will be permitted. The Coloureds will be protected against unfair competition from the Natives in spheres where they are already established.

"The Coloured community will be represented in the Senate by a European representative to be appointed by the Government by reason of his knowledge of Coloured affairs.

● "The present unhealthy system which allows Coloureds in the Cape to be registered on the same voters' roll as Europeans and to vote for the same candidate as Europeans will be abolished, and the Coloureds will be represented in the House of Assembly by three European representatives.

"These Coloured representatives will be elected by a Coloured representative council. They will not vote on (1) votes of confidence, in the Government, (2) a declaration of war and (3) a change in the political rights of the non-Europeans. A State department of Coloured affairs will be established.

### AREA COUNCILS

"The Coloured community will be represented in the Cape Provincial Council by three Europeans, elected by the Coloured representative council.

"A Coloured representative council will be established in the Cape Province consisting of representatives elected by the Coloured community, divided into constituencies with the present franchise qualifications, the head of the department of Coloured affairs, and representatives nominated by the Government.

"In their own areas the Coloured community will have their own councils with their own public services which will be managed by themselves within the framework of the existing councils with higher authority.

"Attention will be given to the provision of social, medical and welfare services in which the efforts of the Coloureds themselves can be harnessed and in which they will be taught as far as possible to be self-supporting. A system of education will be designed as far as possible to attract the principal ethnological groups and sub-groups of the Bantu into their own various areas, where every group will be able to develop to self-supporting units.

"The principle of territorial segregation between Europeans and Natives is generally accepted. Further land under the 1936 Act will be allotted judiciously and after a thorough investigation, while at the

same time a vigorous policy of soil reclamation and a campaign against the exhaustion of arable land will be conducted in which the co-operation of the Native himself will be enlisted.

"A body of experts will be established for the judicious use of the land in the Native reserves.

● **"The Native reserves must become the true fatherland of the Native.**

"The education institutions of the Natives and the better services for the Natives must be made available in the reserves in contradistinction to the present policy which provides these services in urban locations.

"Prestige and status must be accorded to the Natives in every sphere in the reserves, so that they will be able to take a leading rôle and will be able to act as the spokesmen of the Bantu.

"A greater variety of economic activities will gradually be established so as to bring about greater productivity and stability in the reserves and for this purpose planning committees will be established.

### DRIFT TO TOWNS

"The party realises the danger of the drift of the Natives to the urban areas and undertakes to maintain the European character of the urban areas and to take steps in a vigorous and effective manner for the safety of persons as well as property and the peaceful life of citizens.

"All Natives must be placed in separate residential areas. Concentration in the urban areas must be curbed, and the Native in the urban areas must be regarded as a 'visitor' who can never be entitled to any political or equal social rights with Europeans in European areas.

● **"The number of detribalised Natives must be 'frozen.'** Thereafter the influx of the Natives in the urban areas and their regular departure will be taken under control by the State on a country-wide basis in co-operation with the urban local authorities.

"The Native reserves must be placed under an effective efflux control and the urban areas under an influx control. All superfluous Natives in the urban areas must be sent back to the rural areas or Native reserves from which they migrated.

### TEMPORARY WORKERS

"In future Natives from rural areas and the reserves will be allowed to enter the European urban areas only as temporary workers and must return to their homes regularly on the expiration of their service contracts.

"A simplified system of identification and an effective control will be applied.

● **"The interests and opportunities for employment of the European worker in European areas will be safeguarded and protected.**

"The principle of separation (apartheid) will be carried out in factories, industries and workshops so far as it is practically possible.

"The party is opposed to the organisation of Natives into trade unions, and advocates a system whereby the State, as guardians, will take care of their interests.

### LABOUR CONTROL

"A national system of labour organisation and labour control will be established with a central labour bureau and an effective network over the entire country so as to enable supply and demand to function as mobile as possible and to eliminate large-scale wastage of labour.

"A proper survey of manpower and labour requirements will be made and an effective system of division of labour between agriculture, industry, the mines and the cities will be introduced. An expert inquiry will be made into all aspects of labour including migratory labour.

### NATIVE EDUCATION

"The Native education plan must be strictly Christian national, and must take into account the requirements and the stage of development of the masses of the Native. It must build character, and anchor the Native to his own way of life (Volkseindomlike). The State must exercise proper supervision in this regard through a separate division of the Department of Native Affairs.

"The financing of Native education must be calculated on the basis of the cultural level of the Native, his economic carrying capacity and requirements, and must be more in keeping with his contribution to the State income, as is the case at present. The Native himself must eventually provide for the expenditure and control of Native education under the supervision of Europeans.

"The Native must be taught to build up his own social, medical and welfare services in the reserves in which his own efforts will be employed.

### SEVEN SENATORS

"Over and above three European senators appointed by the Government in terms of the South Africa Act by virtue of their special knowledge of Native matters, the Natives will be represented in the Senate by four European senators elected by the various Native councils, and these seven senators will form a standing permanent committee on Native matters.

"The Native representatives will not be able to vote on (1) votes of confidence in a Government, (2) a declaration of war, (3) a change in the political rights of the non-Europeans.

● **"The representation of Natives in the House of Assembly and in the Provincial Council will be abolished.**

"The Native Affairs Committee will be replaced by a commission of experts on Native affairs. An efficient ethnological institute will be established.

### LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

"The party advocates a system of own local administration more or less on the basis of the present Bunga system, under which the Native chiefs will be fully included, and which will at the same time afford the educated Native the opportunity to participate in his own national service. Such a council will be established for each Native reserve and it will be possible for such councils to develop into separate central councils for the different ethnological groups or sub-groups.

"Initially the councils will come under the leadership of European officials and will have limited legislative and administrative powers, but in accordance with the responsibility they show, to govern themselves in their own areas and always under the supervision of the Union Government.

### END OF N.R.C.

"The Native Representative Council will be abolished. In the urban locations, councils will be established which, however, will never be allowed to develop into independent bodies.

"Under this system the Native will ultimately find expression for his political aspirations in the reserves instead of political rights in the European areas as is advocated by the United Party.

"The Department of Native Affairs must be reformed immediately to enable it to answer its double calling of educational guidance and objective administration.

"All Native interests and Native matters must resort under the Department of Native Affairs, with sub-departments for all the more important divisions.

### INDIANS "FOREIGN ELEMENT"

"The party holds the view that Indians are a foreign and outlandish element (vreemde en uitheemse), which is unassimilable. They can never become part of the country and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community.

● **"The party accepts as a basis of its policy the repatriation of as many Indians as possible and proposes a proper investigation into the practicability of such a policy on a large scale in co-operation with India and other countries. In view of the seriousness of the problem, South Africa must be willing, if necessary, to make great financial sacrifices for the achievement of this aim.**

"No Indian immigrants will be allowed to enter the country.

"So long as there are still Indians in the country a definite policy of separation (apartheid) will be applied as far as possible between Europeans and Indians in every sphere as well as between Indians and other indigenous non-European groups.

"The Asiatic Land Tenure and

Indian Representation Act of 1946 will immediately be revised and:

- (a) No representation will be given to Indians in the legislative bodies of the country.
- (b) Indians will be established in separate areas and will not be allowed to reside or own fixed property in the European areas.
- (c) Europeans will not be allowed to reside or to trade or to own fixed property in Indian areas.
- (d) So far as possible the policy of separation (apartheid) will be applied

with regard to the Indians and indigenous races.

- (e) Proper compensation will be paid for properties which are expropriated in the European or Indian areas.
- (f) Facilities for trading outside their own areas and especially in European areas will be drastically curtailed.
- (g) Indian traders in Native areas or locations will gradually disappear. This right must be safeguarded for the Natives themselves.
- (h) The inter-provincial movement of Indians must be effectively prevented. The protection which the Free State enjoys must be maintained.

"The Cape Province must be properly protected against penetration by Indians, especially in regard to the ownership of fixed property and trade. Family allowances for Indians must be abolished.

"The party will take drastic action against Indians who incite the non-European races against the Europeans."

## Support this Bold and Honest Policy

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# **LABOUR PARTY MANIFESTO**

## **PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.**

### **REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING:**



This can be done if the government can be persuaded to adopt the plan suggested by the Labour Party and the Trades Unions, which would increase production of commodities in short supply, produce effective control of prices, end speculation in land and reduce the interest charged on borrowed money.

### **PROTECT WAGE STANDARDS:**

Many ignorant people firmly believe that the best



way to reduce the cost of living is to reduce salaries and wages. This is a most dangerous illusion. Any trend in this direction must be firmly opposed in the national interests, because it would completely undermine the nation's prosperity.

### **GUARANTEE FULL EMPLOYMENT:**

An up-to-date economic policy would eliminate the danger of periodic booms and slumps. It will ensure full employment for all and maximum production.

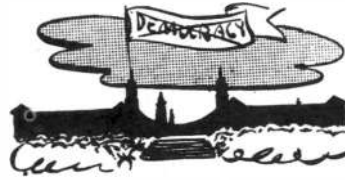
### **PROVIDE ADEQUATE PENSIONS:**

Civil, military and phthisis pensioners must not be left to drag their days out in anxious poverty. Those who have served their country honourably and faithfully should sit back in ease and tranquility in their old age.

### **WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO:—**

#### **DEFEND DEMOCRACY.**

We have just fought the most terrible war of all time in defence of democratic institutions. Our war effort would not be complete if we did not, at this election, secure the peace. At a



time when democratic institutions are being threatened on many fronts, it is essential to protect South Africa against anti-democratic threats from what-

ever source they may come — and the greatest immediate danger is offered by the Nationalist Party and its satellites. For this reason the Labour Party has made an electoral agreement with the United Party with the sole purpose of ensuring that the Nationalists and their allies will not be in a position to win seats on a minority vote. In doing this the Labour Party does not sacrifice any part of its traditional principles, nor accept any responsibility for the policy of the United Party, nor surrender any of its freedom to criticise. Both parties call on their followers to support the candidate nominated by either party.

#### **DEFEAT RACIALISM:**

A Nationalist victory would inevitably produce an outbreak of intense racial animosity and discord. This is another reason for the agreement.

#### **PROTECT TRADE UNIONS:**

The Nationalists and their satellites have openly advocated restricting the freedom of Trade Unions — this is another reason for the agreement.

#### **CO-OPERATE WITH THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES:**

In a time of desperate world unrest it is more essential than ever that South Africa should continue to co-operate with its kindred nations. The Nationalists have openly advocated an isolationist policy for South Africa and a withdrawal from the British Commonwealth. This is still another reason for our electoral agreement with the United Party.

#### **NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICES:**

The Gluckman Commission produced a blue print for this. Its recommendations must be carried out as soon as possible. Anyone who needs a doctor or a bed in hospital must be able to get what he needs.

## ESTABLISH A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME OF SOCIAL SECURITY:



Countries such as Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand and others, are well on the way to giving their people full social security from the cradle to the grave. South Africa must hasten towards the same goal.

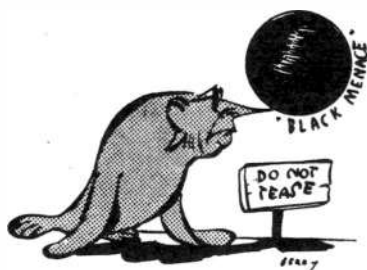
## MAKE FOOD CHEAP AND AGRICULTURE EFFICIENT:

The agricultural policy followed by recent governments has made food dear and farming grossly inefficient. Labour's plan for agriculture would assist and protect the farmer and ensure cheap food for the consumer.

## SOLVE THE NATIVE PROBLEM:

This can be done only by giving justice and fair treatment to both Europeans and Non-Europeans. Of the Parliamentary parties only Labour has drawn up in detail

a plan which will achieve this. It provides for social and residential separation of the European and Non-European races, for the industrialisation and agricultural development of the Native territories so that the Natives are



not forced to invade the towns to make a living, for the creation of satellite towns for those Natives who are permanently settled in European areas, and for raising the wage of the Natives so that they cannot be used to undercut European wages.

## PROVIDE HOUSES WHICH PEOPLE CAN AFFORD:

Labour demands a bold National Housing Plan to provide homes at moderate prices.

## DESTROY MONOPOLIES:

No one defends them but none of the other parties can afford officially to attack them. Labour will not cease to wage a crusade against them.

## OPPOSE COMMUNISM:

We are opposed to Communism which is bred by poverty and oppression. Labour's policy is the best bulwark against this menace, because it would abolish poverty and oppression.

## HELP US TO PLAN AND BUILD A BETTER SOUTH AFRICA.

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Issued by Colin Legum, General Secretary, S.A. Labour Party, 32 Kerk St., Johannesburg, on behalf of the Candidate. Printed by Prompt Printing Co. (Pty.), Ltd., 7 Harris Street, Westgate, Johannesburg.

# 1953

## 15 APRIL

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                           | Setels verower<br>Seats won | Participating parties which have won seats                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidersparty | 57<br>94<br>5               | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP)<br>3. The South African Labour Party (SALP) |

### Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Geen Afrikaanse weergawe beskikbaar nie
2. Uitgegee deur P W Botha, Keeromstraat, Kaapstad en gedruk deur Nasionale Handelsdrukkery, Beperk, Elsie'srivier, 1953.
3. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.

### Sources of election manifestos

1. Press release of the speech to be delivered by the Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. J G N Strauss, at the eighth Union Congress of the United Party at Bloemfontein on Tuesday, November 18, 1952. (The United Party. Division of Information, Johannesburg. 14th November, 1952.)
2. Issued by P W Botha, 18 Keerom Street, Cape Town, and printed by National Commercial Printers, Limited, Elsie's River, 1953.
3. No official manifesto could be traced.

*Herdruk uit Die Burger, 5 Maart 1953.*

# VERKIESINGSMANIFES

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## 'N STERK REGERING NODIG VIR SUID-AFRIKA

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**Dr. D. F. Malan se toespraak te Stellenbosch op  
Woensdag, 4 Maart 1953**

**D**IE kiesers moet op 15 April 'n sterk Nasionale regering aan die bewind stel, en hulle moet 'n ondubbelsinnige en effektiewe antwoord gee aan diegene wat Suid-Afrika belaster, het dr. D. F. Malan, Eerste Minister en hoofleier van die Nasionale Party, gisteraand in sy eerste groot verkiesingstoespraak in die Stellenbosse Stadsaal gesê. Dr. Malan het die hoofpunte genoem waarop die stryd teen die Opposisie gevoer word. Sy volledige toespraak lui:

Gister is die Volksraad wat in 1948 gekies is, ontbind. En daarmee is die lotgevalle van Suid-Afrika weer eens geplaas in die hande van die volk. Op 15 April sal die volk as die hoogste gesag sy uitspraak doen, en in verband daarmee dra elke kieser sy eie persoonlike verantwoordelijkheid.

Ek tree vanaand voor u op om na die beste van my vermoë aan u en aan die kiesers in die algemeen voor te hou die betekenis van die komende eleksie, die groot vraagstukke waarvoor daar beslis moet word, en die antwoord wat die volk na my mening op eleksiedag daarop moet gee. Die nuwe parlement en die regering wat hy daar sal stel, wag op 'n duidelike en besliste opdrag.

Soos ek verder sal aandui, is dit geen gewone eleksie nie. Dis geen sportbyeenkoms waar die enigste vraag is watter kant sal wen of verloor nie. Dit gaan oneindig veel dieper. Suid-Afrika staan op die kruispad, en die vraag wat elke kieser vir homself sal moet beantwoord as hy gereed staan om sy kruisie te trek, is: Waarheen? Op watter pad gaan ek nou help om my volk te stuur? Waar sou ek graag sien dat my kinders en my nageslag uiteindelik sal beland? Kies dan nie vir uself alleen nie. Trek u kruisie ook vir hulle!

## EKONOMIESE WELVAART

Ons begryp almal wat ekonomiese welvaart of die teenoorgestelde vir 'n volk beteken, en hoever die regering van 'n land daarvoor verantwoordelik gehou kan word. By die komende verkiesing sal dit ook wel sy rol gaan speel, en dit moet. Maar in alle beskeidenheid wil ek tog aan die hand gee dat in vergelyking met ander groter en dieper ingrypende sake wat die toekoms van Suid-Afrika raak, en waar selfs ons volk se eie voortbestaan op die spel is, dit hierdie keer minder beklemtoning nodig het.

Die Nasionale Party-regering het immers in hierdie opsig geen verdediging nodig nie.

Die feite spreek vir hulself. Daar was, dis waar, wel 'n aansienlike styging in die lewenskoste, maar dit was ook die geval onder die vorige regering, en so sou dit ook gewees het onder

enige ander wat hom sou opgevoig het. Die feit is dat ons hier te doen het met 'n wêreldverskynsel, veroorsaak deur die verwoestings van twee wêreldoorloë, met die voortgaande verdedigingsuitgawes op vroeër ongekenbare skaal, gepaard met groot artikelskaarstes en met swaarder belastinge.

Ten spyte daarvan is die lewensduurte-styging in Suid-Afrika een van die laagste in die wêreld en beleef ons land in die algemeen 'n ekonomiese welvaart wat in die omstandighede beslis verrassend is en vind daar op industriële gebied 'n vroeër ongeëwenaarde uitbreiding plaas, wat op onmiskenbare wyse getuig van die vertroue in ons toekoms by die buitelandse sowel as by die binnelandse geldbelegger, en dit nogal ten spyte van opsetlike pogings hier en daarbuite om vir politieke doeleindes vyandskap teen Suid-Afrika op te wek en om ons land se krediet te benadeel.

### POSISIE IS KERNGESOND

Van Regeringsweë is ondernemings aan die gang gesit soos fosfaatontginning, die verkryging van olie uit steenkool, en die produksie van uraan, wat op sigself al die grondslae gelê het van 'n bykans onbeperkte toekomstige ontwikkeling op ekonomiese gebied. Dit en meer ander sulke feite spreek vir hulself.

By dit alles is die finansiële posisie van ons land onder die Nasionale Party-regering kerngesond gemaak en gehou, en 's werkverskaffing vir alle klasse van die bevolking geweldig uitgebrei. En wat meer is, die aanpassing van salarisse en lone aan die onvermydelike lewenskostestyging in die algemeen was sodanig dat gedurende die hele tydperk sedert die bewindsaanvaarding van die teenswoordige regering daar 'n industriële vrede geheers het, wat nie alleen 'n rekord vir Suid-Afrika was nie, maar wat in vergelyking met die toestande in baie ander lande beslis merkwaardig was.

### WILDE BELOFTES

Dis in die lig van hierdie feite dat die Opposisie se aanklagte

oor die sogenaamde wanbestuur van die Nasionale Party-regering en oor leë mage beoordeel moet word. En so ook sy lang en aangroeiende reeks van wilde eleksie-beloftes wat nou al oor die veertig tel, en wat, indien uitgevoer, die skatkis jaarliks baie miljoene sal kos, die belastingdruk ondraaglik sal vermeerder, en die lewensduurte noodwendig nog verder, en vinnig ook, in die hoogte sal ja.

Vir my is daar geen tasbaarder bewys dat die Opposisie in werklikheid aan sy eie kanse om die eleksie te wen, wanhoop as juis hierdie onverantwoordelike beloftemakery nie. Vir die man wat ewe bereid is om sy tjek vir 'n miljoen pond in te vul as vir tien, moet jy oppas. Hy het geen krediet nie, en hy weet dit.

## DIE KLEUR-VRAAGSTUK

Die grootste en dringendste saak waarvoor die eleksie sal en moet gaan, is onteenseglik die kleurvraagstuk. 'n Stadium is nou bereik waarin Suid-Afrika gedwing word om, wat dit betref, opnuut koers te vat. En dit moet 'n vaste koers wees, deur die volk self so beslis en ondubbelsinnig bepaal, dat daarop nie weer teruggegaan sal word nie.

Koersloosheid is nou fataal. En daar is maar net twee koerse waartussen daar gekies kan word wat ons vroeër of later by slegs een van hierdie twee eindpunte moet laat beland: gelykstelling, d.w.s. die verwydering van alle kleurdiskriminasie, of apartheid, wat aan beide kante van die kleurgrens eie vrye ontwikkeling wil toelaat en aanmoedig ooreenkomstig vatbaarheid en beskawingspeil.

Dis geen parallelle nie, maar wel teenoormekaarstaande rigtings, die een gekies deur die Nasionals en die ander deur die Liberalis. Daartussen is daar geen middelpaadjie moontlik soos deur die Opposisie-leier bepleit word nie. Behalwe dat dit nêrens heen lei nie, laat dit die vraagstuk onopgelos en saai dit as sodanig die saad vir voortgesette

stryd — 'n staande uitnodiging vir die agitator en die onrusstoker.

### BYKANS TE LAAT

Suid-Afrika het te lank vertoef in die doolhof van onsekerheid en besluiteloosheid. En intussen het die probleem hand oor hand in omvang en ernstigheid toegeneem, sodat dit vir 'n oplossing bykans te laat geword het. Dis nou ook beslis ons laaste kans. Die magte teen ons het aangegroei. Die Kommunis was onophoudelik en meestal ondergronds besig met sy onrusstokende aktiwiteite sowel binnekant ons eie grense as dwarsdeur die hele Afrika.

In verband hiermee het polisierapporte beide die vorige en die teenswoordige regering ernstig gewaarsku. Die ongelukkige en onrealistiese Gold Coast-beleid van die vorige Britse regering het begryplikers wys ook sy weerklink gehad dwarsdeur die hele Afrikaanse vasteland tot selfs in Njassaland en die twee Rhodesië, en ongetwyfeld het dit ook sy invloed gehad in ons eie Suid-Afrika.

Die bemoelsike en aggressiewe V.V.O., wat bedoel was om die wêreldvrede te help bewaar, het deur die skepping van 'n sogenaamde wêreldopinie kragtig meegewerk om onrus en selfs opstand onder die meer primitiewe rasse op te wek. En in ons eie land het die liberalistiese elemente al luidruchtiger verkondig dat kleurdiskriminasie in enige vorm niks minder beteken as onmenslike onderdrukking nie.

Begryplikers wys het dit by die nie-blankes in die algemeen nie op dowe ore geval nie. Die verskerdheid is by hulle gewek dat selfs in hul buitensporigste eise hulle die steun geniet van die hele wêreld, en in Suid-Afrika self ook van alle blankes wat tot die Opposisie-partye behoort, en wat apartheid beveg.

### WRANGE VRUGTE

Die wrange vrugte van dit alles het dan ook nie uitgebly nie. Die eis dat die witman uit Afrika moet padgee, het toegeneem. Bloedige tonele het daarop gevolg in Kenia, en in ons eie land georganiseerde versetbewegings oorgaande op sommige plekke tot moord en doodslag gepaard met die gruwelikste en mees barbaarse wredehede.

Die Opposisie skryf dit alles toe aan verslegtende rasseverhoudings waarvoor die Regering en sy apartheidsbeleid dan die skuld sou dra. Gerieflik sluit hulle dan hul oë daarvoor dat reeds in die tyd van die vorige regering met sy anti-apartheidsbeleid dieselfde eise gestel was as nou, dat die Verteenwoordigende Naturelleraad, deur die wet daargestel vir die doel van konsultasie en samewerking, konstant geweer het om te fungeer, tensy, volgens sy notule, alle kleurslagbome verwyder

word, en dit wel gou ook, voordat die blankes mag ondervind dat hulle daartoe geforseer word.

Hulle vergeet ook dat genl. Smuts self ter oorsake van sy beweerde rassediskriminasiebeleid by die V.V.O. heftig aangeval was, alleen moes staan teen 'n verenigde en vyandige front, en dat, ten spyte van sy verdienste aan die Organisasie, hy voor die hele wêreld verneder geword is.

## BASIESE FEITE

In die stryd oor apartheid is daar sekere basiese feite wat nie uit die oog verloor mag word nie.

Die eerste is dat die blankes minstens eweveel reg op Suid-Afrika het as die nie-blankes. Albei het van buite gekom en ongeveer op dieselfde tyd. 'n Baie groot deel van Suid-Afrika was selfs nooit natuurelgebied nie. En buitendien het die blankes die natuurel weerhou van mekaar uit te roei soos hulle toe alreeds vir 'n groot deel gedoen het.

Die tweede is dat die dieper indringende blankes hul grond verkry het, nie deur geweld nie, en veel minder nog deur 'n uitroeiingsproses soos onder dergelike omstandighede in sommige ander lande geskied het. Hulle het dit verkry deur hulle te vestig op wat feitlik ongeokkuperde gebied was of deur onderhandeling. Ten spyte van ons belastersaars het ons bewys dat ons 'n Christelike volk is.

Die derde is dat die grond wat nog altyd aan die natuurel as hul oorspronklike woongebied behoort, tesame met wat later op staatskoste van blankes gekoop en daarby gevoeg is, in die Unie en Suidwes-Afrika 'n gebied beslaan van ongeveer 400.000 vierkant myl, d.w.s. 'n gebied twee maal so groot as Frankryk en sewe maal so groot as Engeland.

### ALLERTESTE GROND

Daarby is inbegrepe van die allerbeste nedersettingsgebied van ons land. In hierdie gereserveerde gebied is die natuurel beskerm daardeur dat die blankes met hul meerdere kennis en kapitaalkrag geen grond mag koop nie en hulle selfs daar vir kortere of langere tyd nie mag vestig sonder spesiale verlof nie.

In verband met die selfregerende instellings wat in ooreenstemming met die apartheidsbeleid daar ontwikkel word, het die aldaar gevestigde blankes vanselfsprekend ook nie die stemreg nie.

En die vierde is dat die blankes, anders as dit die geval is in baie ander lande van die wêreld waar blankes en nie-blankes gesamentlik woon, hier in Suid-Afrika vir goed gevestig is. Wat meer is, hulle het hier hul eie Suid-Afrikaanse nasieskap opgebou. Daarby het hulle ongehou om blote setlaars met 'n setlaarsmentaliteit te wees. Hul is nou 'n eie volk met 'n eie en

enige vaderland. As dit hulle hier teëzaan, kan hul nêrens anders heen vlug nie. Hulle moet as blanke ras hier lewe en as sodanig hulself handhaaf, kos wat dit wil, of anders moet hul hier sterf, met oëer of met eer. Hul verkies die laaste.

Apartheid sowel in begrip as toepassing is geen spesifiek Suid-Afrikaanse produk nie, en veel minder nog 'n maaksel van die Nasionale Party vir party-politieke doeleindes.

Europa self, die bakermat van die Christelike beskawing, is daarvan die sprekendste voorbeeld. Op die kaart lyk dit na 'n lappieskombers met ongeveer vyf-en-twintig afdelings, elkeen verteenwoordigende 'n eie nasieskap, meestal ook 'n eie ras met 'n eie taal en 'n eie kultuur.

Iedereen van hulle leef homself uit en geniet sy eie vryheid en regte binnekant sy eie gebied en binne grense aan alle kante. Buitenkant is sy burgers vreemdelinge sonder regte en word hulle as sodanig behandel. En wie durf beweer dat Europa daar beter aan toe en gelukkiger sou gewees het as die natuurel verskille geignoreer was as alle grense opgehef was en as al sy inwoners sonder onderskeid saamgehoek was in een en dieselfde gebied?

### NATUURLIK EN REG

Apartheid word aanvaar deur Europa self en deur die hele wêreld as natuurel, vanselfsprekend en reg. En nou vra ons tereg, waarom moet dit dan in Suid-Afrika as 'n doodsonde beskou en veroordeel word en wel in 'n gebied byna net so groot as Europa en insluitende rasse verskillend van mekaar in kleur, in lewenswyse, in taal en veral ook in beskawing?

Ten spyte van die al te uitgesproke biskoplike wysheid en gesag is die Nasionale Party se apartheidsbeleid nie on-Christelik nie. Dis waar, elke Christen sal wel geredelik die stelling aanvaar dat alle mense gelyk is voor God en daarom as menslike wesens met menslike regte beskou en behandel behoort te word. Maar afgesien daarvan dat dit moeilik is om te sien hoe dit op gelyke stemreg toegepas kan word, kan die saak stellig nie daar eindig nie.

Apartheid is gegrond ook nog op 'n ander Goddelike skeppingsdaad wat hulle blykbaar heeltemal verontagsaam, naamlik op natuurel verskille tussen ras en ras, kleur en kleur, omvattende meestal ook verskille in nasieskappe, tale en kultuur. En miskenning van hierdie laaste feit is meestal ewe noodlottig as die eerste. Dit veroorsaak gewoonlik wrywing waar apartheid vriendskap en samewerking werkstellig. En dit beteken dikwels ook die onderdrukking van die eie ontluikende vermoëns en kragte van die meer agterlike seksie, waardeur hulle onder die dekmantel van gelykheid in werk-

likheid veronreg word. Die biskoplike beskouing is eensydig, onrealisties en doen die in die natuur beliggaamde goddelike skeppingsplan onreg aan.

Apartheid, soos dit uit alles blyk, is geen onderdrukkingsbeleid nie, nóg in beginsel, nóg in sy geskiedkundige verloop, nóg in sy bestaande of voorgestelde toepassing. Inteendeel, soos 'n draadheining tussen naburige boereplase dui dit wel skeiding aan sonder noodwendig gewettigde en wenslike kontakte na beide kante toe af te sluit, en lê dit wel beperkinge op altwee kante as teenoor mekaar, maar tegelyk dien dit ook as 'n doeltreffende beskerming teen inbreuk op mekaar se regte, en is dit tensens ook die beste waarborg vir vriendskap en wederkerige hulpvaardigheid.

Die praktiese ondervinding op kerklike en opvoedkundige gebied bevestig dit oorvloediglik.

In Suid-Afrika is die natuurlike net so seker van hul toegewese gebied as enige aparte volk in Europa. En wat hulpverlening betref, staan die blankes in Suid-Afrika vir bokant enige ander volk in die wêreld. Vir onderwys, gesondheids- en ander sosiale dienste bestee hulle aan die natuurlike sewe maal soveel per kop as selfs die magtige en liberalistiese Engeland aan die natuurlike in sy Afrikaanse gebiede, sy protektorate en die Rhodesië inbegrepe.

#### OPDRAG GEKRY

Dit is in algemene trekke die kleurbeleid van die Nasionale Party. Daarvoor het hy by die laaste algemene Volksraads- en Provinsiale Raadsverkiezings 'n opdrag gekry. Daarvoor vra hy nou weer, veral ook met die oog op nuwe en gevaarlike toestande, 'n hernude opdrag. Daarby is hy bereid om te staan of te val.

## GEEN KLEURBELEID

Die Opposisie wat nou alle kragte inspan om die Regering met sy apartheidsbeleid te laat val, het geen kleurbeleid nie en het genoegsaam bewys dat hul dit nie kan hê nie.

Vir die volk het dit dus 'n keuse geword tussen beleid en beleidloosheid, koers en koersloosheid, die oplossing van Suid-Afrika se grootste en dringendste vraagstuk of die voortsetting van die onmagtelose, onverskillige en gevaarlike laat-maar-loop Sap-beleid.

Tussen die liberalistiese hemel van gelykstelling en die vaste aarde van apartheid hang die Opposisie in die lug soos die spreekwoordelike doodkis van Mohammed. En mag dit by die komende eieksie dan ook werklik gebeur dat ook hulle, maar alleen

veiliger in vaste aarde, begrawe word!

Die soekery na 'n beleid en die rondvallyn aan die kant van die Opposisie het bepaald pateties geword. Op een tyd was hul beleid „afsondering”. Daarna was dit weer die teenoorgestelde, naamlik „integrasie”. En daarna was dit die „middelpaadje”.

Op 'n vroeër tydstip was dit offisiël aangekondig as 'n geleidelike proses wat neerkom op die aanvaarding van Rhodes se leuse van gelyke regte vir alle beskaafdes sonder inagneming van kleurverskille.

Daarna het nou uiteindelik weer gevolg die Groot Bolmakisie, toe drie belangrike Nasionale Party-apartheidswette, wat die Opposisie in die Parlement vir dae lank sowel in beginsel as by die derde lesing bitter beveg het, deur hulle aanvaar is. Dis gedoen sonder om te blik of te bloos, maar altyd nog onder die geïmpulsie: „Weg met apartheid!” Die anti-apartheidsridder in die uniform van sy vyand, die apartheidsregering! Wat 'n skouspel!

#### GENL. HERTZOG SE NAAM

Maar daar is ook nog ander tekens hoedat die Opposisie sukkel om van hulself weg te kom. Hulle is nou skielik vurige Hertzogiete geword en smous met genl. Hertzog se naam sodat selfs aan genl. Smuts se beeld 'n meer beskeie plekkie in die skaduwee toegeken word. Dit gebeur nie-teenstaande die feit dat hulle genl. Hertzog gedurende sy politieke loopbaan vir 23 jaar bitter beveg het, vir lange tyd ook oor sy segregasiebeleid, en terwyl hulle hom uiteindelik selfs uit hul party gesit het.

Selfs min. Havenga word nou ook vir skuiling angsvallig nadergetrek. Al val hulle hom nog altyd woes aan oor sy beweërde ontrou aan genl. Hertzog, gryp hulle nou angsvallig na 'n onskuldige woord wat hy in Londen laat val het en wat hulle skynbaar nuwe moed gegee het. Hy het naamlik verklaar dat die woord „apartheid” maar dieselfde is as die ou bekende woord „segregasie”. Dit het die Opposisie-leier beweeg, om tot ontsteltenis van sy liberalistiese en Torch Commando- en Arbeidersbondgenote, te verklaar dat hy nou ook apartheid aanvaar, maar dit moet dan kwansuis die Havenga-apartheid wees!

Kyk, dit word nou eens te bespotlik! Dis duidelik dat die Opposisie kl'phard besig is om van hulself te probeer wegkom. En die man wat van homself wil wegkom, is of diep ongelukkig en met homself opgeskep, of hy is voortvlugtig, of albei. Die eleksiedag lê voor. Daaraan hoef die Opposisie seker nie herinner te word nie. En 15 April kom vinnig nader.

Soms lyk die nuwere verklaarings van die Opposisie beslis na 'n sterfbed-bekering. Ek glo stellig dat so iets werklik eg kan

wees. Maar 'n mens sou liever eers die bevestiging daarvan wou sien as die doodsgevaar verby is. Vir die behoud van die nuutgevonde goeie reputasie van die bekeerling is dit daarom veiliger dat hy liever sterf as dat hy bly lewe. In die geval van die bekeerde Opposisie is dit ook veiliger dat hy sterf. Die beste plek in die arms van die Nasionale Party.

## DIE WOORD APARTHEID

Oor die woord „apartheid” het daar, ook in goedgesinde kringe, 'n onnodige gehaspeel ontstaan, wat onder andere dan ook die Opposisie-leier die opening verskaf het om die apartheidsbeleid te bestempel as iets nuuts en vreemds en 'n maaksel van die bese Nasionale, bloot vir hul eie party-politieke doeleindes.

Ek was vir die laaste 34 jaar onafgebrake lid van die Parlement, meestal in 'n min of meer leidende posisie, en ek behoort daarom te weet hoe die naam „apartheid” ontstaan het, en waarom.

Die felt is dat daar tussen „segregasie” en „apartheid” hoegenaamd geen verskil in betekenisse bestaan nie. „Segregasie” was oorspronklik die algemeen gebruikte benaming en genl. Hertzog was die groot kampvegter daarvan. Genl. Smuts was wel geen geesdriftige segregasievoorstander nie, maar oorspronklik het hy hom ook nie daarteen verset nie.

Langsamerhand het daar egter by genl. Smuts 'n verandering gekom, totdat hy, gesteun deur sy toenmalige sekretaris van natuurellesake, D. L. Smit, later L.V. vir Oos-Londen-Stad, in 'n toespraak openlik verklaar het dat segregasie onuitvoerbaar was.

En toe die Nasionale Party-opposisie daarna op 'n getrouer toepassing van die segregasiebeleid aandring, het hy beswaar teen die woord gemaak omdat segregasie dan „afhokking” sou beteken. Dis toe dat, om misverstand te voorkom, die Nasionale die behoefte begin voel het aan 'n benaming wat daardie implikasie nie sou hê nie. Sonder om na een te soek het die woord „apartheid”, wat selfs gelykheid kan beteken, maar ieder op sy eie terrein, as vanselfsprekend in omloop gekom.

#### 1938-VOORSTEL

Dit blyk baie duidelik uit die bewoording van 'n voorstel van myself as Opposisie-leier in die Volksaad gemaak in 1938, dus tien jaar vóór die apartheids-eieksie van 1948. Dit het geëis — en dis die letterlike woorde — „dat die segregasiebeleid konsekwent deurgevoer moet word.” onder andere deur (a) „aparte woonbuurtes”, (b) „aparte werkerterreine”, (c) „maatreëls teen gemengde huwelike” en (d)

„aparte” verteenwoordiging in die wetgewende liggame vir die stemgeregtigde Kleurlinge”.

Die gebruik hier van die woorde „segregasie” en „apart” in verband met een en dieselfde saak toon aan dat daar in wese geen verskil ooit tussen die twee bestaan het nie, en dat die vervanging van „segregasie” onder die genoemde omstandighede deur „apartheid” bloot natuurlik en vanselfsprekend was.

Ek hoop daarom dat die gaspel oor die naam nou sal ophou en dat die Opposisie-leier nou ook self sal insien dat waar hy onder min. Havenga se mantel wil inkruip en wel op grond van die beweerde verskil tussen die twee name, hy die bal heeltemal mislaan.

## DIE VOLKS-KONFERENSIE-VOORSTEL

Die nuutste poging van die Opposisie om in hul beleidsloosheid van hulself weg te kom, is die voorstel om, let wel, na die eleksie en as die volk hulle met die bewind wil vertrou, die oplossing van die kleurvraagstuk te verkry deur middel van ’n volkskonferensie bevattende alle moontlike volkselemente en verteenwoordigende alle moontlike standpunte.

Die eenparigheid wat blykbaar verwag word daaruit te voorskyn te kom, sal dan gaan na die nuwe Eerste Minister, adv. Strauss, in Grootte Schuur, wat dan onder voorbehoud dat die bestaande Kleurlingstemreg in ieder geval onveranderd moet bly, vir my as die nuwe Opposisie-leier tot sy raad sal roep. En dit ten spyte van my, deur hom so wyd geadverteerde en vurig verwelkomde ouderdom. Waarlik, hy gee my moed vir die lewe. So sal di groot kwellende kleurvraagstuk dan uiteindelik tot algemene satisfaksie sy finale oplossing bereik.

Dit alles lyk so mooi en so eenvoudig. Maar ongelukkig klink dit vir iedereen wat enige praktiese ondervinding van sulke sake het, tog ook so kinderlik. Begryp, vóór 1936 het dit vir die twee partye, gelei deur genl. Hertzog en genl. Smuts onderskeidelik, en bygestaan deur die beste parlementêre vernuf, sewe jaar geneem om maar enigsins tot ’n vergelyk met mekaar te kom. En selfs dit was maar enigsins.

Vir die Nasionaliste weer wat in verskillende politieke groepe verdeeld was, maar wat tog deur innerlike oortuiging by mekaar tuisgehoort het, het dit jare geneem om ook uiterlik een te word. Dit is daar, maar dit het geduld gekos.

## UNITED FRONT

En vir die United Front self onder adv. Strauss se eie leiding, het eenparigheid oor die kleurvraagstuk, selfs onder die druk van die komende eleksie, ’n bewese onmoontlikheid gebluk te wees. Die semi-apartheidsmanne daarin, die toenemende swerm van openlike liberaliste, die Torch Commando en die Arbeidersparty staan vandag op hierdie kwessie verder van mekaar af as ooit tevore.

En gaan die Volkskonferensie, so mag ons wel vra, wat adv. Strauss nou as lokaas aan die kiesers voorhou, nou daardie eenheid tussen die Noordpool en die Suidpool, die Ooste en die Weste, so sító, sító bereik? Nee, dis waarlik te dierbaar om te glo. Dit sal inderdaad ’n indrukwekkende Babelse samekoms wees. Maar ongelukkig het daar uit Babel nog nooit iets anders te voorskyn gekom nie as spraakverwarring en groter twis en verdeeldheid.

Nee, adv. Strauss kan nie so gerieflik sy verantwoordelijkheid op ’n onmoontlike Volkskonferensie afskuiwe nie. Toe sy party tot vier maal toe ons aanbod vir ’n gesamentlike oplossing van die hand gewys het, het ons met ons apartheidsbeleid by die eersvolgende eleksie ons man gestaan. Hy moet nou ook so sy man staan. En laat die volk beslis!

Die kleurkwessie is verreweg die grootste en ernstigste van al ons land se vraagstukke. Dis daarom reg dat dit by die komende eleksie alle ander sal oorskadu. En dis daarom ook dat ek dit hier so uitvoerig behandel het. Daar is ander wat beslis ook uitstaande en lewensbelangrik is, en in verband waarmee die volk moet kies tussen party en party, maar wat minder verduldlikking nodig het.

## KOMMUNISME

Die eerste is die Kommunistiese gevaar. Ek noem dit ’n gevaar, en ’n baie ernstige ook, omdat sy ondergrondse aktiwiteite wat al jare lank aan die gang is, sy wrange vrugte nou al duideliker ook bo-gronds begin te vertoon, veral waar dit so nou saamhang met Suid-Afrika se kleurprobleem waaromtrent die kommuniste en die liberalis dieselfde standpunt met mekaar deel, en die liberalis derhalwe byna vanselfsprekend deur die kommuniste tot sy medereisiger (fellow traveller) gemaak word. ’n Prentjie van die Opposisiebanke en ’n studie van Hansard is genoeg om dit te bewys.

Die gevaar is so dodelik dat die hele anti-Kommunistiese wêreld niteenstaande die uitputting van twee wêreldoorloë hom vandag tot die tande toe wapen en miljoene der miljoene spandeer om dit af te weer, en ook Suid-Afrika doen in verband daarmee sy plig.

Sy ware aard bly in anti-Kommunistiese lande vrywel verborge omdat hy daar alleen die blink kant voorhou. Maar lig die ystergordyn so effens op, beskou die Kommunisme in aksie n sy eie geboorteland en in sy onderworpe satelliet-lande, en wat sien jy dan?

Die vernietiging van alle vryheid en die slawerny van die mens na die gees en vir ’n groot deel ook na die liggaam. Dertig miljoen in slawekampe, en hoeveel onder die aarde! En hoeveel is uit Rusland verdryf, of het daaruit gevlug! Jy sien ook die ondermyning van die fundamente van ons Wes-Europese Christelike beskawing deur openlike vyandskap teen die godsdienst in enige vorm of gedaante, en voortspruitende daaruit die verdierliking van die mens.

## „BYBEL IS VALS”

In Suid-Afrika word dit om begryplike redes nog bedektelik gedoen, maar langsaamhand begin sy ware gedaante ook hier te voorskyn te kom. Ek gee as voorbeeld hierdie paar sinsnedes uit ’n brief van ’n persoon met ’n goeie Afrikaner-naam maar volgens eie erkenning met „Kommunistiese kringe geassosieer”: „Die Bybel is vals... geskrywe deur bygelowige en aanmatigende profete”, „dis ’n versameling van leuens en onwaarhede”, „die mens is ’n produk of skepsel van sy omgewing net soos enige ander diër of plant”, „daar is geen grondslag vir geloof in God nie”, „daar is geen Skepper of Gees-God nie”. Verdierliking is hier die regte woord. En dan word ons Nasionaliste deur die Kommuniste en hul „fellow-travellers” beskuldig van onderdrukkers en vyande van die vryheid te wees! Wat ’n vermetelheid en wat ’n openbare huigelry daarby!

In die meeste lande van die wêreld word streng maatreëls geneem om hul bevolkings teen die kommuniste te beskerm. Die Verenigde State van Amerika het selfs sover gegaan om ten spyte van proteste ’n aansienlike getal van hulle uit te haal uit die vaste personeel van die V.V.O. by Lake Success. Amerika wil hulle op sy eie bedom nie hê nie.

In Suid-Afrika, met sy groot nie-blanke en grotendeels primitiewe bevolking, waar die kommuniste oneindig meer kwaad kan doen, het die Nasionale Party in 1948 ’n opdrag van die volk gevra en ontvang om die Kommunistiese aktiwiteite met alle mag te bestry.

Sy wetgewing het hy dan ook gedurig en in toepassing gebring. Hy kom nou egter voor die regbank van die volk kla dat hy van die Opposisie-partye geen hulp gekry het nie. Intendeel, hulle het ons gedwarsboom so ver as hulle kon.



Eers het hul voorgegee dat Kommunisme in Suid-Afrika nie bestaan nie of in ieder geval geen gevaar is nie. Dis maar net 'n bangmaakstorie van die Nasionaliste. Daarna het hul oorgegaan tot dade. Die anti-Kommunistiese wet het hul beveg tot die uiterste toe, onder voorwendsel dat dit die vryheid van die individu in gevaar stel. Oor die beskerming van ons land, ons volk en ons kinders teen die „pestilensie wat in die donkerheid wandel” was hul minder bekommerd.

Daarna het hulle die Kommunistiese leiers soos Kahn, Carneson en Sachs, openlik onder hul beskerming geneem. By implikasie beteken dit natuurlik dat daar teen geen enkele kommunistiese stappe gedoen behoort te word omdat hy 'n Kommunist is, hoe bedrywig hy in sy propaganda ook al mag wees nie.

En uiteindelik is die kroon op dit alles gesit toe 'n belangrike deel van die United Front, naamlik die Arbeidersparty, Suid-Afrika gaan aankla het by die Oposisieparty in Engeland en hulle om hul hulp en inmenging gaan vra het, wat dan ook verkry is. Hierdie onvaderlandse daad is deur die ander seksies van die United Front sonder afkeuring of protes aanskou. Daardie United Front, het hulle 'n vaderland wat hulle trots op is en wat hulle wil beskerm, en indien wel, is dit Suid-Afrika?

In sulke omstandighede, watter hoop is daar dat die Oposisie, met sy bonte samestelling en sy lamelendige houding van die verlede, die Kommunistiese gevaar met kragtige hand sal aandurf? Staande voor sy regbank vra ons die volk nou om te oordeel, en lê ons die brandstigting en moordtonele van Port Elizabeth en Oos-Londen voor as getuies. Laat die volk op 15 April by die stembus sy uitspraak gee — on-dubbel-sinnig en beslis.

## DIE APPELHOF- UITSPRAAK

Die derde groot saak waaroor die volk by die elekse moet besluis, is dié van die parlementêre en die volks-soewereiniteit. Ek noem die twee in een asem omdat die Parlement deur die volk gekies word, aan die volk by elke nuwe elekse weer verantwoording moet doen, en daarom die volk verteenwoordig. As die Parlement nie soewerein is nie, is die volk as sy oppergesag ook nie soewerein nie. En as die volk nie soewerein is op elke tyd-stip van sy bestaan nie, is hy ook nie vry nie.

Die twee bekende Appèlhof-uitsprake het daarop neergekom dat parlementêre wette, selfs ook as die volk by wyse van 'n algemene elekse opdrag daartoe gegee het, nog altyd

onderhewig is aan die toetsingsreg van die howe.

Die kwessie het ontstaan na aanleiding van die deur die Appèlhof ongeldig verklaarde wet op die aparte verteenwoordiging van die Kleurlinge.

### ONWAAR

Ten einde 'n juiste begrip van die hele saak te verseker, is dit nodig om die nadruk te lê op die woord „aparte”. Dis nodig omdat deur die Oposisie-sprekers en hul koerante en ook in die buiteland gedurig die indruk gewek word asof dit beoog word om die Kleurlinge van hul stemreg te beroof. Dis onwaar!

Die werklikheid is dat geen enkele Kleurling sy stemreg ontnem word nie, en dat as teenoor die blankes daar ook in geen enkel opsig 'n vermindering van hul regte voorgestel word nie. Dis alleen 'n kwessie van 'n verandering in die wyse waarop hul stemme uitgebring sal word, 'n wyse waardeur hulle ongetwyfeld 'n veel beter verteenwoordiging in die Parlement sal kry as wat tans die geval is. Daarby kom nog ander groot voordele, administratief van aard, waarop ek nie hier hoef in te gaan nie.

In verband met hierdie saak is dit ook baie duidelik dat die vertoning van diepe verontwaardiging en ontsteltenis aan die kant van die Oposisie in werklikheid maar bitter min te doen het met besorgdheid oor die Konstitusie of met 'n beweërde verbreking van 'n plegtige kontrak met die Kleurlinge aangegaan by Unie, wat tussen hakies gesê, in ieder geval die Abdurahman-deputasie nie verhoor het om na Londen te gaan en 'n laaste poging daar aan te wend om die passeer van die Suid-Afrika-wet deur die Britse parlement te laat verongeluk nie.

### GEE DEURSLAG

Dit het selfs ook nie met die beginsel van apartheid te doen nie, omdat, soos welbekend is, die Kleurlinge onder die sterkste voorstanders van apartheid getel moet word, alans sover dit die verhoudings op allerlei gebied tussen hulle en die naturelle betref. En allermins nog het dit te doen met 'n werklike besorgdheid oor die belange van die Kleurlinge self, wat wel groot-skaals gebruik was om in heel-wat kiesafdelings die deurslag ten behoeve van die Oposisie se party te gee, maar wat daarna so goed as totaal deur hulle ver-geet geword is.

In werklikheid spruit al daardie bohaai voort uit pure party-politieke oorwegings. Vandaar die luidrugi en taale stryd teen aparte verteenwoordiging. En vandaar ook die vurige ingemenheid met en bewondering vir die Appèlhof, wat nog nooit tevore in sy bestan so 'n louerkran van verheerliking op die

hoof gekry het nie. Die Verenigde Party-leu laat nie sy buit, te wete die stemgeregtigde Kleurling, so maklik los, veral as hy honger het nie!

Op die wetlike aspekte van die saak gaan ek nie in nie. Dis al genoegsaam uitgepluis en van beide kante goed beredeneer en gestel. Onder andere is dit ook die geval in verband met die Parlementêre Hoë Hof se uitspraak wat, volgens gesaghebbende regsgeleerde opinie, wat inhoud en gegrondheid betref, seker nie by dié van die Appèlhof hoef agter te staan nie.

Ek wil my net bepaal by die aard van die Appèlhof se uitspraak, en die implikasies en gevolge daarvan.

Dat die Appèlhof se uitspraak reg is, kan ons, om mee te begin, nie maar so voetstoots aanneem nie. Alle mense is felbaar. En selfs ook Appèlregters is mense. Deur niemand is dit ooit sterker belyktoon as deur die huidige Appèlregters self nie, toe hulle die eenparige uitspraak van 15 jaar gelede van hul eie hof as ongegrond opsy geskuif het nie.

### TOETSINGSREG

En dit was nie 'n uitspraak van somaar sulke derderangse Appèlregters nie. Behalwe die voorsittende hoofregter het die ander drie bestaan uit twee wat later ook hoofregters geword het, terwyl die ander een 'n bekende en briljante provinsiale hoofregter was. Dis hie 'n geval waar, iet wel, dieselfde hof eers die toetsingsreg aan die howe ontsê het en daarmee die soewereiniteit van die parlement volmondig erken het, en wat daarna in stryd met homself daardie toetsingsreg vir homself weer toegeëien het.

Dit word dikwels skertsend, en ek wil graag aanneem ten onregte gesê „that it is a woman's prerogative to change her mind”. Maar van die Appèlhof verneem ons nou dat hy daardie reg vir homself voorbehou. Waar, so mag ons daarom nou vra, moet ons nou finaliteit oor so 'n lewensbelangrike saak gaan soek? As ek self op hierdie vraag mag antwoord, dan sê ek by die volk — die volk wat ten slotte onder ons demokratiese regeringstele die oppergesag besit oor sy eie sake en wat as sodanig en onder sulke omstandighede die hoogste hof van appell is.

Na hierdie hof appelleer ons nou, en daar gaan ons magtiging vra om in ooreenstemming met die Appèlhof se eie eerste en eenparige uitspraak, naamlik dié van 1937, die soewereiniteit van die Parlement en daarmee ook van die volk bokant alle twyfel te verhef.

Hoe dit presies moet gedoen word — en allerlei moontlikhede word daar reeds genoem — is op die oomblik nie die hoofsaak nie, en om nou daarop te konsentreer,

is ook onwenslik omdat dit die Opposisie slegs die geleentheid verskaf, wat hulle soek, om verwarring te skep deur verskillende menings teenoor mekaar af te speel en om daarmee dan self te probeer weggom. Wat nou egter bowe al besef moet word, is die ernstige implikasies van die Appèlhof se uitspraak, en die noodsaaklikheid om die daaruit voorspruitende chaos te voorkom.

## VOLK SE VRYHEID

Om die Kleurlingstemregwet langs die weg van die verskans-te artikels aangeneem te kry, is natuurlik moontlik as die volk by die verkiesing aan ons daardie vereiste twee-derde-meerderheid gee — en waarom sal hulle nie? Dat daardie weg dan deur ons gevolg sal word, is vanselfsprekend omdat dit almal sal bevredig en baie onnodige getwis sal vermy. Maar ongelukkig bly die kern van die probleem, naamlik die soewereiniteitkwessie, dan nog onaangeta, en na alles wat ons ondervind het, mag dit nie. Ons volk se vryheid is daarmee gemoed.

Wat egter nog baie ernstiger is, is sekere ander moontlikhede en selfs waarskynlikhede, wat ons seker nie sonder ontsteltenis in die gesig mag kyk nie. Die Appèlhof-uitspraak het slapende honde wakker gemaak en dit mag spoedig blyk dat daar om nuwe en uiters verreikende toepassings daarvan gevra sal word.

Twee-en-twintig jaar gelede het die Parlement ook sonder 'n twee - derde - meerderheid twee stemregwette gepasseer wat die Kleurlinge se posisie op daardie gebied baie sterker geaffekteer het as dié wat die Appèlhof nou onwettig verklaar het. Diskriminasie op grond van kleur is daar toe teweeggebring waar dit tevore nie bestaan het nie, en daardeur is die Kleurlinge se stemkrag na verhouding aansienlik verminder.

## VROUESTEMREG

Die een wet het die toe bestaande stemregkwalifikasies vir die blankes verminder maar het dit vir die Kleurlinge onveranderd gelaat. Die ander weer het die stemreg toegeken aan die blanke maar nie aan die Kleurlingvroue nie. Die bekende motief by albei was die versterking van die blanke stemkrag teenoor die toenemende nie-blanke — iets wat nou juridies van belang geword het nadat die Appèlhof in sy uitspraak nou kennis geneem het, nie net van die wet self wat hy moes interpretere nie, maar ook van die motief daaragter.

Dieselfde gevaar dreig ook die Groepsgebiede-wet, wat byna beskou kan word as die kern van ons hele apartheids-

beleid. Ook daar kan heel gemaklik geredeneer word dat as jy iemand verplig om in 'n bepaalde stadsgebied te woon tesame met sy ander rasgenote, jy sy stemreg aantas en wel op grond van sy kleur, omdat jy hom vaspen in 'n bepaalde kiesafdeling.

Dit laat ons besef wat alles nou op die spel staan in Kaapland. Dit mag daarop uitloop dat ons later gedwing mag word om die stemregkwalifikasies vir die blankes weer te verhoog tot dieselfde peil as dié vir die nie-blankes of anders dié van die nie-blankes te verlaag tot dié van die blankes, en verder om die stemreg vir blanke vroue af te skaf of anders dit op dieselfde voorwaardes toe te ken ook aan die Kleurlingvroue.

Daarby mag ons te staan kom voor die ineenstorting van die so lang begeerde woonbuurt-skieding en daarmee ook feitelik van ons hele apartheidsbeleid. Dit moet ons noodwendig in 'n chaos beland soos daar nog nooit tevore in Suid-Afrika beleef is nie.

Dit mag nie gebeur nie. En daarom vra ons magtiging van die volk om dit te voorkom. Dit kan en sal langs konstitusionele weg gedoen word en na die elek-sie is daar tyd voor. En intussen vra ons die volk om ons te vertrou.

Ek sluit nou af met 'n bewering wat, na ek vertrou, nie ongegrond is nie, en met 'n ernstige beroep.

## VOLKSEENHEID KOM VINNIG

Ek glo dat, ten spyte van sommige ontmoedigende verskynsels, volkseenheid, soos dit verstaan moet word, insluitende die groot meerderheid van die twee blanke taalgroepe en ook 'n nie onaansienlike deel van die nie-blanke bevolking, vinnig aan die kom is, en dat een van die vernaamste bydraes daartoe juis die deurvoering van 'n moedige en regverdige apartheidsbeleid sal wees.

Volkseenheid veronderstel nie noodwendig die uit-skakeling van aparte politieke partye nie, maar aan die ander kant veronderstel dit wel 'n breë grondslag van gemeenskaplike oortuigings en standpunte tesame met die uit-skakeling van rassehaat en rasse-antipatie. Kyk ons nou terug, dan sien ons hoe daar reeds ver-geword is op hierdie pad, hoe-wel die proses tot hiertoe langsaam gegaan het en in sommige opsigte nog ver van die vol-tooiing is.

Die heftige stryd oor Suid-Afrika se soewereine onafhank-likheid is reeds 'n saak van die verlede. In die dominasie van die een of ander taal-groep glo niemand meer nie,

behalwe 'n verdwynende getal van verstarde politieke fossiele. Deur die toeneming van twee-taligheid wat goed gepaard gaan en ook behoort te gaan met liefde en waardering vir wat eie is, verstaan en waar-deer ons mekaar altyd beter.

Verder word Suid-Afrika meer algemeen deur beide taalgroepe toegeëien as hul eie en enigste vaderland, as gevolg waarvan ook die ou setlaarsmentaliteit met sy verdeelde trou plek maak vir die saamhorigheidsgevoel wat voort-spruit uit deelgenootskap in een en dieselfde Suid-Afrikaanse nasieskap.

## BUITELANDSE BELEID

Die idee van twee aparte taal-groepe maar één gemeenskap-like Afrikanerskap wen al meer veld. Hierby kom die klaarblyk-like feit dat ons onder die Nasionale Party-bewind groter eenheid verkry het oor buiteland-se beleid en oor die kwessie van oorlog en vrede as wat daar ooit tevore bestaan het. En miskien is die belangrikste en hoopvol-ste teken nog dit dat op die kleurkwessie, met ander woorde op Suid-Afrika se grootste en lewensbelangrikste vraagstuk, Engels- en Afrikaanssprekendes in baie groter mate as ooit tevore met mekaar saamvoel en met mekaar saamstaan.

Daar is dan ook 'n groeiende ongeduld met die gedurige en opsetlike bangmakery van een taalgroep met die ander. Volks-eenheid kom, en dit sal oo' onvermydelik wees, as Engels- en Afrikaanssprekendes gaan stem, soos dit seker in groot mate by die komende elek-sie sal gebeur, nie op rasse-lyne nie, maar ooreenkomstig hul innerlike oor-tuiging.

Laat bymekaar staan wat deur innerlike oortuiging by mekaar tuishoort, onverskillig of hul tot hierdie of daardie taalgroep behoort. Laat dit ons leuse wees! Daarin lê die op-lossing en die effektiewe oplos-sing ook van Suid-Afrika se sogenaamde rassevraagstuk

## STERK REGERING

Die beroep waarmee ek eindig, is dit: Ons lewe in onstuimige en gevaarlike tye. Dis so in die hele wêreld. Dis so ook in ons eie Suid-Afrika. Buitendien word ons in die buiteland misverstaan, belaster en selfs met inmenging in ons eie sake bedreig. As vrye volk mag ons dit nie toelaat nie. In die aangesig van 'n georgani-seerde en vyandige pers is ons beste pogings om die buitewêreld in te lig soos 'n druppel in die emmer.

Ons het twee dinge broodnodig. Die een is 'n sterk regering, en dit kan adv. Strauss met die beste wil ter wêreld en met sy hopeloos verdeelde United Front ons nie lewer nie. Intendeel, as hulle aan die bewind mag kom, sal dit verreweg en onvermydelik die swakste regering wees wat

Suid-Afrika ooit gehad het. Suid-Afrika kan dit nie bekostig nie.

Behalwe dit moet daar aan die wat ons in alle opregtheid misverstaan, aan die wat onmoontlike eise aan ons stel, en veral aan die lasteraars en inmengers, aan Rusland en Indië, aan die V.V.O. en die Britse Arbeidersparty, en nie die minste ook nie,

aan ons eie versetplegers en hul vriende, 'n antwoord gegee word wat ondubbelsinnig en effektief sal wees, en wat sy weerklank dwarsdeur die hele wêreld sal hê.

