

Ram 10/17/20

REPUBLICANISM NOT THE ISSUE

MANIFESTO BY
GEN. HERTZOG

REPLY TO UNITED
PARTY POLICY

BRITISH
TRADE METHODS
ATTACKED

BANKING PROBLEM

ANOTHER MONOPOLY
PREDICTED

Bloemfontein, Thursday.

Following on the meeting of the Federal Council of the National Party last night, General Hertzog has issued a manifesto. The text was given in Dutch only, and the translation into English, though done with care, may be subject to correction by Nationalists.

The translation is as follows:—To the electors of the Union,—Compelled by the coalition of the South African Party and the Unionists, General Smuts will appeal to you at the polling booths in February next to grant him your confidence as the Prime Minister and ruler of the Union. The question now is whether this confidence may be placed in him through the fusion of the party.

The South African Party has openly declared common cause with Sir Thomas Smartt and his fellow Unionists. The former S.A.P. and the Unionists will in the future strive side by side for the maintenance and furtherance of the Imperial policy which, until quite recently, was repudiated with abhorrence by the members of the S.A.P. and with indignation by the Ministers.

Until quite recently the Unionists were the only party who openly professed the Imperial policy. In the future it will be otherwise. The S.A.P. will be the only party to avow this policy. I do not wish to engage myself here in a criticism of the method adopted by General Smuts and his fellow partymen of the S.A.P. who have assisted him in taking this step.

A LAST ENDEAVOUR

The elections are at hand, and I wish now to confine myself to a last en-

As the British trades-people are to-day having recourse to the above-named methods, which are calculated to make us the victims of the Empire trade monopolies, they merely follow the way pointed out to them by the history of the British trade policy by which they succeeded up to 1814 in gaining riches, influence and respect for these shipping companies, these manufacturers, and these bankers of the world. Now that as a result of the war they have lost this world position, nothing is more natural than that they should again seek their salvation and riches along the way, in which they previously obtained it. By means of British legislation in their favour and to the detriment of the Colonies was provided among other things (a) that all war-materials produced in the Colonies should go only to England and nowhere else; (b) that no materials or goods should be taken to or from the Colonies except by British ships; (c) that no factories should be erected or encouraged in the Colonies.

CHARGE AGAINST MINISTERS

Now that the British legislator does not dare to repeat those laws, the British manufacturer and the British banker, all supported by the British Government, endeavour to obtain by subterfuge, namely, by individual combination and co-operation, what was formerly obtained by the above-named legislation. The means which they adopt to-day for their own gain are the same which have been formerly adopted for the ruin of the Colonies, and which forced America to take up arms against England in defence against robbery. I do not wish to blame very much either them or even the British Government for the endeavour in their own interests, yet in the name of the people of South Africa I protest, and every Africander of whatever race or language should also protest, against the accessory part played by our Government in this combination to effect our economic ruin. Ministers whose first duty was to protect courageously the interests of our own people have been among the first to take part in the sacrifice of our interests to those who are at present robbing us. Our products and war material have been promised to England by our Prime Minister and his colleagues to the exclusion of the free markets of the world. This promise has not only been given without consulting Parliament or the people; it has been given secretly and with the deliberate object of hiding it from the people as long as possible.

FURTHER ALLEGATIONS

The statement continued: When in the end the secret was disclosed by mere accident and the Ministers concerned were called up in Parliament to explain the matter these Ministers had so little courage to defend their action that they did not fear to deny their participation until the proof of their privacy was shown to them in black and white.

The impropriety of this conduct on the part of the Ministers in respect of the promise cannot be denied. But the shipping monopoly and the establishment of an Imperial Bank Trust is so much the natural result of this promise that our Government, as far as they are concerned, stand compromised in accomplices. That all this would be the in-

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A LAST ENDEAVOUR

The elections are at hand, and I wish now to confine myself to a last endeavour, if possible, to direct the attention of those of you who seek guidance in sincerity to the meaning, as far as we are concerned, of the new political confession of faith to which the Government and the S.A.P. have now passed.

My object is none other than to allow you to comprehend the exceedingly great importance which the forthcoming elections must necessarily have as a result of the aforementioned policy. The increase of want and poverty among our people, the high cost of living, the increased cost of shop goods, retrogression of the families of farmers, the dislocation of the exchange, the want of a market for the export of our products, the pressure of the trading classes, the lack of money and credit, the pressure exercised by the banks—all these are questions which are most intimately connected with the policy prosecuted by the Government.

Every one of these has but one cause, and the question is in how far the imperialistic policy of our Government is the cause of all this. If the blame is to be attached to the Imperialistic policy, then it is sufficient reason for every one of us to detest this policy. Then it is our absolute duty to reject this policy by our united strength.

Meanwhile, I maintain without fear or hesitation that this policy is the main cause of all our misery and retrogression, but I go further and hold that if this policy is not speedily put to an end numerous persons who are to-day still well off will shortly be doomed to ruination. For this conviction I have every reason, and the justness thereof is warranted by the activity of the British Imperialistic trades people and politicians to possess themselves of the monopolies of all our economic sources and means of help. In order thoroughly to perceive the motive and purpose of this movement a knowledge of the history of the British trade policy up to the period of the American Revolution is necessary. It is clear, however, that this is not the opportunity to go further into the matter.

OUR ECONOMIC DOWNFALL

Meanwhile I feel it my duty in so far as is possible to direct the attention of the people to this movement, which, on account of its secret course and the object of its prosecution, is nothing but a combination calculated to bring about our economic downfall. It is all the more my duty on account of the role played by our Government in this movement as a result of its Imperialistic policy. The aim and object of the combination or conspiracy are nothing less than to get us economically in their power and to bind us in such a way that for many years we will be the helpless prey of the Imperial trade interests and the Imperial covetousness. In order to obtain their object the conspirators have already for some time been busy to prevent, with the assistance of the Ministers, the exportation of our products and war materials to markets other than those in England. But not yet satisfied with this, the Imperial workers are busy taking a second and a third step which will enable them to rob us in a truly Imperialistic manner. The first of the two steps consists of an endeavour to prohibit the export from or import to South Africa of goods in ships other than British (Imperial). In this way the British shipping companies must be placed in possession of the shipping monopoly at the Union ports. That they have already squeezed us dry and are still engaged in robbing us owing to the lack of competition is naturally no scruple of conscience with the Imperialistic gentlemen, but rather a source of encouragement. What would be the use of this monopoly to them if it were not for their enrichment, even though that be at our cost?

ANOTHER STRING TO THEIR BOW

But this is not all. They have another string to their bow, a string which will soon prove more fatal to our welfare than any of the others. They are busy (in the interests of the Empire, of course) erecting an Imperial Bank. Fundamentally this bank will be nothing less than a gigantic "Empire Banking Trust." This Imperial Bank will control the money and the money market of the whole Empire, and will take care that all notes of exchange within the Empire are drawn on London. In other words, this bank trust will be another monopoly, which will see to it that in so far as we retain any economical freedom we will be financially bound and handed over to the British shipping companies, to the English manufacturers, and to the London bankers. Those who followed this and account to themselves how everything is calculated to rob us, are overwhelmed by the audacity which has been disclosed by these Empire gentlemen, who are out to bring about our permanent economical ruin. They may well exclaim, "Live the Empire." Yet it is not for us to condemn these people uncondi-

tionally. The blame attaches not so much to them, who merely wish thereby to save and enrich themselves at our cost. But to these amongst us who are assisting them.

As the British trades people are to-day having recourse to the above-named methods, which are calculated to make us the victims of the Empire trade monopolies, they merely follow the way pointed out to them by the history of the British trade policy by which they succeeded up to 1914 in gaining riches, influence and respect for these shipping companies, these manufacturers, and these bankers of the world. Now that as a result of the war they have lost this world position, nothing is more natural than that they should gain seek their salvation and riches along the way in which they previously obtained it. By means of British legislation in their favour and to the detriment of the Colonies was provided among other things (a) that all war materials produced in the Colonies should go only to England and nowhere else; (b) that no materials or goods should be taken to or from the Colonies except by British ships; (c) that no factories should be erected or encouraged in the Colonies.

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The impropriety of this conduct on the part of the Ministers in respect of the promise cannot be denied. But the shipping monopoly and the establishment of an Imperial Bank Trust is so much the natural result of this promise that our Government, as far as they are concerned, stand compromised as accomplices. That all this would be the inevitable result of the imperialistic policy followed by the Government for many years, and now made official even to the manifest confession of faith of the Government as well as of the S.A.P. has long been predicted, although, ap-

parently, not comprehended by the people. Now, however, there is hardly anyone who does not feel that the viciousness of this policy cannot be better exposed than by what has actually occurred as a result of the conduct of the Ministers themselves, who while putting their policy into practice were forced to resort to secrecy, and who, at the disclosure, took refuge in denial. And yet it is on this policy that the same Ministers are now coming to you to ask your confidence, both in them and in their policy. Will you give them that confidence? And, if so, on what grounds? That they are Imperialists, who for the sake of the Empire or for that of their own pockets, would sacrifice South Africa. But I do not speak to these now; I am only directing myself to those amongst my fellow-burghers who still possess a clear eye and an open heart for the needs and interests of our own and only fatherland. And of these I ask again, for what reasons would you give the South African Party, and the Government your confidence again?

A DIFFERENCE IN METHOD

I am aware that until recently many of you were under the conviction that the policy of the Ministers was the same as that of mine and other Nationalists, and that the only difference between us would be one of attitude or method, as that was called by the Ministers, but this can no longer be a reason with you now that the Ministers have openly gone over to the enemy with bag and baggage. I do not wish to detain you any longer with the questions I have put to you, but they require your earnest consideration. The struggle for the preservation of our economic existence is now in the balance, and it will depend upon your attitude and mine at the next election whether the future of South Africa will be the spoil of the Empire or the beloved and prosperous fatherland of the people of the Union. It is my prayer that your decision may be the latter.

In the meantime I cannot close my appeal to you before voicing a word of warning in connection with what we are to expect. In the appeal made to you to take account of the way in which our economic interests are neglected and threatened by the Government and the capitalists, we do not only fight against inimical interest of a most varying nature as conflicting and inconsistent with our national interests, but those interests are also under the protection of the most powerful and authoritative of our enemies, both in and out of South Africa. It must therefore be obvious to everyone that the people whose interests are at stake will exercise their high power and influence to frustrate this appeal. Among the many dishonest, insincere endeavours which are made in this direction I wish to draw your attention to two, and in so doing to prevent people from succeeding in their exertions and zeal to distract your attention from the actual foci of the struggle with a view to centring it elsewhere. It is heard from the other side that the election will decide the question whether we want a republic now or not.

