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PROVINCIAL ELECTION

Meeting: Wednesday, January 24, 1962.

ELECTION DAY:

On February 14th you are being asked to vote for the person you wish to represent you in the Provincial Council.

JURISDICTION OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS:

Under the Act of Union certain powers were specifically delegated to fall under the jurisdiction of Provincial Councils. One of these was education, another was hospitals, roads was another, and the other main function of the Province is to pass legislation and supervise the cities and towns within its boundaries.

In the election a lot will be said about matters which do not fall within the matters about which the Provincial Council will be dealing, but you have to decide whether I, as a member of the United Party, am the person to represent you, bearing in mind the spheres of activity with which the Provincial Council deals.

QUALIFICATIONS:

What are my qualifications for being appointed your representative? For a period of nine years I was a member of the Committee of the Saxonwold School, and during the last three years of my term I served as the Honorary Treasurer and took an active part in the raising of the funds for the building of the School Hall. At that time the Province was not as generous as it is today in its grants towards the cost of school halls, and the funds had largely to be raised by the parents themselves.

I have not much knowledge about Hospitals except in so far as relates to the clinics established by the City Council in the Non-European Townships of Johannesburg.

GOVERNING OF CITIES AND TOWNS:

There is, however, a sphere in which I feel I can make a contribution. As I said earlier, it is the Province which legislates for the cities and towns, and many of the actions of the cities are subject to the approval of the Province.

YES - BUT "CUT"

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE SYSTEM:

You probably all know that an Ordinance was passed by the Province, under which the whole method of governing cities in the Transvaal was changed. It was generally referred to as the introduction of the Management Committee system. In Johannesburg you have 42 Councillors. Under this system they elect five of their number as a Management Committee. On the 7th March this year you will be called upon to elect Councillors who will serve for a period of five years. Between the 7th and the 31st March the 42 Councillors have to select five of their number to serve as a Management Committee. In terms of the Ordinance wide powers are given to the Management Committee.

ADVANTAGES OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE SYSTEM:

In the old days the Council used to have a number of Standing Committees such as the Finance Committee, the Works and Traffic Committee, the Non-European Affairs Committee, the Licensing Committee, the Health Committee and so on. Under the old system Councillors were nominated to serve on these Committees for a period of one year, and each year a Chairman and Vice-Chairman was elected. There was usually competition for these posts as it indicated seniority, and persons with particular interests were able to make their contribution to the City in those spheres best suited to them. The jobs went round and if a person was not suitable he was replaced the next year. In terms of the new Ordinance it is not necessary to have any such Committees, and a further section of the Ordinance provides that only members of the Management Committee can serve as Chairmen of such Committees which may be appointed by the Council. In theory, the appointment of the Management Committee can be said to be a more efficient method of management in that decisions can be taken more quickly, and it is much easier for a few people to take decisions rather than have to submit matters to a number of Committees before approval can be reached. It is also argued that by appointing members to the Management Committee for a period of five years there is greater continuity, and long-term planning is more easily effected.

DISADVANTAGES OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE SYSTEM:

But what are the disadvantages? In terms of the Ordinance there are many matters on which the Management Committee itself can take decisions, which do not need to be reported to the Council. In Johannesburg we have endeavoured to make the Management Committee a democratic body, and the agendas and decisions of the Management Committee are communicated to all Councillors, although it is not necessary to do this. In other towns this has not been done. The Management Committee have sat behind closed doors, and the Councillors not on the Management Committee are kept in the dark. You will have read in the papers of the blow-ups that have occurred in places such as Klerksdorp and Alberton, and Benoni has had its difficulties, and I know from friends serving on other Councils how difficult they find it to make a contribution. So what is the position going to be of the 37 Councillors not on the Management Committee? The contribution they can make will be largely restricted to their attendance at the four Committees which the Council has appointed, namely, the Works Committee, the Utilities Committee, the Health and Social Services Committee and the Non-European Affairs Committee. While on certain matters these Committees can take decisions, a number of their decisions are subject to the review of the Management Committee. Councillors also attend the monthly Council Meetings.

In my opinion these 37 people are going to be largely frustrated, and the contribution which they could have made to the government of the City is going to be very restricted. I can visualise that they will get jealous of the powers of their colleagues on the Management Committee, and will tend to undermine their effectiveness. Under this system it is often found that the Management Committee are overtaxed while other Councillors do not have sufficient work to do.