Dit kan deur geen enkele persoon, hoe gesaghebbend ook, gedoen word nie. Dit kan alleen die volk van Suid-Afrika en wat

op 15 April doen. En hy kan dit doen alleen en aan niemand. Dit is om die Nasionale Party-regering 'n klinkende oorwinning te gee, en om die Opposisie te besorg 'n verpletterende nederlaag.

(Berig deur J. J. van Rooyen, Keeromstraat 30, Kaapstad.)

§ Uitgereik deur P. W. Botha, Keeromstraat 18, Kaapstad, en gedruk deur Nasionale Handelsdrukkery Beperk, Elsievirivier.



# THE UNITED PARTY

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14th November 1952

Strauss 1.

SUMMARY OF SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY THE LEADER  
OF THE OPPOSITION AND OF THE UNITED PARTY, THE  
HON. J.G.M. STRAUSS, AT THE OPENING OF THE  
EIGHTE UNION CONGRESS OF THE UNITED PARTY  
AT THE BLOEMFONTEIN CITY HALL ON TUESDAY,  
NOVEMBER 12, 1952 at 8 P.M.

EMBARGO: NOT REPEAT NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL DELIVERED.

"The people of South Africa had to choose the non-European policy of the United Party, which was based on European leadership and maintenance of the goodwill of the non-Europeans or the fraudulent myth of apartheid - the bogus slogan which has worsened our non-European problem and will, when pushed to further extremes by this government, plunge Southern Africa into bitter disaster," declared the leader of the United Party, Mr. J.G.M. Strauss, when he set out in detail the Party's non-European policy at its Eighth Union Congress in Bloemfontein.

Mr. Strauss said South Africa's entire future depended on taking "this bristling non-European problem out of the political arena".

"I call on the nation direct to endorse that the non-European problem is too big and has become too serious for the government to handle on a party-political basis.

"The Europeans must come together on it. Together we must agree and once again build bridges between ourselves and the peace-loving non-European majority and re-establish consultation with the moderate non-European leaders who are being isolated from their own people and  
from/....

Strauss 1.

**SUMMARY OF SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND OF THE UNITED PARTY, THE HON. J.G.N. STRAUSS, AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTH UNION CONGRESS OF THE UNITED PARTY AT THE BLOEMFONTEIN CITY HALL ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1952 AT 8 P.M.**

**EMBARGO: NOT REPEAT NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL DELIVERY**

"The people of South Africa had to choose the non-European policy of the United party, which was based on European leadership and maintenance of the goodwill of the non-Europeans or the fraudulent myth of apartheid—the bogus slogan which has worsened our non-European problem and will, when pushed to further extremes by this government, plunge Southern Africa into bitter disaster," declared the leader of the United Party, Mr. J.G.N. Strauss, when he set out in detail the Party's non-European policy at its Eighth Union Congress in Bloemfontein.

Mr. Strauss said South Africa's entire future depended on taking "this bristling non-European problem out of the political arena".

"I call on the nation direct to endorse that the non-European problem is too big and has become too serious for the government to handle on a party-political basis.

"The Europeans must come together on it. Together we must agree and once again build bridges between ourselves and the peace-loving non-European majority and re-establish consultation with the moderate non-European leaders who are being isolated from their own people and from us as a result of Dr. Verwoerd's attitude that all Native leaders who differ from him are extremists.

"This is a victory congress. It is a challenge too. A challenge to all of us to give of our utmost for the good of South Africa now the day of reckoning is approaching. It is a challenge to the government to account for the mismanagement of the nation's affairs.

"The test is at hand and the government cannot escape it. That test is the judgment of the people on the grave state of our country caused by the Nationalists and their threats and dangerous plans for the future.

"Their plans will be weighed against the programme of positive policy which the United Party has for South Africa.

"The choice is crystal clear. Let us assure the victory of the United Party for the sake of all South Africans. That is my victory call."

When we say take the non-European problem out of Party-politics, it does not mean that the United Party has no clear plans for the future. Its policy is very clear indeed. It is the traditional middle-of-the-road policy, learnt from the hard facts of experience by our great statesmen, a policy which gave us racial peace, economic co-operation, progress, and separate development through the centuries.

(a) The Hertzog legislation of 1936 provided that the Native Reserves be enlarged and protected as the national home and cultural base of the tribal Bantu. That task remains. The food potential of the Reserves must be raised; transport and power developed; industries allowed to be established, under European control else they will go into alien hands. This programme is necessary to restrict the exodus to the

European areas. The United Party will get capital for it from international sources.

(b) Outside the Reserves, the welfare of South Africa requires the labour of the Native migrant, of the settled farm worker and his family, and of the urbanised natives.

Therefore, as on the farms, so in the towns the United Party stands for the retention of non-European labour, and will avoid race friction by a policy of fairness and tact and by means of the following essentials:

No miscegenation.

Complete social separation, with adequate separate facilities.

Separate and distinct Native residential areas where the Natives will be encouraged to build their own houses and so develop a stable society.

(c) Politically, the United Party stands for maintaining the Hertzog legislation of 1936 and the present political representation of the Bantu in Parliament by 3 elected Members of Parliament and 2 elected Senators, all Europeans. In addition, consultations will be resumed with the moderate Native leaders at the highest level and this will produce machinery to give them a reasonable and effective say in the affairs of their own people.

(d) As regards local government:

In the Reserves, local civic rights will gradually be given to those Natives there who become capable of carrying out the corresponding duties, until a high degree of local self-government is achieved in the Reserves under the authority of Parliament.

In the urban Native locations, the urbanised Natives will, as they learn, be enabled to assume growing responsibility for local government and will be required to contribute more to the cost of services.

**The Coloureds**

The social, political and economic policy of General Hertzog towards the Coloured people remains the policy of the United Party. Namely: To retain their identity, but to treat them as an appendix to the European people. Their loyalty towards the Europeans, whose languages they speak and whose customs they follow, has again been proved by their orderly behaviour during the present period of defiance and unrest. That loyalty should be recognised and fostered. Therefore,

(a) The voting rights of the Cape Coloured males—8% of the total number of voters in the Cape, 3% of the voters in the Union—will be preserved.

(b) Coloured workers will retain their rights to enter skilled occupations and trade unions and will be provided with proper facilities for training so as to make their best contribution to economic growth and prosperity.

(c) The Coloured people will be assured of proper houses and amenities in separate and distinct residential areas from the Europeans and Natives.

(d) The laws against miscegenation will remain with an amendment to avoid hardship in breaking up families.

**The Indians**

(a) All possible steps will be taken by a United Party Government to bring about a Round Table Conference with India and Pakistan, and possibly other Commonwealth Governments, with a view to repatriating the Indians from South Africa.

(b) Pending repatriation, there will be separate Indian residential areas.

(c) The prohibitions on miscegenation and on Indian immigration will be continued and made more effective.

(d) The question of political rights for the Indians is becoming hypothetical because of the attitude of the Indians. By their constant appeals to another State and by their taking a leading part in the passive resistance campaign they are creating a state of public opinion which will make it extremely difficult for any government to afford them political rights.

The Indians in South Africa are becoming their own enemies. They should pause and consider. Above all they should decide whether they want to owe allegiance to the Union of South Africa or to India. I fear that at the moment the impression is inescapable that they prefer India to South Africa.

Communism and resulting lawlessness amongst the Natives and other non-Europeans must be eradicated by all possible legal means. Laws alone will not be enough. In addition:

(a) The assistance will be obtained of the large majority of law-abiding non-Europeans. They need and will be given effective Police protection, and for this a greater number of non-European police will be employed.

(b) The conditions of misery and squalor under which Communism and lawlessness always thrive will be removed. A people properly housed, gainfully employed and living a healthy Christian family life will observe law and order and resist Communism. Therefore:

(a) Residential and social segregation will be achieved not solely by laws and coercion, but by a vigorous programme to give non-Europeans work, facilities for business, and self-built housing in their own areas.

(b) Idleness amongst non-European youths will be eliminated by establishing classes for elementary vocational training—as drivers, gardeners, building assistants—combined with recreation and a certain amount of paid community work on amenities in the Native townships. Attendance will be compulsory for all native youths not in school or at work.

(c) Irritating restrictions upon deserving and respected Natives will be removed.

(d) A commission will examine contentious matters such as controlled freehold rights in the Native locations; methods to change the status of those Native townships; real live communities with shops, businesses, places of recreation which should also contribute to the revenues of the township; remission of the housing levy to employers who provide their own approved Native housing; the possibility of checking denudation in the Reserves by establishing a form of individual tenure in certain parts.

This clearly and in specific terms is the non-European policy of the United Party—the traditional policy of white leadership, of goodwill, of co-operative but separate development. You must prepare yourselves not to have it misrepresented. But you will know that the United Party has a sober and realistic policy

### Riots

Mr. Strauss charged the Nationalist Government with recklessness in their aimless and provocative non-European policy; with having stimulated underground Communism in South Africa; with having failed to stop the defiance campaign; with part responsibility for having provoked the recent outbursts of violence, and with failure to protect Europeans and the large majority of law-abiding non-Europeans.

Cold-bloodedly and deliberately Dr. Malan had chosen to

make the non-European problem a matter of bitter dispute between the White people.

White unity was white security, but co-operation between white and non-white was no less essential for internal peace and prosperity as well as for world peace.

‘The unfortunate fact must, however, be faced that our relations with the non-European people have become dangerous and critical. There is defiance, rioting, arson, murder. No one is safe. South Africa is sitting on the lid of a boiling cauldron. Dr. Malan blames Great Britain for it; he blames our English-language press; Nehru; Russia; everybody; and then he washes his own hands in feigned innocence.

But is he innocent? Cold-bloodedly and deliberately he chose to make our non-European problem a matter of bitter dispute between the white of this country. They were going to fix the non-Europeans. So his Party organisation heaped insult after insult and irritation after irritation on the non-European people. In May this year, he himself indicated in so many words that if the non-Europeans defied the law they could rely on the support of the majority of the white population when he falsely alleged that the lawless elements of the non-Europeans had the support of the United Front and the so-called money power. What grave irresponsibility, what reckless incitement!

The Government cannot escape the blame. A blundering, obstinate Minister of Justice is helpless and incompetent in the face of grave crisis. He exposes small bodies of police to unnecessary danger. He is ignorant of modern methods of mob control. Thousands of pounds of effective equipment lies rusting in the arsenals. The only sensible thing he has said or done since the trouble began was his statement that the only alternative to civil commotion is a new Government.

Unquestionably the non-European problem is most complex. Many influences are at work. Nevertheless, it is dishonest for the Government to blame outside forces for everything that goes wrong and to refuse to do any heart searching itself.

In 1929 Gen. Smuts laid down this tenet of non-European policy:

‘We have settled another axiom, and that is that in all our dealings with the Natives we must build our practice on the granite bedrock of the Christian moral code. Honesty, fairplay, justice and the ordinary Christian virtues must be the basis of all our relations with the Natives.’

Has this Government played the game; has it been fair and honest. It has not and that fact has contributed materially to the worsening of our race relations. We all agree with residential and social segregation but what impression does it leave on the simple native mind when Dr. Verwoerd plans to remove a whole native town, where Natives own their houses and plots, to another place where those rights are denied to the present holders? What is the effect on the non-European mind when the Cabinet brushes aside a solemn pledge to the Cape Coloured people by Gen. Hertzog, and such prominent leaders of the Nationalist Party as the Minister of Justice, that their vote would be assured if they supported the removal of the Native males from the common roll? It is past time that the Government realised the disastrous effects of breaking pledges and defying the fundamental law of the land.

There is an even more serious matter. For some time now, Nationalist leaders have been talking of an independent Ban-

tustan within our Borders, where according to the Secretary for Native Affairs the Natives will have the same authority as in the Gold Coast. No doubt the Gold Coast has set things going in Africa. But while Dr. Malan blames Britain, his own people are talking of a Bantustan here.

Is there any wonder then that extreme demands are being made on us?

Now that some of the fruits of their policies are being visited on the people and other sinister influences are at work, the Nationalists should not blame and bluster. They should do two essential things: properly establish the facts; then stamp out lawlessness.

South Africa cannot be kept going forever as an armed camp; our houses barred, our streets unsafe, our women armed—all evidence of the miserable failure of the Nationalist government.

### Communism

That communism flourished underground in South Africa was the fault and the responsibility of the Nationalist government.

“Extreme demands being made by non-Europeans are being encouraged by Communist agitators.

“The stimulus given to communist activities by the defective Suppression of Communism Act and its inept and unwise administration is a major factor in the current bloodshed.

“We warned the Government at the time. Our warnings are coming true. By their methods they have made martyrs and heroes to many unthinking Native people of prominent Communist leaders.

“They stripped them of office and drove the sinister workings of the Communists underground where their machinations create evil unbeknown to the authorities. The master Communist minds behind the upheavals throughout Africa are thanking this Government for the defects of the Suppression of Communism Act and for the political ineptitude of the Government which administers it.

The United Party’s plan to make subversive Communist activity high treason punishable as such by the Courts would have destroyed Communism in South Africa root and branch.

### Nat. Creed of Division

Mr. Strauss said the United Party rejected the Nationalists’ creed of division that the differences between the two European sections were radical, had become deeper and now could not be bridged.

We say relations between our white people, the Afrikaans and English language groups, can and must be healed not only by the unqualified acceptance of the full equal rights of the Afrikaans and English-speaking sections but also by the inculcation of an over-riding South Africa patriotism. We do not believe in “purified” perverted nationalism. We believe in South Africanism.

Therefore, instead of quibbling about flags and anthems like the Nationalist leaders, we of the United Party strive for and guarantee:

The equal rights of English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in all respects on a permanent and lasting basis.

Their right to joint participation in our government. All practical opportunities for our children to mix, to become bilingual, to be imbued with their own race identity as well as with their common South Africanism. We shall create these opportunities for our children to mix and to meet.

Parents will decide whether they will avail themselves

of these opportunities. Our children will once more belong to their parents. I have enough confidence in the parents to know that they will make the right decision for the benefit of their own children.

Mr. Strauss dealt fully with the United Party’s immigration policy. He sketched the contrast between the State of the South African nation in 1948 and in 1952.

Now look at 1952. What a contrast. South Africa has ceased to be a magnet for people and capital, because the government has made South Africa almost as dangerous as Korea. The Government blames everybody except itself, but look at the proof upon proof of the Nationalist misrule. Look how the Government mismanages the national economy.

Look how the Government disdains the Rule of Law and the pledged word. Look how the Government has broken down good race relations to the point of fear and violence. Look how as a result of all this, mistrust of South Africa has so grown overseas that even our life-long friends stand aghast.

These are frightful and serious charges. I wish from the bottom of my heart, for the sake of our country and our people, that they were not true. But despite the repeated offers of the Opposition to co-operate for the true benefit of our country, the Government was always self-righteous, always arrogant, always utterly obstinate. It pursued its narrow and reckless course and today South Africa is rushing headlong into a major catastrophe.

### Policies Compared

It was necessary for the electorate to judge the United Party plans for the future against Nationalist maladministration and the specious election platform announced by Dr. Malan.

### The United party offers

- (a) European unity for security.
- (b) A positive European policy to strengthen our numbers through European children’s allowances and selective immigration and other measures.
- (c) A non-European policy of firmness, tact and goodwill, for economic co-operation and separate development.
- (d) The restoration of confidence and a flow of capital for the expansion of industry, agriculture, railways.
- (e) A labour charter to safeguard trade unionism and provide retirement pensions, principally for European and Coloured industrial and commercial workers without a means test.
- (f) Higher pay and better pensions for more police, including non-European police.
- (g) More agricultural research, effective soil conservation and advance announcement of producers’ prices for our staple foods.
- (h) An assault on the high cost of living by lowering costs of production and cheaper housing for the lower income groups.
- (i) The planned opening up of well-watered and mineralized platteland areas by providing transport power and encouraging industry.

Mr. Straus said that one of the points on which the Prime Minister Dr. Malan had said the Nationalist Government would fight the election was European unity—“when Dr. Malan himself is the main architect of disunity.”

Another issue chosen by Dr. Malan was that of loyalty to South Africa. Who he asked fought for our liberty in two world wars and who were the great generals of the Boer War.



We all remember Botha, Smuts and Hertzog. But where was Gen. Malan.

Since both parties agreed on the next point chosen by Dr. Malan, the incorporation of the Protectorates, he failed to see how it could be made an election issue.

Then, when the Nationalist Government had "reduced the country to fear, insecurity and bloodshed", the Prime Minister chose the happiness and economic welfare of the nation as his next point.

Dr. Malan claimed the absolute supremacy of Parliament, so that the will of the people could not be frustrated, as another issue. Yet that was common cause—"provided Parliament acts lawfully and not unconstitutionally by claiming for itself the right to appoint a 'High Court of lunatics and street sweepers'."

Next, when it was General Smuts who at the United Nations in 1947 effectively resisted interference and Dr. Dönges who failed so dismally three years later that he ran away, Dr. Malan claimed as another election issue the question of foreign interference in South Africa's domestic affairs.

Finally, on Dr. Malan's own claim, all that was left to the Nationalists was the futile hope that "once again they will climb to power on the backs of the Natives".

In 1929, the Nationalists had used the "Black Peril" cry; in 1938, it was the "half-caste nation of General Hertzog and General Smuts", and in 1948, the bogus slogan of apartheid.

Now there you see the main differences between the United Party and the Nationalist Party. They have a non-European policy. It may be a fraud, but they call it a policy. Let us leave it at that. We have a non-European policy; a sane, sensible, decent and just policy. But we have something more, something which they have not got. We have a European policy. A policy for strengthening our White population with the result that there will be greater security for all races in this country.

The Nationalist Party is so pre-occupied with its race prejudice; its fears and its hatreds that it has no time for a positive European policy. That is another reason why they should be replaced by a United Party government.

The United Party stands for other vital things besides. It believes in South Africa's material resources and in the vigour and creative genius of its people. These assets, and South Africa's wonderful climate, assure it of a great and prosperous future, under wise leadership. Then South Africa is destined to be the workshop for Southern Africa with its growing markets.

### Ensuring the future

The United Party will ensure that future by doing the following:

We shall carry out a positive policy.

We shall follow a racial policy which will ensure peace under European leadership.

We shall restore confidence so that South Africa will again attract the capital needed for our expansion.

We shall provide power, transport and water supplies not only in the cities, but also to those platteland areas which have the water and minerals for industrial development.

We shall revitalise agricultural research and really conserve the soil by securing the interest and active support of the farmers and their organisations. We shall assure an adequate food supply and a prosperous farming community by announcing the prices for our staples—meat and maize—in advance of the production

cycle, at a level which will encourage soil-building and arrest soil-mining.

These measures will replace the standstill policy of this government; our production and wealth will grow progressively.

I want to deal particularly with the position of our workers in private employment. Their standards of living must be safeguarded and improved. The best way to do that is to guarantee the system of collective bargaining between their trade unions and their employers.

Retirement pensions, without a means test, for contributors to the Unemployment Insurance Fund whose £50,000,000 Mr. Havenga has borrowed, stands first on the United Party's labour charter. It is a practicable and feasible and imperative step in our social security programme. Workmen's compensation and phthisis benefits will be improved.

The United Party will tackle the cost-of-living, not only by a white bread subsidy which now runs to some £8,000,000 per year, but also by measures to reduce transport costs all round, to lower the costs of farming requirements while increasing yields.

Another field in which the cost-of-living will be reduced for the lower income groups is by the provision of cheaper housing. Cheaper owing to better organisation, mass building, and a reduction to 3½% of the interest rate which now stands at 4½%. For Europeans in the £30—£40 income bracket, the United Party visualizes rentals of £5—£7 per month, and lower subsidized rentals for the lower European income groups.

It has been proved as well that, by mass building and greater density, low rentals can be provided for Natives in smaller houses much superior to their present disease-ridden demoralizing shades. The United Party will see that those cheaper methods are used.

It is the intention of the United Party, in co-operation with employers and the Building Societies to extend the railways housing scheme initiated by us to artisans and white collar workers who do not qualify under the state-aided housing schemes mentioned. This means that these people will be able to buy houses without having to put down a deposit which often makes it impossible for them to own their own homes.

The employees of the State need special consideration. The Police, on whom such a heavy burden falls should be better paid. Their pensions are scandalous and the United Party will promptly raise them. Many of our civil servants receive such low salaries that their cost of living allowances almost equal their salaries. These allowances fall away on retirement, do no count for pension purposes and therefore provide no relief in old age. All pension schemes for state-employers will therefore have to be revised and the pensions for dependants improved.

Those important steps are necessary and fully justified by the high and badly controlled cost of living. It has risen to such a level that to try and adjust the balance by greatly reducing prices would mean economic collapse. Therefore, wage and pension adjustments cannot be delayed any longer.

We shall do more in the civil service and in the railways. We shall wipe out nepotism, jobs for pals and this boeties-boetie nonsense of the Broederbond. Promotions will be granted on merit and as a reward for efficiency. Membership of secret societies will certainly not determine a man's progress in the government service.

The Nationalist Government could have done some of these things in the last 4½ years. The United Party would certainly have done many of them had it been returned to power



in 1948. But during the last 4½ years the United party was in Opposition and all it could do was to draw the attention of the people to the gross mismanagement of their affairs by this government. It has blemished and mismanaged whatever it touched—our economic life, our race relations, our legal system, our international relations. It has neglected the people in the interests of the Nationalist Party leaders.

There you have it. The Nationalist Party's appeal to the people is nothing but a set of barren ideas. In fact they say to the people that as a result of their actions South Africa is in a mess. You must vote for them again because they have made a mess of the country.

No, South Africans are not fools. We shall not make the same mistake as in 1948. That blunder must not be repeated. The people have had a chance now of seeing the Nationalist Party in action.

They can now compare the faults and the blunders of a Nat. Government with the positive work of the United Party government that went before.

They can also now compare the mess of potage Dr. Malan is offering the people as an election programme with the solid policy of the United Party under which there is a prospect of greater happiness and greater prosperity and greater security for all our people.

The choice is crystal clear. The people will choose and their choice will be the right one for South Africa. I know that. I trust the people.

Let us all be up and doing. Let us assure the victory of the United Party for the sake of all South Africans.

Let us work and win.

That is my Victory Call.

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# ELECTION MANIFESTO

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## A Strong Government Necessary For South Africa

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Dr. D. F. Malan's speech at Stellenbosch on  
Wednesday, 4th March, 1953

STELLENBOSCH.—In view of the new and dangerous situation that had arisen, the Government would ask the electorate at the forthcoming general election for a renewed mandate for their apartheid policy, the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, said at a meeting in the Town Hall here last night. By that the Government would stand or fall.

"The House of Assembly elected in 1948 was dissolved yesterday," he said. "With that the fate of South Africa has again been placed in the hands of the people. On April 15 the people, as the highest authority, will give judgment, and every voter has a personal responsibility."

The Prime Minister said:  
I appear before you to present to you, and to the electorate generally, the significance of the coming general election, the important problems at issue and the answer which the people, in my opinion, must give on election day.

The new Parliament and the Government which the people will establish await a clear and definite mandate.

As I will show later, it is no ordinary election. It is no sports gathering where the only question is which side will win or lose. It goes very much deeper than that.

#### AT CROSSROADS

South Africa is at the crossroads, and the questions which every voter will have to answer for himself when he is about to make his cross on the ballot paper is: 'Whither?'

On what road am I going to help to steer my people?

'Where would I like to see my children and my descendants eventually land?' Decide then not for yourself alone. Make your decision for them also.

You all understand what economic welfare or the opposite means to a people, and to what extent the Government of a country can be held responsible.

#### NOT ALL-IMPORTANT

At the coming general election this will also play its part, and so it must. But with due deference, I still suggest that in comparison with the other greater and more radical matters which affect the future of South Africa, and where our very existence is at stake, it calls for less emphasis on this occasion.

The Nationalist Party Government, however, does not require any defence on this score. The facts speak for themselves. It is true that there has been a considerable increase in the cost of living, but that was also the case under the previous Government, and it would also have

been so under any government which might have succeeded them.

#### DEFENCE COSTS

The fact is that we are dealing with something that is happening all over the world, caused by the devastation of World War II, with the continued defence expenditure on a scale hitherto unknown, together with great scarcities of commodities and with increased taxation.

In spite of all this the increase in the cost of living in South Africa is one of the lowest in the world and our country generally is experiencing an economic prosperity, which in the circumstances, is definitely surprising. In the industrial sphere there is unprecedented expansion.

All this unmistakeably testifies to the confidence which overseas as well as local investors have in our future, and that in spite of deliberate efforts here and abroad for political purposes to whip up hostility to South Africa and to damage our country's credit.

#### UNLIMITED PROSPECTS

The Government has sponsored undertakings such as phosphate development, the production of oil from coal, and the production of uranium, which themselves have already formed the basis of almost unlimited future development in the economic sphere.

In addition to this the financial position of the country under the Nationalist Party Government has been made and kept fundamentally sound. Opportunities for employment for all classes of the people have been tremendously expanded.

And, what is more, the adjustment of salaries and wages to the inevitable increase in the cost of living has been such that in the entire period since the

Government came to power an industrial peace has prevailed, which is not only a record for South Africa but which in comparison with conditions in many other countries has been most remarkable.

#### Wild Promises

It is in the light of these facts that the Opposition's charges about the so-called maladministration by the Nationalist Party Government and about empty stomachs must be judged. And in this light also must be judged the Opposition's lengthy and growing list of wild election promises, which already number more than 40.

If carried out they will cost the Treasury many millions of pounds annually, increase taxation unbearably and necessarily send up the cost of living still further—and rapidly, too.

To me there is no more tangible evidence that the Opposition despairs of their chances of winning the election than these irresponsible election promises. Beware of the man who writes out a cheque for £1,000,000 as easily as he would a cheque for £10. He has no credit and he knows it.

The most important and most urgent issue of the election was unquestionably the colour problem.

#### No Indecision

A stage has now been reached where South Africa is forced once more in that regard to decide its course. And it must be a definite course, so definitely and unambiguously defined by the people themselves, that it will not be gone back on again. Indecision at this stage is fatal.

There are only two courses from which to choose, which sooner or later must lead us to one of these two termini: Equality, that is to say the

removal of all colour discrimination, or *apartheid*, which seeks to allow and encourage on both sides of the colour line free natural development in accordance with capacity and level of civilization.

They are not parallel, but directly opposite courses—the one preferred by the Nationalist and the other by the Liberalist. Between the two no middle course is possible as is being advocated by the Leader of the Opposition.

Apart from the fact that it leads nowhere, it leaves the problem unsolved and as such it sows the seed for continued strife—a standing invitation to the agitator and the mischief-maker.

## ALMOST TOO LATE

South Africa has remained too long in the labyrinth of uncertainty and indecision. And in the meantime the problem has increased hand-over-fist in extent and gravity, so that it has almost become too late for a solution. The communist has been busy continually, and mostly underground, with his mischief-making, both within our boundaries and throughout the whole of Africa.

Both the previous Government and the present Government have been seriously warned about this in police reports.

The unfortunate and unrealistic Gold Coast policy of the previous British Government has understandably also had its repercussions throughout the whole of the African continent right up to Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias, and it has undoubtedly also had its influence in South Africa.

The meddling and aggressive United Nations, which was intended to help to preserve world peace has by the creation of a so-called world opinion energetically co-operated in inciting unrest and even revolt among the most primitive races.

### NATIVES AROUSED

And in our own country the liberalist element has more and more blatantly proclaimed that colour discrimination in any form means nothing less than inhuman oppression.

Obviously this has not fallen on deaf ears among the non-Europeans. They have been aroused to assert that even in their most extravagant demands they enjoy the sup-

port of the whole world, and even of all Europeans who support the Opposition parties and who are opposing *apartheid*.

The bitter fruits of it all have not been absent. The demand that the White man must quit Africa has increased. A bloody scene followed in Kenya, and in our own country organized resistance movements resulting in some places in murder coupled with the most horrible and most barbaric atrocities.

The Opposition attributes it all to deteriorating race relations for which the Government and its *apartheid* policy is said to be responsible. Conveniently, they close their eyes to the fact that even in the regime of the previous Government with its anti-*apartheid* policy, the same demands were made.

The Natives' Representative Council, created by statute for consultation and co-operation, consistently refused to function unless, according to its minutes, all colour bars were removed, and quickly too, lest the Europeans should find themselves forced to do so.

## Smuts Attacked

They forget that General Smuts himself was violently attacked at UNO because of his alleged policy of racial discrimination; that he had had to stand alone against a united and hostile front; and that, in spite of his worth to the organization, he was humiliated before the whole world.

There were certain basic facts in the conflict about *apartheid* which must not be lost sight of: The first was that the Europeans had at least the same right as the non-Europeans to South Africa.

Both had come from without and at about the same time. Apart from this, the Europeans prevented the Natives from annihilating one another as they had, to some extent, been doing.

### UNOCCUPIED LAND

The second was that the Europeans who penetrated deeper into the continent obtained their land, not by violence, and far less by a process of annihilation as occurred in similar circumstances in some other countries.

They obtained their land by establishing themselves on what was practically unoccupied land or by means of negotiation.

In spite of those who slander us, we have proof that we are a Christian people.

The third fact which should not be lost sight of was that the land which had always belonged to the Natives as their traditional land, together with land which was later bought at State expense from Europeans and added to it, in the Union and in South West Africa comprised an area of about 400,000 square miles.

### BIG TRACTS

This was twice as big as France and seven times as big as England. The area included some of the best land settlement areas of the country.

In this reserved area the Natives were protected by the fact that Europeans, with their greater education and financial strength, could not buy land and were allowed to enter the area only by special permission and for a specified period.

The established European community in the Native areas had no voice in the self-governing institutions which, in accordance with the *apartheid* policy, were being developed there.

## NOT SETTLERS

The fourth fact which should not be forgotten was that the Europeans in South Africa, unlike those in many other countries of the world where Europeans and non-Europeans lived together, had established themselves permanently in South Africa.

What is more, they have developed here their own South African nationhood. With that they have ceased to be merely settlers with a settler's mentality. They are now a nation of their own with their own and only fatherland.

They have no other country to which to flee, if this is denied them. They must live here as a White race and maintain themselves as such, whatever it may cost, or they must die here in dishonour or in honour. They choose the latter.

### GENEROUS AID

Practical experience in the ecclesiastical and educational spheres confirms this abundantly. In South Africa the Natives are just as sure of their areas as any separate people in Europe.

And in regard to aid, the Europeans in South Africa stand far above any other nation in the world.

For education, health and other social services they spend on the Natives seven times as

much a head than even the strong and liberal Britain does on Natives in her African territories and her protectorates, including the Rhodesias.

That, in general terms, is the colour policy of the Nationalist Party

### NEW MANDATE

For that it received a mandate at the last general elections for Parliament and the Provincial Councils. For that it now again asks for a renewed mandate, especially in view of the new and dangerous situation. By this the Party is prepared to stand or fall.

The Opposition, which was now harnessing all its forces to bring about the fall of the Government with its *apartheid* policy, had no Colour policy.

For the people it has therefore become a choice between policy and lack of policy, direction or lack of direction, the solution of South Africa's biggest and most urgent problem or the continuation of the old impotent, indifferent and dangerous *laissez faire* United Party policy.

## Liberal Heaven

Between the liberalistic heaven of equality and the *terra firma* of *apartheid* the Opposition is suspended in the air like the proverbial coffin of Mohammed. And may it come about at the forthcoming general election that they, too, but alone, will be buried safely in the firm earth.

The searching for a policy and the beating about on the part of the Opposition has become pathetic. At one time their policy was *afsondering* (separation). Then it was the opposite, "integration", and after that it was "the middle course".

The Prime Minister said that *apartheid* was, both in conception and in application, not a specifically South African product, and far less still something created by the Nationalist Party for party political purposes.

### EUROPEAN EXAMPLE

Europe herself, the cradle of Christian civilization, was the most striking example. On the map Europe resembled a patchwork quilt with about 25 divisions, each representing a separate nationhood, and for the most part also a separate race with its own language and culture.

Each one of them lived its own life and enjoyed its own freedom and rights within its own area and within boundaries on all sides. Outside its citizens were

foreigners without rights and they were treated as such.

Who would dare to suggest that Europe would have been better off and happier if natural differences had been ignored, if all boundaries had been eliminated and all the inhabitants, without exception, had been huddled together in the same area?

### MORTAL SIN

*Apartheid* is accepted even in Europe and throughout the world as being natural, obvious and right. And now we rightly ask why must it then in South Africa be regarded and condemned as a mortal sin—and that in an area almost as big as Europe and comprising races which differ from one another in colour, way of life, in language and especially in civilization?

In spite of the too-outspoken episcopal wisdoms and authority, the Nationalist Party's *apartheid* policy is not un-Christian.

It is true that every Christian will readily accept the doctrine that all men are equal before God and therefore must be regarded and treated as human beings with human rights. But apart from the fact that it is difficult to see how that can be applied to equal franchise, the matter can certainly not end there.

## Divine Deed

*Apartheid* is based also on another divine creative deed which they apparently ignore altogether — on the natural differences between race and race, colour and colour, comprising as a rule also difference in nationhoods, languages and culture.

Lack of appreciation of this last fact is, as a rule, as fatal as lack of application of the first. It usually causes friction, where *apartheid* creates friendship and co-operation.

It often also means the suppression of the natural capacity of evolution and resources of the more backward section, with the result that injustice is done to them under the cloak of equality.

### NOT OPPRESSIVE

*Apartheid* is no policy of oppression, neither in principle nor in its historical background, nor in its existing or proposed application.

On the contrary, like a wire fence between two neighbouring farms it indicates a separation without eliminating necessarily legitimate and desirable contacts in both directions.

Although it places reciprocal restrictions on both sides, it at the same time serves as an effective protection against violation of one another's rights. It is also the best guarantee for friendship and reciprocal helpfulness.

### RHODES'S MOTTO

At an earlier stage it was officially announced as a gradual process, amounting to the motto of Rhodes of equal rights for all civilized people, irrespective of difference in colour.

After this came the great somersault, when three important Nationalist Party Government *apartheid* acts of Parliament, which the Opposition had bitterly opposed in Parliament for days on end both in principle and at the third reading, were accepted by them.

This was done without a blush, but still under the cry "Away with *apartheid*". The anti-*apartheid* knight in the garb of his enemy the *apartheid* Government. What a spectacle!

## USE HERTZOG'S NAME

But there is yet another indication of how the Opposition are trying to get away from themselves. They have now suddenly become fervent Hertzogites and they bandy General Hertzog's name about so that even the figure of General Smuts is given a more modest place in the shade.

This is happening even though in General Hertzog's political career they fought him bitterly for 23 years, for a long time also on his segregation policy, and they eventually put him out of their party.

Even Mr. Havenga is now being meticulously drawn closer for shelter. Even though they still continue to attack him violently for his alleged disloyalty to General Hertzog, they are now grasping at an innocent statement made by him in London and which apparently gives them new courage.

### HAVENGA APARTHEID

He said that the word "*apartheid*" was simply the same as the old well-known word "*segregation*". This caused the Leader of the Opposition, to the dismay of his Liberalists and Torch Commando and Labour allies, to say that he now also accepts *apartheid*, but then it must be the Havenga *apartheid*.

It is really becoming ridiculous. It is clear that the

Opposition is doing its utmost to get away from itself. And the man who wants to get away from himself is either deeply unhappy and does not know what to do with himself—or he is running away, or both.

The day of the Election lies ahead. Of that I need not remind the Opposition. And April 15 is approaching rapidly.

#### U.P. "CONVERTED"

Sometimes the latest statements by the Opposition have the definite semblance of a death-bed conversion. I positively believe that such a thing can be really genuine. But one would prefer first to see a confirmation of it once the danger of death is past.

For the maintenance of the newly-found good reputation of the converted, it is safer that he should die rather than that he should live. In the case of the converted Opposition, the best place for them is in the arms of the Nationalist Party.

The Prime Minister said there had been unnecessary wrangling, even in sympathetic circles, about the word *apartheid* which among other things had given the Leader of the Opposition an opening to brand the *apartheid* policy as something new and foreign, something created by the evil Nationalists, purely for their party political purposes.

## No Difference

I have for the past 34 years been a member of Parliament uninterruptedly and for the most part in a more or less leading position, and I ought to know how the word *apartheid* arose and why.

The fact is that there is no difference in meaning between "segregation" and *apartheid*.

The word "segregation" was originally the term generally used, and General Hertzog was the great champion of it. General Smuts was no enthusiastic champion of segregation, but originally he did not oppose it.

Slowly, however, a change came over General Smuts until he, supported by his Secretary for Native Affairs, declared openly in a speech that segregation was impracticable.

#### HERDING TOGETHER

When the Nationalist Party Opposition afterwards insisted on a truer application of the segregation policy, he objected to the word on the grounds that segregation meant "herding together" (*afhokking*).

It was then, to prevent a misunderstanding, that the Nationalists began to feel the

need for a name that would not have that implication. Without looking for it, the word *apartheid*—which can even mean equality, but each in his own sphere—came into circulation.

This is clear from the wording of my motion as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly in 1938—ten years before the *apartheid* election of 1948.

This motion, said the Prime Minister, demanded the consistent application of the policy of segregation by the establishment of separate residential areas, separate spheres of employment and separate representation in legislative councils for Coloured voters.

#### NATURAL CHANGE

For the word "separate" the Afrikaans word *aparte* was used. The use of the Afrikaans words *segregasie* and *aparte* in connection with one and the same thing showed that in reality there never was any difference between the two, and that the substitution of "segregation" for *apartheid* in the circumstances was natural and obvious.

I hope that the wrangling about the word will now cease and that the Leader of the Opposition himself will now realize that when he seeks to assume the cloak of Mr. Havenga on the grounds of an alleged difference between the two words he is mistaken.

The latest effort of the Opposition to get away from their lack of policy was the proposal to seek a solution to the problem after the election, if they were returned to power, by means of a national convention of all possible elements of the population and representative of all possible points of view.

## NEW PREMIER

The unanimity which is apparently expected to come of it will then be referred to the new Prime Minister, Mr. Strauss, at Groote Schuur, who, with the stipulation that the existing Coloured franchise should in any case be left unaltered, will then summon me, as the new Leader of the Opposition, for consultation—and that in spite of my age, so widely advertised and fervently welcomed by him. Really, he gives me courage for life.

In this way the vexed colour question will eventually be finally solved to the satisfaction of all. It all looks so nice and simple. But unfortunately to anyone who has practical experience of such matters it also sounds so childlike.

Just imagine, before 1936 it

took the two parties, led by General Hertzog and General Smuts, respectively, and helped by the best parliamentary talent, seven years to arrive at some slight agreement. And even then it was only slight.

#### TOOK YEARS

For the Nationalists, on the other hand, who were divided into various political groups, but who nevertheless were held together by inner conviction, it took years to become one outwardly.

And for the United Front under the leadership of Mr. Strauss, unanimity on the colour question, even under pressure of the forthcoming general election, appears to be impossible.

The semi-*apartheid* men in the United Front, the increasing swarm of open liberals, the Torch Commando and the Labour Party are to-day more divided on this question than ever before.

#### STRAUSS'S BABEL

May we ask whether the national convention which Mr. Strauss is holding out to the electorate as a bait is now going to achieve this unity between the North Pole and the South Pole, the East and the West, in the twinkling of an eye?

No, it is really too good to be true. Unfortunately from Babel there never has come anything but a confusion of tongues and greater discord and division.

No, Mr. Strauss cannot so conveniently shift his responsibilities on an impossible national convention. When his Party on four occasions rejected our offer for a joint solution of the problem, we went to the next General Election and held our own with our *apartheid* policy.

He, too, must now hold his own and let the people decide.

The colour question is by far the greatest and most serious of all the problems of the country. Therefore it is right that at the forthcoming General Election it should overshadow all others.

And it is for this reason, too, that I have dealt with it here so extensively. There are other problems which are also outstanding and vital and in connection with which the people must choose between party and party, but they require less explanation.

The first of these is the communist danger. I say it is a danger, and a grave danger, too, because its underground activities which have been in progress for years are now beginning to show clearly their bitter fruits above the ground—especially as

it is so closely connected with South Africa's colour question on which the communist and the liberalist share the same views.

### PROVED IN HOUSE

The liberalist, therefore, almost as a matter of course is made by the communist a fellow-traveller. A picture of the Opposition benches and a study of Hansard is enough to prove it.

The danger is so deadly that the whole of the anti-communist world, notwithstanding the devastation of World War II are to-day arming themselves to the teeth and are spending millions of pounds to avert it.

South Africa, too, is doing her share in this regard.

Its true character in an anti-communist country remains almost hidden because there it presents only the bright side. But lift the Iron Curtain just a little—have a look at communism in action in its own land of birth and in its subjected satellite countries, and what do you see then?

We see the destruction of all freedom and the enslavement of humanity in spirit and to a great extent also in body. You see also the undermining of the foundations of our Western European Christian civilization by open hostility to religion in any shape or form, and as a result the deterioration of man.

In South Africa it is for understandable reasons still being done covertly, but slowly its true form is also coming to light here.

## U.S. MEASURES

In most countries of the world firm measures are being taken to protect their populations against communism. The United States has even gone so far, in spite of protests, to remove a number of them from the permanent staff of United Nations at Lake Success.

America does not want them on her soil. In South Africa, with its large non-European and largely primitive population, where the communist can do infinitely more harm, the Nationalist Party in 1948 asked the electorate for a mandate to combat communist activities with all force.

The necessary legislation was later enacted and applied. The Party now, however, is going to the electorate with the complaint that it has had no help from the Opposition.

On the contrary, they have hindered us as much as they could.

Standing before the electorate in judgment, we submit as evidence the murder and arson at Port Elizabeth and East London. Let the people on April 15 give judgment at the ballot boxes — unequivocally and positively.

The third important matter about which the electorate must decide was that of the sovereignty of Parliament and of the people.

I mention the two in one breath because Parliament is elected by the people, is responsible to the people at every General Election and is, therefore, representative of the people. If Parliament is not sovereign, then the people as the higher authority are also not sovereign.

### TESTING RIGHTS

And if the people are not sovereign at every period of its existence, then they are also not free. The two recent Appeal Court judgments amount to this that acts of Parliament, even if the people through a General Election give a mandate for them, are always subject to the testing right of the Courts.

The question has arisen in connection with the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, which was declared invalid by the Appeal Court.

To ensure a proper understanding of the whole matter it is necessary to emphasize the word "separate". It is necessary because Opposition speakers and their Press and also the Press abroad are continually trying to create the impression that what is visualized is the disfranchisement of the Coloured voters.

That is untrue.

The truth is that the Act, as enacted, does not deprive a single Coloured voter of his vote and that in comparison with the Europeans there is also in no way a diminution of their rights.

It is merely a question of a change in the way in which they will exercise their vote, a way by which they will undoubtedly get a far better representation in Parliament than they have at present.

### POLITICAL FUSS

In reality all the fuss arises from party political considerations. Hence the noisy and tough fight against separate representation. And hence the ardent satisfaction for and admiration of the Appeal Court.

The legal aspects of the matter had already been discussed enough and thoroughly argued and presented by both sides.

That was also the case with the judgment of the High Court of Parliament, which, according to authoritative legal opinion, as far as the contents were concerned, was certainly not inferior to that of the Appeal Court.

## APPEAL COURT JUDGMENT

I want to confine myself to the nature of the Appeal Court's judgment and the implications and consequences of it.

That the Appeal Court's judgment is right, we can, to begin with, no longer accept off-hand. All humans are fallible. And even Judges of Appeal are human.

It is often jokingly, and I presume unjustifiably, said that it is a woman's prerogative to change her mind. But from the Appeal Court we now learn that it reserves that right for itself.

Where, may we ask now, must we now get finality on so vital a matter? If I myself must supply the answer, then I say with the people—the people who in the end under our democratic system of government have supreme authority over their own affairs and who—as such, and in such circumstances—are the highest court of appeal.

### BEYOND DOUBT

We are now going to appeal to that court and we are going to ask for authority, in accordance with the unanimous judgment of the Appeal Court in 1937, to place the sovereignty of Parliament—and, thereby, also the sovereignty of the people—beyond all doubt.

Precisely how this must be done—and several possibilities are already being mentioned—is at the moment not the main issue. To concentrate on that at this stage is undesirable.

## Root Untouched

To re-enact the Separate Representation of Voters Act in accordance with the Entrenched Clauses is, of course, possible if the people at the general election give the Government the required two-thirds majority—and why should they not do so?

That that course will then be followed is obvious, because it will satisfy everyone and will avoid much unnecessary discord. But, unfortunately, the root of the problem, the question of sovereignty, will then remain untouched.

After all we have experienced, it cannot be so. The freedom of our people is at stake.

## NEW APPLICATIONS

What is even more serious are certain other possibilities and even probabilities, which we certainly cannot face without concern. The Appeal Court judgment has aroused sleeping dogs and it may soon become apparent that new and far-reaching applications of it will be sought.

This has now become of juridical importance, since the Appeal Court in its judgment has taken note, not only of the act which it has to interpret, but also of the motive behind it.

## PRIME FACTOR

The same danger also threatens the Group Areas Act, which can be considered almost the king-pin of the whole of the *apartheid* policy. There, too, it can quite easily be argued that if you compel one to live in a particular suburb with members of his own race you affect his franchise on the grounds of colour, because you pin him down to a particular constituency.

This makes us realize what is at stake in the Cape Province. It might well mean our having again to increase the franchise qualifications of Europeans to the same level as that for non-Europeans, or to reduce the franchise qualifications of Coloured voters to the same level as for European voters—and, what is more, to abolish the franchise for European women or to extend the franchise to Coloured women on the same conditions as for European women.

In this way we may be

faced with the collapse of the long sought-after separate residential areas and with it also practically the whole of the *apartheid* policy. It must inevitably land us in chaos such as South Africa has never before experienced.

### "AN EARNEST APPEAL"

I conclude with an assertion, which I believe is not unfounded, and with an earnest appeal.

I believe that, in spite of some discouraging occurrences, national unity—as it should be understood, including the great majority of the two European language groups and also a considerable part of the non-European population—is rapidly approaching, and that one of the most important contributions to that end will be the carrying out of a courageous and just *apartheid* policy.

## Common Ground

The idea of two separate language groups, but one common Afrikanership, is rapidly gaining ground.

There is also the obvious fact that under the Nationalist Party Government we have achieved greater unity on foreign policy and on the question of war and peace than has ever existed.

Perhaps the most important and hopeful indication is that on the colour question—in other words on South Africa's biggest and most vital problem—English and Afrikaans-speaking people are in agreement to a greater extent than ever before.

There is also a growing intolerance of the continual and deliberate intimidation of the one language group by the other. National unity is approaching, and it will be inevitable if English and Afrikaans-speaking are going to vote, as will probably be the case to a great extent at the forthcoming General Election, not on racial lines, but in accordance with their inner convictions.

### STRENGTH NEEDED

We are greatly in need of two things. The one is a strong government; and that Mr. Strauss, with the best will in the world, is unable to provide, with his hopelessly divided united front.

Apart from this an effective and unequivocal answer must be given to those who in all sincerity misunderstand us, to those who make impossible demands on us, and especially to the slanderers and meddlers, to Russia and India, to the United Nations and the British Labour Party, and, not the least also, to our resisters and their friends.

This cannot be done by any one person, no matter how authoritative. It can be done only by the people of South Africa, and it can be done on April 15.

The people can do it in only one way. That is by ensuring a resounding victory for the Nationalist Party and a shattering defeat for the Opposition.—(Sapa.)

(News by A. J. Classen, New Zealand House, Cape Town.)



# 1958

16 APRIL

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                  | Setels verower<br>Seats won | Participating parties which have won seats             |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP) | 53<br>103                   | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP) |

## Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Notule van vergadering van Union Publicity Committee, 31st January, 1958.

*"Item 6. Election Manifesto. Agreed:*

- (a) that release would be through the Press and not by means of a special pamphlet labelled as an official Election Manifesto;
- (b) that, as the Prosperity Pamphlet would embody and crystallize the essence of the Election Platform, all enquiries as to the Party's Election Manifesto would be dealt with by reference to this pamphlet."

Prosperity Pamphlet: It's time for a United Party Government. Open the door to prosperity/Dis tyd vir 'n Verenigde Party regering. Maak oop die deur vir voorspoed. Printed by the Swan Press Limited, 36 Durban Street, Johannesburg.

2. Opgestel en uitgegee deur Senator M P A Malan namens die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party, Voortrekkerstraat 79, Bloemfontein en gedruk deur Voortrekkerpers, Beperk, Jorissenstraat 102, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 1958.

## Sources of election manifestos

1. Minutes of meeting of Union Publicity Committee, 31st, January 1958.

*"Item 6. Election Manifesto. Agreed:*

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2. No English text could be traced.

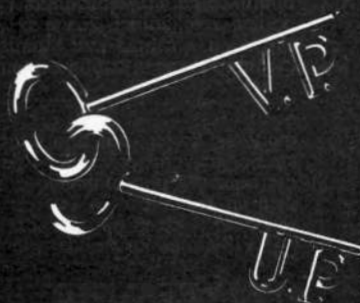
*Dis tyd vir 'n*

# **VERENIGDE PARTY- REGERING**



**maak oop  
die deur vir**

**VOORSPOED**



*It's time for a*

# **UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT**

**open the door  
to**

**PROSPERITY**

Look for your occupation on the index and see how you will gain under United Party Government

Vind u besondere beroep in die indeks—en let op hoeveel u sal baat as die Verenigde Party weer aan bewind kom

# MET U STEUN SAL 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING IN 1958 VIR VOORSPOED SORG

Die Verenigde Party se positiewe beleid sal die posisie van iedere Suid-Afrikaanse burger verbeter. Wetende dat sy V.P.-regering 'n voorspoediger ekonomiese atmosfeer in Suid-Afrika sal skep, kan die Verenigde Party definitiewe belofes doen in verband met die oogmerke wat hy wil bereik. Party van hierdie belofes word gedoen om die burgers van Suid-Afrika te vergoed vir die Nattes se sondes van versuim en bedryf, terwyl ander belofes betrekking het op die herstel van die Verenigde Party se beleid wat deur die Nat.-regering verwerp of verwater is.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

Tien jaar onder 'n Nat.-bewind het geen verligting vir die gewone man meegebring nie. Die koste van lewensonderhoud het GESTYG: Die voedsel wat u eet, die klere wat u dra, die vervoermiddels wat u gebruik, die huurgeld wat u betaal—alles is duurder.

Volgens die Buro van Sensus en Statistiek het minimumlone tussen 1950 en 1955 met slegs 29.7% gestyg. Daarenteen het die koste van lewensonderhoud met 41% toegeneem. Die gemiddelde inkomste van 'n familie in ons tien grootste stede, is, volgens die Regering, £115 per maand. Blykbaar word daar dus van ons verwag om genoeg te neem met prysstygings (sedert 1948) soos die volgende:

|                             | 1948     | 1957     |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|
| Biefstuk, per pond, graad 1 | 2/-      | 3/9d.    |
| Tee, per pond               | 5/2d.    | 8/4d.    |
| Koffie, per pond            | 2/11d.   | 5/6d.    |
| Meeibloom, 25 pond          | 7/4d.    | 9/9d.    |
| Steenkool, per 200 pond     | 2/7d.    | 5/1d.    |
| Manspakke                   | £10.10.0 | £18.18.0 |
| Petrol                      | 2/7d.    | 3/5d.    |
| Telefoonhuurgeld            | £5       | £8       |
| Telefoonoproep              | 1½d.     | 2d.      |

Om die dinge te koop wat u in 1948 20/- gekos het, moet u vandag 29/2d. betaal. Maar hoeveel families verdien in werklikheid £115 per maand? Belasting is VERHOOG. In 1948 het 'n familie van vier met 'n inkomste van £800 per jaar (gelykstaande aan £1,200 vandag) slegs £1 13 0d., aan belasting betaal. Vandag, met 'n inkomste van £1,200 (die gelyke van £800 in 1948) sal so 'n familie £27 10 0d. moet opdok.

Sedert 1948 is u oor-belas tot 'n bedrag van meer as £200-miljoen om die Regering se leningsprogram te finansier. Daar is 'n tekort aan beleggingskapitaal. Die geld moet dus uit u sak kom. Verkwisting deur die regering het TOEGENEEM: Dis u geld wat so verkwis word. Tot dusver moes u die volgende betaal:

£60,250 binne vyf jaar vir nuwe huise en meubels vir ons Ministers. Dit sluit nie die 13 Cadillacs en die 14 "tweede" motors wat vir hul gebruik gekoop is, in nie.  
 £100,000 elke jaar vir die „Nasionale“ Senaalgedrog.  
 £177,825 vir die Ministers se beskeke aan die buiteland.  
 £3,000,000 vir wit olifant-skemas om ontslae te raak van die sogenaamde „lokasies in die lug“.  
 £1,000,000 tot dusver vir die Bevolkingsregister.  
 £80,000,000 wat in die vorm van vreemde valuta prysgegee moes word weens die Regering se onvermoë om mangaan en steenkool na ons hawens te vervoer.  
 £219,000,000 deur die daling in die markwaarde van ons myn-, nywerheids- en sake-aandele.  
 Hier volg die rekeninkie wat u nog sal moet vereffen:  
 £3,000,000 vir „apartheid“-universiteite wat niemand wil hê nie.  
 £100,000,000 binne die volgende tien jaar, om natuurleerarbeiders terug na die reservate te stuur.

## U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

Voorspoed hang af van vertroue in die Regering en die instellings van die volk. Dit hang af van 'n tevrede en vooruitstrewende arbeidsmag; van ruimschootse geleentheid vir en aanmoediging van private ondernemings, en van doeltreffende openbare dienste.

Die Verenigde Party sal sorgvuldige aandag aan al hierdie faktore bestee, en dus sorg vir voorspoed gebaseer op 'n uitbreidende ekonomie vir almal—die hele bevolking van Suid-Afrika.

Die Verenigde Party se realistiese Ekonomiese Beleid is die sleutel tot egte voorspoed. Onder 'n Verenigde Party-regering—

Sal u werklike inkomste STYG. Lone sal nie langer 'n wanhopige poging hoef aan te wend om pryse in te haal nie. Die koste van lewensonderhoud sal deur praktiese maatreëls verminder word. Verkwistende staatsuitgawes sal uitgeskakel word. Die kostestruktuur sal verlaag word deur produksie te verhoog. Families sal verbeterde en groter toelaes ontvang. Belasting sal verminder word. Die Verenigde Party se beleid sal nuwe kapitaal uit die buiteland lok sodat—

Belasting met miljoene ponde verminder sal kan word namate steeds minder geld uit inkomste geneem word om Regeringslenings te finansier.

Belastingbetalers sal toegelaat word om spesiale langtermyn-staatseffekte te koop. Sodanige beleggings sal vir belastingdoeleindes van inkomste afgetrek kan word.

Die voorspoed van die familie sal verbeter word. Voorsiening sal gemaak word vir:

Toelaes vir moeders en kinders.

Spesiale beurse sodat geen skrande kind sonder hoër onderwys die wêreld sal hoef in te gaan nie.

Verbeterde fasiliteite vir beroepsopleiding.

Meer skole, meer tegniese en meer opleidingskolleges.



Dit is definitiewe en praktiese maatreëls hierdie. Hulle word aan die kiesers voorgelê deur die Verenigde Party—die party wat, in die dae toe hy aan bewind was, gesorg het vir gratis hospitaalbehandeling en die meeste van die land se sosiale wetsgewette. Dit was die Verenigde Party wat belastinge in 1947 met £20 miljoen, en in 1948 met 'n verdere £18 miljoen verminder het, en die neseier verskaf het wat mnr. Havenga in 1949 in staat gestel het om belastinge nog verder te verminder en pensioene te verbeter.

# U die Werker sal groter VOORSPOED GENIET want

... Die Verenigde Party hou vol dat die werkers van Suid-Afrika die reg het op fatsoenlike lone, doeltreffende behuising en voldoende voedsel en klere vir hulself en hul gesinne; en hulle moet in staat gestel word om genoeg van hul loon vir besparing en ontspanning oor te hou.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

### LONE (LEWENSKOSTE)

- ★ U familie het ten minste £100 per maand nodig om fatsoenlik te lewe; tog verdien u net gemiddeld £65 per maand. Die Regering hou vol dat u inkomste £115 per maand is. Vra uself af: „Is dit waar?”
- ★ 'n Halfmiljoen mense word elke jaar vir skuld gedagvaar. Die meeste van hulle is werkende mans en vrouens wat 'n wanhopige poging aanwend om die tering na die nering te sit.
- ★ Duurtetoelae is reeds sedert 1953 op 189.4 vasgepen. Dit is ver benede die hoë peil van vandag—216.5 (Januarie 1958).

### WERKBEVEILIGING

- ★ Onbillike mededinging van die kant van swart arbeiders (aan wie daar nie vakbondlone betaal hoef te word nie) het voortgevloei uit Verwoerd se beleid om nywerhede op die grens van die reservate op te rig.
- ★ In minder as vyftig jaar sal daar meer nie-blanke geskoolde arbeiders as blanke geskoolde arbeiders in die Unie wees—tensy immigrasie kragdadiger aangepak word.
- ★ Dr. Verwoerd se beleid om voorkeur aan naturelle-trekarbeiders liever as aan 'n gevestigde naturelle-arbeidsmag te gee, is ondoelmatig en duur. Dit verhoog die koste van ons nywerhede, en plaas minder geld in die loonkoevert van die blanke werker.

### VAKBONDE

- ★ Vakbonde word verdeel en opgesplits op rassegronde. Die beginsel dat organisasies van werknemers oor hoër lone en beter werks-toestande met organisasies van werkgewers kan onderhandel, word ondermyn.

## U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

Die Verenigde Party was verantwoordelik vir die aan-neming van die belangrike wette wat die werker se lone, sy vakbonde, en die reg van sy organisasies om met organisasies van werkgewers te onderhandel, beskerm het. Die Verenigde Party het werkers beveilig in tye van werkloosheid, en dit het hulle verseker van vergoeding vir ongelukke en siekte, en van billike werksure en goeie werkstoestande.

### OP HIERDIE GRONDSLAG SAL DIE VERENIGDE PARTY NOG VERDER VOORTBOU

#### VOORSPOED TEN OPSIGTE VAN LONE

- ★ Ten gevolge van die V.P.-beleid sal die werker se lone in die toekoms meer werd wees.
- ★ 'n Bydraende Nasionale Pensioenskema sal ingestel word.
- ★ Die Werkloosheidsversekeringsfonds sal op 'n doeltreffender wyse geadministreer word om hulpverlening aan werkloos te bespoedig.

#### BEHUISING

- ★ Die Verenigde Party sal die klein, private bouer groter geleenthede bied om in die behuisingsbehoefte van die volk te voorsien. Die onrealistiese inkomsteperke van £30 per maand vir sub-ekonomiese lenings van die Nasionale Behuisingskommissie, sal verhoog word.

#### WERKBEVEILIGING

- ★ Die werker se betrekking en sy loon sal beskerm word deur die beginsel van „bepaalde betaling vir bepaalde soort werk.” In die Parlement het Sir de Villiers Graaff die volgende gesê: „Ons arbeidsbeleid erken die blanke werkers se reg op beskerming teen onbillike mededinging van die kant van nie-blanke arbeiders.”
- ★ Nywerheids- en Loonooreenkomste sal op 'n breër gebied van toepassing gemaak word om die werker te beskerm teen mededinging vanaf die kant van diene wat hongersone kry.

#### VAKBONDE

- ★ Vakbonde sal weereens die sterk, onafhanklike, verenigde en kragtige vegters vir en beskermers van die werker se regte word. Die Verenigde Party sal oorleg pleeg met die organisasies van werknemers.



Dit is die program van die Verenigde Party wie se leiers verantwoordelik was vir die meeste van die roemryke wette waarop die status en veiligheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse werker gegrond is. Onder hulle is daar: die Nywerheidsversoeningwet; die Wet op die Skadeloosstelling van Werklike; die Wet op Werkloosheids-bystand; die verbeterde Loonwet; die Wet op Winkels, Kantore en Fabrieka, en die Vakleerlingwet.

# U die boer sal VOORUITGAAN . . .

omdat die Verenigde Party vir groter ekonomiese bedrywigheid sal sorg, binnelandse markte vir die boer se produkte sal skep en uitbrei, en verbeterde tegniese en kredietfasiliteite tot beskikking van die boer sal stel.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

Die kruipende erosie van die Nasionale Party se beleid is besig om die boer se onafhanklikheid en voorspoed te verteer. Die daling van die toevallig hoë buitelandse pryse vir mielies en wol het die Regering se bankrotbeleid aan die kaak gestel soos min ander dinge dit kon doen.

