

one district to another, the influx control measures and so on. The Government's bluff had been called, and the Minister knew it.

*No other meeting of the Chiefs has been called to discuss Bantu Authorities in Natal, and the chances are that an indaba like those held in 1955 will never again be called.*

The question that Zululand — and the rest of the country — needs answered is why, after such a solid stand against Bantu Authorities at two important meetings, did the Paramount Chief suddenly give in to the government? If he was convinced, as he wrote in a letter to the Ilanga Lase Natal, that it was the best course to adopt for the advancement of the Zulu people, why did Cyprian not call another meeting of the Chiefs?

#### High-Powered Pressure

It is no secret that not only the Paramount Chief but the chiefs throughout the country have been subjected to high-powered pressure from the government to make them accept Bantu Authorities. The fact that the Act is optional and that each tribe or chief may accept or reject it is given as little prominence as possible. Government propagandists now take the line that the Chief is a government servant to carry out the wishes of the government and that it is not a good thing for any chief to "oppose" government plans. The Government does not favour such Chiefs. Well every Chief knows what happens to a chief who is unpopular with the Government.

Already Districts that have not accepted Bantu Authorities have, on instructions from Pretoria, been asked to register with Native Commissioners the names of all the headmen who assist the Chiefs in the administration of their wards. It is stipulated that the lists should contain the names of twelve headmen, which is usually the number of men appointed to the Authorities, and as the mem-

bers of the Authorities have to be registered with the Native Commissioners, there is growing suspicion that the Government is introducing Bantu Authorities by the backdoor.

#### The Protesting Voices

I have written of government pressure. In the case of Cyprian there can be no doubt that this factor was the deciding one in his acceptance. When the rumour that he had accepted first leaked out, and before the news had been officially received, a White friend of mine close to him asked him whether it was true. Cyprian denied this and said "Bayan-gigambela" (They are lying). No doubt he did not like what he was doing.

In those areas where Bantu Authorities have been accepted there is considerable dissatisfaction and disillusionment among the Chiefs. Many of them want to contract out already. The good old days of Cetshwayo do not seem to be returning. Instead the powers of the chiefs are being taken over by councils of which they are mere members, and already in some areas it is being suggested that some tribes may be merged with others — so some chiefs may lose their positions.

But apart from the reactions of the Chiefs, the tribesmen are unshakable in their opposition to the Bantu Authorities Act. You have only to move around in the country areas, at beer parties, in tribal meetings, in the buses, to hear the people saying with one voice that they do not want the "Bunga". Even at the Khethomthandayo meeting, despite the influence of the Paramount Chief, there were many protesting voices. The people know that Bantu Authorities go hand in hand with stock limitation, higher taxes and government interference with their daily lives. The people have a long history of resistance against government measures and without their co-operation how can Bantu Authorities work?

#### THE GENERAL ELECTION (continued from page 7)

But if these first beginnings of a United Party realignment have deep meaning for the Nationalist, how much deeper is their meaning for the Non-White people and the Congress movement? Here too there is an old, accepted and time-honoured tradition that it matters little which of the two great parties wins an election — the victims will be the Non-White people. In the past, when the party politicians called the tune and the people, unwillingly, danced to it, the tradition had validity. But today, in large measure, the accepted roles are being reversed. *Today, increasingly, it is the people who call the tune and the party politicians who are being forced to dance to it.* In such a period, even under conditions of an exclusively White electorate, new possibilities begin to open up — possibilities of breaking the Nationalist stranglehold over the White electorate and of stirring up the decent, self-preservationist feelings of the electorate to return a government of reform, and to reverse the rushing tide of fascism.

#### Realities of Today

Such prospects, which would have been wild-eyed visionary dreams in 1953, are realities in 1957.

But they will not be realised easily, by letting events take their course. **They can only be realised if every section of the Non-White people, headed by the Congress alliance spearhead, enters into the battle for the future which has opened.** Against the realisation of these prospects, powerful forces are aligned. The slowness, unwillingness and rear-guard resistance of the United Party itself, the pro-Nationalist weighting of the election balance carried through by the Delimitation Commission, these are formidable obstacles. But not insuperable. The rising whirlwind of the people's struggles for life, liberty and progress has already shaken the state of South Africa to the deepest of its foundation. Such a force, widened out, extended, broadened, can sweep aside mountains.

This is the reality which Mr. Strijdom fearfully perceives when he accuses the United Party of letting loose a revolution. This is the reality which Mr. Oppenheimer perceives when he poses the alternatives as "reform or revolution." **This is the reality which the Congress leadership and membership needs to understand and to impart to the people of South Africa in the months that lie ahead.**

In the end the Delimitation Commission only proposes; but it is the people which disposes.



