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The Native Policy of the United Party



As approved by the Union

Congress of the Party, Bloemfontein,

16, 17, 18 November 1954.

Introduction . . .

by the Leader of the United Party

The United Party has always had a Native Policy. Only the most reckless critic would aver that Generals Botha, Smuts and Hertzog governed the Union from 1910 to 1948 without a Native Policy. He would, moreover, have to be deliberately blind to the monumental body of laws, proclamations and administrative actions, together with the many pronouncements by these three leaders in respect of native affairs since Union. There is no doubt that a United Party Native Policy has existed since the party's inception, and that it has continually been expanded.

As leader of the United Party I was, nevertheless, faced with a threefold problem. Firstly, our policy had to be re-stated clearly in a comprehensive form. Secondly, the necessary changes, or forward steps, had to be made to adapt it to existing circumstances. And thirdly, it had to be explained and propagated among the people of South Africa.

The constitutional body to put the stamp of approval upon any re-stated policy was the Union Congress which was to meet in November, 1954. Early in the year, therefore, I appointed an Advisory Committee of leading personalities in the Party to advise me on the steps to be taken, the Division of Research of the Party acting as the Committee's Secretariat. The four Provincial Chairmen were also asked to set up Native Policy Committees to canvass the views of the Party at all levels and to advise me of their findings. These Committees all submitted reports, which were also discussed by the four Provincial Congresses which preceded the Union Congress.

The policy as set out in this booklet is virtually the same as the one I presented to the Union Congress in closed session at Bloemfontein on the 17th and 18th November. A few minor amendments were made by Congress, and at a meeting of the Union Executive of the Party in Johannesburg on the 1st December a few textual alterations, aimed at explaining more clearly those points in the policy which were open to distortion by political opponents, were approved.

The policy itself is based on the following sources:

- ¶ Authoritative programmes of principles of the United Party issued since 1933.
- ¶ Resolutions adopted by Union Congresses of the Party.

- ¶ Speeches by United Party leaders on Native Policy. The re-statement of policy made by General Smuts on November 9, 1949, was of particular importance. The Union Congress of 1950 did me the honour of adopting my opening speech before it as United Party policy and I have made full use of that source.

- ¶ Acts passed by the United Party Government from 1933 to 1948. I have also been guided by the Acts of the Botha-Smuts Governments of 1910 to 1924 and by those Acts of the Nationalist Government of 1924 to 1933 which were accepted by the subsequent United Party Government. This vast body of legislation includes such important Acts as the South Africa Act, the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, the Native Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Native Administration Act of 1927 as amended in 1939 and 1942, the Native (Urban Areas) Acts of 1923 and 1945, the Native Service Contract Act of 1932, the Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936, the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Native Taxation (Amendment) Act of 1939 and the Native Education (Finance) Act of 1945.

- ¶ Motions and amendments moved by the United Party in Parliament to Nationalist policies and bills.

- ¶ Commissions appointed by the United Party Government which foreshadowed significant advances in policies on Native affairs. Prominent among the Commission reports are the sixth, eighth, ninth and thirteenth reports of the Social and Economic Planning Council on, respectively, Social and Economic Statistics, Local Government, Native Reserves, and the Economic and Social Conditions of Racial Groups in South Africa, and also the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education, the Native Farm Labour Committee Report, the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission Report, the (Smit) Report on the Conditions of Natives in Urban Areas, the Witwatersrand Mine Natives Wages Commission Report, the National Health Services Commission (Gluckmann) Report and the Native Laws Commission (Fagan) Report.

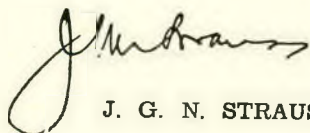
- ¶ The administrative and executive Acts of the Department of Native Affairs, including measures in regard to the development of the Reserves, the Native Trust, Natives in urban areas, Native laws and customs and Native health, social welfare and education.

Against the background of our traditional policy I have included those necessary forward steps which changed circum-

stances demand. In this I have been advised by the Party itself and by my National Advisory Committee.

No other political Party in the Union's history has yet presented its Native Policy in such comprehensive and unmistakable detail. As you will, however, observe there are provisions in the policy guarding against undue rigidity. The Native question is never static and the United Party will be prepared within the framework of its policy, to meet new problems as they arise.

The value of this statement of policy can be gauged by the great measure of accord given to it by the press and the public. I can ask our public speakers, our Committee members and our supporters throughout the country with confidence to study it, to absorb it and to spread it with conviction and courage. The ultimate success of the policy will depend on the real rulers of our country—on you, the people of South Africa.



J. G. N. STRAUSS

House of Assembly,
January, 1955.

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NATIVE POLICY OF THE UNITED PARTY

(a) *General Principles*

THE United South African National Party, deeply conscious of its duty to South Africa and its responsibility to all its citizens, postulates the following fundamental considerations in its approach to the Native question: (1)

Firstly, the Party acknowledges the will and guidance of Providence in the destiny of all the peoples and races which have been brought together in this country.

Secondly, the Party accepts that Western civilisation in South Africa has largely been built up on the precepts of Christianity. Most of what is good, worth-while and abiding in race relationships has been inspired by and has resulted from the Christian concepts of life. The solution for present and future relationships can only be found in a pattern which will be in fundamental harmony with, and an expression of, the principles of this religious faith. (2)

Thirdly, Western civilisation and the leadership of the White race, who are primarily the bearers of that civilisation, can be maintained not on the basis of selfish fear and exclusiveness, but on sincere willingness and desire to share Western civilisation in practice with all non-Whites who have developed the capacity for taking joint responsibility for our future well-being in this sub-continent.

Fourthly, the Party believes that the Native cannot permanently be held suspended in an ideological vacuum. He has discarded tribalism and is faced with the choice of either Western civilisation or Communism. It is in the interests of Western civilisation and the White man that the Natives should gradually be given a more definite and secure place within the

Note.—It is not possible to indicate in the explanatory notes below all the hundreds of references—Acts, Reports, Debates, etc.—to which particular points of policy refer. Only the most important references are therefore mentioned.

- (1) The five points which follow also formed part of Mr. Strauss's opening speech at the Union Congress, Bloemfontein, 16-11-1954.
- (2) See also the U.P. Programme of Principles, para. 6 (b): "The recognition of the Natives as a permanent portion of the population of South Africa under the Christian trusteeship of the European race is accepted as a fundamental principle of Native policy, together with the definite avoidance of race intermixture, and the promotion of a spirit of goodwill and mutual confidence between the two races as being in the best interests of South Africa."

orbit of our Western way of life. Any policy which denies this to the Native will leave him no choice but to turn his back on Western civilisation in a spirit of animosity and with the urge to fight and destroy it.