- ★ Gedurende die afgelope vyf jaar het die indeks-syfers vir die prys van graansoorte en akkerbougewasse, somer- sowel as wintergrassoorte, pluimvee en suiwelprodukte GEDAAL.
- ★ Produksiekoste, die prys van implemente, vragmotors, trekkers, brandstof, onderdele, voer, kunsmis en boumateriaal het GESTYG.
- ★ IN DIE MIDDEL, gewurg deur die druk wat enersyds deur pryse en andersyds deur koste uitgeoefen word, is die boer, die man wat die land se voedselbehoeftes moet voorsien.
  - Boere skuld miljoene ponde aan koöperatiewe verenigings. Die banke kan nu veel verdere krediet toestaan nie. Rente op verbande styg. Toekomstige oeste is reeds volledig verpand. Baie boere is in ernstige finansiële moeilikheid. Die platteland raak ontvolk.
  - Die regering bly droewig ver agter met sy grondbewaringsplanne, die uitbreiding van ons landboukolleges, die dienste wat aan boere verskaf behoort te word, die beskikbaarstelling van beter markte en vervoerdienste.

## U VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

Die Verenigde Party sal:

- ★ Die beginsels van die Bemarkingswet behoorlik toepas nl. dat die boer op 'n billike wins geregtig is ná aftrek van sy produksiekoste.
- ★ Die probleem van stygende koste aanpak, en bemarkingsmetodes verbeter om die binnelandse verbruik van landbouprodukte te vermeerder.
- ★ 'n Boer se inkomstebelasting bereken deur sy gemiddelde inkomste oor 'n tydperk van jare in aanmerking te neem.
- ★ Groter fasiliteite vir landbou-opleiding beskikbaar stel, en meer uitbreidingsbeamptes benoem om boere behulpzaam te wees.
- ★ 'n Bank vir kleinhoewe-eienaars stig, en elektriese krag tot beskikking van kleinhoewe-eienaars in die buitestedelike gebiede stel.
- ★ Die produksie van kunsmisstowwe verhoog.
- ★ Boedelbelasting en die belasting op geskenke afskaf.



Dit is die beleid van die Verenigde Party-regering wat versekerde pryse en markte in die dertiger jare tot beskikking van die boer gestel het, en verantwoordelik was vir die aanname van die Grondbewarings- en Bemarkingswet.

Dit is die Verenigde Party wie se leiers die Grondnedersettingswet, die Besproeiingswet en die Land-bank-wet, die Wet op Koöperatiewe Verenigings en die meeste ander wette vir die opbou van 'n stabiele en vooruitstrewende boeregemeenskap aan die land gegee het.

# U die staatsamptenaar sal groter VOORSPOED GENIET want . . .

Ons Staatsdiens het 'n roemryke en lang tradisie van doeltreffendheid, onpartydigheid, afsydigheid van die politiek, en toegewydheid aan plig. Die Verenigde Party sal daardie tradisie in stand hou en versterk. Om dit te doen, sal dit in die eerste plaas nodig wees om die staatsamptenaar die versekering te gee dat sy betrekking veilig is, en dat hy geregtig is op sy deel van die algemene welsyn van die land.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

- ★ Ondanks aanhoudende stygings in die prys van voedsel, klerie, huurgeld en vervoer het die Regering die Duurtetoelag vasgepen. In 1953 is die Duurtetoelag op 189.4 vasgepen. Sedertdien het die prys-indeks tot 216.5 gestyg (Jan. 1958).
- ★ Die salaris- en loontrekker het die ergste hieronder gely. Woens die waspen van die Duurtetoelag subsidieer staatsamptenare die Regering tans tot 'n bedrag van £8-miljoen per jaar.
- ★ Vanaf 1947 tot 1956 het regstreekse en onregstreekse belastings van £58 tot £108 per kop van die blanke bevolking gestyg.
- ★ 'n Staatsamptenaar wat voor die oorlog £60 per maand verdien het, behoort vandag £120 te verdien om sy lewensstandaard te handhaaf. As so 'n staatsamptenaar egter in die verhoogde volksinkomste wil deel, sal hy nie £120 per maand moet verdien nie, maar wel £168 per maand!
- ★ Belangrike aanbevelings van personeelverenigings in die Staatsdiens is eenvoudig oor die hoof gesien.

### SPOORWEGWERKERS

- ★ Tussen die jare 1949 en 1957 het Spoorwegwerkers nie minder as £25,000,000 in die vorm van lone en salarisse prysgegee nie ten gevolge van die waspen van die Duurtetoelag. Ook hulle subsidieer die Regering tans tot 'n bedrag van meer as £8-miljoen per jaar. Binne 'n tydperk van vyf jaar het 42,565 spoorwegwerkers hul bedankings ingedien. Die personeel word te min betaal en moet te veel werk omdat daar nie voldoende personelede is nie. Die Regering eis uitermate baie oortyd en Sondagtyd van Spoorwegwerkers. Die huurgeld vir talle Spoorweghuise is sedert 1948 byna verdubbel. Huurgeld- en grinstoelae is afgeskaf, en natuurlike doen vandag die werk wat vroeër deur blankes gedoen is.

### ONDERWYSERS

Dit is een van die eerste pligte van die Staat om daarvoor te sorg dat kinders 'n goeie opvoeding van 'n tevrede onderwyspersoneel ontvang. Talle skole sukkel vandag met 'n tekort aan onderwysers, en veels te veel hoog opgeleide manne en vroue dien hul bedankings in.

### POLISIE

Die Polisiemag het te veel werk en te min personelede. Van die polisie word daar verlang om te veel tyd en energie aan klein administratiewe takers te bestee plaas van aan die taak om wet en orde te handhaaf, en misdade te voorkom en op te spoor.

Sowel Onderwysers as die Polisie gaan gebuk onder die onbillike waspen van die Duurtetoelag.

## U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

### STAATSDIENSAMPTENARE

- ★ Die waspen van die Duurtetoelag sal deur die Verenigde Party opgehef word, en hierdie toelae sal van tyd tot tyd gewysig word.
- ★ 'n Verdere deel van die Duurtetoelag sal by basiese lone ingelyf word. Pensioene sal aansienlik verhoog word.
- ★ Die Verenigde Party se belastingsbeleid, met die spesiale bepalinge vir gesinshoofde, die belastingbetaler en die man wat 'n salaris trek, sal veral die staatsamptenaar ten goede kom.
- ★ Griewe en wenke deur verteenwoordigende personeelverenigings sal simpatieke oorweging geniet. Lojaliteit teenoor die staat, en nie teenoor dié of daardie politieke party nie, sal die toets van verdienste wees.

### ONDERWYSERS

Die Verenigde Party het sy steun aan die huidige Regering beloof in enige poging om aan die billike eise van onderwysers te voldoen. Desondanks het die Regering nie 'n vinger verroer nie.

Die Verenigde Party sal optree.

Basiese lone sal verhoog en die Duurtetoelag sal daarby aangepas word.

### SPOORWEGWERKERS

Die Duurtetoelag sal ontpen en 'n groter deel van hierdie toelae sal by basiese lone gekonsolideer word. Behoorlike oorlegpleging met personeelverenigings sal hervat word.

By bevorderings sal die politiek hoegenaamd geen rol speel nie.

### POLISIE

Afgesien van die ontpenning van die Duurtetoelag en die konsolidasie van 'n groot deel daarvan by die basiese lone, sal die salarisskaal van manne met tien jaar diens of meer in hersiening geneem word. Die Polisiemag sal ook onthef word van onnodige buitepligte.



Dit is die positiewe beleid van die Verenigde Party wat, toe hy aan bewind was, die Duurtetoelag gereed by omstandighede aangepas het, ondanks die oorlog. Dit is die beleid van die Party wat die oorgrote deel van die inkomste, opgelewer deur twee afsonderlike verhogings van spoorwegtariewe, ten bate van Spoorwegwerkers aangewend het. Dit is die beleid van die Party wat die salarisverminderinge van Staatsamptenare, Spoorwegwerkers en Onderwysers, opgelê deur die Nasionale Party-Regering, in die dertiger jare, herstel het.

# U Gesin sal Groter VOORSPOED GENIET want,

Alhoewel dit die man is wat die geld moet verdien, is dit die vrou wat die tering na die nering moet sit. As die loontrekker siek word of werkloos raak, word haar lot as vrou en moeder byna ondraaglik. Feite en syfers, sowel as haar daaglikse ondervinding, bevestig wat haar hart aan haar vertel: nl. dat 'n laer lewensstandaard, skuld en geldelike bekommernis alleen afgeweer kan word as sy gedurig op haar hoede is en bereid is om persoonlike opofferings te doen.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

DIT is wat die Regering met die gesinsbegroting gedoen het:

- ★ Die rekenings vir voedsel styg elke maand hoër. In 1948 het biefstuk (eerste graad) 2/- per pond gekos. Koffie was 2/11d. per pond, mellemeele 8½d. vir 5 pond, steenkool 2/7d. per sak, konfyt 1/1d. vir 'n blik van 2 pond. U weet wat u vandag vir hierdie benodighede moet betaal.
- ★ Selfs die belasting op tabak is sedert 1952 met 6d. per pond en die belasting op sigarette met 5d. per pakkie van 50 verhoog.
- ★ Telefoonhuurgelde het gestyg van £5 tot £8, en die prys van 'n enkele oproep van 1½d. tot 2d. Die posgeld op briewe is 33½% hoër as wat dit in 1948 was. Telegramkoste is verdubbel.
- ★ Selfs u neseiertjie vir die toekoms het 'n derde van sy waarde verloor. Die £1,000 wat u sedert 1947 in die bank of deur middel van versekering gespaar het, is vandag net ongeveer £650 werd.
- ★ Die koste van mediese versorging, medisyne en hospitaalbehandeling kan nie langer deur die gemiddelde gesin bekostig word nie. Doktersgelde is verhoog en gratis hospitaalbehandeling word afgeskaf. In Kaapland en Transvaal is die gratis hospitaalskemas reeds afgeskaf, of sal binnekort afgeskaf word.
- ★ Die Regering se voedselsubsidies begin daal, en die prys van brood bly hoog. Sedert die jaar 1949 het die kleinhandelsprys van 'n wit brood van 7½d. tot 11d. gestyg. Onder die Regering se rysonopoliestelsel het die prys van rys tot 11½d. per pond gestyg.
- ★ Die pryse van alle huishoudelike benodighede—meubels, linne, komberse, kinderklere, skoene—het gestyg omdat die Regering se ondoeltreffendheid die geldelike hulpbronne van iedere gesin aan buitensporige eise onderwerp.

## U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY- REGERING

Onder 'n Verenigde Party-Regering sal Suid-Afrika se voorspoed en uitbreiding die las van die huisvrou verlig. Groter inkomste sal beteken dat meer geld vir voedsel, klere, besparing en ontspanning tot u beskikking gestel sal kan word. Dit is die Verenigde Party se beleid om werklike inkomste binne 'n enkele geslag te verdubbel. En daar sal DADELIK 'n begin daarmee gemaak word.

- ★ Blankes se lone en salarisse sal gereeld aangepas word indien die koste van lewensonderhoud styg.
- ★ Die Verenigde Party sal gesondheidsdienste verbeter en toelaes vir moeders verbeter.
- ★ Inkomstebelastingskortings ten opsigte van kinders sal verhoog word.
- ★ Spesiale beurse vir die slim kinders van groot gesinne sal die koste van opvoeding verminder.
- ★ Wette sal aangeneem word vir die uitbreiding van die regte en die verbetering van die arbeidstoestande van vrouens wat moet werk—of dit nou al as kantoorwerkers, klerke of onderwyse is. Die beginsel van gelyke betaling vir gelyke werk sal aanvaar word.
- ★ Met die geld wat u verdien, sal u meer kan koop.
- ★ U sal in staat wees om geld te spaar.
- ★ Vir ou lede van die gesin sal daar sorg word.



Die Verenigde Party was verantwoordelik vir maatreëls soos die Kinderwet van 1937, die Wet op Welsynsorganisasies van 1947, en die instelling van kraamtoelaes. Dit was die eerste Party wat vroue sitting in die Parlement gegee het sodat hul spesiale begaafdheid tot welsyn van die land se families aangewend kan word.

# U die Nyweraar sal groter VOORSPOED GENIET want . . .

**DIE VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING** sal sorg dat die Unie 'n groter aandeel kry in die geweldige invoer- en uitvoermark van die Statebond (die waarde van hierdie mark is £16,000-miljoen per jaar). Omset en markte sal uitgebrei word. 'n Algemene verbetering van die lewensstandaard van alle rasse sal plaaslike markte aansienlik laat uitbrei. Markte in die buiteland en in Afrika sal aktief ontwikkel word.

Die Verenigde Party-regering sal met handel en nywerheid saamwerk en oorleg pleeg.

## U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND

- ★ **Kapitaal** is skaars; elke jaar het Suid-Afrika nuwe kapitaal tot 'n bedrag van £200-miljoen nodig; hiervan moet ten minste £80-miljoen uit die buiteland kom. Die netto-instrooming van private kapitaal was verlede jaar slegs £1-miljoen, terwyl die plaaslike kapitaalmark lamgelyk is deur die Regering se verpligte besparingsheffing en sy beleid van oorbelasting.
  - ★ **Grond:** Dit is dr. Verwoerd se beleid om die ontwikkeling van nuwe nywerheidsgebiede in bestaande industriële streke aan bande te lê, en om die oprigting van nywerhede aan die grense van die natuurelleservate aan te moedig. As lokmiddel hou hy aan nyweraars voor die feit dat hulle op die grens van die reservate laer lone as in die gevestigde nywerheidsgebiede moet betaal.
  - ★ **Arbeid** is op verre na nie voldoende vir die land se behoeftes nie. Gedurende elk van die jare 1950 tot 1956 het Rhodesië 21,000 nuwe immigrante gekry. Al wat Suid-Afrika gekry het was 'n netto-gemiddelde van ietwat meer as 3,000. Die manier waarop instromingsbeheer toegepas word, is besig om 'n kunsmatige tekort aan nie-blanke arbeiders te skep.
  - ★ **Vervoer:** Sedert 1948 het spoorwegtariewe met meer as 32% gestyg. Daar is nie voldoende vervoergeriewe vir ons handel en nywerheid nie, en buitelandse markte moes ernstig ingekort word.
  - ★ **Produksiekoste** het die hoogte ingeskiet. Daar is min tekens van die planne wat die Regering behoort te beraam vir die nywerhede wat die plek moet inneem van die goudmyne wat oor 'n paar jaar uitgeput sal wees. Die Regering se beleid is besig om die kostestruktuur te verhoog en die Unie uit die mededingende markte van Afrika en die buiteland te verban.
  - ★ **Belastings** is hoog en die belastingstelsel word sleg toegepas. Die belastingsbeleid ontmoedig die uitbreiding van produksie, die opbou van kapitaalreserwes, en die vervanging van verouderde masjinerie.
  - ★ **Markte** word beperk. Op Ficksburg het dr. Verwoerd besluit wie toegelaat sal word om die dorpsgebied binne te kom en by sekere winkels te koop. Die geweldige potensiale mark van natuurelleverbruikers bly onontwikkeld.
- Sasol alleen het £20,000,000 verloor ten gevolge van 'n sleg-opgestelde kontrak wat geen behoorlike waarborgs bevat het dat die fabriek en masjinerie doeltreffend sal wees nie.
- Foskor, na vier jaar en die uitgawe van £21-miljoen, sukkel nog steeds om voldoende rotsfosfaat teen 'n redelike wins te produseer. Die waarde van aandele en die effektemark het binne 'n enkele jaar met £209-miljoen gedaal.

## U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

- 'n Uitbreidende handel en nywerheid sal die grondslag van die nuwe voorspoed onder 'n Verenigde Party-regering vorm:
- ★ **Kapitaal** vir beleggingsdoeleindes sal weer na ons land stroom.
- ★ In 1947 en 1948 het nie minder as £273-miljoen na Suid-Afrika gekom nie. Kapitaal wat die Regering tans deur middel van belastings opeis, sal vrygestel word vir ons handel en nywerheid.
- ★ **Grond** en industriële persele, asook vervoergeriewe, krag en water sal beskikbaar gestel word vir die ekonomiese oprigting van nuwe nywerhede. Die natuurelleservate sal ontwikkel word met behulp van die blankes se vernuf en kapitaal as 'n integrerende deel van die Unie se ekonomie.
- ★ **Arbeid** sal volop en beter opgelei wees. Staatsondersteunde immigrasie sal geadministreer word deur 'n nuwe Departement van Immigrasie, en sal die land van half-geskoolde en geskoolde werkers voorsien. Die aanvaarding van ekonomiese integrasie as 'n werklikheid sal 'n behoorlike opgeleide en getalsterke natuurellesarbeidsmag tot beskikking van die land stel.
- ★ **Intensiewe tegniese opleidingstelsel** vir blanke werkers sal ingevoer word.
- ★ **Vervoer:** Vervoerdienste in Suid-Afrika sal verbeter word. Nuwe spoorwegskakels tussen die Unie en die naburige lande sal ontwikkel word; die aanbou van olie-pyplyne sal ernstig oorweeg word; hawefasiliteite sal aansienlik verbeter word en die beperkings op padvervoer sal in hersiening geneem word sodat hierdie vervoerstelsel 'n behoorlike bydrae tot die land se voorspoed kan lewer.
- ★ **Pryse** sal verminder word deur die V.P.-Regering se beleid om produksie te verhoog.
- ★ **Belastings.** 'n Inkomstebelastingsnavorsingsraad sal benoem word. Die belasting op Maatskappye sal in hersiening geneem word om groter uitbreiding van ons handel en nywerheid aan te moedig, byv., deur verhoogde rabatte t.o.v. die vervanging van verouderde masjinerie.



Die Verenigde Party het nog altyd uit sy pad gegaan om ons handel en nywerheid aan te moedig. In 1933 het die Verenigde Party die Departement Handel en Nywerheid in die lewe geroep. In 1945 die Raad vir Wetenskaplike en Nywerheidsnavorsing, in 1945 die Buro vir Standaard, en in 1947 die Raad vir die Ontwikkeling van Natuurlike Hulpbronne. Die Wet op Nywerheidsontwikkeling en die Wet op Seevisserye van 1940 is die werk van die Verenigde Party-Regering. Die ou S.A.P.-Regering het Eskom en die Raad van Handel gestig.



# **U die gesalarieerde manne sal groter VOORSPOED GENIET want . . .**

Min klasse is so swaar getref deur ons ekonomiese agteruitgang as die gesalarieerde werkers. Hulle inkomste koop vandag minder en minder namate die koste van lewensonderhoud al hoe hoër styg.

Professionele werkers is veral vatbaar vir veranderings in die ekonomiese klimaat. Die Nat.-regering kan hulle geen veiligheid vir die toekoms belowe nie.

## **U LOT ONDER DIE NAT.-BEWIND**

### **LEWENSKOSTE**

Lone wend tevergeefse pogings aan om pryse in te haal. Sedert 1948 het die waarde van die pond-noot met 6/1d. gedaal. Familielide van kantoorwerkers vind dat hul lewensstandaard geleidelik verlaag word.

### **BELASTINGS**

Die nuwe belasting wat sedert 1948 deur die Nasionale Party-regering gehef is, oortref die belasting wat afgeskaf of verminder is, met £37-miljoen per jaar. Sedert 1948 het die Regering meer as £200-miljoen uit die sakke van belastingbetalers gehaal om die Regering se kapitaalprogram te finansier.

### **LONE**

Die kantoorwerker wat vandag £75 per maand verdien, ontdek dat sy salaris net £50 werd is in terme van die waarde van geld in 1948. 'n Halwe miljoen dagvaardings vir skuld word elke jaar uitgereik.

### **SPAARGELD VERDWYN**

Die waarde van die geld wat by bouverenigings en versekeringsmaatskappye gespaar is, daal nog steeds. Ten gevolge hiervan word die voorsiening wat die kantoorwerker gemaak het vir 'n deposito op 'n eie huis, sy vakansie, die opvoeding van sy kinders en sy aftree-dag al hoe onveiliger.

### **MEDIESE KOSTE**

Die koste om u familie in goeie gesondheid te hou, styg aanhoudend. Die vooruitstrewende hospitalisasieskemas wat deur die Verenigde Party ingevoer is, is ingrypend deur die Nasionale ingekort.

## **U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING**

Onder 'n Verenigde Party-regering sal die gesalarieerde werker se inkomste en sy kanse op vooruitgang in 'n uitbreidende ekonomie aansienlik verbeter word. Die gewone burger sal in staat wees om gebruik van die dienste van professionele manne te maak.

### **GESINSTOELAES**

Gesinne sal verbeterde en groter toelaes ontvang. Die huidige stelsel van kortings op inkomstebelasting t.o.v. kinders sal uitgebrei word.

Belasting sal daal want minder geld sal uit die sakke van belastingbetalers gehaal word om regeringslenings te finansier. Belastingbetalers sal toegelaat word om spesiale Staatseffekte te koop, en 'n gedeelte van die geld wat hieraan bestee word, sal vir die doeleindes van Inkomstebelasting afgetrek kan word.

'n Spesiale bydraende nasionale pensioenskema sal ingestel word. Professionele manne en gesalarieerde werkers sal toegelaat word om die bedrae wat hulle vir 'n jaargeld betaal, van hul opgawe van inkomste af te trek.



### **DUURTETOESLAG**

Die V.P.-Regering sal 'n voorbeeld aan die handel en nywerheid stel deur die Duurtetoeslag wat op die oomblik op 'n baie lae peil vasgepen is, van hierdie beperkinge te bevry, en dit daarna gereeld by omstandighede aan te pas. Die grootste deel van die Duurtetoeslag sal ook by basiese lone ingelyf word.

# PENSIONARISSE EN SOSIALE WELSYNS- GELDTREKKERS

Hoewel pensioene verhoog is, ontvang pensionarisse 'n kleiner deel van die Regering se totale uitgawes.

Die middele-toets bring mee dat mynteringlyers vandag uiters onbillik behandel word.

Ondanks 'n opvallende vermeerdering in die volksinkomste word bejaarde mense wat 'n eie huis besit of 'n klein bedraggie gespaar het, vandag op die allerwreedste wyse gepenaliseer.

***Versoeke vir die instelling  
van 'n Bydraende Nasionale  
Pensioenskema is deur die  
Nasionale Partyregering  
verwerp.***

Onder 'n Verenigde Party-regering sal 'n Bydraende Nasionale Pensioenskema ingestel word. Dit sal beteken dat iedere persoon in Suid-Afrika geregtig sal wees op 'n doeltreffende pensioen in die aand van sy of haar lewe.

Tot tyd en wyl hierdie skema ingestel word, sal die bestaande pensioenwette gewysig word. M.a.w. die middele-toets sal op so 'n manier gewysig word

dat mense met vaste eiendom of spaargeld, tot 'n waarde van £3,000 nie die waarde van die huurgeld of rente op sodanige bates sal hoef by te voeg by die vasstelling van die middele-toets nie.

Voordele betaalbaar kragtens die Pneumokoniose-wet en die Wet op die Skadeloosstelling van Werkliede sal nie ingesluit word by die middele-toets as daar aansoek om 'n pensioen gedoen word nie.

Die Verenigde Party sal sorg vir die simpatieke heroorweging van die gevalle van oudsoldate en hul afhanklikes wat beweer dat hul pensioenregte gedurende die afgelope tien jaar ingekort is.

Deeglike ondersoek sal ingestel word na die effek wat die verhoogde koste van lewensonderhoud sedert 1948 op alle soorte pensionarisse gehad het met die oog op verligting aan hierdie mense, as dit blyk dat verligting nodig is.



Dit is die beleid van die Verenigde Party—die Party wat Pensioene vir Oorlogsveterane ingestel het; wat gesorg het vir die Pensioene vir Blindes; vir Ongeskiktheidstoelaes; vir Toelaes vir Moeders; vir Onderhoudstoelaes vir Kinders; vir Toelaes vir Weduwees, en die nuwe skaal van Oorlogspensioene in 1942, en die Party wat verantwoordelik was vir die instelling van 'n Departement van Sosiale Welsyn.

# **WAAR SAL DIE GELD**

## **VANDAAN KOM ?**

### **Die Verenigde Party**

**sal die geld wat nodig vir die uitvoering van sy voorspoedbeleid is, vind sonder dat dit nodig is om belasting te verhoog.**

- 1. Minder geld sal van die belastingbetaler afgevat word om die Regering se kapitaalprogram te finansier. Die Nasionale Party-regering het vir hierdie doel meer as £200-miljoen uit die sakke van belastingbetalers gehaal.**
- 2. Ingrypende stappe sal gedoen word om 'n einde aan Staatsverkwisting te maak.**
- 3. Die koste verbonde aan die administrasie van onnodige ideologiese maatreëls soos die Bevolkingsregistrasiewet sal tot 'n einde kom.**
- 4. Groter ekonomiese bedrywigheid sal die Regering se inkomste verhoog sonder die noodsaaklikheid om belasting te vermeerder.**
- 5. Meer produktiewe gebruik sal van beskikbare arbeidsbronne gemaak word.**
- 6. Die kapitaalinstroming uit die buiteland sal op nuwe nywerhede en nuwe werkgeleenthede uitloop, en ook dit sal die Regering se inkomste verhoog.**
- 7. Die ontwikkeling van binne-landse en buitelandse markte sal die staatsinkomste wat van handel afhanklik is, verhoog.**





**VERKIESINGSMANIFES**

**VAN DIE**

**NASIONALE PARTY**

**1958**

# A. FONDAMENTSTENE

## 1. SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE

**Die Nasionale Party staan vir SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE. Dit was die grondslag van sy ontstaan in 1914. Dit is sy leuse wat oor lange jare met DAAD en WOORD gestand gedoen is.**

Na 44 jaar staan die Party nog net so sterk as dieselfde grondslag — die grondslag waarvoor die Sappe genl. Hertzog in 1912 uit die S.A. Party, die voorganger van die Verenigde Party, uitgeskop het. Die Nasionale Party bou nog steeds voort op dieselfde grondslag: SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE.

### Ver Gevorder

Daar is reeds ver gevorder op dié pad. Soewereine onafhanklikheid is verkry. Enorme nywerheidsontwikkelinge met eie staalfabrieke het gevolg. Krag-verwekking is op geweldige skaal uitgebrei. 'n Staatsondersteunde olie-uit-steenkol onder-neming is opgerig. Fosfaat word ontgin. Suid-Afrika het sy eie amptelike vlag en sy eie amptelike volkslied.

Dit alles is verkry omdat die Nasionale Party die leuse SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE handhaaf en hierdie beginsel pligsgetrou uitlewe.

### V.P.-optrede

Die Verenigde Party praat hierdie leuse na. In die afgelope tyd word dit dikwels gedoen.

Toe die Vlagwet voor die Volksraad gedien het, het die V.P.-verteenwoordigers daarteen gestem. Etlike Engelse koeran-te het die stap verwelkom, maar V.P.-leiers het dit bestry. Daar was geen geesdrif vir „Die Stem” as amptelike volkslied nie. Die V.P. het slegs kommer vir 'n ander vlag en 'n ander volkslied, wat nie eie aan Suid-Afrika is nie, geopenbaar.

Sasol is nog nooit deur die V.P. aan sy hart gedruk nie. Foskor is nog steeds stiefmoederlik behandel.

Hierdie houding stem presies ooreen met die Sap-houding in 1928. Die destydse Sap-party, voorganger van die huidige V.P., het die stigting van Yskor as staatsondersteunde staal-nywerheid hand en tand beveg. Sappe wou liewer sien dat staal uit die buiteland ingevoer word!

Hierdie beskouing leef nog voort in die harte van V.P.-manne. Geen wonder dus dat die V.P. in wye kringe van huigeligheid betig word, wanneer hy sê dat hy vir SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE staan.

## 2. KLEURVRAAGSTUK

**Die Nasionale Party se Apartheidsbeleid het gegroei uit die ervaring van die gevestigde blanke bevolking van die land.**

**Dit is gegrond op die Christelike beginsels van reg en billikheid.**

### Doelstelling

Met apartheid word beoog:

- (a) die handhawing en beskerming van die blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika as 'n suiwer blanke ras en die behoud van sy heerskappy.
- (b) aparte ontwikkeling met reg en billikheid teenoor die nie-blankes. Dit, reg en billikheid teenoor die blankes en nie-blankes, is die enigste beleid wat botsings tussen blank en nie-blank sal uitskakel.

### V.P.-beleid

Teenoor hierdie beleid van Apartheid staan die Verenigde Party se beleid van integrasie, 'n beleid wat deur die Nasionale Party verwerp word.

Die rigting wat die V.P. opgaan, word duidelik aangedui in sy brosjure: „Die Naturelle-beleid van die V.P.”, soos goedgekeur deur die Uniale Kongres op 16, 17 en 18 November 1954.

Hierdie beleidsverklaring kom nog ooreen met wat die V.P. in sy handboek van 1943 omskryf het, naamlik:

1. „Ons beleid is om politieke regte geleidelik toe te staan aan diegene wat die bewys lewer dat hulle in staat is om die ooreenstemmende pligte na te kom.” (Hier word verwys na naturelle, kleurlinge en Indiërs, soos die V.P. self verduidelik het).

2. Op bladsy 18(b) van die 1954-verklaring staan:

„Die Party erken dat die naturelle opgelei moet word om 'n demokratiese verantwoordelikeheid te ontwikkel, en dat, namate hulle in die rigting van die westerse beskawing-standaarde beweeg, hul aanvaarding van 'n **groter aandeel in die administrasie** van die LAND noodsaaklik sal word vir die handhawing van harmonie tussen die rasse.”

3. Op bladsy 18(a) word verklaar:

„Eise om 'n uitbreiding van politieke regte is 'n onvermybare historiese gevolg van 'n toename in ekonomiese mag.”

4. Op bladsy 4(b) staan:

„Die Party AANVAAR ekonomiese integrasie nie alleen as 'n feit nie maar as 'n NOODSAAKLIKE, dinamiese proses wat sal voortduur.”

Prof. Sakkie Fourie, L.V. het in 1954 verklaar:

„Jy (kan) nie vir ekonomiese integrasie staan, die GRONDSLAG VAN POLITIEKE MAG DWARSDEUR DIE WERELDGESKIEDENIS, en dink jy kan vir ewig politieke desintegrasie of politieke apartheid handhaaf nie.” (Hansard 1954/643).

5. Adv. J. G. N. Strauss, Leier van die V.P. het in 1954 in die Volksraad gesê:

„Ons is bereid om verskeie stappe te doen insover dit die politieke regte van die nie-blankes aanbetref.” (Hansard 1954/839).

6. En nou word in die Naturelle-beleid van 1954 op bladsy 20(c) geskryf:

„Aangesien die naturellevolke nog nie die ontwikkelingstadium bereik het waar hulle in staat is om die **VOLLE demokratiese regte van BURGERSKAP te beoefen** nie, sal die V.P. hom toelê op die vasstelling van die beste metodes . . . .”

### Waarskuwing

**Die Nasionale Party waarsku die blanke kiesers ook nou weer teen die gevaarlike koers van die V.P. In sy beleidsverklaring bepaal die V.P. die volgende:**

1. Politieke regte aan nie-blankes sal geleidelik toegestaan word.
2. 'n Groter deel van die landsadministrasie sal **aan naturelle gegee word**.
3. Politieke regte volg op ekonomiese mag.
4. Ekonomiese integrasie is 'n noodsaaklike proses.
5. Stappe vir politieke regte sal gedoen word.
6. Volle demokratiese regte van burgerskap word in die vooruitsig gestel.

Laasgenoemde beteken niks minder as volle stemreg aan die naturelle nie.

### Aparte Verteenwoordiging Verwerp

As hierby in aanmerking geneem word dat aparte verteenwoordiging deur V.P.-manne, soos adv. J. G. N. Strauss, S. F. Waterson en H. F. Oppenheimer, in die openbaar verwerp is, dan bly net die gemeenskaplike kieserslys oor. Daarom het mnr. Stanley Uys, rubrieksrywer in die „Sunday Times” op 23 Februarie 1956 as volg in dié blad geskrywe (vertaal):

„Die implikasie is duidelik: as aparte verteenwoordiging 'n mislukking is dan is daar geen alternatief behalwe die gemeenskaplike stemreg.”

### Gevaarlike Pad

Die voorgaande bewys duidelik dat „blanke leierskap” waarvan die V.P. praat net 'n blote slagspreuk is. **Die V.P. se pad is DIE PAD VAN EKONOMIESE INTEGRASIE WAT NA POLITIEKE INTEGRASIE LEI — die einde van die blanke se gesag in Suid-Afrika!** Die kiesers word gewaarsku. Mnr. Harry Oppenheimer het tydens die Gesamentlike Sitting van 1956 reeds gesê dat politiek in Suid-Afrika nie op 'n rassegrondslag gevoer moet word nie.

## 3. VOLKSEENHEID

**Die Nasionale Party beywer hom sedert sy stigting vir samewerking tussen Afrikaans- en Engels-sprekendes in Suid-Afrika. As gevolg daarvan is verskillende stappe gedoen wat dien as basis vir samewerking — Volkseenheid.**

## Stappe Gedoen

Die leusa SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE het vir beide taalgroepe gedien as wekroep om onverdeelde liefde en trou aan Suid-Afrika te gee. Die verheffing van **Afrikaans tot amptelike taal**, naas Engels, het gelykwaardigheid aan die twee taalgroepe besorg. **Suid-Afrika se soewereine onafhanklikheid** het die land verhef uit koloniale knegskap tot die gelyke van enige ander soewereine onafhanklike land. **Dubbele burgerskap** is vervang deur eie burgerskap. Die **Unievlag** wapper as simbool van 'n eie aparte nasieskap. „Die Stem” as amptelike volkslied weerklank as jubellied van 'n reeds gevonde volkseenheid, sterker as ooit tevore. Beide taalgroepe aanvaar hierdie dinge — hulle is albei trots daarop.

## Dringende Beroepe

Behalwe hierdie daadwerklike stappe, het leiers van die Nasionale Party by herhaling beroepe gedoen om samewerking tussen die taalgroepe en met diepe erns verklaar dat dit 'n absolute en dringende noodsaaklikheid is vir die behoud van die blanke gesag in Suid-Afrika.

## Plegtige Verzekering

Die huidige Eerste Minister het, in 'n oproep om eenheid en samewerking, op 23 Mei 1955, sy bekende politieke geloofsbelydenis aan Engelssprekendes gerig en verklaar:

„Beide taalgroepe, afgesien van hul gelyke regte van burgerskap, is geregtig op wat hulle eie is, of dit — om maar net 'n paar te noem — nou ook hul taal, kultuur of godediens raak.

„Beide groepe het die reg om te eis dat hulle opregtheid in strewe ten opsigte van hierdie saak nie in twyfel getrek sal word nie of dat bykomstige motiewe nie aan hulle toegeskryf sal word nie wanneer daar verskille van mening ten opsigte van ander sake mag ontstaan. **Sover dit my as persoon raak, het ek myself, in beide my privaat sowel as politieke lewe, verbind om onverbidlik op hierdie grondslag te staan en dit uit te lewe.**”

Hier is die waarborg van 'n man, wat bekend staan vir sy politieke opregtheid. Hy is die Hoofleier van die Nasionale Party. Hy is die Eerste Minister van Suid-Afrika. **Hy nooi die taalgroepe uit tot samewerking. Hy waarborg aan elkeen reg en billikheid, t.o.v. sy taal, kultuur en ander regte.**

## Die V.P.

Hierteenoor staan die beleid van die V.P. Hierdie Party is gedurig besig om rasseverskille te beklemtoon, om wantroue en agterdog te saai.

Ook die bostaande politieke geloofsbelydenis van die Eerste Minister is sonder enige geesdrif deur die V.P. ontvang. In plaas van dankbaarheid, is die verklaring met kille onverskilligheid gebruik vir verdagmakery.

**WATTER STAP, behalwe lippetaal, HET DIE VERENIGDE PARTY NOG OIT GEDOEN OM VOLKSEENHEID OF RASSESAMEWERKING TE BEVORDER? Gedurende sy bewind en dié van sy voorganger, is die twee taalgroepe telkens onderwerp aan die grootste verbittering en rassetwis wat Suid-Afrika nog ooit ondervind het. Dit is al.**

## 4. REPUBLIEK

### Die Nasionale Party is die republikeinse party in Suid-Afrika.

Vandat die republikeinse doelstelling in 1936 opgeneem is in die Party se program van beginsels, is dit duidelik gestel dat die Republiek tot stand gebring sal word alleen op die breë grondslag van die volkswil en met die **getroue inagneming van die gelyke taal en kultuurregte van die twee seksies van die blanke bevolking.**

In ooreenstemming hiermee is neergelê dat die Republiek alleen tot stand gebring kan word as gevolg van 'n spesiale en besliste opdrag van die stemgeregtigde blanke bevolking, en nie bloot as gevolg van 'n parlementêre meerderheid nie, wat by 'n gewone verkiesing verkry mag word.

Die Party sal die Republiek tot stand bring sodra hy die bewys het dat 'n genoegsame meerderheid van blanke kiesers ten gunste daarvan is.

In die lig van die Londense verklaring van 1949, beskou die Party dat die verklaring van die Republiek en uittrede uit die Statebond twee afsonderlike vrae geword het wat nie op dieselfde tyd behoef te beantwoord word nie. Oor die laaste een van hierdie twee kan daar op enige bepaalde tydstip geoordeel en beslis word, met die oog op die dan heersende

omstandighede en Suid-Afrika se belange en posisie in die Internasionale wêreld.

## B. VORDERING MET APARTHEID

### Apartheidsprogram

**Daar is ver gevorder ten opsigte van die Nasionale Party se Apartheidsprogram. Die stappe wat geneem is, is so baie dat dit moeilik geglo kan word dat soveel in die korte bestek van 10 jaar gedoen is.**

Die toenemende steun, wat sterker en sterker deur die Bantoe aan die Apartheidsbeleid van die Nasionale Regering gegee word, bewys dat Apartheid 'n billike en regverdige beleid is.

### Rasseskeiding

Rasseskeiding is as volg bevorder:

1. Die **reserwes** is uitgebrei ooreenkomstig die wetgewing van 1936.
2. **Bepaalde regsmagte** is aan Kapteins, in terme van die Bantoe-Owerheidswet, opgedra, omdat die Nasionale Party wil hê dat die naturel volgens eie aard en tradisie moet ontwikkel en nie volgens standaarde wat vreemd is aan sy volksaard nie.
3. **Grondbewaring**, gebaseer op die Bantoe se eie inisiatief en arbeid, word in die reserwes ingestel ten einde die drakrag van die gronde te verhoog en bestaansmoontlikhede vir die Bantoe daar te verseker.
4. **Blanke gronde** in die Bantoegebiede word geleidelik vir die Bantoe verkry hoewel blankes nog toegelaat word om op tydelike grondslag daar te bly, solank as wat dit nodig is.
5. **Blanke nywerhede** naby die grense van reserwes word aangemoedig ten einde te voorkom dat die blanke stede deur nie-blankes oorstroom word. Beskerming word in alle geval aan blanke werkers verleen ten einde te voorkom dat lone as gevolg van so 'n proses afgedwing sal word of dat hulle hul werk verloor.

### Bantoe-onderwys

**'n Verdere stoot aan gesonde rasseskeiding is gegee met die Bantoe-onderwyswet.**

Die Bantoe moet toegerus word met kennis om sy eie mense te dien. Hy moet deel van die Bantoe-gemeenskap, met eie tradisies en eie wette, bly.

Hierdie onderwys-wet gooi verantwoordelikhede ook t.o.v. koste en beheer op Bantoe-ouers. Daarom is die uitgawe aan Bantoe-onderwys uit die algemene staatskas deur die Nasionale Regering vasgepen op £6½ miljoen, terwyl daar onder V.P.-bewind geen perk aan die groeiende uitgawe was nie. Na die vaspenning het verskillende V.P.-leiers gekla dat die Nasionale Regering te min aan Bantoe-onderwys spandeer.

**Apartheid beteken dus onteenseglik iets positiefs — nie 'n onderdrukingsproses soos wat die vyande daarvan beweer nie.**

### Beskerming vir Blankes

Rasseskeiding is verder ontwikkel en bevorder deur die beskerming wat dit aan blankes binne blanke gebiede verleen. Doelbewuste maatreëls om skeiding aan te bring, onmiddellik in sommige gevalle, en geleidelik in ander, is ingestel. Daarvan getuig die volgende:

1. Onwettige vreemde naturelle-immigrante is van 800.000 tot 400.000 verminder.
2. Beheer is ingestel oor toestroming uit reservate en gebiede van Hoë Kommissarisse.
3. Werklose en werkskuwe naturelle word na Jeugkampe en Werkkolonies in die reserwes gestuur.

### Bepierking by Blanke Stede

Hier is die volgende stappe gedoen: uitstromingsbeheer uit die platteland en instromingsbeheer na die stede word toegepas, nagenoeg 6.000 werkloses in stede word maandeliks deur die arbeidsburo op plase in diens geplaas.

### Woonbuurteskeiding

Soos boere woonbuurte-segregasie op hul plase toepas, so word dit ook in stede gedoen. Vir byna elke dorp en stad in die Unie is beplanning op die grondslag reeds voltooi.

Ook die volgende is gedoen: streeks- en groepsgebiede vir

lokasies is beplan, genoegsame terrein is daarvoor afgebaken, bufferstreke tussen blanke en nie-blanke stedelike gebiede is ontwerp, paaie en vervoer is beplan om natuurlike-beweging deur blanke gebiede te beperk, diensheffings is ingestel ten einde die finansieringsprobleem op te los, skemas is ontwerp sodat natuurlike hul huise deur middel van huurgeld binne 30 jaar self afbetaal, plakkerskampe in blanke gebiede is verwyder, swartkolle soos Sophiatown (Johannesburg) e.a. word opgeruim, lokasies in die lug is belet (37,000 natuurlike is reeds so uit blanke stede verwyder), natuurlike hospitale word langs lokasies beplan en die beginsel dat natuurlike nie grondbesitters in blanke gebiede kan word nie, is vasgelê.

Op die platteland word natuurlikeplase tussen blankes uitgekoop. So is 13,000 morg reeds ontruim en met nog 28,000 morg word nou gehandel.

## Algemene Skeiding

Baie ander maatreëls om skeiding te bewerkstellig is reeds aangebring:

1. Die kleurslagboom in werkkringe word gehandhaaf.
2. Werkreservering vir afsonderlike rasse is ingevoer.
3. Gemengde en natuurlike-vakbonde word teengegaan.
4. Skoolintegrasie, selfs in privaatskole, is verbied.
5. Apartheid in Universiteite is in beginsel aangeneem.
6. Magte is daargestel om gemengde klubs, gemengde danse, eetpartye, vergaderings en so meer, te verbied.
7. Opname van blankes en nie-blanke in dieselfde sale in hospitale, behalwe in uiterste noodgevalle, is verbied.
8. Die V.P.-wetgewing met stemreg vir Indiërs is herroep.
9. Kleurlinge in Kaapland is op aparte kieserslyste geplaas en kan dus nie meer saam met blankes stem nie.
10. Enige stap, wat die blanke se heerskappy aantast of bedreig, word kragdadig bestry.

## GROEPSGEBIEDE

'n Ander uiters belangrike stap, waardeur Apartheid bevorder is, is die afbakening van aparte woonbuurtes.

Die Verenigde Party voer aan dat hy ook vir aparte woonbuurtes staan, maar hy het die Groepsgebiedewet, wat magtiging daartoe verleen, hardnekkig beveg.

Die volgende dui aan wat in dié verband reeds gedoen is:

|                                                                                      |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Groepsgebiede reeds geproklameer op 11 September 1957                                | 63  |
| Verslae goedgekeur van gebiede wat op 11 September 1957 nog nie geproklameer was nie | 123 |

So word aparte woonbuurtes met woord en daad bevorder.

# C. DIENS AAN SUID-AFRIKA

## 1. NYWERHEDE

### DIE STAALBEDRYF

Die Nasionale Party het sedert sy ontstaan gevoel dat Suid-Afrika ekonomies, sover as wat moontlik is, selfstandig moet word. Nywerhede moes operig word, met staats hulp indien nodig. Dit sou werksgeleenthede skep — werk vir die werker en 'n mark vir die boer.

Daarom het die Nasionale Regering, toe hy in 1924 aan bewind gekom het, dadelik ondersoek begin instel na die moontlikheid van 'n groot staalbedryf vir die land. In 1927 is wetgewing ingedien. Die destydse Sap-party (voorloper van die huidige V.P.) het dié wetgewing met hand en tand beveg.

Slegs die vasberadenheid van die Nasionale Regering het dit moontlik gemaak om die staalnywerheid op so 'n grondslag en skaal te vestig.

Meer as 9,200 blanke werkers word nou deur die bedryf geëmplojeer en die land word nou jaarliks meer as £50 miljoen aan buitelandse valuta bespaar, omdat staal anders ingevoer sou moes word.

### SASOL

Die V.P.-bewind het in 1947 'n lisensie aan 'n privaat onderneming toegestaan om olie-uit-steenkool te vervaardig. Hierdie onderneming kon nie die nodige kapitaal vind nie.

Die Nasionale Regering het toe in 1951 besluit om dit 'n staatsondersteunde onderneming te maak en nou word brandstof, olie, ohemikaleë, e.s.m. fluks geproduseer.

**Duisende werkers word geëmplojeer en ook hier spaar Suid-Afrika geweldige bale aan buitelandse valuta.**

Die V.P. het nog nooit geesdrif vir die onderneming geopenbaar nie. Slegs 'n stroom van kritiek en selfs verdagmakery het uit sy geledere gekom.

## FOSKOR

**Suid-Afrika is in hoofsaak van die buiteland afhanklik vir sy kunsmisvoorrade.** Ru-rotsfosfaat moet op groot skaal ingevoer word.

Ten einde Suid-Afrika ook op dié gebied meer selfonderhoudend te maak, het die Nasionale Regering besluit om rotsfosfaat by Phalaborwa in Oos-Transvaal te ontgin.

As gevolg van geslaagde proefnemings daar, het die Regering besluit om die onderneming te finansier. Die verwagting is dat Phalaborwa binne afsienbare tyd 'n produksie van meer as 350,000 ton ru-rotsfosfaat sal lewer.

**Ook dit maak Suid-Afrika minder afhanklik van invoer en verskaf ook werk vir die werker.**

## ALGEMENE ONTWIKKELING

Danksy die industriële beskermingsbeleid van die Nasionale Party, beleef ons nywerhede 'n ongekende ontwikkeling.

Toe die eerste Nasionale Regering in 1924 aan bewind gekom het, het ons land slegs 7,000 fabriekke gehad met 'n bruto opbrengs van £84 miljoen. Die tarief-beleid wat die Nasionale Party daardie tyd, met kwaal teenkanting van die Sappe, ingevoer het en wat deur die huidige bewind gehandhaaf word, het tot gevolg dat Suid-Afrika vandag meer as 16,500 fabriekke het, terwyl die bruto opbrengs vir 1956 gestyg het tot £1,400 miljoen per jaar.

## GESONDE EKONOMIE

In die afgelope tien jaar het Suid-Afrika onder Nasionale bewind 'n ongekende ekonomiese ontwikkeling beleef.

Die land se bruto volksproduksie het gestyg van £852 miljoen in 1947 tot £1,991 miljoen in 1956.

Die kerngesondheid van die landse ekonomie spreek ook uit die feit dat die bruto binnelandse besparings van £89 miljoen in 1947 geklim het tot £464 miljoen in 1956.

As gevolg van hierdie sterk styging in besparinge is die Unie vandag baie minder afhanklik van buitelandse kapitaal as tien jaar gelede.

Terwyl die Verenigde Party beweer dat die buiteland geen vertroue in Suid-Afrika het nie, kon die Regering in die afgelope tien jaar lenings ten bedrae van £90 miljoen in die buiteland aangaan om in die land se verdere behoeftes te voorsien. Nog nooit tevore in die geskiedenis is in 'n tydperk van 10 jaar lenings van so 'n groot omvang verkry nie en dit nieteenstaande die V.P.-beskuldiging dat die buiteland geen vertroue in Suid-Afrika sou hê nie.

## INVOER EN UITVOER

Die ekonomiese vooruitgang, wat Suid-Afrika in die afgelope tien jaar ondervind het, word ook treffend weerspieël deur die feit dat die land se uitvoerhandel (uitgesonderd goud-uitvoere) van £105 miljoen in 1947 vermeerder het tot £450 miljoen in 1957. Hierdie sterk styging tesame met die groot styging in die goudproduksie het die Unie se ekonomiese posisie baie gunstig beïnvloed.

## SPOORWEGONTWIKKELING

Waar ontwikkeling van die Spoorweë as die land se vernaamste vervoerorganisasie nog steeds gedien het as 'n baie betroubare barometer van die algemene landsontwikkeling, is dit van groot betekenis om daarop te let dat in 1947/48 die totale tonnemaat van alle klasse spoorwegverkeer 52 miljoen ton was. Verlede jaar was dit 75 miljoen ton.

Om die Spoorweë in staat te stel om tred te hou met die land se fenomenale vooruitgang, het die Regering in die tien jaar £321 miljoen voorsien vir spoorwegverbeterings en uitbreidings. Dit wil sê, in die afgelope tien jaar is net soveel kapitaal vir spoorwegontwikkeling voorsien, as in die voorafgaande 50 jaar.

## SORG VIR DIE WERKER

**Die geweldige ontwikkeling van die land het werkgeleentheid vir ons eie mense geskep.** So bv. verskaf die nywerhede werk aan 'n kwartmiljoen blankes alleen. Suid-Afrika het vandag geen werkloosheid nie.

Die Regering het steeds so opgetree dat die belange van

werkgewer en werknemer beskerm is. Danksy die simpatieke optrede van die Regering teenoor die werkers, geniet ons land nywerheidsrus.

Die Regering het in die afgelope tien jaar verskillende maatreëls getref om die belange van die werkers te bevorder.

## NYWERHEIDSKLEURSLAGBOOM

Die grootste diens wat enige regering in Suid-Afrika aan die blanke werkers kan bewys, is die toepassing van nywerheidskleurslagboom.

Teen die heftigste teenkating van die Verenigde Party — binne en buite die Parlement — het die Regering die wetlike kleurslagboom ook van toepassing gemaak in die nywerhede en munisipale dienste om te voorkom dat die blanke werkers nie daar stelselmatig uitgedruk word deur goedkoop nie-blanke arbeid nie.

**Hoewel lewensduurte dwarsdeur die wêreld gestyg het en veral die werkers getref het, het die Regering daarin geslaag om die styging in Suid-Afrika laer te hou as wat die meeste ander lande gedoen het.**

As gevolg van die Regering se vasberade optrede, was die styging in die afgelope tien jaar ten spyte van devaluasie — minder gemiddeld per jaar as onder die vorige V.P.-bewind.

## LONE

Die lone van die werkers het ook algaande gestyg. Lone van amptenare in die Spoorweg-, Staats-, Polisie- en Gevangenisdiens, en ook die leer, is verhoog.

### (a) Spoorwegmanne:

Sedert Mei 1948 is £19 miljoen bestee aan verbeterde salarisse, lone en diensvoorwaardes.

**Dit is ho en behalwe die lewenskostetoelae van £22 miljoen ekstra wat tot 1953 betaal is. In 1951 en 1955 is salaris- en loonverhogings toegestaan wat die Administrasie ££ miljoen en £5½ miljoen onderskeidelik per jaar gekos het.**

**Die gemiddelde basiese loon per kop van blanke werkers, het onder Nasionale bewind gestyg van £364 — uitgesonderd die lewensduurtetoelae — tot £564 — 'n vermeerdering van £200 per jaar.**

### (b) Staatsamptenare:

Sedert 1948 het die getal staatsamptenare gestyg van 105,000 na 128,500, d.w.s. met 22% maar die uitsawe van die Staat aan salarisse en toelae het gestyg van £33 miljoen in 1948 na £77 miljoen in 1957/58, 'n vermeerdering van 133%.

### (c) Nywerheidswerkers:

**Die gemiddelde maandelikse lone en salarisse van blanke nywerheidswerkers het vanaf 1948 tot 1957 met 83% gestyg in vergelyking met 'n styging in die lewenskoste-indeks van 42%.**

Die styging in lone was groter in Suid-Afrika as die lewensduurte-styging in die afgelope tien jaar. Die werklike volksinkome per kop van die bevolking het in die afgelope tien jaar met 35% gestyg — met ander woorde, elke man, vrou en kind besit vandag 'n derde meer aan goedere en dienste as tien jaar gelede.

Vir 'n ontwikelende land is die belastingdruk onder die laagste ter wêreld, en laer as in 1948. Terwyl die belasting wat deur die Regering in 1947 gein is, 12,4 persent van die bruto nasionale inkomste beloop het, is dit nou verminder tot onder die 12 persent.

Blanke seuns het volle geleentheid gekry om as vakmanne opgelei te word, terwyl die Regering opleidingsgeriewe vir volwassenes in die lewé geroep het om ook diegene wat voorheen nie die opleidingsgeleentheid gehad het nie, in staat te stel om ambagsmanne te kan word.

Die Werkloosheidsversekeringswet en die Ongevallewet is gewysig om verbeterde voordele aan werkers in tye van ongeluk, siekte of dood uit te betaal.

Die Regering het die Pneumokoniose-maatreël op die Wetboek geplaas, waarvolgens groot mynteringvoordele aan die mynwerkers besorg is.

Om die verbeterde mynteringvoordele van terugwerkende krag te maak, het die Regering besluit dat die Staat £11 miljoen in die Pneumokoniose-fonds stort.

## LAERINKOMSTEGROEP

Omdat die Nasionale Party nog altyd so simpatiek voel teenoor ons mense in die laerinkomstegroep, het die Regering gesorg dat maatskaplike pensioene meer as verdubbel is in die afgelope tien jaar; dat aan liggaamlikdeelsgeskiktes wat nog

werk kan verrig, gesubsidieerde beskutte werkgeleentheid gebied is, en rehabilitasiesentrums vir hulle opgerig is, sodat hulle hul selfrespek kan behou en terselfdertyd 'n bestaanbare loon kan ontvang.

## PENSIOENE

Ook is pensioene vir spoorwegweduwees ingestel en oor die algemeen is pensioene van Staatsamptenare en Spoorwegamptenare verhoog. Oudstryders- en ouderdomspensioene is ook meer as verdubbel. Private ondernemings is ook aangemoedig om pensioenskemas vir hul werknemers in te stel omdat die Regering masjinerie daargestel het om behoorlik toesig te hou oor sodanige pensioenfondse.

## VOEDSELSUBSIDIES

Om die prys van brood, botter, mielies, ens. so laag as moontlik te hou sodat dit binne die bereik van die laerinkomstegroep is, het die Regering in die afgelope tien jaar groot bedrae aan voedselsubsidies bestee. Vir 1956/57 is £16,798,000 so bestee, terwyl van 1948 tot 1957 £117,000,000 beskikbaar gestel is.

Trouens, as al die dienste en subsidie wat die Regering in die afgelope tien jaar bestee het om die laerinkomstegroep tegemoet te kom deur middel van voedselsubsidies, maatskaplike pensioene, insluitende oudstryderspensioene, beskutte arbeidsdienste, gesondheids- en welsynsdienste, dan beloop dit die groot bedrag van £570 miljoen.

## BEHUISING

Een van die grootste prestasies wat enige regering nog in Suid-Afrika behaal het, was die verskaffing van behuising op die omvangryke skaal wat dit onder Nasionale bewind geskied.

Ten einde die blanke stede en dorpe te bevry van swartkolle — van deurmekaarwonery van blank en nie-blank — het die Regering fondse beskikbaar gestel sodat behuising vir nie-blankes — verwyderd van blanke gebiede — verskaf word.

In hierdie tydperk, het die Regering altesame £115 miljoen beskikbaar gestel vir blanke behuising, teenoor 'n totaal van £35 miljoen aan nie-blanke behuising. In die afgelope tien jaar het die Nasionale Regering meer huise vir blankes verskaf as in enige ander ooreenstemmende tydperk in ons geskiedenis. Dit is die antwoord op die Sap-storie dat die Regering minder vir blankes as nie-blankes doen.

## LEWENSPEIL

As gevolg van al hierdie stappe wat die Regering gedoen het om ons mense ook op stoflike gebied te bevorder, geniet die blankes in Suid-Afrika vandag 'n lewenspeil wat onder die hoogste ter wêreld gereken word.

## LANDBOU FLOREER

Omdat die Nasionale Party die bestaan van 'n gelukkige en welvarende landelike bevolking as essensieel beskou vir 'n gesonde ekonomiese lewe, het die Nasionale Regering in sy bewindsjare daadwerklike stappe gedoen om ons landboubedryf in al sy vertakkinge aan te moedig en te bevorder.

Waar daar voor 1948 voedseltekorte was, is landbouprodukte in die afgelope tien jaar sodanig bevorder dat die landbou tans voedsel kan verskaf aan 'n bevolking wat met 20% toeneem het. Terselfdertyd kan ruime voorrade landbouprodukte vandag uitgevoer word.

**Terwyl die brutowaarde van die landbou- en veeteeltprodukte in 1947 £146 miljoen was, het dit gestyg tot £343 miljoen in 1956.**

Hoewel produktepryse in etlike corsesse lande gedaal het, het produktepryse in Suid-Afrika aansienlik gestyg. Om een voorbeeld te noem, die produsenteprys vir beesvlies op die Johannesburgse mark het gestyg van 60/11d. per 100 pond in 1947 tot 110/1d. per 100 lb. in 1956.

Deur die verskillende stappe wat die Regering onderneem het om die grondvrugbaarheid te verhoog, gepaardgaande met wetenskaplike voorligting, het die gemiddelde opbrengs per beboubare morg ook aansienlik toeneem.

Die gevolg van die positiewe landboubeleid van die Regering was dat die produksie van mielies, koring en talle ander produkte grootliks gestyg het.

Hoewel produksiekoste ook gestyg het — hoofsaaklik as gevolg van die prysstygings van ingevoerde landboubenodighede — het die boer se netto inkomste in die afgelope tien jaar toeneem. Dit het die boere in staat gestel om in die afgelope nege jaar gemiddeld £25 miljoen per jaar aan verdere ontwikkeling en uitbreiding van hul boerdery te bestee, teenoor die karige £3 miljoen per jaar wat gemiddeld per jaar in die laaste



jare van die vorige V.P.-bewind deur boere in hul boerdery belê is.

In tye van ernstige droogte of skades, het die Regering hulpskemas in die lewe geroep. Krediet vir produktiewe landbouondernemings is ruim verleen. Reuse-bedrae is deur die Regering aangewend om besproeiings- en nedersettingswerke deur te voer.

In die afgelope tien jaar het die Regering meer as £850 miljoen beskikbaar gestel om landbou in al sy vertakkinge te help.

## WATERBEWARING EN WATERVOORSIENING

**Die Nasionale Regering is sterk bewus van die feit dat waterbewaring, en die regte besteding daarvan, vir Suid-Afrika van die uiterste belang is. Water is die hartaar van die volk se bestaan.**

Daarom het die Nasionale Regering so baie aan waterbewaring gedoen. Meer geld is sedert 1948 daarvoor beskikbaar gestel as wat al die regerings van 1910 tot 1948 daaraan bestee het.

### (a) Gelde uit Inkomstebegrotings en Leningsposte gesamentlik:

|               |   |             |
|---------------|---|-------------|
| 1910 tot 1948 | — | £32,299,407 |
| 1948 tot 1958 | — | £57,771,629 |

### (b) Gelde uit Leningsposte uitsluitlik:

|             |   |             |
|-------------|---|-------------|
| 1910 — 1948 | — | £13,756,790 |
| 1948 — 1958 | — | £30,158,855 |

### (c) Totale Inhoudsvermoë van staatsdamme:

|                |           |            |
|----------------|-----------|------------|
| In 1948 ... .. | 830,130   | morg voet. |
| In 1958 ... .. | 1,637,345 | morg voet. |

Tans word nog aan grootskaalse uitbreidings en ook aan verbeterings gewerk. Die beraamde koste daaraan is £17,358,000.

Daar is ook 'n aantal staatswaterskemas waaraan nog gebou word. Wanneer dit voltooi is, sal die koste daaraan verbonde £24,737,500 beloop.

In 1948 was daar 91,000 morg onder besproeiing uit staatsdamme. Op die oomblik is dit 129,000 morg.

