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 teringpensioentrekkers durf 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 Nasionaliste en hul bondgenote nie die kans sal kry om deur 'n minderheidstem setels te verower nie. Dit beteken nie dat die Arbeidsparty enigeen van sy tradisionele beginsels opoffer, of enige verantwoordelikheid vir die beleid van die Verenigde Party aanvaar, of enigsins van sy vryheid om te kritiseer prysgee nie. Albei partye doen 'n beroep op hul volgelinge om die kandidate te steun wat deur die twee partye genomineer word.

VERNIETIGING VAN RASSEHAAT.

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

BESKERMIING VAN DIE VAKBONDE.

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

SAMEWERKING MET DIE BRITSE GEMENEBES 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 Nasionaliste daarenteen het openlik gesê dat Suid-Afrika hom moet isoleer en uit die Britse Gemenebes moet ontrek. 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 Volksraadspartye 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 naturellegebiede, op die gebied van nywerheid en landbou, sodat die naturelle nie geforseer sal word om na die dorpe toe te stroom om 'n lewe te maak nie; vir die skepping van satellietdorpe vir daardie naturelle wat hulle vir goed in die blanke gebiede gevestig het; en vir die verhoging van die naturelle 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 behuisingsplan 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 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 civilisation of races in the Union. The peaceful adjustment of industrial disputes, and the recognition of workers' organisations.

(17) Forward policy to safeguard the health of the people and to [illegible] 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 [illegible] furthered by:—

(a) the encouragement of private enterprise [illegible] state enterprise where this is essential;

(b) the protection of industries, especially youthful [illegible] where special reasons for assistance exist;

(c) the encouragement of overseas industrialists [illegible] the efforts of South Africans;

(d) the provision of adequate research facilities [illegible] 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 G. A. Oosthuizen, General Secretary, 183, Pretorius Street, Pretoria. Printed by Wallachs Pr. & Pr. Co., Ltd., 160, Andries Street, Pretoria.

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(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;
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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 represenative 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 Assemly 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 harnassed 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 mobilely 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 (Volkseiendomlike). 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 represenation 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 subgroups.

"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

[Written and published by the H.N.P. Information Office, and printed by Nasionale Pers, Bpk., 30, Keerom Street, Cape Town.]

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 whatever 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 cooperate 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.

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 Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Verenigde Party (VP)	57	1. The United Party (UP)
2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)	94	2. The National Party (NP)
3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidersparty	5	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, Elsiesrivier, 1953.
3. Geen amptelike manifes 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, Elsies River, 1953.
3. No official manifesto could be traced.

Herdruk uit Die Burger, 5 Maart 1953.

VERKIESINGSMANIFES

'N STERK REGERING NODIG VIR SUID-AFRIKA

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

DIE 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 verantwoordelikheid.

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 waaroor 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 hul!

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 opgevolg 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 ongekende skaal, gepaard met groot artikelskaarstes en met swaarder belastings.

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 is 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 KLEURVRAAGSTUK

Die grootste en dringendste saak waaroor 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 die vrye ontwikkeling wil toelaat en aanmoedig ooreenkomstig vatbaarheid en beskawingspeil.

Dis geen parallelle nie, maar wel teenoormekaarstaande rigtings, die een gekies deur die Nasionalis 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 begryplikerwys ook sy weerklank gehad dwarsdeur die hele Afrikaanse vasteland tot selfs in Njassaland en die twee Rhodesiës, en ongetwyfeld het dit ook sy invloed gehad in ons eie Suid-Afrika.

Die bemoeisieke 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 ál luidrugtiger verkondig dat kleurdiskriminasie in enige vorm niks minder beteken as onmenslike onderdrukking nie.

Begryplikerwys het dit by die nie-blankes in die algemeen nie op dowe ore geval nie. Die versekerdheid 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 wreedhede.

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 geweier 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, ny 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 naturellegebied nie. En buitendien het die blankes die naturelle 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 uitroeilingsproses soos onder dergelike omstandighede in sommige ander lande geskied het. Hulle het dit verkry deur hulle te vestig op wat feitlik ongeokkupeerde gebied was of deur onderhandeling. Ten spyte van ons belasteraars het ons bewys dat ons 'n Christelike volk is.