Fifthly, the Party recognises that the Native population greatly outnumbers the European population and that, while steady progress is being made towards the acquisition of Western civilisation, the vast bulk of the Native population is still in a primitive stage of development. Nevertheless, the tribal organisation of the Native peoples is rapidly breaking down and the whole question of White-Black relationship has changed in recent years as the result of rapid industrialisation in which the Natives are playing an essential role. This has led to a large and permanently detribalised Native urban population becoming an integral part of the South African economy. From this it is inevitable that new situations will emerge from time to time, and provision will have to be made for the better co-ordination of European and Native interests in the social, economic and political life of the country.

Nature of the Policy

In conforming to the above fundamental considerations the nature of the Party's policy will be as follows:—

Firstly, the Party recognises that, to be successful, its Native policy must be such as to gain the support and understanding of the broad masses of both Europeans and Natives.

Secondly, it should be the aim of South African statesmanship, in the interests of both Europeans and non-Europeans, to maintain European leadership in South Africa. (3) Co-operation will also be sought with other territories in Southern Africa in the formulation of accepted Native policies to establish European leadership throughout the sub-continent.

Thirdly, the policy must hold out a clear and honest hope to the Native that, through his own sincere efforts and through proving that he is able to carry out the duties associated with increased responsibilities, he will be entitled to a corresponding advancement within the framework of the policy as set out below.

Fourthly, the Party believes that everyone, Native as well as European, has the right to life and the security of person. This implies that everyone has the right to recognition as a person before the law, and to equal protection of the law.

(3) See also Programme of Principles, para. 6 (a): "An earnest endeavour will be made to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Native question along lines which, without depriving the Native of his right of development, will recognise as paramount the essentials of European civilisation."

Also General Smuts in his Restatement of Policy, 9-11-1949: "The United Party stands for White leadership with justice. . . . European civilisation in Southern Africa can only be perpetuated by White leadership based upon principles of justice to the non-European."

The points from "Firstly" to the end of "Seventhly" also formed part of Mr. Strauss's opening speech at the Union Congress, Bloemfontein, 16-11-1954.

Fifthly, the policy should be to foster mutual respect between White and non-White, and to strengthen their loyalty to South Africa in defence of the Western way of life against the menace of Communism and other disrupting ideologies.

Sixthly, the Party stands for a positive approach to strengthening the position of the European. Restrictive laws can never be a final solution. Rather should the strengthening of the settled European population be sought through such positive measures as children's allowances, maternity grants, bigger income tax rebates for children and improved facilities for education.

At the same time the European population should be strengthened by a policy of planned immigration, carried out boldly and energetically. ⁽⁴⁾

Seventhly, the civilised standard of living of the European should be protected and enhanced by at the same time encouraging the progressive economic development of the country with consequent improved earnings for all races.

Eighthly, the Party recognises the danger of undue rigidity in Native policy and therefore states that its legislation with regard to the administration of Native affairs will be wide and elastic, leaving room for experimenting, and for trying out and developing new methods, and allowing consideration to be given within its framework to different stages of development of the Native and to circumstances that vary from place to place and from time to time. ⁽⁵⁾

(b) *Economic Policy*

1. General Principles:

- (a) **T**HE Party stands for the application of the labour of the non-European for the benefit of the community as a whole in agriculture, mining, industry and commerce.
- (b) **The Party accepts economic integration not only as a fact, but also as a necessary dynamic process which will continue. In doing so it clearly defines economic integration as a term used to denote the evolutionary economic process of combining the four factors of production—land, labour, capital and management—into balanced, efficient and economically productive wholes or units. The integration of Native labour in the South African economy simply means that Native labour is essential to that economy. This process**

(4) These proposals also formed part of the comprehensive "White Policy" officially announced by Mr. Strauss before the 1953 General Election.

(5) See Fagan Report, para. 66 (3).

has been intensified by the shortage of European labour. But the Party regards it as a necessary task to regulate, guide and control economic integration according to the reasonable demands of our economic life and the best interests of South Africa. The Party recognises in this respect the importance of the basic economic laws of productive efficiency and of supply and demand, as well as the social requirements in regard to proper housing and accommodation.

In stating this the Party clearly realises that uncontrolled economic integration would be dangerous. It might lead to inefficiency and great aggravation of social problems. It must be regulated, guided and controlled. Too rapid integration would result in friction and conflict which would hamper the achievement of co-operation. The aim of all organisation in the State is to achieve the maximum harmony and co-operation of all individuals and sections in order to foster the well-being of all. ⁽⁶⁾

- (c) An increase in the productive and consuming power of the Native will be encouraged in co-operation with management and labour, thereby raising the general standard of living of all who live in South Africa. ⁽⁷⁾
- (d) In amending the relevant laws appertaining to Natives, close attention will be paid to the general recommendations of the Native Laws Commission, also known as the Fagan Commission. ⁽⁸⁾

2. Urban Control—General:

- (a) The townward movement of Natives is a universal phenomenon, applicable to all races, which cannot be prevented or reversed. It is essential, in the interests of the population as a whole, but particularly in the interests of the Natives themselves, that the movement to the towns should be regulated. Where Native communities become settled in the vicinity of White communities or Natives enter the service of Europeans (both in rural areas and in the towns) regulation is necessary for the maintenance of the principle of residential separation and, where there are contacts between races differing so greatly from one another, for the purpose of checking both exploitation from the one side and undesirable intrusion from the other. ⁽⁹⁾
- (b) In a multi-racial country like South Africa the indiscriminate throwing together of people on the basis of so-called

(6) See also speech by Mr. Strauss on economic integration in Parliament, 18-2-1954.

(7) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, Bloemfontein, November, 1950.

(8) General Smuts at Pretoria, 18-5-1948. Also amendment by Mr. Strauss in Parliament on 31-1-1949 during no-confidence debate.

(9) See Fagan Report, paras. 5-28, 43 and 65 (1), 65 (2), 65 (3) and 65 (11).

equality of rights in all spheres of life, irrespective of the differences in outlook and civilisation, is bound to lead to friction and conflicts to the detriment of all. From the point of view of practical statesmanship a measure of differentiation might reflect a more realistic and enlightened approach under existing conditions. Discrimination or differentiation, in itself is not necessarily an evil. The all-important question is the basis on which it is done and the motive behind it. Accordingly the Party accepts the basic principles of urban control and influx control as laid down in its Native Urban Areas Act as being in the interests of both Europeans and Natives. (10)

- (c) Urban local authorities will, subject to governmental regulation, have the responsibility of providing accommodation for urban Natives in locations and hostels, and the power to require employers of Natives to contribute towards the provision of approved accommodation for their employees. (11)
- (d) All Natives within an urban area may be required by the Government through proclamation, to reside in a location, Native village or Native hostel. No such proclamation will be made unless the Government is satisfied that adequate and suitable accommodation has been made available. (12)

Certain classes of Natives, amongst which are domestic servants and parliamentary voters in the Cape, are exempted, in accordance with and subject to the provisions of Section 6 and Sub-section (2) of Section 9 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act, 1945, as amended, and subject to the Party's recognised principle of social and residential separation. (13)

In special instances the urban local authority may grant a licence to the owner, occupier or lessee of any premises permitting him to accommodate on such premises a specified number of Natives. (14)

- (e) The present provision which limits the sojourn of a Native in an urban area to seventy-two hours unless in possession of a permit to take up employment, will be amended to lessen its stringency. The original provision of the Native

(10) From Mr. Strauss's opening speech, Union Congress, 1954.