## TELEFOONDIENS

**Ook in die verband is groot dienste gelewer, net soos op ander terreine.**

Onder die V.P.-bewind is oor die laaste drie jaar (1946 — 1948) £3,941 telefone in stede en dorpe geïnstalleer, asook 5,502 op plase.

Vir die laaste drie jaar van die Nasionale-bewind (1955 — 1957) is die syfers 132,494 in stede en 20,511 op plase.

Sedert 1948 is 'n groot totaal van 373,113 telefone verskaf — 'n groot prestasie!

## EIE BURGERSKAP

**Die Nasionale Regering het in 1949 die mooi daad verrig om die burgers van Suid-Afrika te verhef tot trotse burgers van Suid-Afrika alleen.**

Die ongerymdheid van dubbele burgerskap — burger van Suid-Afrika sowel as Britse onderdaan — is daarmee beëindig.

Hierdie was 'n uiters belangrike stap — volwaardige burgerskap aan die burgers van die soewerein onafhanklike Staat Suid-Afrika. Die gevolg is onverdeelde trou en absolute loyaliteit aan ons eie land. Duidelike tekens van harteliker samewerking en hegte nasieskap, omdat verdeelde trou uitgeskakel is, word meer en meer merkbaar.

## SIMONSTAD

Op 2 April is die Vlootbasis Simonstad deur die Unie-regering van die Britse Admiraliteit oorgeneem.

Hierdie gebeurtenis is 'n trotse in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika en is in 1957 deur die Nasionale Regering bewerkstellig.

Hierdie stap is militêr, sowel as staatkundig, van groot belang. Dit is 'n verdere bewys aan die buitewêreld dat Suid-Afrika 'n selfstandige en soewerein onafhanklike Staat is.

## DIE WEERMAG

Behalwe hierdie geskiedkundige gebeurtenis van Simonstad, is die Weermag van die land nou ook op tipies Suid-Afrikaanse grondslag ingestel: uniforms is ooreenkomstig ge-

wysig, rangtekens is verander, die Kasteel-motief vervang die Kroon-motief, eretekens word deur die Goewerneur-generaal in plaas van die Koningin toegeken.

Behalwe dit is die Weermag uitgebrei, meer doeltreffend georganiseer en gemoderniseer.

## BESTRYDING VAN KOMMUNISME

**Kommunisme is vryelik gepropageer in Suid-Afrika totdat die Nasionale Party aan die stuur van landsake gestel is.**

Die Nasionale Regering het die Kommunistiese Party van Suid-Afrika in 1950 in die ban gedoen, wette aangeneem om die volksgevaarlike organisasie te onderdruk en daadwerklik begin optree teen persone wat hierdie ondermynende leerstelsings gepropageer het.

Twee volksraadslede, en een Provinsiale Raadslid, is ingevolge die Wet tot Onderdrukking van Kommunisme, ontsetel, terwyl die Wet dit ook verbied dat Kommuniste as uitvoerende beamptes op vakbonde kan dien. Baie ander persone se bedrywighede is aan bande gelê en 'n wakende oog word steeds teen ondergrondse bewegings en gevaarlike persone gehou.

## PARLEMENT SOEWEREIN

**Suid-Afrika is 'n vrye soewerein-demokratiese staat, wat volksverteenwoordigers kies om in die Parlement wette vir die handhawing van orde te maak.**

In 1952 is die Wet vir aparte verteenwoordiging van blankes en kleurlinge deur die Appélhof ongeldig verklaar.

Die Nasionale Regering het daarna met wetgewing gekom wat duidelik bepaal dat die Parlement soewerein is, dat hy wette kan maak en dat geen hof sulke wette ongeldig mag verklaar nie.

Met die uitspraak van die Appélhof van 1956 ten gunste van die Regering is hierdie punt nou finaal besleg: **Die Parlement is soewerein.**

## AFRIKA-GEBIEDE

Die nouste voeling word gehandhaaf met die Europese moondhede wat Afrika-gebiede onder hulle beheer het. Onlangs het die betrokke Unie-minister besprekinge in die verband gevoer met die Minister van Buitelandse Sake van die Verenigde Koninkryk, België, Frankryk en Portugal oor sake van gemeenskaplike belang.

## SUIDWES-AFRIKA

Die Nasionale Regering het nog geen duimbreed gewyk t.o.v. sy standpunt dat V.V.O. geen aanspraak het op Suidwes nie. Daarom word nog steeds geweier om verslae van die gebied aan V.V.O. voor te lê of om Suidwes van die Unie los te maak en onder die feitelike voogdyskap van die Verenigde Volke te plaas, 'n organisasie wat vyandig teen Suid-Afrika se tradisionele apartheidsbeleid staan.

Die pogings van die V.V.O. tot inmenging met Suidwes se huishoudelike aangeleenthede, word nie deur die Unie-regering toegelaat nie. Die Nasionale Regering weier beslis om Suidwes vir die „wolwe” te gooi.

## BEROEP OP KIESERS

**Die Nasionale Regering het, getrou aan die beginsels van die Nasionale Party, blykheid en reg aan albei die blanke toedgroepes, sowel as aan die nie-blanke bevolking, laat geskied.**

Alles is gedoen, wat nodig en moontlik was, om die goeie betrekkinge te bewaar en te versterk wat reeds bestaan tussen Suid-Afrika en alle ander lande wat die Westerse en demokratiese leefwyse onderskryf.

Die Regering het dit as sy hoogste plig en taak beskou om die land na die beste van sy vermoë te dien ten einde die voorspoed en geluk van Suid-Afrika en sy bevolking te bevorder.

Hierdie verkiesingsmanifest gee aan die kiesers 'n kort opsomming van die Nasionale Party se koers, sy strewe en sy beleid. Dit toon ook aan dat daar aan die vorige opdragte van die kieserspubliek, by die twee laaste algemene verkiesings, getroue uitvoering gegee is.

## with your support **UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT** will bring prosperity in 1958

The United Party's positive policy will affect the well-being of all South Africa's citizens. Knowing that its government will bring a more prosperous economic climate to South Africa, the United Party can give definite undertakings as to what it will seek to accomplish. Some of them are made to compensate for the neglect and omissions on the part of the Nationalist Government while others are a reinstatement of United Party policy which was rejected or "watered down" by the Nationalist Government.

### **YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE**

Ten years of Nationalist rule brought no relief to the common man. Living costs have *increased*. The food you eat, the clothes you wear, the transport you use, the rent you pay—everything is dearer. According to the Bureau of Census & Statistics, minimum wages rose by only 29.7% between 1950 and 1955. The Cost-of-Living index rose 41%. The average income of households in our ten big cities is £115 per month, according to the Government. So evidently we are expected to bear with ease increases in prices since 1948 such as the following:—

|                           | 1948     | 1957     |
|---------------------------|----------|----------|
| Rumpsteak per lb. Grade I | 2/-      | 3/9d.    |
| Tea per lb.               | 5/2d.    | 8/4d.    |
| Coffee per lb.            | 2/11d.   | 5/6d.    |
| Flour 25 lb.              | 7/4d.    | 9/9d.    |
| Coal per 200 lb.          | 2/7d.    | 5/1d.    |
| Men's suits               | £10.10.0 | £18.18.0 |
| Petrol                    | 2/7½d.   | 3/5d.    |
| Telephone Rent            | £5       | £8       |
| Telephone Calls           | 1½d.     | 2d.      |

You have to spend 29/2d. today to buy what 20/- bought in 1948. But how many families really enjoy £115 per month.

Taxes have *increased*. In 1948 tax paid by a family of four on £800 (equivalent to £1,200 today) was only £1.13.0d. Today on £1,200 (the equivalent of £800 in 1948) that family pays £27.10.0d.

Since 1948 you have been *overtaxed* by over £200 million to finance the Government's loan programme. There is a shortage of investment capital—so that money had to come from your pockets. Government wastage has increased and it's *your* money that is being wasted. So far it has cost you: £60,250 in five years for new houses and furniture for Ministers, not including 13 Cadillacs and 14 "Second" cars bought for their use.

£100,000 *every year* for the monstrous Nationalist Senate.  
£177,825 for Ministerial visits overseas.  
£3,000,000 for white elephant schemes to get rid of "locations in the sky".

£1,000,000 so far for the Population Register.  
£80,000,000 lost in foreign exchange through the inability of the Government to transport manganese and coal to our harbours.  
£219,000,000 through the drop in the share market value of our mines, industries and businesses.

This is what you still have to pay for:  
£3,000,000 for unwanted University apartheid.  
£100,000,000 for putting Native labour back into the reserves within ten years.

### **YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT**

Prosperity depends on: confidence in the Government and the institutions of the nation; a satisfied and prosperous labour force; ample scope and encouragement for private enterprise and adequate public services.

The United Party will give attention to each of these factors and so bring back prosperity based on an expanding economy for all of us, the people of South Africa.

The United Party's realistic Economic Policy holds the key to genuine prosperity. Under a United Party Government—Real Income will increase: Wages will no longer lag behind prices. Practical measures will reduce living costs—Wasteful Government expenditure will be eliminated. The cost structure will eventually be lowered through increased production. Families will receive improved and more generous allowances. Taxes will go down:

United Party Policy will attract new capital from overseas so that—Millions will be available for tax relief as progressively less money is taken from revenue to finance Government loans.

Tax-payers will be allowed to buy special long-term Government bonds. These investments will be deductible for income tax purposes. Family prosperity will improve: There will be

Children's and mothers' allowances.

Special bursaries so that no gifted child will lack higher education.

Improved facilities for vocational training.

More schools, more technical and more training colleges.



These are definite and practical measures. They are being put to the Electorate by the United Party—the party which during its term of office introduced measures such as free hospitalisation and most of the country's social welfare legislation. It was the United Party which decreased taxes by £20 million in 1947 and by a further £18 million in 1948 and which provided the nest egg which allowed Mr. Havenga to give more income tax rebate and pensions in 1949.

# YOU the worker will **PROSPER** *because...*

The United Party maintains that the worker of South Africa has a right to decent wages, adequate housing and sufficient food and clothing for himself and his family—with something left over from his wage packet for savings and recreation.

## **YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE**

### **WAGES (C.O.L.)**

- ★ Your family needs at least £100 a month to live decently; yet you are averaging only £65 a month. The Government claims you are earning £115 per month. Ask yourself "is this true?"
- ★ Half-a-million summonses for debt go out every year, most of them to the working man and woman slaving to make ends meet.
- ★ Living cost allowances have been pegged at 189.4 since 1953—far below the high level prevailing today—216.5 (Jan. 1958).

### **JOB SECURITY**

- ★ Unfair competition by black labour at non-Union wages is resulting from industries established, through Verwoerd's policy, on the borders of the Reserves.
- ★ In less than fifty years' time there will be more non-European than European skilled artisans in the Union unless immigration is increased.
- ★ Dr. Verwoerd's policy of preferring migrant Native labour to a settled labour force is inefficient and costly. It raises costs in industry and leaves less money in the pay-envelope of the European worker.

### **TRADE UNIONS**

- ★ Trade Unions are being divided and split on racial lines. The principle of collective bargaining for higher wages and better working conditions has been undermined.

## **YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT**

The United Party passed the important laws which protected the working man's wages, his unions, his right to collective bargaining. The United Party gave him security in times of unemployment, compensation for accidents and illness, and fair hours with good working conditions.

### **ON THESE FOUNDATIONS THE UNITED PARTY WILL BUILD STILL FURTHER**

#### **WAGE PROSPERITY**

- ★ A United Party government will make the working man's wages worth more.
- ★ A Contributory National Pension Scheme will be established.
- ★ The Unemployment Insurance Fund will be more efficiently administered to speed up assistance to the unemployed worker.

#### **HOUSING**

- ★ The United Party will give greater opportunity to the small private builder to meet the housing needs of the people. The unrealistic income limits of £30 per month for sub-economic loans from the National Housing Commission will be increased.

#### **JOB SECURITY**

- ★ The White worker's job and wage-packet will be protected by the policy of the "rate for the job". Sir de Villiers Graaff pledged in Parliament: "Our Labour Policy recognises the right of European workers to protection against unequal competition from non-European labour."
- ★ Industrial and wage agreements will be enforced to cover a wider field in order to protect the worker from the competition of sweated labour.

#### **UNIONS**

- ★ The Trade Union will once more be made a strong, independent, united and forceful fighter for the rights of the worker. The United Party government will consult with workers' organisations.



This is the programme of a United Party whose leaders were responsible for most of the great measures on which the status and the security of the South African worker were founded. They include: The Industrial Conciliation Act; the Workmen's Compensation Act; the Unemployment Benefit Act; the Improved Wage Act; the Shops, Offices and Factories Act; and the Apprenticeship Act.

# **YOU the farmer will PROSPER *because* . . .**

**. . . the United Party will bring greater economic activity, create and expand internal markets for the farmer's produce and make improved technical and credit facilities available to him.**

## **YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE**

The creeping erosion of Nationalist Policy is eating away at the independence and prosperity of the farmer. The drop in the fortuitous high overseas prices for cereals and other products has exposed the Government's bankrupt policy.

- ★ **LOWER** during the past five years have gone the index figures of prices for cereals and field crops, for summer as well as winter cereals, for poultry and for dairy products.
- ★ **HIGHER** have gone production costs, the prices of implements, trucks, tractors, fuel, spares, foods, fertiliser and building materials.
- ★ **IN THE MIDDLE**, caught in the price-cost squeeze, is the farmer—the man who produces the country's food!
  - Farmers owe millions of pounds to co-operative societies. Banks cannot extend credit much further. Interest rates are rising. Future crops are pledged to the hilt. Many farmers are in serious financial difficulties. The Platteland is becoming depopulated.
  - The Government is lagging behind in soil conservation planning, the extension of agricultural colleges and services to farmers, the provision of better marketing and transport.

## **YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT**

The United Party will . . .

- ★ Properly apply the principle of the Marketing Act that the farmer is entitled to a just reward over his cost of production.
- ★ Tackle the problem of rising costs, and improve marketing methods to increase the internal consumption of agricultural products.
- ★ Calculate farmers' income tax by taking into consideration average incomes over a period of years.
- ★ Expand facilities for agricultural education, and make more extension officers available to farmers.
- ★ Establish a Smallholders Bank for the small plotholder, and take electric power to rural and peri-urban areas.
- ★ Increase the production of fertiliser.
- ★ Abolish the Estate Duties and Donations Tax.



This is the policy of a United Party Government which, in the early thirties, gave the farmer assured prices and markets, and passed the Soil Conservation and Marketing Acts. It is the United Party whose leaders gave the farmer the Land Settlement Act, the Irrigation Act, the Land Bank Act, and the Co-operative Societies Act, and most of the great laws aimed at a stable and progressive farming community.

# YOU the government employee will PROSPER because . . .

Our Public and Railway Services have a great and long tradition of efficiency, impartiality, aloofness from politics and devotion to duty. The United Party will uphold and strengthen that tradition. For this, the public servant must first of all feel secure in his work. He must share in the general prosperity.

## YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE CIVIL SERVANTS

- ★ Despite persistent rises in the prices of food, clothing, rent and transport, the Government pegged C.O.L.A. in 1953 at 189.4, while the price index has since risen to 216.5 (Jan. 1958).
- ★ The salary and wage earner has suffered most.
- ★ Because of the pegging of the C.O.L. Allowances the Civil Servant is subsidising the Government at the rate of £8 million a year.
- ★ From 1947 to 1956 direct and indirect taxes rose from £58 to £108 a year per head of the European population.
- ★ A public servant who earned £60 a month before the war should now be earning £120 a month to maintain his living standards. If, however, that same civil servant were to enjoy his share in the augmented National Income, he should be earning not £120, but £168 a month!
- ★ Important recommendations by staff associations in the Public Service have been brushed aside by the Government.

## RAILWAY WORKERS

- ★ Railwaymen alone have lost, in salaries and wages, no less than £25,000,000 from 1949 to 1957 through the pegging of C.O.L. Allowances. They too are now subsidising the Government to the tune of more than £8 million a year. In five years there were 42,565 resignations from the Railways. The personnel are underpaid, understaffed and overworked. The Government demands excessive overtime and Sunday-time work of Railwaymen. Rents for many Railway houses have almost doubled since 1948; rent and family subsidies have been abolished. Natives are doing work previously performed by European workers.

## TEACHERS

- ★ It is a primary duty of the State to ensure that children receive an adequate education from a contented Teaching Staff. Many schools suffer from staff shortages, and resignations of highly trained men and women are all too frequent.

## POLICE

- ★ The Police Force is overworked, understaffed: it is called upon to devote too much time and energy to minor administrative tasks instead of law and order and to the prevention and detection of crime. Both the Teachers and the Police suffer from the unjust Pegging of C.O.L. Allowances.

## YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT

### CIVIL SERVANTS

- ★ The United Party will unpeg C.O.L. Allowances and adjust them from time to time.
- ★ A further part of Cost-of-Living Allowance will be consolidated into basic wages. Pensions will be increased considerably.
- ★ The United Party's tax policy, with its special provisions for the family man, the tax-payer and the salaried man, will be of special benefit to public servants.
- ★ Grievances and suggestions by representative staff associations will receive sympathetic consideration. Loyalty to the State, and not to a political party, will again be the test of merit.

### TEACHERS

The United Party pledged its support to the present Government if it would meet the just demands of Teachers, yet the Government failed to act.

The United Party *will* act.

Basic wages will be increased and Cost-of-Living Allowances adjusted.

### RAILWAYMEN

Cost-of-Living Allowances will be unpegged and a larger part of such allowances consolidated with basic wages.

Proper consultation with Staff Associations will be resumed.

Politics will not be a factor in determining promotion.

### POLICE

Apart from the unpegging of the Cost-of-Living Allowance and the consolidation of a large part of it in basic wages, the salary scales of men with 10 years' service or more will be revised. The Force will also be relieved of unnecessary extraneous duties.



**THIS is the positive programme of action of the United Party which, while in power, regularly adjusted Cost-of-Living Allowances in spite of the war. It is the policy of the Party which on two occasions applied the greater part of Railway rates increases to increased benefits for Railwaymen. It is the policy of the Party which restored the salary cuts imposed upon Civil Servants, Railwaymen and Teachers by the Nationalist Government in the nineteen-thirty's.**

# YOUR Family will PROSPER *because . . .*

Although it is the man who earns the wages, it is the woman who has to make ends meet. When illness or unemployment strikes, her plight as wife and mother becomes almost unbearable. Facts and figures, as well as her daily experience, confirm what her heart tells her: the lower standard of living, debt and nagging financial difficulties, can only be warded off through her constant vigilance and personal sacrifice.

## YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE

THIS is what the Government have done to the family budget:

- ★ Every month the food bill grows larger. In 1948 first-grade rumpsteak cost 2/- a lb., coffee 2/11 per lb., mealie meal 8½d. for 5 lb., coal 2/7 a bag, jam 1/1 for a 2 lb. tin. You know the prices today.
- ★ Since 1952 even the tax on tobacco has been increased by 6d. a lb.; on cigarettes by 5d. for a packet of 50; and on beer by 1d. per pint.
- ★ Telephone rents have gone up from £5 to £8 and the cost of single calls from 1½d. to 2d. Postage on letters is 33½% higher than in 1948. Telegram charges have doubled.
- ★ Even the nest-egg for the future has lost a third of its value. £1,000 saved in the bank or in insurance in 1947 is now worth only £650.
- ★ Cost of medical care, drugs and hospitalisation can no longer be afforded by the average family. Doctors' fees have increased and free hospitalisation is being abolished. In the Cape and Transvaal free hospitalisation schemes have been, or are being abolished.
- ★ Government food subsidies are beginning to drop, and the price of bread remains high. Since 1949 the price of a white loaf, retail, has risen from 7½d. to 11d. Under the Government's rice monopoly the price of rice has increased to 11½d. per lb.
- ★ Prices of all household goods, furniture, linen, blankets, children's clothing, shoes are due to the Government's inefficiency straining the resources of every family budget.

## YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT

Under a United Party Government, South Africa's prosperity and expansion will lighten the housewife's burden. Greater incomes will mean more money for food, clothes, savings and recreation. The Party's policy aims at doubling real income in a generation—starting NOW.

- ★ The pay-packet will be regularly adjusted as living costs rise.
- ★ United Party will improve health services and maternity benefits.
- ★ Income Tax rebates for children will be increased.
- ★ Special bursaries for talented children of large families will ease the cost of education.
- ★ Women who have to work, whether as office workers, clerks or teachers, will have their rights and working conditions improved by law. The principle of equal pay for equal work will be accepted and progressively applied.
- ★ Your income will buy more.
- ★ You will be able to save.
- ★ Old members of the family will be cared for.



The United Party was responsible for measures such as the Children's Act of 1937, the Welfare Organisations Act of 1947 and the introduction of maternity grants. It was the first Party to bring women into Parliament so that their special talents could be applied to the welfare of the families of South Africa.

# YOU, the Industrialist will PROSPER because . . .

THE UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT will strengthen the Union's share in the vast £16,000 million a year Commonwealth import and export market. Turnover and Markets will expand. A general rise in the standard of living of all races will enlarge the local market. Foreign and African markets will be actively developed.

The United Party Government will co-operate and consult with industry and commerce.

## YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE

- ★ **Capital** is scarce; South Africa needs about £200 million in new capital a year of which at least £80 million should come from overseas. The net inflow of private capital in 1956 was only £1 million while the local capital market has been drained by the Government's compulsory savings levy and its policy of over-taxation.
- ★ **Land:** Dr. Verwoerd's policy is to restrict the development of new industrial townships in existing industrial areas and to encourage industries on the borders of Native Reserves where lower wages are paid to the detriment of established industrial areas.
- ★ **Labour** is in short supply. Rhodesia got an average of 21,000 new immigrants each year from 1950 to 1956. South Africa got only a nett average of just over 3,000. The manner in which influx control is administered is creating an artificial shortage of non-European labour.
- ★ **Transport:** Since 1948 Railway rates have been raised by more than 32%. There is insufficient transport for industry and commerce and external markets have been severely restricted.
- ★ **Production Costs** have climbed steeply. There is little sign of industrial planning to take the place of the expiring marginal gold mines. Government policies are raising the cost-structure and forcing the Union out of competitive markets in Africa and overseas.
- ★ **Taxes** are up and badly applied. Fiscal policy discourages increased production, the building of capital reserves and the replacement of obsolete plant.
- ★ **Markets** are being restricted. In Ficksburg, Dr. Verwoerd laid down who would be permitted to enter townships and patronise shops. The vast potential market of Native consumers remains under-developed.  
Sasol alone lost £20,000,000 wasted as a result of an ill-designed contract which excluded proper warranties that the plant would be efficient.  
Foskor, after four years and £2½ million expenditure, is still struggling to produce sufficient rock phosphate at a reasonable profit. Stock Exchange shares fell by £209 million in one year.

## YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT

Expanding industry and commerce will be part of the new prosperity under the United Party Government.

- ★ **Capital** will again flow into the country for investment.
- ★ In 1947 and 1948 no less than £273 million entered South Africa. Capital which the Government is now appropriating through taxation will be freed for commerce and industry.
- ★ **Land** and industrial sites providing transport, power and water will be made available for economic siting of industries. The Native Reserves will be developed, with European skill and capital, as an integral part of the Union's economy.
- ★ **Labour** will be more plentiful and better trained. State-aided immigration administered by a new Ministry of Immigration will supply semi-skilled and skilled workers. The acceptance of economic integration as a fact will supply a properly trained and numerically adequate Native labour force. An intensive system of technical training for European workers will be introduced.
- ★ **Transport** services in South Africa will be improved. New rail links between the Union and her neighbours will be developed; the construction of oil pipelines actively considered; harbour facilities will be greatly improved and the restraints on road transport reviewed with a view to enabling it to make a proper contribution to the Nation's prosperity.
- ★ **Costs** will be lowered through United Party Government policies to increase production.
- ★ **Taxes.** An Income Tax Research Board will be established. The Companies Tax will be reviewed to permit more expansion for industry and commerce, e.g. by increasing rebates for the replacement of obsolete plant.



The United Party has always encouraged industry and commerce. It established the Department of Commerce and Industries in 1933, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in 1945, the Bureau of Standards in 1945 and the Natural Resources Development Council in 1947. The Industrial Development Corporation Act and the Sea Fisheries Act of 1940 were the work of the United Party Government. The old S.A.P. Government created Escom and established the Board of Trade.

# **YOU the salaried people WILL PROSPER *because* . . .**

Few classes are harder hit these days than salaried workers who see their incomes buying less and less as living costs continue to soar.

Professional workers are particularly vulnerable to changes in the economic climate. The Nationalist Government cannot give them security for the future.

## **YOUR LOT UNDER NATIONALIST RULE**

### **LIVING COSTS**

Wages continue to lag behind prices. Since 1948, the pound note has lost 6/1d. in value. The family of the office worker is finding its standard of living being gradually lowered.

### **TAXES**

New taxes levied by the Nationalist Government since 1948 exceed taxes removed or reduced by £37 million a year. Since 1948 over £200 million has been taken off the tax-payer to finance the Government's capital programme.

### **SALARIES**

The office worker who earns £75 a month finds that amount is only worth £50 in terms of the value of money in 1948. Half-a-million summonses for debt are issued every year.

### **DWINDLING SAVINGS**

Money saved in Building Societies and Insurance Companies is still dropping in value. As a result the office worker's provision for the deposit on his home, his holiday, the education for his children and his old age, is becoming less secure.

### **MEDICAL COSTS**

The cost of keeping a family in good health has been rising steadily. The Government has curtailed the progressive hospital scheme introduced by the United Party.

## **YOUR FUTURE PROSPERITY UNDER UNITED PARTY GOVERNMENT**

Under a United Party Government the salaried worker's income and his chances of improvement in an expanding economy will be enhanced. The ordinary citizen will be in a better financial position to make use of the services of professional men to a greater extent.

### **FAMILY ALLOWANCES**

Families will receive improved and more generous allowances. The present system of rebate of Income Tax for children will be extended.

Taxes will come down as less money is taken from the tax-payer to finance Government Loans. Tax-payers will be permitted to buy special Government Bonds, part of which will be deductible from Income Tax for tax purposes.

A special contributory National pension scheme will be established. Professional men and salaried workers will be permitted to subtract premiums due for annuities from income for tax purposes.



**COST-OF-LIVING ALLOWANCES:** The United Party Government will set an example to private employers by unpegging Cost-of-Living Allowances from their present low level and adjusting them regularly. A larger part of Cost-of-Living Allowance will be incorporated in basic wages.



# PENSIONERS AND SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFICIARIES

Although pensions have increased, pensioners are receiving a smaller share of total Government expenditure.

Phthisis pensioners are subject to grave injustices under the means test.

In spite of marked increase in the national income, elderly people who own their own homes or have saved a small amount, are being cruelly penalised.

*Requests for the introduction of a Contributory National Pension Scheme have been rejected by the Nationalist Government.*

Under the United Party a Contributory National Pension Scheme will be established which would mean that every person in South Africa will become entitled to an adequate pension in his or her old age.

Pending the introduction of the above scheme, the existing pension laws will be amended to achieve a

revision of the Means Test so that people who own fixed property or savings up to a value of £3,000 will not have the rental value or interest on such assets included in the Means Test.

Benefit under the Pneumoconiosis Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act will not be included in the Means Test for any pensions.

Ex-soldiers and their dependants who claim that their pension rights have been unjustly affected during the past 10 years will have their cases re-examined by a sympathetic United Party Government.

The effect upon all types of pensioners of increased living costs since 1948 will be thoroughly examined with a view to giving relief where justified.



This is the policy of the United Party—the Party which instituted War Veterans' Pensions for the Blind; Disability Allowances; Mothers' Grants; Children's Maintenance Grants; Widows' Allowances and the new scale of War Pensions in 1942; and for the first time established a Department of Social Welfare.

# ***WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM ?***

## **The United Party**

**will be able to find the necessary money for implementing its prosperity policy without raising taxes.**

- 1. Less money will be taken from the taxpayer to finance the Government's capital programme. The Nationalist Government took more than £200 million from taxpayers for this purpose.**
- 2. Strong measures will be taken to end Government wastage.**
- 3. The cost of administering unnecessary ideological measures like the Population Registration Act will cease.**
- 4. Greater economic activity will increase the Government's income without raising the rate of taxation.**
- 5. More productive use will be made of available labour resources.**
- 6. The capital inflow from overseas will mean new industries and new jobs which will also be new sources of government revenue.**
- 7. The development of internal and external markets will augment government income depending on trade.**



# 1961

18 OKTOBER/OCTOBER

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                                              | Setels verower/<br>Seats won | Participating parties which have won seats                                                                        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>3. Nasionale Unie (NU)<br>4. Die Progressiewe Party (PP) | 49<br>105<br>1<br>1          | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP)<br>3. National Union (NU)<br>4. The Progressive Party (PP) |

## Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Ooreenkoms tussen die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie.
2. Mnr J H Steyl, sekretaris van die Federale Raad het my persoonlik meegedeel dat dr H F Verwoerd die eerste minister en hoofleier van die Nasionale Party opdrag gegee het dat daar vir die algemene verkiesing van 1961 geen afsonderlike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik sal word nie.
3. Ooreenkoms tussen die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie.
4. Die Progressiewe Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik nie.

## Sources of election manifestos

1. Agreement between the United Party and the National Union.
2. Mr J H Steyl, secretary of the Federal Council informed me personally that Dr H F Verwoerd the prime minister and leader of the National Party, had instructed that no separate election manifesto would be issued for the 1961 general election.
3. Agreement between the United Party and the National Union.
4. The Progressive Party never issued an official election manifesto.

# Ooreenkoms

tussen die

# VERENIGDE PARTY en die NASIONALE UNIE

Onderteken te Bloemfontein,

15 Augustus 1961.

**D**IE Republiek van Suid-Afrika gaan 'n tydperk van stygende spanning en krisis tegemoet, waarvan die einde vir niemand sigbaar is nie. Die blote feit dat twee jaar voor die bepaalde tyd 'n algemene verkiesing uitgeroep word, bewys dat ook die Regering 'n verslegting van die posisie verwag.

Die afsluiting van 'n groot konstitusionele stryd bet die gordyn oor ou twiste laat sak. Daar is ook duidelike tekens van nuwe denke oor ons rassevraagstukke.

Op geen beter manier kan Suid-Afrika hierdie vraagstukke benader nie as deur gebruik te maak van die gesamentlike wysheid en ervaring van beide Blanke taalgroepe, ingelig deur daardie deeglike oorlegpleging met die nie-Blankes wat die grondslag van 'n gesonde rassebeleid moet wees.

Alleen 'n Regering waarin beide Blanke taalgroepe mede-verantwoordelikheid vir beleid aanvaar, en wat elke redelike weg soek om instemming by die nie-Blankes te verkry, kan aan Suid-Afrika en aan die wêreld 'n egte prent bied van die stabiliteit en die sterkte wat, soos aan alle kante erken word, noodsaaklik is vir ons veiligheid en vooruitgang in die woelige dae wat voorle.

In die lig van al hierdie omstandighede bet die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie ooreengekom om aan die kiesers van Suid-Afrika 'n program voor te lê wat vry is van ou verdeeldhede, gerig is op die vraagstukke van vandag, en die verstandigste en gesondste oplossings daarvoor soek.

Terwyl elk sy eie identiteit behou, stem die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie saam oor die volgende basiese doelwitte as sake van prioriteit:

## 1. EENHEID

Ons glo in die fundamentele eenheid van die twee Blanke taalgroepe en in die noodsaaklikheid om dié eenheid op alle terreine van die volkslewe te versterk en uit te bou. Derhalwe onderneem ons om ons te beywer vir samewerking, deelgenootskap en mede-verantwoordelikheid tussen Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende burgers in die regering van ons land.

## 2. SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE

Ons erken en aanvaar die Republiek van Suid-Afrika as 'n voldonge feit wat 'n einde bring aan ou verdeeldhede. Ons sal gesamentlik daarna streef om Suid-Afrika te beskerm teen aanslae van binne- of buite sy grense en om sy vooruitgang en voorspoed te verseker en sy aansien te verhoog.

## 3. BEHOUD VAN WESTERSE BESKAWING

Ons glo in die selfbeskikkingsreg van die Blankes as draers van die Westerse beskawing en die Westerse leefwyse. Ons glo aan die noodsaaklikheid om, op 'n wyse versoenbaar met hierdie beginsel, 'n reëling te tref vir bevredigende politieke uitlewingsmoontlikhede vir ons verskeie nie-Blanke bevolkingsgroepe soos hieronder uiteengesit.

## 4. GESONDE RASSEVERHOUDINGS

Ons glo dat die landsbelang die groots moontlike mate van welwillendheid en samewerking tussen Blank en nie-Blank en die positiewe bevordering van gesonde rasseverhoudings vereis. Ons sal ons derhalwe, deur middel van gedurige onderlinge oorlegpleging, beywer vir die uitkakeling uit ons wetgewing en administrasie van daardie dinge wat inbreuk maak op die waardigheid van die nie-Blanke groepe.

## 5. SAMEWERKING t.o.v. DRINGENDE VRAAGSTUKKE

Die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie bly elk by hul onmiddellike beleid ten opsigte van die verteenwoordiging van die onderskeie nie-Blanke groepe in Suid-Afrika in die Sentrale Parlement. Geen poging word gedoen om voor te gee dat daar volle eenstemmigheid op alle punte is nie, maar die punte van verskil wat daar wel is, is geen struikelblok vir samewerking ten opsigte van die dringende aangeleenthede waaroor daar volle eenstemmigheid is nie.

## 6. RASSEFEDERASIE

Albei partye stem saam dat die toekomstige geluk en vooruitgang van Suid-Afrika afhang van die aanvaarding van 'n Rassefederasie waarin alle groepe in die Sentrale Parlement verteenwoordig sal

wees. Die partye sal in 'n gees van welwillendheid saamwerk om besonderhede van 'n Rassefederasie-plan uit te werk op 'n grondslag wat voorsiening maak vir geregtigheid aan alle groepe.

Die fondament sal gelê word op plaaslike en gewestelike vlakke en die kieserskorps sal by wyse van 'n referendum of 'n verkiesing gevra word om te besluit oor die finale parlementêre hervormings wat voorgestel word.

## 7. ONTWIKKELING VAN BANTOEGEBIEDE

Ons glo in grootskaalse en spoedige ekonomiese, maatskaplike en konstitusionele ontwikkeling van die Bantoe-gebiede binne die raamwerk van die plan vir Rassefederasie en met die hulp van Blanke kapitaal, ondernemingsgees en bedreuenheid maar met volle beskerming van die belange van die Bantoes in dié gebiede. Ons erken die bestaan van 'n gevestigde klas onder die Bantoes in ons stedelike gebiede en beywer ons vir 'n meer rasionele en welwillende toepassing van maatreëls soos die paswette. Ons is ten gunste van beheerde eiendomsreg vir verantwoordelike verstedelike Bantoes.

## 8. OORLEGPLEGING TUSSEN RASSEGROEPE

Ons glo in die noodsaaklikheid om altoos die waardigheid van alle mense te eerbiedig en in die skepping van doeltreffende masjinerie vir onderlinge oorlegpleging tussen die verskillende rassegroepe.

## 9. HERSTEL VAN WÊRELDVERTROUW

Ons is daarvan oortuig dat die huidige finansiële krisis in ons land hoofsaaklik die gevolg is van die algehele verlies van vertroue deur die buitewêreld in die huidige Regering en sy rassebeleid en dat die daarstelling van 'n nuwe Regering, verteenwoordigend van albei taalgroepe en met 'n rassebeleid soos in hierdie verklaring uiteengesit, veel sal bydra tot die herstel van wêreldvertroue in die gewelddige ontwikkelingsmoontlikhede van ons land. Ons sal ons derhalwe beywer vir 'n versnelling van die tempo van ekonomiese en nywerheidsontwikkeling, en die verbetering van die lewenspeil van alle dele van die bevolking en die volste werkgeleenthede vir almal.

Op almal wat saam met ons glo dat die welvaart en geluk van elkeen wat in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika sy tuiste het, die beste bevorder kan word deur ou geskille te vergeet en met verenigde kragte die aangeduide doelwitte na te streef, doen ons as leiers van die twee partye, die Verenigde Party en die Nasionale Unie, 'n beroep om aan die kandidate van ons onderskeie partye steun en hulp te verleen in hul strewe om Suid-Afrika in die ware tradisie van hierdie groot land te dien.

*N. V. van Graaff*

*H. P. Fagan*

## STEM VIR EENHEID EN MAG MET GRAAFF EN FAGAN

Uitgegee deur J. van Lingen namens die Verenigde Party, Marlboroughgebou, Eloffstraat, Johannesburg. Gedruk deur Ezelda Letterpress (Edms.) Bpk., Stanhopeweg 41-43, Johannesburg.

# Agreement

between the

# UNITED PARTY and the NATIONAL UNION

Signed in Bloemfontein,

15th August, 1961.

**THE** Republic of South Africa faces a period of mounting tension and crisis, the end of which no one can foresee. The mere fact that the Government is calling a General Election two years before it is due, proves that it is also expecting things to become worse.

The conclusion of a major constitutional struggle has rung down the curtain on old conflicts. There have also been clear indications of new thinking on our race problems.

There is no better way in which South Africa could approach these problems than that which employs the combined wisdom and experience of both White groups, supported by such real consultation with the non-Whites as would form the cornerstone of healthy race policy.

Only a Government in which both White language groups accept joint responsibility for policy, and which seeks every possible avenue for agreement with the non-Whites, will offer to South Africa and to the world a true picture of the stability and the strength which, it is agreed on all sides, are essential for our security and progress in the turbulent days which lie ahead.

In view of all these circumstances the United Party and the National Union have agreed to present to the voters of South Africa a programme divorced from old divisions, directed at the problems of today, and aimed at solving these in the wisest and healthiest manner.

The United Party and the National Union, while each retaining its separate identity, agree upon the following basic objectives as matters of priority:

## 1. UNITY

We believe in the fundamental unity of the two White language groups and in the necessity to strengthen and extend that unity in every facet of our national life. We will, therefore, pledge ourselves to the fullest co-operation and partnership in a joint responsibility of English- and Afrikaans-speaking citizens in the government of our country.

## 2. SOUTH AFRICA FIRST

We recognise and accept the Republic of South Africa as an accomplished fact which marks an end to old divisions. We will jointly strive to protect South Africa against attacks from within or beyond our borders and to secure her progress and prosperity and to enhance her reputation.

## 3. MAINTENANCE OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

We believe in the right of self-determination of the White man as the bearer of Western civilisation and the Western way of life. We believe that it is essential to find a way to regulate our affairs in a manner consistent with this principle which will also provide satisfactory political opportunities for our different non-White groups as hereinafter enunciated.

## 4. HEALTHY RACE RELATIONS

We believe that the national interest demands the greatest possible measure of goodwill and co-operation between White and non-White and the positive fostering of healthy race relations. We will, therefore, devote ourselves to the elimination from our legislation and administration, by way of continuous mutual consultation those things which offend against the dignity of the non-White groups.

## 5. CO-OPERATION TO SOLVE PRESSING PROBLEMS

The Unity Party and National Union each stand by their immediate policy in respect of the representation of the various non-White groups in South Africa in the Central Parliament. There is no attempt to imply complete agreement on all points, but such points of difference as there are, do not constitute an obstacle to co-operation in respect of the urgent and pressing matters on which there is full agreement.

## 6. RACE FEDERATION

Both parties agree that the future welfare and progress of South Africa depend upon the acceptance of a Race Federation in which all groups will be represented in the Central Parliament. In a spirit of goodwill the Parties will co-operate in working out the details of the Race Federation plan upon a basis which provides justice for all groups.

The foundation will be laid at local and regional levels and thereafter the final proposed parliamentary reform will be placed before the electorate by way of a referendum or election for their decision.

## 7. DEVELOPMENT OF BANTU AREAS

We believe in the vast and rapid economic, social and constitutional development of the Bantu areas within the framework of the plan for Race Federation and carried out with the aid of White capital, initiative and skills but with full protection of the interests of the Bantu in these areas. We recognise the existence of an established class of Bantu in our urban areas and aim at a more rational and sympathetic application of such measures as the pass laws. We stand for controlled freehold title for responsible urbanised Bantu.

## 8. CONSULTATION BETWEEN RACE GROUPS

We believe that it is essential to respect the dignity of all people at all times and also to establish effective machinery for mutual consultation between the different race groups.

## 9. RE-ESTABLISHING WORLD CONFIDENCE

We are convinced that the present financial crisis in our country is mainly the result of the universal loss of confidence by the outside world in the present Government and its racial policy, and that the election of a new Government, representative of both language groups, and with a racial policy as outlined in this declaration, will contribute greatly towards the re-establishment of world confidence in the tremendous economic potential of our country. We will, therefore, work for a rapid increase in the tempo of economic and industrial development; an improvement in the standards of living of all sections of the population and the fullest opportunities for employment for all.

We, leaders of these two parties, the United Party and the National Union, make this sincere appeal to all who believe that the welfare and happiness of everyone whose home is in the Republic of South Africa can best be served by forgetting old differences and joining forces in a common effort, to give their support and help to the candidates of our respective Parties in their desire to serve South Africa in the true tradition of this great country.

*J. van Graaff* *H.P. Fagan*

## VOTE FOR UNITY AND STRENGTH WITH GRAAFF AND FAGAN

Issued by J. van Lingen for the United Party, Marlborough House, Eloff Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Excelsa Letterpress (Pty.) Ltd., 41-48 Stanhope Road, Johannesburg.

# 1966

30 MAART/MARCH

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                    | Setels verower/<br>Seats own | Participating parties which have won seats                                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>3. Die Progressiewe Party (PP) | 39<br>126<br>1               | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP)<br>3. The Progressive Party (PP) |

## Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Nege plegtige waarborge aan Suid-Afrikaners. (Uitgereik deur J van Lingen vir die Verenigde Party, Inligtingsafdeling, Johannesburg.)
2. Opgestel deur M P A Malan en uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party, albei van Voortrekkerstraat 79, Bloemfontein en gedruk deur die N G Sendingpers, Bastionstraat 46, Bloemfontein, 1966.
3. Die Progressiewe Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik nie.

## Sources of election manifestos

1. The Friend, 4th March 1966.  
'Nine solemn pledges to South Africans.'  
(Issued by J van Lingen for the United Party Division of Information.)
2. Compiled by M P A Malan and issued by the Information Office of the National Party, both of Voortrekker Street 79, Bloemfontein. Printed by the N G Sendingpers, Bastion Street, 46, Bloemfontein, 1966.
3. The Progressive Party never issued an official election manifesto.

# DIE VERENIGDE PARTY

nooi u vriendelik uit om te kom

luister na

## Sir de Villiers Graaff

op

L.V.

**MAANDAG 14 MAART, 1966**

in die

**STADSAAL JOHANNESBURG**

om 8 nm.

Voorsitter: MNR. MARAIS STEYN, L.V.



SOLDAAT, BOER, ADVOKAAT, OP EEN TYDSTIP 'N  
WELBEKENDE AMATEUR BOKSER, ATLEET EN KRIE-  
KETSPELER VAN DIE WESTELIKE PROVINSIE — DIT IS

**SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF**

DIE DINAMIESE LEIER VAN DIE VERENIGDE PARTY

Uitgegeef deur ~~aan~~ J. D. ~~Quinn~~ L.V.R., Republiekgebou 207, Noordstraat 84, Johannesburg. Gedruk deur  
Public Press (Pty.) Ltd., Foxstraat 302, Johannesburg.

# Nege plegtige waarborge aan Suid-Afrikaners

## **1 BLANKE LEIERSKAP OOR DIE HELE SUID-AFRIKA.**

Suid-Afrika is een land—ons is vasbeslote om dit so te hou. Die Verenigde Party sal 'n einde maak aan die uiters gevaarlike beleid van soewerein onafhanklike Bantoestans. Ons sal nie onafhanklike swart state binne ons grense duld nie wat vry is om militêre en finansiële hulp van kommunistiese state te aanvaar en sodoende ons toekoms in gevaar stel.

## **2 Behoud van Suid-Afrika se tradisionele leefwyse.**

Tradisionele skeiding op sosiale- en woongebiedvlak sal ferm maar billik gehandhaaf word. Instromingsbeheer sal regverdig vir die bewil van almal toegepas word. Die Verenigde Party gaan hom nie skuldig maak aan kleinlike beperkings wat haat en wrok binne en buite ons grense kweek nie.

## **3 Geen bemoeiing met ons interne aangeleenthede nie.**

Die Verenigde Party sal geen bemoeiing met ons interne aangeleenthede duld nie. Suid-Afrika het te kampe met unieke probleme wat net opgelos kan word deur mense wat hier woon—mense wat die situasie veel beter begryp as buitestaanders ooit kan.

## **4 Nuwe bedeling vir boere.**

Die Verenigde Party sal onmiddellike stappe doen om die boere se verpletterende skuldelaas te verlig. Die Verenigde Party glo dat boerdery in ons land weer van voor af opgebou moet word met billike pryse, toereikende tegniese voorligting en waterbewaring as die hoekstene van ons beleid.

## **5 Mediese Staatshulpskema.**

Die Verenigde Party sal 'n einde maak aan die swaar las wat gesinne in tye van siekte en beserings moet dra deur 'n Mediese Staatshulpskema in te stel met die reg om u eie dokter te kies.

## **6 Lewensduurtetoelae.**

Die Verenigde Party sal weer lewensduurtetoelae instel en sal hulle gereeld hersien om tred te hou met die lewenskoste.

## **7 Ouderdomspensioene sonder middeletoets.**

Die Verenigde Party sal die middeletoets afskaf. Alle bejaardes, sal, afgeeien van hulle finansiële vermoë, outomaties hulle ouderdomspensioene ontvang onder ons Nasionale Bydraende Pensioenskema.

## **8 Suid-Afrika sal beeldradio kry.**

Die Verenigde Party waarborg dat die volk van Suid-Afrika beeldradio sal kry. Suid-Afrika is die hoogste ontwikkelde nywerheidsgebied op die vasteland van Afrika en is nogtans feitlik die enigste land sonder hierdie gewilde bron van vermaak.

## **9 'n Staatslotery indien die volk dit verlang.**

Die Verenigde Party sal die Volksraad vry oor 'n staatslotery laat stem. Die uitslag is eenvoudig—as die volk dit wil hê, sal die volk dit kry. Al die geld afkomstig van 'n staatslotery, afgesien van pryse en administratiewe koste, sal aan hospitaaldienste en verdienstelike liefdadigheidsorganisasies dwarsdeur Suid-Afrika gaan.



# INLIGTINGSDIENS

VAN DIE

## Nasionale Party van S.A.

Postbus 701.



BLOEMFONTEIN.

SKIET GOED

Nr. 6.

1965/66

28 Febr. 1966

VERKIESINGSMANIFES

### Die Keuse

Op 30 Maart 1966 kry die kiesers van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika die geleentheid om 'n keuse tussen die politieke partye te maak en die volgende regering vir die land aan te wys.

By die beoordeling van die partye moet daar gelet word op die verskille in beleid, soos dit deur die partye aangebied word, op die moontlikhede en gevolge van die beleid en op die toekomsbeplanning vir die welsyn van die land as geheel.

Hierby kom die ongeëwenaarde prestasies van die afgelope 18 jaar ook op die spel, die prestasies wat van Suid-Afrika die wonderland gemaak het wat selfs in 'n vyandige wêreld agting en bewondering afdwing — dank sy die Nasionale Regering!

### Wantroue Debat

In hierdie debat het die leiers van die twee groot partye op 25 Januarie 1966 in die Volksraad swaarde gekruis. As Eerste Minister en Hoofleier van die Nasionale Party het dr. H. F. Verwoerd in 'n kragtige rede die V.P. kritiek vernietig, die Party se beleid helder gestel en die toekomsbeplanning op klinkklare wyse uiteengesit.

Van V.P. kant het daar niks gekom nie — geen koersvaste rigting of toekomsbeplanning nie. Daarom kon dr. Verwoerd dit aan die einde van sy rede stel: Suid-Afrika sal moet kies tussen die toekomsbeplanners, die Nasionale Party of die toekomsafwagters, die Verenigde Party.

### RHODESIË

Die Eerste Minister het die beskuldiging dat die vroeë verkiesing op 30 Maart gehou word omdat 'n spoedige klimaks in Rhodesië verwag word, verwerp, d.w.s. as hy die Rhodesiërs beoordeel volgens wat ons in Suid-Afrika onder soortgelyke omstandighede sou doen. As ons leefwyse bedreig sou word, of as 'n poging aangewend sou word om die heerskappy van die blanke te beëindig, dan glo hy dat die Rhodesiërs niks minder vasberadenheid aan die dag sal lê nie en kan 'n spoedige klimaks nie verwag word nie.

### Die Witman

Op die V.P. aanklag dat die Regering onverskillig staan teenoor die lotgevalle van Rhodesië, het dr. Verwoerd geantwoord dat so 'n beskuldiging slegs kom van 'n party wat die Regering nog altyd aangeval het wanneer hy in die bresse vir die Witman in Afrika getree het. Aan watter kant het die Verenigde Party gestaan toe die Britse Eerste Minister, mnr. Macmillan hier was en 'n saak vir die Witman in Afrika gestel moes word? Toe die V.P. die Federasie tussen die Rhodesiërs

aangeprys en bepleit het, was dit ook die Nasionale Party wat vir die blankes se regte gepleit het.

“Omdat die lede van die Opposisie aan vennootskap geglo het — hulle het ook aan Federasie geglo — het hulle geglo aan beleidsrigtings wat misluk het. Ek veronderstel hulle het 'n skuldgevoel en dit is die rede vir hulle oordrewe optrede in hierdie situasie,” het dr. Verwoerd verklaar. (Hansard 1966/53).

### Vyande Maak

Die Nasionale Regering word gedurig beskuldig dat hy oral vyande maak. Nou wil die V.P. hê dat daar openlik kant teen Brittanje gekies moet word. Die leier van die Opposisie is nou bereid om die Verenigde Koninkryk doelbewus in die gesig te klap terwille van verkiesingsvoordele. Is dit nie miskien die geval dat die Verenigde Party weet dat hy in normale vreedsame omstandighede nooit aan bewind sal kom nie, en dus Suid-Afrika in moeilikheid en stryd gedompel wil hê in die hoop dat dit sy kanse sal verbeter? Probeer Sir de Villiers Graaff beide Suid-Afrika en Rhodesië opoffer aan sy Party se ambisies?

### Vaste Beginsels

Die Regering staan op die erkende beginsel van nie-inmenging. Suid-Afrika laat nie in sy huishoudelike sake inmeng nie en daarom moet hy nie in die sake van ander inmeng nie. Die Eerste Minister het voortgegaan:

„Aangesien ons al herhaaldelik met boikotte en sanksies gedreig is, en hulle in sekere mate ondervind het, het ons die duidelike houding ingeneem dat ons onder geen omstandighede, nóg onder druk, nóg onder dwang, aan of boikotte of sanksies sal deelneem nie.”

Terwyl albei die betrokke lande ons vriende en handelsvennote is, was en is die enigste verstandige houding om die betrekkinge voort te sit. Doelbewuste hulpverlening, sowel as bemiddeling, sou daartoe gelei het dat kant gekies word en dit kan Rhodesië se probleme vererger in plaas van verlig.

Normale betrekkings, veral ekonomiese betrekkings, beteken baie vir 'n buurstaat, wat geïsoleer is soos Rhodesië, en al dié hulp kry Rhodesië outomaties wanneer Suid-Afrika binne sy regte handel om te weier om aan boikotte deel te neem. Dit beteken baie vir Rhodesië. Daarenteen hou die Opposisie se standpunt groot gevare vir Rhodesië in. Watter soort vriende is dit?

### Petrol en Olie

Ook in die verband hou die Regering hom aan die beginsel om op generlei wyse aan sanksies of boikotte deel te neem nie.

As daar dus handelaars of produsente is wat olie of petrol het om aan enige land te verkoop, aan Basoetoland, Rhodesië of Zambia, of wie ook al, dan is dit hulle saak en sal die Regering hom nie daarmee bemoei nie — ook nie met geskenke wat gestuur word nie. Indien sulke versendings of varkopings belet of belemmer word sou dit immers deelname aan boikot wees. Suid-Afrika se suiwer standpunt volgens sy internasionale reg, mag nuttiger vir Rhodesië wees as vir Brittanje as boikottende land, maar daarmee moes Brittanje rekening gehou het voor hy opgetree het. Suid-Afrika se beginsels en houding is lankal bekend.

### Korrekte Optrede

Dat Suid-Afrika se optrede korrek is, word bewys deur die feit dat mnr. Ian Smith, die Eerste Minister, dit reeds by meer as een geleentheid gesê en die Republiek, daarvoor aangeprys het. Daarom het dr. Verwoerd tereg gevra:

„Wie weet die beste wat goed is vir Rhodesië, mnr. Smith of die Leier van die Opposisie.”

Hieraan het dr. Verwoerd die verdere vraag toegevoeg:

„Wil hulle (die V.P.) bloot vir verkiesingsdoeleindes die land benadeel .... Begeer hulle chaos in sowel Suid-Afrika as Rhodesië? Wil hulle albei lande platgedruk sien en met swart diktatorskappe onder Kommunistiese invloed soos in ander swart Afrika-state?” (Hansard 1966/60).

## LANDSEKONOMIE

Op die aanklag van wanbestuur bet die Eerste Minister verwys na die groeiende vertrone in die landseconomie — in die buiteland sowel as in die binneland. Suid-Afrika geniet 'n stadium van landsontwikkeling soos wat nooit tevore bereik is nie. Groot sake-ondernemings getuig daarvan. Almal maak daarop staat dat hierdie Regering aan bewind sal bly om te verseker dat die ontwikkeling kan voortduur.

### Salarisverhogings

Die Regering het sedert 1964 aan 'n nuwe salarisstruktuur gewerk en daarna met aansienlike verhogings vir staatsamptenare en andere voor die dag gekom. Die Opposisie het gou tussenin probeer kom deur voor voltooiing van die skema vir verhogings te pleit, maar nou dat dit gegee is, probeer hulle die bevoorregtes weer bang maak deur te sê dat dit van nul en gener waarde is omdat prysverhogings dit sal uitkanseleer. Maar as die Opposisie met die boere praat dan pleit hy vir hoër pryse vir hul produkte, m.a.w. dat alle voedselpryse verhoog moet word. So word na stemme gesoek.

Die Regering sal prysverhogings dophou en as sekere prysverhogings moet kom, dan sal die loonverhogings wat gegee is dit meer draaglik maak.

## SMEERVELDTOG

Dr. Verwoerd bet hierna verwys na tekens dat die Verenigde Party hom voorberei vir 'n smeer-verkiesingsveldtog. 'n Voorbeeld daarvan kan gelees word in die V.P.-koerantjie „Ons Land” van 17 Desember 1965.

Daarin is geskryf:

„Agter die skerms, so word beweer, word daar 'n onheilige politieke gekonkel uitgevoer deur niemand minder as dr. Verwoerd, Eerste Minister van Suid-Afrika en Hoofman Jonathan, Eerste Minister van Basoetoland nie. Hierdie keer is dit nie 100,000 sak mielies, nie, wat aan Basoetoland geoffer word nie, maar, so lui die gerugte, tienduiseende morge van die ou Vrystaat self is op die spel.”

Verder is gesê die grond sou Witzieshoek, Herschel en die Verwerde Gebied van die Vrystaat wees.

Hierdie informasie is volgens „Ons Land”, koerant van die V.P., verkry uit 'n geheime brief wat kwansuis in Basoetoland opgevang is.

Die Eerste Minister bet die Volksraad meegedeel dat die brief inderdaad 'n vervalsing is wat met die Basoetolandse verkiesing deur die Basuto Congress Party, 'n kommunisties-gefinanseerde party, versprei is in 'n poging om die verkiesing te wen. En nou het die Verenigde Party se propagandaleier daarvan gebruik gemaak om die Nasionale Regering onder verdenking te bring. Met ander woorde, die Verenigde Party gebruik vir sy verkiesing onder blankes in Suid-Afrika, die valse skietgoed van 'n Bantoe Party in 'n Basoetolandse verkiesing. Watter snaakse verkiesingspropagandamaats!

Dr. Verwoerd het op besliste wyse ontken dat daar hoegenaamd enige swym van waarheid in die vervalste bewering vervat is en gesê:

„Ek het nie die geringste teken ooit gegee of die geringste plan om oor die sogenaamde Verwerde Grondgebied van die Vrystaat enige onderhandelings te voer nie. Dit is 'n absolute onwaarheid en ek vind dit skandalig dat propaganda gemaak kan word op hierdie wyse. ....”

Die Eerste Minister het 'n beroep op die Leier van die Opposisie gedoen om te sê of hy sulke metodes goedkeur.

Sir de Villiers Graaff het in sy repliek gesê dat sy hoofpropagandis nie aangegaan het met sy storie nadat hy gehoor het dat dit 'n vervalste brief was nie. Maar sal die waarheid die leuen ooit weer inhaal? Buitendien, hy en sy partygenote, het toe nuwe steun vir dieselfde propaganda gesoek deur verkeer aan te haal uit 'n toespraak van dr. Verwoerd, en toe dit met titel en vers bewys is, was hy wel skaam daaroor en klaarblyklik mislei deur sy propagandiste, maar tot vandag toe het hy nie die ordentlikheid gehad om verskoning te vra vir sy flater en insinuasies nie.

## DIE TOEKOMS

As na die toekoms gekyk word is daar twee dringende vrae om te beantwoord: Die een gaan oor kleurbeleid en die tweede is onder watter beleid die Staat die vermoë het om homself internasionaal en binnelands te handhaaf en om sy standpunt te handhaaf.

### Kleurbeleid

Die keerpunt van die Verenigde Party se beleid het hy as volg gestel:

„Dit is die aanvaarding van die hele Suid-Afrika as een gemengde vaderland.” (Hansard 1966/67).

Dit is 'n gemengde vaderland wat hy onverdeeld wil behou, waar blankes en nie-blankes saamwerk, nie net op ekonomiese gebied nie, nie net op sosiale gebied nie maar bo alles op politieke gebied, — dus politieke integrasie.

Hulle beleid is die van vennootskap — vennootskap in die vorm van integrasie. Dit is die beleid (federasie en vennootskap) waarmee hulle die Nasionale Party se beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling en van blanke heerskappy nog altyd beveg en voorgestel het as die onderdrukking van die nie-blankes.

Onder die V.P.-beleid sal die pad van Kenia die pad van Suid-Afrika word.

Om die verskil tussen die twee partye verder uit te beeld, het die Eerste Minister verklaar dat die Nasionale Party die werklikhede van die lewe wil aanvaar, n.l. dat die Bantoe sekere gebiede van sy eie nog altyd gehad het en het, en die blankes andere.

„Net soos in Europa, net soos in Suid-Amerika, net soos in Asië en net soos in die res van Afrika waar verskillende nasies met eie grondgebiede, wat hulle beset het, op die ou end verskillende state ontwikkel het, so aanvaar ons as 'n werklikheidsfeit dat dit in Suid-Afrika moet en sal gebeur.”

Onder die V.P. se federasieplan met sy agt blanke verteenwoordigers vir die Bantoe in die Parlement, sal die Bantoe steeds aandrang vir groter deelname in die gesamentlike land se politiek. Hulle sal hulle nie aan konsultasies of referendums of bepaalde waarborge steur nie. Hulle sal met eise kom. En die eise sal wees een man, een stem. Dit is wat o.m. Poto, Luthuli, Mandela en Sobukwe eis.

### Kop-aan-kop botsing

Na 'n belofde V.P.-referendum hieroor, waarin die blanke kiesers, maar nie noodwendig die kleurlingkiesers wat die V.P. saam met die blankes op een lys gaan sit, waarskynlik „nee” sal sê, sal 'n kop-aan-kop botsing ontstaan tussen Swart en Wit met die simpatie van die Afrika-state, die Asiatiese state en die hele V.V.O. aan die kant van die Swartman, vennote in die V.P. se een volk. Daarby kom dat terwyl Rhodesië nie die wêreldvriendskap kan wen met sy 15 nie-blankes in die Parlement nie, die Leier van die Opposisie die publiek wil wysmaak dat hy dit sal regkry met agt blankes in 'n baie groter Parlement.

Dr. Verwoerd het gesê dat die Nasionale Party by sy

beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling en Bantoe-tuislande staan, maar self die pas sal bepaal sodat hulle hul vryheid op gesonde wyse kan verkry en beoefen. Die gevare daaraan verbonde is gering in vergelyking met die van die beleid wat die V.P. wil volg. Die kans is dat hulle (die Bantoe) teen kommunisme kies weens die groter nut van 'n goedgesinde Suid-Afrika vir hulle, net soos die Hoë Kommissaris gebiede dit nou doen. Sou kommunisme die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoe tog beetpak, is dit vir die blanke beter dat dié gevaar buite sy grense is, as onder swart medevolksgenote in een land.