REPUBLICANISM NOT THE ISSUE

With all due respect towards these gentlemen, the Prime Minister included, this is not the issue and will not be the main question in the next election, at least not so far as the National Party are concerned. If General Smuts and the South African Party already desire a republic now and wish the people to decide thereon, then it is his affair, and he can request the people to empower him to proclaim a republic, but I and the National Party are not in the least concerned with this appeal. As General Smuts admitted in the course of an address in Pretoria on Friday, December 3, the ideal

of the National Party is sovereign independence at the right time, as according to our opinion the right time has not arrived, yet the National Party has the right without in the least resigning its desire for freedom to say that it does not wish to bring the matter to a vote at the next elections, and this is exactly what the National Party has decided to do. So far as that party is concerned it will surrender nothing of its endeavour for independence, but it will not appeal to the people at these elections for authority for a republic. What it has decided to do is to request the people for authority to succeed a Government party which has neglected its duties towards the interests of the people and has brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy.

This is the question which must, and will be, answered at the next elections, and whether one would try to escape it or not the people will have to answer it. The second endeavour which is being made to divert the attention of the electors from the actual issue at the coming election is the mean imputation to which it is endeavoured to take refuge with a view to escaping the deserved punishment, namely, that the National Party is a racial party which is endeavouring to create unpleasantness for the English-speaking people in South Africa, or which grudges them the same rights, privileges or liberties in common with the Dutch-speaking section.

A DISHONOURABLE IMPUTATION

Those who declare this are either speaking falsely on with intent to mislead, or they are the dupes of a deliberate campaign of slander and deception, against which the National Party has had to fight from the very hour of its inception. I call this imputation dishonourable, no matter from whom it emanates, and this because of its malevolent untruth and

its unmistakably evil purpose namely, to antagonise the Dutch and English.

The position which the National Party takes up and on which its whole existence is based, and the fundamental reason of its republican movement, is the equality of the British and the Dutch in South Africa. Because this equality could not be obtained under the old S.A. Party Government, the National Party was called into existence; and because in the opinion of the Nationalists this equality will not be obtained so long as the British connection continues to exist, the National party has adopted as its practical ideal the severance of the connection. From the desire for equality the National Party has originated; through the desire for equality it is now driven to strive for freedom, and with this desire for equality it is also firmly resolved to tread the path of the future. Equality between the British and Dutch is not only an election cry for the present. It is also the soul of the party's origin and existence. When one thus ascribes to the Nationalist Party malevolence towards or envy of the English-speaking section then it is pure slander by means of which one seeks to save or advance himself at the cost of the unity and co-operation of the people of South Africa. Anybody who does this fosters racialism in the country. As far as the National Party is concerned, I have the right to say, and I say it in all honesty and sincerity that its aim is still the same as it was at the commencement, namely, to ensure the prosperity and happiness for South Africa by equality in the exercise of our rights.

Whatever your decision may be hereon, I have but this to request of your, and that is that your judgment may be delivered without being prejudiced by the endeavour of those who in their efforts to mislead you have an eye only to their own profit and salvation.—Reuter.

South African Labour Party.



MANIFESTO.

To the Men and Women of South Africa.

Why is the Parliament you elected last March sent about its business after a short life of one session?

What is the real meaning of this new election?

Don't be chloroformed by the anti-Labour parties and their Press. Think for yourselves. Think well over what happened a year ago, and you will get THE RIGHT ANSWER to these questions.

A year ago the Parliament you elected in the first year of the war was dissolved.

At the General Election the anti-Labour parties and their Press tried hard, as they are doing to-day, to make you believe that you must think of nothing at all but the Constitution *versus* Republicanism.

BUT LAST MARCH YOU THOUGHT FOR YOURSELVES.

YOU REMEMBERED how you had been misled in the past by the same crowd.

YOU REMEMBERED how you were fooled in 1910, when you elected the first Union Parliament—how you were persuaded by appeals to your racial feelings to reject all but a handful of Labour candidates, and how in the urban and industrial areas you sent mainly Unionists to misrepresent you.

YOU REMEMBERED how that Parliament neglected your interests. You remembered the troubles of 1913 and 1914 and your betrayal by your Unionist representatives, when every constitutional principle was violated by the deportations.

YOU REMEMBERED how at the election of 1915, by appeals to your patriotic feelings in the war crisis, and by false statements that the Labour Party was not to be trusted in Parliament (it was quite fit to be recruited to fight, of course), you were cozened by the same gang and its Press into making the same mistake again.

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You remembered how that war Parliament had no time or wish to protect you from the rapacity of the profiteer, but had plenty of time and all the wish to play into the hands of big finance and the big interests.

Remembering all these things, you decided last March that, now that the war was over, you would *make a fresh start*.

You refused to be fooled any longer by the lie that the Labour Party could not be trusted to be true to its pledge, whether on the constitutional issue or any other.

In the industrial and urban areas you showed the Unionists that their game was up.

You returned a band of Labourites solid enough and strong enough to keep the nose of Parliament down to social and economic questions—questions which mean to you the difference between happiness, bread and butter and security and misery, want and unemployment, but which the other parties will find any and every excuse to shirk.

For the first time since Union you had a Parliament in which the Government could not steam-roller its way through each session, giving as little attention as possible to these matters which so closely affect your daily lives.

For the first time since Union you had a session almost entirely taken up with discussion of economic questions, and a Parliament in which the profiteers and the big interests did not have it all their own way.

For the first time for years you had a session in which racial wrangles had to take a back seat.

Make not mistake.

The Parliament you elected last March is sent about its business and this new election is rushed on you with one main object.

That object is not to reduce the Nationalist strength. It is notorious that the "New" Party is putting up candidates in Labour seats where it has no hope of winning, but, by splitting the vote, may let the Nationalist candidate in.

The main object is to try to smash the Labour Party—to defeat your decision of last March that you would have in Parliament a party that would stand up for your vital interests, and would refuse—as the Labour Party *has* refused—to be made a pawn of in the Parliamentary game of the anti-Labour parties.

Grasp quite clearly what this means, because the Prime Minister's action in advising this dissolution and the circumstances surrounding it place before you an issue of far-reaching significance.

What are those circumstances? The Prime Minister's own party was not big enough for a Parliamentary steam-roller. What did he do? He first turned to the Nationalists, between whom and his party there is no difference outside of the constitutional issue. When Hereniging failed and the steam-roller was not to be got that way, he turned to the Unionists for help.

The game of sham opposition between his party and the Unionists with which you were bemused for nine years was played out anyhow. The Unionist Party has now dissolved itself, and its leaders have joined the Prime Minister's party.

You have General Smuts' own assurance that they made no conditions and asked no questions. *All those fine phrases* of the need to open the land by land taxation, and so on, *have been thrown overboard*.

We told you for nine years they were only phrases.

Mark this well. The Prime Minister and his Unionist friends, raising the cry of "danger to the British connection", are asking in effect under cover of that cry for a blank cheque to govern as they please for five years.

The Prime Minister has publicly asked whether on all questions of confidence the Labour Party will support *his* Government.

What does this mean?

It means that if Mr. Burton, or any other Minister, is callously neglectful of the people's bread, the Labour Party must support him with its vote.

It means that if General Smuts and his Government give away big slices of the nation's patrimony to big finance, the Labour Party must approve by its vote.

It means that if the Prime Minister and his Government deport trade union leaders and ride roughshod over the population with Martial Law, the Labour Party must support this action with its vote.

To this question by the Prime Minister the Labour Party gives this clear answer: It will give no such pledge. It is as definitely pledged to uphold the existing constitution as the Prime Minister himself. To this pledge it will be true, as it has been to all its pledges to the public. But it will not surrender to General Smuts or anyone else that reality of representative government which it is pledged to you to maintain. It will steadfastly refuse to be made a pawn of, whether by General Smuts, General Hertzog or anyone else. It will not submit to the virtual dictatorship of this or any other Prime Minister.

It stands for the reality of the constitution and for no sham.

Men and women of South Africa, be true to yourselves, do not be bluffed out of your right to real representation in a real parliament.

Let your answer to this arrogant misuse of the Constitution, and to this insolent attempt to foist on you the sort of misrepresentation you deliberately rejected only ten months ago, be the return of a stronger Labour Party than before.

Dig yourselves in in the ground you won last March, so that you can use it as a base from which to win more ground,

not only in the towns, but in the country. Show the opposing forces that the Labour Party is here to stay and to grow.

VOTE LABOUR, AND MAKE PARLIAMENT YOUR PARLIAMENT.

VOTE LABOUR, AND MAKE YOUR GOVERNMENT PAY ATTENTION TO YOUR NEEDS AND YOUR WELFARE.

By order of the National Council of the South African Labour Party.

C.J. McCANN,
Hon. General Secretary.

1924

17 JUNIE/JUNE

Deelnemende partye wat setels verower het	Setels verower Seats won	Participating parties which have won seats
1. Die Suid-afrikaanse Party (SAP) 2. Die Nasionale Party (NP) 3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Arbeidersparty 4. Konstitusionele Demokraat	53 63 18 1	1. The South African Party (SAP) 2. The National Party (NP) 3. The South African Labour Party (SALP) 4. Constitutional Democrat

Bronne van verkiesingsmanifeste

1. Die Volk moet kies. "Ik laat met vertrouwe die beslissing aan u". (J C Smuts)
Gepubliseer deur die Hoofkantoor van die SA Party, Gedruk deur Wallachs' Beperk. p. 32.
2. Hertzog-toespraak — Smithfield.
Die Hertzog-toesprake. Deel 4.
April 1918-1924, pp. 299-309.
3. Die Burger. 1 Mei 1924.
Verkiesingsveldtog van Arbeiders Geopen.
Kol. Creswell verduidelik Verkiesingsprogram.
4. Geen amptelike manifes kon opgespoor word nie.

Sources of election manifestos

1. The Choice before the Country. "I confidently place the issue before you." Published by the Head Office of the South African Party. Printed by Wallachs' Limited, Pretoria, p. 30.
2. The Rand Daily Mail 5th May 1924.
3. The Guardian, Friday, May 9, 1924.
South African Labour Party.
Parliamentary Election Manifesto.
4. No official manifesto could be traced.



Die Volk. moet kies.

***„Ik laat met vertrouwe die
beslissing aan U.”***

**Gepubliseer deur die Hoofkantoor van die S.A. Party.
Gedruk deur Wallachs' Beperk.**

Genl. Smuts se belangryke Toespraak.

