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AD' ESS : NATIVE AND COLOURED FRANCHISE AND REPRESENTATION

- SMITHFIELD 13 NOVEMBER 19 5 f- Helium s

This is the first time, since the inception of Nationalist Party rule, that I have the opportunity to address you as my voters.

I want to use this opportunity to thank you for your contribution in securing victory for the Nationalist Party.

Above all I want to thank you for your unqualified support since the first day that I was elected to serve as your member.

A greater degree of loyalty and support can never be expected by a member from his constituency.

Accept my most heartfelt thanks and thereby also the assurance that your support and appreciation remains an encouragement to serve you and our Nation(Volk) with dignity in my public life.

You are in the best position to judge whether my Government and I have succeeded thus far to secure and promote the honour and goodwill of the Nation(Volk). I can assure you that we are making it our earnest endeavour. When we took over the government of the country was in a hopeless position of unemployment amongst whites. Thanks to the political changes brought about by us -

a new opening to the (labour) employment field has been created for our sons and unemployment has disappeared from the scene.

The State finance, so badly neglected and driven into a confused state by previous governments - is once more on a sound footing

- and whereas the farmer has been robbed of millions of pounds annually by the embargo on gold exports by previous governments.

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The gold basis has now been restored to the benefit of all.

The financial relations between the provinces and the Union is on a satisfactory basis which saved our rural (platteland) Education from decline as happened during the reign of the previous governments.

Our import tariffs which previous governments dreaded to touch for fear of insulting England has been placed on a profitable basis.

Our industries are enjoying the necessary protection and are not only encouraged in a way that provides satisfaction to the people in Industry but also to the farmer and the son of the farmer.

The importation of cattle by the government from Rhodesia has been restricted in friendly consultation with the government of Rhodesia notwithstanding the Opinion of our predecessors that this would be impossible.

We never had a problem in funding a market for the lending of money to us notwithstanding the provocative statements by our opposition parties that no money would be loaned to us.

We have not heard anything again about capital withdrawaas from our country. Notwithstanding the evil National or Pact Government being the rulers.

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Blood, so provocatively predicted by General Smuts and his followers, has not yet been spilled by this Government - in spite of the fact that we have had unrest amongst the natives as well as a strike amongst the workers. If I understand General Smuts correctly (by means of his statements) than it is not more spilling of blood that he fears - but a peaceful solution for existing problems (matters).

As far as I am concerned (personally) - I do not believe in the politics of violence except where the State has to defend itself.

From what I said I think that it would clear that the National Government do not have to apologise for what it has done and for its achievements.

Our opposition (cannot deny) cannot refuse to recognise what this government has done to assist the nation and to ensure the progress of the country. The progress and prosperity of the Nation (Volk) and the country during the last few years is so obvious that they (opposition) has to recognise it.

Against this they advanced only two arguments. The first argument is that in cases where we were successful - they claim that we achieved success because we implemented "their" politics and the second is that the prosperity experienced is not the result of efficient government but because of a combination of favourable factors.

My answer to the first argument of General Smuts and his followers is this - assuming that they are right - which is not the case - then it follows that his government was either

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weak or nervous to bring their actions in line with their prescribed political beliefs. If it is their clothes that we are wearing why were they afraid to wear it ?

As far as the second argument is concerned - I want to accept that the general conditions are at present more favourable than at any time during the Smuts term of office. My answer is this : that the conditions under which a government rules is seldom of the nature where it is not influenced by the actions of the government.

If the conditions were unfavourable under the previous government - then it must have been largely as a result of wrong influences of that government.

The favourable conditions of today is certainly (not outside the context) within the context of the (recalling) scrapping of the gold export embargo the importation of cattle from Rhodesia the reopening of the door to the employment field within the Railways for our sons (closed by previous governments) protection of industries, the systematic attempt at restoring of the neglected white to useful members of the Society, the scrapping of the tobacco tax and the forceful measures for the elimination of rabies.

All these measures could have been introduced by the previous government in an attempt to improve our unfavourable living conditions. They did not do it and thus the unfavourable conditions became more unfavourable and pressing to the nation. In some instances the previous government not only neglected to improve conditions but willingly creating unfavourable conditions e.g. the devastating tobacco tax and the bleeding of the nation by stripping us of our gold basis.

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No the living conditions had improved since the inception of National Party rule and the improvements have been markedly influenced by the politics and actions of the government.

The opposition under the leadership of General Smuts after realizing, that their attempts at negating what the Pact government had already achieved were not acceptable to the public - are now trying their utmost to instill fear in the nation by showing how the Nationalist in the government could be pushed by their Labour colleagues.