When the new Council meets to select the five members of the Management Committee, those Councillors who will be elected for the first time will not have had time to assess the capabilities of their colleagues to bring sound judgement to the selection of the five, and I would think that the tendency would be to elect five of the Councillors who

have previously served in the Council. That will mean that for a period of five years the new members will be frozen out of the Management Committee. I would just like to take my own case as an example, where, after serving on the Council for a period of one year, I was given the responsibility of serving as Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee. Under the new system that would not have been possible.

CHANGE IN SYSTEM:

How was it that this Ordinance was passed? Did Johannesburg want a change in the system? In the Provincial Council there are 66 members of whom 45 are Nationalists, the majority of whom are elected by platteland constituencies. They have not the remotest idea of what the management of a city such as Johannesburg involves. Yet they are in a position to legislate for our City and say how it shall be run. I say that this legislation was hastily conceived and badly worded, yet when the matter was considered in the Provincial Council no amendments would be accepted by the Nationalists.

STANDING ORDERS:

~~Take, for instance, a provision which used to be contained in the Standing Orders, which one could call the Rules of Debate of the City Council. Under Standing Order 5 it used to be possible for a Councillor to speak for half an hour at the commencement of the Council Meeting on a topic of public interest. This was a very useful provision and Councillors used to devote considerable time and study to the Papers delivered at the Council Meetings. Our Council wished this Standing Order to be retained, but not on your life.~~

I have told you this because I believe that this City needs persons to serve on the Provincial Council who have an intimate knowledge of civic affairs, so that they can participate in all legislative debates in which the City's interests are affected.

LEADERSHIP GRANT AND STUDY TOUR:

Last year I had the honour of being selected to re-

ceive a Leadership Grant from the American Government, which enabled me to visit the United States and study civic government in many of their larger cities. I was also privileged to attend the Conference of the International Union of Local Authorities which was held in Washington. The experience thus gained has, I believe, not only stimulated my interest in civic management, but given me a valuable insight into how cities are run in other places. It is always just as well to realise that your pond is not the only pond in the world.

While, therefore, I do not claim knowledge in every aspect, I think the same could have been said when I joined the City Council, and I do feel that having applied my mind in the new sphere I then undertook, I have been able to make a contribution, and I hope that I will be able to make a similar contribution in Provincial matters. After all, if I am elected I will be elected as a member of the United Party team who have experienced Councillors in all the fields under the Province's jurisdiction.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY POLICY IN PROVINCIAL MATTERS:

I have not yet had an opportunity of studying the Progressive Party Policy in Provincial matters, but from what I have seen I do not think that it will differ very much from that of the United Party, except that I believe they are prepared to support mixed schools where there is a demand from various racial groups.

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I do not know Mr. Brigish very well, but this I can say, that when he stood for election to the Witwatersrand School Board many of my colleagues in the United Party very ably assisted him in his elections, and I myself was one of his returning officers at the Polling Booth in Linden, so that while Mr. Brigish claims that he had no political home until he joined the Progressive Party, he was very pleased to accept the assistance of United Party workers, and I venture to suggest that without that support he would not have succeeded in the elections.

THE LIE THAT SAYS THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UNITED PARTY AND NATIONALIST PARTY POLICY:

I would now like to deal with some of the broader issues which are at stake in the Elections. You will all remember

the Goebbels theory that "tell a lie often enough and it is believed". Ad nauseum you are told that there is no difference between the United Party and the Nationalists.

1. The United Party has at all times been a unifying force between the English speaking and Afrikaans speaking people. This is one of the basic tenets of the United Party policy. Contrast that with the policy of the Broederbond which dominates Nationalist opinion. Their policy is Afrikaner domination and my experience has been with many Nationalists that they are Afrikaners first and South Africans second.
2. Do you think we would be out of the Commonwealth today if the United Party had been in power?
3. Can you remember the number of immigrants who were coming to South Africa when the United Party was in power, and the investment money that was flooding in?
4. Can you remember the difference between the United Party and the Nationalists in regard to the Coloureds. The Nationalists have now realised that they have alienated the Coloured people and are now trying to win back their support.
5. Can you remember the opposition to the Job Reservation Act, the Separate Universities Act, and so on and so on.