S.A. Party Manifes.

Mynheer die Voorsitter, Dames en Here,

By die laaste algemene verkiesing, 'n bietjie meer dan drie jaar gelede, het die volk van hierdie land besluit om hulle Regering aan die S.A.P. onder my leierskap toe te vertrou. Ek het na U gekom vanaand om verslag te doen van ons rentmeesterskap, en, op grond van wat ons gedoen het, 'n beroep op U te maak om uw vertrouwe in ons in die toekoms te bly handhaaf. Ek sal nie alleen ingaan op ons eie dade nie, maar, sover as my tyd dit toelaat, ook op die van ons opponente. Dit is nodig, want dit is grootliks op hierdie twee verledes wat die volk die vraag van hulle toekomstige Regering sal moet beslis.

'N ALLERGEWICHTIGSTE BESLISSING.

Dit is inderdaad 'n allergewichtigste beslissing wat voor die volk lê. En dit moet gebaseer word op breë politieke beginsels en nie op die klein besonderhede waaroor die mense ontevrede is met die Regering se werk nie. Hierdie of daardie seksie van die publiek mag ontevrede wees oor die besonderhede van die Regering se politiek sover as dit hulle raak. Maar dit is nie oor hierdie klein besonderhede dat hulle die vraag van hulle toekomstige Regering gaan beslis nie. Hulle sal let op die groot dinge, die dinge wat werklik tel. En hulle sal let, nie alleen op wat die Regering in die verlede gedaan het nie, maar ook net so noukeurig op die dade van hulle teenstanders. Want die Nasionale en Arbeiders partye beweer dat hulle die volgende Regering gaan vorm. Hulle sal sê dat die gety met hulle is. Die publiek is dus verplig om hulle ernstig op te neem, om te let op die dinge waarvoor hulle gestaan het en om te vra om dit die soort Regering is waarna hulle verlang en wat die land moet regeer in die toekoms.

NEEM DIE VATMEKAAR ERNSTIG OP.

Ek vrees dat die neiging tot hiertoe was om die verbond van Nat.-Arb. as 'n alternatiewe Regering nie ernstig op te neem nie.

Maar dit is 'n ernstige fout, wat die land baie duur testaan sal kom. Hoe ernstiger die volk die verlede van die twee verbonde partye bestudeer en bepeins, hoe beter sal dit vir die land en die toekoms wees. Ek sal hulle vanaand in 'n helder lig stel, sy aan sy met onself.

Laat my toe om te verwys na die werk van die Regering in die afgelope drie jaar.

By die laaste algemene verkiesing het die Suid-Afrikaanse Party hom ten doel gestel om sekere groot dinge tot stand te bring, in sommige waarvan hulle volkome geslaag het, terwyl in andere, waar geen volkome sukses kon behaal word, hulle nogtans groot en bepaalde vooruitgang gemaak het.

S.A.P. MAAK RASSEHAAT DOOD.

NAS.-ARB. 'N ONHEILIG VERBOND.

Ons eerste en grootste doel was om weg te kom van die rasselyne in ons politiek en om die rasse-

skeidslyn te vernietig wat in die verlede die twee groot blanke rasse in Suid-Afrika op politieke gebied verdeel het. Met die doel het 'n samesmelting plaasgevind van die ou Suidafrikaanse Party, bestaande meesal uit Hollandssprekende Suidafrikaners, en die ou Unionistiese Party, bestaande byna uitsluitlik uit Engelsprekende Suidafrikaners. Ons het saamgesmelt in één groot politieke Party op 'n breë grondslag, op 'n gemeenskaplike politieke platform, onder 'n gemeenskaplike leier en met één enkele organisasie, behelssende die gehele Party deur al die vier Provinsies van die Unie. Ons was suksesvol bo ons stoutste verwagtings; sedert sy samesmelting het die nuwe Suidafrikaanse Party saamgewerk in die Party, in die Parlement en in die Regering, met 'n harmonie en 'n hartlikheid wat ons hoogste verwagtings te bowe gegaan het. Die hele aangesig van ons politieke lewe is verander geword, die hele toekoms van die Suidafrikaanse volk het 'n nuwe tydperk betree.

TWEE-STROOM POLITIEK DOOD.

Een gevolg is dat, gedurende die laaste drie sessies van die Parlement, die rassekwessies wat tot nog toe die hoofnummer in ons parlementêre repertoire was, haas nie na verwys werd nie, en die Parlement in staat was om aan sy aandag te skenk aan die besigheid van die land in plaas van aan rasse-hartstogte. Die twee-stroom-politiek, waarop die Nasionale Party gestig was en wat byna die hartslag van die Unie uitgeruk het gedurende die eerste tien jaar van sy bestaan, het grootliks 'n dooie letter geword, en kan nou alleen herleef deur een of ander ingrypende omwenteling in ons politiek. Die twee Opposisie-partye—verbaas en verstom deur die sukses van ons samesmelting—het ons die hoë en vleierende kompliment van nabootsing gemaak. Maar ag! wat 'n verskil is daar nie tussen ons egte verbintenis en die nagemaakte vereniging wat die twee opposisie-partye saambind in 'n ongemaklike en liefdelose omhelsing! Tussen die ware, eerbare en opregte verbintenis wat plaasgevind het in die nuwe Suidafrikaanse Party en die nagemaakte Verbond wat ons teenstanders saamspan, is daar 'n verskil groter as tussen nag en dag. En wanneer Kolonel Creswell homself vlei dat die Verbond rassehaat sal vernietig, dan vergeet hy dat die Verbond alleen die vlieg op die wiel was wat rassehaat vergruis het, en dat dit nie die vlieg is wat die wiel beweeg het nie. Nee, hierdie land kan nooit vergeet dat ons Party dit gedaan het nie, aan hulle kom toe die lof vir die grootste vooruitgang in die nasionale lewe van Suid-Afrika. Met daardie trots behaalde sukses agter ons kan die Suidafrikaanse Party nooit ten volle oorskadu word in die toekoms van hierdie land nie. Die gevolge is alreeds verreikend. Die verdwyning van rassehaat beteken soveel vir Suid-Afrika. Ons sien om ons 'n nuwe gees van samewerking en vriendskaplikheid in Suid-Afrika verrys. As Generaal Botha vandag gelewe het sal daardie "Apostel van Konsiliasie" verheug wees om te sien dat sy werk besonder vooruitgegaan het, en dat sy groot visioen verwesenlik word binne 'n paar jaar na sy heengaan.

DIE SESISSIE-BEWEGING.

DIE GEVAAR IS MAAR NET UITGESTEL.

Die tweede doel waarna ons gestreef het was die vernietiging van die sessie-beweging wat deur die Nasionalistie na die Oorlog te berde gebring werd. Met die suksesvolle afloop van die Oorlog, wat al die planne en verwagtinge van die Nasionalistie in duie laat val het, was hulle Party inderdaad bankrot, en om hulle gesonke moed te laat herleef en gaande te hou, het Mnr. Roos met duiwelse slimheid met die sessie-

beweging te voorskyn gekom. Sesessie het die fundamentele plank van hulle platvorm geword. Mnr. Roos het in sy brief van bedanking as intekenaar op "Die Burger" met alle reg en met geregtigdigde verontwaardiging gevra, wat van die Nasionale Party sou geword het indien dit nie die sesessie-politiek aanvaar het nie. Op daardie vraag het hulle ons aanbod van hereniging op die Bloemfonteinse konferensie met minagting verwerp; en daarop het ons onmiddellik en tot hulle groot verbasing en ontsteltenis die stryd teen hulle aangebind by die laaste algemene verkiesing. Ons het dit uitgeveg sonder enige hulp van Kolonel Creswell.

BESLISSENDE OORWINNING.

Ons oorwinning was beslis, so beslis inderdaad, dat een vleuel van die Nasionale Party sedert die tyd niks anders gedaan het nie dan van hierdie vraag weg te hol, terwyl die ander vleuel stilswyend besluit het om die vraag uit te stel en dit weer op 'n meer gepaste oomblik te berde te bring, wanneer die Arbeider-alliansie nie langer nodig sal wees nie en nie langer 'n rem aan hulle ondernemings sal wees nie. Die gewaar is alleen uitgestel. Die Nasionale leiers het dit volkome duidelik gemaak. En die Vadmekaar maak dit ook duidelik. Want, onthou goed, die Vadmekaar sê alleen dat die sesessie-vraag in die volgende Parlement nie geopper sal word nie. Die Vadmekaar veronderstel dus dat die vraag nog baie aktueel is. Dit voorsien op sy beste in 'n tydelike verligting vir Kolonel Creswell en diegenes wat verkies om hom te volg. Kolonel Creswell beroem hom tevergeefs daarop dat die Verbond met die Nasionale rasseshaat sal vernietig. Hy het geen rede om te roem in die geval van sesessie nie. Met die dreigende gebare en onhulpspellende bedoelings van Mnr. Roos en Generaal Kemp en die ander Generaals van die Nasionale Party voor hom, is hy gedwonge tot die vernederende uitweg van te bedel vir 'n kleine verligting; die korte lewe van die volgende Parlement, asseblief; en na dit die sondvloed! Intussen sal hy Generaal Kemp behulpsaam wees om Minister van Verdediging te word en die sleutels van die vesting te oorhandig aan die sesessioniste om te gebruik na die korte tydperk van verligting verby is. Sy verlange om ontslae te raak van my en die Regering het hom sover gevoer dat hy bereid is om die lont te help lê en dan die vuurhoutjie in die hande van die sesessioniste te gee. So afskuwelik en gevaarlik is haat in die politiek! Nee here, as en wanneer die stryd oor sesessie nog eens deur die Nasionale Party hervat word, het ek geen twyfel nie dat ons hulle weer sal verslaan, soos ons dit in die verlede gedaan 't. Maar ons sal die hulp van Kolonel Creswell nie nodig hê nie en ons sal slaag ten spyte van die hulp wat hy aan die sesessioniste gelewer het. Hy vlei homself ongetwyfeld dat, solang as hy daar is, hy 'n rem sal wees op die sesessie-beweging. Maar dit sal nog eens die storie van die vlieg op die wiel wees.

MET VERACTING VERWERP.