(11) See also Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Section 2.

(12) Ditto, Section 9 (1). See also (b) Urban Locations, on p. 15.

(13) Ditto, Section 9 (2). This Act is also in force at the present time (January, 1955). Section 6 of the Act also limits the acquisition of land by a Native outside a Native township.

(14) Ditto, Section 9 (4). This is the present (January, 1955) position. It should be noted that these licences are granted only under strict municipal regulations under Section 38 of the Act, and usually only to such people as flat owners, dairy distributors, coal merchants, etc., and then only for bona fide employees.

Urban Areas Act that the Governor-General may, at the request of a local authority, prescribe the conditions on which Natives may enter an urban area, will be restored in amended form to make it workable. ⁽¹⁵⁾

- (f) The Governor-General may, by proclamation, require every male unexempted Native in an urban or industrial area to carry and to produce on demand either a permit to seek work or a duly registered service contract. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The registration of service contracts has so many advantages that it should remain thereby protecting both the employer and employee and facilitating the collection of information on labour conditions, the work of labour bureaux and the administration of industrial laws. ⁽¹⁷⁾

- (g) Natives who contravene the regulations mentioned in (e) and (f) above may (after trial before a Magistrate or Native Commissioner) be removed to their homes or last place of residence. ⁽¹⁸⁾
- (h) Accommodation must also be provided for Natives who have been excluded from Municipal areas, simply because there is no room for them, in Native villages that will not fall under Municipalities but will be directly responsible to a sub-department established by the Government for that purpose. ⁽¹⁹⁾
- (i) A Magistrate or a Native Commissioner may, after due enquiry, order the summary removal from urban or industrial areas to their homes or to a labour colony of Natives who are idle, dissolute or disorderly. The defendant will have the right to appeal to the Supreme Court against any order made against him under this provision. ⁽²⁰⁾
- (j) The removal of the obstacles to admitting the families of Native workers to the towns would not bring about a sudden increase, as generally feared, in the number of Native females in the urban areas as a whole, and should

(15) See also Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Section 10. The original provision, which the United Party will amend to make it workable, reads: "The Governor-General shall, if requested . . . by an urban local authority, by proclamation . . . declare that from and after a date to be specified therein no Native shall enter the urban area . . . for the purpose of seeking or taking up employment or residing therein, otherwise than in accordance with conditions to be prescribed by the Governor-General in that proclamation; and the Governor-General may at any time, after consultation with the urban local authority concerned, of his own motion issue any such proclamation. . . ." Section 27 of Act 54 of 1952 substituted the "seventy-two hours" clause, which is referred to in the policy.

(16) Ditto, Section 23.

(17) Fagan Report, para. 47.

(18) Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Sections 14 and 29. The words in brackets have been added in accordance with a Fagan Report recommendation (para. 46).

(19) Fagan Report, para. 36 and 47.

(20) Original Section 29 of the Native Urban Areas Act, 1945. The Native Laws Amendment Act, 1952, removes the discretionary powers of the Magistrate or Native Commissioner by substituting "shall" for "may."

therefore be investigated as a method of preventing moral degradation and as a system giving less occasion for squatters' villages. (21)

3. Urban Control—Pass Laws and Regulations:

(a) **The pass laws must be simplified and applied with greater fairness and justice.** (22)

(b) The regulation of the movement of Natives should be carried out in a manner which will make it more effective than it is at present, and which at the same time will greatly mitigate, and may in time entirely eliminate, those features of the pass system to which the Natives object, as follows: (23)

(i) **The emphasis must be shifted from local to central regulation.**

(ii) **The emphasis must likewise be shifted from compulsory measures and from restrictive laws to machinery for advice, guidance and voluntary regulation.**

(iii) **Steps must be taken to ensure that everybody has some fit place to which he is entitled to go.**

(iv) **While on the one hand the object should be to reduce restrictive measures to a minimum in respect of law-abiding people, there should on the other hand be strong and energetic action against idlers, disorderly persons and other lawless elements.**

(v) **An efficient system of identification should be instituted, both to assist and protect the honest man and to facilitate action against disorderly elements.**

(21) Fagan Report, paras. 60 and 65 (18). The Report explains that this provision will not apply to Native women in the Reserves, whose menfolk have gone as migrant labourers to the towns. Such women will in any case remain in the Reserves. The recommendation refers to Native women who are already living with their families in urban and peri-urban areas—often in squatters' villages—but who are at present prohibited from following their menfolk when the latter change their place of employment, whether from one urban area to another or from a rural to an urban area. The Report "does not propose the total abolition of the power to exclude women . . . for it has sometimes been found necessary to use that power in cases where there was reason to fear that the entry of women might lead to illicit beer brewing and immorality. The authority to confer and withdraw this power is vested in the Governor-General; the matter is, therefore, one of those that can be regulated administratively. . . . We can see no reason, however, for keeping alive the power to break up families by admitting the man but excluding his wife and daughter, except in the case where no suitable accommodation is available for them. We know that some municipalities have been tardy in the provision of housing; but until accommodation in fact exists, it would serve no good purpose to increase the overcrowding." (para. 60.)

(22) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950.

(23) Fagan Report, para. 43.

A Standing Committee.