There is no doubt that Government by two or more parties with different political directions run the risk of becoming powerless to govern properly or to become too strongly influenced by one or the other party. The 1920 government of Smuts is an excellent example in this regard. It could not govern efficiently and evidence of Smuts' powerlessness, as a result of the presence in his Cabinet of the Honourable Jagger, to decide on the protection and development of industry.

In addition the Smuts government had the influence of the old Unionist politics and the South African Party because of the Unionist influence in the Cabinet ceased to be the People Government and instead of receiving its instructions from the People(Volk) of the Union - it was led by influences outside S .A .

So much was it the case that on occasion one of the Ministers replying to our criticism against the government - declared that "what is good for England should be good enough for us".

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I find it encouraging today that General Smuts has become a supporter of our slogan : "South Africa First". Let us not forget that

Honourable are those who conduct themselves honourably.

I want to accept that the Pact Government are also facing these dangers today.

But when General Smuts announces that we have already succumbed and that the Nationalist in the Cabinet are under the influence of their Labour colleagues - then I must refute it.

What is General Smuts proof thereof. He touches on two laws promulgated (enacted) by us the Diamond Control Law and the Wage Act.

In respect of the Diamond Control Law it was nothing less than gross neglect by the previous government in not ensuring that the interests of the State are protected in the sale of diamonds.

In the sale of diamonds the State interests are not less than 25%. You will thus understand if I say that (until now) the State had jurisdiction over the sale of diamonds and even the price was determined without reference to the State. How essential the Diamond Control Act is evidenced by the fact that the first sale of diamonds yielded hundred thousands of pounds more than was received previously.

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General Smuts calls it Socialist Legislation. General Smuts is correct it is Socialist legislation in the interest of the Societal organ - the State.

80 too is the taxation on diamonds as well as all taxations and so too each State enterprise, the Railways, Postal Service and allow me to add the Wage Act.

Where and in so far the State intervene for Social, Societal, and to control conditions - this State practices Socialism.

However is there one of you who will state that it should not be done ? Not one of you.

With reference to the Wage Act - the Government has declared itself against the exploitation of the Worker by the industrial bosses. The "sweating system" was the cause of the decline of Europe. This government is not prepared to allow it to cause the decline of South Africa.

'The worker is worth his wage' and he must receive his wage says this government.

Where the law appears to be dishonourable (immoral) it would be the responsibility of the government of the day to address the issue (error). The power thereto is vested in the government without whose permission no wage can be fixed.

General Smuts is not engaging in healthy or valid criticism but is attempting to scare the boers by suggesting that the legislation will also have implications for agriculture and the farmer .

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He knows as well as I do that this act is not applicable there. No, I have no doubt that he would fail in his attempts. The Afrikaner farmer wants to live but he grants the right to each of his fellow Afrikaners (Volksgenote) the opportunity to live. And while he is desirous to provide for himself - he regards it as the responsibility of the State, of which he is a member, to provide for those individuals who cannot provide for themselves, i.e. our Nation (Volk) is by nature and through Religion Socialist in the positive sense of the word. The doctrine of "I am not my brothers keeper" was never our doctrine.

It is here where General Smuts through his method of government has been so fundamentally wrong. He has not learned that fundamental motivation of the Afrikaner nation (Volk).

Educated (Schooled) in the business tradition - the self-interest and self enrichment of the industrial world and the industrial bosses - he does not know the Small Afrikaner dom with a totally different perspective of the outside world and the destiny of people within it. No wonder that he ignored the needs and ambitions of the Afrikaners during his reign as Prime Minister.

He was guided in State policy a group whose interestshad no commonality with that of the masses of people (Volk).

No wonder that General Smuts showed a great degree of despise (rejection) as soon as government legislation was promulgated in favour of the social masses (Volksmassa).

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However I do not want to bore you further with General Smuts and his attempts to score people.

I want to go on to discuss the major Native problem in which occupied the attention for a number of years.

SEGREGKTION

Never in the history of since Union has there been a stronger desire and urge for a change in the conditions of native affairs. The European population as well as the native insist on this change. The native appears to be under the impression that he is being illtreated and insists on equality with the white man not only equality in the treatment of persons and property en before the law, but he also insists on equality with the European in all Spheres - be it in the commerce and industry or the professional or clerical activities or in the civil service or private persons or in the public or private terrain.

In short his claim covers all claims to privileges and rights that are accorded to whites - including the political rights of participation on equal footing election of members of Parliament and be elected as members of Parliament.

'In the Cape he has the right together with the white man to elect a member of Parliament and they are insisting on sending natives to Parliament.

It is further very clear that in the other provinces Free State, Transvaal and Natal cannot grant the franchise to the native on the basis of the Cape franchise qualification or rather agree with the basis that there be agreement with the white man as to who should go to parliament.

