

run the constant risk of arrest when they visit the workplaces of their members.

Membership of a trade union is difficult to maintain because of the maze of laws and regulations which govern the lives of Africans. When an African breaks a civil contract with his employer, he commits a criminal offence; his movements inside the urban areas are strictly controlled; he cannot leave one employer to accept better employment elsewhere without the authority of a Labour Bureau; he cannot leave one industrial area to work in another unless he obtains permission to enter the new area; once he leaves the town of his birth to work in another area, he forfeits the right to return and can do so only with official sanction; he must always carry his identity book and be sure that it is properly signed by his employer. These are but a few of many restraints upon an African worker's freedom.

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

The African trade unions themselves have little security. They are fortunate if they can obtain office accommodation. Very few owners of buildings in the industrial towns will rent premises to African trade unions. It is, therefore, most difficult to maintain permanent administrative offices and to provide meeting places. This situation is aggravated by the application of the Group Areas Act, whereby racial zoning invariably defines central city areas as White areas, thus prohibiting African ownership or occupation. Consequently, even those African trade unions which now have premises stand in the shadow of eviction.

In the so-called "Native areas"—(the locations and townships)—there is no accommodation for African trade unions. Not only are these locations and townships situated long distances from the industrial areas and the towns; none of them provides offices, nor would any be made available to African organizations disapproved of by the Government. In any case, trade union headquarters in African townships would be quite impractical, because Africans residing in one township are not allowed to enter another without the special permission of the township superintendent, who inevitably would refuse such permission to visiting trade union members, in view of the official hostility towards such organizations. There are, too, other obstacles, such as transport and the nightly curfew.

To all these difficulties must be added the restraints placed upon trade union leaders through the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act. These laws also give the Minister of Justice arbitrary power to ban meetings and prohibit persons from attending meetings, and have been applied to several trade union officials.

Meetings in urban areas are also subject to the bye-laws of the various municipalities. No meeting can be held in African townships without the permission of the superintendent, who must be given written notice (usually seven days) and informed of the purpose of the meeting, the subject to be discussed, and the names of the organizers and speakers. African trade unions, being considered "subversive" by the authorities, would not be granted such permission, even if they were lucky enough to secure a meeting place.

THE NEW POWERS

This brings us to the new powers sought by the Minister of Native Affairs. Not satisfied with the existing wide powers to prevent African meetings in African townships, the Minister now claims the further arbitrary right to ban mixed meetings of Whites and Africans in the urban (i.e., White) areas.

Section 29 (f) provides:

"The Minister may:

- (i) prohibit the holding of any meeting . . . which is attended by a Native, in any urban areas outside a Native residential area, either generally . . . or in respect of specified premises or classes of premises;
- (ii) prohibit any person . . . from holding, organizing or arranging any such meeting . . . if in the opinion of the Minister the holding of such meeting . . . is likely to cause a nuisance to persons resident in the vicinity . . . or in any area likely to be traversed by Natives proceeding to such meeting . . . or will be undesirable having regard to the locality in which the premises are situated or the number of Natives likely to attend such meeting. . . ."

The Minister could apply these powers against African trade unions with the greatest of ease, and probably would do so. The result would be disastrous. Factory meetings, branch meetings, executive meetings, general meetings, all fall within the scope of these new powers and could be banned. Factories, workshops, offices and other places of employment are almost entirely concentrated in the urban areas. This, of necessity, likewise concentrates trade union activity in such areas. If prevented from carrying on their lawful business there, African trade unions will be virtually outlawed. That is bad enough. But it is not the only evil in this provision.