Met swartbuurstates sal Suid-Afrika op vriendskaplike grondslag saamwerk op die basis van nie-inmenging in mekaar se huishoudelike sake. Dit is die enigste gesonde grondslag.

### Veiligheid

'n Ander saak wat deur die Eerste Minister behandel is, is die binnelandse veiligheid van die Republiek. **Vrede en orde moet gehandhaaf word en die land moet voorbereid wees om sulke probleme die hoof te bied.**

„Dit het baie duidelik geword in die afgelope jare dat hierdie Regering gereed is om die nodige, selfs onortodokse, stappe in daardie situasie te doen, hoe ook al op hom gekakel word, hoe die Opposisie ook al op hom skel.“

Dit het duidelik geword dat die Opposisie nie bereid is, of omdat hy nie die moed het nie, of omdat hy self tot daardie groepe van semiliberaliste behoort, om die nodige stappe te neem.

„Al is hy ook hoe gretig om orde te hê, kan hy nie, vanweë sy standpunt, dit handhaaf nie; maar hierdie Regering is bereid om die nodige te doen.“

**Sy dade bewys dat hy dit gedoen het. Rus en vrede is gehandhaaf.**

### Internasionale Verhoudings

Ook op diplomatieke terrein word daar geveg. **Daar mag geen weifeling getoon word nie. Die internasionale beleid moet een van sekerheid en krag wees.** Nietenstaande botsings wat hy moes deurmaak, het die Nasionale Regering ook op die gebied sukses behaal. Stille vriende is gemaak en eerbied is bewerkstellig vir die standvastigheid van Suid-Afrika, veral ten opsigte van ons beleid van nie-inmenging. En as 'n standpunt in belang van Suid-Afrika ingeneem moet word, dan doen die Regering dit, selfs al is dit teen die V.V.O. Maar sal die weifelende Verenigde Party dit waag?

Daarom is dit in belang van die land dat daar 'n sterk Regering moet wees — terwille van sy voortbestaan. So 'n regering is die Nasionale Regering.

### TOEKOMSBEPLANNING

**Die voortbestaan van Suid-Afrika as witmansland onder 'n Nasionale Regering wat rus en vrede handhaaf, is egter nie alles nie. Op ekonomiese gebied moet ook voorsiening gemaak word vir die voortbestaan van die volk.**

Op hierdie terrein is skouspelagtige resultate behaal soos elke ondernemer en nyweraar weet en getuig. Daar is algemene en groeiende vertroue in die beleid wat deur die Regering gevolg word. Die grondbeginsels waarop nywerheidsontwikkelinge deur die Owerheid gelei word is van deurslaggewende belang. Nogtans is daar na grondige studie en navorsing besluit om verdere grootse landsontwikkeling met daadkrag aan te pak.

### Groeikoers

Die uitvoerhandel is vol nuwe beloftes en moet verder uitgebou word. Gegewens bewys dat die soort handel pragtig groei, selfs in Afrika.

In die tweede plek gaan die Regering voort om die regte klimaat te skep vir die bevordering van die algemene welvaart in die Republiek. 'n Groeikoers van 5½% per jaar is beplan vir die vyf jaar 1964 tot 1969. Hierdie ekonomiese

ontwikkelingsprogram sal jaarliks verskyn en dien om die staat en privaat ondernemers op hoogte te hou ten einde die beoogde ontwikkeling te help bewerkstellig maar ook om nuwe moontlikhede onder die aandag te bring.

Ook is 'n **derde beginsel** aanvaar naamlik dat klem gelê word op die vervaardigingsnywerheid. 'n Selektiewe beskermingsbeleid sal voortgesit word, ook met die oog op verhoogde uitvoere. Nuwe ondernemings sal aangemoedig word soos die vervaardiging van ferro-chroom. Daar sal voortgegaan word met die verdere diversifisering van nywerheidsprodukte.

Vierdens sal **die kleinhandel** spesiale aandag geniet, veral die in die platteland wat as gevolg van die droogte in moeilike omstandighede beland het.

Vyfdens sal **grensgebied-ontwikkeling** nog meer bevorder word veral omdat dit een van die verskuifmiddels van diestedelike Bantoe is. Onlangs is 'n belegging van nie minder as R140 miljoen daarvoor verkry. Op die grensnywerhede werk reeds 53,000 persone waarvan 41,000 Bantoe is en dit beteken in die kort tyd die vestiging van 115,000 Bantoe persone buite blanke gebied.

### Nuwe Nywerhede

Die privaat-inisiatief word aangemoedig om nuwe ondernemings te begin. Die volgende is party nuwes waaraan gedink word:

Soda-as onderneming.  
Elektrolitiese koper-raffinadery.  
Vergrootte vervaardiging van elektriese lokomotiewe.

Andere wat met staatsteun oorweeg word is onder meer:

'n Trekkerbedryf;  
Skeepsbouwerwe vir groter skepe;  
Ontwikkeling van die visbedryf;  
Vergroting en vermeerdering van vishawens;  
Doelbewuste soektog na aardolie;  
'n Tweede Sasol;  
Uitbreiding van die staalbedryf met 'n moontlike derde Yskor.

So word daar deur die Regering met doelbewustheid beplan om te voorsien in die behoeftes en ekonomiese selfstandigheid van ons land, saam met die veiligheid wat dit bring vanweë Suid-Afrika se groeiende en groot betekenis vir ander lande se ekonomieë.

### DIE LANDBOU

**Die Nasionale Regering het die diepste en innigste meegevoel met die boere oor die lotgevalle wat hulle getref het. Die Premier het gesê:**

„Ek wil aan die boere van Suid-Afrika die versekering gee dat die ellende wat die droogte oor hulle gebring het vir ons almal diep geroer het en dat ons nie net verenig was in gebede nie, maar verenig was in ons simpatie en in ons doelbewustheid om hulle probleme (nie net van die noodtydperk nie maar van die heropbou tydperk wat gaan volg nou dat die reën gekom het) te probeer oplos. Die boere van Suid-Afrika is vir ons hele samelewing basies.“  
(Hansard 1966/74).

Die boer is vir die Nasionale Party van groot betekenis veral as voedselproduseerder maar bo-alles: sy gees is die tuitpilaar en krag van ons denke.

„Om te dink dat ons in die steek sal laat dit wat deel uitmaak van die siel en liggaam van ons hele bestaan as 'n party is net te onsin om te glo.“

Die nuwe Departement van Landboukrediet en Grondbesit is nie gestig net met die doel om die droogtenood te lenig nie maar om hulp tot heropbou te verleen en 'n allesins gesonde boerderybedryf te laat groei uit wat reeds tot stand gebring is. Daar sal gesorg word dat elke boer op sy eie meriete en op die manier, wat beste by sy behoeftes pas, steun en hulp van die Staat sal kry. Hieraan het die Premier toegevoeg:

„Ek het geen twyfel dat ons die heropbou van ons landboubedryf tegemoet loop. Ek het geen twyfel dat die boerdery wat so swaar getref is, en die suiwelnywerheid, hulle bystand sal kry nie. Hulle sal heropgebou moet word. 'n Land soos ons s'n kan nie anders handel nie.“

## ANDER PROJEKTE

**Die Premier het 'n verdere prentjie geskilder van wat alles is die nabye toekoms, terwille van landsontwikkeling aangepak gaan word.**

### Die Pospaarbankselsel:

Hervormings is aan die gang wat dit moontlik sal maak vir mense om hul geld, oombliklik op aanvraag in enige plek in die land te trek en so baie ongerief uit te skakel.

### Telefoonwese:

Die mikrogolfstelsel wat reeds ingestel word sal meebring dat binne vyf jaar 85 persent van die land se telefone outomaties sal werk met direkte skakeling na feitlik enige deel van die land. As gevolg van die nuwe kabel wat gelê word sal direkte skakeling met sekere Europese stede ook moontlik gemaak word.

### Waterbewaring:

Groot projekte is en word onderneem. Binne die volgende vyf jaar sal, afgesien van die Oranjerivier projek se 35,000 morg, 86,000 morg onder besproeiing kom. Terselfdertyd sal 148,000 morg bestaande besproeiingsgrond met aanvullende water terwille van groter produksie voorsien word. Daarby kom die water vir die groot kragentrales.

Met die voltooiing van die Oppermandrivedam binne 4 jaar sal die watervoorraad van die Vaaldriehoek met 300 miljoen gellings water per dag verhoog word.

Omdat waterbewaring hoog op die prioriteitslys van die Regering staan, word 'n kommissie nou aangestel wat waterbewaring in al sy aspekte sal ondersoek. Dit sal die grootste beplanning ten opsigte van water meebring wat nog ooit in Suid-Afrika onderneem is.

### Elektrisiteitsvoorsiening:

Daar is 'n geweldige toenemende aanvraag vir krag in die land. Die industrialisasie bring dit mee. Dit word bereken dat die aanvraag in die land van nou tot in 1970 met 14 miljoen kilowatt-ure sal styg. Dit sal hoë eise aan die Elektrisiteitsvoorsienings-kommissie en plaaslike bestuursstelle en die Regering sal dus met die finansiering moet help. Navorsing om self veel meer krag in die Republiek op die modernste wyses te verskaf word nou gedoen.

### Wetenskap:

Aan die groeiende behoeftes ten opsigte van die wetenskap en wetenskaplikes word ook gewerk. 'n Opname van alle wetenskaplikes in die Republiek is reeds aan die gang. Navorsings-institute word uitgebrei. Alle opleiding, navorsing en gebruik van die wetenskap sal op meer gekoördineerde wyse en meer sistematies aangepak word.

## Sorg vir landsburgers:

Op die oomblik word alweer nuwe verdere planne opgestel in verband met die opbou van die gesinslewe, die latere versorging van ons bejaardes en die skepping van ruimer kanse vir die jeug. Werksgeleenthede word steeds op groter skaal geskep. Lewensomstandighede word verbeter deur middel van groot behuisingkemas.

In die 17 jaar onder Nasionale Party bewind is meer as R177 miljoen bestee aan blanke behuising alleen. Drie-en-veertig duisend huise is gebou. In die volgende twee jaar sal 8,000 verdere blanke gesinne deur die Departement van Gemeenskapsbou aan huise gehelp word en 4500 wonings deur stadsrade met staatsfondse. Op die oomblik word R4 miljoen per jaar aan sub-ekonomiese en R24 miljoen aan ekonomiese huise bestee.

### Onderwys:

Ons onderwysstelsel sal in die onmiddellike toekoms 'n heel ander patroon aanneem. Groot vordering is deur die Nasionale Onderwysraad gemaak. Die behoorlike benutting van ons mannekrag moet bewerkstellig word. Daarom word daar nou 'n groot talentopname gemaak. Dit kan 'n revolusionêre verandering in ons onderwys meebring.

Op tegniese onderwysgebied word groot veranderinge aangebring. Sekere tegniese kolleges word in tegnologiese institute omskep. Die ruimer beskikbaarstelling van beurse vir studies deur die Staat en ander instellings word beplan.

In 1950 is R85½ miljoen van Staatweë aan onderwys bestee, terwyl die syfer vir 1963 tot R230 miljoen gestyg het. Persentasiewys uitgedruk is dit heelwat meer as wat in Australië, Denemarke en Ierland gedoen word. In 1960 was die syfer vir Suid-Afrika en die V.S.A. 4.6 persent, van die volksinkome. Vergelyk daarmee die 3.4% van die Verenigde Party in 1940. Die belange van die land word so ernstig deur die Nasionale Party opgeneem dat die uitgawe styging aan onderwys sedert 1940 (veral verweë die styging na 1948) 747.3% was!

## DIE VERSKIL

**Die verskil tussen die twee groot partye bestaan daarin dat die Nasionale Party doelbewus vir die toekoms beplan, terwyl die Verenigde Party met geen toekomsbeplanning voor die dag kom nie.**

Die Hoofleier van die Nasionale Party het die saak so gestel:

**„Suid-Afrika sal moet kies. Suid-Afrika sal moet kies tussen Toekomsbeplanners — mense met 'n ideaal, mense met 'n doel wat dit probeer bereik — en aan die ander kant Toekomsafwagters, wat intussen gaan lê.”**

(Opgestel deur M. P. A. Malan en uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party, albei van Voortrekkerstraat 79, Bloemfontein en gedruk deur die N.G. Sendingpers, Bastionstraat 46, Bloemfontein.)

# THE UNITED PARTY

cordially invites you to attend a meeting  
to be addressed by

# Sir de Villiers Graaff

on

M.P.

**MONDAY, 14<sup>TH</sup> MARCH, 1966**

in the

**JOHANNESBURG CITY HALL,**

**at 8 p.m.**

Chairman: MR. MARAIS STEYN, M.P.



SOLDIER, FARMER, ADVOCATE, AT ONE TIME A  
NOTED AMATEUR BOXER, ATHLETE AND  
WESTERN PROVINCE CRICKETER — THAT'S

**SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF**

THE DYNAMIC LEADER OF THE UNITED PARTY

Published by Major J. D. Opperman, M.P.C., 207 Republic Building, 84 Noord Street, Johannesburg. Printed by  
Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

# Nine solemn pledges to South Africans

## **1 WHITE LEADERSHIP OVER ALL SOUTH AFRICA.**

South Africa is one country—we mean to keep it that way! The United Party will stop the extremely dangerous policy of sovereign independent Bantustans. We will not tolerate, within our borders, independent black states, free to accept military and financial aid from communist countries and so threaten our future security.

## **2 Maintenance of South Africa's traditional way of life.**

Traditional social and residential separation will be firmly but justly maintained. Influx control will be fairly applied for the good of all concerned. The United Party will have no part in petty restrictions which breed hatred and resentment both inside and outside our borders.

## **3 No interference in our internal affairs.**

The United Party will brook no interference in our domestic affairs. South Africa is faced with unique problems which can only be solved by the people who live here—people who understand the situation far better than outsiders ever could.

## **4 New deal for farmers.**

The United Party will take immediate steps to ease the farmer's crushing burden of debt. The United Party believes that farming in our country must be built up again from rock bottom, with fair prices, adequate technical guidance and water conservation as the cornerstones of our policy.

## **5 State Medical Aid.**

The United Party will put an end to the crippling of family finances in times of sickness and injury by introducing a State Medical Aid Scheme which will include the right to call in doctors of one's own choice.

## **6 C.O.L. Allowances.**

The United Party will re-introduce C.O.L. allowances and will revise them regularly to keep pace with the cost of living.

## **7 Old-age pensions with no means test.**

The United Party will end the means test. All old people, whatever their financial status, will automatically receive their old-age pensions under our National Contributory Pension Scheme.

## **8 South Africa will get television.**

The United Party guarantees that the people of South Africa will get T.V. South Africa is the most highly industrialised country on the African continent, and yet it is almost the only one without this popular means of entertainment.

## **9 State Lottery if desired by the nation.**

The United Party will give Parliament a free vote on a State Lottery. The issue is simple—if the people want it, the people will get it. All money from a State Lottery, excluding prizes and administration costs, will be devoted to hospital services and deserving charitable organisations throughout South Africa.

# Election Manifesto

The National Party  
of  
South Africa

March 1966

## ELECTION MANIFESTO

### The Choice

**A new government is to be elected on March 30, 1966. On that date the electorate will have the opportunity to decide which party should rule the country for the next five years.**

In making their choice, constituents will have to study the policies put forward by the different parties and the consequences thereof. They will also have to scrutinise planning for the future to find out which party offers a practical programme for the development of the country as a whole.

In this connection consideration will also have to be given to the achievements of the present Government in order to judge its future. After all, the National Party Government has succeeded in commanding respect in a hostile world for its determination, its steadfastness and honesty. It has also proved itself a most stable government.

### Motion of No-confidence

As is customary a motion of no-confidence in the Government was again moved by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly this year. During the debate the leaders of both the Nationalist and the United Party put their cases. Sir de Villiers Graaff, however, admitted that his reasons for moving the motion were more or less the same as those brought forward in previous years. This afforded the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the opportunity to again nullify the criticisms of the Opposition and to give a clear exposition of his Party's policy and its future programme for the well-being of the country and its citizens.

The Prime Minister pointed out that the Leader of the Opposition had failed to indicate what his Party's future planning was. He, Dr. Verwoerd, therefore, in a most impressive speech, said South Africa will on election date have to choose between people who plan for the future and who are sure to achieve their ideals, and on the other hand, people who simply await the future and who do nothing in the meantime, as the United Party is doing.

### RHODESIA

**Replying to the United Party's criticism that the Government was very indifferent to Rhodesia's problems, Dr. Verwoerd pointed out that it was rather extraordinary for the United Party to come with such an accusation. Hitherto it was the United Party that had always attacked the Government when it was fighting the cause of the White man. He reminded the House of the visit of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, some years ago and asked on whose side the Opposition was when he (Dr. Verwoerd) had to put a case for the White man in Africa?**

*"Because the members of the Opposition believed in partnership — they also believed in Federation — they believed in policies which have failed. I suppose they have a feeling of guilt, and that is why they have over-acted in this situation", the Prime Minister continued.*  
(Hansard 1966, column 51).

He also pointed out that the Government was not supported by the United Party when fighting the cause of the White man in South Africa at the United Nations.

### Enemies

The Prime Minister also referred to the accusation that South Africa is making enemies all over the world instead of friends, but here the United Party wanted the Government to estrange the country from the United Kingdom. The Leader of the Opposition was prepared not only to force the United Kingdom into a position which would have been anything but friendly, but also to add to the enmity of the African states or the remainder of the Commonwealth. The Leader of the

Opposition, it appears, is therefore prepared to make enemies as many as he can.

Is this perhaps because the United Party knows that it has very little hope ever to win an election again and therefore cares very little about the future of South Africa as long as it can, score a few election points? Is the Leader of the Opposition prepared to sacrifice both South Africa and Rhodesia for party ambitions?

### Sound Principle

South Africa is maintaining the sound principle not to allow others to interfere in its domestic affairs and should, therefore, not interfere in those of others.

Dr. Verwoerd continued:

*"Since we have been threatened over and over again with and to a certain extent have experienced, boycotts and sanctions, we have taken up the clear attitude that under no circumstances, neither under pressure nor under force, will we participate in either boycotts or sanctions."*  
(Hansard 1966, column 52).

Both parties in this Rhodesian clash are our friends and trading partners and the attitude we are taking was the only wise attitude to take in order to be able to continue existing relations. Mediation or deliberate aid might lead to taking sides and that will be to the disadvantage of Rhodesia.

The Government has stated quite clearly that it was going to maintain normal relations with both countries. Anyone will realize that by maintaining regular relations, especially economic relations, with a neighbouring state means everything to a state which is isolated, as Rhodesia is today. This attitude is of great value to our neighbour, whilst South Africa on the other hand is acting within its rights not to participate in boycotts. If the United Party's ideas were accepted it would jeopardize Rhodesia. Does the United Party want that in order to gain votes? What kind of friends are these?

### Petrol and Oil

In regard to the question of petrol and oil, the Government was also adhering to the principle of not participating in boycotts or sanctions. If there are producers or traders, who have oil or petrol to sell, whether to Zambia or Rhodesia, or any other country, we do not interfere, even not if gifts of any kind are sent.

If South Africa decided to prohibit or restrict the sale and shipment of goods to our neighbour, it would mean taking part in boycotts. South Africa's clear policy, in terms of international law, not to participate in boycotts might be to the advantage of Rhodesia and to the detriment of Britain, but that is clearly a matter for which Britain herself is responsible, as South Africa's standpoint was clear even before the Rhodesian crises.

### Correct attitude

If the whole matter was looked at from Rhodesia's angle, it was clear that the Government's attitude was the correct one. Mr. Ian Smith, Rhodesia's Premier, has had occasion to say so more than once and he actually complimented South Africa for the way she is handling this delicate matter.

No wonder Dr. Verwoerd posed the question: **"Who should know best what is good for Rhodesia — the Leader of the Opposition or the Prime Minister of Rhodesia?"**

The Prime Minister went on to ask:

*"What is the controlling group in the United Party trying to do to South Africa? Do they want to damage the country solely for election purposes, or have they given up all hope and now desire chaos in both South Africa and Rhodesia? Would they like to see both countries squashed and with black dictatorships under communist influence, as in other African states?"*

### NATIONAL ECONOMY

South Africa has enjoyed a measure of prosperity over the last decade it has never experienced before. Because of this



the country enjoys increasing confidence — confidence that is continually being expressed by every overseas as well as internal investors. Great developments have taken place over the last 17 years because of Government inspiration. The economic upsurge is still continuing and will continue far into the future. Therefore people are relying upon this Government remaining in power in order to ensure that development may continue.

### Salary Increases

In 1964 the Government started working on a scheme in order to find a new salary structure for civil servants and others. This scheme was completed and salaries and wages have thereafter been increased as was announced. The new scheme has since proved a very wise and good reconstruction.

While the Government was working on ways and means of reconstructing the whole salary structure in the Service, the Opposition all of a sudden started pleading for increases in salaries last year. But now that it has been announced, the Opposition is doing its best to frighten those who have received the improved increments by saying that these increases are being nullified by price increases. But when United Party leaders deal with agriculture they again argue that the prices for farmer's products are too low and should be increased. On the other hand, they will try to scare the electorate if food subsidies are increased by saying that additional taxes will be imposed to pay for the increased subsidies. That is how the United Party is trying to catch votes from all angles.

The Government is, however, watching price increases very closely and will see to it that the necessary adjustments are made when necessary.

### SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The Prime Minister went on to ask the Opposition whether they were going to fight a clean election or whether they were preparing for a smear campaign. His fears for a smear campaign were aroused by an article that appeared in „Ons Land“, the official paper of the United Party, on 17 December, 1965. He went on to quote:

“Behind the scenes, so it is alleged, an unholy political intrigue is being carried on by no less a person than Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, and Chief Jonathan, Prime Minister of Basutoland. This time it is not 100,000 bags of maize that are being sacrificed to Basutoland. . . but, so it is rumoured, tens of thousands of morgen of the old Free State itself are at stake.”

(Hansard 1966, Col. 59).

It was further stated that ground at Witzieshoek, Herschell and on the eastern border in the Free State would be returned to Basutoland.

“Ons Land” stated that this information was obtained from a secret letter which was alleged to have been circulated in Basutoland and intercepted by the police.

The Prime Minister informed the House of Assembly that the so-called “letter” was a forgery that was published by the Basuto Congress Party, a communist-financed party, in Basutoland during their election campaign. And now the United Party was using the same story in an attempt to incur suspicion on him and his Government by making use of the same forged letter that was used by the Bantu in their campaign. Extraordinary propaganda bedfellows.

The Prime Minister emphatically denied that there was any truth in the story:

“I never gave the slightest indication or had the slightest intention of conducting any negotiations in connection with the so-called Conquered Territory of the Free State. It is an absolute untruth, and I find it disgraceful that propaganda can be made in this way by means of something anyone who has any common sense, anyone who believed in the decency of his fellow-citizens in the country, ought to know cannot be true.”

The Prime Minister asked the Leader of the Opposition whether he was going to allow this type of propaganda in his party, to which Sir de Villiers Graaff replied that the matter was dropped when it became known that the letter was a forged one. This, however, was not the only incident of its kind. Dr. Verwoerd, in another speech of his, was also mis-

quoted by the United Party in order to seek support for the same propaganda story. When this was brought to the notice of the Leader of the Opposition, although showing signs of uneasiness, he also failed to apologise on behalf of his party for the blunder and the wrong deductions that were made.

### THE FUTURE

Looking into the future there were certain fundamental matters on which the electorate will have to decide. One is the colour policy which may endanger everyone in the Republic, as the White man in other parts of Africa has been endangered.

The other is the question under what policy the state has the ability to maintain itself internationally and internally and to maintain its standpoint.

### Colour Policy

In describing the United Party's policy, the Prime Minister said its kernel could be summarised as follows: “It signifies the acceptance of the whole of South Africa as one mixed fatherland”.

Proceeding, he said the United Party wants to keep this one mixed fatherland undivided in which Whites and non-Whites must necessarily act in association with one another, not only in the economic sphere, not only in the social sphere, but above all in the political sphere — which in its own words means political integration.

The Opposition's policy was formulated as one of partnership and partnership is a form of integration. Whether one wants to make the Black man one's junior or senior partner does not alter the fact that one wants partnership.

“In terms of the United Party policy of partnership, whoever, the course of events in Kenya will become the course of events in South Africa.”

Their middle course, which they say they are following, must end up in joint rule by the two races. They are going to rule by means of one central government, one central parliament in which both Blacks and Whites will be represented.

The National Party accepts the realities of life, namely that the Bantu had for ages and still have certain areas of their own for ages and the Whites other areas. Dr. Verwoerd continued:

“Just as in Europe, just as in South America, just as in Asia and just as in the rest of Africa, where different nations which had their own territories which they occupied, eventually developed into different states, so we accept it as one of the facts of reality that that must and will happen in South Africa”.

(Hansard 1966, Col. 64).

Under the United Party's policy, whatever they may call it, with eight white representatives for the Bantu, a few coloured persons and a few Indians, these people will gradually demand greater participation in the country's politics. The Bantu with their greater numbers will demand it. A greater say for the Bantu will not be determined by consultations or referendums. All guarantees given by the Opposition are worthless. Their ultimate demand will be “one man, one vote”. That is what the Luthulies, Sobukwes, the Mandelas and the Potos, inter alia, insist upon.

### Head-on-collision

The United Party advocates that a referendum be held by the white electorate notwithstanding the fact that it is going to restore the Coloured on the common voters' roll, to decide whether political rights should be extended, if demanded. What is going to happen if the electorate says “no”? Then there will be a head-on collision between Black and White as there never has been before. In that collision the Bantu is going to have the sympathy of the nations who are fighting us today, the African states, the Asian states, the Western states and the whole of the United Nations.

Rhodesia with its 15 non-whites in its Parliament of 65 members cannot satisfy the world. How on earth will it be possible for the Leader of the Opposition to satisfy the world with eight White representatives for the Bantu in a Parliament of about 180 members. Seeing that Rhodesia cannot succeed

with 15 in a much smaller parliament. On this downhill road there is no hope for the continued existence of the Whites in South Africa.

### **Bantu Homelands**

Coming to the policy of the National Party, the Prime Minister said that the Party is unequivocally adhering to its policy which is that we shall develop the Bantu in their own areas at the right pace and that we shall lead them to freedom in those areas at a time when we consider them capable to reap the real fruits of a truly democratic state. The dangers under this policy are less than that under the U.P.'s policy. In regard to the fear that the Bantu will fall to communism, the greater possibility is that they would prefer the friendship of South Africa that can do much more for them as is already being realized by the adjoining High Commission Territories. Should the Bantu homelands, however, accept communism, it would be better for the Whites to have this danger outside its borders than within. As for the Black neighbouring states, the National Government is prepared to co-operate with the various peoples, but only on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs and of decent relations. There is no other way out.

### **Security**

The Prime Minister also referred to the question of internal securities for South Africa and said this Government was prepared to take the necessary steps. It has proved that it wanted to do so and has so far secured order and peace in these difficult times.

*"It has become very clear in the past few years that this Government is prepared to take the necessary steps, even unorthodox steps, in that situation, no matter how it is vilified, no matter who it is vilified, by the Opposition."*

It has become clear that the United Party, either because it does not have the courage or because it belongs to those groups of semi-liberalists, is not prepared to take the necessary steps to combat undermining of that nature effectively. It cannot because of its prejudice. No matter how anxious it is to have order, it cannot maintain it, because of its attitude, but the Government is ready to do what is required.

### **Defence**

The second leg of the country's security is its defence. In this connection the Government has also done its duty. The Defence Force has been built up to such an extent that it commands respect. Further improvements are continually being made in regard to the reorganization of the Defence Force by utilizing all means at our disposal. The Defence Force is thus being organized into an even more powerful machine than it already is.

### **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

In the diplomatic sphere South Africa also is not lacking. In this field there must be no irresolution in the international policy of the Republic. In spite of all the clashes South Africa has had to experience, it has succeeded not only in making silent friends but also in gaining respect for the firm attitude adopted by its Government. Our policy of non-interference is being granted recognition to an increasing extent.

When it is necessary to take a stand at U.N.O. or even if it may become necessary against it, this Government will do so, but will the irresolute United Party do it?

Today everything is secondary important to survival. Therefore, a strong government, like the National Party Government, must be returned on 30 March.

### **PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE**

The survival of the White man in South Africa is, however, not the only matter that counts. In other spheres, especially in the field of economics, special measures must also be taken

for the welfare of the country and its citizens. Basically, however, the choice that is to be made, must be made on the fundamental questions that have been stated so far.

In the sphere of economics the National Government has exerted itself with great ingenuity and planning. Every industrialist and intrepeneur knows that. General confidence exists. Therefore the ways in which the Government is guiding the industrial development are of supreme importance.

After thorough investigations and intensive studies, the Government has decided to embark on further large scale national development schemes.

### **Development**

The Prime Minister went on to say that the export trade is full of new promises and should be further developed. If statistics are examined, it will be seen that our export is growing, even in Africa.

In the second instance the Government will continue to create the climate necessary for the promotion of the general welfare. The rate of growth proposed by the Government for the next five years, is well-nown and in addition the national product is continually increasing. We can and will achieve the rate of growth that has been laid down for the country.

A third principle is that the accent is being placed on developing our manufacturing industry. A policy of selective protection will be continued. New enterprises are encouraged.

The production of ferro-chrome, not only for exporting purposes but also for the manufacturing of local articles, will be promoted. The further diversification of industrial products will also be continued with. The infrastructure will be further developed.

Fourthly, special attention will be devoted to the retail trade, particularly in the rural areas, where the drought raged havoc.

In the fifth instance we shall continue to step up the development of the border industries which is a means to assist in moving the urban Bantu to other areas. Lately an investment of no less than R140 million has been made in one of these areas. Some 53,000 persons of whom 41,000 are Bantu have been given employment in border industries, which means that 115,000 Bantu people have been resettled outside the white areas.

### **New Industries**

The Government would like new enterprises to be undertaken by private initiative and is prepared to give support where major industries of key importance cannot undertake such on their own. A few enterprises have been brought to the notice of businessmen and the Government is hoping that some of the following will be undertaken, i.e. a soda-ash undertaking, an electrolyte copper refinery and the further increased manufacture of electric locomotives. Some enterprises that are under Government consideration with possible state support are a tractor industry; the establishment of shipbuilding yards for larger vessels; the development of the fishing industry and the enlargement of our fishing-harbours. The search for natural oil is continuing, a second Sasol and a third Iscor are being investigated.

This gives some indication of the Government's planning to meet the needs of our developing and economically self-supporting country.

### **AGRICULTURE**

In dealing with the problems of agriculture, the Premier told the House of Assembly that his Government was taking the greatest and most sincere interest in the farmers of the country and went on to say:

*"I want to give the farmers of South Africa the assurance that we are all deeply concerned at the severe hardship which they have been caused by the drought, and that we have not only been united in prayer, but are united*

in our sympathy and in our determination to try and solve their problems (not only of the period of emergency, but also of the period of reconstruction which is to follow now that the rains have come). The farmers of South Africa are of fundamental importance to the whole of our society. I cannot imagine any Government not realizing that." (Hansard 1966. Col. 71).

Food production is of fundamental importance. The farmer, the conservative person is of great significance. His spirit especially is the foundation on which our attitude as a party is based. He is the power behind our thinking, Dr. Verwoerd continued. Therefore, in every possible respect, we shall try to restore the severely stricken farming community to its feet.

With this view in mind the new Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure has been established. This was not done for drought relief only, but also with the intention to assist those persons who cannot obtain credit elsewhere, but who have a chance of again making progress. We are heading for the reconstruction of our agricultural industry as a whole.

"I have no doubt that the cattle-farming industry, which has suffered so severely, and the dairy industry will get their assistance. They will have to be built up again. A country such as ours cannot do otherwise." (Hansard 1966 Col. 72).

## OTHER PROJECTS

The Prime Minister also referred to certain basic services that were required in the further development of the country. Planning for these services has been undertaken years in advance.

### Savings Bank

Reforms in the Post Office savings bank will enable people to draw money on demand where ever they may be in the country. This new service will save much time and inconvenience.

### Automatic Telephones

The microwave system which is now being developed will within the next five years be able to develop to the stage where 85 per cent of our telephones will be automatic. People will be able to dial from practically any place in the country to any other part. As a result of the new cable to which we are a party, we shall have much improved communications with Europe and other overseas countries.

### Water Conservation

Apart from major projects like the Orange and Pongola schemes, many other projects have been and are being completed. Within five years 86,000 morgen of new land, excluding the Orange River scheme, will become available. In the same time 148,000 morgen of existing development will be supplied with additional water which will result into greater production and increased supplies for power generating.

The Oppermandrifdam on the Vaal should be completed within four years, which, together with another dam-wall raising, will increase the available water supply of the Vaal River triangle by 300 million gallons per day.

As water conservation is considered by the Government as a very urgent problem, a commission is being appointed to investigate the whole matter. This commission will also deal with the re-utilization of water and the desalination of water. Thus a broad and ambitious plan for the future of South Africa in regard to everything in connection with water is being started.

## Electricity

Another leg on which the development of the country rests is power. The demand for power is increasing tremendously. It is expected that Escom alone will require an extra 14 million kilowatt hours by 1970. Apart from this the consumption by local authorities will also increase by an expected 2 million kilowatt hours.

As these demands will be too big to cope with the Escom and local authorities, the Government shall have to and is prepared to assist by way of financing or any other means. Research is being carried out in order to make use of the most modern methods for generating electricity on a much bigger scale.

## Science

The growing needs, as far as science and scientists are required, are also enjoying the serious attention of the Government. A survey on a huge scale has been launched in order to achieve the most effective utilization of all scientists of our country. Everything, training, research and utilization of science, will be carried out on a more highly co-ordinated and systematic basis. That is why the Department of Planning and co-ordination has been established, the Prime Minister said.

## John Citizen

The Government has very clear plans in connection with family life, the care of the aged and the creation of opportunities for the youth. It has also seen to it that there is full employment, work for everyone who wants to work. It is also of great importance to the man in the street that he should be well paid. Everyone knows what has been done in that field. Enormous housing programmes have also been completed.

The National Government during its 17 years in office has spent more than R177 million on housing for Whites. Some 43,000 houses have been built and during the next two years 8000 white families will be provided with housing by the Department of Community Development alone. In addition municipalities will build another 4500 houses with state aid. The Government is also giving every assistance to city councils and other bodies. At present R4 million per annum is being spent on sub-economic housing and R24 million on economic housing.

## Education

Dr. Verwoerd went on to say that our educational system will take on a completely new pattern in the immediate future. The National Education Council has made great progress in this connection. Instead of neglecting our young people, planning is being undertaken on a very large scale in accordance with modern development. A talent survey, which is being undertaken, can lead to a revolutionary change in our education system.

Great changes are being brought about in regard to technical education. Some of the colleges are being converted into technological institutes. Bursaries on a greater scale will be made available in future. Not only the poor man's child has to be granted bursaries, but also children from the middle-income group who need them.

Government expenditure on education has increased from R27 million per annum in 1940 to R85 million in 1950, whereas the amount for 1963 was R230 million. Expressed as a percentage of the national income, the figure is much higher than that of Australia, Denmark and Ireland. The figure for South Africa as well as that of the United States was 4.6% of the national income in 1960. That of the United Party was but 3.4% in 1940.

The welfare of the youth is considered of such great importance that an increase of 747.3% in expenditure on education was registered since 1940. This achievement was made possible by the large amounts that were voted for this purpose as from 1948 when the National Party came into power.

#### **The Difference**

In conclusion the Prime Minister pointed out the difference between the two main political parties.

The National Party plans for development; the United

Party merely wants to adapt itself to changed circumstances. It just want to leave matters to develop on its own accord.

"South Africa will have to choose between people who plan for the future — people with an ideal, people with an object who try to achieve it — and, on the other hand, people who simply await the future and who go and lie down in the meantime."

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(Compiled by M. P. A. Malan and issued by the Information Office of the National Party, both of Voortrekker Street 79, Bloemfontein. Printed by the N.G. Sendingspers, Bastion Street 46, Bloemfontein).

# 1970

22 APRIL

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                    | Setels verower/<br>Seats own | Participating parties which have won seats                                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>3. Die Progressiewe Party (PP) | 47<br>118<br>1               | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP)<br>3. The Progressive Party (PP) |

## Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Geen Afrikaanse weergawe kon opgespoor word nie.
2. Opgestel deur H H Smit, LV en uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party, albei van die Volksraad, Kaapstad, en gedruk deur Nasionale Handelsdrukkery Beperk, Zeldastraat, Elsiesrivier, 1970.
3. Die Progressiewe Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik nie.

## Sources of election manifestos

1. The Star, 21 April 1970.  
"It's Time For a Change"  
(Written and published on behalf of the United Party by J van Lingen. Johannesburg.
2. Prepared by H H Smit, MP, and issued by the Information Service of the National Party, both of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, and printed by National Commercial Printers, Limited, Zelda Street, Elsies Rivier, 1970.
3. The Progressive Party never issued an official election manifesto.

# VERKIESINGSMANIFES

VAN DIE  
NATIONALE PARTY  
1970



*Foto: Christos, Bloemfontein.*

*Adv. John Vorster, Eerste Minister van die Republiek  
van Suid-Afrika en Leier van die Nasionale Party*

# DIE NASIONALE PARTY

vir

## SUID-AFRIKA

**O**MDAT die Nasionale Party nog dwarsdeur sy bestaan geveg het vir die bevordering van die belange van Suid-Afrika en altyd beplan vir die toekoms, kan die Party met hierdie verkiesing weer eens aan die kiesers van Suid-Afrika sê:

„TOETS MY AAN MY DADE.”

Die Nasionale Party hou dus sy DADE en PLANNE vir die toekoms aan die kiesers voor, en nie verkiesingsbeloftes wat opsigtelik onuitvoerbaar is nie.

Met die oog op die gewigtige keuse vir die kiesers op 22 April 1970, word bygaande verkiesingsmanifes namens die Nasionale Party uitgereik deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party van Suid-Afrika.

### VERKIESINGSMANIFES VAN DIE NASIONALE PARTY

**O**P 22 April 1970 kry die kiesers van Suid-Afrika andermaal die geleentheid om hulle by die stembus uit te spreek oor die toekoms van ons land. Dit is u besondere geleentheid om te bepaal WIE die land moet regeer en HOE die land geregeer moet word.

Aan die hand van sy program van Beginsels, en in navolging van sy onbepelike diens aan Suid-Afrika oor die afgelope 22 jaar as die regerende party, stel die Nasionale Party sy saak aan die kiesers van Suid-Afrika.

● Hy glo dat geen ander politieke party in Suid-Afrika die beleidsrigting of die vermoë het om Suid-Afrika meer **doeltreffend** en **toegewyd** te regeer nie.

#### SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE

Die Nasionale Party stel hom onverbiddelik op die beginsel van „Suid-Afrika eerste”. Op daardie beginsel het die Party tot stand gekom. Sy groot sukses en die vertroue wat hy by die kiesers geniet, is te danke aan die feit dat sy optrede konsekwent aan hierdie beginsel voldoen het.

Vir die toekoms het die kiesers van Suid-Afrika dus die versekering dat ’n Nasionale Party-regering onverbiddelik Suid-Afrika se belange eerste stel.

#### GEEN INMENGING

In ooreenstemming hiermee het die Nasionale Party hom konsekwent op die standpunt gestel dat hy geen inmenging in ons land se huishoudelike sake deur enige buitelandse moondheid of organisasie sal duld nie. Terselfdertyd meng hy hom ook nie in die huishoudelike sake van ander lande in nie. Hierdie standpunt was ons krag in ’n rustelose wêreld. Aan hierdie standpunt sal die Nasionale Party hom ook in die toekoms streng hou.

#### GODSDIENSVRYHEID

Die Nasionale Party erken die Opperheerskappy en Leiding van God in die lotgevalle van lande en volke en soek die ontwikkeling van ons volkslewe langs Christelike, Nasionale weg, met inagneming van die gewetens- en godsdiensvryheid van die individu.

#### NASIONALE EENHEID

Die Nasionale Party glo dat ’n kragtige eenheidsgevoel onder die blanke bevolking steeds bevorder moet word ter wille van ’n sterk en groeiende Republiek. Die Party glo nie aan kunsmatige eenheid nie, maar glo dat dit bewerkstellig moet word deur die skepping van ’n gesonde klimaat vir saamhorigheid en op vaste grondslag, nl.:

- Die besliste handhawing van absolute gelykberegtiging vir die twee landstale en die twee taalgroepe, sonder die minste suggestie van diskriminasie teenoor enige taalgroep.
- Gemeenskaplike en onverdeelde trou aan die Republiek van S.A. en sy belange.
- Die bevordering van onderlinge vertroue.
- Wedersydse waardering van elke taalgroep se kulturele bydrae.
- Aanvaarding van die Suid-Afrikaanse simbole (Vlag en Volkslied).

Danksy die Republiek wat die Nasionale Party gebring het, groei die eenheidsgevoel, wat geen afbreuk doen aan die onderskeie taalgroepe se waardebesef van hul eie kultuurgoedere nie, tans sonder perke en het onverdeelde trou aan Suid-Afrika die plek geneem van vroeëre dubbele trou, en groei die onderlinge vertroue.

Die Nasionale Party voel oor hierdie saak so sterk dat sy Leier, Adv. B. J. Vorster, op 19 Februarie vanjaar in die Volksraad verklaar het dat dit van die hoogste belang is dat taalverhoudinge, menseverhoudinge en rasseverhoudinge nie versteur moet word nie. Terwyl spanninge, versteurde verhoudinge tussen mens en mens in verskeie lande, selfs tussen mense wat dieselfde taal praat, tot chaos en onstabiliteit lei, moet ons alles doen om dit in S.A. af te weer.

„Ek voel so ernstig oor hierdie saak dat ek wil sê ek beskou dit as 'n misdadig vir enige mens wat willens en wetens taal- en rasseverhoudinge versteur,”

het die Eerste Minister gesê.

## **RASSEVERHOUDINGE**

In aansluiting hierby is die Nasionale Party se beleid en strewe daarop gemik om rass spanning tussen blank en nie-blank af te weer deur die skeping van al hoe meer geleenthede vir parallelle ontwikkeling. Die Nasionale Party stel derhalwe voor die kiesers sy besliste standpunt dat hy onherroeplik op die pad van skeiding en parallelle ontwikkeling beweeg.

- Die Nasionale Party sal voortgaan om die verhoudinge tussen blank en nie-blank spanningsvry te maak en sal waak teen versteuring daarvan.
- Die beleidsrigtinge van die opposisiepartye het egter die noodwendige gevolg dat dit tot nuwe rass spanninge sal lei.

Terwyl spanninge tussen blank en nie-blank in lande soos die V.S.A. en Brittanje, wat ons beleidsrigting voortdurend aanval, toeneem, het ons beteklik rus en vrede in S.A. en gepaard daarmee, 'n al hoe groter aanvaarding van die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling.

## **AFSONDERLIKE ONTWIKKELING**

Die Nasionale Party glo dat parallelle ontwikkeling die enigste weg na vrede in Suid-Afrika is en onderneem om:

- Voort te gaan met die afsonderlike ontwikkelingsprogramme vir die Bantoevolkere, die Kleurlinge en Indiërs.
- Eie politieke bedelinge vir die nie-blankes verder te ontwikkel — soos die Nasionale Party dit dan ook gedoen het — geskei van die blanke Parlement.
- Voort te gaan met die ontwikkeling van Bantoetuislande ten einde al hoe groter getalle daar te vestig en daar te anker.
- Om vir die nie-blankes al hoe meer geleenthede te skep om hul eie mense te dien.
- Om in sy optrede teenoor die nie-blanke volkere christelik en regverdig te handel.

## **BUITELANDSE VERHOUDINGE**

Die Nasionale Party glo aan samewerking met buitelandse moondhede in Suid-Afrika se belang. Daarom het hy diplomatieke betrekkinge met 'n groot aantal state. Hy glo ook aan samewerking met ons buurstate in Afrika en beoefen dit reeds tot groot voordeel vir ons veiligheid.

Sulke betrekkinge sal altyd as grondslag hê die beste belang van Suid-Afrika en voorts die beginsel van geen inmenging wedersyds in mekaar se huishoudelike sake nie.



Op hierdie stewige grondslag sal die Nasionale Party voortgaan om steeds die samewerking te soek van bevriende state en as rigsnoer hou dit wat in Suid-Afrika se beste belange is.

## **SUIDWES-AFRIKA**

Die N.P. sal sy onderneming aan die kiesers van S.W.A. gestand doen om Suidwes nie uit te lewer aan die genade van die V.V.O. nie en sal voortgaan om die gebied te ontwikkel en as 'n integrale deel van die Republiek te administreer.

## **LANDSVEILIGHEID**

Die Nasionale Party verbind hom tot die handhawing van die veiligheid en sekuriteit van ons Republiek. Hy het in die moeilike jare 1960-'64, te midde van sterk teenstand deur die Opposisie, skitterend daarin geslaag om ernstige bedreigings vir ons binnelandse veiligheid suksesvol af te weer, en gaan daarmee voort. Die Nasionale Party is met hierdie taak te vertrou. Vir dié taak sal hy:

- Sorg vir die verdere uitbouing van 'n sterk weermag wat slaggereed is teen enige militêre bedreiging.
- Steeds saamwerk met bevriende state om gemeenskaplike bedreigings af te weer.
- Sorg vir die nodige wapentuig deur die uitbouing van ons eie wapenbedryf.
- Sy strategiese rol vervul ter beveiliging van die Westerse beskaving aan die suidpunt van Afrika.
- Binnelandse veiligheid verseker deur voortgesette noulettende waaksaamheid teen die Kommunisme en ander vorme van ondermyning.

Die Nasionale Regering het in hierdie verband 'n vleklose rekord van toewyding aan die veiligheid van S.A.

## **IMMIGRASIE**

Die Nasionale Party glo aan beplande en gekeurde immigrasie om die ontwikkeling van ons land en ons blanke gemeenskap te bevorder. Dit sal egter altyd sy rigsnoer bly dat immigrante assimileerbaar met ons blanke bevolking moet wees, asook opgelei is vir sodanige werkgeleenthede as waaraan ons behoefte het.

Voorts verseker die Nasionale Party dat hy deur immigrasie nie plaaslike bevolkingsverhoudings sal versteur nie.

## **EKONOMIES**

Soos oor die afgelope dekades, verbind die Nasionale Party hom tot die verdere uitbouing van ons ekonomiese stabiliteit en groei. Daardeur wil hy vir al die inwoners van die Republiek beter lewenstandaarde verseker en ons land ekonomies weerbaar maak teen aanslae van buite.

Met die oog hierop beywer hy hom vir:

- 'n Voortgesette gesonde staatsfinansiële beleid, wat in die jongste verlede verseker het dat die koopkrag van ons Rand sterk gebly het, terwyl die geldeenhede van baie ouer lande begin wankel het.
- Die verdere bevordering van ons eie nywerhede, waardeur Suid-Afrika al hoe meer ekonomies onafhanklik word.
- Die voortgesette uitbouing van ons stelsel van kragvoorsiening deur Evkom.
- Die voortsetting van die soektog na en ontginning van strategiese produkte soos aardolie en gas, uraan, yster, ens.
- 'n Gesonde mynbedryf.
- Bevordering van ons uitvoerhandel.
- Die beste werkgeleenthede vir ons eie werkers.

## **VERVOER**

Die Nasionale Party glo in die waarde van 'n deeglike vervoernetwerk. Hy

sal voortgaan om ons Spoorweë, Hawens, Lugdiens en padvervoer met deeglike beplanning steeds te laat tred hou met die groeiende behoeftes van ons land.

## ARBEID

Danksy die beleid van die Nasionale Party het ons vandag die laagste werkloosheidsyfer ter wêreld vir ons blanke bevolking. Hy sal steeds voortgaan om arbeidsvrede te handhaaf en steeds meer en beter werkgeleenthede vir ons blanke en nie-blanke werkers te voorsien.

Deur middel van werkreservering sal hy steeds sorg dra dat die blanke werker nie verdring word deur ongewenste mededinging van nie-blankes nie.

## ONDERWYS

Die Nasionale Party glo daaraan dat ons grootste potensiaal vir die toekoms in ons mensemateriaal geleë is en sal aan die opleiding van ons jeug steeds die hoogste prioriteit verleen. Die bedrae wat hy die afgelope 22 jaar vir dié doel aangewend het, en die aantal inrigtings vir opleiding, getuig hiervan.

- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat aan Suid-Afrika 'n Nasionale Onderwysbeleid gebring het wat doelgerigte en gekoördineerde onderwys oor die hele land verseker.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat verskeie nuwe universiteite aan Suid-Afrika gebring het.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat steeds groter en meer beurse en beurslenings vir studente beskikbaar stel.
- Die Nasionale Party is Suid-Afrika se waarborg teen studente-onluste, soos elders in die wêreld voorkom.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat groter getalle inrigtings vir tegniese en vak-opleiding vir Suid-Afrika gebring het. Hy gaan daarmee voort.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat gesorg het vir die beste opvoedkundige beginsels in die onderwys, ter wille van die kind se beste belang. Hy sal die beginsel van moedertaalonderrig steeds handhaaf.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat gesorg het vir 'n landwyse eenvormige stelsel van opleiding van onderwysers.

## GEMEENSKAPSBOU

Dit is die Nasionale Party wat die begrip van gemeenskapsbou in Suid-Afrika ingevoer het. In die plek van vroeëre deurmekaarwonery en krottoestande verrys nou onder sy deeglike beplanning:

- Gesonde en gelukkige gemeenskappe.
- Behuisingskemas en behuisingsgeleenthede (met lenings) vir al ons mense.
- Groepsgebiede vir blank en nie-blank.
- Stadshernuwing en opruiming van slumtoestande.

Behoorlike en voldoende behuising vir al ons mense, ten einde gelukkige gemeenskappe te bou, is een van die vernaamste bedrywighede en taakstellinge van die Nasionale Party.

## WATER

Onder die Nasionale Party-regering het die beplande bewaring en benutting van ons beperkte waterbronne behoorlik tot sy reg gekom. Water is die lewensaar van Suid-Afrika. Ons toekoms en ons groei kanse hang daarvan af.

Die Nasionale Party sal voortgaan om op wetenskaplike en **beplande** wyse ons waterbronne te ontwikkel. Die groot binnelandse skemas wat hy aangepak het, asook skemas in samewerking met buurstate, getuig daarvan. Sy beplanning maak voorsiening vir steeds groter besteding aan die ontwikkeling van ons waterbronne.

- Die Nasionale Party **beplan** dus vir die toekoms.

## LANDBOU

Die Nasionale Party glo daaraan dat Suid-Afrika se ontwikkeling ten nouste saamhang met die ontwikkeling van 'n gesonde landboubedryf, wat die groeiende bevolking moet voed.

Juis omdat ons landbou so blootgestel is aan droogtes en ander natuurrampe, dra die Nasionale Party sorg dat alles in die werk gestel word om die boer op sy grond te hou en 'n ekonomiese lewensbestaan vir hom verseker word.

Die Nasionale Party gaan dus onvermoeid voort om vir die boer:

- Deskundige navorsings- en voorligtingsdienste te verskaf.
- Bemakingsgeleenthede, plaaslik en in die buiteland, steeds te verbeter.
- Finansiële hulp teen lae rentekoerse aan boere te verskaf wat deur droogtes, natuurrampe of ander omstandighede geknel word.
- Die bewaring van die bodem en gesonde boerderypraktyke te bevorder.

## KOMMUNIKASIE

Die Nasionale Party besef die belangrike rol van pos- en telekommunikasie vir 'n groeiende land soos Suid-Afrika. Daarom het hy die Poskantoor op sy eie finansiële bene geplaas, wat hom in staat stel om sy dienste aan die publiek beter en doeltreffer te beplan.

Hy sal voortgaan op hierdie weg om te verseker dat die pos- en telefoon-dienste tred hou met die groeiende behoeftes van ons land. Hy sal ook ons radionetwerk verder uitbrei en moderniseer.

## SPORT

Die Nasionale Party glo aan die voortsetting van bestaande internasionale sportbetrekkings, ook as middel om betrekkings met ander lande en hul bevolkings te bevorder.

Sulke sportbetrekkings moet egter ook as grondslag hê die beginsel van geen inmenging in ons huishoudelike sake of ons bestaande binnelandse sport-gebruike nie.

● Die Nasionale Party sal nie afwyk van Suid-Afrika se tradisionele gebruik om sport binne Suid-Afrika afsonderlik tussen blanke en nie-blanke bevolkingsgroepe te beoefen en te administreer nie.

## GESONDHEID

Die Nasionale Party het reeds met onderskeiding die taak op hom geneem om 'n gesonde en lewenskragtige bevolking te verseker. Daarvoor het hy verskeie dienste en skemas in die lewe geroep.

Die Nasionale Party sal voortgaan om die gesondheid van ons bevolking met al die middele tot sy beskikking te bevorder en te waak teen periodieke voorkomste van epidemies.

## VOLKSWELSYN EN PENSIOENE

Die Nasionale Party het nog altyd terdeë rekening gehou met die behoeftes van oues van dae en ander hulpbehoewende lede van die gemeenskap. Die geweldige verbetering van pensioenvoordele onder die Nasionale Regering getuig hiervan. Hy sal voortgaan om voortdurend te waak oor die behoeftes van hierdie behoeftiges en, soos in die verlede, verdere verligting van tyd tot tyd aanbring.

Die Nasionale Party sal ook voortgaan met die verdere beplande skepping van tehuise vir oues en gestremdes in samewerking met en deur die verlening van steeds meer finansiële hulp aan sulke inrigtings wat deur vrywillige organisasies aangepak word.

## ALGEMEEN

Uit bostaande is dit duidelik dat die Nasionale Party geen opportunistiese politieke party is nie. Hy het deurdagte **planne** vir die toekoms van Suid-Afrika. Sy beleidsrigting is gewortel in ons land en volk se geskiedenis en tradisie en getoets deur die ondervinding van die jare. Hy is nie bereid om te dobbel met die toekoms van Suid-Afrika nie. Hy weet waarheen hy met Suid-Afrika wil gaan.

Ondersteuning aan die Nasionale Party beteken deelgenootskap aan die **beplanning** van 'n veilige, voorspoedige toekoms van Suid-Afrika. Daarom lê die Nasionale Party met vrymoedigheid sy rekord van 22 jaar as Regering, en sy **toekomsplanne** aan die kiesers van Suid-Afrika voor.

(Opgestel deur H. H. Smit, L.V., en uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party, albei van Volksraad, Kaapstad, en gedruk deur Nasionale Handelsdrukkery Beperk, Zeldastrat, Elsieerivier)

# THE UNITED PARTY MANIFESTO

## IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE

This Government has been in power from 1948–1980. In those years it has renounced White leadership.

The Government is creating Bantustans: in effect, independent Black States within our very borders. It is their intention to break South Africa and South West Africa into 20 completely independent states; 19 Black and one White, in which the majority of people will not be White.

The implications are terrifying. Lack of capital will so hinder the development of these Black states that, for years to come, poverty alone will breed bitterness and political agitation. Yet we will have no say in their affairs. They will not be answerable to us. And they will be free at any time to seek foreign aid\*\* and to use it against us.

By renouncing White leadership the Government has so fragmented the country as to create a situation of unparalleled danger. This, at a time when South Africa is facing hostility and contempt such as never before.

### UNITED PARTY POLICY FOR UNITY

White unity is essential if we want civilised standards for all the people of South Africa.

For that reason, we will unite our children and give them a chance to understand each other and to speak each other's language in parallel-medium schools. Parents, however, will have the right to choose the type of school they prefer: parallel, or single-medium, English or Afrikaans.

And to produce leaders of the calibre we need to maintain progress in a stable and strong South Africa, we will double the expenditure on education.

### IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE:

If South Africa is to survive, enlightened White leadership *must* be maintained—and over the country as a whole.

Only the United Party is prepared to exercise such authority; to maintain such control; to ensure our survival; to lead all our people justly and fairly to a happier future.

### UNITED PARTY BANTU POLICY:

#### Bantu Territories, not States

Since social and residential separation is our traditional way of life, the Bantu will be encouraged to settle in their own

territories, and they will be represented in Parliament by White members.

And to accelerate progress, and to promote harmony and ease racial tension, we will develop these territories with the aid of independent White capital—not only with the taxpayers' money. Politically they will all be assisted to achieve self-government to an even higher degree than has been achieved in the Transkei. But these territories will not be allowed to become independent Bantu States. We will maintain White leadership over all South Africa.

The United party knows that many Black people will remain in our areas where they are essential to the country's progress, and they will be accepted as permanent residents.

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR ONE SOUTH AFRICA

Instead of fragmenting the country, the United Party will unite all South Africa's races in one centrally-controlled State.

To ensure its security, we will establish a federal form of Government, consisting of a Federation of Communities in which each race group will govern itself to a large extent and have defined representation in Parliament as stated in our official policy. This representation will be fixed. It will only be changed if the White voters agree to change it at a special general election or at a referendum.

### TV NOW

But we are equally concerned with the day-to-day affairs of South Africans, and we will improve the standard of living for all . . . We will increase pensions, and we will introduce a Medical Aid scheme, a State lottery and TV now.

The aim of the United Party is better living. We will encourage economic development to give us the strength to defend ourselves and to ensure that South Africa is a safe and prosperous country for all races. We dare not gamble with the future of South Africa. Vote for the United Party on April 22, and be safe.

\* Dr. Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, told the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1964 that his Government was building up "wholly self-governing African nations inside its borders" ("The Star"—22.12.1964).

\*\* Diplomatic relations have already been established between Botswana and Russia, and a communist revolution with support from Red China almost took place in Lesotho.

# ELECTION MANIFESTO

## OF THE NATIONAL PARTY 1970



*Photo: Christos, Bloemfontein.*

*Mr. John Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic  
of S.A. and Leader of the National Party.*

# **THE NATIONAL PARTY**

for

## **SOUTH AFRICA**

**B**ECAUSE the National Party has throughout its existence endeavoured to promote the interests of South Africa and has always planned for the future, the Party can, at this election, once again say to the voters of South Africa:

**“JUDGE ME BY MY DEEDS”**

The National Party is therefore seeking the support of the electorate on the basis of its DEEDS and its PLANS for the future, and not by making election promises which are palpably incapable of fulfilment.

In view of the momentous decision to be made by the electorate on 22nd April, 1970, the accompanying election manifesto is issued on behalf of the National Party by the Information Service of the National Party of South Africa.

## **ELECTION MANIFESTO**

of the

## **NATIONAL PARTY**

**O**N 22nd April, 1970, the voters of South Africa will once again go to the polls to decide about the future of our country. This is your special opportunity to determine **WHO** shall govern the country and **HOW** it shall be governed.

In accordance with its Programme of Principles, and in continuation of the excellent service it has rendered to South Africa over the past 22 years as the governing party, the National Party wishes to declare its policy to the electorate of South Africa.

● It believes that no other political party in South Africa has either the policies or the ability to govern South Africa **more efficiently and with greater dedication.**

### **S.A. FIRST**

The National Party uncompromisingly stands by the principle of “South Africa First”. Indeed, this is the principle on which the Party was founded. It owes its great success and the trust placed in it by the electorate to the fact that in all its actions it has always remained true to this principle.

For the future the electorate of South Africa therefore has the assurance that a National Party Government will always place South Africa’s interests first.

### **NON-INTERFERENCE**

In accordance with the above the National Party has consistently adopted the attitude that it will not tolerate any interference in our country’s internal affairs by any foreign power or organization. At the same time it does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. This attitude has been a great source of strength to us in a restless world. The National Party will continue to observe this principle strictly.

### **RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

The National Party acknowledges the sovereignty and guidance of God in the destinies of countries and peoples and seeks the development of our national life along Christian, National lines, with due regard to the individual’s freedom of conscience and of religion.

## NATIONAL UNITY

The National Party believes that a strong sense of unity must at all times be fostered among the White population in order to build up a powerful and growing Republic. The Party does not believe in artificial unity, but believes that unity must be brought about by creating a healthy atmosphere for the development of a feeling of solidarity, and on a firm basis, viz.:

- The positive maintenance of absolutely equal treatment for the two official languages and the two language groups, without any discrimination whatsoever against any language group.
- Common and undivided loyalty to the Republic of South Africa and its interests.
- The promotion of mutual trust.
- Mutual appreciation of the cultural contribution made by each language group.
- Acceptance of South Africa's national symbols (Flag and National Anthem).