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This must inevitably lead to the decline of the whites and of the European civilization in the Union.

when we examine the conditions close and then one is forcibly struck by the fact that unless changes are brought about to the prevailing conditions at the Cape - it will become impossible to prevent the demand for the vote by the Natives in the Northern Provinces within a short space of time.

I say in all earnestly. Not to score anyone but to inform the Nation (Volk) so that the necessary steps could be taken to stave off this threatening evil.

It is my intention to inform you today of what plans I have to present to the Nation (Volk) to stave off this threat, a threat that would lead to the demise of the natives and the Europeans. Before I do that I would like to show why it would be impossible under the present conditions for the Northern provinces to continue to deny the franchise to the Natives.

I say under present conditions i.e. as we are continuing at present. The reason for this lies in the fact that the Native in the Cape has the right to decide with the white man as to who is going to parliament.

Unless this franchise is removed from the native in the Cape or unless it is fundamentally changed it will become impossible for the Northern Provinces. I repeat it - to keep the door closed against the demand for franchise from the native within their boundaries.

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I want to provide further motivation for this.

According to informed persons it will not be long - possibly within 50 years when the native voters in the Cape Colony will outnumber the European voters. This statement will cause a stir amongst more than one of you and yet it cannot be disputed. Everything points to the fact that it is a deduction based on facts and statistics.

Although long before 50 years has elapsed the native vote in the Cape would have a greater significance and influence on the native franchise question in the other provinces than is the case today.

I do not want to exaggerate but within the next 40 or 50 years you will hardly find a member of parliament from the Cape who would openly oppose the extention of the native franchise to the Free State, Transvaal and Natal. When the day arrives when extention is openly pleaded for - the Northern provinces would have only two choices - or they would have to secede from the Union and that will not happen without the spilling of blood or they would have to subject themselves to the extention and the granting of the mentioned political rights to the native here. The reason for this is self-evident. The Cape has 51 members - there are 135 members of the Assembly. Out of the 51 members - there are 12 members whose election is dependant on the native vote.

The result is that the majority of the Cape member of Parliament often choose a direction which will not affect the native vote within their constituency of a party colleague in respect of matters relating to the native - a direction that they would not have chosen otherwise.

It is important to note that their actions are not guided by what is in the real interests of the country but by how they can capture or maintain the native vote.

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This state of affairs is significantly on the increase and will continue to be for as long as the native vote increase numerically and long before the native vote becomes the majority vote in the Cape will the Party which becomes dependant on this vote be compelled to use its influence to satisfy the wishes and demands of the native on the political level. If this action of such a Party is restricted to the Cape then perhaps will the dangers have less impact.

However such a restriction is impossible and no party can plea for the extention of the native franchise or the granting of the right to native. Representation -in parliament in the Cape - cannot do so without pleing for the native in the other provinces either directly or indirectly. Consequently the entire case (matter) of the provinces will be lost; save if the Northern Provinces decide to secede from the Union and follow an independant path - as has been pointed out earlier by me.

It must be abundantly clear that because a and more of the total number of members of the Assembly are from the Cape Province - the country can never be governed effectively without their co-operation (from this province). This would of necessity make the government of the day dependant on the Cape support as it was in the past - with the difference that the increase in the number of voters and the importance thereof (of the vote) will allow the natives to exercise more control over the conditions upon which they would cooperate with the government of the day.

If, under these circumstances, the natives of the Cape puts as conditions to the members, who have become dependant upon their vote, that any government which will not be prepared to support the demand for the vote for the Natives in the North

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and then the right to Representation will have to be eventually be granted to the length and breadth of the country and this on the basis of the Cape Franchise. It is already clear that this is going to be the trend in the future. Unless there is a change in the existing basis of the Native Franchise in the Cape, it will become impossible for us to deny the native the right to vote - except as I mentioned, that we have our secession from the Union.

It must thus be abundantly clear to each one of you, that if we are to avoid a civil war or the decline of the White Man and the European civilization in South Africa than the native vote in the Cape will have to be drastically changed. However I will never conceal that it is the fact that the native in fact votes with the White Man in the Cape, that is singularly the reason why we in the Northern Provinces will be forced to accept the enfranchisement of the native, if we allow matters continue as it is today.

Besides the direction in which we are driven by the fact that the natives have the vote in the Cape, we have an influential and substantial section of the European population with the view that it is an injustice to native in the Northern Province to totally deny him the right to represent his interests in the Assembly.

This view (feeling) are becoming stronger (more and more forceful) especially without the influential European circles.

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Church conferences has not remained silent on this issue, during the last few years, and they created the existing conditions are such that it does not provide adequate satisfaction to the conscious of the White man. I do not want to elaborate (further) save to focus your attention on the fact that there are a great number of whites and especially men of influence who cannot reconcile their conscious with the fact that the natives should be permanently excluded from exercising the vote.