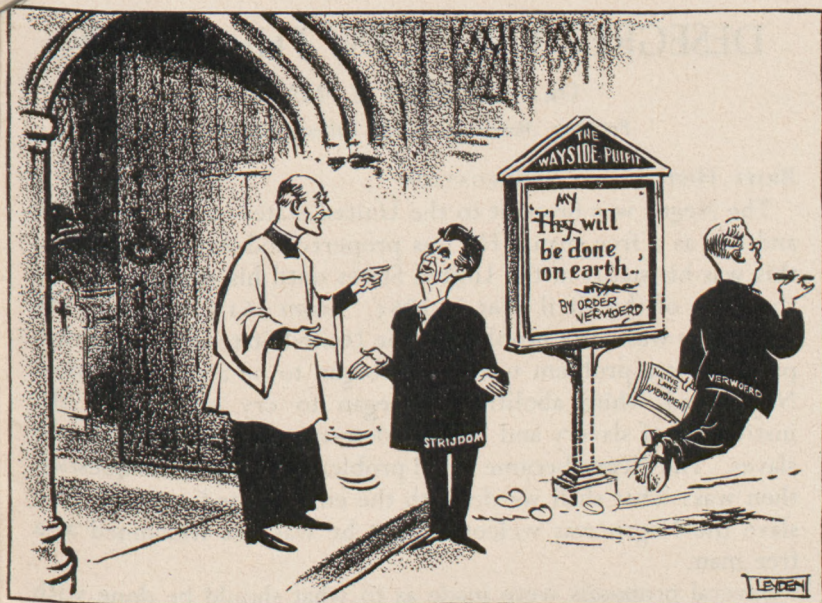
The Minister will also have the right to ban meetings between

White and African trade union leaders. Until now it has been possible for "registered" trade unions to maintain contact with African workers and their unions, and assist them in many ways. However, on the passing of the Native Laws Amendment Bill, the Minister will have power to put a stop to joint discussion between White and African trade union representatives; to forbid the holding of inter-racial trade union conferences, and to prevent the conduct of labour colleges, lectures and discussion clubs. In this way, the Minister can shut off all contact and communication between experienced White trade unionists and the new army of African industrial workers. It is becoming clear that what the Government has failed to achieve in one way it is determined to do in another.

Instead of encouraging White trade unionists to extend their knowledge and experience to the rising Black proletariat, and to teach them the civilized ways of industrial democracy and efficient, responsible trade unionism, the Government prefers to drop its iron curtain of complete racial separation.

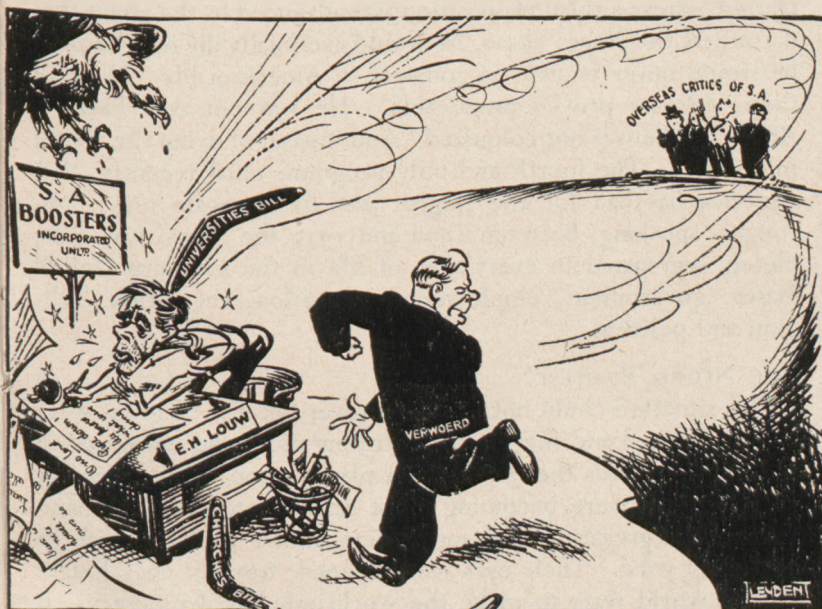
Section 29 of this Bill illustrates again that freedom is indivisible. The denial of rights to the non-Whites must inevitably extend to the Whites and infringe their liberties too. Once again the White trade unions are victims of an apartheid law, as they were with the Industrial Conciliation Act. Wise White trade union leaders have recognized for a long time that African workers must be organized in trade unions if they are not to become an economic threat to White workers. This attitude is strengthened with the knowledge that African workers now constitute 54 per cent. of the industrial labour force of South Africa, while the Whites comprise a mere 28 per cent.

The arbitrary power of the Minister to prohibit mixed meetings of Whites and non-Whites can frustrate all efforts to build healthy trade unionism. It would be foolish to think that the Minister will not use his newly-acquired powers to that end, for his party is totally opposed to African trade unions.