- (c) A standing committee of the Departments of Native Affairs and Justice should be called into being for periodic reconsideration of the position with regard to passes. The Committee can then, as it deems desirable, consult other persons or bodies. In particular, representatives of the Natives should regularly be informed of the obstacles still standing in the way of the relaxation of pass regulations, such as the congestion of Natives in certain centres, purposeless movement, squatting, vagrancy and crime; and the opportunity should be afforded them of submitting measures for removing such obstacles, of discussing them with the proposed committee, and of assisting in their application. The two Departments mentioned should then, from time to time, go into the question as to how far the working of the system of labour exchanges, the creation of governing bodies for squatters' villages, the removal of criminal elements and the general stabilisation and improvement of conditions may render unnecessary the carrying or even the issue of some particular pass in certain areas or in the country as a whole. ⁽²⁴⁾
- (d) Prison sentences for purely technical offences should be avoided. ⁽²⁵⁾ No penalty should be imposed for the mere non-production of a document, but—
- (i) **The police may call upon any Native, or his employer if he is involved under a statute or regulation, to furnish such information as they deem necessary to prove that the requirements of the statute or regulation have been complied with.**
 - (ii) **If such a person does not, by the production of documentary evidence or otherwise, satisfy the police officer on the point the officer may take that person to a charge office and, if there also, that person does not give satisfactory information or produce satisfactory proof, he may, subject to the usual procedure with regard to bail, be charged and kept in custody until his trial.** ⁽²⁶⁾
- (e) The statutory provisions relating to the curfew vests the power of imposing and withdrawing curfew in the Governor-General. The position can therefore be reviewed from time to time by administrative action, without altering the statutes. ⁽²⁷⁾

Exemptions.

- (f) Exemptions from irksome restrictions for deserving Natives will be extended. ⁽²⁸⁾

(24) Fagan Report, paras. 45 and 65 (14).

(25) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950.

(26) Fagan Report, para. 46.

(27) Ditto, para. 49. Also Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Section 31.

(28) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950.

In particular, exemption from the compulsion to carry the passes mentioned in the Natives (Abolition of Passes) Act, 1952, should be granted to, inter alia:

- (i) In the Provinces concerned, Natives who hold letters of exemption granted under any law.
- (ii) Any Native who is enrolled as a parliamentary voter in the Cape.
- (iii) Any Native who is the registered owner of immovable property of the value of seventy-five pounds and over.
- (iv) Chiefs and headmen appointed or recognised under the Native Administration Act, 1927.
- (v) Ministers of religion who are marriage officers, teachers whose salaries are defrayed directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, by the Government or a Provincial Administration.
- (vi) Advocates, attorneys, notaries public, conveyancers, medical practitioners, dentists, professors of the South African Native College or any other profession approved from time to time by the Minister by notice in the Gazette.
- (vii) Clerks and interpreters in the public service or in the service of any local authority.
- (viii) Any person being the wife or minor child of any Native exempted under the above provisions so long as that person continues ordinarily to reside with such Native, or any widow of such Native or minor child of such Native residing with the widow. ⁽²⁹⁾

4. Influx Control and Labour Bureaux:

- (a) Insofar as Natives are required in industry, agriculture or domestic service, and where they can be suitably accommodated in separate Native townships, or in connection with their employment, they should be free to take up such employment subject to the system of labour registration.
⁽³⁰⁾
- (b) **The system of labour bureaux for guiding and advising Natives seeking employment is approved.** ⁽³¹⁾ **Such bureaux should, however, not be instruments for forcibly directing the flow of Native labour into arbitrary channels. While the submission of the necessary data on labour supply and demand to these bureaux should be compulsory, Natives should rather be encouraged to make voluntary use of such**

(29) The exemptions were mentioned in a proposed United Party amendment to the Natives (Abolition of Passes) Act, 1952. These, and other, exemptions were first laid down in Proclamation No. 150 of 1934, made under the Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927, Section 28.

(30) United Party Restatement of Policy pamphlet, 1948.

(31) Ditto.

bureaux which will have available the necessary information for employees on labour shortages, wages and housing facilities in all areas. (32)

- (c) The natural resources of the Reserves must be protected and developed to curb the flow of Natives to the European areas. (33)

5. Industrial Labour, Legislation and Organisation :

(a) The Colour Bar :

While accepting the colour bar in industry as it has been traditionally exercised in meeting the economic needs of the country, the Party believes that the interests of workers, both European and non-European, will best be safeguarded by the continued acceptance of the principle of "the rate for the job." (34)

The Party regards further steps contemplated by the Government to allocate through legislation certain spheres of work in a particular industry to one specific race as contrary to the best interests of both labour and management, and out of step with economic principles. It believes that the economic position of the European worker can best be safeguarded by agreement between the representatives of labour and management in particular industries on the wage rates and the classification of particular jobs.

This means that the workers through their trade unions and the management of industry should administer the industrial colour bar through the machinery of collective bargaining. The application of such a colour bar will be essential in order to protect the higher standards of living of the more advanced White man against the impact of the non-European who could otherwise displace the White worker as a result of unequal competition. Such a process will lead to friction and conflicts which no responsible government can contemplate.

Rigid legislative colour bars must be avoided so that not only the non-European but especially also the White worker will be in the position to derive the full benefits arising from the flexible changing pattern of industrial organisation in a developing country.

The Party, therefore, will oppose the present tendencies of Ministers to arrogate to themselves powers and functions which properly belong to the workers and management in industry and so to undermine industrial democracy.

(32) Fagan Report, para 44. The labour bureaux are supplementary to the provisions for urban control and pass laws mentioned above. The paragraph is also in line with the U.P.'s attitude on the Native Laws Amendment Act, 1952.

(33) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1952.

(34) This principle is accepted by nearly all trade unions, in order to prevent unemployment resulting from undercutting of wages. The Wage Act, 1937, lays down that the Wage Board may not discriminate between races in laying down minimum wages.

(b) Trade Unions :

The Party agrees with the conclusions of the Industrial Legislation Commission that the affairs of the majority of the 52 Native trade unions in South Africa are not satisfactorily conducted.

It is doubtful whether legal recognition to these trade unions would in any way improve the position. It certainly would not prevent the withering away of the inefficient trade unions which are dying a natural death. In regard to the better-run unions, such as the Railway Staff Association, the present de facto acceptance of these bodies for the purpose of negotiation is probably sufficient.

The Party does, however, note with interest and approval the attempts by certain industries to encourage the formation of works' committees of Natives in their factories. Such committees were recognised by an Opposition amendment to the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act, 1953. ⁽³⁵⁾

Since it is fundamental to United Party policy not to force highly technical European institutions on untrained Natives, the Party does not propose the statutory recognition of existing trade unions, but will watch with sympathy the success or otherwise of works' committees under existing laws, and foresees that from these, a type of workers' organisation for Natives may eventually, under strict safeguards, evolve.

(c) Training Facilities :

Better training facilities for Native workers should be provided to enable them to increase their productive efficiency. This will involve the consideration of the suggestion of the Fagan Report that facilities should be created in conjunction with the establishment of labour bureaux for the training of workers in certain types of work for which there is a demand, e.g., for domestic duties, cooking, waiting, gardening, farm work, the care of stock, etc. Such training centres would at the same time serve as places where Natives are kept busy while they are waiting to take up employment. ⁽³⁶⁾

(d) Unemployment Insurance :

Urbanised Natives who earn an income above £182 per annum, shall be subject to the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act. This is the existing position.