These thousands of whites within the nation are making it (more and more) known that changes should occur which would address this injustice in respect of the native. For the greater number of whites it is an issue not to be talked about because of their feeling that the extention of the Cape Native Franchise would create serious problems and become a peril. (dangers) They are seeking an alternative solution that would soothe their conscientious objections. However, we must prepare ourselves and know that unless we can find satisfaction along another direction, which would soothe the conscious of these men - they (these men) will throw their weight behind those who are advocating the extention of the Cape Native Franchise - and in this regard they will gain the support of some of the churches.

At the same time I must point out that there is another section of the European population which work as a force towards acquiring the Cape Franchise for the natives in this province - i.e. the Communists. I do not want to elaborate on their scheme towards this aim in this regard.

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However these activites are real and are taking place with the cooperation of the Natives in the Northern provinces as well as in the Cape. The agitation that is prevalent today is not comforting at all and if we are wise; we will do everything in our power to stop agitation on this issue as soon as possible.

Quite rightly you will ask me :

How is all this to be achieved ?

In the search for a solution the following statements will have to be accepted as fundamental and non negotiable (onomstootlik) namely :

(1) The Northern Provinces are not prepared to grant the native the right (jointly with the white man) to decide on a member for Parliament i.e. they reject the Cape Native vote.

(2) The Northern Provinces will (neither) never agree to Natives being elected to Parliament.

(3) The Cape Native Vote must be amended.

(4) In order to change the Native Vote it would be necessary to achieve a two-third majority of the members of Parliament in favour of the proposed amendment.

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You will realize immediately, that unless the European nation is prepared to, irrespective of party political feeling, deal with the issue as a national one - with co-operation as a priority - it would be fatal to waste any (further) more time on this issue.

Fortunately, there is, as far as I am concerned no other national issue(Volksaak) where the general feeling transcends all party and sectional interests in pursuit of a national solution. In addition there is a belief that the time for a solution is now.

It is unnecessary to add that I am in full agreement thereto. I have already pointed out that no solution would be satisfactory if it did not take amendments (changes) to the Cape Native vote into account.

However I have also pointed out that in order to effect these changes through parliament - a two-thirds majority of all the members of Parliament is required.

I want to emphasize it, (in order) to get you to realize to what extent any proposal will have to be acceptable to the nation (Volk) in order to effect the changes.

without this acceptability no proposed solution - however brilliant a scheme it may be, will be a lasting or valuable contribution.

There are hundreds of people who have ready solutions, but I do not know whether we can count 10 amongst them who are aware of the fact that if the solution is not acceptable to two-thirds of the European population - their solution is rendered useless.

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It is not a question that can be pushed through parliament by the majority achieved by one or other party. This is a question for the nation (Volkssaak) and we are called to make a contribution irrespective of our personal prejudices or party interests.

This issue has to be resolved - and the question now is : Which acceptable solution (is available) exists ?

I now want to present the solution to which I arrived. If someone can suggest a more effective plan which (at the same time) would be acceptable to the Nation (Volk) - We would all record our appreciation to him. If not, then I will table my proposal at the Assembly and the Senate for acceptance or rejection.

The solution is briefly as follows :

1. In the first instance - we will have to make provision for the ownership of more land which was promised in terms of the 1913 Act. I do not have to deal with how it is going to work (mechanics) at this stage. However I say (along the road of) the unconditional acceptance of the Beaumont Commission of 1917-1918 is not the practical (way) to achieve the goal .

Be that as it may, this issue is by no means insurmountable - I hope to place a satisfactory solution for the native as well as the white man before the Assembly.

Secondly it would be the direct responsibility of the Native Administration to ensure that the native is encouraged and trained to depend on his own strength and to make it attractive to administer himself within all native area.

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For many years it will have to be under the guidance of the white man - but the aim must be to train the native to take charge of his own domestic affairs.

This would be nothing more (else) than to give effect to the spirit and purpose of Act 23 of 1920. The commissions and Councils must be encouraged in terms of the Act and wherever possible (it must) be established. Not only the local councils, but also the General Council as envisaged in terms of the Act must be established as is the case in the Transkei under the names of the General Native Council or the General Native Council - the Burga.

While people will compare the Local Councils with the Municipalities -the General Native Council is more in line with the Provincial Councils. However, these are merely comparisons. The purpose of these Councils is to allow the native to rule within his own areas and to deal with all native affairs within the area of his jurisdiction. The good results expected from these institutions is clearly visible in the Transkei where the system is already in existence for 25 years.

However it has been felt that a need for a National Council for Natives throughout the Union in the cities, as well as the town, within the white man's environment (area) should assemble to discuss affairs affecting the Native.