As a result of the establishment of the Republic by the National Party this sense of unity, which in no way interferes with each respective cultural group's appreciation of its own cultural possessions, is growing apace, the former dual loyalty has been replaced by undivided loyalty to South Africa, and mutual trust is increasing.

The National Party feels so strongly about this matter that its Leader, Mr. B. J. Vorster, declared in the House of Assembly on 19th February this year that it is of cardinal importance that language relationships, human relationships and race relationships should not be disrupted. Tensions and disturbed relationships between people, even between people who speak the same language, are leading to chaos and instability in various countries, and we must do everything to avert this in South Africa. The Prime Minister stated:

"I feel so strongly about this matter that I wish to say that I regard it as a crime for any person deliberately to disturb language and race relationships."

## RACE RELATIONS

In conjunction with this it is the National Party's policy and aim to avert racial tension between Whites and non-Whites by creating ever more opportunities for parallel development. The National Party therefore declares unequivocally to the electorate that it has irrevocably chosen the course of separation and parallel development.

- It will be the National Party's constant endeavour to free the relations between Whites and non-Whites of all tension, and the Party will guard against any disturbance of these relations.
- The policies of the Opposition parties, on the other hand, must inevitably give rise to new racial tensions.

While tensions between Whites and non-Whites are increasing in countries such as the U.S.A. and Britain, which are continually attacking our policies, we have comparative peace and quiet in S.A. and, in addition, an ever greater acceptance of the policy of separate development.

## SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

The National Party believes that parallel development is the only way to ensure peace in South Africa and undertakes:

- To continue with the separate development programmes for the Bantu peoples, the Coloured people and the Indians.
- To further the development of political institutions of their own for the non-Whites — as the National Party has been doing up to now — separate from the White Parliament.
- To continue with the development of Bantu homelands in order to settle and to anchor an ever increasing number of Bantu there.
- To create more and more opportunities for the non-Whites to serve their own people.
- To accord Christianly and just treatment to the non-White peoples.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

The National Party believes in co-operating with foreign countries in the interests of South Africa, and has accordingly maintained diplomatic relations with a large number of states. It also believes in co-operating with our

neighbouring states in Africa and is already applying this in practice, thereby greatly enhancing our security.

Such relations will always be based on what is in the best interests of South Africa, as well as on the principle of non-interference in one another's domestic affairs.

On this firm basis the National Party will continue to seek the co-operation of friendly states, while at the same time observing the guiding principle of what is in the best interests of South Africa.

## **S.W.A.**

The National Party will honour its undertaking to the voters of S.W.A. not to leave South West to the mercy of U.N.O. and will continue to develop the territory and to administer it as an integral part of the Republic.

## **NATIONAL SECURITY**

The National Party undertakes to maintain the safety and security of the Republic. In the difficult years from 1960 to 1964, in the face of strong resistance from the Opposition, it succeeded brilliantly in averting serious threats to our internal security, and it will continue to combat such threats. The National Party can be relied upon to carry out this task. To this end it will:

- Continue to build up a strong defence force which will be ready to withstand any military threat.
- Co-operate as in the past with friendly states in order to avert common threats.
- Provide the necessary armaments by developing our own armaments industry.
- Fulfil its strategic role in safeguarding Western civilization at the southern extremity of Africa.
- Ensure internal security by continuing to keep a close watch on Communism and other forms of subversion.

In this connection the National Party Government has a flawless record of devoted service in ensuring the safety of South Africa.

## **IMMIGRATION**

The National Party believes in planned and selective immigration in order to promote the development of our country and to strengthen our White population. It will always be the Party's guiding principle, however, that immigrants must be assimilable with our White population and trained in skills for which a need exists in our country.

In addition, the National Party gives the assurance that it will not upset the local population balance through immigration.

## **ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

The National Party undertakes to promote our economic stability and growth, as it has done over the past decades. In so doing it will seek to ensure higher standards of living for all the inhabitants of the Republic and to make our country economically capable of withstanding assaults from outside.

To this end it will endeavour:

- To continue the sound financial policy followed by the State, which has in the recent past ensured that the purchasing power of the rand remained strong, while the currencies of many older countries began to decline.
- Further to promote our own industries, so that South Africa may become increasingly independent in the economic sphere.
- Further to develop our power supply system through Escom.
- To continue the search for and exploitation of strategic products such as natural oil and gas, uranium, iron, etc.
- To promote a healthy mining industry.
- To develop our export trade.
- To provide the best employment opportunities for our own workers.

## **TRANSPORT**

The National Party attaches great importance to having an efficient transport system. By means of proper planning it will, as in the past, enable our Railways, Harbours, Airways and road transportation services to keep pace with the growing needs of our country.



## LABOUR

Thanks to the policy of the National Party our White population has the lowest rate of unemployment in the world today. The Party will continue to maintain labour peace and to provide more and better employment opportunities for both our White and our non-White workers.

By means of work reservation it will continue to ensure that the White worker is not ousted through undesirable competition from non-Whites.

## EDUCATION

The National Party believes that our greatest potential for the future lies in our human material and will continue to accord top priority to the training of our youth. The amounts it has spent for this purpose over the past 22 years and the number of training institutions it has provided bear testimony to what it has done in this regard.

- It is the National Party that has given South Africa a national education policy which ensures purposeful and co-ordinated education for the whole of the country.
- It is the National Party that has given South Africa several new universities.
- It is the National Party that has made ever larger and more bursaries and bursary loans available to students.
- The National Party is South Africa's guarantee against student disturbances such as are occurring elsewhere in the world.
- It is the National Party that has given South Africa more institutions for technical and vocational training. It will continue to do so.
- It is the National Party that has seen to it that the best educational principles are applied in our schools, in the best interests of the child. It will continue to uphold the principle of mother-tongue education.
- It is the National Party that has provided a uniform system of teacher training on a national basis.

## COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The National Party introduced the concept of community development in South Africa. As a result of its thorough planning former mixed residential areas and slum conditions are now making way for:

- Healthy and happy communities.
- Housing schemes and housing opportunities (by way of loans) for all our people.
- Group areas for Whites and non-Whites.
- Urban renewal and the clearance of slum conditions.

The provision of proper and adequate housing accommodation for all our people, with a view to building up happy communities, is one of the main activities and objects of the National Party.

## WATER

Under the National Party Government proper attention has come to be paid to the planned conservation and utilization of our limited water resources. Water is the life-blood of South Africa. Our future and our growth potential depend upon it.

The National Party will continue to develop our water resources in a scientific and **planned** way. The large inland schemes it has tackled as well as the schemes undertaken in collaboration with neighbouring states bear testimony to this. Its planning makes provision for ever increasing amounts to be spent on the development of our water resources.

The National Party is therefore **planning** for the future.

## AGRICULTURE

The National Party believes that South Africa's progress is very closely bound up with the development of a sound agricultural industry, which must feed the growing population.

In view of the fact that our agricultural industry so often suffers as a result of droughts and other natural disasters, the National Party will see to it that everything possible is done to keep the farmer on his land and to ensure him of an economic existence.

The National Party will therefore continue to assist the agricultural industry by:

- Providing expert research and information services.
- Further improving marketing facilities, both at home and abroad.
- Providing financial assistance at low rates of interest to farmers who are in distress as a result of droughts, natural disasters or other circumstances.
- Promoting soil conservation and sound farming methods.

## COMMUNICATIONS

The National Party realizes the important part played by postal and telecommunications services in a developing country such as South Africa, and has therefore made the Post Office a financially independent organization, thus enabling it to plan its services to the public more effectively.

In this way the National Party will ensure that our postal and telephone services keep pace with the growing needs of the country.

In addition, it will further expand and modernize our radio network.

## SPORT

The National Party believes in continuing our existing international sport relations, also as a means of promoting relations with other countries and their inhabitants.

Such sport relations, however, must also be based on the principle of non-interference in our domestic affairs or our existing domestic sport traditions.

The National Party will not deviate from the traditional custom in South Africa to practise and to administer White and non-White sport separately.

## HEALTH

The National Party has already achieved great success in the task of building up a healthy and vigorous population in our country. With this object in view it has introduced various services and schemes.

The National Party will continue to promote the health of our population with all the means at its disposal and to guard against periodic outbreaks of epidemic diseases.

## SOCIAL WELFARE AND PENSIONS

The National Party has always given due consideration to the needs of the aged and other members of our society who require assistance. The tremendous improvement in pension benefits under the National Party Government bears testimony to this. It will continue to minister to the needs of those who require assistance and will, as in the past, grant further relief from time to time.

The National Party will continue with the provision, on a planned basis, of more homes for the aged and for handicapped persons in collaboration with and by granting ever increasing financial assistance to such institutions as are established by voluntary organizations.

## GENERAL

It is clear from the above that the National Party is not an opportunistic political party. It has sound and carefully considered **plans** for the future of South Africa. Its policies are rooted in the history and traditions of our country and our people and have withstood the test of the years. It is not prepared to gamble with the future of South Africa. It knows **where** it wants to lead South Africa.

Supporting the National Party means sharing in the **planning** of a secure, bright and prosperous future for South Africa. The National Party therefore confidently submits its record over the past 22 years in government and its **future plans** to the electorate of South Africa.

Prepared by H. H. Smit, M.P., and issued by the Information Service of the National Party, both of the House of Assembly, Cape Town, and printed by National Commercial Printers Limited, Zilda Street, Elsie's River.

# 1974

## 24 APRIL

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                    | Setels verower/<br>Seats own | Participating parties which have won seats                                              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)<br>2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>3. Die Progressiewe Party (PP) | 44<br>120<br>7               | 1. The United Party (UP)<br>2. The National Party (NP)<br>3. The Progressive Party (PP) |

### Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Die Volkstem, Maart 1974.  
"Die VP Kies Sy Vegterrein."
2. Opgestel deur H H Smit, L.V. van Rheezichtlaan 3, Stellenbosch en uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van die Nasionale Party, Posbus 1698, Kaapstad. Gedruk deur Nasionale Handelsdrukkery (Edms) Bpk., Zeldastraat, Elsiesrivier, 1974.
3. Die Progressiewe Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik nie.

### Sources of election manifestos

1. The Natal Mercury. 28 February 1974.  
"Graaff Outlines UP's 9 Points for Election."
2. Written by H H Smit, M P of 3 Rheezicht Avenue, Stellenbosch, and published by the Information Service of the National Party. P O Box 1698, Cape Town. Printed by National Commercial Printers (Pty) Ltd., Zelda Street, Elsies River, 1974.
3. The Progressive Party never issued an official election manifesto.

# DIE V.P. KIES SY VEGTERREIN

DIE LEIER van die Verenigde Party, sir de Villiers Graaff, het duidelik en onomwonde die rigting aangedui wat die Verenigde Party tydens die verkiesingsveldtog gaan volg.

In 'n boodskap aan alle ~~kandidate, ampsoekers, werkers en die kiesers van Suid-Afrika~~ het hy verklaar:

Ons sal dit by die kiesers tuisbring dat dit 'n beslissende verkiesing vir Suid-Afrika is. Ons staan op 'n tweesprong en wat nou besluit word, sal die verloop van sake vir verskeie dekades wat voorlê, bepaal.

Ons verwag dat die Nattes weereens hul toevlug sal neem tot hul normale soort emosionalisme. Ons vernaamste taak is om die publiek daarvan te oortuig dat hy die feite van die situasie onder die oë sal moet sien; dat klamte en 'n helder verstand nodig is om die regte optrede vir Suid-Afrika te bepaal.

Die huidige stilte is misleidend. Dit is die spreekwoordelike kalmte voor die storm. Groot veranderings spoel oor die wêreld en ons sal ons vir ons voortbestaan daarby moet aanpas.

Ons boodskap aan die kiesers is: kyk na die toekoms. Die eenvoudige vraag is „watter soort Suid-Afrika verlang u.” Ons voel daarvan oortuig dat indien hierdie vraag

duidelik onder die oë gesien word, ons enorme steun van die kieserskorps sal wen.

In die loop van die veldtog sal die mislukings van die Regering ten opsigte van alle belangrike nasionale vraagstukke meedoënloos voorop gestel en ons eie positiewe alternatiewe voorstelle uitgebeeld word. In die besonder sal ons ons op die volgende toespits:

## VEILIGHEID

1. Op die rasvraagstuk — ons sal aantoon dat die Regering Suid-Afrika in 'n doodloopstraat gelei het waaruit ons onself nie kan loswikkels nie. Federasie sal voorgestel word as die enigste weg na werklike veiligheid vir al ons mense, nou en in die toekoms. Federasie is nie slegs 'n alternatiewe beleid nie. Dit is die enigste metode waarvolgens ons die versnippering van Suid-Afrika kan verhoed. 'n Gevaarlike druk bou in ons gemeenskap op. Federasie sal dit nie slegs verlig nie, maar ook die fondament verskaf vir

toekomstige, vreedsame en verligte politieke evolusie.

2. Die Regering se eie weerspreking van homself op die kwessie van toekomstige veiligheid moet aan die kaak gestel word. Hulle beweer dat hulle die veiligheid van Suid-Afrika onder beheer het, maar terselfdertyd eis hulle al hoe meer drakoniese veiligheidsmaatreëls op grond dat die veiligheidsposisie aan die versleg is.

Ons plig in die verband is om te toon dat die Regering se benadering van veiligheid 'n korttermynbenadering en ook kortstygig is; dat in plaas van betekenisvolle maatreëls te tref om die steun en lojaliteit van al ons mense te verseker, hy gevaarlike, verdeelde lojaliteitskep. 'n Valse gevoel van veiligheid het ontwikkel en dit is nou gebiedend dat die bevolking van Suid-Afrika dit besef en die besluite neem waarvolgens ons voortbestaan oor 'n lang termyn verseker sal word.

3. Onder die huidige Regering styg die lewenskoste

● Na Bladsy 20

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voel van veiligheid het ontwikkel en dit is nou gebiedend dat die bevolking van Suid-Afrika dit besef en die besluite neem waarvolgens ons voortbestaan oor 'n lang termyn verseker sal word.

3. Onder die huidige Regering styg die lewenskoste omhoog en ons koopkrag word drasties weggevreet. Dit is nie eens nodig om dit aan die huisvrou, die loontrekker en die pensioenaris te vertel nie, maar nogtans sal die Regering se onvermoë om die situasie te hanteer, ten volle aan die kaak gestel word.

Daar is 'n toenemende moontlikheid op 'n industriële omwenteling wat kan uitloop op die verspeling van unieke geleenthede. Ons kan nie en moenie 'n posisie handhaaf waarin daar oorfloed vir sommige en snode armoede vir ander heers nie. Ons mikpunt is om 'n groter ekonomiese koek te bak sodat elkeen 'n groter stuk kan kry.

## Isolasie

4. Suid-Afrika se toenemende isolasie en die algemene veroordeling deur die buitewêreld vorm 'n belangrike verkiesingsgeskilpunt. Dit is noodsaaklik as ons wil voortbestaan en ook vir ons toekomstige veiligheid dat ons die steun sal verkry van die belangrike Westerse moondhede, maar dit kan nie deur die huidige Regering verkry word nie vanweë die internasionale weersin wat deur sy rassebeleid gewek word.

5. Wat Suid-Afrika oor die afgelope 25 jaar op ekonomiese en maatskaplike gebied bereik het, sal vergelyk word met wat werklik bereik kon gewees het. Deur die toekoms te ontsluit en dit moedig onder die oë te sien, bied ons Suid-Afrika 'n rooskleuriger, veiliger toekoms as enige ander party aan bewind.

6. Die Verenigde Party se plan om 'n ruimhartige gemeenskap te skep waarin iedereen aansienlik verbeterde maatskaplike voordele sal geniet, moet by al ons mense byval vind. Met die enorme bykomende inkomste wat uit 'n verhoogde goudprys voortspruit, het ons 'n unieke geleentheid om die daelike lot van elke man, vrou en kind dramaties te verbeter.

7. Die kiesers moet 'n beslissende keuse doen om die werklikhede van Suid-Afrika onder die oë te sien. Ons beroep op die kieserspubliek is om sy stem te laat tel en dit nie op splintergroepe te verkwis wat nie eens voorgee dat hulle die kans het om 'n regering saam te stel nie.

## Belang

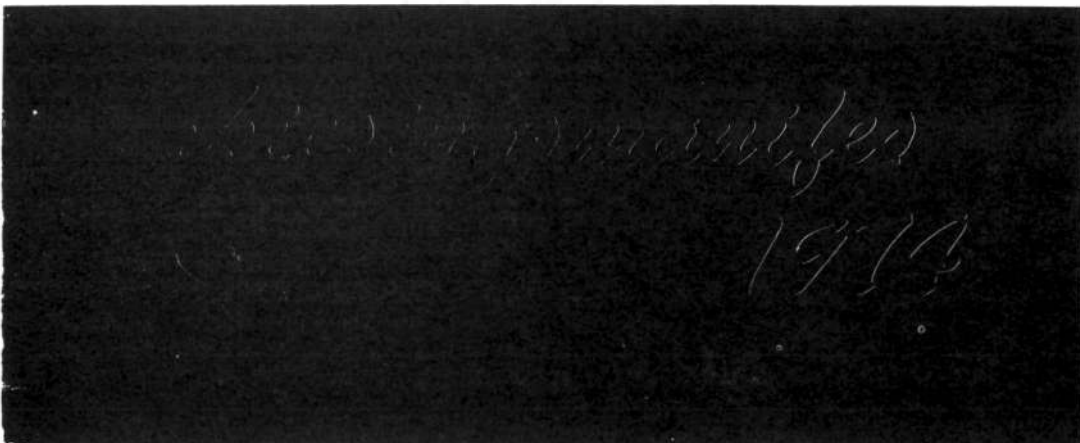
Die oorgrote meerderheid van ons mense verlang 'n politieke verandering. Dit is in hul belang om ons 'n verandering te help aanbring, nie om ons pogings te kortwiek nie.

8. Die Verenigde Party gaan 'n groot aantal kandidate in die veld stoot en aansienlike politieke ondervinding en jeug-dige geesdrif saamsnoer. Ons kandidate bied aan Suid-Afrika 'n uniek bevoegde span om die land na 'n belowender toekoms te lei.

9. Ons standpunt berus op gesonde beleid en beproefde personeel. Ons visie vir Suid-Afrika is die een wat die steun verdien van almal wat Suid-Afrika se toekoms op die hart dra.



★ **ONTWIKKELING**  
★ **VEILIGHEID**  
★ **STABILITEIT**





**OOR die naderende algemene verkiesing verklaar die Eerste Minister, mnr. B. J. Vorster:**

„Die aankondiging van die verkiesing op 24 April, glo ek, het vir min mense as 'n verrassing gekom.

„Omdat ek weet wat dit van enige regering sal verg om Suid-Afrika se stabiliteit te handhaaf, sy toekomstige ontwikkeling te lei, sy gebiedsintegriteit te verseker en sy morele standaarde en Christelike lewenswyse te bewaar, is besluit om nou verkiesing te hou sodat die Regering wat op 24 April verkies word, sy hande los kan lê om vorentoe onbelemmerd met hierdie vraagstukke te handel.

„God het in Sy genade aan ons 'n mooi land gegee. Daardie land het my kollegas en ek en ons voorgangers probeer dien met volle oorgawe en na die beste van ons vermoë. Die ontwikkeling, stabiliteit, orde en rus wat in Suid-Afrika gesien en ervaar kan word, staan daar as 'n monument vir 'n party wat Suid-Afrika goed geregeer het vir 26 jaar.

„Op 24 April is u, wanneer u u kruisie trek, die regter wat moet oordeel oor die dade van my regering en oor die leiding wat ek gegee het aan die een kant, en oor die beloftes van ander partye en die leierskap van hul aanvoerders aan die ander kant.”

# VERKIESINGSMANIFES

## VAN DIE

## NASIONALE PARTY

**I**n 'n wêreld waar die bestaan van individue en volkere van dag tot dag in die weegskaal is, staan die NASIONALE PARTY-regering in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika as 'n vesting van stabiliteit en sekuriteit vir elke bewoner van ons land en vir die soewereiniteit van ons staat.

■ Oor die afgelope 26 jaar het hierdie Regering ons land gelei om te ontwikkel tot een van die toonaangewendes in die wêreld, open hy steeds nuwe, aangename lewensomstandighede, beplan hy met visie vir die toekoms en skep hy veiligheid van bestaan en stabiliteit in Suider-Afrika.

■ Op hierdie ontwikkelingspad het die Nasionale Party-regering Suid-Afrika tree vir tree gelei met die steun van die kiesers. Gereed het hy op demokratiese wyse by verkiesings sy opdrag gevra en gekry.

■ Met 'n onstuimige wêreldtoekoms voor ons, maar met geloof in die toekoms van ons land en sy mense, kom lû die Nasionale Party opnuut sy toekomsplanne vir goedkeuring aan die kiesers voor en verbind hy hom tot toekomsprogramme op die volgende grondslae:

### GODSDIENSVRYHEID

Die Nasionale Party erken die Opperheerskappy en Leiding van God in die lotgevallen van lande en volkere en soek die ontwikkeling van ons volkslewe langs Christelike en Nasionale weg, met deeglike inagneming van die gewetens- en godsdienstvryheid van die individu.

### SUID-AFRIKA EERSTE

Die Nasionale Party het tot stand gekom en gegroei op die beginsel van „Suid-Afrika Eerste.” Dit is en was sy krag en dit bly sy versekering aan die kieser: dat hy in sy dade en besluite altyd die hoogste belange van Suid-Afrika voorop sal stel.

### LANDSVEILIGHEID

Die veiligheid van ons Republiek en die beskerming van sy soewereiniteit is vir die Nasionale Party een van sy hoogste prioriteite. Hy glo dat ook die individu daarsonder geen sekuriteit en veiligheid van bestaan sal hê nie.

In moeilike omstandighede het die Nasionale Party in sy bewindstyd getoon dat hy by uitstek met hierdie taak vertrou kan word. Hy bly steeds waaksaam teen aanslae van buite en binne.

Vir hierdie verantwoordelike roeping sal die Nasionale Party-regering:

- Die S.A. Weermag slaggereed uitbou en moderniseer ten einde enige potensiële aggressor te kan weerstaan.
- Die lewenskragtige Suid-Afrikaanse wapenbedryf verder ontwikkel ten einde ons so ver moontlik selfversorgend te maak.
- Saamwerk met bevriende state om gemeenskaplike bedreigings af te weer.
- Strategiese voorrade opbou ter ondersteuning van ons ekonomie en ons Weermag.
- Ons strategiese rol vervul ter beveiliging van die Kaapse seeroete in belang van die Vrye Wêreld.
- Binnelandse veiligheid verseker deur voortgesette noulettende waaksaamheid teen alle vorme van ondermyning en revolusie.
- Steeds beter bestaansmoontlikhede en vreedsame verhoudings tussen alle bevolkingsgroepe bevorder.

### GEEN INMENGING

In ooreenstemming met sy standpunt van „Suid-Afrika Eerste” stel die Nasionale Party hom beslis op die standpunt dat hy geen inmenging in ons huishoudelike sake sal duld van enige buitelandse moondheid of organisasie nie. Hy sal binnelandse beleid uitvoer slegs volgens ons eie behoeftes en in belang van Suid-Afrika, ooreenkomstig die omstandighede van die tyd.

■ Terselfdertyd is dit die standpunt van die Nasionale Party dat hy hom nie inmeng met die huishoudelike sake van ander lande nie. Hierdie uitgangspunte was nog steeds ons krag in 'n rustelose wêreld. En hieraan sal die Nasionale Party hom stiptelik hou.

### STAATKUNDIGE STRUKTUUR

Die Nasionale Party erken en aanvaar die bestaan van verskillende volkere, met verskillende tale, kulture en tradisies, en verskillende bevolkingsgroepe, op wisselende vlakke van ontwikkeling, binne die grense van die huidige Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Hy glo dat elk van hulle gesteld is op sy eie identiteit en geleenthede tot ontwikkeling.

Die Nasionale Party glo dat 'n staatkundige patroon van vreedsame naasbestaan alleen moontlik is langs die weg van die ontwikkeling van eie, soewereine state vir die onderskeie Bantoevolkere, met die reg tot selfbeskikking binne eie volksverband. Terselfdertyd sien hy die pad van parallelle ontwikkeling vir die Kleurling- en Indiër-gemeenskappe, met

eie plaaslike en parlementêre instelling en praktiese skakeling, naas die Blanke bevolkingsgroep as die enigste praktiese weg.

■ Daarby erken die Nasionale Party die reg van die Blanke kiesers om alleen oor hul eie lotgevallen te beslis.

Gevolgtrek verklaar die Party hom uitdruklik teen enige staatkundige bestel van politieke magdeling tussen die onderskeie volkere in een staatkundige eenheid wat tot die uiteindelijke dominasie van een bepaalde volk en gevolglike rassetenspanninge kan lei. Hy glo daarby dat daar tussen uiteindelijke soewereine state in Suider-Afrika 'n vrywillige assosiasie op grond van gemeenskaplike ekonomiese en veiligheidsbelange tot stand kan en moet kom.

### AFSONDERLIKE ONTWIKKELING

Die Nasionale Party glo dat die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling die enigste waarborg vir vreedsame bestaan tussen die onderskeie volkere binne ons huidige landsgrense is. Derhalwe beroep hy hom nie alleen op die soewereiniteit van die Blanke staat oor sy eie lotgevallen nie, maar verbind hy hom ook tot die ontwikkeling en konsolidasie van die grondgebied van die ander volkere om dit ekonomies lewensvatbaar te maak.

Hy verbind hom ook tot die opleiding en ontwikkeling van die arbeidspotensiaal van al die onderskeie bevolkingsgroepe, tot diens van hul eie gemeenskappe en vir beter bestaansmoontlikhede. Die Party verbind hom tot Christelike en regverdige behandeling van alle mense, sodat aan almal 'n hoër lewenstandaard en 'n menswaardige bestaan gebied kan word.

■ Intussen glo die Nasionale Party egter ook dat dit sy taak is om te waak teen die versteuring van gesonde verhoudings tussen Blank en nie-Blank en om, waar nodig, die nodige maatreëls te tref om sulke verhoudings spanningsvry te hou en wrywingsvlakke te verwyder.

Die Nasionale Party is die skepper van politieke kanale vir die nie-Blanke volkere en deur sy Regering sal hy voortgaan om gereelde konsultasie met leiers van die nie-Blanke volkere en bevolkingsgroepe te beoefen deur middel van genoemde kanale.

### NASIONALE EENHEID

As politieke instrument vir die beskerming van die Blanke se soewereiniteit, glo die Nasionale Party aan die noodsaak van 'n kragtige eenheidsgevoel onder die Blanke bevolking. In dié verband glo hy nie aan kunsmatige eenheid nie, dog aan die skepping van 'n gesonde klimaat vir samehorigheid, afgesien van politieke verskille, op die volgende grondslae:

■ Handhawing van besliste gelykberegtiging van die twee amptelike landstale en die twee taalgroepe, sonder die minste suggestie van diskriminasie teenoor enige taalgroep. Hierin het die Nasionale Party 'n onbesproke rekord.

„Ek voel so ernstig oor hierdie saak dat ek wil sê ek beskou dit as 'n misdaad vir enige mens om willens en wetens taal- en rasseverhoudings te versteur,” het die Eerste Minister, mnr. B. J. Vorster, by geleentheid verklaar.

■ Gemeenskaplike en onverdeelde trou aan die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en sy belange soos beliggaam in die Wet op Suid-Afrikaanse Burgerskap.

■ Wedersydse waardering van elke taalgroep se kulturele bydrae.

■ Heelhartige aanvaarding van die Suid-Afrikaanse simbole (vlag en volkslied).

### BUITELANDSE VERHOUDINGE

Die Nasionale Party-regering glo aan samewerking met alle bevriende lande in Suid-Afrika se belang. Daarom het hy ons diplomatieke betrekkinge met 'n groot aantal state uitgebou en beoefen hy dialoog met die leiers van baie ander.

Die Nasionale Party glo aan samewerking met en hulp aan ons buurstate in Afrika, omdat ons soveel gemeenskaplike vraagstukke het. Die Nasionale Party-regering het nog nooit gehuiwer om wetenskaplike, landboukundige en ander hulp aan te bied aan buurstate wat dit nodig het nie.

■ Die Nasionale Party glo dat Suid-Afrika hom onverbidlik moet skaar by die Vrye Wêreld glo dat ons land bereid moet wees om sy pligtinge ter bekamping van die internasionale Kommunisme na te kom. Daarbenewens beskou die Nasionale Party dit as 'n taak van sy regering om Suid-Afrika se standpunt langs alle beskikbare kanale positief aan die Vrye Wêreldgemeenskap te stel.

### SUIDWES-AFRIKA

Die Nasionale Party glo dat die beginsel van die selfbeskikkingsreg van volkere ook geld ten opsigte van Suidwes-Afrika, Blank en nie-Blank. Daarom gaan hy voort om daardie gebied te administreer in die gees van die ou mandaat en om sodoende selfbeskikking te bewerkstellig.

Intussen hanteer die Regering hierdie delikate vraagstuk met sy internasionale implikasies op hoogs verantwoordelike wyse, soos getuig word deur sy onderhandelinge met die Sekretaris-generaal van die V.V.O. Die Nasionale Party-regering is nie bereid om van sy plig en verantwoordelikhede weg te hardloop nie of om die volkere van Suidwes-Afrika uit te lewer aan die dwang van drukgroepe, waar ook al, wat vir hulle die reg wil toeëien om vir en namens die volkere en gemeenskappe van Suidwes-Afrika te besluit.

### EKONOMIESE BELEID

Onder Nasionale Party-bewind het die Republiek van Suid-Afrika



gegroeï tot een van die toonaangewende nywerheids- en handelslande in die wêreld, terwyl die lewenstandaard van sy bevolking indrukwekkend gestyg het. Deur die versekering van stabiliteit en steeds stygende bestaansmoontlikhede sal die Nasionale Party-regering voortgaan om die ekonomiese potensiaal van ons land uit te bou tot voordeel van al sy inwoners.

Met die oog hierop onderneem die Nasionale Party-regering:

- 'n Voortgesette gesonde staatsfinansiële beleid, wat die koopkrag van die Rand sterk hou in vergelyking met die geleenthede van ander Westerse lande.
- Volgehoue maatreëls om die wêreldwye probleem van inflasie tot die minimum te beperk in Suid-Afrika.
- Die versnelde voortsetting van ons nywerheidsontwikkeling, waardeur Suid-Afrika se ekonomiese krag versterk en werkgeleenthede steeds verbeter word.
- Die toepassing van 'n goed beplande energiebeleid, met groot ontwikkelinge van Evkom en Sasol en die benutting van ons ryk steenkool- en uraanreserwe, waardeur ons minder afhanklik word van kwesbare olievoorsiening.
- Die verdere ontwikkeling van ons mynbedryf, waarin strategiese minerale soos yster, koper, mangaan, ens., naas goud 'n toenemende rol speel.
- Die voortsetting van die soektog na aardolie en -gas, fosfaat en die ontginning daarvan.
- Die voortgesette uitbouing van ons vervoerstelsel en die ontwikkeling van nuwe hawens soos Richardsbaai en Saldanha, veral met die oog op vermeerderde uitvoer.
- Die skepping van steeds beter werkgeleenthede vir ons arbeidsmag, deur die voorsiening van beter opleidingsfasiliteite.

## ARBEID

Danksy die beleid van die Nasionale Party het ons vandag die laagste werkloosheidsyfer ter wêreld vir ons Blanke bevolking, terwyl werkgeleenthede vir nie-Blankes by die dag toeneem en ons selfs duisende werkers uit buurlande akkommodeer.

■ Die Nasionale Party se beleid het ook as resultaat arbeidsvrede soos feitlik nêrens ter wêreld nie.

■ Dit is die verklaarde beleid van die Nasionale Party om steeds meer en beter werkgeleenthede vir almal te skep, met 'n gevolglike verbetering in inkomstepeile.

## ONDERWYS

Die Nasionale Party glo dat 'n belegging in die groot potensiaal van ons jeugdige mensemateriaal een van die hoogste prioriteite van ons land is. Daarvan getuig die geweldige toename in die besteding aan onderwys op verskeie vlakke oor die afgelope 26 jaar.

- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat aan Suid-Afrika 'n Nasionale Onderwysbeleid gegee het, wat doelgerigte en gekoördineerde onderwys oor die hele land verseker.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party-regering wat verskeie nuwe universiteite en ander inrigtings vir gevorderde onderwys aan Suid-Afrika gegee het.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party-bewind wat steeds groter en meer beurse en beurslenings vir studente beskikbaar gestel het.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat gesorg het vir 'n landwye eenvormige stelsel van opleiding van onderwysers.
- Dit is die Nasionale Party wat gesorg het vir die gesonde beginsel van moedertaalonderrig in ons skole.
- Die Nasionale Party is Suid-Afrika se waarborg teen studentelonstute, wat elders in die wêreld groot ontwrigting veroorsaak het.

## LANDBOU

Die Nasionale Party glo aan die belangrikheid van 'n gesonde landboubedryf, wat die groeiende bevolking moet voed. Omdat ons landbousektor so blootgestel is aan droogtes en ander natuurrampe, is dit die Nasionale Party se beleid om die boer op sy grond te hou en 'n ekonomiese bestaan vir hom te verseker.

Daarom gaan die Nasionale Party-regering onvermoeid voort om:

- Deskundige navorsings- en voorligtingsdienste aan ons boere te verskaf.
- Doeltreffende opleidingsgeleenthede vir toekomstige boere te voorsien.
- Plaaslike en buitelandse bemarkingsgeleenthede steeds te verbeter.
- Finansiële hulp teen lae rentekoerse te verskaf aan boere wat deur droogtes, natuurrampe of ander omstandighede geknel word.
- Die bewaring van die bodem en gesonde boerderypraktyke te bevorder.

## WATER

Onder die Nasionale Party-regering het die beplande bewaring en benutting van ons beperkte waterbronne tot sy reg gekom. Water is die lewensaar van Suid-Afrika en ons toekomstige groeikanse hang daarvan af.

■ Die Nasionale Party-regering sal voortgaan om ons waterpotensiaal op beplande en geordende wyse te ontwikkel tot voordeel van die nywerheid, landbou, stedelike verbruik, ens. Etlike reuswater-skemas is tans in aanbou en getuig van die Regering se visie en dryfkrag in dié verband.

## KOMMUNIKASIE

Dit is die Nasionale Party-bewind wat ons Pos- en Telekommunikasiediens op eie finansiële bene geplaas het ten einde sy dienste aan die publiek beter en doeltreffender te kan beplan en voorsien.

■ Die Nasionale Party-regering is besig om hierdie dienste te moderniseer en snel uit te brei om tred te hou met die groeiende behoeftes van ons land. Oor enkele jare word die mees moderne kleur-televisie-stelsel ter wêreld in Suid-Afrika in werking gestel.

## GEMEENSKAPSBOU

Dit is die Nasionale Party-regering wat die begrip van gemeenskapsbou in Suid-Afrika ingevoer het. In die plek van die vroeëre deurmekaar-wonery en krottoestande verrys nou, danksy deeglike beplanning en besteding:

- Gesonde en gelukkige gemeenskappe.
- Behuiskemasse en behuisingseleenthede (met lenings) vir al ons mense.
- Groepsgebiede vir Blank en nie-Blank.
- Stadshernuwing en opruiming van slumtoestande.

Dit bly een van die vernaamste doelstellings van die Nasionale Party om voldoende en doelmatige behuising vir al ons mense te bewerkstellig, ten einde gelukkige gemeenskappe te bou.

## IMMIGRASIE

Die Nasionale Party glo aan die versterking van die Blanke bevolking deur immigrasie uit assimileerbare volkere, met inagneming van die belange van die gevestigde bevolking. Daarom ondersteun hy 'n staatsgesubsideerde immigrasieskema vir sulke immigrante wat 'n versterking van vakkundige kennis en daardeur groter en meer werkgeleenthede vir ons eie bevolking verseker.

■ Hy moedig dus immigrasie aan uit lande wie se mense goed en maklik by ons sal aanpas, maar behou hom beslis die reg van deeglike keuring voor.

## SPORT

Die Nasionale Party-regering het die gesonde deelname aan sport bevorder deur die skepping van 'n Departement van Sport en Ontspanning.

Danksy die voortrefflike werk van hierdie departement, kan die Regering voortgaan om, in ooreenstemming met sy beleid, aan die sportlui van alle bevolkingsgroepe geleentheid te gee om tot die hoogste vlak van mededinging, selfs internasionaal, te vorder binne eie volksverband. So word geleentheid geskep wat vroeër nie bestaan het nie, sonder om afbreuk te doen aan die tradisionele stelsel van afsonderlike sportbeoefening en -administrasie.

■ Op hierdie weg sal voortgegaan word om sportdeelname te benut vir verstandelike en liggaamlike gesondheid.

## VOLKSWELSYN EN PENSIOENE

Die Nasionale Regering het 'n onbesproke rekord wat betref die versorging van behoeftiges en oues van dae. Aanpassing van pensioene om in hierdie verband te help, vind gereeld plaas en sal in die toekoms ook geskied.

Voorts sal die Nasionale Regering voortgaan om steeds meer tehuise vir oues van dae en gestremdes te beplan en tot stand te bring, asook om vrywillige organisasies wat in hierdie verband werk met steeds groter finansiële bystand te steun.

## GESONDHEID

Die Nasionale Regering sal voortgaan om te waak oor die gesondheid van ons bevolking deur middel van verskeie dienste en skemas. Waaksamheid en beplanning is ook hier die wagwoord.

## ALGEMEEN

Uit bostaande is dit duidelik dat die Nasionale Party geen opportunistiese politieke party is nie.

■ As regerende party beplan hy met groot visie en toewyding vir die toekoms van ons land.

■ Sy staatkundige beleidrigtings is gewortel in ons land en volk se geskiedenis en prioriteite: dit is getoets deur die ondervinding van die jare.

■ 'n Nasionale Party-bewind beteken geen dobbelspel met die toekoms van ons land nie, dog doelgerigte beplanning en beweging.

■ Ondersteuning aan die Nasionale Party beteken deelgenootskap aan hierdie uitdagende taak. Dit verseker daarby stabiliteit, veiligheid en vooruitgang.

**CAPE TOWN**—The South African government has announced that it will not extradite the father of a slain anti-apartheid leader, but will instead extradite the man himself.

## 9. PUNTOS

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and in the future for  
the people. For the  
last twenty years  
this policy, it is  
marked by which  
prevent the fragmenta-  
tion of South Africa.

• The Government's  
misconduct in the  
question of future secur-  
ity must be exposed.

"They claim that they have the security of South Africa under control, yet at the same time they continue to demand more and more stringent security measures on the grounds that security is getting worse."

"A false sense of security has developed, and it is imperative now for the people of South Africa to recognise this and take the decisions that will ensure our long-term survival."

● "Under this present Government the cost of living is soaring, and our buying power is being drastically eroded."

There is little need to tell this to the housewife, the wage-earner and the pensioner, but nevertheless the Government's inability to cope with the

● "Our stand rests on sound policies and tested personnel. Our vision for South Africa is the one to be supported by all those who have South Africa's future at heart."

situation will be fully exposed.

● "South Africa's growing isolation and universal condemnation by the outside world constitutes an important election issue."

It is essential for our survival and our future security to receive support from the Third Western Powers, but this cannot be done by the present Government because of international relations caused by its race policies.

What has been achieved in the economic and social fields by South Africa over the last 25 years will be contrasted with what could have been achieved.

● "The U.P. a plan for a compassionate society in which everyone will enjoy greatly improved social welfare benefits should appeal to all our people."

With the vast additional revenue flowing from an increase in the price of gold we have a unique opportunity to improve dramatically the daily lot of every man, woman and child in South Africa.

● "A crucial choice before the voters is to deal with the reality of South Africa."

"The vast majority of our people seek political change. It is in their interests to help us by talking about change, not to hinder our efforts."

● "The U.P. will field a large number of candidates, blending considerable political experience on the one hand with youthful enthusiasm on the other."

## RACE ISSUE

"More particularly, we shall concentrate on these aspects," he said.

● On the race issue we shall show that the Government has taken South Africa into a cul de sac from which we cannot extricate ourselves. Federation will be presented as the only road to real security now

# GRAAFF OUTLINES U.P.'S 9 POINTS FOR ELECTION

From ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa was at the crossroads and facing a crucial election, Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, said yesterday.

In a statement detailing the United Party's nine-point election manifesto, he said the Election would determine events for several decades.

He anticipated that the Nationalists would fight on emotionalism, and the United Party's task was to persuade the country to look to the future.

"The present calm is deceptive—it is the proverbial calm before the storm. Great changes are sweeping the world, and for our own survival we must adapt ourselves to them."

Government failures and attitudes would be highlighted, and Bantustans and fragmentation, security, isolation and cost of living would form a major part of the platform from which the United party would fight the election.

## Race issue

"More particularly, we shall concentrate on these aspects," he said.

● "On the race issue we shall show that the Government has taken South Africa into a cul de sac form which we cannot extricate ourselves. Federation will be presented as the only road to real security now and in the future for all our people. Federation is not merely an alternative policy, it is the only method by which we can prevent the fragmentation of South Africa.

● "The Government's self-contradiction on the question of future security must be exposed.

"They claim that they have the security of South Africa under control, yet at the same time they constantly demand

more and more draconian security measures on the grounds that security is getting worse.

"A false sense of security has developed, and it is imperative now for the people of South Africa to recognise this and take the decisions that will ensure our longterm survival.

● "Under this present Government the cost of living is soaring, and our buying power is being drastically eroded.

"There is little need to tell this to the housewife, the wage-earner and the pensioner, but nevertheless the Government's inability to cope with the situation will be fully exposed.

● "South Africa's growing isolation and universal condemnation by the outside world constitutes an important election issue.

"It is essential for our survival and our future security to receive support from the major Western Powers, but this cannot be done by the present Government because of international revision caused by its race policies.

● "What has been achieved in the economic and social fields by South Africa over the last 25 years will be contrasted with what could have been achieved.

● "The U.P.'s plan for a compassionate society in which everyone will enjoy greatly improved social welfare benefits should appeal to all our people.

"With the vast additional revenue flowing from an increase in the price of gold we have a unique opportunity to improve dramatically the daily lot of every man, woman and child in South Africa.

● "A crucial choice before the voters is to deal with the reality of South Africa.

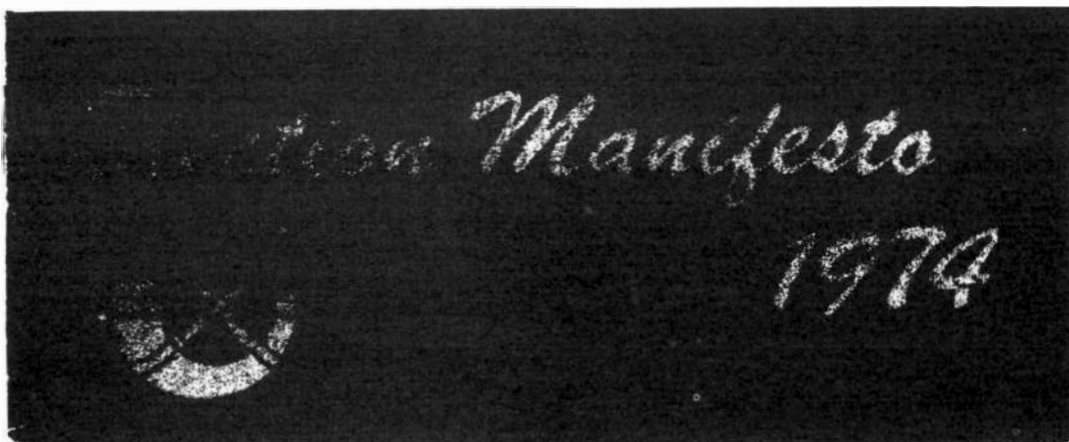
"The vast majority of our people seek political change. It is in their interests to help us to bring about change, not to hinder our efforts.

● "The U.P. will field a large number of candidates, blending considerable political experience on the one hand with youthful enthusiasm on the other.

● "Our stand rests on sound policies and tested personnel. Our vision for South Africa is the one to be supported by all those who have South Africa's future at heart."



- ★ **DEVELOPMENT**
- ★ **SECURITY**
- ★ **STABILITY**





**THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. B. J. Vorster, issued the following statement to the electorate in view of the forthcoming general election.**

*"I believe the announcement of a General Election on April 24 has surprised very few people.*

*"Because I know what is required of any government to maintain South Africa's stability, to give direction to its future development, to ensure its territorial integrity and to safeguard its moral standards and Christian way of life. I have decided to call an election now. This will ensure that the government elected on April 24 will have its hands free in the years ahead to deal unhampered with these issues.*

*"God, in his infinite mercy, has favoured us with a beautiful and bountiful country. My predecessors, my colleagues and I have tried, first and foremost, to serve this country wholeheartedly and to the best of our ability. The growth, stability, law and order which can be witnessed and experienced in South Africa, are the achievements of a government which has served South Africa well in the past twenty-six years.*

*"On April 24, when you vote, you are called upon to weigh up the actions of my government, and the leadership I have provided, against the promises of other parties and their leadership."*

# ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL PARTY

**I**N a world in which the fate of individuals and of nations hangs in the balance from day to day, the NATIONAL PARTY Government in the Republic of South Africa stands as a bastion of stability and security for every inhabitant of our country and for the sovereignty of our state.

■ Over the past 26 years this Government has led South Africa to develop into one of the foremost countries in the world, has continually opened up pleasant new living conditions, has planned with vision for the future, and has worked to ensure security of existence and stability in Southern Africa.

■ With the support of the electorate the National Party Government has led South Africa step by step on this course of development. It has regularly and in a democratic way asked for and received its mandate at elections.

■ In the face of stormy world conditions in the years ahead, but with faith in the future of our country and its people, the National Party once again submits its plans for the future to the electorate for approval, and pledges itself to undertake its future programmes on the basis of the following principles:

## FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The National Party acknowledges the Sovereignty and Guidance of God in the destinies of countries and peoples and seeks the development of our national life along Christian and National lines, with due observance of the individual's freedom of conscience and of religion.

## SOUTH AFRICA FIRST

The National Party was established and has grown on the basis of the principle of "South Africa First". It is from this principle that it has derived and continues to derive its strength, and it once again gives the electorate the assurance that in its actions and decisions it will always place the highest interests of South Africa first.

## NATIONAL SECURITY

The security of the Republic and the protection of its sovereignty are accorded top priority by the National Party. It believes that if these things are forfeited the individual, too, will have no security of existence.

During its period in office the National Party has in difficult circumstances proved that it is pre-eminently qualified to be entrusted with this task. It remains constantly on its guard against onslaughts from outside and inside.

In order to discharge this great responsibility the National Party Government will:

- Build up and modernize the S.A. Defence Force to a state of high preparedness in order to enable it to withstand any potential aggressor.
- Further develop the virile South African armaments industry in order to make us self-sufficient as far as possible.
- Co-operate with friendly states in order to ward off common threats.
- Build up strategic supplies to support our economy and our Defence Force.
- Fulfill our strategic role in safeguarding the Cape sea route in the interests of the Free World.
- Ensure internal security by maintaining constant vigilance against all forms of subversion and revolution.
- Continually improve the possibilities of leading a better existence and promote peaceful relationships among all the population groups.

## NO INTERFERENCE

In accordance with its principle of "South Africa First" the National Party uncompromisingly adopts the attitude that it will not tolerate any interference in our domestic affairs by any foreign power or organization. It will implement domestic policy only in accordance with our own needs and in the interests of South Africa in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time.

■ At the same time it is the policy of the National Party not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. These principles have all along been a source of strength to us in a restless world, and the National Party will adhere to them strictly.

## POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The National Party recognizes and accepts the existence of different peoples, with different languages, cultures and traditions, and different population groups, at varying levels of development, within the borders of the present Republic of South Africa. It believes that each of them prizes its own identity and opportunities for development.

The National Party believes that a political pattern of peaceful co-existence can only be evolved by means of the development of sovereign states of their own for the various Bantu peoples, with the right of self-determination within their own national context. At the same time it regards the policy of parallel development for the Coloured and Indian communities, with practical liaison and their own local and parliamentary institutions, alongside the White population group as the only practical solution.

■ In addition, the National Party recognizes the right of the White voters to determine their own future themselves.

Accordingly the Party categorically declares itself opposed to any constitutional set-up in which political power is shared by the various peoples in one political unit, which may eventually lead to the domination of one particular people and consequent racial tension. Furthermore, it believes that a voluntary association based on common economic and security interests can and must come about eventually among sovereign states in Southern Africa.

## SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

The National Party believes that the policy of separate development is the only guarantee for the peaceful co-existence of the various peoples within our present national borders. Accordingly it not only insists that the sovereignty of the White state over its own affairs should remain intact, but also pledges itself to develop and consolidate the territories of the other peoples to make them economically viable.

It also pledges itself to further the education and to develop the labour potential of all the various population groups to enable them to serve their own communities and to make it possible for them to lead a better existence. The Party pledges itself to accord Christian and fair treatment to all people, so that everyone may be afforded a higher standard of living and a decent existence.

**At the same time, however, the National Party regards it as its duty to guard against good relationships between White and non-White being disturbed and, where necessary, to take the necessary action to keep such relationships free of tension and to eliminate levels of friction.**

It is the National Party that has created channels of political expression for the non-White peoples, and through its Government it will continue to hold regular consultations with leaders of the non-White peoples and population groups by means of these channels.

## NATIONAL UNITY

The National Party believes in the necessity of a strong feeling of unity on the part of the White population as a political instrument for the protection of the sovereignty of the Whites. In this connection it does not believe in an artificial unity, but in the creation of a healthy climate for the development of a feeling of solidarity, irrespective of political differences, on the basis of the following:

- Absolutely equal treatment of the two official languages and the two language groups, without the least suggestion of any discrimination against either language group. In this the National Party has an unblemished record.

**In this regard the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, has declared: "I feel so strongly about this matter that I wish to say that I regard it as a crime for any person deliberately to disturb language and race relationships."**

- Common and undivided loyalty to the Republic of South Africa and its interests, as embodied in the South African Citizenship Act.
- Mutual appreciation of the cultural contribution made by each language group.
- Full acceptance of the South African symbols (flag and national anthem).

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

The National Party Government believes in co-operating with all friendly countries in the interests of South Africa. For this reason it has expanded our diplomatic relations with a large number of states and is conducting dialogue with the leaders of many others.

The National Party believes in co-operating with and rendering assistance to our neighbouring states in Africa, because we have so many problems in common. The National Party Government has never hesitated to offer scientific, agricultural and other assistance to neighbouring states which needed it.

**The National Party believes that South Africa must align itself firmly on the side of the Free World and that our country must be prepared to meet its obligations in combating international communism. Furthermore, the National Party regards it as one of the duties of its Government to state the South African point of view positively to the Free World by means of every available channel.**

## SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The National Party believes that the principle of the right of self-determination of peoples also applies in respect of South West Africa, white and non-white. Accordingly it is continuing to administer the territory in the spirit of the old mandate in order to afford its peoples the right of self-determination.

In the meantime the Government is handling this delicate issue with its international implications in a highly responsible manner, as is evidenced by its negotiations with the Secretary-General of the U.N.



The National Party Government is not prepared to shirk its duties and responsibilities or to deliver the peoples of South West Africa into the hands of pressure groups, wherever they may be, which want to arrogate unto themselves the right to decide for and on behalf of the peoples and communities of South West Africa.

### ECONOMIC POLICY

Under National Party rule the Republic of South Africa has become one of the leading industrial and trading countries in the world, while the standard of living of its population has risen impressively. By ensuring stability and providing ever increasing opportunities of earning a livelihood the National Party will continue to develop the economic potential of our country for the benefit of all its inhabitants.

In order to achieve this, the National Party Government is:

- Continuing to apply a sound national financial policy, which is keeping the buying power of the rand strong as compared with the monetary units of other Western countries.
- Applying sustained measures to restrict the world-wide problem of inflation to the minimum in South Africa.
- Accelerating our industrial development, thereby strengthening South Africa in the economic sphere and improving employment opportunities.
- Applying a carefully planned energy policy, with major developments of Escom and Sasol and the utilization of our rich coal and uranium deposits, thus making us less dependent on vulnerable oil supplies.
- Further developing our mining industry, in which strategic minerals such as iron, copper, manganese, etc., are playing an increasingly important part next to gold.
- Continuing the search for natural oil and gas and promoting the further exploitation of phosphate deposits.
- Further expanding our transport system and developing new harbours such as Richards Bay and Saldanha, particularly with a view to increasing exports.
- Constantly creating better employment opportunities for our labour force by providing better training facilities.

### LABOUR

Thanks to the policy of the National Party our White population today has the lowest unemployment rate in the world, while employment opportunities for non-Whites are increasing by the day and we are even accommodating thousands of workers from neighbouring countries.

■ As a result of the policy of the National Party we also have greater industrial peace than virtually any other country in the world.

■ It is the declared policy of the National Party to create more and better employment opportunities for all, with a consequent raising of income levels.

### EDUCATION

The National Party believes that investing in the great potential of our youth is one of the highest priorities of our country. The tremendous increase in expenditure on education on various levels over the past 26 years bears testimony to this.

- It is the National Party that has given South Africa a national education policy, which ensures the provision of purposeful and co-ordinated education throughout the country.
- It is the National Party Government that has given South Africa various new universities and other institutions for advanced education.
- It is the National Party regime that has made available ever larger and more bursaries and bursary loans for students.
- It is the National Party that has established a uniform system of teacher training on a country-wide basis.
- It is the National Party that has introduced the sound principle of mother-tongue instruction in our schools.
- The National Party is South Africa's guarantee against student riots, which have caused serious disruption in other parts of the world.

### AGRICULTURE

The National Party believes in the importance of a healthy agricultural industry to feed the growing population. Because our agricultural sector is subject to droughts and other natural disasters to so large an extent, it is the policy of the National Party to keep the farmer on his land and to assure him of an economic existence.

Accordingly the National Party Government will assiduously continue:

- To provide expert research and information services to our farmers.
- To provide adequate training facilities for future farmers.
- To improve local and foreign marketing outlets.
- To provide financial assistance at low rates of interest to farmers who are hit by droughts, natural disasters or other unfavourable conditions.
- To promote soil conservation and sound farming practices.

### WATER

Under the National Party Government the planned conservation and utilization of our limited water resources has received proper atten-

tion for the first time. Water is the life-blood of South Africa and our future growth depends on it.

■ The National Party Government will continue to develop our water resources in a planned and orderly way for the benefit of industry, agriculture, urban consumption, etc. Several huge water schemes are under construction at the moment and bear testimony to the Government's vision and drive in this regard.

### COMMUNICATIONS

It is the National Party Government that has placed our Postal and Telecommunications Service on its own feet financially in order to enable it to plan its services more effectively and to provide better services to the public.

■ The National Party Government is modernizing and rapidly expanding these services to keep pace with the growing needs of our country. Within a few years the most modern colour television system in the world will be introduced in South Africa.

### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It is the National Party Government that has introduced the concept of community development in South Africa. Thanks to proper planning and expenditure the former mixed residential areas and slum conditions are now being replaced by:

- Healthy and happy communities.
- Housing schemes and housing opportunities (by means of loans) for all our people.
- Group areas for Whites and non-Whites.
- Urban renewal, with the clearance of slum conditions.

It remains one of the principal objectives of the National Party to provide sufficient and suitable housing accommodation for all our people in order to build happy communities.

### IMMIGRATION

The National Party believes in strengthening the White population by means of immigration from compatible nations, with due regard for the interests of the established population. Accordingly it supports a State-subsidized immigration scheme for such immigrants as will strengthen our resources of skilled labour and thereby ensure greater employment opportunities for our own people.

■ It therefore encourages immigration from countries whose people will be easily assimilated in South Africa, but definitely reserves the right to apply careful screening.

### SPORT

The National Party Government has promoted healthy participation in sport by its establishment of a Department of Sport and Recreation.

Thanks to the magnificent work done by this Department, the Government can continue with its policy of affording sportsmen and sportswomen from all population groups the opportunity of reaching the highest competitive level, even in the international sphere, within their own national context. In this way opportunities which did not exist previously are being created without interfering with the traditional system of administering and participating in sport on a separate basis.

■ The Government will continue along these lines to further participation in sport in order to promote physical and mental well-being.

### SOCIAL WELFARE AND PENSIONS

The National Party Government has a magnificent record as regards providing care for the needy and the aged. Pensions are regularly adjusted to provide greater assistance in this regard, and this will continue to be done in the future.

In addition, the National Party Government will, as in the past, plan and establish more and more homes for the aged and for disabled persons, and will provide ever greater financial assistance to voluntary organisations working in this field.

### HEALTH SERVICES

The National Party Government will continue to protect the health of our people by means of various services and schemes. Here, too, watchfulness and planning will be the guiding principles.

### GENERAL

It is clear from the above that the National Party is certainly no opportunistic political party.

■ As the governing party it plans with great vision and dedication for the future of our country.

■ Its political policies are rooted in the history and priorities of our country and our people, and have been tested by the experience of the years.

■ Having a National Party Government is not to take a gamble with the future of our country, but means purposeful planning and action.

■ Supporting the National Party means participating in meeting this great challenge, and ensures stability, security and progress.

# 1977

## 30 NOVEMBER

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                                                                      | Setels verower/<br>Seats own | Participating parties which have won seats                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>2. Die Nuwe Republiek-Party (NRP)<br>3. Die Progressiewe Federale Party (PFP)<br>4. Suid-Afrikaanse Party (SAP) | 135<br>10<br>17<br>3         | 1. The National Party (NP)<br>2. The New Republic Party (NRP)<br>3. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP)<br>4. South African Party (SAP) |

### Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Opgestel en geredigeer deur G P D Terblanche, LV, Hoofinligtingsbeampte van die Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party, uitgegee deur die Nasionale Party, albei van Marksgebou 49, Parlementstraat, Kaapstad en gedruk deur Perskor, Heightstraat 28, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, 2000, 1977.
2. Manifest van die Nuwe Republiek-Party.
3. Die Progressiewe Federale Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifest uitgereik nie.
4. Geen amptelike manifest kon opgespoor word nie.

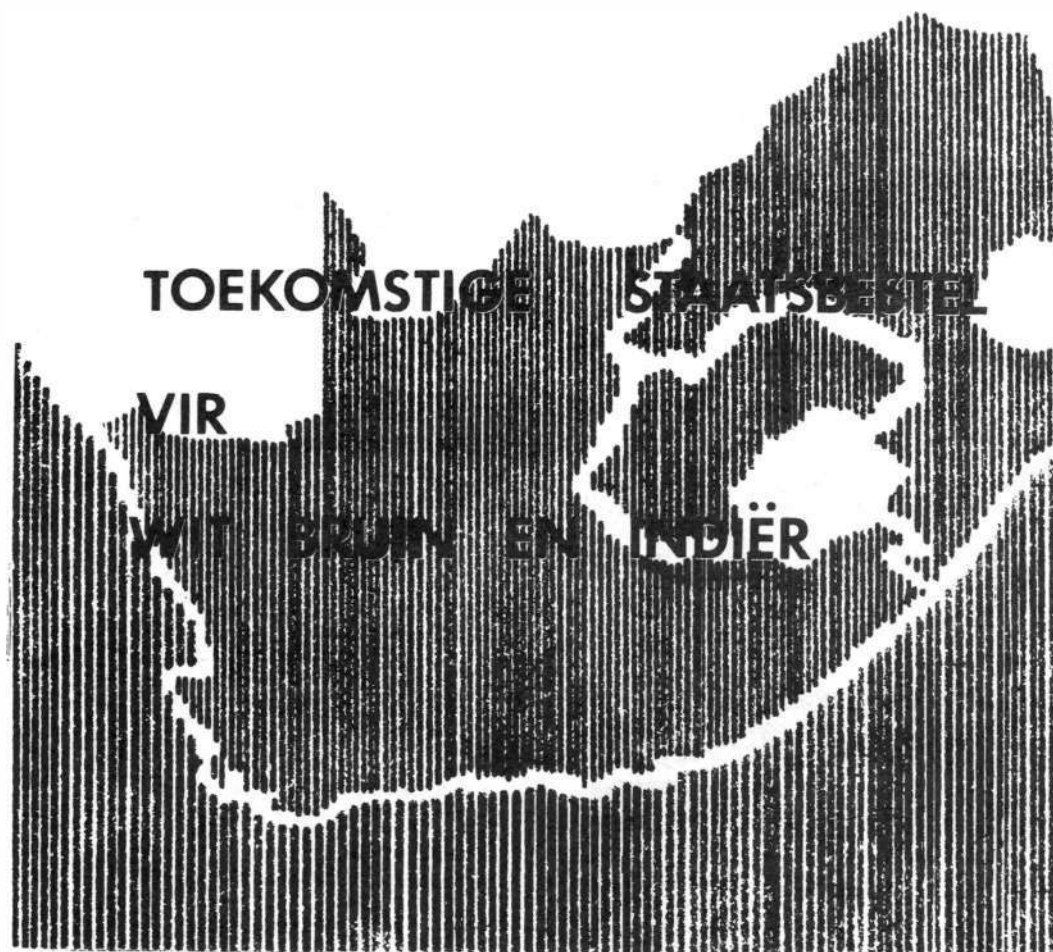
### Sources of election manifestos

1. Compiled and edited by G P D Terblanche, MP, Chief Information Officer of the Federal Council of the National Party, and published by the National Party, both of 49, Marks Building, Parliament Street, Cape Town and printed by Perskor, Johannesburg, 1977.
2. Manifesto of the New Republic Party.
3. The Progressive Federal Party never issued an official election manifesto.
4. No official manifesto could be traced.