(e) Other Industrial Laws :

The provision of separate facilities laid down in the Factories Act and the existing differentiation in regard to workmen's compensation and silicosis benefits will be maintained. This will not prevent the adaptation of the Acts mentioned to the altered economic circumstances of the Native worker.

(35) Under Section 7 of the Act works' committees of three to five members may be elected in an establishment employing twenty or more employees. These committees will be consulted in case of a labour dispute in the establishment.

(36) Fagan Report, para. 44.

6. Migrant Labour:

- (a) **The Party's policy will be one designed to facilitate and encourage the stabilisation of industrial labour, but the employment of a certain amount of migrant labour under existing conditions is unavoidable.**
- (b) Such a policy would be facilitated by—
- (i) the continuance and if possible the intensification of the policy of development of the Reserves, and
 - (ii) co-ordinated labour bureaux for guiding the migrant stream into the most useful channels. ⁽³⁷⁾
- (c) In general the system of recruiting, inspection and regulation of migrant labour as provided for in the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, as amended, is approved, and future amendments will be considered in the light of circumstances then prevailing and after consultation with the industries mainly concerned with migrant labour.

7. Urban Native Commerce:

- (a) **Natives will be encouraged as far as practicable to run their own commercial undertakings, such as shops, eating-houses, market stalls, and funeral societies in Native villages under the supervision of the urban local authorities.** ⁽³⁸⁾
- (b) Trading in urban locations and Native villages should be restricted to Natives and the urban local authority itself. The latter may be directed by the Minister to let sites to Natives for trading or business purposes within a location or Native village. ⁽³⁹⁾
- (c) When the Village Boards envisaged later are established, their extended functions may include the making of recommendations on the allocation of business premises and on the granting of trading and other business licences. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

8. Farm Labour and Land Tenure:

- (a) **The aim of the Party's policy is that there should be an adequate and contented Native labour force on the Union's farms.** ⁽⁴¹⁾
- (b) State-assistance to farmers to house their non-European employees adequately will be favourably considered. ⁽⁴²⁾

(37) Fagan Report, para. 65 (19).

(38) Restatement of Policy pamphlet, 1948.

(39) Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Section 37.

(40) Fagan Report, para. 32.

(41) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1952.

(42) Ditto.

- (c) The basic rules governing land tenure by Natives on farms privately owned by Europeans in rural areas should be those laid down in the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, as amended up to 1948. The Party realises that further amendments may have become necessary, and will make such amendments the subject of a thorough prior inquiry, as foreshadowed by the Party's proposal made in Parliament to refer the Native Trust and Land Bill, 1954, to a Select Committee before the Second Reading. ⁽⁴³⁾
- (d) The movement of Native servants and labour tenants should be regulated according to the Native Service Contract Act of 1932, as amended up to 1948. Future amendments will be considered in the light of circumstances then prevailing.

(c) *Social Policy*

1. General:

THE policy of the Party is social and residential segregation with adequate facilities for all sections of the population. The lessons of the past teach that it is the best for both European and Natives. Sound regional and town planning will form an essential part of this policy. ⁽⁴⁴⁾

2. Miscegenation:

The Party strongly opposes any form of racial miscegenation. The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts will remain on the Statute Book though the Party doubts their efficacy to attain their desired end. To repeal them would only renew old bitterness and remind the world of the lack of faith of the Nationalist Government in Europeans and non-Europeans. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

3. Group Areas Legislation:

- (a) There must be separate and distinct residential areas for Natives where they will be encouraged to erect their own homes and businesses, thus building up a settled community. ⁽⁴⁶⁾
- (b) While accepting the general principles of the Group Areas Act, the United Party is of opinion that substantial amendments will be needed in future. The Act is at present totally impracticable.

(43) United Party attitude in Parliament on Native Trust and Land Amendment Bill, 1954.

(44) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1952.

(45) Same as note 44.

(46) Same as note 44.

(c) In particular, the Group Areas Act will be amended as follows:—

- (i) *Urban residential segregation will be promoted actively and in close consultation with the people by laying out separate residential areas on sound regional town-planning lines, so that big urban regions are treated as units, and separation occurs naturally. Native townships should be placed as near places of employment as is possible having regard to the necessity to avoid racial stresses and points of conflict.*
- (ii) *As an adjunct to that planned approach, and particularly in developing centres, zoning provisions will be required.*
- (iii) *The responsibility will be placed on the State to provide suitable alternative accommodation before persons will be removed from premises previously lawfully occupied by them. The rights of local authorities will be observed.*
- (iv) *Provision will be made for full compensation to persons whose property rights have been interfered with by compulsory zoning in the public interest.*
- (v) *The vast powers vested in the Minister will be curbed and made subject to Parliamentary control.* (47)

4. Native Housing in Urban Areas:

(a) General :

- (i) **Native housing is a vital factor in the United Party's national housing policy, as announced by the Minister of Health of the United Party Government in February, 1948. The Party will, on its return to power, take the necessary steps to create a separate portfolio of housing, with a Minister of Housing responsible for both European and Native housing.** (48)
- (ii) Under the new Department of Housing the Directorate of Housing of the National Housing and Planning Commission will be reorganised and given its former power. A Housing Director will be re-appointed to plan and carry out a proper Native housing policy in consultation with local authorities and private enterprise.
- (iii) The Government and the National Housing and Planning Commission will be prepared to assume the necessary financial responsibility for the provision and construction of permanent Native housing in urban and peri-urban areas. Completed Native housing schemes may then be let to local authorities who will administer them, the ownership remaining with the Commission and the State. The administration will be, in accordance with the Native (Urban Areas) Act, in the hands of the local authority.

(47) Attitude of United Party to Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, in Parliament. The amendments were also mentioned by Mr. Strauss at Paarl, 17-5-1952.

(48) Hansard, 1948, col. 1314 ff.

- (iv) The provisions of (iii) above will not preclude local authorities from engaging in housing schemes of their own with or without assistance from the National Housing and Planning Commission, or prohibit local authorities from entering into a voluntary, collateral agreement with industry for the erection or the letting of Native housing schemes. ⁽⁴⁹⁾
- (v) The National Building Research Institute of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research will be given every assistance in developing methods of permanent and suitable low-cost construction for Native housing.

(b) Urban Locations, Villages and Hostels :

- (i) Local authorities should be empowered, subject to the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs after reference to the Administrator of the Province, to set aside land for urban locations, or Native Villages. ⁽⁵⁰⁾
- (ii) When it appears that a local urban authority has, after public inquiry, failed to provide adequate or suitable accommodation for Natives in its area, the Government may take control and carry out the necessary reforms at the expense of the urban community concerned. ⁽⁵¹⁾
- (iii) The local authority will, after certification by its medical officer of health, have the power to vacate and demolish dwellings which are so dilapidated, defectively constructed, dirty or verminous as to be dangerous to health or liable to favour the spread of infectious disease, provided that the occupants are either offered suitable alternative accommodation in the same village or compensation plus a site in another village. ⁽⁵²⁾
- (iv) The aim and spirit of administration should be to maintain order, stability and a sense of responsibility among Native urban populations and provision must be made for those temporarily unemployed and for those urbanised and completely detribalised Natives who have become unable to work by reason of decrepitude or disability.