In terms of Clause 14 of Act No.23 of 1920 and the proposals of former and the present government of an annual Native Congress - the delegates would be partly be mandated by the natives and partly by the government.

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This annual Congress should, in my opinion, become a permanent structure - the Union Native Council by Law - with a clear definition of its functions:and powers as well as its composition.

I am thus suggesting that a Union Native Council be created by legislation.

The Council will consist of 50 members of which a small number of members will be nominated by the Government but the majority of the natives will be elected within the different provinces.

The purpose of the Council will be, as is the case today with the annual Congressg to gauge the feeling of the entire native population of the Union in respect of native affairs. Hence the council will be initially an advisory body. However, the aim must be, as the native population becomes competent in the legislative and self-government functions and as the Council gains influence and confidence amongst the native tribes, to grant powers of legislation over native affairs.

In this way the Union Native Council will slowly become a Bunga or Great Council for our native population to deal with all matters and interests in so far it affects the native. The institution of these different Councils will to a large degree satisfy the desire of the native to participate in the government of the country and especially to govern himself.

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At the same time it will grant opportunities for the talents of developing natives. Those who today, because opportunities does not exist, are making demands on the white man and who wants to participates in everything to which the white man are entitled, including the right to vote and the right to sit in parliament.

This will afford him the opportunity to do everything for his nation within his own country and that without the intervention of the white man - except insofar the white man's (leadership) is required.

When this guidance becomes unnecessary then it will not be forced upon them.

But more than that - the developing native will thereby realize more and more what their duty and responsibility are and that he forms part of the native population who has first call on his services and skills.

This will restore the break (gap) between the tribalised and the detribalised native that exists today and will result in the demands by the developing natives for equality with the white man in all respects to diminish, if not disappear.

However, it must be realised that if we remove the franchise from the Cape Native than we cannot stop at the introduction of these institutions.

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The extent to which these councils will satisfy the needs of the native, if we are going to restrict it (the man white) powers, not be adequate or to the satisfaction of the white man as well as the native.

Because it would be immediately pointed out that, although the native acquired the right to govern himself within his own areas, this self-government does not go beyond those matters and interests relating to the natives exclusively - but they have no authority which affects the Natives and European jointly because they have absolutely no representation in Parliament.

Naturally we cannot grant authority to the Native Councils to legislate over matters which do not only affect them but the white man outside the native areas as well.

The authority to control (legislate) these matters always remain with the European and the Parliament.

However, if the Cape Franchise is removed from the native without an alternative then the natives throughout the Union will (be disgruntled and) be stripped of any influence within Parliament and his interests e.g. in the case of the income taxes - will then without his representation either directly or indirectly in Parliament leave the white man to decide according to his (white man's) wishes.

It is therefore clear that the majority of Europeans in the Cape as well as a great majority in the other provinces will not condone and thus will not agree to the removal of the Cape Franchise without an alternative method of representation for the native interests in parliament.

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'Ne must therefore accept that the Cape Native Vote will not be changed unless it is replaced by a method to ensure the representation of the native interests in the Assembly.

He will have to do this or else there would be no solution to the native question.

Here I would like to propose the following :

The Cape Native Vote be removed completely - and in its place a Cape Union Native Vote is instituted as follows :

That the Natives be allowed to elect (7) seven European to represent their interests in the assembly. The seven members is elected by the Natives as follows:

(i) 2 by the Natives of the Cape Town.

(ii) 2 by the Natives of the Transkei.

(iii) 2 by the Natives in Natal.

One by the Natives in the Orange Free State.

These seven members will not count amongst the members proposed in terms of the constitution of the Union, but will be additional members and will not have the right to vote on the basis of the native representation in parliament.

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I am convinced that the native will achieve more than he would ever achieve under the Cape system, that his interests would be better served in parliament - but it would also be a blessing for the white man because it will remove the dangers (perils) that I enunciated.

I pointed that these dangers out and I am not going to repeat it.

As far as the acceptability of this solution is concerned I want to say this :

It will grant the necessary satisfaction and will soothe the consciences of those amongst us who believe that it is unfair that the native in the northern provinces do not have the opportunity to participate in the creation of legislation under which he and sometime he alone must live. This will remove the accusation of being unfair towards the native from us and will immediately remove the agitation amongst the native and the whites for the extension of the franchise to all natives.

The agitation for the granting of the franchise to the Native in the northern provinces as well as the right of the natives within the Union to become members of Parliament will be crushed by the acceptance of this proposal.

The white man, irrespective of how he feels today on the judicial aspect and his plea for the native franchise will immediately feel that the legitimate needs of the native has been met and that the native has no further grounds for complaints.

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I mean (imply) this the right to feel convinced that I have the cooperation of the entire white population of the Union, those who are convinced that a solution has to be found for the native question and that it is now the time for it and above all I hope as well that I would enjoy the wholehearted support of the Free State.