How can you, in the light of these illustrations, still harbour the thought of there being no difference.

Take again the indoctrination of the children in the schools, where the Afrikaans children are being placed at a disadvantage in being taught not to think for themselves, but to accept blindly the ideology of the Nationalist Party.

NATIONALIST POLICY IN CITY MATTERS:

I would like to deal with some matters which have come to my knowledge in my sphere of activity in the City Council. The Johannesburg City Council have pleaded for ground to be allocated to the Indians within the City boundary, but

to no effect. While there might be some merit in the Group Areas Act, it is the white man's interests which are first considered. So far the only ground allocated to the Indians is at Lenasia, approximately 22 miles from the City, and when the inconvenience and hardship caused by this has been taken up with the Nationalists they have simply replied that overseas people travel 22 miles to and from work, but they will not face up to the fact that people overseas have the choice, and can live nearer to their work if they so want.

Take the case of the unemployed natives in our Townships. The Nationalist Councillors say "send them back to the Reserves", but do not reply to the question "what happens to them when they get there". I am appalled at cases which come to my attention of the broken homes caused by the harshness with which the Pass Laws are administered, where, for instance, a person from one of the territories to the North is told to return and has to leave his wife, a South African native, and her children without any visible means of support.

UNITED PARTY POLICY RE PASS LAWS:

When the United Party administered the Pass Laws they had granted 50,000 exemptions to responsible natives. That was as far back as 1948, and the late Dr. Smit estimated that by now that number would have grown to a quarter of a million if these exemptions had continued to be granted at the rate then applicable.

In my opinion one of the most stabilising actions would be to grant our permanent urban dwellers freehold title. When the Johannesburg City Council first laid out Dube Township it wanted to do this, but as the law then stood the most it could do was to give 99-year leases. The Nationalist Government forced the City Council to reduce this to thirty years, and by the introduction of ethnic grouping further reduced the rights of the leaseholders.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on and on. All I can think of is that anybody who spreads this deliberate lie just does not know what Nationalist policy is, and has not come face to face with reality.

It appears to me that the Progressives are spending all their time fighting the United Party, and that they have forgotten what Nationalist policies are.

EXAMINATION OF PROGRESSIVE PARTY POLICIES:

Let us move on to examine some of the Progressive Party policies. I want to deal with these under three headings.

1. Mixed Residential Areas.

The Progressive Party state that should there be a demand from various racial groups they would advocate such things as mixed residential areas, mixed schools and mixed swimming baths. Where would these be? Johannesburg is virtually built up, so such areas would have to be in existing suburbs. Which suburbs would these be? Would all the existing residents have to agree to the change? Are any of the Northern suburbs included in the suggested areas? If not, surely the Non-European who wants to move into the Northern suburbs is being subjected to discrimination. Some years ago a suggestion was made that portion of the Cydna Sewage Works at Melrose should be reserved for recreational facilities for domestic servants. But what an outcry there was. Everybody agreed with the sentiment, but "not next to me". However, since I have been on the Council we have been trying to find suitable recreational areas in the Northern suburbs, but the cry was always the same "a good idea, but not next to me". To my mind what may be a noble sentiment could not be implemented at the moment. But then perhaps the Progressive Party, realising that they had no chance of getting into power in the foreseeable future, are endeavouring to propound a policy for twenty years hence.

2. Abolition of Pass Laws and Influx Control:

The flooding of cities from rural areas is not a problem unique to South Africa. An inspection of the slums in Great Britain and America reveals the degradation of the rural worker without skills who had not been able to get gainful employment in the cities to support

himself and his family. I would be the last person to try and justify the rigidity and harshness with which the present laws are applied, and I would remind you that they were not applied in this manner when the United Party was in power. At one time the Council had discretionary powers, but these have now been removed. I have told you of the number of exemptions granted by 1948. Do you know that as far back as 1954 it was the stated policy of the United Party that exemptions should be granted to the following:

- (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 to 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.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY POLICY TO ABOLISH PASS LAWS
AND INFLUX CONTROL:

The Progressive Party policy is that the Pass Laws and

Influx Control Regulations should be abolished. How would this affect the Urban Native? In Johannesburg the wages paid are higher than those earned in the rural areas and reserves. The Native population here is now largely made up of family units who have come to the City to stay. They have acquired skills and are endeavouring to adjust themselves to a Western standard of civilisation. They have entered into commitments for homes and the purchase of such things as furniture. They are endeavouring to educate their children. If the Influx Control Regulations were withdrawn, large numbers of people would flood in from the rural areas because of the poverty prevailing in the rural areas, and the lure of the amenities provided in the City. They would be prepared to undersell their labour and even the establishment of a minimum wage would be no protection for the established family Native, as the migrant worker, without family commitments in the City, will always work for less, as he did in the past.

WORKERS FROM OUTSIDE TERRITORIES:

Take, for example, the quarter of a million employees from territories outside South Africa who are prepared to work on the Gold Mines for wages which, even taking into consideration the "perks" provided, are considerably less than those required by the established urban family man. If Influx Control were removed, how would you control the movement of people from the rural areas and from territories outside South Africa? They only come to work here because the wages offered are more than they can get in their own territories.

NATIVE UNEMPLOYMENT IN JOHANNESBURG:

Let us consider the unemployment position among Natives in Johannesburg today.

Official figures show that as at 1st January, 1962, there were 14,436 adult males and 2,548 juvenile males out of work. There are 221,000 children under the age of 18, and each year more and more are seeking employment. To illustrate the seriousness of this position, and to show how difficult Johannesburg young men are finding it to obtain jobs, 3,005 are on the waiting list of the Non-

European Affairs Department Employment Bureau looking for jobs. Between 2nd January and the 19th January - a period of fourteen days - 320 of these applicants were seeking work for the first time. They are new boys just entering the labour market after having left school. Out of this whole number of 3,005, it was only found possible to find jobs for 391. The remainder continue coming forward, with dwindling hopes, for employment. And yet in the face of these facts - where our own local young men cannot find jobs, the Progressives advocate opening the doors of Johannesburg to the vast tide of unemployed from outside by removing all forms of control. The resulting increase in unemployment that must result from such a step is ignored.

AN EASY SOLUTION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT:

Last year I attended a Conference at which the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations were being discussed. A spokesman of the Progressive Party had an easy solution. He said that in Johannesburg there was a shortage of houses. "Why not" he said, "use the unemployed to build those houses?" And as far as he was concerned the problem was solved. What an easy solution! But let us put the solution under the magnifying glass. Firstly, to build houses, we need trained persons. In addition, the numbers of unemployed are not all builders and many seek employment in certain categories of labour in which they have experience, and probably would rather wait, hoping to find employment for which they feel best fitted. Let us carry the argument a little bit further - to build houses, you need money, you need land, you need water, roads and other services. Those who have had practical experience know the planning that has to take place before a building project gets under way. Let's even envisage that all these difficulties could be overcome. At the height of Johannesburg's building activities, when 10,000 houses were built in one year, the number of persons employed in our housing division was only 2,700. It is estimated that our building shortage at the moment is 18,000 homes. Let's now presume that the unemployed are prepared to do building work, that we get the money and all the other services, that we build the 18,000 houses and the workers again become unemployed. What is the solution then? No, Mr. Chairman, the solution so glibly given was not a solution at all.

Yet the person who offered this solution was a member of the much publicised Molteno Commission, in fact, Mr. Molteno himself!

IMPLICATIONS OF RELAXATION OF INFLUX CONTROL ON CITY:

What would be the implication of the relaxation of Influx Control from the point of view of the City? Do you know that the cost to the Employer of Native labour, by paying the Native Services Levy and the Native Transport Levy, and the cost to the City Council, by meeting the deficits on the Native Revenue Account, has amounted to R20M. in about nine years? The more the City does, the more attractive it becomes for people from outside to move in and, bearing in mind that it is the City's obligation to house the Natives employed within its boundaries, you will see what an impossible position would arise if the rural workers were able to flood the Cities, but were unable to find gainful employment.