Vier jaar gelede, toe ek my voorstel vir 'n non-party Regering aan die leiers van die ander Partye gemaak het, het die Nasionale geantwoord, dat hulle bereid was om dit aan te neem op voorwaarde (o.a.) dat die kombinasie, die Arbeiders en Unioniste sou uitsluit en tot die ander twee Partye alleen beperk bly, en gedurende die lewe van daardie Parlement sou die sesessie-vraag nie in die Parlement geopper word nie, maar wel in die land verkondig. M.a.w., hulle kondiesies was: die handhawing van rasseshaat in ons politiek en die vertraging van die sesessie-beweging vir slegs 'n paar jaar. Hierdie voorwaardes het die koukus van die ou Suidafrikaanse Party eenstemmig en met veragting van die hand gewys, en hulle het voortgegaan om dit uit te veg

en hulle het die Nasionale op altwee die vroeë verslaan. Wat 'n verskil tussen hulle heldhaftige optrede en die gevaarlike immorele eksperiment waarna Kolonel Creswell die toevlug neem! Hoeveel veiliger en gesonder sou ons toekomstige politiek nie gewees het nie as Kolonel Creswell met dergelike moed en vertroue gehandel het. Hy het verkies om die sesessie-politiek vir die toekoms aan die lewe te hou en intussen die ondersteuners daarvan te versterk.

DIE SKIP VAN STAAT.

VERMINDERING VAN BELASTING KOMENDE JAAR.

Die derde groot doel waarna ons gestreef het was om die land met veiligheid en krediet deur die bewoë tye heen te stuur. Dit was duidelik dat hulle na ons toe aan die kom was net soos hulle alreeds na Europa en Amerika gekom had. Die Nasionale word nooit moeg om te verklaar dat ek by die laaste algemene verkiesing groot vooruitgang belowe het. Verre van dit gedaan te hê het ek die land 'n ernstige waarskuwing gegee. Ek het gesê, in hierdie selfde saal:

"Die binnelandse situasie gaan een van buitengewone moeilikheid wees. Ernstige vraagstukke van maatskaplike en industriële ontwikkeling wag op oplossing. Terselfder tyd het die ekonomiese depressie, wat gewoonlik op groot oorloë volg, Europa bereik en sal vroeër of later ook hier aanland om ons plaaslike toestande te vererger. Die gees van wanorde en bandeloosheid, wat besig is om die weder-opbou van die oue wereld te verlam, is nie heelmal afwesig in Suidafrika nie, en is aan die toeneem onder beide die blanke en gekleurde bevolking."

DIE STORM VAN 1922.

Maar die woede van die storm wat plotseling op ons losgebars het, vroeg in 1922, het ons ergste verwagting ver oortref. Depressie, soos die land nog nooit in sy geskiedenis geken het nie, 'n plotselinge ineenstorting van alle waardes en pryse ná die groot na-oorlogse "boom"! En daarboon nog 'n Rewolusie op die Rand, wat grootliks bygedra het tot die finansiële verval en so ver gegaan het dat die ongevalle daarin meer was dan dit in die geval van die Rebelie in 1914 was. 'n Groot golf van werkloosheid het die land oorstrom. Drie jaar van die grootste droogte wat die land vir die laaste vyftig jaar besoek het, het gevolg; droogte en sprinkane, albei op 'n ongewone skaal. Dit was treurige jare, jare van aansukkele deur die nag, deur digte duisternis en onverligte somberheid. Dit het gelyk of die elemente saamgesweer het met ons vyande om ons tot niet te maak. In die woede van die storm, in die Babel van onenigheid en verdoemenis, kon 'n mens eenvoudig en streng jou plig doen en jou laaste greintjie krag aanwend om die staatsskip te probeer red.

En dit werd gered. Werkloosheid werd beveg soos in geen ander land, die sprinkane werd met 'n Herkules-poging vernietig en uit die hemel het eendelik pragtige sagte reen gekom.

DIE LUG WORD NOU SKOON.

Die lug word nou helder. Die groot finansiële depressie gee tekens van verby te gaan en sal heelmal verby gaan tensy 'n ander terugset ons wag.

Die swaar spoorweg- en algemene finansiële tekorte het verdwyn, die spoorwegbegroting vir die afgelope finansiële jaar wys 'n aansienlike surplus, en

die landsbegroting het byna gesluit, terwyl dit be- raam word dat dit hierdie finansiële jaar 'n surplus sal aantoon. Ons sien uit na die vooruitsig om belasting in die aanstaande finansiële jaar te verlig en die allereerste wat sal afgeskaf word is die Medisyne- belasting, terwyl die administrasie van die tabaksbe- lasting sal vereenvoudig word, en sal weggeneem word of tenminste aanmerklik verlig word ten opsigte van die klein produsente.

DIE SIVIELE DIENS. GEEN VERDERE VERMINDERING.

Ons het, deur die storm heengekom. En ons het deur dit alles gekom met ons krediet ongeskonde en inderdaad beter as die van die meeste groot Moonthede en waarskynlik so goed as die van Groot Brittanje. Ons pond sterling is meer wêrd as die van die Engelse pond sterling. Ons het inflasie vermy; ons het 'n Sentrale Bank gestig wat 'n pilaar van krag vir ons geldelike stabiliteit was en waarskynlik 'n groot bank-ineenstorting voor- kom het met al sy bygaande laste van lyding en rui- nasie van tienduiseende beleggers. Ons was verplig om van ons staatsamptenare iets te verg, en ons erken die gees waarin hulle dit opgeneem het. Ons het in hierdie sake so ver moontlik voortgegaan, op die stel- sel van vriendskaplike onderhandeling met die Staats- diens-organisasies. Ons het ook onder die Wet van 1923 'n Nasionale Adviserende Raad van Verteen- woordigers van die Diens Organisasies in die lewe geroep (wat in baie ander opsigte toestande in die diens grootliks verbeter het); en dit sal 'n gevestigde kanaal van onderhandeling en verbinding tussen die diens en die Regering wees. In die geval van die spoorwegdiens, werd die nuwe skale met dieselfde konsiderasie vir die tans diensdoende amptenare toe- gepas, en ons sal op dieselfde wyse handel met die onderwysers. Hulle het almal hulle deel van die op- offering gedra, net soos die algemene publiek hulle 'n nog groter opoffering moes getroos. Maar hulle het dit gedaan vir Suid-Afrika. Dit is hulle trotse be- wussyn en troos.

OPOFFERINGS WAS NIE VIR NIET NIE.

En hulle opoffering was nie tevergeefs nie. Dit het gehelp om die rekeninge van die land te vereffen, en het ons as 'n Volk in staat gestel om die wereld met trots in die aangesig te kyk en met vertroue vooruit te sien na die geldelike stabiliteit van die land in die toekoms. As ons ons plig versuim het en die geldelike toestand maar laat begaan het, sou ons uiteindelik meer gelyk het as die opoffering wat ons tans gevra was om te maak, en die skade aan die herstel van die land gedaan, sou allerernstigst gewees het. Hulle het die verdere droewige satis- faksie dat staatsamptenare elders swaarder laste moes dra. In Nu Seeland b.v. word my vertel, werd die teenswoordige salarisse met 10 % verminder, terwyl selfs in 'n land met hoë finansiële sta- bilititeit, soos Holland, die met 20 % verminder werd, terwyl in lande met 'n gesonke geldwaarde die opoffering en lyding veel groter was.

Daar is nog een punt waarop ek in hierdie opsig nadruk wil lê. Sover as wat ons aangaan is die einde in die proses van salaris- of emolumente- vermindering in die Staatsdiens nou bereik, en ons is nie voornemens om enige verdere beroep op ons pu- blieke of spoorwegdienare te maak nie of om redelike bestaande voorregte in te kort nie.

DREICENDE HOUDING VAN DIE ONHEILIGE VERBOND.

Ek bemerk dat mnr. Roos, sprekende op 'n ver- gadering te Johannesburg, van dieselfde platvorm as

Kolonel Creswell, en dus sprekende namens die Vat- mekaar as 'n geheel, verklaar het dat hulle 'n skema van re-organisasie van die Dienste in die oog had wat diegenes wat onbekwaam is sal uitdun en groot be- sparing in die administrasie sal teweeg bring. Hier- die sienswyse werd te Pretoria herhaal. Dit is veel- beduidende woorde en word nog meer beduidend wan- neer hulle in verband geneem word met ander verklar- ings van Mnr. Roos gedurende die laaste vyf jaar met betrekking tot die siviele diens. Die toekom- stige Regering, op die vooraand van 'n algemene ver- kiesing, maak nie sulke dreigende verklarings nie, tensy dit van voorneme is om baie vër te gaan. In my opinie is hierdie dreigemente en die hele politiek van besnoeiing sonder enige regverdiging. Een van die uitstaande dienste wat die Regering gedurende hierdie jare van storm en drang verrig het, was om die Staatsdiens op vaste fondament te stel onder die administrasie van 'n onpartydige Staatsdienskom- missie. Die diepgaande re-organisasie waarmee die Nas.-Arb.-Verbond nou dreig is nie alleen ongereg- dig nie, maar ook in stryd met die gehele gees van die Staatsdiens hervorminge alreeds in die Wetboek aan- gebring. Hierdie politiek is natuurlik bedoel om die Amerikaanse stelsel in ons administrasie in te voer, om Nasionalistiese beloftes uit te voer en die Diens aan te vul met hulle getroue politieke nalopers. Ons sal hierdie verderflike politiek tot die bitter einde beveg.

MEER SPOORWEE.

MEER MARKE VIR DIE UNIE SE UITVOER.

'n Ander hoofplank in ons platvorm by die laaste algemene verkiesing was die ontwikkeling van die land deur middel van 'n vooruitstrewende industriële politiek. Terwyl veel gedurende die laaste drie jare tot stand gebring werd, kan ons nie daarop aan- spraak maak dat ons die verwagte sukses behaal het nie. Die depressie en toestand van ontwriging van die land was te veel vir ons. Maar nogtans het ons 'n grote mate van sukses behaal.

Ons het met sukses die grootste program van spoorweg en hawekonstruksie wat nog ooit in Suid- Afrika onderneem is ten uitvoer gebring en as ons weer aan die bewind kom is ons van voorneme om met 'n soortgelyke skema te voorskyn te kom. Ons land word ongelukkig sleg gedien deur natuurlike kom- unikasies en, met die oog op sy ontwikkeling kan geen geld beter aangewend word nie dan aan die daarstelling van vervoermiddele en ontwikkelings ver- keersweë. Spoorwegaanbou ontwikkel nie alleen die hulpbronne van die land nie, maar dit verskaf die beste wyse vir indiensneming van blanke arbeid in tye van werkloosheid, soos die wat ons nou beleef. Die ondervinding het tenvolte bewys dat blanke arbeid op ekonomiese wyse in hierdie werk gebruik kan word en ek vertrou dat 'n groot program van spoor- weg-konstruksie onmiddellik sal onderneem word, wat sal werk verskaf aan ons armes en hulle sal weg- hou van die demoraliserende invloed van die alluwiële delwerye.