COLOURED

Thus far I have dealt purely with the Native question. However there is also a Coloured Question that is so link (in relation) with the Native Question that it forms an integral part of the latter.

Without a solution for the Coloured question - there can be no solution for the Native Question. This is another indisputed fact.

The question relevant to the Coloured is whether one or other form of segregation will apply of whether he must be treated differently in respect of his association with the white population. This issue (question) refers to the Cape Coloured or that section of the Coloured of the Union known as the Cape Coloureds.

You must not lose sight of the fact that in the Cape Coloured we have a class within the population that is in almost all respects close to the whites (i.e. the colour differs and fundamentally with) from the native.

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He originated from and exists within our ranks and knows no other civilisation, despite their shortcomings they have a view of life (perception) that is fundamentally that of the European and not that of the native and speaks the mother tongue of the European.

There can be no question of segregation in his case.

Because of these aforementioned reasons the Nationalists in Parliament have been taking a political position in respect of the Cape Coloured that segregation should not apply in his case for the last 7 years and that segregation should apply to the natives but the Cape Coloured should be placed next to the whites economically, industrially and politically.

This political position was unanimously accepted by the Nationalist members of Parliament and they acted consistent with that position within as well as outside parliament.

The immediate success of this political position has already been amongst other the success of the thwarting of an attempt in the Cape find common ground between the Natives and Coloureds in the struggle against the whites in South African. The results of such a political move and the signifincance thereof you can very well grasp.

Fortunately the Cape Coloured was sensible enough to realize in line with the politics laid down (determined) by the Nationalist Party that their interests are with the whites and not to be found within the Natives.

In my opinion, in the interest of the country, no other politics can be pursued in respect of the Cape Coloured.

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Economically, industrially and politically he must be included with us. That is his desire socially, but it is our desire that they should not (as a group) seek interaction with the whites. His economic and industrial inclusion is an administrative question and are followed where ever it is possible for the government.

In respect of his franchise in the Cape he is on equal footing with the white man and is already included with the white man. This is not the case in the other three provinces, although his status as separate from the native is acknowledged everywhere in terms of the old Free State legislation and recognised by the Volksraad (Assembly) and often with particular advantages. The time has come for us in the Northern Provinces to (acknowledge) his right to be represented by his vote in parliament. To(refuse) this right whilst the native possess the right would be unjust and unwise in the extreme.

The question is therefore simply the method of granting him this right :

There can, in my opinion, be no other method (way) than that of the Cape Province for the following reasons :

Firstly no other solution will be acceptable for the Coloured Franchise. It means that as far as the Coloured vote in the Cape is concerned - the necessary two-thirds majority of the members of the Assembly and the Senate will not be achieved if any other solution than that existing in the Cape, is proposed.

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Secondly, if another system of vote is applicable to the Coloureds in the Northern Provinces alone, where the numbers are extremely small, it would expose the lack of justification for distinguishing between the Coloureds in the South and the Coloureds in the North.

This will immediately, from the introduction of the solution, place the proposal in a balance as far as the Coloureds are concerned because the Coloureds of the North supported by the Coloureds of the South will insist on the equality of their political rights.

(In the third place)

There would be nothing for South Africa to gain from such a division except that it would complicate matters in the third place.

I wish to add, as well :

There will have to, in my opinion, be a qualification for the granting of the Cape Coloured franchise to the Northern Provinces.

The Cape Coloureds of these provinces informed me that they feel the desirability of such a qualification whereby only those who are developed enough to appreciate the value of the franchise and who lives a civilized life will be allowed to vote.

This is, in my opinion desirable, in the interest of the Coloured more than that of the white man. I must accept that you are as concerned with the urgency of a solution to the Native Coloured question as I am.

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The desire (need)exist for years and has strongly influenced our government to (seek)a solution and this is evidence of how general the necessity is felt amongst the nation.

Previous government started with it, but did not advance further than an incomylete and unsatisfactory allocation of land and to the provision of legislative prescriptions for the introduction of the native Councils.

For the implementation rest of the plan(complete solution) they retreated not because they did not feel the necessity for pursuing their plans but because of possible resistance from within their own ranks - could not risk continuing with the matter.

This brought a delay in achieving the desired Solution which brought about so much disadvantages that many see the position as hopeless today.

I am not one of them and you must have that noticed by what I have said tonight. I am convinced that -along the route I have indicated-a solution will be found that would ensure the permanency of the European civilization in South Africa.

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However, although I feel that opportunities still exists today. I am convinced that within a short space of time it would become useless to search further for a solution. Conditions are changing so fast that within a short space of time the necessary conditions for a solution will no longer exist.

I thus want to get the nation to grasp/understand the urgency/necessity to deal with the issue NOW and to insist that this matter be delayed no longer.