DEVELOPMENT OF RESERVES:

What must happen is that it must be made possible for the rural worker and the person living in the Reserves to rise above the subsistence level. It is the responsibility of the Government to do in those areas what the cities have done in theirs. The Progressive Party stated that no one noticed the difference when there was relaxation of the Influx Control Regulations - yet, when the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer saw the Moroka and Shantytown slums which were the result of that relaxation, he induced his colleagues in the Mining Industry to lend the City R6M. to assist in the elimination of the appalling conditions which then prevailed.

FRANCHISE: THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY POLICY IS:

"The full franchise on the Ordinary Roll will be made available by the Progressive Government to all South Africans who are sufficiently educated to have an understanding of Politics and who have a sufficient economic stake in the country to make them desire its stability." They then state that the Party will extend full franchise rights to all people over twenty-one under certain qualifications, one of these being the passing of Std. VI and the earning of an income of R600 per year for two consecutive years.

Would you regard your child, who has passed Std. VI as being sufficiently educated to have "an understanding of Politics"? Now bear in mind the environmental advantage your child has.

Reliable statistics are not available, but it is conservatively estimated that on the basis of the suggested franchise proposals of the Progressives, within ten to fifteen years the Native voters would be in the majority. Are you prepared to vote for this? X

The Progressive Party put forward the theory that the Natives, on being given a vote, would not vote as Black Nationalists, that they would vote for the benefit of a multi-racial South Africa.

A PARLIAMENTARY SPEECH:

I want to read you an extract from a speech reported in Hansard No: 1 covering speeches made between the 18th and 25th January, 1957. I will not state who the speaker was, as I want you to guess.

"The hon. gentleman asked us whether we do or do not agree that White domination in the political sphere is to be maintained in South Africa for all time. I think it is useful when asked a question like that to try and think why anyone should think that White domination must be maintained in South Africa for all time. And it seems to me - and I think the hon. members opposite will agree with me - that there are really two reasons: the one is that the bulk of the Native Population has neither the education nor the culture nor the experience to fit it to take a sensible part in democratic processes; that is, the Native population as it is today. And the second reason is this: that even if those difficulties were overcome - and here is a point where I think I differ particularly from my hon. friends in the Liberal Party - even if they got that experience and that education, there remains a very great risk: a risk that White South Africa will not take - a risk that if they did get political power into their hands they would use it not for the benefit of multi-racial South Africa as a whole but for the benefit of an exclusive Black nationalism. I would say that those are the sensible reasons which make the people

unwilling that political power should fall into the hands of the Natives in South Africa.

As far as I can see, when one looks into the future I see no prospect, in the foreseeable future, of these difficulties and these obstacles in the way of White South Africa being willing to hand over political power to Black South Africans - I see no prospect of those obstacles being removed. Therefore the difference between the hon. gentleman and myself would appear to be this, that I say that White control in South Africa must be maintained as far into the future as I can see...."

Just remember these words:

"....a risk that if they did get political power into their hands they would use it not for the benefit of multi-racial South Africa as a whole but for the benefit of an exclusive Black nationalism...."

"....I would say that these are sensible reasons which make the people unwilling that political power should fall into the hands of the Natives in South Africa...." And again - "....Therefore the difference between the hon. gentleman and myself would appear to be this, that I say that White control in South Africa must be maintained as far into the future as I can see."

Who do you think said that? You guess. None other than Mr. Harry Oppenheimer who was then a United Party member of Parliament. When you consider what has happened this week in Tanganyika where the moderate leader, Mr. Nyerere has lost office after only six weeks in power, do you not agree with Mr. Oppenheimer's warning that they would vote as a Black Nationalist block. From the report in the Rand Daily Mail of the 23rd it appears that one of the criticisms of Mr. Nyerere was - "that the Government appeared to be too tolerant in its dealings with the whites and the Opposition." To me it is a tragedy that a moderate leader such as Mr. Nyerere, of whom so much was expected, should have lost office. In this world we must face up to stark reality and take warning from what is happening elsewhere.

Does not it occur to you as being strange that it is the United Party that is accused of speaking with two voices. Mr. Oppenheimer made that speech in 1957 and he said that was his opinion as far into the future as he could see, and

yet two years later he supported Progressive Party policy which puts forward the proposition that the Natives would not vote as Black Nationalists. What happened in Africa during those two years to justify the change?