Die derde is dat die grond wat nog altyd aan die naturelle 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

ALLERBESTE GROND

Daarby is inbegrepe van die allerbeste nedersettingsgebied van ons land. In hierdie gereserveerde gebied is die naturelle 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 opgehou om blote setlaars met 'n setlaarsmentaliteit te wees. Hul is nou 'n eie volk met 'n eie en enige vaderland. As dit hulle hier teëgaan, 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 oneer 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. Buitekant 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 natuurlike verskille geignoreer was as alle grense opgehef was en as al sy inwoners sonder onderskeid saamgehok was in een en dieselfde gebied?

NATUURLIK EN REG

Apartheid word aanvaar deur Europa self en deur die hele wêreld as natuurlik, 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 natuurlike 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 bewerkstellig. 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 tewens 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 naturelle net so seker van hul toegewese gebied as enige aparte volk in Europa. En wat hulpverlening betref, staan die blankes in Suid-Afrika ver bokant enige ander volk in die wêreld. Vir onderwys, gesondheids- en ander sosiale dienste bestee hulle aan die naturelle sewe maal soveel per kop as selfs die magtige en liberalistiese Engeland aan die naturelle in sy Afrikaanse gebiede, sy protektorate en die Rhodesiës inbegrepe.

OPDRAG GEKRY

Dit is in algemene trekke die kleurbeleid van die Nasionale Party. Daarvoor het hy by die laaste algemene Volksraads- en Provinsiale Raadsverkiesings '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 ou magtelose, 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 eleksie dan ook werklik gebeur dat ook hulle, maar alleen veiliger in vaste aarde, begrawe word!

Die soekery na 'n beleid en die rondvallery 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 „middelpaadjie".

Op 'n vroeër tydstip was dit offisieël 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 geroep: „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 nieteenstaande 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 beweerde 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 ontstelten is van sy liberaliste- 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 kliphard besig is om van hulself te probeer wegkom. En die man wat van homself wil wegkom, is óf diep ongelukkig en met homself opgeskeep, 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 verklarings van die Opposisie beslis na 'n sterfbed-bekering. Ek glo stellig dat so iets werklik eg kan wees. Maar 'n mens sou liewer 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 liewer 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 gehaspel 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 bose Nasionaliste, bloot vir hul eie party-politieke doeleindes.

Ek was vir die laaste 34 jaar onafgebroke 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 feit is dat daar tussen „segregasie" en „apartheid" hoegenaamd geen verskil in betekenis 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 naturellesake, 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 Nasionaliste 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 Volksraad gemaak in 1938, dus tien jaar vóór die apartheidseleksie 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* werkterreine", (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 gehaspel 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 misslaan.

DIE VOLKS-KONFERENSIE-VOORSTEL

Die nuutste poging van die Opposisie om in hul beleidloosheid van hulself weg te kom, is die voorstel om, let wel, ná 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 Groote 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 geblyk 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 sito, sito 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 verantwoordelikheid 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 verduideliking 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 kommunis en die liberalis dieselfde standpunt met mekaar deel, en die liberalis derhalwe byna vanselfsprekend deur die kommunis tot sy mede-reisiger (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 nieteenstaande 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-Komunistiese lande vrywel verborge omdat hy daar alleen die blink kant voorhou. Maar lig die ystergordyn so effens op, beskou die Kommunisme in aksie in 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 fondamente van ons Wes-Europese Christelike beskawing deur openlike vyandskap teen die godsdiens 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 langsamerhand 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 dier 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 huigelary 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 kommunis 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 deurgevoer en in toepassing gebring. Hy kom nou egter voor die regbank van die volk kla dat hy van die Opposisiepartye geen hulp gekry het nie. Inteendeel, 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 kommunis stappe gedoen behoort te word omdat hy 'n Kommunis 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 Opposisieparty in Engeland en hulle om hul hulp en inmenging gaan vra het, wat dan ook verkry is. Hierdie onvaderlandsliewende en anti-Suid-Afrikaanse 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 Opposisie, met sy bonte samestelling en sy lamlendige 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 getuienis. Laat die volk op 15 April by die stembus sy uitspraak gee — ondubbelsinnig en beslis.