There would undoubtedly be opposition to the groposed solution as submitted by me - The Communists in our midst would be opposed to this solution because it would ensure the destruction of their goal for the Native vote.

The Native-agitator will not be happy with this solution because he does not want peace with the white man - he wants the white man out of the country (as pronounced by him).

Certain sections of Europians (otherwise with good intentions) would be opposed to it - these are men who regard it as their calling in life to pursue (brotherly) equality of all men and races, irresnective of how foolish the practical implications of this policy may be.

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In conclusion - we have the politicians - in whose interest it would be to allow the status quo to remain. They are either dependant on the native vote or their party regards a particular person as a key person in the issue.

Opposition must be expected from these quarters. I am preparing myself for this and I hope that we will not be intimidated from pursuing that which we feel is in the interest of the nation. (volk)

I want to point out some of the objections which were raised from time to time by colleagues (friends) with whom I discussed this solution which I now present to you.

In respect of the native - the question was asked - whether I would agree that the native would be unhappy with (7) seven representatives in the Assembly and that it would lead to agitation for more representatives.

I am not concerned about the agitation for an increase in the number of representative in the Assembly because there would certainly be agitation from the natives.

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The native - agitator supported by the Communist will ensure this as they are presently agitating for the Native vote in the Orange Free State.

However the question is not whether or what kind of agitation will follow but whether the proposals contain anything that would, by means of agitation, grant to the native anything that would endanger the white population. Let us examine this in view of the above question.

We have (today) strong agitation for the granting of the native vote in the Free State, Transvaal and Natal and thereby the right to be elected (to become) as a member of Parliament. As I have already pointed out - there is nothing to ensure that the native will not succeed in this (to become a member of Parliament) unless we follow a new direction.

The reason for this is that the Cape members of Parliament have become so dependant on his vote (native vote) that they are forced (compelled) to listen to him. The proposals that I submitted ensures that the members of the Assembly, whether they hail from the Free State or the Cape or any other Province, will have nothing to do with the native vote.

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The unhealthy (negative) verderflike influence that the native vote has on the Cape will disappear immediately. The members of Parliament will have to consult only two things in the execution of his duty i.e. the wish of the white population - his voters - and his conscience. He will no longer have to, as is the case today, act in the unpleasant and damaging (for the country) circumstances because he has to speak and vote according to the dictates of his Kaffir voters and not as his conscience dictates.

The normal 135 members of the Assembly will be in a position to speak and vote freely in the interest of the country - that of the Europeanfs as well as native's. The seven Representatives of the natives in the Assembly will ensure that their interests are properly catered for and that it is well presented and well argued.

Undoubtedly, where good reasons are advanced, the other 135 members will support them according to their judgment (assessment and conscience). However, if the case as presented by the seven are regarded as unreasonable or damaging - it will receive no support from the other 133 members who will be in a position to assess (judge) the case independantly.

The 135 members (knowing) understanding that they are dependant on white votes alone will not dare to act contrary to the feeling
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and will of the White voters.

The agitator for an increase in the number of native representative can thus agitate as much as he wish - but he will not gain support in the Assembly unless the White population of the Union agrees to the increase of the number of native representatives.

As I stated already - I do not fear such agitation.

There exist no fear in me that the 7 Native Representatives could endanger the position of the government even if they form a group which adopts an anti government position in an attempt to topple the government or to force them to bow to their (native's) wishes to which the government would not otherwise have agreed to.

This could happen although it is highly unlikely for reasons that I would deal with now.

But let us assume the Native Representatives decideds to form such a (pressure) group. We must not (in such a case) forget that the government and its followers are solely dependant on the White voters and should the government bow to such pressure from the group (Natives voters plus opposition) -

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, i.e. to sacrifice the nation's interests (landsbelange) for seven native votes - then the white population will call them to account for their actions.

even here all fears are in my opinion unfounded.

For the rest, as far as I was able to ascertain, there are no further objections from the White population in respect of the native vote and the proposed solutions.

In

respect of the Cape Coloured - I do not expect the Old prejudices of the Whites to disappear immediately.

I therefore accept that the White population in the Free State as well as those in Natal and the Transvaal would initially object to or be reluctant to grant the Franchise to

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the Cape Coloured.

must, however, not forget that they have been exercising their vote in the Cape on an equal basis with the White man.

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view of this alone it should be a matter of less importance concern to grant him the vote where his numbers are minimal comparison with the Cape. The extention of the franchise him (the Coloureds) can subject to proper qualification bring harm - but rather will be good (for the country).

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The Cape Coloured are very (well disposed) positive towards the white population of South Africa. The Coloured has no other interest or desire than to be the friend of the White man - unless we are going to drive him away. We cannot therefore push him away when he wants to stand by our side, at least then (at any rate) till the danger flowing from the native is disposed of.