PROGRESSIVES TO FIGHT NATIONALISTS WHEN U.P. OUT OF WAY:

When asked a question at a meeting at Claremont, Dr. Steytler stated the Progressive Party would start fighting the Nationalists "as soon as we have got the United Party out of the way." What a laudable object! When I asked one of the members of the Progressive Party, who had been elected under the United Party banner, why he had not resigned when he joined the Progressives in terms of the undertaking he had given, he stated that he had been elected by the people to fight the Nationalists, but now apparently it is the United Party that the Progressives are fighting. Why could they not have stayed in the United Party and worked from within, instead of trying to destroy. I am interested in forestry. If there are dead trees in my forests, I don't burn down the forests, I re-plant the affected area.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS:

I would like you to look objectively at the action of the Progressive Party in nominating candidates for the Municipal Election. You would all agree with me that it would be preferable if Party Politics played no part in Civic affairs. Unfortunately they do. In Johannesburg there are 42 Councillors. In the last Election there were 7 Nationalists. Because of a more favourable delimitation the Nationalists hope to increase their numbers. Let us say, for example, that they get ten seats. I would have no quarrel if the Progressives were prepared to take the responsibility of running the City; whether it would be in the interests of the City is another matter. To get a majority in the Council the Progressives would have to win 22 seats. I don't think that in their wildest dreams they would feel that they could do that. Let us be generous to them and say, for example, that they get 10 seats. What is the effect of that going to be?

Their candidates are standing in those areas where many of the retiring Councillors are candidates. They can only

get their 10 seats if some of these are eliminated. You are then going to have a United Party controlled Council, very much weakened, and now instead of being able to concentrate their efforts on what is in the best interests of the City, they will have to put up with the bickering and sniping and destructive criticism of both the Nationalists and the Progressives. I am not squealing; I am thinking of what is in the interests of the City, and while I have the greatest admiration for a number of the candidates nominated by the Progressives, is it not time we built instead of destroyed? X

When one bears in mind the stated policy of the Progressives to destroy the United Party, are the Progressive Party now going to use their platform in the City Council for this purpose, or are they activated by the desire to contribute to the best government of the City?

WHAT HAS THE UNITED PARTY DONE:

I have been critical of the Progressive Party's views. You can quite rightly, therefore say - "We want to know what the United Party have done." Let me tell you, because I believe that the United Party controlled Johannesburg City Council has, within the confining legislation of the Central Government, and within the means at its disposal, come down to earth and proved by action and not words that it has the welfare of the Native people at heart. Look at its record in the building of houses where 48,000 houses have been built and, in addition, 6440 families have built their own homes on ground leased from the Council. When the United Party was in power, they granted Local Authorities loans at $\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest and shared the losses on this sub-economic scheme with the Council. That has all been changed now, and most housing schemes are at economic rates of interest. It is not common knowledge that the Nationalist Party repudiated the agreement solemnly entered into between the then United Party Government and the City Council and refused to bear their portion of the losses on the loan made to the Council when the United Party was in power. The investment in housing and other amenities now amount to R44M.

ESTABLISHMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES IN THE MUNICIPAL AREA:

The Johannesburg City Council initiated these Services which were really a Provincial responsibility. To combat tsotsism the Council established a Vocational Training School in which youths were trained as carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers and tailors. This is not a normal function for a City Council, but yet it was done.

SUGGESTIONS THAT I JOIN THE PROGRESSIVES:

On a number of occasions suggestions have been made to me by members of the Progressive Party that I should sever my connection with the United Party and link up with them. They have suggested that the manner in which I have handled my portfolio in the City Council would make me an acceptable member of their Party. To my question "What have I done that is not United Party Policy" I have received no reply. Nor have I at any time been "on the mat" before the Heads in my Party to suggest that I have offended them. No, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, the Progressives are trying to bolster their cause by making overtures to members of other Parties, and then trying to bask in reflected glory as though the achievements of those people were done under their banner instead of the banner worn by the people at the time of their achievements. They even suggest that it is time the United Party folded up and left the political field to them! A question which rises vividly to my mind is what would then happen to the United Party supporters in the country. Nor have I ever been able to get satisfaction to my query as to how the Progressives ever hope to get into power when in an election their main target is to unseat the United Party, and very little attempt is made to reduce the majority of the Nationalists.