DIE APPÈLHOF-UITSPRAAK

Die derde groot saak waaroor die volk by die eleksie moet beslis, 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 eleksie 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 tydstip 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 eleksie 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 Opposisie-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 ontneem 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 Opposisie in werklikheid maar bitter min te doen het met besorgdheid oor die Konstitusie of met 'n beweerde verbreking van 'n plegtige kontrak met die Kleurlinge aangegaan by Unie, wat tussen hakies gesê, in ieder geval die Abdurahman-deputasie nie verhinder 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, altans 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 grootskaals gebruik was om in heelwat kiesafdelings die deurslag ten behoewe van die Opposisie se party te gee, maar wat daarna so goed as totaal deur hulle vergeet geword is.

In werklikheid spruit al daardie bohaai voort uit pure party-politieke oorwegings. Vandaar die luidrugtige en taale stryd teen aparte verteenwoordiging. En vandaar ook die vurige ingenomenheid met en bewondering vir die Appèlhof, wat nog nooit tevore in sy bestan so 'n louerkrans van verheerliking op die hoof gekry het nie. Die Verenigde Party-leeu 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 feilbaar. En selfs ook Appèlregters is mense. Deur niemand is dit ooit sterker beklemtoon 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 hier 'n geval waar, let 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 regeringstelsel die oppergesag besit oor sy eie sake en wat as sodanig en onder sulke omstandighede die hoogste hof van appèl 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 die van 1937, die soewereiniteit van die Parlement en dermee ook van die volk bokant alle twyfel te verhef.

Hoe dit presies moet geduen 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 wegkom. 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 voorkóm.

VOLK SE VRYHEID

Om die Kleurlingstemregwet langs die weg van die verskanste 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 soewereiniteitskwessie, dan nog onaangetas, en na alles wat ons ondervind het, mag dit nie. Ons volk se vryheid is daarmee gemoeid.

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 Appelhof 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 interpreteer 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 apartheidsbeleid. 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 woonbuurtskieding 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 eleksie 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 uitskakeling van aparte politieke partye nie, maar aan die ander kant veronderstel dit wel 'n breë grondslag van gemeenskaplike oortuigings en standpunte tesame met die uitskakeling van rassehaat en rasseantipatie. Kyk ons nou terug, dan sien ons hoe daar reeds ver gevorder is op hierdie pad, hoewel die proses tot hiertoe langsaam gegaan het en in sommige opsigte nog ver van die voltooiing is.

Die heftige stryd oor Suid-Afrika se soewereine onafhanklikheid is reeds 'n saak van die verlede. In die dominasie van die een of ander taalgroep glo niemand meer nie, behalwe 'n verdwynende getal van verstarde politieke fossiele. Deur die toeneming van tweetaligheid wat goed gepaard gaan en ook behoort te gaan met liefde en waardering vir wat eie is, verstaan en waardeer 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 voortspruit uit deelgenootskap in een en dieselfde Suid-Afrikaanse nasieskap.

BUITELANDSE BELEID

Die idee van twee aparte taalgroepe maar één gemeenskaplike Afrikanerskap wen al meer veld. Hierby kom die klaarblyklike feit dat ons onder die Nasionale Party-bewind groter eenheid verkry het oor buitelandse beleid en oor die kwessie van oorlog en vrede as wat daar ooit tevore bestaan het. En miskien is die belangrikste en hoopvolste 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. Volkseenheid kom, en dit sal ook onvermydelik wees, as Engels- en Afrikaanssprekendes gaan stem, soos dit seker in groot mate by die komende eleksie sal gebeur, nie op rasse-lyne nie, maar ooreenkomstig hul innerlike oortuiging.