STRIJDOM: What can I do? I'm only his boss.

By courtesy of Leyden and the "Natal Daily News"



LOUW: To whom shall I write about this latest attack, Doctor?

By courtesy of Leyden and the "Natal Daily News"

JEWISH OPINION

Vol. 4, No. 3 (16)

JOHANNESBURG

September, 1957

A NEWSLETTER

THE 1957 PARLIAMENTARY SESSION

(BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT)

FOR those who like statistics, it is interesting to know that Parliament opened on the 18th January and ended on the 22nd June, having sat for 102 days, considered 96 Bills, made 83 laws and approved a Budget of £286,500,000.

However, most people are more interested in political trends. They want to know if the Government is showing signs of cracking and how the United Party is shaping under its new leader. They are seeking pointers for the coming general election.

The last full session of Parliament before a general election is always the most important as far as the political parties are concerned. The M.P.s of all parties are busy jockeying for position. Nothing moves a politician more than the next election. As it comes nearer, the party hacks are as busy as ants, the party bosses hover like hungry hawks, and the sitting Members show obvious signs of nervous tension, brought on by the anxieties of re-nomination and re-election.

In Parliament, debates are slanted towards the election-campaign ahead and great caution becomes noticeable amongst both Government and Opposition. Usually, it brings some kind of Indian summer for the politically-confused taxpayer, who sees moderation in the Government and comforting conservatism in the Opposition.

This year's last full session before the 1958 general election was somewhat different. While the sitting members displayed the usual anxiety for their own political futures, there was no moderation in the Government and hardly more than the normal conservatism in the Opposition. The Government did not slacken off its Apartheid programme. The crop of contentious legislation was as great as in previous years. There were four Apartheid Bills, all of far-reaching effect. One applied to State-aided institutions (museums, art galleries, etc.); one to the Universities; one to the Nursing profession; and one to Churches, clubs and organisations.

Running true to form the Labour Party and the Native Representatives rejected all these measures outright. Surprisingly, the United Party took the same line, much to the consternation of the Nationalists. In this cautious, conservative pre-election Session the Nats. had obviously expected the U.P. to equivocate and to offer half-hearted opposition to Bills which dealt with the delicate issue of social apartheid.

U.P. "LIBERALISM"

At first the Nats were nonplussed and did not quite know how to handle this unexpected situation. They bitterly complained that the U.P. was committing political suicide, as though that was the last thing they wanted. They argued that such tactics were foolish and would ruin the

U.P.'s chances of winning the next election. When this coaxing and cajoling failed, the Nats. angrily accused the U.P. of having fallen into the arms of "liberalism," of being led by the Labour Party and the Liberals.

They pointed to the conservative members of the U.P. who were obviously unhappy. In the House they remained sullenly silent but in the lobbies they complained that the so-called "Liberal back bench" had got too big for their boots. True enough, the "Liberal back bench" were driving the U.P. wagon with a will. Occasionally, one of the old guard would intervene in a debate to explain that the U.P. still stands for "White Trusteeship," "White Leadership With Justice" and all the other things which Mr. Strijdom says mean the same as his policy of "baaskap." Nevertheless, the old guard had reason to worry, for the nature of the U.P. speeches and their amendments made it clear that the party was taking a strong stand against apartheid.

The Prime Minister declared that since Sir de Villiers Graaff had been made leader, the U.P. had moved very far to the left. He pronounced that the U.P. had become openly liberal and was now very little different from the Labour and Liberal parties.

Was this true? Of course not. The display of the U.P. against the Apartheid Bills was merely another demonstration of the grave contradiction in colour policy which makes the party vacillate from cold conservatism to bubbling progressiveness.

U.P. "CONSERVATISM"

While the 1957 Parliamentary Session showed the liberal section of the U.P. in the ascendancy, the 1957 Union Conference at Bloemfontein revealed the considerable power of the conservative section. The so-called "Liberals" sometimes respond to the pressures of extra-Parliamentary influences, expressed through the rising protests of the voteless millions; they do so because they recognise the increasing economic power of the Non-Whites and understand the realism of letting them share some of the place in the sun.