ARE THE PROGRESSIVES THE ONLY ONES THAT CARE?

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to have some Irish blood in my veins. One thing that makes me mad -- is the Progressives' suggestion that they are the only ones who care! They cannot understand how anyone with any brain can remain in the United Party! The arrogance of it! I suppose I should interpret that as a

compliment because of the veiled and grudging suggestion that there is a remote possibility that I might have some brains!

EIGHT BASIC PRINCIPLES:

I would now like to deal with the things which I think are needed to get our thinking straight.

1. We must have faith that, in the long run, good will prevail over evil. This is important, because if we do not believe this, we are apt to feel that the Nationalists will be in power for ever. Those who have come face to face with Nationalist policy can only regard it as evil - where frank discussion is regarded as Treason, where people are banished without trial, where a totalitarian doctrine pervades everything, where passports are withheld for no valid reason.
2. We have to realise that we are in a changing world - "Where the old order changeth, yielding place to new". We just cannot expect that everything must go on as before.
3. We have to think positively and not think of the "Native Problem". We must not think of South Africa's wealth only as being the minerals. We must consider our wealth in terms of the people of this land and determine to weld them into a nation.
4. We must stop regarding politics as being "Non-U". Our best men must come forward and take their place. Most people shrink from getting mixed up with civic and political affairs, but my experience has been that the ordinary, straightforward sort of person can make a contribution. Whilst I have felt overwrought, I have not felt frustrated. I am convinced that if persons such as those who devote their energy to organisations such as the Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Industries would lend a hand with civic and political affairs, a mighty change

could take place.

5. We must recognise that there is good and bad in all races. We often put on spectacles to blur our view of this fact!
6. We have got to realise that to change things we need to think, and plan, and work. In the past our emphasis has been on talk. Is it not time we stopped thinking of "someday" we hope will come in the remote future, and tried to do something now? I would like to compare Churchill's statement "Blood, toil, tears and sweat" with that of the "Sunday Times" which stated of the Progressives "Never in the field of Political activities had so few trumpeted so loudly about so little".

My introduction pamphlet to the election was largely written by a person who had been given my scrap-book of newspaper cuttings (not only Mr. Eric Louw keeps a scrap-book). As the result of that he put in two sentences which I hope are a correct analysis. He said - I "was a man who got things done - not an extrovert blusterer". Today it is the extrovert blusterer who seems to hold the floor.

7. We need to build and not to destroy. I would like to give one example of what I mean, and, in addition, I would like to pay tribute to an ex-colleague on the Council, Mr. Harry Goldberg, who for some years by his wisdom and understanding helped me to bear what otherwise would have been an impossible burden. As a result of the contacts he made when he was endeavouring to resolve the Alexandra Bus Boycott, in conjunction with other responsible men, he realised that the underlying problem of the Native people was poverty. What did he do - he put on his thinking cap and was the initiator in forming the non-political Bantu Wages and Productivity Association. This is a unique organisation where employers are focusing attention on the needs

of their employees to have adequate wages and to seek better methods of utilising labour. Where else in the world have employers formed an association to increase wages? While the United Party as such cannot claim credit for this movement, it indicates how United Party public representatives tackle problems in the light of the practical issues with which they come face to face.

8. I do not believe that all present Nationalists are satisfied with the totalitarian attitude of the Prime Minister. Look at the sudden change in the Nationalist attitude to the coloured people - brought about, I am sure, by pressures from within their Party.

IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES:

What are the things which, in my opinion, should be our immediate objectives?

We must realise that the Urban Native is going through a very difficult transitional period when the customs of the tribe - and in the old days tribes were a well organised society, in which there was respect for age - are being destroyed in the new Urban conditions.

1. I feel the Non-European in this country must have a sense of belonging. They want a sense of security. What better thing could be done than giving them freehold title in the urban areas?
2. They want to be consulted and I believe that if, in the past, we had used the moderate leaders and listened to them, accepted their right to express their views, and not only listened, but acted, their people would have felt that the men of moderate views were achieving something for them. We have not listened to the moderate leaders and have driven the people to creating immoderate leadership because the moderate leader had failed. Can't we reinforce the moderate leader? I still believe there is an untapped reservoir of goodwill.