Because do not forget, the changing of the position of the Coloured will not occur (take place) before the question of the native is first dealt with.

I must ask your pardon, Mr Chairman and friends (male and female) for this long speech. I have already noted the relief of some of you - that the end is there.

But you must not blame me but rather the great weight and urgency of the matter(case).

If it is difficult for you to listen to this (programme), in broad terms, of the solution thereto, than you can well understand how difficult it was for me to research and develope this solution in all it is minute detail (particulars).

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But it is nothing in comparison with the duty placed on us to work in considering (weighing) and handling this matter(case). The Native-Coloured question is, as it has always been - a great problem for South Africa.

Great because of the intricacy of interest that goes with it. Great because of its importance in determining the future of the State and the Nation(volk). Great because we are grappling with determination of the boundaries between sections of the nation and with determining the interests and relationships within these boundaries.

Great because of the extent to which care (concern) are required from us to ensure justice is meted out to everyone.

Great, however, above all is our task to find an urgent solution to this problem that is demanded in the interest of the native as well as in the interest of the White man. The native question must not be allowed to develop into a sword that would be a threat to the White as well as the natives - as a result of a lack of a solution.

This state of affairs will cause dissatisfaction and bitterness amongst the European and the Native and is undoubtedly the root cause of the unsatisfactory prevailing conditions amongst the European, Native and Coloured.

The solution as proposed by me today may be regarded as far reaching (ingrypend) by the native, but I am convinced that it is in his interest, calculated to grant him the opportunity to develop according to his tradition and the demands of his youth in which he lives as a person and part of his nation.

The native is still in his infancy and it will require a number of years to develop (mature) as a nation. To hand him over to the European to be exploited is not worthy of his civilization. We are thus compelled to protect him and to train him - and if this protection and training demands that he as infant be provisionally treated different from the European - by doing this the European will merely be doing his duty which will leave the native with no grounds on which to complain.

To neglect this duty will lead to the decline (retrogradation) of both the native and the White man. The White man must in addition to the responsibility to the native also execute his duty i.e. to protect the European civilization. The aim of my solution is to provide protection for both European and the Native on a lasting (permanent) basis. Any solution that would require a fundamental revision within a few years would be no solution. No solution and no peace will be achieved by a short term solution.

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No solution will be regarded as lasting that does not satisfy the conscience of the White population. The solution must also be fair in such a way that would be acceptable to the native.

I submit to you this solution and I am confidant that it will enjoy your most earnest attention.

The White population of the Union are called today to answer the question namely :

Whether we, for the sake of our own salvation and (future) of our children and our civilization would be prepared to (seek) arrive at a solution of the native question on a permanent and healthy basis. If so, then we may not back down.

Generally it is felt that we should pursue a different course (direction) to that which we followed up to this date. If we do not follow the course as indicated by me - if the sacrifices appears to be too great - let the new direction then be indicated - but we must understand very clearly - that there must of course be other directions - but each direction (solution) will demand sacrifices from the native.

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We may not remain in a stagnant position of hopelessness any longer or shrug the shoulders in saying "We do not know".

We are called today to act as a Nation(Volk) and with a feeling (sense of responsibility) as the National(Volk) expects me to provide leadership - I accepted it taken upon myself to share my perceptions with you tonight.

I drew your attention exclusively to the political (aspect) implications of this question. However we may not forget that it is only a part of the problem requiring a solution. Why I gave attention specifically to this part of the problem should be clear to all of you. It is the essence (core) of the problem in respect of general interests (concern) and the axis which an acceptable solution would revolve.

However, the solution that is arrived at on the political level will largely depend on the nature of the solution of the questions/(problems) relating to Administration, squatters and passes.

I am at present giving attention to these issues and I hope to place the necessary legislation before parliament together with the native question presently under discussion (by us.)

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Before I conclude - a final word. There are rumours circulating that there are divisions in the Cabinet in respect of the Segregation issue.

I want to assure you (immediately) that there is no truth in these allegations; Ministers are in agreement (unanimously) that solutions are to be sought along the policy of segregation.

The solution may not be a party solution but may be the work of the Nation(Volk). The result of joint consultation amongst all parties.

Before these joint consultations takes place - there can be no claims to disunity in the Cabinet - because it would imply (presuppose) that we have already taken a final decision before we had consultation with the opposition or with nation(volk).

This is definately not the case - until such time that the opposition had been properly consulted or the nation(volk) been given adequate opportunity to consider the question the Cabinet will not be asked for a final decision on this matter.

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What I can state here is that my actions here tonight and the sharing of my feelings on this matter is my perceptions as to a solution on this matter for which I have the total support of all my colleagues.

I thank you.