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 oplossing en die effektiewe oplossing 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 georganiseerde 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. Inteendeel, 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 dié 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 wel

op 15 April doen. En hy kan dit doen al een op één manier. 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, Elsiesrivier.

Together We Grow Saam Groei Ons

THE UNITED PARTY

Division of Information

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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.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 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.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

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"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 consulation 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 progamme 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 representaiton 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 responsiblity 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 enought. 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) Irksome 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 irriration 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 holdrs? 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 Pary 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 be 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 hteir 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 boetie-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

in1948. 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 Nationalists Pary 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. Goverment 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.

Reprinted with acknowledgment to the Cape Times, in whose columns the report appeared 5th March, 1953.

ELECTION MANIFESTO

A Strong Government Necessary For South Africa

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 oversea 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 support 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 liberalists, 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 — unequivocably 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.)

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1958

16 APRIL

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Verenigde Party (VP) 2. Die Nasionale Party (NP)	53 103	1. The United Party (UP) 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 essense 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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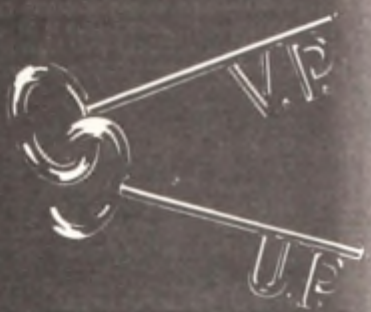
2. No English text could be traced.

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 beloftes doen in verband met die oogmerke wat hy wil bereik. Party van hierdie beloftes word gedoen om die burgers van Suid-Afrika te vergoed vir die Nattes se sondes van versuim en bedryf, terwyl ander beloftes 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 genoeë te neem met prysstygings (sedert 1948) soos die volgende:

	1948	1957
Biefstuk, per pond, graad I	2/-	3/9d.
Tee, per pond	5/2d.	8/4d.
Koffie, per pond	2/11d.	5/6d.
Meelblom, 25 pond	7/4d.	9/9d.
Steenkool, per 200 pond	2/7d.	5/1d.
Manspakke	£10.10.0	£18.18.0
Petrol	2/7½d.	3/5d.
Telefoonhuurgeld	£5	£8
Telefoonoproepe	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?

Belastings 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" Senaatgedrog.
£177,825 vir die Ministers se besoeke 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 naturelle-arbeiders 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 ruimskootse 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. Belastings sal verminder word. Die Verenigde Party se beleid sal nuwe kapitaal uit die buiteland lok sodat—

Belastings 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 belastings-doeleindes 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 skrander 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 welsynswette. Dit was die Verenigde Party wat belastings in 1947 met £20 miljoen, en in 1948 met 'n verdere £18 miljoen verminder het, en die nasleer verskaf het wat mnr. Havenga in 1949 in staat gestel het om belastings 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 liewer 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 werkstoestande met organisasies van werkgewers kan onderhandel, word ondermyn.

U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

Die Verenigde Party was verantwoordelik vir die aanneming 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 werkloses te bespoedig.

BEHUISING

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

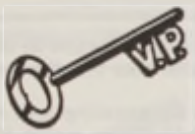
WERKBEVEILIGING

★ 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 diegene wat hongerlone 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 Nywerheidsversoeningswet; die Wet op die Skadeloosstelling van Werkliede; die Wet op Werkloosheidsbystand; die verbeterde Loonwet; die Wet op Winkels, Kantore en Fabrieke, 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 indekssyfers 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 nie 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 behulpsaam 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, klere huurgeld en vervoer het die Regering die Duurtetoeslag vasgepen. In 1953 is die Duurtetoeslag op 189.4 vasgepen. Sedertdien het die prys-indeks tot 216.5 gestyg (Jan. 1958).

★ Die salaris- en loontrekker het die ergste hieronder gely.