(c) Forms of Tenure, Occupation and Ownership :

- (i) No person other than a Native or a company, the interest wherein is held exclusively by Natives should enter into any agreement for acquiring premises in a Native village, or interest in or servitude over it. ⁽⁵³⁾

(49) Hansard, 1948, col. 1314 ff. for whole of (a) from (i) to (iv).

(50) Native Urban Areas Act, Section 2.

(51) Ditto, Section 3.

(52) Ditto, Section 18.

(53) Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Section 5. The section also mentions a few minor exceptions.

- (ii) Natives will be allowed to acquire an interest in land and property in a Native urban area by three methods:
- (1) By leasing in a location a dwelling owned by a local urban authority.
 - (2) By leasing a plot in a Native village and erecting thereon a building.
 - (3) By controlled freehold rights. Natives, who have the means, will be permitted to acquire an interest in land by controlled freehold ownership in Native villages and locations attached to the major urban areas which have been set aside for permanent Native occupation. Special freehold areas will be demarcated in such Native villages and locations after consultation with the local authority concerned.

When allowance is made for the maximum territorial separation in the foreseeable future, the Party is convinced that a large proportion of Natives will be permanently urbanised in urban areas as industrial workers. It is futile and dangerous to follow a policy which treats such Natives as mere temporary sojourners. They will be a permanent part of our industrial population.

The granting of properly controlled freehold rights in such proclaimed Native townships will create a responsible and stable Native community with a real stake in the country, and will be an effective counter to Communist agitation.

This right will have to be earned. It will not be granted to newcomers but only to those who have become permanently urbanised. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

(d) Native Building Workers :

The United Party approves of the principle of training and the regulation of the employment of Native building workers to build houses for Natives in Native areas. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

5. Separate Amenities:

The permissive power of Departments of State, the Railways, Provincial Administrations, local authorities and public carriers to create separate amenities, including separate facilities in, among others, post offices, railway stations and public transport, is recognised. Separate amenities shall be of such a standard as shall have due regard to the numbers and standard of civilisation of a reserved group. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

(54) A limited form of controlled freehold is recognised in the Native Urban Areas Act, 1945, Sections 5 (1) and 6 (3) (c) read with Section 9 (2) (h). See also Section 4 of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923.

(55) United Party's attitude in Parliament to the Native Building Workers' Bill, 1951.

(56) United Party's attitude in Parliament to the Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, 1953.

(d) *Political Policy*

1. General:

- (a) **C**LAIMS for an extension of political rights are an inevitable historical corollary to an increase in economic power. The Party will, therefore, take certain steps in recognition of this fact, ⁽⁵⁷⁾ while at the same time pointing out the fallacy of regarding political power as only dependent on the vote.
- (b) The Party recognises that the Natives must be trained in democratic responsibilities and that as they move towards the acquisition of Western standards of civilisation, their acceptance of a greater share in the administration of the country will be essential to the maintenance of inter-racial harmony. It must be quite clear that a long period of training in the ways of democracy and especially in its responsibilities lies ahead of the Native people, and only when they have learnt these lessons can claims to greater rights be entertained, and then only with the agreement of an established and decisive majority of the present electorate. At the same time, as the Europeans dare not close the door to the reasonable aspirations of the Native peoples, the steps indicated below are proposed.
- (c) **The step that the Party proposes in the immediate future is to grant the Native peoples greater responsibilities in their own areas, so that they can then acquire the necessary experience of Democratic administration and responsibility**
- (d) In addition the Party will establish bodies at various levels through which the Native peoples will be able to maintain liaison with existing instruments of Government to ensure that Native opinion will be properly expressed and considered in public affairs as required in the national interest.
- (e) **The Nationalists in pursuance of their negative repressive apartheid, are out to scrap the 1936 settlement. They have gone a long way towards it. The United Party stands by that settlement attained in 1936, and believes there can be no material change without substantial agreement among all sections of the European community. It does believe, however, that the success or otherwise of the system after all these years should be examined, and will therefore refer the 1936 legislation to a representative joint select committee for investigation and report.** ⁽⁵⁸⁾

(57) Mr. Strauss, Parliament, 18-2-1954.

(58) The Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936, removed the Native voters in the Cape from the common roll, giving them instead three seats in Parliament and two in the Cape Provincial Council. Natives throughout the Union were also given four (later to be increased to six) seats in the Senate, such Senators to be elected indirectly through electoral colleges by group voting.

2. National:

- (a) At the national level, the Party proposes to implement the provision of the 1936 Act which makes it possible to increase the number of Senators representing the Natives from four to six. ⁽⁵⁹⁾
- (b) In order to give the more advanced and educated Natives an opportunity to exercise democratic rights such Natives will be given a special and personal franchise in the electoral colleges which elect Native Senators.
- (c) As the Native peoples have not reached a stage of development to exercise the full democratic rights of citizenship, the United Party will direct itself towards determining the best methods of consultation with the non-European peoples through the medium of these Natives who, by virtue of their education, development and adoption of Western standards, are best able to interpret the needs of the mass of the Native peoples in a responsible manner. Serious consideration in this respect will be given to the reconstitution of the Native Representative Council along the lines suggested by General Smuts in 1947. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ Much will depend on the attitude of responsible Native leaders themselves.

3. At the Local Level:

- (a) The Party will extend the powers of the location boards, boards of management, tribal committees, local councils, district councils, Native Reserve boards and General Councils in the Native Reserves. ⁽⁶¹⁾

At all levels there will be effective contact with European authorities in the district or province. As far as possible the system of having these bodies elective and not nominated, should be followed.

(59) Section 2 (2) of the Representation of Natives Act says: "Whenever the Governor-General is satisfied that civilisation and local government amongst Natives have progressed to such a stage as to justify an increase in the representation of Natives in the Senate he may by proclamation in the Gazette increase the number of electoral areas into which the Union is at that time divided for the purpose of the election of Senators under this Act . . . provided that the total number of electoral areas shall not at any time exceed six."

(60) At Cape Town on 8-5-1947 General Smuts proposed:

- (i) That the Natives' Representative Council be given some form of executive authority
- (ii) That it be given more definite responsibility for the government and management of the Reserves.
- (iii) That the Council be an all-Native body, with a Native staff and its own Executive Committee.
- (iv) That the membership of the Council be increased.
- (v) That the Council should be the central organisation of a system of Native government, with advisory boards and local councils linked up with it.