NASIONALE PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA

OKTOBER 1977



## REGVERDIGE BEDELING

**DIE GRONDWETPLAN VAN DIE REGERING IS 'N WELDEURDAGTE PLAN WAT DEURE OPEN VIR 'N NUWE SUID-AFRIKA. DIT HAAL DIE ANGEL UIT DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE RASSE-OPSET MET 'N UNIEKE OPLOSSING VIR 'N UNIEKE VOLKERE-SITUASIE.**

**En dit kan werk omdat dit 'n staatsbestel visualiseer wat 'n regverdige bedeling wil skep van selfbeskikking vir elke bevolkingsgroep oor sy eie sake, en van vreedsame naasbestaan vir die Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs.**

Die plan is na grondige ondersoek en rype oorweging ontwerp en is daarop gemik om wesenlike regte aan elk van die drie bevolkingsgroepe te gee, en om terselfdertyd elke groep se selfbeskikkingsreg te waarborg en te beskerm.

Hierdie plan is eenvoudig en verstaanbaar en bevat niks van die komplekse verstrengeldhede van die planne waarmee die Opposisie al so dikwels gekom het nie.

## N.P. SE DINAMIEK

**DIE vier provinsiale kongresse van die Nasionale Party het dit na deeglike oorweging en bespreking met geesdrif aanvaar, en daarmee andermaal die treffende bewys gelewer dat die Nasionale Party die enigste party in hierdie land is wat oor die dinamiek beskik om 'n regverdige bedeling vir al Suid-Afrika se inwoners te skep.**

Die Nasionale Party was die dryfkrag agter elke groot projek wat in hierdie land aangepak is; so is hy ook die argitek van die komende nuwe bedeling, van 'n nuwe toekoms en van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika. Die riglyne wat hy nou gaan trek, sal vir dekades koersbepalend wees.

## SWARTMAN UITGESLUIT

**DIE vraag word gestel: Maar wat nou van die Swartman, wat van die stedelike Bantoe, in die nuwe bedeling?**

Die antwoord is dat die Swartman nie in hierdie bedeling oorweeg is nie, maar as Swart volke in eie reg aandag kry.



Sy Edele B. J. Vorster

**DIE EERSTE MINISTER HET DIT SO GESTEL TOE HY OP 24 AUGUSTUS 1977 IN DIE KAAPSTADSE STADSAAI GEPRAAI HET:**

*"Daarom, sover dit die Swartman betref, wys die Nasionale Party vir hom 'n pad aan op die hoër politieke vlak na onafhanklikheid, na selfbeskikking, na selfregering. Al daardie dinge wat elders in die wêreld voor geveg moes word.*

*"Op die plaaslike vlak bied die Nasionale Party vir die stedelike Swartman aan, en het hy 'n wet hierdie sitting gepaseer om dit moontlik te maak, dat die Swartman mense kan kies, ongeag volksverband, in sy plaaslike besture, in sy dorpsrade en in sy stadsrade en is dit in die vooruitsig gestel, as daardie mense gekies is en hulle meerdere ervaring opgedoen het en hulle hulself in die praktyk bewys het, dat hulle meer regte kan kry as wat die gewone Blanke stadsraad byvoorbeeld het.*

*"Regte ten opsigte van hulle onderwys, regte ten opsigte van handhawing van orde in hulle eie gebied volgens moderne en tradisionele metodes. Dit alles word vir die Swartman aangebied, maar wat nie vir die Swartman aangebied kan word nie, is medeseggenskap met die Blanke in sy Parlement."*

Hierbenewens word die hele aangeleentheid van die Swartman in blanke gebied tans deur 'n Kabinetsskermte ondersoek.

## ONS LEIERS SÊ

**WAT DINK DIE NASIONALE PARTY SE LEIERS VAN DIE PLAN?**

DIE EERSTE MINISTER sien dit so:

*"Dit is belangriker as republiek-wording want dit gaan oor u toekoms. Dit sal bepaal hoe lank u in hierdie land sal bly voortbestaan; hoe lank u in hierdie vaderland sal veilig wees."*

MINISTER P. W. BOTHA, voorsitter van die Grondwetkomitee, sê daarvan:

*"Ons glo dat ons met hierdie plan nuwe deure geopen het vir 'n beter Suid-Afrika. Of ons sal slaag om hierdie saak deurgevoer te kry, sal afhang van ons mense se bereidwilligheid, sal afhang van ons geloof, sal afhang van deursettingsvermoë."*

DR. CONNIE MULDER, Transvaalse leier, stel dit so:

*"Suid-Afrika het 'n towerformule gevind om samewerking met die Kleurlinge en die Indiërs moontlik te maak. Die nuwe Grondwetplan is 'n eerlike poging om billik te wees teenoor almal wat in Suid-Afrika sal wees nadat die tuisland hulle onafhanklikheid verkry het — die beleid is nie een van abdikasie vir die Witman en sal nie daarheen lei nie."*

## Goeie Betrekkinge

**WAAROM HIERDIE GRONDWETPLAN?**

**DIT** is nie om die buitewêreld tevrede te stel nie. Hulle sal jy net met een ding tevrede kan stel, en dit is met een-man-een-stem en met Swart meerderheidsregering.

**Hierdie plan is bedoel om goeie betrekkinge in Suid-Afrika te bevorder en te bestendig. Die Regering en ons leiers het hoë verwagtinge dat dit die geval sal wees.**

Vir die "Liberal Establishment" sal die plan nie aanvaarbaar wees nie. Hulle het reeds alles in hul vermoë gedoen om dit af te skiet en sal waarskynlik daarmee voortgaan.

Hulle skiet dit af omdat hulle die Kleurling, die Indiër en die Swartman in die Blanke Parlement wil inbring sodat hulle op die rug van hierdie mense daardie Parlement kan probeer oorneem. Hulle is desperaat omrede ons beleid alhoewer ontplooi en slaag.

## Theron-kommissie

**S**OOS te kenne gegee in die Regering se tussentydse memorandum oor die Theron-kommissie se verslag het die Regering hom vereenselwig met die meerderheid- en minderheid-

standpunte van die Kommissie, soos uitgedruk in aanbeveling 178, naamlik dat die Westminster-gefundeerde regeringstelsel nie noodwendig in die Republiek slaafs nagevolg hoef te word nie, en het hy hom gevolglik verbind tot 'n grondige en deskundige ondersoek na die nodige organisatoriese en statutêre aanpassings van die stelsel, in die lig van die knelpunte en oorweginge uiteengesit in hoofstukke 17 en 20 van die Kommissie se verslag.

## Kabinetskomitee

**H**IERDIE ondersoek is by wyse van 'n Kabinetsbesluit in Augustus 1976 opgedra aan 'n spesiale Kabinetskomitee. Aan die komitee is opgedra om terselfdertyd in te gaan op die staatkundige bedeling vir die Indiërs, en het volmag ontvang om advies van buite-parlementêre deskundiges in te win.

Ooreenkomstig sy opdrag het die komitee hom uitsluitlik toegespits op die staatkundige posisie van die Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs.

Die Komitee het bestaan uit die vier provinsiale leiers van die Nasionale Party, nl. min. P. W. Botha (voorsitter), dr. C. P. Mulder, min. J. P. van der Spuy, min. O. P. F. Horwood, asook uit min. M. C. Botha, min. S. J. M. Steyn en min. H. H. Smit (sekretaris).

## Eerste Riglyne

**D**IE eerste riglyne wat die komitee neergelê het, is dat hy uitgaan van die fundamentele beleidstandpunt van die Regering dat daar vir lede van die Swart volkere in die Republiek, buite die Swart tuislandgebiede, op eiesoortige wyse voorsiening gemaak moet word. Gevolglik is die Swartman in Blanke gebied, dus ook die stedelike Swartman, nie hierby betrek of oorweeg nie.

Die komitee het baie deeglike werk gedoen. Oor 'n tydperk van 'n volle jaar was hy intensief besig, het hy deskundiges oor 'n breë spektrum geraadpleeg, memoranda wat ontvang is van professore in Staatsleer, Konstitusionele Reg, Geskiedenis ens. van verskillende universiteite ontleed.

## Weloerwoë Besluite

**M**EMORANDA is ook voorgelê deur Ministers, Nasionale Volksraadslede, Senatore en andere en deur drie Parlementêre kousgroepe van die Nasionale Party. Waardevolle inligting en modelle het hieruit na vore gekom waaruit die komitee vryelik kon put. Dit alles is in besprekings wat soms oor dae gestrek het, oorweeg, gesif, gewysig, verwerp of aanvaar.

Daarna het die Kabinet die saak by drie geleenthede volledig en indringend vir ure lank bespreek. Die resultaat is 'n weloorwoë en weldeurdagte standpunt van die beste politieke kenners en deskundiges in die land — mense wat ernstig en eerlik die beste soek vir ons land en sy mense.

## Uitgangspunte

MIN. P. W. BOTHA, voorsitter van die komitee, som die uitgangspunte van die opstellers van die plan so op:

1. *Ons het probeer om 'n eenvoudige en verstaanbare plan daar te stel wat nie so ingewikkeld is dat 'n mens hom nie kan verduidelik nie.*
2. *Ons het probeer om in beginsel 'n standpunt in te neem dat hierdie plan moet voldoen aan een van die grondbeginsels van die Nasionale Party, naamlik die selfbeskikkingsreg van ons volk, en van ander volkere en bevolkingsgroepe in hierdie land.*
3. *Ons het van die standpunt uitgegaan dat dit die toets van regverdigheid moet kan deurstaan.*

4. *Verder het ons van die standpunt uitgegaan dat dit nie die abdikasië van die Blanke ten opsigte van seggenskap oor sy eie sake moet meebring nie.*

5. *Ons het ons laat lei deur die gedagte dat dit 'n plan moet wees wat 'n mens geleidelik kan instel.*

## Die plan behels die volgende:

## PLAASLIKE BESTUUR

**A**LLE goeie regerings berus op 'n basis van plaaslike bestuur. Dit berus op sy beurt weer op eienaarskap van grond en geografiese verbintenis.

Daarom is dit die komitee se standpunt dat eiendomsreg (private grondbesit en huiseienaarskap) vir Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs met alle middele bevorder moet word ten einde 'n besittersklas in die stedelike en landelike gebiede van elke bevolkingsgroep te bewerkstellig. Dit vorm 'n gesonde grondslag vir selfstandige plaaslike besture en 'n sinvolle gemeenskapslewe.

Maatreëls moet gevolglik so gou doenlik ingestel word om subekonomiese skemas om te skep in ekonomiese skemas ten einde grondbesit en huiseienaarskap in eie gebied te bewerkstellig, met erkenning egter van die feit dat daar kategorieë in elke bevolkingsgroep is wat behoefte aan sub-ekonomiese behuising het.

## Bespoedig

**D**IE komitee beklemtoon die noodsaaklikheid dat ook die privaatsektor versoek moet word om deur vergoedings verhoging van produktiwiteit werkgewers en werknemers in staat te stel om bogenoemde oogmerke te bevorder.

Die komitee beveel aan dat die Staat, asook Provinsiale en plaaslike owerhede (solank laasgenoemde twee daarmee gemoeid is) bogenoemde prosesse moet bespoedig, en doen aan die hand dat dit aan 'n komitee bestaande uit die Ministers van Binnelandse Sake, Finansies, Beplanning, Gemeenskapsbou, Indiërsake en Kleurlingbetrekkinge, die vier Administrateurs en die Ministers belas met plaaslike bestuur opgedra word om dit tot uitvoering te bring.

Die Yeld-komitee van Ondersoek na die Instelling van Selfstandige Plaaslike Besture vir Kleurlinge en Indiërs moet ook gevra word om bogenoemde komitee te voorsien van 'n prinsipiële benadering in die verband, asook oor die gebiede wat nog nie dadelik na selfstandige status kan vorder nie.

## DORPSRADE EN STADSRAD

1. DIE komitee beveel aan dat elk van die drie bevolkingsgroepe in stede en dorpe eie rade moet kies volgens 'n kiesstelsel wat uitgewerk moet word op die basis van Volksraad-kieserslyste aangepas indien prakties met kwalifikasies soos ouderdom, eiendomsbesit, inkomste, okkupasie ens.
2. Landelike gemeenskappe van elke bevolkingsgroep moet op 'n streeksbasis ineengeskakel word op advies van die beoogde Komitee van Ministers en Administrateurs in die vorige paragraaf genoem.
3. 'n Skakelorganisasie tussen plaaslike besture vir Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs moet waar nodig tot stand gebring word.
4. Die bevoegdheid van plaaslike besture moet in detail omskryf word met inagneming van die grootte en inkomste van die betrokke gebied.

# PROVINSIALE EN STREEKADMINISTRASIES

1. Daar sal nie Provinsiale Rade vir die Kleurlinge en ook nie vir die Indiërs wees nie. Die komitee beveel vir die Kleurlinge en die Indiërs 'n stelsel aan van streekadministrasies, sonder liggame met wetgewende bevoegdheid. In beheer van elke streek moet 'n streeksadministrateur wees.
2. Vir dié doel word provinsiale grense gebruik, maar vir doeltreffende administrasie word Kaapland in drie streke vir Kleurlinge verdeel en Transvaal en Natal elk in twee streke vir Indiërs.
3. Wat die Blankes betref kan die betrokke Provinsiale owerhede self besluit of hulle die voorgestelde verdeling wil volg.

## SENTRALE REGERING

### A. WETGEWENDE GESAG

Daar sal geen gemengde Parlement, Volksraad of Senaat of selfs 'n Derde Kamer wees nie.

#### 1. PARLEMENTE

'n Parlement word vir elk van die drie bevolkingsgroepe, Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs, aanbeveel, verkies op die basis van ontlading en belading van plattelandse en stedelike kiesafdelings onderskeidelik.

#### Blanke Parlement

DIE huidige 165 setels van die Blankes se Volksraad word behou met voorsiening vir 20 benoemde lede waarvan 12 verkies word op die grondslag van proporsionele verteenwoordiging van politieke partye wat Volksraadsetels verower het by elke voorafgaande algemene verkiesing, en 8 word deur die Regering aangestel. ('n TOTAAL VAN 185)

#### Kleurling-Parlement

VIR die Kleurling-Parlement word daar 82 setels voorsien, met 10 addisioneel benoemde lede, waarvan 6 proporsioneel verkies word en 4 aangestel word deur die Kleurlingregering. ('n TOTAAL VAN 92)

#### Indiër-Parlement

VIR die Indiër-Parlement word daar 41 setels voorsien en 5 benoemde lede, waarvan 3 proporsioneel aangewys en 2 deur die Indiërregering benoem word. ('n TOTAAL VAN 46)

#### 2. STEMREG VIR DIE PARLEMENTE WORD SOOS VOLG VOORGESTEL:

- a. Blankes: soos tans.
- b. Kleurlinge en Indiërs:  
Soos ooreengekom met die leiers van die betrokke bevolkingsgroepe.

#### 3. MAGTE EN BEVOEGDHEDE VAN PARLEMENTE

In die geval van die Blankes se Parlement bly dit onveranderd. In die geval van die Kleurlinge en die Indiërs se Parlement word die aangeleenthede wat by hulle tui shoort en wat tans by die Blanke

Volksraad berus, geleidelik oorgedra, nadat op die Raad van Kabinette daartoe ooreengekom is.

#### 4. FINANSIERINGSMAGTE

Die Kleurling-Parlement en die Indiër-Parlement kry volle magte ten opsigte van paslike belastings en lenings wat nie onderhewig aan die Blankes se Parlement is nie.

Vir hierdie doel moet verdere deskundige advies ingewin word van die Du Plessis-komitee oor die Finansiële Verhoudinge tussen die Staat en die Provinsies; asook van die Tesourie, die Staande Kommissie oor Belastingbeleid, die Buro vir Ekonomiese Politiek en Analise van die Universiteit van Pretoria en ander tersaaklike deskundiges.

Elke bevolkingsgroep sal 'n gelykbesoldigde verkose Parlement hê met uitsluitlike wetgewende bevoegdheid ten opsigte van die aangeleenthede wat daardie bevolkingsgroep raak, en verkry medeverantwoordelikheid ten opsigte van gemeenskaplike sake nadat dit deur die Raad van Kabinette goedgekeur is.

### B. UITVOERENDE GESAG

#### 1. KABINETTE

DIE staatspresident wys Eerste Ministers vir elk van die drie bevolkingsgroepe aan volgens die bestaande konvensie wat by die huidige Blanke Parlement geld. Daarbenewens stel hy Ministers aan op advies van die onderskeie Eerste Ministers.

Vir die Kleurling-Parlement word 5 Ministers en vir die Indiër-Parlement word 3 Ministers voorsien. Blankes: 17 (Die getal Ministers is egter oop vir onderhandeling).

**Die Staatspresident het ook die bevoegdheid om Ministers te ontslaan na oorlegpleging met die betrokke Eerste Minister.**

Die magte ten opsigte van die ondertekening van wette, wat tans by die Staatspresident berus, word ten opsigte van daardie wetgewing waarvoor elke Parlement uitsluitlik gesag het, deur die Eerste Minister van die betrokke Parlement uitgeoefen.

## STAATSPRESIDENT

#### 2. KIESKOLLEGE

'n KIESKOLLEGE word saamgestel om die Staatspresident vir vyf jaar aan te stel en onder omstandighede wat in die Grondwet vasgelê sal word, van sy amp te onthef.

Die samestelling van die kieskollege is soos volg:

Vyftig lede word deur die Blankes se Parlement aangewys, 25 deur die Kleurlinge se Parlement en 13 deur die Indiërs se Parlement. ('n TOTAAL VAN 88).

**Die ooreengekome grondslag van die samestelling van die kieskollege word nie verander nie tensy elkeen van die drie Parlemente daartoe instem.**

#### Aktiewe Rol

DIE pligte van die Staatspresident sal benewens sy normale pligte, soos die opening van sittings van die Parlemente, asook die vergaderings van die Presidentsraad, ontvangs van diplomate se geloofsbriefe, ook ondertekening van wetgewing van gemeen-

skaplike belang insluit. Hy is ook voorsitter van die Raad van Kabinette. Die Staatspresident benoem die voorsitter van die Presidentsraad uit die geledere van daardie liggaam.

**DIE STAATSPRESIDENT SAL IN DIE NUWE BEDELING DUS ALMAL SE STAATSPRESIDENT WEES EN HY SAL IN DIE AKTIEWE POLITIEK BEWEEG.**

## **PRESIDENTSRAAD**

1. 'n Totale nuwigheid is die instelling van 'n Presidentsraad wat 'n nie-parlementêre liggaam sal wees en nie voltyds nie. Dit sal sy taak wees om adviserend op te tree in sake van nasionale belang.
- Die Presidentsraad sal uit 55 lede bestaan waarvan 20 deur die Blankes se Parlement gekies word, 10 deur die Kleurlinge se Parlement en 5 deur die Indiërs se Parlement.
- Daarbenewens benoem die Staatspresident 'n verdere 20 lede op grond van besondere kwalifikasies. L.V.'s en L.P.R.'s mag nie terselfdertyd lede van die Presidentsraad wees nie en doen afstand van lidmaatskap van daardie rade indien hulle tot die Presidentsraad verkies of aangestel word.
- Die Presidentsraad adviseer die Raad van Kabinette op sy versoek oor sake van nasionale belang en kan ook uit eie beweging oor sodanige sake beraadslaag. Hierdie raad kan hom vir doeleindes van sy werksaamhede verdeel in komitees en stel ook sy eie huishoudelike reëls op.

### **2. KWALIFIKASIES VIR LIDMAATSKAP**

Om in die Presidentsraad te kan dien, moet 'n persoon minstens 30 jaar oud wees, as kieser kwalifiseer, 'n boedel van minstens R15 000 hê (en/of 'n jaarlikse inkomste van minstens R3 000 hê) en moet die bekleër wees of gewees het van een of ander professie, beroep of ambag. Hierdie kwalifikasies moet verder oorweeg word met die oog op die aanstelling van persone van besondere gehalte en kennis.

Die Presidentsraad moet dus 'n prestige-liggaam wees.

## **DIE SENAAT**

MEET die oog op die feit dat die Parlemente op 'n nuwe grondslag saamgestel word en die instelling van die voorgestelde Presidentsraad, asook die nuwe funksies en samestelling van die Raad van Kabinette, verval die noodsaaklikheid van 'n Senaat en word gevolglik aanbeveel dat dit by verstryking van sy huidige dienstermyn nie weer saamgestel word nie.

## **Gesamentlike Advieskomitee**

1. Wanneer teenstrydige besluite in die komiteestadiums in die onderskeie Parlemente ten opsigte van wetgewing oor sake van gemeenskaplike belang geneem word, word daardie sake op aanbeveling van die Raad van Kabinette na die gesamentlike advieskomitees van die drie Regerings verwys wat dan voor die derde lesings in die onderskeie Parlemente uitgestryk moet word. Sulke komitees word so dikwels as wat nodig is ad hoc saamgestel.
2. In die geval van onversoembare standpunte wat nie deur hierdie gesamentlike advieskomitees bygelê is nie, berus die finale beslissing by die voorsitter van die Raad van Kabinette (die Staatspresident).

## **RAAD VAN KABINETTE**

1. DIE komitee beveel aan dat die beginsel van die huidige Kabinetsraad behou word en dat dit saamgestel word uit die 3 Eerste Ministers, 6 senior Blanke Ministers, 3 Kleurling-ministers en 2 Indiër-ministers: met dien verstande dat ander ministers vir bepaalde agendapunte bygehaal kan word. (Getalle onderhandelbaar).
2. Die Raad van Kabinette stel die wetgewing oor gemeenskaplike

sake op en reël die program en voorkeurorde vir afhandeling daarvan in oorleg met die leiers van die Parlemente.

## **Staatspresident Voorsitter**

3. Die Staatspresident tree op as voorsitter van die Raad van Kabinette en benoem 'n permanente plaasvervanger vir geleenthede wanneer hy nie teenwoordig kan wees nie. Hierdie benoemde tree ook as waarnemende Staatspresident in laasgenoemde se afwesigheid op.
4. Geen aanbevelings hierin moet beskou word as 'n beperking op die prerogatiwe van die voorsitter van die Raad van Kabinette nie.
5. Ministers kan oor en weer Parlemente toespreek, soos gereël deur die Raad van Kabinette in oorleg met die leiers van die onderskeie Parlemente.
6. Die Raad van die Kabinette het die mag om met die instemming van die onderskeie Parlemente wetgewing oor gemeenskaplike sake aan een Parlement vir afhandeling op te dra, en sodanige wetgewing word deur die Staatspresident onderteken.
7. Die Raad van Kabinette sal soos 'n gewone Kabinet funksioneer en sy besluite sal na bespreking deur die voorsitter geformuleer word.

## **Op 'n Pad Geplaas**

MIN. P. W. BOTHA, kom nadat hy die plan uiteengesit het tot die volgende gevolgtrekkings:

1. Die selfbeskikkingsreg van die Blanke word nie aangetas nie.
2. Daar word regverdig opgetree teenoor die ander twee bevolkingsgroepe.
3. Die beginsel van oorlegpleging en konsultasie word gehandhaaf.
4. Die Blanke abdikeer nie die mag oor sy eie selfbeskikking nie.
5. Die stelsel is eenvoudig en verduidelikbaar aan die eenvoudigste gehoor.

“Ek dink die komitee het daarin geslaag om ons op 'n pad te plaas waarop ons kan onderhandel,” het min. Botha verklaar.

## **Eie Aangeleenthede**

OM DUS SAAM TE VAT:  
Oor sake van gemeenskaplike belang glo ons in BERAADSLAGING en MEDE-VERANTWOORDELIKHEID in 'n Raad van Kabinette vir Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs onder voorsitterskap van die Staatspresident.

Oor eie aangeleenthede het die Eerste Minister dit op 13 September 1977 op die Transvaalse Nasionale Party-kongres soos volg gestel:

*“Oor die Blanke en die Blanke se aangeleenthede wats y eie is, sal net die Blanke alleen seggenskap hê en daarvoor wetgewing aanneem: dan diskrimineer ek mos nie teen enigiemand anders nie, dit is mos die Blankes se inherente reg om oor sy eie sake te besluit. Maar dan sê ek in dieselfde asem: Dit is die Kleurling se reg om oor sy eie aangeleenthede te besluit, dit is verkeerd dat die Blanke vir hom besluit, hy moet self besluit oor sy aangeleenthede, hy is ook 'n mens, hy het die reg daarop en so ook die Indiër,” aldus die Eerste Minister.*

**DIE GRONDWETPLAN IS 'N GROOTSE EN MOEDIGE PLAN OM NUWE DEURE VIR 'N BETER SUID-AFRIKA TE OPEN. MENSEVERHOUDINGE KAN HIERDEUR BAIE VERBETER OMDAT DIT MET BEHOUD VAN SELFBESKIKKINGSREG OOR EIE SAKE GEORDENDE SAMEWERKING TUSSEN BLANKES, BRUINMENSE EN INDIËRS SKEP SOOS VOORHEEN NIE BESTAAN HET NIE.**

## FIER EN TROTS MET DIE NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY

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### MANIFES VAN DIE NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY

EK WIL . . . fier en trots in my eie land of waar ek my ook al in die wêreld bevind, beweeg -

DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT -

- \* dit die gees en filosofie van die groot leiers, wat Suid-Afrika een van die trotste en mees gerespekteerde nasies in die wêreld gemaak het, geërf het;
- \* dit 'n Suid-Afrikaanse patriotisme bevorder;
- \* dit ons nooit ons hoofde in skaamte sal laat hang, soos wat die dade van die huidige Regering, en sy Ministers, so dikwels doen nie;

EK WIL . . . vreedsaam in my eie land woon -

DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT -

- \* dit sal veg om 'n einde te maak aan onnodige en kleinlike onsin wat wrywing en bitterheid veroorsaak;
- \* dit sal strewe om te verseker dat al ons burgers in waardigheid en sonder skadelike diskriminasie, gebaseer op ras of kleur, kan lewe;
- \* dit glo aan geleentheid vir almal om huiseienaarskap en 'n onbelemmerde familielewe te geniet;
- \* dit 'n stelsel voorstaan wat aan al ons mense 'n lewenswyse sal bied waarvoor hulle sal veg omdat hulle sal besef, dat hulle meer deur 'n revolusie sal verloor as wen.

EK WIL . . . veilig in die nag slaap -

DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT -

- \* dit staan vir die handhawing van wet en orde;
- \* sy beleid my die reg op 'n billike verhoor voor 'n onpartydige hof waarborg as ek verkeerd gedoen het;

# FIER EN TROTS MET DIE NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY

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**Ek wil . . . veilig in die nag slaap**

### DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT

- dit staan vir die handhawing van wet en orde;
- sy beleid my die reg op 'n billike verhoor voor 'n onpartydige hof waarborg as ek verkeerd gedoen het;
- dit beloof om terrorisme, ondermyning en misdaad met genadelose vasberadenheid te beveg;
- dit vertrou in ons polisie, as beskermers van die onskuldiges van die dade van die oortreders, wil versterk deur die las van hul skouers om slegte politieke en administratiewe regulasies toe te pas.

**Ek wil . . . die versekering hê dat mense met verskillende agtergronde en lewenswyse nie my eie lewenswyse sal beheer nie**

### DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT

- dit die plurale geaardheid van ons gemeenskap erken en daarvoor voorsiening maak;
- dit staan vir 'n gedesentraliseerde politieke stelsel waarin elke groep, alhoewel hulle hul eie sake beheer, geen mag sal hê om in die sake van ander groepe in te meng nie;
- dit die enigste werklike waarborg bied teen oorheersing van enige groep deur ander groepe deur voorsiening te

maak vir 'n politieke magsbasis vir elke gemeenskap gebaseer op groepserkenning en verteenwoordiging.

**Ek wil . . . in vriendskap en met wedersydse respek met my mede-burgers van ander rasse en kleur omgaan**

### DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT

- dit deur samesprekings en ooreenstemming met al ons bevolkingsgroepe 'n nuwe bedeling vir Suid-Afrika begeer waar sake van gemeenskaplike belang soos Buitelandse Sake, Verdediging, Vervoer, ens., deur 'n Federale/Konfederale stelsel gehanteer word om 'n billike en verantwoordelike deelname deur alle gemeenskappe in gesamentlike besluiting te verseker.

**Ek wil . . . die reg besit om self te kies met wie ek wil saamlewe en assosieer**

### DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT

- dit die enigste party is wat aan hierdie reg van keuse glo;
- dit die reg aanvaar van elke gemeenskap om te besluit of dit mense of ander groepe as lede van sy gemeenskap sal aanvaar al dan nie—en om sy eie intieme omgewingsgeriewe soos skole te beheer;
- dit billike en aanvaarbare alternatiewe gebiede verlang waar diegene wat verkies om in 'n geïntegreerde te lewe, dit mag doen;
- dit derhalwe 'n individuele KEUSE bied wat geen ander party doen nie.

**Ek wil . . . 'n betrekking hê wat my in staat sal stel om myself en my familie van 'n menswaardige lewensstandaard te verseker en om aan my kinders 'n beter kans in die lewe te bied as wat ek gehad het**

### DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT

- dit erken dat deur al ons groot natuurlike en menslike bronne te benut ons 'n magtige ekonomie kan bou wat voorspoed en ekonomiese geleenthede vir al ons mense sal verseker;
- dit staan vir gelyke geleenthede en lone, vasgestel volgens die vermoë en verantwoordelikheid van elke werker en nie deur sy ras of kleur nie;
- dit glo dat beter onderwys- en opleidingsgeriewe vir alle burgers dringend noodsaaklik is om hul vir die hoogste posisies waarvoor hulle gekwalifiseer en geskik is, te bekwaam;
- dit ons vrye ondernemingseconomie vir al ons mense beskikbaar stel sodat hulle uit eie keuse die valse beloftes van sosialisme en kommunisme sal verwerp;
- dit die enigste Party is wat vertrou in die toekoms kan herstel omdat dit kunsmatige regeringsbeperkings op ons ekonomie verwerp, maar ook nie chaos, wat sosialisme en die verlaging van standaarde, wat onvermydelik op meerderheidsregering sal volg, voorstaan nie.

**Ek wil . . . 'n ruimhartige gemeenskap hê waar senior burgers in waardigheid en met selfrespek hul**

**oudag kan uitleef en waar niemand die verpletterende koste van ernstige siekte hoef te vrees nie**

**DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT**

- dit hom beywer vir 'n nasionale bydraende pensioenskema wat sekuriteit vir die oudag sal verseker en 'n end sal maak aan skandelijke onregverdigheid van die huidige middele-toets;
- dit die stryd aanknoop vir 'n staatsondersteunde mediese bystandsfonds met 'n vrye keuse van dokters, wat diegene wat nie deur hul werk teen siekte gedek word nie, sal beskerm.

**Ek wil . . . gemeet word en wil ander meet aan hul dienste en toewyding aan Suid-Afrika en nie aan die taal wat hul praat nie**

**DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT**

- Suid-Afrikanisme die fondament waarop die Party gebou en die hartklop wat lewe en betekenis daaraan gee, is;
- alleenlik in die geledere van die Nuwe Republiek-party duisende der duisende van albei taalgroepe natuurlik verenig word met 'n gemeenskaplike doel voor oë sonder dat die taal wat gepraat word, enige verskil maak;
- dit die enigste party is waar mense van alle vlakke, werkers en base, kantoorklerk en ambagsman, stadsbewoner

en boer, ryk en arm—gelukkig vir dieselfde ideale kan saamwerk.

**Ek wil . . . algehele eerlikheid, integriteit en doeltreffendheid in staats- en openbare administrasie hê**

**DAAROM SAL EK NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY STEM OMDAT**

- sy leiers en openbare verteenwoordigers hul politieke integriteit en morele eerlikheid bewys het deur lojaal aan die fundamentele filosofie, waarvoor hul deur die mense verkies is, te bly;
- sy administrasie in Natal bewys dat die NRP op 'n 67-jaar oue reputasie van die partye waaruit hy gebore is, op 'n algehele skoon rekord, sonder 'n sweem van skandaal, voortbou;
- sy administrasie in Natal bewys dat dit die enigste Provinsie is waar koste aan die publiek onder beheer gehou is en die enigste provinsiale administrasie is wat sedert 1969 nie motorlisensies of hospitaalfiole verhoog het nie.

**Bied ons wonderlike land 'n beter geleentheid deur vir die beleid van die**

**NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY**

**te stem op**

**30 NOVEMBER 1977**



NATIONAL PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

OCTOBER 1977



**NEW  
POLITICAL DISPENSATION  
FOR  
WHITE COLOURED AND INDIAN**

## A JUST DISPENSATION

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN OF THE GOVERNMENT IS A WELL-CONSIDERED PLAN WHICH OPENS DOORS FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA. IT REMOVES THE STING FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL STRUCTURE BY MEANS OF A UNIQUE SOLUTION FOR A UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.**

**And is feasible because it visualises a governmental structure which aims at creating a just dispensation of self-determination for each population group in regard to its own affairs, and of peaceful co-existence for the Whites, Coloured and Indians.**

The plan has been devised after thorough investigation and mature consideration and is aimed at giving real rights to each of the three population groups and at the same time guaranteeing and protecting the right to self-determination of each group.

This plan is uncomplicated and understandable and does not contain any of the complex intricacies of the plans which the Opposition has so frequently advanced.

## DYNAMICS OF N.P.

**A**FTER thorough consideration and discussion the four provincial congresses of the National Party adopted it enthusiastically and in doing so once again strikingly proved that the National Party is the only party in this country which possesses the dynamics to establish a just dispensation for all the inhabitants of South Africa.

The National Party has been the driving force behind every major project undertaken in this country; in the same way it is also the architect of the approaching new dispensation, of a new future and of a new South Africa. The directives which at present are being laid down by the Party, will determine our course for decades.

## BLACK MAN EXCLUDED

**T**HE question is being asked: But what about the Black man — the Black man in the Homelands and the rural and urban Blacks in White South Africa, in the new dispensation?

The reply is that the Blacks have not been considered in this dispensation, but are being attended to as Black nations in their own right.



The Hon. B. J. Vorster

**THE PRIME MINISTER, MR B. J. VORSTER, PUT IT AS FOLLOWS WHEN SPEAKING IN THE CAPE TOWN CITY HALL. ON 24 AUGUST 1977:**

*"Therefore, as far as the Black man is concerned, the National Party points out a way to him on the higher political level to independence, to self-determination, to self-government. All these things which elsewhere in the world had to be fought for."*

*"On the local government level the National Party offers the urban Black man, and has passed an act during this session to make it possible, that the Black man may elect people, irrespective of their national connection, in local authorities, in his village and town councils and it holds the prospect that, when those people have been elected and gained more experience and proved themselves in practice, they may get more powers than, for example, those of the ordinary White town council."*

*"Powers in respect of their education, powers in respect of the maintenance of order in their own areas according to modern and traditional methods. All this is being offered to the Black man, but what can not be offered to the Black man, is a joint say with the White man in his Parliament."*

In addition, the entire question of the Black man in the White area is at present being investigated by a Cabinet committee.

## OUR LEADERS SAY

**WHAT DO THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY SAY OF THE PLAN?**

THE PRIME MINISTER sees it as follows:

*"It is more important than the advent of the Republic because it concerns your future. It will determine how long you will survive in this country; how long you will be safe in this fatherland."*

MINISTER P. W. BOTHA, Chairman of the Constitutional Committee, says of it:

*"We believe that with this plan we have opened new doors for a better South Africa. Whether we will succeed in carrying this matter through, will depend on the willingness of our people, will depend on our faith, will depend on our perseverance."*

DR CONNIE MULDER, Transvaal leader, puts it as follows:

*"South Africa has found a magic formula for making co-operation with the Coloureds and the Indians possible. The new Constitutional Plan is an honest attempt at being fair towards everybody who will be in South Africa after the homelands have obtained their independence . . . the policy is not a policy of abdication for the Whites and will not lead to it."*

## Good Relations

**WHY THIS CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN?**

**I**T is not a case of pleasing the outside world. They will only be satisfied with one man, one vote and with Black majority rule.

**This plan aims at promoting and stabilising good relations in South Africa. The Government and our leaders have high hopes that it will be the case.**

The plan will not be acceptable to the Liberal Establishment. They have already done everything in their power to shoot it down and will probably continue doing so.

They shoot it down because they intend bringing the Coloured, the Indian and the Black man into the White Parliament so that they can make an attempt at gaining control of that Parliament on the backs of these people. They are desperate because our policy is developing and succeeding more and more.

## Theron Commission

AS stated in the Government's interim memorandum on the Theron Commission's report, the Government identified itself with the majority and minority viewpoints of the Commission, as expressed in recommendation 178, namely that the Westminster-based system of government need not necessarily be followed slavishly in the Republic, and has accordingly committed itself to undertake a penetrating and expert inquiry into the necessary organisational and statutory adjustments to the system in the light of the problems and considerations as set out in chapter 17 and 20 of the Commission's report.

## Cabinet Committee

THIS investigation was entrusted to a special Cabinet committee by way of a Cabinet decision taken in August 1976. The committee was instructed to investigate at the same time the political dispensation of the Indians, and was authorised to obtain the opinion of extra-parliamentary experts.

In terms of its charge, the commission paid attention exclusively to the political position of Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

The Committee consisted of the four provincial leaders of the National Party, viz. Minister P. W. Botha (chairman), Dr C. P. Mulder, Minister J. P. van der Spuy, Minister O. P. F. Horwood, as well as Minister M. C. Botha, Minister S. J. M. Steyn and Minister H. H. Smit (secretary).

## First Directives

THE first directives laid down by the committee were that it would proceed from the fundamental policy of the Government, namely that distinctive provision had to be made for members of the Black nations in the Republic outside the Black homelands areas. Accordingly the Black man in the White area, thus also the urban Black man, was not included in this matter.

The committee did a thorough job. Over a period of a full year it was intensively occupied, consulted with experts over a wide spectrum, analysed memoranda received from professors in Political Science, Constitutional Law, History, etc. from different universities.

## Well-considered Decisions

MEMORANDA were also submitted by Ministers, members of Parliament belonging to the National Party, Senators and others and by three parliamentary caucus groups of the National Party. In this way valuable information and models came to the commission's attention, from which it could freely draw. All this was considered, sifted, revised, rejected or accepted in discussions which in some cases lasted several days.

Following on this, the Cabinet discussed the matter fully and penetratingly for several hours on three separate occasions. The result is a well-considered and well-thought-out viewpoint of the best political authorities and experts in the country — people who earnestly and honestly are seeking what is best for our country and its people.

## Premises of the plan

Minister P. W. Botha, chairman of the committee, summarises the premises of the draftsmen of the plan as follows:

1. *We have tried to draw up an uncomplicated and understandable plan which is not so intricate that it cannot be explained.*
2. *We have tried in principle to take the point of view that this plan must comply with one of the basic principles of the National Party, namely the right to self-determination of our nation, and of other nations and population groups in this country.*

3. *We took the viewpoint that it must be able to pass the test of justness.*

4. *Furthermore we took the viewpoint that it must not lead to the abdication of the Whites in respect of a say in their own affairs.*

5. *We followed the idea that it should be a plan which can be implemented gradually.*

The plan consists of the following:

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ALL sound government depends on a basis of local government. This in turn depends on ownership of land and geographic ties.

For these reasons it is the committee's point of view that ownership (private ownership of land and home ownership) for Whites, Coloureds and Indians shall be furthered by all means at our disposal in order to create an owner class in the urban and rural areas of each population group. This forms a sound basis for independent local authorities and a meaningful communal life.

Accordingly measures must be introduced as soon as possible to convert sub-economic schemes into economic schemes in order to effect ownership of land and home ownership in their own area, while acknowledging, however, that there are categories in each population group which are in need of sub-economic housing.

## Speed Up

THE committee stresses the necessity that the private sector also be requested to make it possible for employers and employees to promote the above objectives through remuneration and increased productivity.

The committee recommends that the Government as well as provincial and local authorities (as long as the latter two authorities are concerned with it) shall speed up the above process, and suggests that a committee consisting of the Ministers of the Interior, Finance, Planning, Community Development, Indian Affairs and Coloured Relations, the four Administrators and the Ministers entrusted with local government be charged to carry it into effect.

The Yeld Committee of Inquiry into the Establishment of Independent Local Authorities for Coloureds and Indians must also be requested to provide the above committee with a basic approach in this connection, as well as on the areas which cannot progress to independent status immediately.

## VILLAGE AND TOWN COUNCILS

1. The Committee recommends that each of the three population groups shall elect own councils, in cities and towns, according to an electoral system to be worked out on the basis of House of Assembly voters' rolls, adopted, if practicable, by qualifications such as age, ownership of property, income, occupation, etc.

2. Rural communities of each population group shall be joined together on a regional basis, on advice of the envisaged Committee of Ministers and Administrators referred to in the previous paragraphs.
3. A liaison organisation among local authorities for Whites, Coloureds and Indians shall be established where necessary.
4. The powers of local authorities shall be defined in detail, taking into account the size and revenue of the area concerned.

## **PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS**

1. There shall be no Provincial Councils for Coloureds or Indians. For the Coloureds and Indians the Committee recommends a system of regional administrations, which do not have bodies with legislative powers. A regional administrator shall be in control of each region.
2. For this purpose provincial boundaries are utilised, but for effective administration the Cape Province is divided into three regions for Coloureds and the Transvaal and Natal each into two regions for Indians.
3. As far as the Whites are concerned the relative Provincial authorities can decide themselves whether they wish to follow the proposed division.

## **CENTRAL GOVERNMENT**

### **A. LEGISLATIVE POWERS**

There shall be no mixed Parliament, House of Assembly or Senate or even a Third Chamber.

#### **1. PARLIAMENTS**

A Parliament for each of the three population groups, viz. Whites, Coloureds and Indians, is recommended, elected on the basis of unloading and loading of rural and urban constituencies respectively.

#### ***White Parliament***

THE present 165 seats of the Whites' House of Assembly shall be retained while providing for 20 nominated members of whom 12 shall be elected on the basis of proportional representation of political parties which had won House of Assembly seats at each preceding general election, and 8 shall be appointed by the Government. (A TOTAL OF 185)

#### ***Coloured Parliament***

FOR the Coloured Parliament 82 seats are provided, with 10 additional nominated members, of whom 6 shall be elected proportionally and four appointed by the Coloured Government. (A TOTAL OF 92)

#### ***Indian Parliament***

FOR the Indian Parliament 41 seats and 5 nominated members are provided, of whom 3 shall be elected proportionally and 2 appointed by the Indian Government. (A TOTAL OF 46)

#### **2. THE PROPOSED FRANCHISE FOR THE PARLIAMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:**

- a. Whites: as at present.
- b. Coloureds and Indians:  
As agreed with the leaders of the population groups concerned.

#### **3. POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENTS**

In the case of the Whites' Parliament it remains unaltered. In the case of the Parliaments of the Coloureds and the Indians, matters which are their exclusive concern and which at present are in the hands of the White House of Assembly, shall be transferred to them gradually after agreement has been reached on this in the Council of Cabinets.

#### **4. FINANCING POWERS**

The Coloured Parliament and the Indian Parliament shall receive full powers in respect of appropriate taxes and loans, which are not subject to the Whites' Parliament.

For this purpose additional expert advice must be obtained from the Du Plessis Committee on Financial Relations between the State and the Provinces; as well as from the Treasury, the Standing Committee on Fiscal Policy, the Bureau for Economic Politics and Analysis of the Pretoria University and other experts in this field.

Each population group shall have an equally paid elected Parliament with exclusive legislative powers in respect of those matters which affects that population group, and obtains co-responsibility in respect of matters which are the common concern of all groups after these have been approved by the Council of Cabinets.

## **B. EXECUTIVE POWERS**

### **1. CABINETS**

THE State President shall appoint Prime Ministers for each of the three population groups according to the existing convention which applies to the present White Parliament. In addition he appoints Ministers on the advice of the respective Prime Ministers. Seventeen Ministers are provided for the White Parliament, 5 Ministers for the Coloured Parliament and 3 Ministers for the Indian Parliament. (However, the number of Ministers is negotiable.)

The State President also has the power to dismiss Ministers after consultation with the Prime Minister concerned.

The powers in respect of the signing of acts, which are at present vested in the State President, shall in respect of legislation over which each Parliament has exclusive powers, be exercised by the Prime Minister of the Parliament concerned.

## **STATE PRESIDENT**

### **2. ELECTORAL COLLEGE**

AN electoral college shall be constituted to appoint the State President for five years and to dismiss him from his office under circumstances which shall be laid down in the Constitution.

The electoral college shall be constituted as follows:

Fifty members shall be designated by the Whites' Parliament, 25 by the Coloureds' Parliament and 13 by the Indians' Parliament. (A TOTAL OF 88)

The basis agreed to for the composition of the Electoral College shall not be changed unless each of the three Parliaments agrees to do so.

## **Active Part**

THE duties of the State President shall, in addition to his normal duties, such as the opening of sessions of the Parliaments, as well as the meetings of the President's Council, the acceptance of

credentials from diplomats, also include the signing of legislation on matters which are the common concern of all groups. He is also chairman of the Council of Cabinets. The State President shall appoint the chairman of the President's Council from the members of that body.

**IN THE NEW DISPENSATION THE STATE PRESIDENT WILL BE ELECTED BY THE WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS, AND HE WILL TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN POLITICS.**

## **PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL**

1. A total innovation is the establishment of a President's Council which shall be a non-parliamentary body operating on a part-time basis. Its task shall be to act in an advisory capacity in matters of national importance.
- The President's Council shall consist of 55 members of whom 20 shall be elected by the Whites' Parliament, 10 by the Coloureds' Parliament and 5 by the Indians' Parliament.
- In addition the State President shall appoint a further 20 members on the grounds of special qualifications. M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s may not be members of the President's Council while still in office and shall relinquish membership of those councils on being elected or appointed to the President's Council.
- The President's Council advises the Council of Cabinets at the latter's request on matters of national importance and can also of its own accord deliberate on such matters. For the purpose of its activities this council can also divide itself into committees and also draws up its own rules for conducting its business.

### **2. QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP**

To qualify as a member of the President's Council a person shall be at least 30 years of age, qualify as a voter, have an estate of at least R15 000 (and/or an annual income of at least R3 000) and must be or have been engaged in some profession, occupation or trade. These qualifications must be considered further with a view to the appointment of persons possessing particular qualities and knowledge.

The President's Council must accordingly be a prestige body.

## **THE SENATE**

**I**N view of the fact that the Parliaments shall be constituted on a new basis and the institution of the proposed President's Council, as well as the new functions and composition of the Council of Cabinets, the necessity of having a Senate falls away and it is accordingly recommended that after completion of its present term of office the Senate shall not be reconstituted.

## **Joint Advisory Committee**

1. When conflicting decisions are taken in the committee stages in the different Parliaments on matters of common concern, those matters shall on the recommendation of the Council of Cabinets be referred to the joint advisory committees of the three Governments, which matters must then be resolved before the third reading in the respective Parliaments. Such committees shall be constituted on an *ad hoc* basis as and when necessary.
2. In cases of irreconcilable viewpoints which are not settled by these joint advisory committees, the final decision shall rest with the chairman of the Council of Cabinets (the State President).

## **COUNCIL OF CABINETS**

1. The committee recommends that the principle of the present Cabinet Council be retained and that it shall consist of the 3 Prime Ministers, 6 senior White Ministers, 3 Coloured Ministers and 2 Indian Ministers: Provided that other Ministers can be co-opted for specific items on the agenda. (Numbers negotiable).
2. The Council of Cabinets drafts the legislation on matters of common concern and in consultation with the leaders of the Parliaments, arranges the programme and order of precedence for dealing with these matters.

## **State President Chairman**

3. The State President shall act as chairman of the Council of Cabinets and shall nominate a permanent alternate for occasions on which he cannot attend meetings. This nominee shall also function as acting State President in the latter's absence.
4. No recommendations contained in this shall be regarded as being a limitation of the prerogatives of the chairman of the Council of Cabinets.
5. Ministers may address any of the other Parliaments, as arranged by the Council of Cabinets in consultation with the leaders of the respective Parliaments.
6. The Council of Cabinets shall be empowered, subject to the concurrence of the respective Parliaments, to entrust legislation on matters of common concern to one Parliament for disposal, and such legislation shall be signed by the State President.
7. The Council of Cabinets shall function in the same way as an ordinary Cabinet and its resolutions shall after discussion be formulated by the chairman.

## **Placed on a Road**

**A**FTER setting out the plan, Minister P. W. Botha arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The right to self-determination of the Whites is not assailed.
2. The other two population groups are receiving a just deal.
3. The principle of deliberation and consultation is being maintained.
4. The Whites are not abdicating their right to self-determination.
5. The system is uncomplicated and explainable to the most unsophisticated audience.

"I believe that the committee has been successful in placing us on a road on which we can negotiate," Minister Botha said.

## **Own Affairs**

**T**O SUMMARISE: On matters of common concern we believe in CONSULTATION and CO-RESPONSIBILITY in a Council of Cabinets for Whites, Coloureds and Indians under the chairmanship of the State President.

On own affairs the Prime Minister said the following at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party on 13 September 1977:

**"On the Whites and matters which are the exclusive concern of the Whites, only the Whites shall have a say and adopt legislation, then I do not discriminate against anybody, it is the Whites' inherent right to take decisions on their own affairs. But**

*then I say in the same breath: It is the Coloureds' right to take decisions on their own, it is wrong for the Whites to decide for them, they themselves must decide on their own affairs, they are also human beings, they have the right to it and so also the Indians," thus the Prime Minister.*

**THE CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN OF THE GOVERNMENT  
IS AN AMBITIOUS AND COURAGEOUS PLAN TO OPEN**

**NEW DOORS FOR A BETTER SOUTH AFRICA.  
THROUGH THIS, HUMAN RELATIONS CAN BE  
IMPROVED GREATLY BECAUSE, WHILE RETAINING  
THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN REGARD  
TO ONE'S OWN AFFAIRS, IT CREATES THE POSSIBIL-  
ITY OF ORDERLY CO-OPERATION BETWEEN  
WHITES, BROWN PEOPLE AND INDIANS WHICH DID  
NOT EXIST PREVIOUSLY.**

MANIFESTO OF THE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY

I WANT . . . to walk tall and proud in my own country and everywhere else  
I may travel in the world -

SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE -

- \* it has inherited the spirit and philosophy of the great leaders of South Africa who once made us one of the proudest and most respected nations of the world;
- \* it promotes a South African patriotism;
- \* it would never make us hang our heads in shame as the actions of our present Government and its Ministers so often do.

I WANT . . . to live in peace in my own country -

SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE -

- \* it will fight to end the unnecessary and petty nonsense which causes friction and bitterness;
- \* it will strive to ensure that all our citizens can live in dignity and without hurtful discrimination based on race or colour;
- \* it believes in opportunity for all to enjoy home ownership and undisturbed family life;
- \* it seeks a system which will give all our people a way of life they will want to fight for because they will know they have more to lose than to gain from revolution.

I WANT . . . to sleep safely at night -

SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE -

- \* it stands for the maintenance of law and order;
- \* its policies guarantee my right to a fair trial before an impartial court if I am accused of wrong-doing;

# **WALK TALL WITH THE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY**

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- it stands for the maintenance of law and order;
- its policies guarantee my right to a fair trial before an impartial court if I am accused of wrong-doing;
- it is pledged to fight terrorism, subversion and crime with ruthless determination;
- it seeks to strengthen confidence in our police as the protectors of the innocent from the wrong-doer by freeing them from the task of enforcing bad political and administrative regulations.

**I want . . . to be sure that people with different  
backgrounds and ways of life do not control  
the way I live *my own* life**

### **SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- it recognises and accommodates the plural nature of our society;
- it stands for a decentralised political system in which each group, while controlling its own affairs, will have no power to interfere in the affairs of other groups;
- it offers the only real guarantee against domination of any group by another group by providing for a political power base for each community based on group recognition and representation.

**I want . . . to live in friendship and mutual respect with  
my fellow citizens of other races and colours**

### **SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- it seeks a new deal through consultation and agreement with all our population groups under which matters of common concern, such as Foreign Affairs, Transport, Defence, etc. will be dealt with through a Federal/Confederal system assuring fair and responsible participation by all communities in joint decision-making.

**I want . . . the right to choose the people with whom I  
will live and associate**

### **SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- it is the only party which believes in this right of choice;
- it accepts the right of every community to decide whether it will accept or not accept persons of other groups as members of its community—and to control its own intimate neighbourhood amenities such as schools;
- it wants fair and acceptable alternative areas where those who wish to live in an integrated society may do so;
- it thus offers an individual CHOICE which no other party does.

**I want . . . a job which makes me able to support myself  
and my family at a decent standard of living  
and to give my children a better chance than  
I had in life**

### **SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- it recognises that by using all our vast natural and human resources we can build a powerful economy which will ensure prosperity and economic opportunity for all our peoples;
- it stands for equal opportunity and wages determined by the ability and responsibility of every worker and not by his race or colour;
- it believes that better educational and training facilities for all citizens are urgently needed to equip them for the highest positions for which they are qualified and capable;
- it seeks to open up our free enterprise economy to all our peoples so that they would by choice reject the false promises of socialism or communism;
- it is the only party which can restore confidence in the future because it rejects artificial government restraints on the economy but equally does not want the chaos and lowering of standards which would inevitably follow majority rule.

**I want . . . a compassionate society in which senior  
citizens can live out their old age in dignity  
and with self-respect and in which no one  
need live in fear of the crippling cost of  
serious illness**

### **SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- it fights for a national contributory pension scheme which will ensure security in old age and end the shameful injustices of the present means test;
- it carries on the fight for a state-supported medical aid scheme with free choice of doctors, which will protect



those who are not covered through their jobs against illness.

**I want . . . to be judged and to judge others by their service and dedication to South Africa and not by the language they speak**

**SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- South Africanism is the foundation on which the party was built and the heart-beat which gives it life and meaning;
- only in the New Republic Party are thousands upon thousands of both language groups naturally united in common cause without even thinking of the language spoken;
- it is the only party in which you find people from all walks of life, workers and bosses, white collar and blue collar, city dwellers and farmer, rich and poor—all working happily together for the same ideals.

**I want . . . total honesty and integrity in government and effective public administration**

**SO I WILL VOTE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY BECAUSE**

- its leaders and public representatives have proved their political integrity and moral honesty by remaining loyal to the fundamental philosophy for which they were elected by the people;
- its administration in Natal proves that the NRP carries on the 67 year-old reputation of the parties from which it has grown of a totally clean record without a hint of scandal;
- its administration in Natal proves that it is the only province which has kept costs to the public under control and the only provincial administration which has not increased motor licence or hospital fees since 1969.

Make the most of our grand country by voting for the policies of the

**NEW REPUBLIC PARTY**

on

**NOVEMBER 30.**

# 1981

29 APRIL

| Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het                                                                                                              | Setels verower/<br>Seats own | Participating parties which have won seats                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Die Nasionale Party (NP)<br>2. Die Nuwe Republiek-Party (NRP)<br>3. Die Progressiewe Federale Party (PFP)<br>4. Die Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) | 131<br>8<br>26<br>0          | 1. The National Party (NP)<br>2. The New Republic Party (NRP)<br>3. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP)<br>4. The Re-Constituted National Party (HNP) |

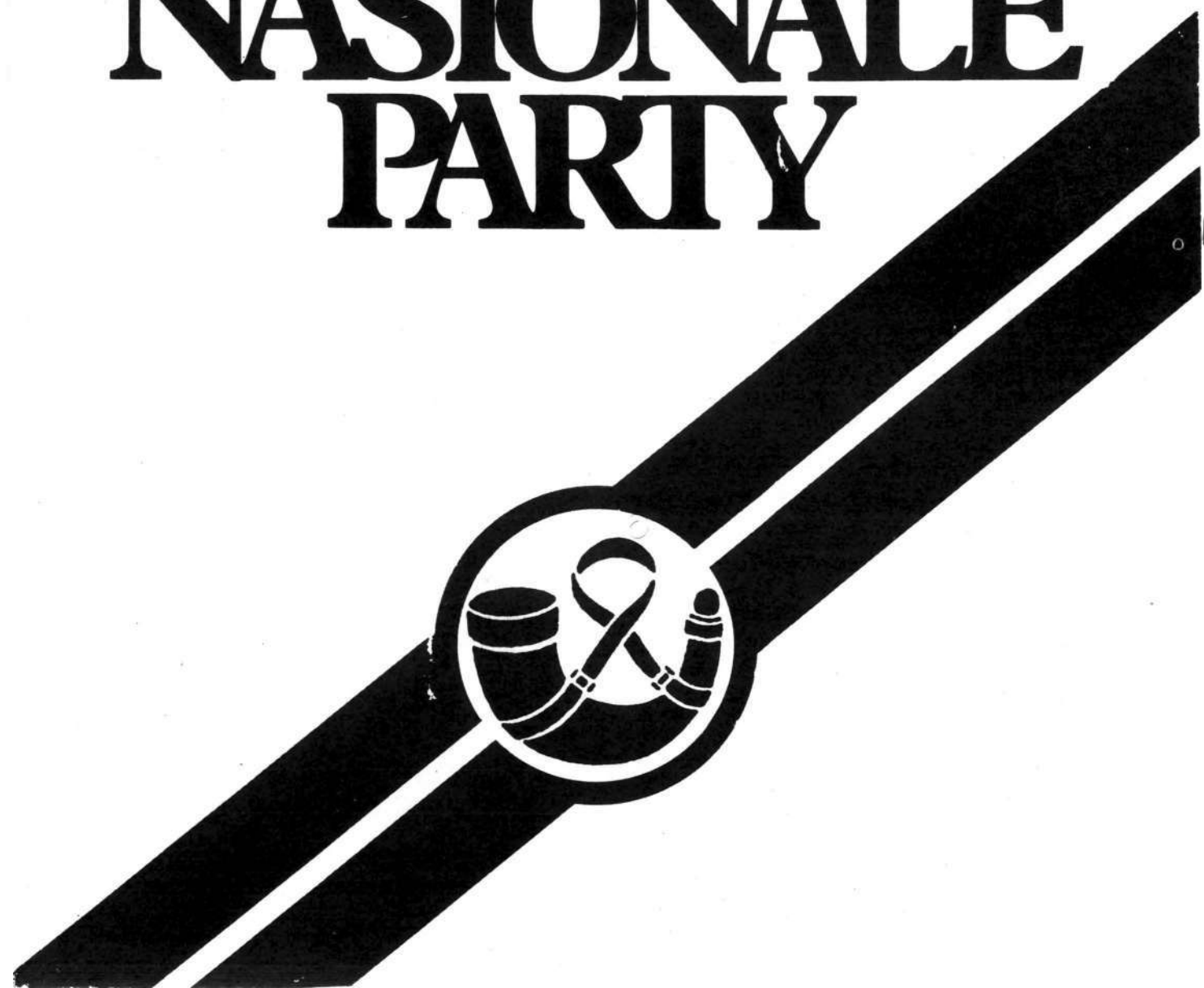
## Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Opgestel deur G P D Terblanche, Hoofinligtingsbeampte van die Nasionale Party, B J Du Plessis, Inligtingsbeampte van die Nasionale Party van Transvaal en C R E Rencken, uitgegee deur die Inligtingsdiens van Federale Raad van die Nasionale Party, albei van Marksgebou 49, Parlementstraat en gedruk deur Perskor, Heigstraet 28, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, 1981.
2. "Ons almal verlang van harte na ware veiligheid. Die Nuwe Republiek-Party is die enigste *Verenigde* Party met 'n PLAN."
3. Die Progressiewe Federale Party het nooit 'n amptelike verkiesingsmanifeste uitgereik nie.
4. Die Afrikaner, 27 Maart 1981.  
HNP — 1981. Kortbegrip van HNP beleid.  
Alhoewel die HNP na 15 jaar nog geen setel verower het nie, word die Party se 1981 verkiesingsmanifeste tog gepubliseer. In die Algemene Verkiesing van 1981 ontvang die Party die aansienlike getal van 191 249 (13,1%) stemme. Dit verteenwoordig die voorloper van 'n sterk regse politieke beweging in die Blanke kieserskorps.