HANDELS-KOMMISSARIS VIR AMERIKA.

Een van die sake waaraan ons die meeste aan- dag geskenk het gedurende die afgelope drie jaar was om marke te vind in die buiteland vir ons grond- stowwe. Gelukkig het ons in 'n groot mate hierin ge- slaag. Die aanstelling van Mnr. Spilhaus as ons Han- dels-Kommissaris op die Vasteland was een van die beste en gesondste stappe wat ooit geneem is in be- lang van die ontwikkeling van die land, en sy dienste om openinge vir ons produkte te vind op die Vaste-

land was onskatbaar. Dis 'n snaakse kommentaar op ons handelwyse dat Kolonel Creswell die Stamford Hill setel van ons verower het grotendeels deur die vooroordeel wat hy kon verwek oor hierdie aanstelling. Die Regering is voornemens om verder in hierdie gees te handel en 'n soortgelyke aanstelling in Noord-Amerika te maak. Ons het ook ons handelsrelasies met ons Afrikaanse bure uitgebrei, en ons beskou die Afrikaanse marke verder Noordwaarts as onder die belowendste en natuurlikste afsetgebiede vir ons uitbreidende handel en nywerheid. Die Nasionaliste was bereid om hierdie geleentheid in gevaar te stel deur voor te stel om ons grense te sluit vir beeste uit die Noorde. Deur vriendskaplike onderhandeling met ons nabure het ons 'n algemeen aanneemlike oplossing van hierdie moeilike vraagstuk gevind sonder om in enige opsig ons handelsrelasies met hulle in gevaar te bring.

Die Regering het ook leiding geneem, in samewerking met die stoomvaart-maatskappye om die vervoerstoestand by die uitvoer van vrugte na die Vasteland te verbeter. My word meegedeel op goeie gesag dat ons eerste klas pionierswerk in die nuwe wetenskap van koelkamers en uitvoer van vrugte doen. Die gevolge is alreeds duidelik in die verbeterde toestand waarin ons vrugte die Europese marke bereik en die beter pryse wat ons boere daarvoor kry. Hierdie pryse was van jaar feitlik twee keer so hoog as verlede jaar. Die vooruitsigte vir ons vrugte-boere oor geheel Suid-Afrika is dus baie rooskleurig.

UITVOER VAN VRUGTE.

Die Regering het hulle uiterste invloed gebruik om 'n goeie mate van voorkeur vir ons uitvoer-vrugte, wyn, tabak, suiker en ander produkte in die Engelse marke te verkry. Ons het in hierdie opsig geen steun van die Oppositiespartye verkry nie, intendeel deur ons hewig in die Parlement in hierdie verband aan te val het hulle die indruk verwek dat Suid-Afrika verdeeld of onverskillig is met betrekking tot hierdie voorkeurtariewe, hulle was behulpsaam om die aanname van hierdie voorkeurregte deur die Britse Parlement in gevaar te stel, en het daardeur die allergrootste ondiens aan ons produsente bewys. Dit is die politiek van "Suid-Afrika Eerste" in die ware praktyk! Dit beteken Nasionalistiese politiek eerste!

HULP VIR BOERE.

PLANNE TEN VOORDELE VAN NUWE INKOMERS.

Wat betref die landbounywerheid beskou ons dit as ons eerste en belangrykste industrie en ons houding in verband daarmee in die verlede was dat ons ons gebind het om voort te gaan om dit in die toekoms vooruit te help op elke regmatige wyse. Dit sal ons doen deur nuwe marke in die buiteland vir ons produkte te open, deur die aankeweke van landbou-koperasie en deur geld beskikbaar te stel deur middel van die Landbank en andersins, deur aanbou van nuwe spoorweë en vermindering van spoorwegtariewe sover as moontlik en deur simpatieke konsiderasie aan alle ernstige probleme te skenk wat hulle in ons landbounywerhede mag voordoen. Die wyn-kwessie het ons vir die teenwoordige in alle geval opgelos en ons vertrou dat ons in staat sal wees om die vlees- en tabak-vraarstukke ook op te los as ons 'n kans gegee word. Ons is voornemens om spesiale stappe te neem om die katoennywerheid wat spoedig 'n nywerheid van die eerste rang behoort te wees, te bevorder.

Met betrekking tot landnederstelling en besproeiing hou ons ons by die verklaring wat deur Kolonel Reitz in die afgelope sitting van die Parlement ge-

maak is. In al die nodige gevalle sal 'n herwaardeering van nedersettingsplase plaasvind en veel langer termyn van betaling vir alle teenwoordige en toekomstige setlaars beskikbaar gestel word. Die Regering sal oortollige besproeibare grond van eienaars vir nedersettingsdoeleindes oorneem en dus die ernstige finansiële moeilikhede, waarin 'n groot aantal besproeiers hulle onder die bestaande wette bevind, oplos.

LANDBOU-NEDERSTELLINGS.

Daarby sal landnederstelling bevorder word deur groter fondse beskikbaar te stel vir die vier- vyfdes voorskot op die koop van plase onder Klousule 11 van die Wet. Die Regering is voornemens om voldoende geld beskikbaar te stel, nie alleen om alle geskikte Suidafrikaanse applikante te help nie, maar ook om op dieselfde wyse en op gelyke voet goedgekeurde nedersetters van die buiteland, wat 'n landbou-opleiding geniet het by Suidafrikaanse boere of op Suidafrikaanse opleidingsskole of plase te help. Op hierdie wyse sal 'n groot stoot aan immigrasie van die regte soort in Suid-Afrika gegee word. Ons het ondervind dat die stelsel van voorskotte onder Klousule 11 die beste wyse is om landnederstelling te bevorder, en ons is voornemens om daar die volste gebruik van te maak.

INDUSTRIËLE POLITIEK.

By die laaste algemene verkiesing het ek groot nadruk gelê op die nywerheidspolitiek van die nuwe Regering, maar die tye en omstandighede van die land was baie ongunstig gewees vir die suksesvolle aanvaarding van hierdie politiek. Hewige skommeling in die wisselkoers en geldsomloop in die buiteland het hier, net soos in Australië en ander jong industriële lande, 'n atmosfeer van onsekerheid en versigtigheid teweeg gebring. Fabrikante het nooit definitief geweet welke mate van konkurensie hulle van die buiteland kon verwag nie en was dus geneig om die afwikkeling van sake af te wag. Maar die ernstigste moeilikheid van almal was die geldskaarste en inkorting van krediet. Kapitaal kon nie gevind word nie vir die oprigting van baie belowende nywerhede en selfs waar sulke kapitaal kon gevind word het die afwesigheid van die nodige krediet fasiliteite en werkende kapitaal baie ander tot verdriet laat kom. Daar was baie fabriek wat gesluit werd,—andere gaan onder moeilikhede gebuk—nie omdat die Regering hulle nie beskerm het of omdat hulle nie 'n goeie plaaslike mark besit nie, maar omdat hulle geen werkende kapitaal besit om mee aan te gaan en die Banke nie in 'n posisie is om hulle die nodige geld te verskaf nie. Dit en nie die stil sit van die Regering is die hoofsaak van die vertraging van ons nywerheidspolitiek. Die bank en geldelike posisie is egter snel aan verbeter en die vooruitsigte van ons Suidafrikaanse nywerhede behoort spoedig baie rooskleuriger te wees.

YSTER EN STAAL INDUSTRIË.

Neem b.v. die geval van ons yster- en staal-industrie, waarvoor ek, as ons groot toekomstige sleutel industrie, gedurende die laaste drie jaar onophoudelik gewerk het. Ten spyte van die gunstige tegniese rapporte, ten spyte van 'n mees liberale stelsel van toelae wat ons deur die Parlement gesit het, is die miljoene nodig vir die oprigting van hierdie industrie, nog nie gevind nie. Ek het egter nog nie hoop of moed verloor nie en vertrou om in die afsienbare toekoms sukses te behaal.

Nieteenstaande die moeilikhede waarna ek ver-

wys het is 'n grote mate van 'harde' voorafgaande werk verrig. Die Parlement het 'n skema vir 'n Raad van Handel en Nywerhede aangeneem wat die kanse van nuwe industrieë ondersoek en aanbevelings doen met betrekking tot enige veranderinge in die doeane of spoorwegtariewe of enige ander vorm van hulp en beskerming wat deur sulke industries verlang mag word. Die Raad het al reeds 'n groot mate van nuttige werk gedaan en kosbare ondervinding vir die toekoms opgedaan. Op hulle aanbeveling het nie alleen die skoene-nywerheid maar tenminste 'n twintigtal ander industrieë behoorlike hulp en beskerming verkry. Die Raad gaan van die grootste belang wees vir die toekomstige nywerheids-ontwikkeling van die land, veral wanneer dit ge-reorganiseer en versterk word soos deur die ondervinding aangewys.

ELEKTRIESE KRAAG.

'n Nog belangryker stap werd geneem by die oprigting van die Elektrisiteitskommissie. Die industriële toekoms van die land hang af van die voorraad in groot hoeveelhede van goedkoop krag. Die Regeringsskema, wat deur die Parlement aangeneem is, beteken die oprigting deur die openbare gesag in die steenkoolgebiede en groot industriële sentra van die Unie van sentrale kragstasies waardeur die spoorweg- en munisipale dienste en alle ander vorme van plaaslike industrieë goedkoop voorsien sal word sonder die noodsaaklikheid dat hulle hulle eie krag ontwikkel. Die stelsel sal kapitaaluitgawes en bedryfskoste bespaar vir elke industrie binne die gebied van die groot stasies. Dit is 'n skema wat baie ver staan voor wat in enige ander land gedaan is, en sy gevolg vir die toekoms van ons nywerheidsontwikkeling sal ontsaglik wees. Groot stasies word alreeds opgerig of is ontwerp vir Kaapstad, Durban, Colenso, en Witbank en ander sal te geleener tyd volg. Dis 'n stap van die allergrootste belang.

'N SPESIALE MINISTER. BANK TOT ONDERSTEUNING VAN JONGE INDUSTRIEË.