(61) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1952. Also General Smuts in his 1949 Restatement of Policy: "The United Party will continue positive measures for non-European welfare . . . also in the fair measure of self-government and self-administration which will be continuously extended to the non-European."

It should be added that all local bodies will not necessarily have the same powers in the beginning, and the extension of such powers will depend on the way in which existing responsibilities are exercised, on training, and on evidence of ability.

(b) In regard to Native locations in Native urban areas, the Party proposes that in line with the proposals of the Fagan Commission, Advisory Boards should be replaced by Native Village Boards, as follows: ⁽⁶²⁾

(i) The Village Board must be wholly elective, either by the Natives themselves or indirectly by Native ward representatives or "blockmen," who shall themselves be elected directly by the Native voters.

(ii) The Village Board will undertake certain responsibilities in regard to the administration of the village and the preservation of law and order. These responsibilities will include one or more of the following:—

The collecting of rents and other charges due to the Municipality.

The expenditure of a share of the Native revenue allotted to the Native Village Board by the Municipality.

The improvement of conditions in the village.

The maintenance of order and the protection of persons, goods and properties.

The provision of various amenities, and of transport, health, burial, educational, recreational and other facilities, and the right to levy monies for these purposes.

The prevention of the unauthorised occupation of houses and the removal of unauthorised occupants.

The demolition of unauthorised or abandoned structures.

The making of recommendations on the allocation of houses, plots and business premises, and on the granting of trading and other business licences.

The control of the brewing, supply and consumption of kaffir beer.

(iii) In all these cases the European Town or Municipal Council shall be the body to decide which functions may be exercised by the Native Village Board, over which it will retain full power of supervision and control.

(62) Fagan Report, paras. 32, 33 and 65 (5).

- (iv) There must be strong liaison between the Native Village Board and the Town Council through e.g., regular conferences between members of the Town Council (or its Native Affairs Committee) and a Native Committee chosen by the Village Board from its own members.

Outside Urban Areas :

- (c) In regard to Native townships outside the Municipal and in peri-urban areas, the Party proposes: ⁽⁶³⁾
- (i) In general, where a Native community is properly controlled and enabled to have its essential services by a provincial, municipal, divisional, peri-urban or other local authority, there should be no State interference.
 - (ii) A Government sub-department should be established, or the Urban Areas Section of the Department of Native Affairs expanded to exercise supervision over Native villages outside Municipal areas and also, where necessary, to acquire sites and to establish such villages.
 - (iii) This Government sub-department must be properly equipped with funds, personnel and the necessary statutory powers to inter alia:—
 - (a) Provide for the establishment of governing boards for Native villages. The law should be wide enough to provide for both nominated and elected members on the boards, with the eventual possibility of having the Native boards fully elective.
 - (b) Advance funds to the Native boards at low, even sub-economic rates of interest and, when necessary, also to grant subsidies for health services, housing, streets, lights and drainage.

(e) Native Health and Social Welfare

1. **A**S with all industrial revolutions, the South African one has left many undesirable social consequences in its trail. These are a call on the conscience of the European, and all possible measures should be taken to alleviate or remove those social evils.

The country should realise that disease knows no colour bar, and that the health of the Native population is indissolubly bound up with the health of the Union's population as a whole. When returned to power the Party will take forceful steps to improve the nation's health.

(63) Fagan Report, paras. 36, 37 and 38.

2. Priority will be given to obtaining adequate social statistics in respect of the Native population—statistics of births, deaths and disease without which no adequate health policy can be developed. (64)
3. The Party will carry out the recommendations of the National Health Services Commission along the lines suggested by General Smuts in 1944. This would include the extension of health centres. These health centres will be of particular importance to Natives in outlying districts, and it is envisaged that they would become the centres for medical advice and treatment, district nursing services, educational health services, dental services and child welfare work. (65)
4. The Party will seek to remove the underlying causes of malnutrition and undernourishment among the Natives. These causes are mainly poverty, ignorance and inadequate food production. Remedies include the following:—

Co-operative buying of foodstuffs, Municipal distribution at cost of milk and vegetables, the sale of produce growing on Native Trust land in urban locations, the fortification of basic foodstuffs, increasing the productive capacity of the Reserves, encouraging communal feeding schemes by industries, and State-assistance for the supplementary feeding of undernourished Native school children.

In this respect the Party recognises that undernourishment is undoubtedly a factor in the production of a spirit of hopelessness, turning to sullenness and desperation which may readily create mass disaffection. The total economic loss due to sickness caused or aggravated by malnutrition may well be greater than the expenditure which would be necessary to prevent it by subsidising the nutrition of the people concerned. (66)

5. The Party will begin the gradual introduction of compulsory periodic medical examination for all sections of the population. (67)
6. The curative services for Natives will be expanded. The training of sufficient non-European personnel in non-European institutions and areas will receive immediate attention. (68)

(64) Report No. 9 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, U.G. 32/1946.

(65) General Smuts at a conference of Provincial Administrators and M.E.C.'s at Pretoria, 9-10-1944.

(66) Report No. 13 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, U.G. 53/1948. Also the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives (Smit Report), 1942. Also the Reports of the National Nutrition Council, 1944, 1947 and 1952.

(67) National Health Services Commission (Gluckmann) Report, U.G. 30/1944.

(68) Ditto. Also Report No. 13 of the Social and Economic Planning Council.

7. Social Security :

The Party subscribes to the view that social security should not be in the nature of charity measures. It should consist of benefits to be determined from time to time with due regard to the economic capacity of the country and its population groups, of which the Native is numerically the greatest. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

These benefits should be only for such persons who are not gainfully occupied owing to causes not due to their own volition. Among such causes are age, blindness, disablement, disease and unemployment (in case of those earning above a certain wage level). ⁽⁷⁰⁾

Social security measures for Natives as were undertaken by the last United Party Government such as old age pensions, blind pensions, silicosis benefits and disability grants, will be continued with the necessary adaptations required by changed circumstances.

8. Population Control :

With a view to making possible the attainment of a higher standard of civilisation for the Native people as a whole, the United Party will pursue measures, through education and persuasion, to discourage polygamy and illegitimacy and to ensure adequate parental responsibility and support for all Native children.

(f) *Native Education*

1. **T**HE Party realises that the education of the Native is of importance to all South Africans as a factor in increasing the productive efficiency of the Union's unskilled labour force. Increased mechanisation on farms, in industries and in mines, is making the completely illiterate labourer a drag on progress.
2. At the same time, the Party recognises that it has a moral obligation to make at least an elementary education available to the Native in order that he may acquaint himself at first hand with the great moral and scientific truths of religion and of Western civilisation.
3. **The Party also realises that religious instruction is fundamental in the development of the Native peoples towards Western civilisation and it will therefore actively encourage the endeavours of the Churches in this field.**

(69) Report of the Social Security Committee, U.G. 14/1944.