## Sources of election manifestos

1. Compiled by G P D Terblanche, Chief Information Officer of the National Party, B J du Plessis, Information Officer of the National Party of the Transvaal, and C R E Rencken, and published by the Information Service of the Federal Council of the National Party, all of 49 Marks Building, Parliament Street, Cape Town and printed by Perskor, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg, 1981.
2. In Our hearts all of us seek *real* security. The New Republic Party is the Only UNITED party — with a PLAN"
3. The Progressive Federal Party never issued an official election manifesto.
4. Die Afrikaner, 27 March, 1981. HNP — 1981.  
HNP Policy In a Nutshell.  
Although after 15 years the HNP has not yet won a seat in Parliament, the Party's 1981 election manifesto is published. In the General Election of 1981 the Party polled the respectable number of 191 249 (13,1%) votes. It represents the front runner of a strong right wing political movement in the White electorate.

# MANIFES VAN DIE NASIONALE PARTY



# OPDRAG

Artikel 25 van die Program van Beginsels bepaal dat “. . . ten tye van verkiesings . . . stel die Nasionale Party sy Program van Aksie vas, gegrond op hierdie Program van Beginsels as sy politieke grondwet”.

In hierdie manifest is die Program van Aksie duidelik uitgespel in die vorm van die Twaalfpuntplan — ’n plan wat sy praktiese toepasbaarheid en uitnemende voordele binnelands op ekonomiese-, staatkundige-, en maatskaplike gebied en ook op internasionale gebied, deeglik bewys het sedert 1979.

Deur hierdie manifest te onderskryf, gee u as verantwoordelike kieser van Suid-Afrika aan die

Nasionale Party hierdie positiewe opdrag, naamlik . . .

(1) om Suid-Afrika se **VEILIGHEID** te verseker met doeltreffende optrede teen terrorisme, oproer en misdaad;

(2) om te volhard in sy pogings om **VOORSPOED** vir almal in Suid-Afrika te bewerkstellig;

(3) om hom te beywer vir die handhawing van die selfbeskikkingsreg van volkere en van **VRYHEID** vir almal in Suid-Afrika — vryheid van godsdiensoefening, vryheid van spraak, en vryhede wat kenmerkend is van ’n beskaafde land en wat die grondslag vorm van gesonde volkome verhoudinge.

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## PROGRAM VAN BEGINSELS

Die Program van Beginsels van die Nasionale Party staan in wese onveranderd sedert 1935 toe dr. D. F. Malan die oorspronklike beginsels wat met die stigting van die Nasionale Party aanvaar is, herskryf het.

Die karakter en doel van die Nasionale Party word soos volg beskryf in Artikel 1 van die program van Beginsels:

### “KARAKTER EN DOEL”

1. Die Party erken die Opperheerskappy en leiding van God in die lotgevalle van lande en volke en soek die ontwikkeling van ons volkslewe langs Christelik-Nasionale weg, met inagneming van die gewetens- en godsdiensoefening van die individu.

2. (a) Hy stel hom ten doel om die welvaart van Suid-Afrika en sy bevolking te bevorder en te beskerm vir sover dit langs

politieke weg kan geskied. Daarom stel hy hom ten doel om ’n kragtige besef van nasionale selfstandigheid verder te ontwikkel, sowel as ’n sterk gevoel van nasionale eenheid, gegrond op: die gemeenskaplike en onverdeelde trou en toewyding aan die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en sy belange; op onderlinge vertroue en op erkenning van die gelyke regte van beide Afrikaans- en Engelssprekendes en die wedersydse waardering van elkeen se kulturele bydrae.

(b) Die Party staan vir die regverdige en gelyke behandeling van alle dele van Suid-Afrika, en vir die onpartydige handhawing van die regte en voorregte van elke deel van die bevolking.

3. Die Party strew na die verwesenliking van die nasionale aspirasies en oortuigings van die volk van die Republiek

van Suid-Afrika, met die leuse “Suid-Afrika Eerste”, en die bevordering van ’n gesonde besef van nasionale eiewaarde gevestig op die volste waardering van alles wat die geestelike en kulturele besittings van die volk uitmaak in al sy verskillende vertakings en deur die beskerming van die regte van ieder deel van die bevolking.

4. Met hierdie doel soek die Party om tot politieke samewerking te verenig almal wat bereid is om sy oogmerke en beginsels te onderskryf en hulle in goeie trou te onderwerp aan die verpligtings daaraan verbind, onder verstandhouding dat niemand lid van die Party mag word wat nie bereid is om in alle omstandighede die belange van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te plaas bo dié van die ras of land of volk waarvan hy afkomstig is of bo dié van enige ander land nie.

# ONDERNEMINGS

Om hierdie verhewe doelwitte te bereik, onderneem die Nasionale Party die volgende:

## **DIE NASIONALE PARTY VERBIND HOM DAARTOE**

om die Blanke se gevestigde regte te waarborg, terwyl daar aan die ander volkere en bevolkingsgroepe dieselfde regte gegun word. Tewens, die instandhouding van die Blanke se regte is 'n voorwaarde vir die instandhouding van ander volkere en bevolkingsgroepe se regte.

Daarom verwerp die Nasionale Party 'n een-mens-een-stem stelsel in 'n eenheidstaat, of dit unitêr of federaal is.

## **DIE NASIONALE PARTY VERBIND HOM DAARTOE**

om beskaafde standaarde en waardes te handhaaf. Daarom bevorder die Nasionale Party voortdurend die maatskaplike, opvoedkundige en ekonomiese ontwikkeling van alle gemeenskappe. Die Nasionale party glo dat hierdie ontwikkeling ten beste kan geskied deur die daarstelling van eie woonge-

biede, eie skole en 'n eie gemeenskapslewe.

## **DIE NASIONALE PARTY VERBIND HOM DAARTOE**

om alle dele van die bevolking in Suid-Afrika se regmatige persoonlike en groepsaspirasies te akkommodeer deur vreedsame naasbestaan gegrond op regverdigheid, beskawing en goeie regering na te streef.

Daarom verwerp die Nasionale Party die ekstremisme van sowel haat-en skinderpolitiek as abdikasiëpolitiek.

## **DIE NASIONALE PARTY VERBIND HOM DAARTOE**

om daadwerklik voort te gaan met die uitbou van die Nasionale strategie om die Republiek van Suid-Afrika in staat te stel om die totale aanslag van Sowjet ekspansionisme wat teen alle inwoners van Suid-Afrika gemik is en op alle lewensterreine gevoer word, doeltreffend af te weer.

Daarom verwerp die Nasionale Party die uiters onverantwoordelike en roekelose aantyg-

ing dat die totale aanslag teen Suid-Afrika vir Politieke doeleindes misbruik word. Sowel die dade as uitsprake van die vyand, noop die Regering tot verskerpte aksie om die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te beveilig.

Daarom sien die Regering die stryd nie as 'n stryd tussen Wit en nie-Wit nie, maar as 'n stryd tussen die magte van chaos, geweld en onderdrukking aan die een kant, en 'n Christelike beskawing van Wet, Orde en geregtigheid aan die ander kant.

Daarom is die Nasionale Party die Politieke tuiste van daardie Blanke kiesers wat in 'n gesindheid van vriendelike Nasionaïsme, met 'n besef van realisme en gedryf deur 'n strewe na geregtigheid en ewewigtigheid, ander volkere en bevolkingsgroepe in Suid-Afrika wil saamneem op die pad na vredevolle naasbestaan.

**DIE PROGRAM VAN BEGINSELS IS DIE GRONDSLAG WAAROP DIE NASIONALE PARTY STAAN EN SLEGS DIE KONGRESSE KAN HIERAAN VERANDER.**

# PROGRAM VAN AKSIE

Sedert sy stigting stel die Nasionale Party van tyd tot tyd en met inagneming van heersende omstandighede, 'n program van aksie vas om sy beginsels in die praktyk toe te pas.

Vir die afgelope byna twee jaar is die Nasionale Party se program van aksie beliggaam in die Twaalfpuntplan wat in 1979 deur al die kongresse van die Nasionale Party goedgekeur en aanvaar is.

## **DIE TWAALFPUNT PLAN**

**1. Die erkenning en die aanvaarding van die bestaan van veelvolkigheid en van minderhede in Suid-Afrika.**

Die Nasionale Party het nog nooit die uitgediende, oorveereenvoudigde en rassitiese benadering aanvaar dat Suid-Afrika uit 'n Blanke minderheid en 'n Swart meerderheid be-

staan en die feit van verskillende volkere misken nie. Die Nasionale Party erken die werklikheid dat Suid-Afrika se inwoners bestaan uit verskillende volkere en bevolkingsgroepe en dat elkeen van die ander in afkoms, tradisies en kultuur verskil en verder dat elkeen van hulle ongeag sy kleur, teenoor die res 'n minderheid vorm.

**2. Die aanvaarding van**

**vertikale differensiasie met die ingeboude beginsel van self-beskikking op soveel vlakke as moontlik.**

Terwyl die Nasionale party die veelvolkige aard van Suid-Afrika se bevolking erken en eerbiedig, verwerp hy enige stelsel van horisontale differensiasie wat die oorheersing van een volk deur andere beteken. Die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling, het dr. H. F. Verwoerd 19 jaar gelede verklaar, beteken afsonderlikheid maar gelyke geleentheid vir elke bevolkingsgroep, met ander woorde dat elke volk langs sy eie weg tot die volle verwesenliking van sy potensiaal ontwikkel. Dit is ook die betekenis van vertikale differensiasie.

**3. Die daarstelling van konstitusionele strukture wat voorsiening maak vir die volle onafhanklikheid van die onderskeie Swart volkere in die RSA, sinvolle konsolidasie van Swartstate en gebiede, en die aanvaarding van 'n sosio-ekonomiese program gerig op die ontwikkeling van sodanige Swartstate en gebiede.**

Die Nasionale Party dwing onafhanklikheid op niemand af nie, maar moedig elke volk aan om die grootste mate van self-beskikking na te streef. Die ideale bestel sou een wees waarin elke volk hom so kan regeer soos hy wil, verkieslik binne sy eie geografiese gebied. Die nedersettingspatroon van die Swart volke maak dit grootliks moontlik om so 'n bestel vir hulle te verwesenlik. Waar meer sinvolle konsolidasie van die Swart Nasionale State bevorderlik is vir die verwesenliking van hierdie beleid, moet dit aktief bevorder word. Daarom word gekonsolideer op 'n basis dat grond op 'n ekonomiese en produktiewe wyse aangewend moet word. Die alternatief is integrasie, konflik en verswelging van die Blanke en van die ander minderheidsgroepe.

Ten opsigte van Swart mense

wat buite hulle Nasionale State woonagtig is, word voortgesette politieke verbondenheid aan hulle Nasionale State nagestreef. Daadwerklike pogings word tans aangewend om hierdie verbondenheid prakties meer sinvol te maak.

**4. Die verdeling van mag tussen Suid-Afrikaanse Blankes, Suid-Afrikaanse Kleurlinge en die Suid-Afrikaanse Indiërs met 'n sisteem van konsultasie en medeverantwoordelikheid waar gemeenskaplike belange geraak word.**

Omdat die Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs histories dieselfde geografiese grondgebied deel, is die konsep van onafhanklike eie state vir elk van hulle nie prakties moontlik nie. Tegelykertyd is daar egter ook diepgaande verskille tussen hierdie bevolkingsgroepe, wat meebring dat dit realisties is om te onderskei tussen sake wat eie is aan elk van hulle, en sake wat van gemeenskaplike belang is. Dit bring mee dat die groepe selfbeskikking moet hê oor eie sake en dat daar betrokkenheid moet wees van almal ten opsigte van gemeenskaplike belange op 'n wyse wat nie selfbeskikking aantast nie. Dit is een van die opdragte van die Presidentsraad om voorstelle oor hierdie aangeleentheid aan die Regering voor te lê waarna die Parlement uiteindelik uitsluitel daaroor sal gee.

**5. Die aanvaarding van die beginsel van eie skole en gemeenskappe, waar enigsins moontlik, as fundamenteel vir gelukkige sosiale omstandighede.**

Die Nasionale Party glo aan en werk vir die handhawing van eie woongebiede en eie skole, omdat dit wrywing voorkom en die eiesoortigheid van volkere handhaaf. Daarom kan afsonderlike onderwysgeriewe en woongebiede wat die moontlikheid van gelykwaardige geleen-

thede vir elke groep bied, eensins as diskriminasie beskou word nie. Die kwalifikasie "waar enigsins moontlik", word ontleen aan die Nasionale Party se program van beginsels en moet behou word omdat daar altyd enkele gebiede bestaan, het waar nog 'n mate van gemengde wonery plaasvind en nog nie uitgeskakel kon word nie. Verder is alle Swart skole en woongebiede nog nie etnies ingedeel nie en was daar altyd privaatskole wat enkele leerlinge uit ander groepe toegelaat het. Dit is egter algemene kennis dat die Nasionale Party Regering onverpoosd daaraan werk om hierdie sake te orden, soos duidelik blyk uit die volgende gewens:

- In 1980 was daar 3 551 000 Swart kinders in eie afsonderlike Swart skole in hulle eie gebiede en op Blanke plase.

- Daar is 902 000 kinders in Blanke Provinsiale skole. Van hulle is slegs 8 kinders Nie-Blank en is hulle is ses verskillende skole. Hierdie is spesiale uitsonderings wat ingevolge Wetgewing van 1951, destyds deurgeloods deur dr. D. F. Malan, toegestaan is aan kinders van Diplomate.

- Sedert 1950 word deurmekaarwoner ingevolge die Groepsgebiedewet uitgeskakel. Vanaf 1950 tot 1979 is 1 647 groepsgebiede in Suid-Afrika geproklameer: 840 vir Blankes, 559 vir Kleurlinge en 248 vir Indiërs. Gedurende 1980 is 113 616 Blankes, Kleurlinge en Asiërs in eie woongebiede hervestig en die proses duur voort.

- Swartmense: Vanaf 1970 tot 1980 is 317 000 mense, dit is 51 000 gesinne, hervestig in hulle eie woongebiede in Swart Nasionale State. Daar is 312 stedelike Swart woongebiede. Vanaf 1970 tot 1980 is 250 861 Swartmense uit ongewensgeleë gebiede in stedelike Swart woonbuurte hervestig.

- Oor die afgelope vyf jaar is daar elke jaar gemiddeld 30

000 huise gesamentlik aan die verskillende bevolkingsgroepe voorsien elk in sy eie gebied sonder enige uitsondering.

**6. Die bereidwilligheid om as gelykes saam te werk en oor sake van gemeenskaplike belang te beraadslaag, met balans tussen die regte van die indiwidu en dié van die gemeenskap, die verwydering van kwetsende, onnodige diskriminerende maatreëls.**

Sodanige onderhandeling is grondliggend aan die beleid van afsonderlike ontwikkeling. Daarsonder sou state soos Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda en op 4 Desember 1981 Ciskei nie onafhanklik kon word nie; sou die Suider-Afrikaanse Doeane-Unie nie kon bestaan nie en sou Suid-Afrika volkome geïsoleerd wees, ook op handelsgebied. Die eise van ons tyd verg dat volkere-verhoudinge koel, beredeneerd en logies benader word. Dit beteken dat differensiëringsmaatreëls wat nodig is vir die behoud van die Blanke se selfbeskikkingsreg en daarmee saam ook dié van ander bevolkingsgroepe, altyd behoue sal bly. Slegs diskriminerende maatreëls wat geen doel meer dien nie behalwe om goeie gesindhede te vertroebel, sal verwder word.

**7. Die handhawing van effektiewe besluitneming deur die Staat wat berus op 'n sterk Weermag en Polisiemag om sowel ordelike regering as doeltreffende, suiwer administrasie te waarborg.**

Suid-Afrika is die teiken van 'n totale aanslag. Om dit te kan teenstaan verg die hoogste moontlike mate van fisieke en geestelike weerbaarheid, motivering en moreel. Die wil van die veiligheidsmagte mag nie afgekraak word nie — dit moet versterk word, en die Staatsmasjinerie moet deurentyd so vaartbely, slaggereed en effektief as moontlik wees.

**8. Die handhawing van vrye onderneming as grondslag van ons ekonomie**

Binne die volgende 20 jaar sal Suid-Afrika werkgeleenthede moet verskaf aan 5-miljoen nuwe werksoekers. Van hulle sal 80% Swart wees. Indien die land nie hiermee slaag nie, skep hy die teelaarde van rewolusie, want honger mense is nie vreedsame mense nie. Dit kan net gedoen word indien die ekonomie vinnig en bestendig groei, wat op sy beurt meer en meer geskoolde werkkragte verg. Vandag reeds is daar 'n tekort aan duisende Blanke vakmanne. Die oplossing lê in die opleiding van werkers uit ander volksgroepe gepaardgaande met sinvolle beskerming van die Blanke werker. Die nuwe Arbeidswetgewing voldoen aan al hierdie vereistes. Die ou bedeling nie. Werkreservering kon met verloop van tyd nie eers meer die Blanke werker beskerm nie. Dit het slegs een uit 500 werkers geraak. Die nuwe bedeling beskerm al 500 — en daarby veel beter as voorheen — terwyl dit op ordelike en sinvolle wyse die deure vir die ander volksgroepe oopmaak vir volle deelname aan die vrye ekonomiese stelsel. Geen ander beleid kan 'n bedeling skep waarin die Wit, Swart en Bruin volke vrywillig sal wil saamspan teen die aanslag teen Suider-Afrika deur Wit, Swart en Bruin Marxiste nie.

**9. Die erkenning van ekonomiese inter-afhanklikheid van die bevolkingsgroepe van die RSA, asook die aanvaarding van die behoorlike beplande benutting van mannekrag.**

Suid-Afrika is die voorste land in Afrika op haas elke terrein. Die land het sy gevorderde, voorspoedige en vooruitstrewende posisie tot nou toe te danke aan die bydrae van sy Blanke bevolking hoofsaaklik in die vorm van kapitaal en kundigheid, sowel as aan die bydrae

van die ander volke, hoofsaaklik in die vorm van arbeid. Die twee elemente is onlosmaaklik aan mekaar gebind. Suid-Afrika se ryke verskeidenheid aan mense, vaardighede en talente is 'n bate wat tot voordeel van al sy inwoners benut moet word, dit verg samewerking sonder bedreiging van mekaar se belange. Die feit dat Swart en Bruin ondernemers en vakmanne nou in groeiende getalle na voretree, dra in ruim mate by tot ekonomiese en maatskaplike vooruitgang in sowel hulle eie geledere as in breëre verband. Slegs die Nasionale Party se beleid maak dit moontlik.

**10. Die nastrewing van 'n vreedsame konstellasië van Suider-Afrikastate met wedersydse respek vir mekaar se kultuurgoedere en tradisies.**

Die totstandkoming van so 'n bond van soewereine state was steeds die strewe van opeenvolgende Nasionale Regerings. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd het van 'n Gemenebes van politieke onafhanklike, ekonomies interafhanklike state gepraat. Mnr. B. J. Vorster het na 'n Assosiasie van State verwys. Mnr. P. W. Botha noem dit 'n Konstellasië om by moderne omstandighede aan te pas en verwarring met ander bestaande staatkundige modelle te voorkom. Die Nasionale Party beoog nie 'n federale of unitêre staat nie. Die Europese Gemeenskap of NAVO, waarin onafhanklike state vrywillig saamwerk is eerder die soort verhouding wat beoog word, behalwe dat samewerking binne die Konstellasië nie net op een terrein nie, maar op vele sal geskied. Dit is in hierdie vorm van konfederale bestel dat 'n wyse van inspraak oor hulle eie aangeleenthede vir die stadswartes in die vooruitsig gestel word.

**11. Die navolging, sover moontlik, van 'n beleid van neutraliteit in die stryd tussen die supermoondhede en die**

## **verlening van voorkeur aan die RSA se belange.**

“Suid-Afrika Eerste!” is die Nasionale Party se leuse. Suid-Afrika het nog altyd sterk bande met die Weste gehandhaaf. In die jongste tyd waarin internasionale verhoudinge gekenmerk word deur die vervanging van lojaliteit deur selfsug en eiebelang, poog sommige Westerse lande dikwels om sy eie belange veral in Suid-Afrika, ten koste van Suid-Afrika te bevorder.

Dit kan nie so voortgaan nie. Suid-Afrika sal in sy samewerking met ander lande en moondhede steeds sy eie belange as hoogste prioriteit stel.

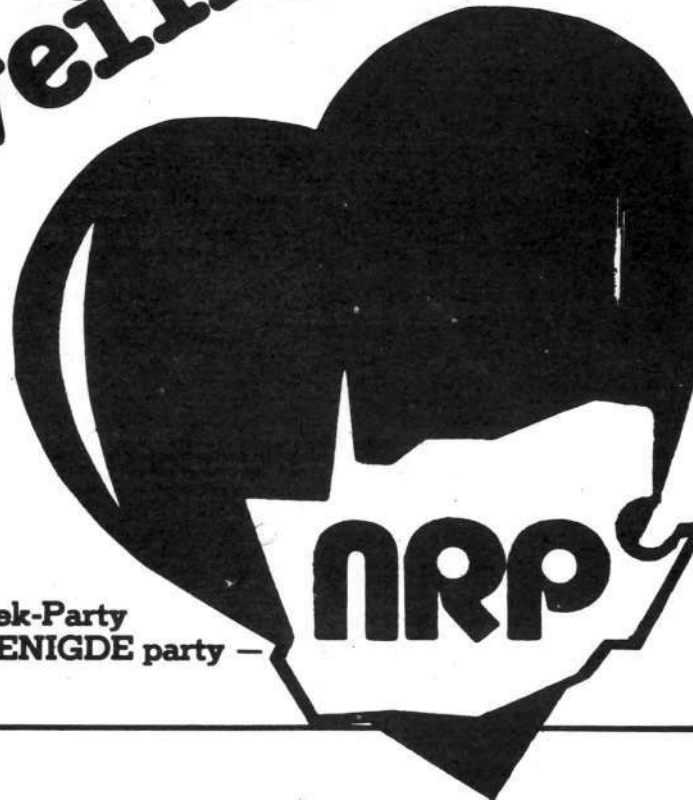
### **12. Suid-Afrika se vaste wil om hom teen inmenging van buite te verdedig op elke moontlike, praktiese wyse.**

Danksy die Nasionale Regering se stappe tot ontwikkeling en vervaardiging van sy eie wapentuig, is Suid-Afrika ondanks

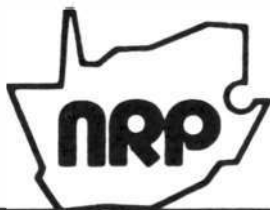
die algehele wapenverbod teen hom, vandag beter in staat om homself te verdedig as ooit tevore. Sy bereidwilligheid om met andere ter wille van vrede en vreedsame naasbestaan te beraadslaag en onderhandel is nie 'n teken van swakheid nie, maar van realisme. Suid-Afrika praat uit 'n posisie van krag. Hy sal nie aggressie pleeg nie, maar sal met mening terugslaan as hy aangeval word. Hiertoe moet al die inwoners van Suid-Afrika gemotiveer word.



**Ons almal  
verlang van  
harte na ware  
veiligheid**



**Die Nuwe Republiek-Party  
is die enigste VERENIGDE party —  
met 'n PLAN . . .**



## **DIE HART VAN DIE SAAK IS**

### **DIE HUIDIGE REPUBLIEK KON NIE DIE UITDAGING VAN DIE 80's DIE HOOF BIED NIE.**

NOU het die tyd aangebreek vir 'n NUWE REPUBLIEK waarin Wit, Bruin, Swart — kortom, al die volke van Suid-Afrika — hul eie bestemming as groepe kan orden en terselfdertyd ook hul gemeenskaplike belange koördineer sonder om mekaar te oorheers of hulle met mekaar se sake te bemoei.



OM MET enigiets minder as the NUWE REPUBLIEK tevrede te wees, of dit nou ter wille van die hebsug na Regs of oorgawe na Links is, is om met 'n toekoms van chaos en ongelukkigheid tevrede te wees.

OM DIE beleide van die NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY TE KEN EN TE ONDERSTEUN is nou noodsaakliker as ooit — U HET DIE KEUSE!

### **'n NUWE VISIE VIR 'n NUWE REPUBLIEK**

**HOE?**

**Deur middel van 'n Federale-Konfederale  
beleid wat sorg vir . . .**

**SAMEWERKING • KRAG • VEILIGHEID**

**Want . . .**

Dit is eenvoudig  
'n KONFEDERASIE wat uit die NUWE REPUBLIEK van Suid-Afrika, die Tuislande en ander Suider-Afrikaanse state saamgestel word  
'n FEDERASIE van die vier groepe (die Blankes, Kleurlinge, Asiërs en sekere Swartes buite die Tuislande) in die gemeenskaplike landsgebied van die NUWE REPUBLIEK

**Want . . .**

Dit skakel oorheersing uit  
in die KONFEDERASIE kan geen staat gedwing word om enigiets teen sy sin te doen nie.  
in die FEDERASIE verkies elke groep sy eie

- parlement om sake soos pensioene, onderwys, kultuur, gesondheid en plaaslike owerhede te beheer.
- Want . . .** U Het Plaaslike Keuse  
U besluit oor die aard van u eie gebied.  
in die NUWE REPUBLIEK sal geen mense saamgedwing word nie — nie in apartheidskrale en nie in gedwonge integrasie nie.
- Want . . .** Dit sal uitloop op 'n Suid-Afrika waarin elke Suid-Afrikaner 'n bestaan sal hê wat die moeite werd is om voor te veg.  
WARE veiligheid kan alleen moontlik wees as al ons volke wil veg vir 'n lewenswyse wat hulle graag wil behou.
- Want . . .** Dit deug  
kyk maar na NATAL waar die skandaalvrye NRP-bewind op baie gebiede met Kwa-Zulu, die Kleurlinge en Asiërs saamwerk. Die NRP sit selfregering op gemeenskapsvlak aan die werk — die moeilikste vlak — deur middel van onderhandeling en ooreenkoms.

### **REGERING GAAN OM MENSE EN HUL VRAAGSTUKKE — NIE NET RASSEPOLITIEK EN GRONDWETTE NIE**

#### **'n PRAKTIESE PLAN VAN AKSIE**

BEVEG INFLASIE — verlammeende prysstygings  
KAN gestuit word  
Petrol KAN vir 20 % minder verkoop word en ook tydens naweke  
U KAN rooi vleis bekostig  
Vervoer KAN beter en goedkoper gemaak word  
Die verlammeende koste van siekte KAN verwyder word  
Belastingvermindereende verbandpaaielemente KAN 'n eie huis binne u bereik bring  
Hierdie dinge KAN geskied met 'n regering wat omgee —  
soos die Nuwe Republiek-Party

### **DAAR BEHOORT NIE ARMOED OF GEBREK IN HIERDIE RYK LAND VAN GELEENTHEDE TE WEES NIE.**

#### **Dat ons moet sorg vir hulle wat ons dien**

- Onderwysers . . . kan ons dit bekostig om nie die beste talente aan te trek en te behou nie?
- Verpleegsters . . . is die krisis waarlik nodig?
- Polisie . . . beter besoldiging vir ons beskermers teen misdaad.
- Grensdienste . . . verdien 90 dae krediet vir 90 dae grensdienste;  
naweekkonssessiereisgeld . . . geen vertraging in besoldiging nie.
- BEJAARDES . . . verdien:  
om hul lewenstandaard en —gehalte te handhaaf  
om die veiligheid van 'n ordentlike woonplek te geniet  
om vry van vrees en wanhoop te lewe  
OM HIERDIE DINGE AS 'N REG TE GENIET EN  
NIE AS LIEFDADIGHEID NIE

## **ONS HET DIE NRP NODIG OM VIR ONS TE VEG**

- om menswaardigheid te herstel en te respekteer
- om volle geleenthede vir almal met voorspoed deur groei in die vryeondernemingstelsel te skep
- om die regsorde wat die regte van vrye mense beskerm te herstel
- om 'n geregimenteerde samelewing in 'n vrye gemeenskap om te skep
- om 'n diktatuur deur een party te voorkom

### **WEET U DAT:**

#### **Die Nasionale Party**

- 'n party is wat in chaos verkeer?
- 'n blanko tjek vir geheime beleide verlang?
- geen voorsiening maak vir die regmatige aspirasies van nie Swartes buite die Tuislande nie?
- vir die eerste keer in Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis geen verkose of deels verkose forum voorsien om 2,5 miljoen Kleurlinge te verteenwoordig nie?
- die geleentheid gehad het om verandering teweeg te bring, maar die kans verbeur het en nou terugtrek in die laer?

### **WEET U DAT:**

#### **In die PFP se geografiese federasie**

- alle volwassenes van alle rasse in elke streek almal op dieselfde kieserslys sal stem, m.a.w. een-man-een-stem op elke regeringsvlak?
- dat daar 'n-stelsel van proporsionele verteenwoordiging sal wees wat 'n meerderheidsbewind sal verseker?
- Blankes in elke staat en op elke regeringsvlak in die minderheid sal wees?
- die PFP se Verklaring van Menseregte, pleks van minderheidsgroepe te beskerm, sal belet dat enige groep of gemeenskap geslote woonbuurte kragtens enige wet of ordonnansie kan stig.

## **NET DIE NRP HET DIE TOTALE STRATEGIE OM VIR AL DIE VOLKE VAN SUID-AFRIKA TE VEG**

### **WEET U DAT:**

#### **Die Nuwe Republiek-Party —**

- nie 'n boikotparty is nie. Dit sal elke instrument, met inbegrip van die Presidentsraad, hoe onvolmaak ookal, gebruik om die NUWE REPUBLIEK tot stand te bring.
- 'n suksesvolle beleid van dialoog met tuislande, stedelike Swartes en ander groepe geïnisiër het?
- die enigste politieke party in Suid-Afrika is wat sy plan aan die Grondwetlike Kommissie voorgelê en verdedig het — en hom aan openbare beoordeling blootgestel het?
- hom wy aan 'n samelewing waarin daar geen behoefte

sal wees aan uitvoerende optrede teen die vryheid van mense nie?

die enigste antwoord op die Marxistiese opmars in Suider-Afrika het, deur 'n konfederasie van state met politieke en ekonomiese bande, en nie die Eerste Minister se vae, onomskrewe konstellasie van state nie?

**DIE NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY VEG  
VIR U . . . GEE OM VIR U  
STEM VIR DIE NUWE REPUBLIEK-PARTY  
. . . VIR WARE VEILIGHEID! . . . VIR MINDER  
REGERING – BETER REGERING**

**'N NRP NAVORSINGSDEPARTEMENT-PUBLIKASIE**

Uitgereik en Gepubliseer deur: C.P. van Wyk, Kloofstraat 83, Kaapstad.  
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# Kortbegrip van HNP-beleid

1. Die Party glo dat oorlewing alleen sinvol kan wees as dit geskied met behoud van identiteit, karakter, sedes, tradisies en vaderland van die Blanke volk en dat dit alleen bereik kan word deur die beskerming van sy lewensbelange en waardes in 'n vaste vertroue op God.
2. Die Party verklaar dat die verskille tussen die verskillende volke in Suid-Afrika nie net setel in ras en kleur nie maar ook in godsdien, beskawing, lewensbeskouing en kultuur en dat elke persoon alleen binne sy eie volksverband volkome mens kan wees. Daarom verwerp die Party die beginsel van verheerlikte individualisme en rassegelykheid en aanvaar die beginsel van ras- en volksgebondenheid en afsonderlike ontwikkeling.
3. Die beginsel van skeiding sal op biologiese gebied gehandhaaf word deur die behoud van die Wet op Gemengde Huwelike en art. 16 van die Ontugwet; op onderwysgebied deur die behoud van afsonderlike onderwysinrigtings op alle vlakke; op sosiale gebied deur die handhawing van afsonderlike woongebiede en geriewe; op sportgebied deur afsonderlike sportklubs en ligas en 'n verbod op gemengde klubs en sportspanne; op arbeidsgebied deur werkreservering en toepaslike vakbondreëls.
4. Die Nieblanke kan geen aandeel in die regering van Blank Suid-Afrika hê nie omdat geen stelsel van magsdeling binne een grondgebied kan slaag nie. Die politieke toekoms en selfbeskikking van die Swart en Kleurlingvolke moet gesien word in hulle eie afsonderlike grondgebiede. Vir soverre hulle teenwoordigheid in Blank Suid-Afrika 'n noodsaaklikheid is, ook weens hulle eie behoeftes, sal hulle politieke regte beperk wees tot plaaslike besture waar sodanige besture geregverdig is. In hulle ander behoeftes sal voorsien word deur fasiliteite in hulle eie gebiede te skep, na gelang van behoeftes en beskikbaarheid van middele.
5. Die Asiatiese volksgroepe se politieke regte word beperk tot plaaslike besture.
6. Die Nieblanke tuislande sal ontwikkel word so na as moontlik aan hulle historiese grense en sal die hoogs moontlik sosiale en geografiese eenheid met politieke selfstandigheid kan geniet ingevolge die 1936-wet op Naturelle-Trustgronde. Dié gebied sal ontwikkel word in ooreenstemming met die betrokke volk se bereidwilligheid en vermoë om die verantwoordelikheid wat met die ontwikkeling gepaard gaan, te aanvaar.
7. 'n Tweesydigse ekonomiese stelsel word in die vooruitsig gestel. Ten einde mededingend in die wêreldhandel te kan bly, moet 'n kapitaal-intensiewe stelsel in die Blanke gebiede ontwikkel word met die klem op meganisasie en outomatiese. Ten einde aan die Nieblanke werk te kan verskaf en met die oog op die uitkakeling van die sosiaal-sedelik-kulturele probleme wat deur verstedeliking teweeg gebring word, moet arbeids-intensiewe projekte in die tuislande geloods word met die klem op indiensneming en inkomstegewende beleggings.
8. Die Party glo in die beginsel van 'n vrye ekonomie vir soverre dit nie 'n ondermyning van die landsbelang is nie. Die onbeheersde groei van die geldmag kan nie toegelaat word om die volk se vryheid te ondermyn nie en die inflasiekoers sal afgedwing word om mense in staat te stel om hulle lewenspeil te handhaaf en hulle op gelyke basis met die groot maatskappye te laat deel in die ekonomiese groei. Die Party verwerp die beleid van onbeheersde prysstygings. So lank daar inflasie is, moet daar prysbeheer wees en moet salaristrekke en pensioenarisse 'n lewenskostetoelae ontvang. Inflasie kan, soos in die sestigerjare, afgebring word tot twee persent per jaar.
9. Die natuurlike hulpbronne van die land sal ontwikkel word om Suid-Afrika ekonomies sterk en onafhanklik te maak en sal, indien nodig, aangewend word om hom in die internasionale gemeenskap te handhaaf en te beskerm.
10. Die Party sal hoë erkenning gee aan 'n goedbesoldigde en toegewyde onderwyskorps, polisiemag, staatsampsternary en verpleegsterskorps as basis van 'n ordelike en vooruitstrewende samelewing.
11. Stedelike terrorisme sal onderdruk en uitgeroei word deur 'n versterkte polisiemag wat hoë aansien geniet en daarvolgens besoldig word.
12. Die Weermag sal met die mees gesofistikeerde wapentuig toegerus word en 'n dinamiese, militêre beleid sal gevolg word ter beskerming van die landsgrense en grondgebied. Die terroriste-oorlog uit Afrikastate sal beëindig word deur die gepaste ekonomiese en militêre optrede.
13. Die Party sal 'n beleid van samewerking op internasionale gebied volg en Suid-Afrika sal verhoudinge aanknoop met volke wat hom goedgesind is. Die Party soek nie internasionale samewerking as 'n versterking, nie as 'n plaasvervanging, van mag nie.
14. Die Party wil die eerbaarheid van die openbare lewe herstel deur 'n einde te maak aan valse versekerings, gebreke beloftes, geheime fondse wat verkeerd aangewend word en geheime planne wat dig gehou word tot ná verkiesings.

# MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL PARTY



# MANDATE

Section 25 of the Programme of Principles stipulates that "... during election periods ... the National Party determines its Programme of Action based on this Programme of Principles as its political constitution.

In this manifesto, the Programme of Action has been spelled out clearly in the form of the Twelve Point Plan — a plan which has proved thoroughly its practical applicability and exceptional advantages internally in the economic, political and social spheres as well internationally, since 1979.

By subscribing to this manifesto, you as a re-

sponsible voter, will give the National Party a positive mandate, namely ...

(1) to ensure South Africa's **SECURITY** through effective action against terrorism, unrest and crime;

(2) to persevere in its efforts to bring **PROSPERITY** to all in South Africa;

(3) to work for the maintenance of self-determination of each nation and **FREEDOM** for all of them in South Africa — freedom of religion, speech, the judiciary and all those freedoms characteristic of a civilised country and which constitute the basis of healthy relationships.

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## PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES

The National Party's Programme of Principles has remained unchanged, in essence, since 1935, when Dr. D. F. Malan reformulated the original principles adopted at the establishment of the National Party in 1935.

The nature and purpose of the National Party is described as follows in Clause 1 of the Programme of Principles:

### "NATURE AND PURPOSE"

1. The Party recognises the Supremacy and guidance of God in the destiny of countries and nations and seeks the development of our national way of life along Christian National lines with due consideration for the individual's freedom of conscience and of religion.

2. (a) It aims to promote the welfare of South Africa and its population and to protect them as far as this is possible by political means. Therefore, it aims to develop further a powerful consciousness of national independence, as well as a strong feeling of national unity based on: the common and undivided loyalty and dedication to the Republic of South Africa and its interests; on mutual

trust; and on the recognition of equal rights of both Afrikaans and English speakers and mutual respect for the cultural contribution of both of them.

(b) The Party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of South Africa, and for the impartial maintenance of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

3. The Party strives towards the realisation of the national aspirations and convictions of the people of the Republic of South Africa with the motto "South Africa First", and the promotion of a healthy realisation of national worth founded on the fullest appreciation of everything that constitutes the spiritual and cultural heritage of the nation in all its various permutations and through the protection of the rights of each section of the population.

4. With this objective the Party seeks to unite in political co-operation all who are prepared to subscribe to its aims and principles and subject themselves to the obligations related thereto, with the understanding that nobody may be a member of the Party unless he

is prepared, in all circumstances, to place the interests of the Republic of South Africa above those of any race or country or nation from which he originates or above those of any other country.



# UNDERTAKINGS

In order to achieve these lofty aims, the National Party undertakes the following:

## **THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITS ITSELF**

to guaranteeing the established rights of the Whites while granting to the other nations and population groups the same rights. Indeed, the maintenance of the rights of the Whites is a prerequisite for the maintenance of the rights of the other nations and population groups.

Consequently, the National Party rejects a one-man-one-vote system in a single state, whether it be unitary or federal.

## **THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITS ITSELF**

to maintaining civilised standards and values.

Consequently, the National Party constantly promotes the social, educational and economic development of all communities. The National Party believes that this development can be achieved best by each

community having its own residential areas, its own schools and its own community life.

## **THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITS ITSELF**

to accommodate the legitimate personal and group aspirations of all sections of the population of South Africa by seeking peaceful coexistence based on justice, civilisation and good government.

Consequently, the National Party rejects the extremism, both of the politics of hatred and slander, as well as the politics of abdication.

## **THE NATIONAL PARTY COMMITS ITSELF**

to the vigorous implementation of a national strategy to enable the RSA to repulse decisively the total onslaught of Soviet expansionism which is directed at all South Africa's inhabitants and conducted in every sphere of life.

Consequently, the National Party rejects the extremely irre-

sponsible and reckless insinuations that the total onslaught against S.A. is being abused for political purposes. Both the activities and utterances of the enemy, compel the Government to intensify its efforts to safeguard the RSA.

Consequently, the Government does not view the struggle as one between White and non-White, but as a struggle between the forces of chaos, violence and suppression on the one hand, and a Christian civilization of law, order and justice on the other.

That is why the National Party is the political home of those White voters who wish to take the other nations and population groups with them in an attitude of friendly nationalism, a realization of realism and inspired by a desire for justice and balance, on the road to peaceful co-existence.

**THE PROGRAMME OF PRINCIPLES IS THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH THE NATIONAL PARTY RESTS AND CAN BE ALTERED OR AMENDED ONLY BY THE CONGRESSES.**

# PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Since its inception, the National Party has, from time to time, and in the light of prevailing circumstances, determined a programme of action to implement its principles in practice.

For the past two years or so, the National Party's Programme of Action has been embodied in the Twelve Point Plan which was accepted and endorsed by all the Congresses of the National Party in 1979.

## **THE TWELVE POINT PLAN**

**1. The recognition and acceptance of the existence of multi-nationalism and of minorities in South Africa.**

The National Party has never accepted the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a White minority and a Black majority nor has it ignored the fact that

there are a variety of nations in the country. The National Party recognises the reality that South Africa's inhabitants consist of different nations and population groups and that each of these nations differs from the others in its origins, traditions and culture and that each of them, regardless of colour, constitutes a minority in relation to the rest.

**2. The acceptance of verti-**

**cal differentiation with the built-in principle of self-determination on as many levels as possible.**

While the National Party accepts and respects the poly-ethnic nature of South Africa's population, it rejects any system of horizontal differentiation which amounts to one nation dominating another or others. The policy of separate development, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd declared 19 years ago, means separate but equal opportunities for every population group, in other words, that every nation should develop along its own lines to the full realisation of its potential. That, too, is the meaning of vertical differentiation.

**3. The creation of constitutional structures which provide for the full independence of the various Black nations in the RSA, meaningful consolidation of the Black states and territories, and the acceptance of a socio-economic programme directed at the development of such Black states and territories.**

The National Party does not force independence on anybody, but encourages every nation to seek the greatest possible degree of self-determination. The ideal dispensation would be one in which every nation could rule itself as it pleased, preferably within its own geographic area. The settlement pattern of the Black nations makes the realisation of such a dispensation for them largely possible. Where more meaningful consolidation is in the interests of the realisation of this policy, it must be promoted actively. That is why consolidation is carried out on the basis that land should be utilized economically and productively. The alternative is integration, conflict and engulfment of the Whites and other minority groups.

As far as Blacks who are res-

ident outside their National States are concerned, continued ties with the National States are pursued. Purposeful steps are being taken towards strengthening these ties in a more practical and meaningful manner.

**4. The division of power amongst the South African Whites, South African Coloureds and the South African Indians with a system of consultation and joint responsibility where common interests are involved.**

Because the White, Coloureds and Indians historically share the same geographic area, the concept of a separate state for each of them is neither desirable nor practicable. At the same time, there are also deep-seated differences between these population groups which make it realistic to differentiate between matters pertaining to each of them and matters of common concern. It follows that each of these groups should have the right of self-determination over their own affairs while all of them should be involved in matters of common interest in a matter which will not infringe their self-determination. It is one of the instructions to the President's Council to submit proposals on these matters to the Government, after which Parliament will eventually decide the issue.

**5. The acceptance of the principle that each community should have its own schools and, wherever possible, its own residential areas, as being fundamental to happy social circumstances.**

The National Party believes in and works towards each community having its own residential areas and schools, since this prevents friction and upholds the identities of nations. That is why separate educational and residential facilities which offer the possibility of equality of opportunity for

every group, cannot be considered to be discriminatory. The qualification "wherever possible" is taken from the National Party's Programme of Principles and has to be retained because there always have been a few areas of mixed habitation which have not yet been eliminated. Furthermore, all the Black schools and residential areas have not yet been arranged on an ethnic basis and there have always been private schools which admit a limited number of pupils from other groups. However, it is general knowledge that the National Party continues to work unabated towards the orderly arrangement of the situation, as is demonstrated clearly by the following:

- In 1980, there were 3551000 Black children in their own separate Black schools in their own areas and on White farms.

- There are 902000 children in White Provincial schools. Of them only 8 children who are not White are in six different schools. They are exceptional cases permitted in terms of legislation piloted through Parliament in 1951 by Dr. D. F. Malan to make provision for the children of diplomats.

- Since 1950, mixed habitation has been eliminated in terms of the Group Areas Act. From 1950 to 1979, 1647 group areas have been proclaimed in South Africa: 840 for Whites, 559 for Coloureds and 248 for Indians. During 1980, 113616 Whites, Coloureds and Indians have been re-settled in their own areas, and the process is continuing.

- Blacks: From 1970 to 1980, 317000 people, i.e. 51000 families have been re-settled in their own residential areas in the Black National States. There are 312 Black urban residential areas. From 1970 to

1980, 250861 Blacks have been re-settled from undesirable areas in Black residential areas.

● During the past five years, some 30000 houses have been supplied annually to the various population groups, each in their own areas without exception.

**6. The willingness to co-operate with and consult one another as equals on matters of common concern, while maintaining a balance between the rights of the individual and those of the community, eliminating hurtful, unnecessary discriminatory measures.**

Such negotiations are basic to the policy of separate development. Without them, states such as the Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei on 4th December, 1981, would have been able to become independent; the Southern African Customs Union could not exist and South Africa would be totally isolated in the field of trade. The demands of our times require that relations among nations be approached coolly, rationally and logically. This means that those measures of differentiation that are necessary for the maintenance of White self-determination as well as that of the other nations will always be maintained. Only those discriminatory measures which no longer serve any purpose except to disturb relations, will be removed.

**7. The maintenance of effective decision-making by the State based on a strong Defence Force and Police Force to guarantee both orderly government as well as sound, efficient administration.**

South Africa is the target of a total onslaught. To be able to resist it requires the highest possible degree of physical and spiritual preparedness, motivation and morale. The determination of the security forces may

not be broken down — it has to be strengthened, and the machinery of State must be as streamlined, ready and effective as possible throughout.

**8. The maintenance of free enterprise as basic to our economy.,**

Within the next 20 years, South Africa will have to provide employment opportunities for 5 million new work-seekers. Of them, 80% will be Black. If the country fails to succeed in this, the seeds of revolution will be sown, because hungry people are not peaceable people. It can only be achieved if the economy grows steadily and rapidly, which in turn, requires more skilled workers. Today already there is a shortage of thousands of White skilled workers. The solution is to be found in training workers from other population groups coupled with meaningful protection of the White worker. The new labour legislation augments these requirements. The old dispensation does not. With the passage of time, work reservation was no longer able to protect even the White worker. It affected only one out of every 500 workers. The new dispensation protects all 500 — and much better than before while opening doors in an orderly and meaningful manner to the full participation of other population groups in the free economic system. No other policy can create a dispensation in which the White, Black and Brown nations will want to join forces against the total onslaught on Southern Africa, by White, Black and Brown Marxists.

**9. The recognition of the economic inter-dependence of the population groups of South Africa, as well as the acceptance of the properly planned utilisation of manpower.**

South Africa is the leading country in Africa in almost every sphere. The country's ad-

vanced, prosperous and progressing circumstances are due both to the contribution of its White population, mainly in the form of capital and expertise, as well as to the contribution of the other nations, mainly in the form of labour. The two elements are inextricably linked. South Africa's rich diversity in people, capabilities and talents is an asset that must be used to the benefit of all its peoples. This requires cooperation without threatening one another's interests. The fact that Black and Brown entrepreneurs are emerging to an increasing extent, constitutes a significant contribution to their own as well as to the general economic and social progress of the country. Only the National Party's policy makes this possible.

**10. The aim of a peaceful constellation of Southern African States with mutual respect for one another's cultural heritage and traditions.**

The establishment of such a league of sovereign states has always been the aim of successive National Party governments. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd referred to a Commonwealth of politically independent, economically inter-dependent states. Mr. Vorster referred to an Association of States. Mr. P. W. Botha calls it a Constellation to adapt the concept to modern circumstances and eliminate confusion with other, existing constitutional models. The National Party does not envisage a federal or unitary state. The European Community or NATO, in which sovereign independent states cooperate with one another is rather the kind of relationship envisaged, except that cooperation within the Constellation will cover not only a single field, but many areas. It is in this confederal dispensation that the urban Blacks will also be given some form of say over their own affairs.

**11. The implementation, as far as possible, of a policy of neutrality in the struggle between the super powers while giving priority to South Africa's interests.**

"South Africa First!" is the motto of the National Party. South Africa has always maintained strong relations with the West. In more recent times, when international relationships have become characterised by the replacement of loyalty by selfishness and self-interest, certain Western countries fre-

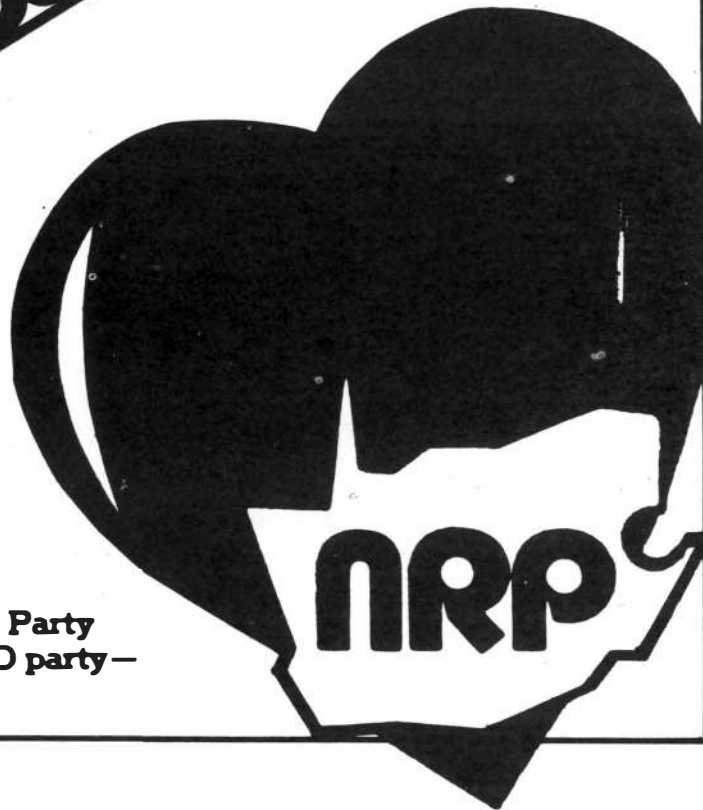
quently try to promote their own self-interest at the expense of South Africa, especially in Southern Africa. That cannot be tolerated any longer. South Africa will continue to place its priorities first in its relations with other countries and powers.

**12. South Africa's firm will to defend itself against external interference with every possible and practical means.**

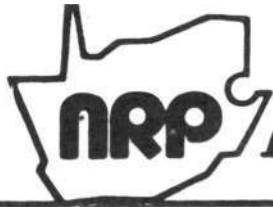
Thanks to the steps taken by the National Party towards the

development and manufacture of the country's own armaments, South Africa is better able to defend itself today than ever before, in spite of the total arms embargo. Its willingness to negotiate with others for the sake of peace and peaceful coexistence, is not a sign of weakness but of realism. South Africa speaks from a position of strength. It will not commit aggression, but will hit back hard if attacked. To this end, all the inhabitants of South Africa must be motivated.

**In our  
hearts  
all of us seek  
real security**



**The New Republic Party  
is the only UNITED party—  
with a PLAN. . .**



## AT THE HEART OF THE MATTER

### **THE PRESENT REPUBLIC HAS FAILED TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE 80's**

NOW the time has come for a NEW REPUBLIC, in which White, Brown, Black — in fact all the peoples of South Africa — can control their own destiny as groups as well as co-ordinate their common interests without interfering with or dominating each other



TO SETTLE for anything less than the NEW REPUBLIC whether for the greed of the Right or surrender from the Left, is to accept a future of turmoil and unhappiness.

TO KNOW AND TO SUPPORT the policies of the NEW REPUBLIC PARTY is now more vital than ever — YOU HAVE THE CHOICE!

### **A NEW VISION FOR A NEW REPUBLIC**

**HOW?** By means of a Federal-Confederal policy which ensures . . .

### **HARMONY • STRENGTH • SECURITY**

**Because . . .** It is simple  
a CONFEDERATION formed between the NEW REPUBLIC of South Africa, the Homelands and other Southern African states  
a FEDERATION of the four groups in the common area of the NEW REPUBLIC (the Whites, Coloureds, Asians and certain non-homeland Blacks).

**Because . . .** It eliminates domination  
in the CONFEDERATION no state can be forced to do anything against its will.

in the FEDERATION each group elects its own parliament to control affairs such as pensions, education, culture, health and local government.

**Because . . .** Of Local Option

you decide the character of your own area. In the NEW REPUBLIC there will be no herding of people — whether into apartheid boxes or into compulsory integration.

**Because . . .** It will result in a South Africa in which every South African will have a stake worth fighting for

REAL security can only come from all our people wanting to fight for a way of life they wish to preserve.

**Because . . .** It works

witness NATAL where the scandal-free NRP government co-operates in many areas with Kwa-Zulu, the Coloureds and Asians. The NRP is putting community self government to work at the most difficult level by negotiation and agreement.

### **GOVERNMENT IS ABOUT PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS — NOT JUST RACE POLITICS AND CONSTITUTIONS**

#### **A MEANINGFUL PLAN OF ACTION**

FIGHT INFLATION — crippling price increases  
CAN be checked

Petrol CAN be sold for 20 % less and over the weekends

You CAN afford red meat

Transport CAN be made better and cheaper

The crippling cost of illness CAN be removed

Tax deductible bond repayments CAN put a home within your reach

These things CAN happen with a government that cares —

like the New Republic Party.

### **THERE SHOULD BE NEITHER POVERTY NOR WANT IN THIS RICH LAND OF OPPORTUNITY.**

#### **Let's look after those who serve us:**

Teachers . . . can we afford not to attract and keep the best?

Nurses . . . is the crises really necessary?

Police . . . better pay for our protectors against crime.

Servicemen . . . deserve 90 days credit for 90 days border service; weekend concession fares; no pay delays.

SENIOR CITIZENS . . . deserve:

to maintain their standard and quality of life,  
to enjoy the security of a decent place to live,  
to be free of fear and despair.

TO SEE THESE THINGS AS A RIGHT AND NOT  
AS CHARITY.

## **WE NEED THE NRP TO FIGHT FOR US**

- To restore respect for human dignity.
- To create full opportunity for all in a free enterprise system which will provide prosperity through growth.
- To restore the rule of law that safeguards the rights of free people.
- To convert a regimented society into a free one.
- To prevent a one party dictatorship.

## **DID YOU KNOW THAT:**

### **The Nationalist Party**

- is a Party in chaos
- seeks a blank cheque for secret policies
- does not accommodate the legitimate aspirations of the non-homeland Black
- for the first time in South Africa's history provides no elected, or even partially elected, forum to represent 2,5 million Coloureds
- had the opportunity for change, missed its chance and is now back-tracking into the laager.

## **DO YOU KNOW THAT:**

### **In the PFP geographic federation**

- in each region all adults of all races will all vote on the same voter's roll, i.e. one man, one vote, at every level of government
- there will be a system of proportional representation assuring majority rule
- Whites will be outnumbered in every region and every level of government
- the PFP Bill of Rights, instead of protecting minority groups, will prevent any group or community from establishing closed residential areas under any law or ordinance.

## **ONLY THE NRP HAS A TOTAL STRATEGY TO FIGHT FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **DO YOU KNOW:**

### **That the NRP —**

- is not a boycott Party. It will use every instrument, including the President's Council, imperfect as it may be, to bring about the NEW REPUBLIC for which we fight,
- has initiated a successful policy of dialogue with homelands, urban Blacks, and other groups
- was the only political party in South Africa to present and defend its plan before the constitutional commission — and face public scrutiny,
- is dedicated to a society in which there will be no



need for arbitrary executive action against the freedom of people,

- has the only answer to the Marxist advance in Southern Africa through a confederation of states with political and economic links and not the Prime Minister's vague and undefined constellation of states.

**THE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY IS FIGHTING  
FOR YOU . . . CARING ABOUT YOU  
VOTE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC PARTY  
. . . FOR REAL SECURITY! . . . FOR LESS  
~~GOVERNMENT~~ — BETTER GOVERNMENT**

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1. A South Africa which will redeem its honour and esteem in international politics by stopping the policy of concessions and appeasement and by asserting itself as a free country.
2. A South Africa which out of national self-respect withdraws from the UNO because South Africa's right to be seated has under humiliating circumstances been taken away by the organization.
3. A South Africa which refuses to throw the Whites of South West Africa to the wolves in a one man, one vote election under UN supervision, as provided in Resolution 435 of the Security Council, to which the present South African Government has agreed.
4. A South Africa which recognizes the terrorists as the mercenaries of the Communist empire, and which will fight and exterminate this barbarism with all its might, which will stop the supply of food, fuel and railway services to states harbouring terrorists, and will demand that the terrorists be removed, failing which South Africa will restore its military honour — after the withdrawal from Rhodesia and Angola — by sweeping the terrorists from Southern Africa and laying the basis for peaceful relations.
5. A South Africa whose balance has been restored by again placing the accent of South African politics on the White

# HNP policy in a nutshell

nation, on which centres the entire order, peace and prosperity in South Africa.

6. A South Africa from which the course of events in African states will be observed with a sense of realism, and the debt and poverty, political instability, and military coups and general retrogression will be recognised, and it will be realized that in any constellation or other political set-up which includes these states, the economic backwardness, political instability and general deterioration will spill over on to South Africa.
7. A South Africa in which the 1936 allocation of land will be accepted as the final word, so that an end will be made to the incorporation in Black homelands of farms and towns which are inalienably part of White South Africa, and an end will also be made to the expectations that by threats and demands by Blacks parts of our country could be torn away bloodlessly.
8. A South Africa in which an end has been made to the creation of welfare states for Blacks in both the homelands and the White areas.
9. A South Africa which will be a real fatherland for the Whites and not a workshop for a motley plurality of races and nations, in which the White's amenities of sports fields, parks, hotels and theatres are increasingly taken over and in which the labour market of the Whites is increasingly invaded by Blacks.
10. A South Africa in which the fact is recognised that the economic position of the Whites has been achieved through hard work, sacrifice and performance, and that there can be no diminution of this position through a process of economic equalization which Blacks without damaging the whole of South Africa.
11. A South Africa in which economic stability has been restored by terminating the continuous price rises and by reducing the inflation of the money supply to the 2 percent per year that it was in the fifties and sixties, when South Africa was recognised as one of the best governed countries in the world.
12. A South Africa in which young White couples will be in a financial position to buy houses and raise bigger families with the sense of security that what they inherited they would be able to leave to their children.
13. A South Africa in which its people will have a bigger share in the wealth of the land and will get a bigger share in the erroneous profits gained from the increased gold price.
14. A South Africa in which the importance of a well paid and dedicated teachers corps, police force, civil service and nursing profession will be recognized as a requisite for progress, order and stability.
15. A South Africa in which Blacks in the cities of South Africa will remain attached to their respective nations and exercise their political rights in their respective territories.
16. A South Africa in which there will be imaginative and determined planning to achieve meaningful development of the Black nations in their territories through economic decentralization and labour intensive schemes of afforestation, irrigation and road-building.
17. A South Africa in which the future development of the Coloureds will be linked to a territory, as the alternative to the integration of Coloureds and Whites and the elimination of race and colour as a means of differentiation in group relations in South Africa.
18. A South Africa in which the truth is accepted that parliamentary democracy has not sufficient tolerance to accommodate Whites, Coloureds, Indians (and Blacks), and that only separate political structures for each group, without any form of political power sharing, can ensure permanent order in South Africa.
19. A South Africa in which the moral standards of public life has been restored, and government leaders do not break promises, give false assurances, use secret funds to further their party political interests and keep their real policies under wraps until after elections.
20. A South Africa in which Afrikaners, English and other Englishspeaking South Africans will unite in a solid front to protect what we have and what we are and be a beacon of light and faith for the White Christian civilization.