★ Weens die vaspen van die Duurtetoeslag 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 vaspen van die Duurtetoeslag. 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 personeellede is nie. Die Regering eis uitermate baie oortyd en Sondagtyd van Spoorwegwerkers. Die huurgeld vir talle Spoorweghuise is sedert 1948 byna verdubbel. Huurgeld- en gesinstoelaes is afgeskaf, en naturelle 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 personeellede. Van die polisie word daar verlang om te veel tyd en energie aan klein administratiewe takies te bestee pleks 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 vaspen van die Duurtetoeslag.

U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

STAATSDIENSAMPTENARE

★ Die vaspen van die Duurtetoeslag sal deur die Verenigde Party opgehef word, en hierdie toelaes sal van tyd tot tyd gewysig word.

★ 'n Verdere deel van die Duurtetoeslag sal by basiese lone ingelyf word. Pensioene sal aansienlik verhoog word.

★ Die Verenigde Party se belastingsbeleid, met die spesiale bepalings 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 Duurtetoeslag sal daarby aangepas word.

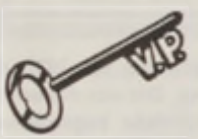
SPOORWEGWERKERS

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

By bevorderings sal die politiek hoegenaamd geen rol speel nie.

POLISIE

Afgesien van die ontpenning van die Duurtetoeslag 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 Duurtetoeslag gereeld 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 salarisverminderings 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, mieliemeel 8¾d. vir 5 pond, steenkool 2/7d. per sak, konfyt 1/1d. vir 'n blik van 2 pond. U weet wat u vandag vir hierdie benodigdhede 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 33⅓% 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 rysmonopoliestelsel het die prys van rys tot 11¾d. per pond gestyg.

★ Die pryse van alle huishoudelike benodigdhede—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.

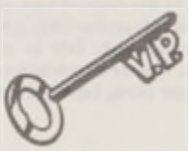
★ Spesiale beurse vir die slim kinders van groot gesinne sal die koste van opvoeding verminder.

★ 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 kantoorwerksters, klerke of onderwyseresse 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 gesorg 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 begaafdhede 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-instroming van private kapitaal was verlede jaar slegs £1-miljoen, terwyl die plaaslike kapitaalmark lamgelê 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 naturellereservate 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 potensiële mark van naturelleverbruikers bly onontwikkeld.

Sasol alleen het £20,000,000 verloor ten gevolge van 'n sleg-opgestelde kontrak wat geen behoorlike waarborge bevat het dat die fabriek en masjinerie doeltreffend sal wees nie.
Foskor, na vier jaar en die uitgawe van £2½-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.

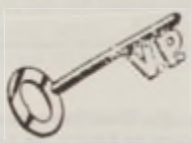
★ **Grond** en industriële persele, asook vervoergeriewe, krag en water sal beskikbaar gestel word vir die ekonomiese oprigting van nuwe nywerhede. Die naturellereservate sal ontwikkel word met behulp van die blankes se vernuf en kapitaal as 'n integrerende deel van die Unie se ekonomie.

★ **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 naturelle-arbeidsmag tot beskikking van die land stel. 'n 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 Raad vir Standaarde, 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. Familielede van kantoorwerkers vind dat hul lewensstandaard geleidelik verlaag word.

BELASTINGS

Die nuwe belastings wat sedert 1948 deur die Nasionale Party-regering gehef is, oortref die belastings 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 Nasionaliste ingekort.

U TOEKOMSTIGE VOORSPOED ONDER 'N VERENIGDE PARTY-REGERING

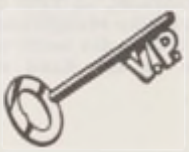
Onder 'n Verenigde Party-regering sal die gesalarieerde werker se inkomste en sy kanse op vooruitgang in 'n uitbreidende ekonomie aansienlik verbeter word. Die gewone burger sal in staat wees om gebruik van die dienste van professionele manne te maak.

GESINSTOELAES

Gesinne sal verbeterde en groter toelaes ontvang. Die huidige stelsel van kortings op inkomstebelasting t.o.v. kinders sal uitgebrei word.

Belastings 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 belastings 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.