(70) Ditto.

4. The type of education made available to the Native should also take into account the standard of living of the Native as well as the type of work which will be available to him on completing his education.
5. The Party will repeal the Bantu Education Act and place Native education under the Department of Education. The Union Advisory Board of Native Education should be re-established. ⁽⁷¹⁾
6. While the aim of Native education should be to make elementary education available ultimately to all Natives, it is realised that this aim will depend on building and teaching facilities which will necessarily be inadequate for a long time to come.
7. The training of sufficient Native teachers, and their suitable payment, will be a matter of primary concern to a United Party Government.

(g) *Law, Crime and the Administration of Justice*

1. **I**T is essential for the maintenance of law and order in South Africa that the Native should have the highest respect for the impartiality and fairness of justice as administered by the State.
2. To this end the Party states that there shall be for every citizen of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, equal access to the Courts of Law and equal treatment before the law. The Rule of Law, the rights of habeas corpus and freedom from arbitrary arrest shall apply to all.
3. Justice must be available without delay. The period during which an accused is kept in custody should not be unnecessarily prolonged. There shall be compensation for unlawful arrest and detention.
4. The recommendations of the Lansdown Commission on Penal and Prison Reform ⁽⁷²⁾ will be carefully considered, particularly in regard to the following:—
 - (a) *The treatment of non-Europeans in charge offices and in prisons.*
 - (b) *The segregation of juvenile offenders.*
 - (c) *Children's courts, reformatories and industrial schools for Native offenders.*

(71) United Party attitude in Parliament on the Bantu Education Bill, 1953.

(72) U.G. 47/1947.

- (d) *The need for knowledge of Native languages by police, magistrates and interpreters dealing with Native cases.*
 - (e) *Trial by Judge and Assessors to be the rule unless the accused expressly asks for a jury trial. This provision was recently introduced into the country's legislation.*
 - (f) *Punishment should include efforts at rehabilitation. Steps for rehabilitation should also be made during the period a prisoner is released on probation.*
5. The Party will seek by vigorous measures to remove the underlying social causes of Native crime, among which are broken homes, juvenile delinquency, poverty, unemployment, slum conditions, abuse of alcohol, idleness, illiteracy, and lack of supervision after prison release. The Party also believes that its positive policies, as announced, in regard to housing, elementary vocational training, work colonies and Native health, will contribute to decreasing Native crime. ⁽⁷³⁾
6. Law and order will be maintained at all costs. Strict measures will be taken in particular against violent crimes, assaults on women and children and housebreaking. To this end—
- (a) **The police force will be brought up to strength.**
 - (b) **More non-European police for Native areas will be recruited, and part of their task will be to protect peaceful Native citizens from lawless elements.** ⁽⁷⁴⁾
7. The Party recognises the importance of Native law and custom in the Reserves, particularly in regard to marriage, customary union and succession. It believes that, with the increased detribalisation of the Native these laws should be progressively adapted to conform to European laws.
8. The Party condemns passive resistance and defiance campaigns against laws properly passed by Parliament. ⁽⁷⁵⁾
9. **The Party will take steps to combat the growth of Communism amongst the Natives. In this respect it realises that it is as important to remove the underlying causes of Communism as to combat its external manifestation. The Suppression of Communism Act will be amended along the lines indicated by the United Party in Parliament, by granting named persons the right of appeal to the Courts, by controlling arbitrary action by the Minister, by repealing the retrospective provisions of the Act and by making the commission of revolutionary Communist deeds in South Africa treasonable.** ⁽⁷⁶⁾

(73) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950.

(74) Mr. Strauss, Johannesburg, April, 1954.

(75) Mr. Strauss: Official statement during 1953 campaign.

(76) United Party attitude to Suppression of Communism Bill (Act No. 44 of 1950). Also Mr. Strauss at Paarl, 17-5-1952.

10. Convict Labour :

The Party will appoint a commission to investigate fully and report upon the uses of convict labour by the Government, private concerns and individuals.

(h) Native Reserves

1. **THE** increased responsibilities to be given Native bodies in the Reserves have been dealt with under "Political Representation."

2. In the economic sphere the Party proposes as follows:—

The Native Reserves are part and parcel of the Union's economy. The longer a low productive, and even destructive, primitive economy is allowed to persist in the Reserves, the greater must be the pressure of an increasing population on the resources of the rest of South Africa, resulting, inter alia, in retarding improvements in the efficiency and productivity of labour and in deplorable social conditions, particularly in regard to housing.

The better use of labour and natural resources in the Reserves will result in a higher contribution to the National income and an increase in the carrying capacity of the Reserves, which again will relieve the pressure of population on the other areas.

A solution will be found by establishing greater diversity of economic activity and a better economic balance between the Reserves and the rest of the country and not merely by adding more land to the Reserves.

Whereas in the past Native labour from the Reserves was progressively integrated with capital and industrial leadership outside the Reserves, the need has now arisen, subject to strict safeguards and in the case of appropriate industries only, to integrate capital and industrial leadership with Native labour in the Reserves.

In the conviction that this will be in the interest of Whites and non-Whites, the Party stands for sincere and sustained efforts towards the economic development of the Native Reserves as an integral part of the Union's economy. (77)

3. Agricultural Development :

In combating the destructive, primitive economy mentioned above the Party will pay particular attention to the agricultural rehabilitation of the Reserves, particularly in respect of the following: (78)

(77) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950: "The United Party will enlist the co-operation of the Native . . . in establishing suitable opportunities for using available labour forces in the Reserves."

Also Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1952: "Industries must be developed under European control."

(78) Mr. Strauss, Union Congress, 1950 and 1952.

- (a) The system of land tenure in the Reserves and the provisions of the Native Trust and Land Act.
- (b) The effect of the absence of migrant workers from the land on low productivity.
- (c) Rehabilitation projects which will include surveying, veld control, afforestation, fencing, soil conservation farming, improved water supplies, swamp drainage, improvement of livestock and the improvement of animal and vegetable produce.
- (d) The creation of more Native villages in the Reserves which will result from the greater industrial development of the Reserves.

Summary

The Native policy of the United Party can be concisely summarised as follows:—

“In economic affairs—integration, properly controlled; in political relations—guidance; in social and residential policies—separation; in all things—justice and fair dealing.”

NOTE: The Union Congress of 1954 also adopted the following resolution:—

“That the Native Policy of the United Party, as decided upon by Union Congress, be adhered to, disseminated and propagated by all members of the Party, and any public statement made by a member of the Party which conflicts with this duly accepted policy shall be dealt with as an act hostile to the interests of the Party.”

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