Wat is ons politiek vir die toekoms? Na my mening is die pad nou skoon vir die aanvaarding van 'n moedige en vooruitstrewende politiek van nywerheidsontwikkeling. En die dringende behoeftes van die land roep uit om kragtige optree. Ons het 'n stadium in ons ontwikkeling bereik, as 'n land en as 'n nasie, wat uitroep na 'n groot voorwaartse stap as ons nie wil verroes en agteruit gaan nie. Geen Regering behoort vir een enkele dag geduld te word wat nie eerlik en opreg die vraagstuk aanpak, om 'n toekoms vir ons groot en altyd groeiende aantal seuns en dogters te skep. En industriële ontwikkeling is en bly een van die kragtigste middele om ons groot en toenemende Europese bevolking op te neem. Laat my in die kort skets die lyne waarlangs ons sal beweeg as ons weer aan die bewind van sake kom.

In die eerste plek sal ek 'n nuwe portefeulje van Nywerheid en Handel in die Kabinet instel. Op die oomblik word industriële belange behartig deur verskillende regeringsdepartemente soos die Raad van Nywerheid, die Departement van Mynwese en Nywerheid, die Doeane-Departement en verskillende andere. Hulle is nie altyd in ooreenstemming nie, hulle aktiwiteite werk somtyds op mekaar in en neutraliseer mekaar; daar is 'n neiging vir hulle om in waterdige kompartemente te werk. Vir 'n behoorlike vooruitstrewende politiek behoort daar 'n ko-ordinasie van al die kantore en departemente te wees wat betrokke is met ons nywerheids-politiek. Dit is my voorneme om hulle almal onder een Minister saam te bring wie se plig dit sal wees om ons industriële en fabrieksontwikkeling te help en te bevorder.

DIE OP TE RICTE BANK.

In die tweede plek sal ek vir nywerhede doen wat ons tot nog toe vir landbou gedaan het. Ons het van die begin af gesien dat die gewone bank fasiliteite nie genoeg vir die landbou is nie en daarom het ons die Landbank opgerig om addisionele hulp aan die boere te verskaf. Die ondervinding het gedurende die laaste drie jaar bewys hoe moeilik dit is vir 'n sukkelende industrie om hulp van die Banke te verkry. Ek stel voor om 'n organisasie op te rig òf in verband met die Landbank of apart daarvan wat finansiële steun sal verleen na behoorlik ondersoek en met die nodige waarborge aan jong industrieë wat goeie kanse het maar in sulke omstandighede verkeer dat die kommersiële banke hulle geen fasiliteite sal toestaan nie. Dit is 'n ingewikkelde saak en daar sal 'n element van gevaar bly ten spyte van alle voorsorgsmaatreëls. Maar ek voel oortuig dat in die algemene openbare belang die tyd vir so 'n stap aangebreek is.

ONS EIE SPOORWEG-WERKE.

Ten derde sal ek 'n heelmal nuwe departement in verband met ons spoorwegwerkinkels instel. Ons het op die oomblik 'n aantal sulke werkwinkels oor die hele land versprei, wat meesal besig is met reparasiewerk en tot 'n beperkte mate met die aanbou van spoorwaens. 'n Groot deel van ons rollende materiaal en byna al ons lokomotiewe word nog in die buiteland bestel. Op hierdie wyse gaan groot somme geld elke jaar die land uit wat hier bestee moes word om werk aan ons eie mense te verskaf. Maar die bestaande werkwinkels is nie behoorlik toegerus met die nuutste meganiese toestelle vir sulke werk nie. Ons politiek is om al ons werk in die Unie gedaan te kry, om 'n groot spoorwegwerkwinkel of fabriek, toegerus met die allernuutste masjienerie, op te rig, wat in staat sal wees om op ekonomiese wyse, nie alleen al die rollende materiaal maar, in die toekoms, ook al die lokomotiewe, wat tot nog toe van die Vasteland bestel werd, te vervaardig. Dit sal 'n reuse en 'n kosbare onderneming wees maar ek voel oortuig dat die tyd aangebreek is om 'n groot voorwaartse stap in die rigting te neem.

En as tegelykertyd die yster en staal industrie op suksesvolle wyse kan deurgedryf word, sal ons 'n verreikende stap in die nywerheidsontwikkeling van die land geneem het.

TEGNIES ONDERWYS.

Ten vierde en ten laaste sal ek met alle krag tegniese opvoeding bevorder, ek sal industriële en tegniese opvoeding gepaard laat gaan na die rooskleurige toekoms wat ons wag. Ons het die land bedek met Uniwर्सiteite en Kolleges en hoë skole; ons het die land reeds bespikkel met landbouskole en kolleges, maar die tegniese en industriële sy van ons opvoeding is verwaarloos geword. Hierdie tekortkoming behoort aangevul te word. Ons hele opvoedings-stelsel vereis hersiening, maar in alle geval behoort sonder verder verlies van tyd geleentheid verskaf te word vir tegniese opleiding, waarna daar 'n groot en toenemende vraag is. En hierdie opleiding behoort nou aangesluit te word by en in verband gebring te word met ons plaaslike industrieë. Die toekomstige Europese beskawing in hierdie land hang in grote mate daarvan af of ons ons plig sonder verwyf in hierdie opsig doen.

GEVARE VAN DIE NAS.-ARB.-VERBOND. DIE KREDIET VAN DIE LAND IN GEVAAR.

Ek het ons loopbaan oor die afgelope drie jaar bespreek en het die politiek en program geskets wat

ons voornemens is om uit te voer indien ons weer met die vertroue van die land begunstig word. Ek wil nou 'n paar woorde sê in verband met die voornemens van die Vatmekaar, sover as dit aan ons openbaar werd in die toesprake van die leiers. Dit is waar, Generaal Hertzog moet nog sy manifes lewer, en ek vertrou dat hy sal probeer om met meer bepaaldheid en groter duidelikheid as gewoonlik te praat, sodat die land nie na die stembus gaan nie in duisternis en in onwetendheid omtrent wat die Vatmekaar werklik gaan doen as hulle aan die bewind kom. Maar 'n gedeelte van hulle politiek is reeds aan die lig gekom en ek wil 'n paar opmerkinge daarvoor maak.

Ek het alreeds my algemene afkeuring uitgespreek oor die re-organisasie skema van die staatsdiens, soos deur Mnr. Roos voorgestel. Ek voel nog groter argwaan omtrent sy voornemens om die verdedigingsorganisasie van die land te besnoei of heelmal te niet te doen. Met die oog op die sesessie-politiek, wat in volle swang mag kom na die verloop van die volgende Parlement, en die sekerheid dat Generaal Kemp hulle Minister van Verdediging gaan wees lees ek die mees onheilspellende betekenis in hierdie belangryke verklaring. Mnr. Roos het openhartig gespreek en ek hoop die land sal sy woorde ter harte neem en dat dit 'n geval sal wees waar "vooraf ge-waarsku vooraf gewapen".

DIE ROEKELOOS DRUK VAN PAPIERGELD.

Mnr. Roos, sprekende namens die Nas.-Arb.-Verbond te Joh. burg, het ook duidelik gemaak dat dit die voorneme van die Verbond is om die Reserwebank in 'n Staatsbank te verander, wat dan die mynwerkers en die boere en die industrieë van geld sal voorsien. Ons weet watter kapitaal die Reserwebank besit, maar ons word nie deur Mnr. Roos in sy laaste toespraak gesê nie, waar die nuwe kapitaal vandaan sal kom wat aan hierdie klasse verskaf sal word. Gedurende die afgelope paar jaar het hy egter oor die hele land 'n politiek van papier inflasie verkondig. Waarom geld in die buiteland geleen, wanneer jy papier hier kan druk, het hy herhaaldelik gevra, net soos die Russiese Sowjet dit gevra het. Die goud van die myne sal waarborg vir hierdie papier wees, sê hy. Ons moet dus daarvan aflei dat die goud van die myne in die koffers van die nuwe bank opgesluit sal word in plaas van oorsee gestuur te word om te betaal vir wat ons invoer, dat die myne, vir hulle goud in papier sal betaal word en dat 'n ver oordrewe papieromloop die wettige betaalmiddel van die land sal word. Ek laat dit aan die verbeeldingskrag van die publiek oor om te oordeel watter uitwerking hierdie politiek op ons krediet hier en daarbuite sal hê, watter ineenstorting van waardes daaruit sal voortvloei en watter skade aan ons handel en nywerheid sal gedaan word.

SLECTE TYD VIR KAPITAAL IN VOORUITSIC.

Maar wat ook al die voornemens en planne van die Nas.-Arb.-Verbond met betrekking tot 'n Staatsbank en die druk van papiergeld mag wees, moet ek erken dat ek die diepste argwaan koester omtrent die finansiële beleid wat die Nas.-Arb.-Regering waarskynlik sal volg. Indien ek moet oordeel na die handelwyse van die Nas.-Arb.-meerderheid gedurende die laaste drie of vier jaar in die Transvaalse Prowinsiale Raad, kan ek alleen sê dat kapitaal en nywerheid 'n baie skraal tyd sal hê, dat om geld te vinde vir 'n aantal onmolike doeleindes kapitaal uitgeveel sal word en dat die krediet van hierdie land 'n skok sal ontvang waarvan dit nie maklik sal herstel nie.

Ek gevoel ewe groot argwaan omtrent die politiek wat die Nas.-Arb.-Regering gaan volg in verband met ons mynweese, wat, soos die Staking van 1922 bewys het, die sleutel is van die vooruitgang

van elke ander industrie van die land, insluitende landbou. Binne die Parlement en buite die Parlement, tydig en ontydig, het die Verbond leiers 'n veldtog van haat teen hierdie industrie gevoer. Die Leiers en selfs die gewone lede van al twee die Vatmekaar Partye het die Mynweese industrie die voorwerp van hulle aanvalle gemaak. Hulle vernaamste aanklag teen die Regering is dat die Regering se politiek vir die myne te gunstig was, dat die myne baie swaarder behoort belas te word, en dat maatreels behoort aangeneem te word, wat as onvermydelike gevolg sal hê die verlamming van hierdie nywerheid. Ek is ten seerste bevrees dat die mynweese-politiek van die Nas.-Arb.-Verbond sal beteken dat die land van die één ekonomiese krisis na die ander sal voortgaan en dat voorspoed alleen dan sal terugkeer, wanneer die onnatuurlike kombinasie verdwyn.

VREES VIR DIE SEGREGASIE-POLITIEK.

DIE LAND SAL OP DAARDIE ROTSE VASLOOP.

Maar my ernstigste vrees is vir Generaal Hertzog se segregasie-politiek. Generaal Hertzog is 'n politieke dweper en ek vrees hy gaan hierdie land laat skipbreuk ly met sy segregasie stokperdjie. Hy verkeer selfs onder die begogeling dat die natuurle van sy segregasie-politiek hou en dit verwelkom.