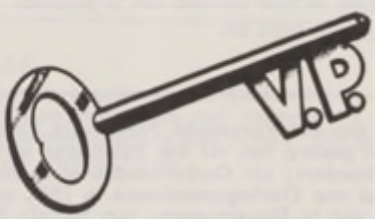
3. Die koste verbonde aan die administrasie van onnodige ideologiese maatreëls soos die Bevolkingsregistrasiewet sal tot 'n einde kom.

4. Groter ekonomiese bedrywigheid sal die Regering se inkomste verhoog sonder die noodsaaklikheid om belastings 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 binnelandse 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-steenkool onderneming 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 koerante 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 staalnywerheid 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 huigelagtigheid 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 verantwoordelikheidsin te ontwikkel, en dat, namate hulle in die rigting van die westerse beskawingstandaarde 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:

„Else 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, rubriekskrywer 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 Engelssprekendes in Suid-Afrika. As gevolg daarvan is verskillende stappe gedoen wat dien as basis vir samewerking — Volkseenheid.

Stappe Gedoen

Die leuse 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 soewerein onafhanklike land. **Dubbele burgerskap** is vervang deur eie burgerskap. Die **Unievlag** wapper as simbool van 'n eie aparte nasieskap. „Die Stem" as amptelike volkslied weerklink 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 Versekering

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 godsdiens 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 onverbiddelik 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 OOIT 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 Apartsheidsbeleid 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 onderdrukkingsproses 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.

Beperking 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 naturelle-beweging deur blanke gebiede te beperk, diensheffings is ingestel ten einde die finansiëringsprobleem op te los, **skemas is ontwerp sodat naturelle 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 naturelle is reeds so uit blanke stede verwyder),** naturellehospitale word langs lokasies beplan en die beginsel dat naturelle nie grondbesitters in blanke gebiede kan word nie, is vasgelê.

Op die platteland word naturelleplase 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 naturelle-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-blankes 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 aantas 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 opgerig word, met staatshulp 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, chemikalieë, e.s.m. fluks geproduseer.

Duisende werkers word geëmplojeer en ook hier spaar Suid-Afrika geweldig baie 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 fabrieke gehad met 'n bruto opbrengs van £84 miljoen. Die tarief-beleid wat die Nasionale Party daardie tyd, **met kwaai 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 fabrieke 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 landsekonomie 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 gouduitvoere) 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 werkgeleenthede vir ons elke 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 teenkanting 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 leër, is verhoog.

(a) Spoorwegmanne:

Sedert Mei 1948 is £19 miljoen bestee aan verbeterde salarisse, lone en diensvoorwaardes.

Dit is bo 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 £6 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 lewensduurtetoeslag — 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 uitgawe van die Staat aan salarisse en toelaes 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 ontwikkelende land is die belastingdruk onder die laagste ter wêreld, **en laer as in 1948.** Terwyl die belastings wat deur die Regering in 1947 geïn 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 Werkloosheidsverseker:ngswet 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 subsidies 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% toegeneem 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 oorsese lande gedaal het, het produktepryse in Suid-Afrika aansienlik gestyg. Om een voorbeeld te noem, die produsenteprys vir beesvleis 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 toegeneem.

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 landboubenodigdhede** — het die boer se netto inkomste in die afgelope tien jaar toegeneem. 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) 63,941 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 lojaliteit aan ons eie land. Duidelike tekens van harteliker samewerking en hegter nasieskap, omdat verdeelde trou uitgeskakel is, word meer en meer merkbaar.

SIMONSTAD

Op 2 April is die Vlootbasis Simonstad deur die Unieregering 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 gewysig, 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 leerstellings gepropageer het.

Twee volksraadslede, en een Provinsiale Raadslid, is ingevolge die Wet tot Onderdrukking van Kommunisme, ontsetel, terwyl die Wet dit ook verbied dat Kommunistè 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, billikheid en reg aan albei die blanke taalgroepe, sowel as aan die nie-blanke bevolking, laat geskied.

Alles is gedoen, wat nodig en moontlik was, om die goeie betrekkings 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 verkiesingsmanifes 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.