3. They want work to enable them to get food and clothing and housing. A lot has been done in the cities, but what has been done in the Reserves to raise the people from a mere subsistence level? They want education for their children and what is also terribly important, having been educated they want a chance to use that education.
4. They want justice. In my opinion our race relations in South Africa will never be right until the relationship between the Police and the Native population is right. Until we can get a change whereby the Police are not associated with many of the harsh laws they have to administer we have no hope of winning the confidence of the Non-Europeans.
5. They want law and order in their townships. They want better train facilities. They want more responsibility in the administration of their own affairs. They want to be given an incentive so that their efforts are rewarded.

Mr. Chairman, all these matters are things which would be done within the framework of United Party policy.

FRIEND OF NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES:

I claim to be a friend of the Non-European peoples. Over 25 years ago I was Chairman of an organisation called the Joint Council for Europeans and Africans. The South African Institute of Race Relations honoured me by appointing me one of their ten Honorary Life Members after my many years association with them as Honorary Treasurer. While most of my energies have been in connection with Native Affairs, I was pleased to initiate the negotiations which led to the purchase of the old Langlaagte Mine for Coloured Housing, now Riverlea Township, on which houses are being erected, and my colleagues and I have continuously endeavoured to secure an adequate area within Johannesburg's boundaries for the Indian people. I think the efforts I have

made, while no doubt subject to criticism, have nevertheless been a genuine attempt to contribute to their well-being. I have made mistakes. A man who has not made mistakes is the man who has done nothing.

What is a friend? A friend is a person to whom one goes for advice. A friend is a person whom you can count on in time of trouble. A friend is a person who tells you what you have done wrong and helps to put you right. In my opinion there is a vast difference between a friend and a lover. A lover is subject to infatuation. A lover feels you can do no wrong and blindly overlooks your shortcomings. Now as a friend I would say to the Non-Europeans that they also have a contribution to make. I appreciate the difficult transition period through which they are passing, yet there are some things they must do.

1. They must have a regard for human life. Any of you who visit Baragwanath Hospital, or visit the Council's work Centre where we try to find employment for those who have been maimed, will realise the viciousness and cruelty with which many of our Native people act. Do you know that in many instances, where the motive is robbery, that a stab wound will be inflicted with the deliberate intention of severing the spinal cord? Mr. Chairman, if you and I were to quarrel I might want to slap your face, or punch your jaw, but I would not want to maim you so that you suffered for the rest of your life. I venture to say that the Native suffers more violence at the hands of his fellows than at the hands of the white man.

2. Moral Standards must Change: Case history after case history in our townships reflects the extent to which illegitimacy is accepted as a normal thing. There appears to be no moral stigma. You have only to think of what goes on in your own backyards and on the top of flats to realise how far these standards are from what are accepted as right in western civilisation.

3. Religion is required: A religion is needed to establish a faith that gives purpose to life. Witchcraft and magic still play too large a part in behaviour patterns.

4. Acceptance of responsibility by Native men: Get

together with a group of responsible African women and ask them whether their menfolk are accepting the responsibilities that would be expected by a white woman from her husband.

5. Catching Trains: Have you ever watched a crowd of natives catching a train, where every man is for himself and there is no respect for age or sex.

6. A Place in the Sun: The attitude to work must change. Today what many Natives desire most is leisure time - a place in the sun - but to earn this they must contribute their part to their own uplift.

The lover could not say these things, but I feel a friend can. All races have their contribution to make. I believe that if my points were implemented we could get this beloved South Africa of ours right. I believe that responsible world opinion would support us if they felt we were moving in the right direction. This opinion was also expressed by Dr. Zao de Beer after his recent visit to America, and the "Sunday Times" had a similar report from Dr. Frans Cronje after his recent trip.

I have strayed far from the duties of a Provincial Councillor. I have told you of my beliefs. I have told you of the things which I think would help to solve our problems, all of which are United Party policy.

If you feel I am a man who wants to build and not destroy; if you feel I am a man who has his feet on the ground; if you feel I have a part to play in making South Africa a happier and safer place to live in, I would ask for your support. I have sufficient faith in your good judgement to leave it to you to decide whether you wish me to be part of the United Party Team which is striving to implement the policies I have outlined to you.

JOHANNESBURG:

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