Sy politiek, soos dikwels deur hom uitgelê, is as volg: Al die natuurle van die Unie moet in territoriale reserwes gesegregeer word en in die Kaap Provinsie sal hulle die reg by die Parlementêre Efeksies —wat hulle nooit moet toegeken gewees het— verloor. Aan die ander kant sal die kleurlinge, as apart van die Naturelle, dieselfde stem en burgerregte oor die ganse Unie as blankes besit, en die kleurlingboom sal geheel en al in Suid-Afrika verdwyn. Bowendien het hy ook, wat hy industriële segregasie van die naturele noem, bepleit, wat hy egter wyselik nagelaat het om duideliker te verklaar. Mnr. Roos het egter verklaar dat naturelle buitekant hulle reserwes alleen ongeskoolde arbeid mag verrig.

ONMOLIKE PLAN.

Ek neem bowestaande aan vir die segregasie-politiek, in breë trekke, wat die onheilige Verbond van plan is om deur die Parlement te sit. Ek aarsel nie om te verklaar dat dit 'n onmoontlike skema is en dat dit die allergrootste omwenteling sal teweeg bring wat nog ooit in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika geken is, dat in soverre as die werk van hierdie land afhanklik is van die samewerking tussen swart en wit dit die besigheid van die land tot 'n algehele dooie punt sal bring en dat dit so'n gevoel van verongelyking, onregverdigheid en verdrukking in die harte van die naturelle sal verwek dat dit nie gemaklik weer sal uitgewis word nie. Die prys wat die blanke sal moet betaal vir soon dwase handeling sal onberekenbaar wees. Dit, soos die meeste van Generaal Hertzog se liefingidees, is volkome ongesond en gevaarlik.

DIE REGERINGS-POLITIEK.

Nie op hierdie wyse, dames en here, sal ons naturelle-vraagstuk opgelos word nie. Ek het as Minister van Naturelle-sake gedurende die laaste vier jaar probeer om hierdie groot vraagstuk op 'n gans ander wyse te nader. In die Naturelle Rade Wet het ek voorsiening gemaak vir Naturelle selfregering in hulle teenswoordige of toekomstige reserwes. En in die Stadsgebiede Wet van verlede jaar het ek probeer om

aan die wortel te raak van die euwels wat voortspruit uit die sawelewing van naturelle in of naby groot stedelike en industriële gebiede. In albei hierdie hervormings het ek blanke en naturelle menings aan my kant gehad. En alleen in daardie gees van regverdigheid, samespreking en billikheid sal ons ooit in staat wees om op bevredigende wyse voorsiening te maak die saambestaan van blanke en naturelle van hierdie land.

VYF PARLEMENTE.

DIE KAFFERMEID-STEMREG-STORIE WEER-SPREEK.

Daar is 'n ander saak waarop die houding van die Nas.-Arb.-Verbond ernstig vrees by my opwek en waarop ek graag 'n definitiewe verklaring van Generaal Hertzog sou kry. Is die Verbond ten gunste daarvan om terug te gaan na 'n federale stelsel in ons Prowinsiale betrekkinge? Indien so, dan gaan hulle ons werk by Unie omver gooi en vyf Parlemente en belastingopleggende liggame in die Unie tot stand bring, wat meer is as ons klein bevolking kan dra. Sover dit ons aangaan is ons politiek duidelik en definitief. Die laaste Wet plaas die Rade op 'n vaste voet met ingekorte bevoegdheids om te belas. As hulle onder daardie Wet beantwoord sal ons bereid wees om hulle vir die toekoms te laat aangaan. Maar as, veral in die twee groot provinsies, die Rade nie satisfaksie gee nie en hulle konstitusionele funksies nie behoorlik ten uitvoer bring nie, sal die Prowinsiale stelsel sover as dit hierdie twee Prowinsies betref opnu in oërweging geneem en radikaal verander moet word.

REFLEKSIE OP ONS VROUE.

Ek is ook begaan oor die houding van uitgesproke vyandigheid wat die Nasionale leiers en Party aangegaan het teenoor die belangryke vraagstuk van vrouekiesreg. Hoewel ons geen partykwessie daarvan maak nie, is die groot meerderheid van ons Party ten gunste van hierdie hervorming. Ons beskou ons vroue as waardig om aan die sy van ons mans te staan as hulle gelyke in die burgerskap van die land. Die houding van die Nasionale leiers is 'n refleksie op ons Suidafrikaanse vrouedom wat hulle nie verdien nie. **Hulle het probeer om die aandag van hulle self af te wend deur te verklaar dat ek ten gunste is van vrouekiesreg vir blank en gekleurd dwars deur die Unie.** Dit is heelmaal onwaar. Ek het as die enige uitvoerbare oplossing in my opinie bepleit die vasstelling van 'n taamlike hoë algemene kwalifikasie vir vrouens oor geheel Suid-Afrika en om die kleur-slagboom te laat waar die Grondwet dit geplaas het, naamlik buitekant die Kaap Prowinsie. Ek hoop van harte dat langs hierdie of dergelyke lyne hierdie hervorming nog sal deurgevoer word met die toestemming van alle partye en as 'n gif van alle partye aan die vrouedom van Suid-Afrika.

HEELTEMAAL PRAKTIES.

Die politiek wat ek geskets het is na my mening al wat werklik vereis word teneinde ons industriële en landbouontwikkeling die nodige stoot vir die volgende stadium te gee. En dit is 'n volkome aanneemlike en praktiese politiek. As die maatreels wat ek genoem het uitgevoer word, kan ons die res aan partikuliere onderneming laat en aan die terugkeer van gunstiger en voorspoediger landstoestand. Ons verlang nie drastiese en heldhaftige maatreels wat alleen kwaad kan doen nie. Die land werd deur 'n ernstige siekte heen gebring deur deskundige behandeling; laat ons die volkome herstel en toekomstige

ontwikkeling aan die natuur laat en dit nie deur aanhoudende regeringsingryping en bemoeiing, belemmer nie.

MOET DIE TOEKOMS BEWOLK WORD?

En dit is juis daar wat my vrees vir die toekoms in kom. As 'n Nas.-Arb. Regering aan die bewind kom en hulle dillettante idees en grillige eksperimente op hierdie land toepas sal ons so 'n skok, so 'n onsekerheid, en so 'n algemene ontwrigting sien dat ons kans vir toekomstige ontwikkeling en 'n terugkeer na algemene voorspoed, nog eens bewolk sal wees. Die land sal 'n Regering hê, nie van verstandige, skerpsinnige, ervare hooft nie, maar 'n Regering van amateurs, dwepers en ekstremiste wat in die verlede gestaan het vir al wat allergevaarlik is in ons politieke lewe. Hierdie mense sal verplig wees om ten minste 'n deel van die politiek wat hulle met soveel vuur bepleit, in praktyk te bring; hulle volgelinge sal verag en hulle dwing om ten minste 'n deel van die leer wat hulle verkondig te beoefen en 'n slag sal aan die land toegedien word waarvan dit nie maklik sal herstel nie. Dit is een van die ernstige kwessies in hierdie gewichtige verkiesing.

'n Mens hoor dit dikwels sê dat die teenswoordige Regering te lank aan die bewind was en dat 'n verandering wenslik is; en dat, per slot van rekening, geen groot kwaad gedaan sal word nie as 'n verandering plaasvind. Geen houding, geen argument kan gevaarliker wees dan dit nie. 'n Verandering mag regverdig wees, dit mag selfs wenslik wees, indien ons plek sal ingeneem word deur manne wie se verlede van so 'n aard is dat ons hulle met veiligheid vir die toekoms kan vertrou, deur manne teen wie daar niks in te bring is nie, deur manne met 'n skoon lei, om dit so te sê. Dog wat is die posisie hier? Ons moet plek maak vir manne wat die gevaarlikste en mees onheilspellende loopbane in ons openbare sake het, wie se verlede die resente geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika in duisternis gehul het, wat hierdie land skipbreuk sou laat ly het as dit nie was vir die heldhaftige opofferinge en poginge van Generaal Botha en die verstandige vaderlandsliewende manne van Suid-Afrika wat by hom gestaan het.

NIE ONSKULDIG NIE.

Indien die manne wat ons plek wil inneem alleenlik onervare was sou ek hulle 'n kans gee. As hulle maar net onskuldig was. As hulle verlede maar net gewys het dat hulle met die Regering van hierdie land kon vertrou word. Maar hulle is nie onskuldig nie, Suid-Afrika kan dit nie bybring om haar lot aan sulke manne te vertrou nie. Om hulle op hierdie tydstip aan die hoof van die Administrasie te stel sou beteken 'n volslae ommekeer van al die beslissings in die groot kwessies van die laaste veertien jaar in ons geskiedenis. Dit sal alleen 'n ander donker hoofstuk in ons geskiedenis open, en ek vir een het te veel geloof in die oordeel van my landgenote om te glo dat soiets moontlik is.

Ek sou die volk van Suid-Afrika vra om die volgende vraagstukke van ons resente geskiedenis te bepeins en antwoord te gee by die stembus in die lig van hulle gewete en die liefde wat hulle Suid-Afrika toedra.

GENL. HERTZOG EN DIE REBELLIE.

Twaalf jaar gelede het Generaal Hertzog die Nasionale Party op 'n twee-stroom politiek gestig teneinde die rasse-geskille tussen ons blanke bevolking te verewig en te verskerp. Daarteenoor het Generaal Botha en die Suidafrikaanse Party die groot ideaal van één ondeelbare Suidafrikaanse nasie voorgestel. Wat

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

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

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

WILDE, VERNIELENDE PROPAGANDA.

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

GEEN REC OM EERSTE MINISTER TE WEES.

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

GEEN BEROU. HERTZOG ONBESKAAM.

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

ONS POLITIEKE VERLEDE. SKERPE AANVAL OP DIE VERBOND.

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

DIE HERTZOGTOESPRAKE

DEEL 4
April 1918–Junie 1924

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

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Perskor-uitgewery

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

Meneer die Voorsitter,
Vrindinne en Vrindes,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sy oorlogsverklaring teen Frankryk van 1923

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

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

Sy optrede in verband met die staking van 1922

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

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

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

Gen. Smuts se optrede in verband met Rhodesië

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

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

Gen. Smuts se bestrydingsmetode van 1921

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

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

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

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

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

Die beloftes van voorspoed en vrede in 1921

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Die fabel van vrede

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gen. Smuts se manifes van hede

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

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

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

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

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

Selfs 'n Robespierre moes sig iets dergeliks laat getroos.