# Section 77 At Work

By  
MIKE MULLER

Briefly, Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, provides for the reservation of jobs in any occupation or industry in a given area for workers of a particular race. Thus the job of machinists, engaged in the manufacture of ladies' outer garments in the Transvaal, may be reserved for Europeans only. (This is, incidentally, a suggestion made by the Industrial Tribunal).

Like so much of Nationalist Government legislation, Section 77 started life as an election slogan: "Protect the White workers from being pushed out by Non-Whites." This was the rallying cry of the Blanke Werkersbeskermingsbond. The chief organiser of the Bond was the present Minister of Labour, Jan de Klerk. The Schoeman-De Klerk I.C. Act has as its fundamental purpose the division of the trade union movement on racial lines. The Nationalists admit that this will make it easier for employers to use workers of one race to undercut and undermine the working conditions of workers of other races. "But", say the Nats, "workers' unity is not necessary after all. Section 77 will take care of inter-racial competition between workers."

It is, therefore, the cornerstone of their claim that they are the true champions of the White workers. This Nationalist boast must stand or fall on their ability to make Section 77 work in practice, and not only as a propaganda concept.

## The First Victims

So far there have been four investigations into job reservation by the Industrial Tribunal which has the task, *inter alia*, of making such investigations and of then making recommendations to the Minister. These investigations were in respect of (1) passenger transport in Cape Town; (2) the clothing industry in the Union of South Africa; (3) motor vehicle driving for the Durban Municipal Cleansing Department; (4) metal door and window manufacture in the metal industry, Union of South Africa, which is still in progress.

The first three investigations have been completed. It is not

known whether the Tribunal has yet reported to the Minister, and if so, what it has recommended. The third investigation (Durban Cleansing Department) is of little consequence. De Klerk will no doubt be able to sustain the European transport workers of Durban in their burning desire to drive night carts in the African townships.

## Cape Transport Workers

The Transport Workers' Union in Cape Town also supported the idea of racial reservation of jobs. Of the Union's 1860 members, 713 or well over one-third, are Coloured workers. From the nature of the Union's attitude it is clear that it cannot carry its Coloured members with it. In this investigation it was left to the South African Congress of Trade Unions to represent their interests in opposing reservation.

The employers here had asked for greater freedom to employ Coloured men for those posts where vacancies cannot be filled by Europeans. The union's attitude was that it had already agreed to the employment of Coloured drivers and conductors on a number of routes, and that the employment of Coloureds on additional routes would limit the employment of Europeans and threaten their existing standard of living. It wants wastage of European staff remedied by "attracting" more Europeans and, if necessary, by the employment of White women as conductors.

This, the first investigation of its kind, represents for the Nats. a comparatively easy task. A bus service in Cape Town does not compete with another in the Transkei. There are none of the difficulties found in manufacturing industry where products made in different places, hundreds of miles apart, are all sold in the same competitive market. Yet even here the Tribunal immediately ran into trouble: where can enough European workers come from to serve the *whole* community? Faced with reality the Tribunal had to resort to suggestions that a percentage racial composition be fixed and that exemptions be granted where it does not work.

The Tribunal has been repeatedly driven during the hearings to this expedient of suggesting exemptions. Such exemptions will be in the sole discretion of the Minister of Labour to grant, refuse or withdraw. In the case of the clothing industry, wholesale exemptions were suggested. This would leave the workers and employers completely at the mercy of the Minister's whims. But then, if Verwoerd can be God, why not de Klerk?

## Clothing Industry: The Real Test

In a sense, Section 77 was passed to deal with the clothing industry. The old slander was that Solly Sachs was working with the bosses to drive the European out of the industry. The decreasing *proportion* of white workers in the clothing industry was the main exhibit in the case for job reservation. Immediately after the setting up of the Tribunal the following notice appeared in the Government Gazette:

"as it appears to me that measures should be taken in order to safeguard the economic welfare of European employees in the Clothing Industry, I, Johannes de Klerk, Minister of Labour, hereby direct the Industrial Tribunal in terms of sub-section (1) of section seventy-seven of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, (Act No. 28 of 1956), to make an investigation into the desirability of making a determination under this section in respect of the said Industry for the Union of South Africa."

In the course of its investigation into this country, the tribunal visited Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, Johannesburg and Germiston. Except in Germiston where Carl Meyer and his Nat. clique have influence with a minority of the workers, *not one witness* appeared before the Tribunal to support job reservation. Workers and employers are united in rejecting this form of racialism totally and made no proposals whatever of how it might be applied.

## "Removal" and "Re-settlement"

The clothing industry is our fourth largest secondary industry. It employs 45,000 workers of all (Continued on page 12)

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