Gen. Smuts se beroep op sy verlede

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

Gen. Smuts se program van aksie en nuwe beloftes

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

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

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

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

afskaffing van die medesyne belasting

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

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

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

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

Die ambtenare en onderwysers

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

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

Gen. Smuts se industriële politiek

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

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

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

Andere politieke voornemens van Gen. Smuts

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

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

Wat Gen. Smuts kan sluk

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

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

Program van aksie van die Nasionale Party

1. Landbou ontwikkeling en meer simpatie met die boer.

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

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

Die politiek mag nie geduld word nie.

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

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

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

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

Dit mag so nie langer nie.

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

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

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

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

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

4. Oplossing van die naturelle vraagstuk

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Hersiening van ons belastingstelsel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. *'n Staatsbank*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ten slotte,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verkiesingsveldtog van Arbeiders Geopen.

KOL. CRESWELL VERDUIDELIK VERKIESINGS PROGRAM.

Die Sondelys van die Regering.

Groot en Geesdriftige Vergadering in Durban.

Kol. F. H. P. Creswell het gisteraand as leier van die Arbeidersparty die verkiesingsveldtog van sy party geopen in Durban. Hy het begin met die toespraak van genl. Smuts, wat hy merkwaardig en belaglik genoem het, aangesien die Eerste Minister dinge belooft wat hy gedurende die afgelope sitting van die Volksraad geweer het. Genl. Smuts het 'n meerderheid gehad; waarom het hy nie daardie belofte uitgevoer nie? Of gaan hy die Volksraad weer ontbind as hy 'n meerderheid van 3 of 6 kry? Hy het reeds die Raad drie keer in vier en 'n half jaar ontbind, en daarom noem kol. Creswell hom die „Ontbindings-Premier.” Hy het nou sy eie party ontbind.

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

VERKIESINGSVELD TOG VAN ARBEIDERS GEOPEN.

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DURBAN, Woensdag, 30 April.

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

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

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

'N MERKWAARDIGE TOESPRAAK, MAAR OOK 'N BELAGLIKE.

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

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

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

OPSTOKING TEEN GENL. HERTZOG.

WAT VAN SESESSIE WORD.

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

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

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

GENL. SMUTS SE TEKORTKOMING.

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

VALSE STRYDVRAE.

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

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

OPTREDE VAN DIE REGERING HARTHANDIG EN WILLEKEURIG.

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

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

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

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

'N VERDERFLIKE POLITIEK.

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

DIE BELASTINGSPOLITIEK VERDRUK DIE SWAKKES.

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

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

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

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

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

BUITENGEWONE OMSTANDIGHEDE.

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

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

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

Wat is die

HOUDING VAN DIE ARBEIDERSPARTY

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

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

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

"Ons wil rus hê van hierdie politieke onrus oor denkbeel-dige paaiboelies en ons verlang 'n tydperk waarin die Re-gering hom geheel en al sal toelê op die ekonomiese vraag-stukke wat . . ." Op hierdie tydstip was daar skerp inter-rupsies uit die saal en vir meer as twee minute kon spr. nie voortgaan nie. Later kon hy hervat en het hy verklaar dat hulle met vertrouwe die nuwe Regering tegemoet sien, ten spyte van alles wat in die pers verskyn.

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

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

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

STAATSBANK BEPLEIT.

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

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

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

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

GRONDBELASTINGS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

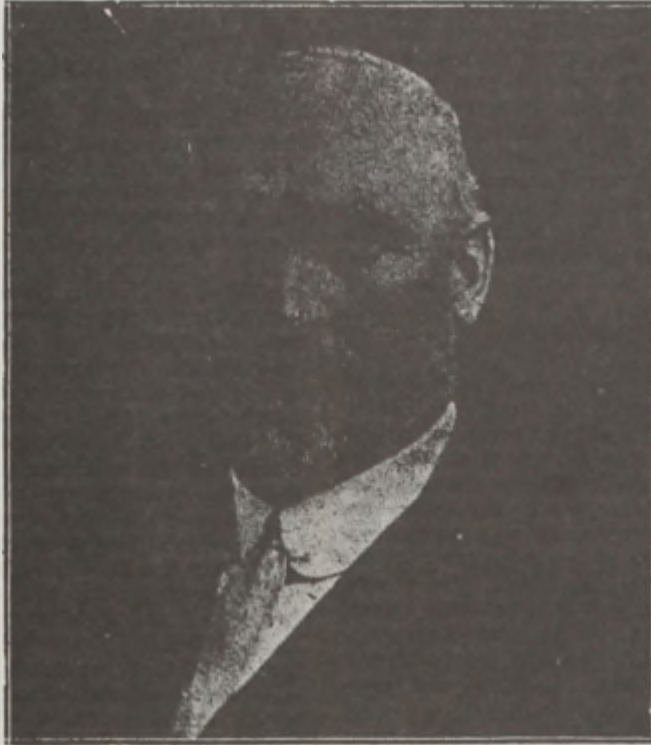
MNR. THOMAS BOYDELL, L.V.

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

VRAE.

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

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



The Choice before the Country.

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

J. M. Mank.

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Genl. Smuts Great Speech.

S.A. Party Manifesto.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

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

A MOMENTOUS DECISION.

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

TAKE THE PACT SERIOUSLY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TWO-STREAM POLICY DEAD.

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

SECESSION ISSUE. "DANGER IS ONLY POSTPONED".

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

DECISIVE VICTORY.

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

"TURNED DOWN WITH CONTEMPT".

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

SHIP OF STATE.

REMISSION OF TAXATION NEXT YEAR.

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

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

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

THE 1922 STORM.

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

SKIES CLEARING.

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

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

THE PUBLIC SERVANTS.

NO FURTHER DEMANDS UPON THEM.

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

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

SACRIFICE NOT IN VAIN.

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

FACTS OMINOUS ATTITUDE.

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

MORE RAILWAYS.

FURTHER MARKETS FOR UNION EXPORTS.

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

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

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

TRADE COMMISSIONER FOR AMERICA.

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

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

FRUIT EXPORT.

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

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

HELP FOR FARMERS. PLANS TO BENEFIT AND ATTRACT SETTLERS.

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

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

LAND SETTLEMENT.

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

INDUSTRIAL POLICY. SOLID WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT.

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

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

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY.

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

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

ELECTRIC POWER.

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

SPECIAL MINISTER. BANK TO ASSIST YOUNG FACTORIES.

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

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

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

THE PROPOSED BANK.

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

TO BUILD ENGINES HERE.

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

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

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

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

PERILS OF THE PACT.

HOW COUNTRY'S CREDIT WILL BE DAMAGED.

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

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

PAPER INFLATION POLICY.

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

THIN TIME FOR CAPITAL.

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

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

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

SEGREGATION IDEA. COUNTRY WILL BE RUN ON THE ROCKS.

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

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

IMPOSSIBLE SCHEME.

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

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

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

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

FIVE PARLIAMENTS. NATIONALISTS AND WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

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

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

REFLECTION ON WOMANHOOD.

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

PERFECTLY PRACTICAL.

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

PACT FADDISTS.

GRAVE ISSUE OF MOMENTOUS ELECTION.

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

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

NOT INNOCENT.

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

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

GRAVE INDICTMENT.

POLITICAL RECORD OF GENERAL HERTZOG.

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

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

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

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

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

RAGING, TEARING PROPAGANDA.

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

NO REPENTANCE.

HERTZOG UNABASHED AND UNASHAMED.

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

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

OUR "POLITICAL PURISTS" SCATHING ATTACK UPON THE PACT.

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

PRIVATE BARGAINING.

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

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

CLEAN POLITICS ESSENTIAL.

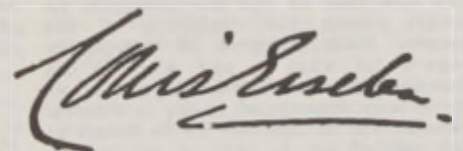
Let us make this election a battle for clean politics and for conducting the affairs of this country on clear political principles. If the Pact is turned down now, unscrupulous politicians in future will think twice before they try again to smother the voice and the wishes of the people through election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

THE IMMENSE ISSUES.

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

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

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



General Secretary,
South African Party.

28th April, 1924.

GENERAL HERTZOG'S SEVEN POINTS

THE POLICY OF THE PACT

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS THE FIRST PLANK

A MINISTRY OF LABOUR

Smithfield, Saturday.

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

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

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

General Hertzog said that suddenly, though not unexpectedly, the Smuts Government had made the discovery that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people. (Hear, hear). The deception and false pretences through which it was called into being in 1921 never gave the Government the right to lay claim to any such confidence from the side of the people. Under the circumstances there was nothing surprising in the fact that even at the first by-election the people displayed their dissatisfaction with the Government, so that the majority of 24 with which the Smuts Government began in 1921 soon dropped to a majority of eight. A majority of eight in a House of 134 was, however, not too small a majority to enable a Government to attend properly to the interests of the country. But in spite of the considerable majority which he still had at his disposal, General Smuts had decided to dissolve Parliament and go to the polls.

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

NO CONFIDENCE!

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

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

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

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

THE 1922 UPHEAVAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

WASTE, NOT WAR

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

hearted and injudicious relief works and doles.

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

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

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

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

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

SEVEN PLANKS

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

THE PACT'S PROGRAMME

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

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

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

UNEMPLOYMENT

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

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

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

NATIVE "TERRITORIES"

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

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

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

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

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

THE MINES

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

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

"Seventhly, a State bank. Through

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

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

AFRICAN LABOUR

tary Election

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

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

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

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

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

THREE YEARS OF "THE MAN AND THE HOUR."

And now mark well what followed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION MANIFESTO

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

TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH AFRICA—

If you have any real Patriotism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

You believe that political juggling is not statemanship.

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

THE GOVERNMENT'S RECORD

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

The first took place in March, 1920.

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

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

He had no steam roller majority.

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

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

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

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

He proposal was declined.

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

These efforts also failed.

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

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

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

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

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

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THE COUNTRY TO-DAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AND NOW THE OPPORTUNITY

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

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

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

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

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

The object has been achieved.

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

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

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

THE NEW PARLIAMENT—WHAT IT MUST DO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let there be an end to this.

THE CALL HAS COME

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

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

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

Some words of final warning.

A LIE

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

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

Another invention.

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

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

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

THE SUPREME ISSUE

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

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