On the other hand, the conservative section responds to nothing but the voting power of the White electorate. To them, nothing counts but the crosses on the ballot papers. Realism, as far as they are concerned, lies in pandering to colour prejudice and not in encouraging enlightened attitudes in race relations. The die hards of the old U.P. from the Hertzog era have remained impervious to the social effects of post-war economic progress. They are distressed when the U.P. opposes Nat. apartheid measures; like the Nats., they look upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a subversive document.

In spite of this, more ordinary citizens are recognising the need for a change in race attitudes. Even among the

most prejudiced sections of the White electorate there are some who are beginning to show a change of heart. In the circumstances, the Parliamentary Opposition could not help hearing the rumblings of discontent throughout the country. The protests were loud and many.

THE BUS BOYCOTT AND AFTER

First of all, there was the bus boycott. Parliament opened to the sound of tramping feet in Johannesburg and Pretoria, where Africans decided to walk to and from work rather than pay an extra penny on their bus fares. Threats and many acts of provocation on the part of the authorities failed to break the spirit of the boycotters. In the end, they won the day and in the process they won a great deal of sympathy, too.

The bullying attitude of the Government brought it nothing but dismal defeat. More than that, the whole affair revealed the Government's inability to act like statesmen.

After the bus boycott came other demonstrations. These were protests against apartheid. There were processions and marches of protest against university apartheid, against church apartheid, against Nursing apartheid, against passes for African women. This was truly *Vox Populi*—the combined voice of the voters and the voteless. Could the politicians ignore it?

WHAT NOW?

This brings us back to the U.P. Even though the Party reacted in a small way to the voice of the voteless, they are still prisoners of prejudice. They still refuse to concede the right of equal opportunity to all South Africans, irrespective of colour.

Despite their brave words in Parliament, the "Liberal back bench" are chained to the backward conservatives. That was clearly demonstrated at the recent U.P. Conference at Bloemfontein. Despite the journalistic ingenuity of a friendly press, it could not be concealed that the long-awaited "Progressive Non-European Policy" was nothing more than an endorsement of the old Hertzog Native Acts of 1936.

This makes nonsense of all U.P. opposition to Nat. apartheid measures. This explains why the U.P. blows hot and cold on the major issues of colour policy. This is the conflict which must split the U.P. sooner or later.

Every day brings new evidence that apartheid is breaking down. Even some ardent Nationalists realise that their party is riding a tiger. All that is needed is a strong opposition to force a showdown. The U.P. is afraid to strike the blow.

Yet, in spite of the increasing arrogance of the frustrated Nationalists and the conflict within the major Opposition party, the cry of the Non-Whites for social and economic justice has penetrated Parliament.

That, at least, emerged from the recent Session.

NEW TRENDS?

HE would be a super optimist who would suggest that the Nationalist Government is weakening or that the massive structure of Nationalism shows signs of crumbling. There is at present no indication that the Government has exhausted its programme of repressive legislation or has veered from the road towards its ultimate objective—the establishment of a republic on Christian-National lines. On the contrary, as opposition to its policy grows, the Government will no doubt intensify its efforts to strengthen its grip on the people of this country.

Yet even an all-powerful Nationalist movement cannot avoid the pressure of objective conditions or the development of internal stresses and strains. And the first sign of this has been the so-called "Revolt of the intellectuals." As the realities and implications of apartheid become more apparent, a split tends to develop between the theories of the intellectuals, such as those who speak for Sabra, and the practical application of these theories by the Government. As a result there seems to be developing a feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction among some of the intellectuals with the failure to give effect to the policies of apartheid. Others again, impressed by the growth of opposition to these policies both at home and abroad and painfully realizing that apartheid is nothing more than a pipe dream, are beginning to voice their opposition, some publicly, like the thirteen professors and lecturers who protested against the Senate Bill, and others privately, as in the case of the Universities' Apartheid Bill.

A similar situation developed in the Dutch Reformed Churches, especially in the largest of the three. At first an attempt was made to find scriptural sanction for the policy of apartheid, but after strong internal opposition the attempt seems to have been abandoned. Since then there has developed within the Church a strong opposition to that pernicious doctrine, and it was the intervention of this church that finally decided the Government to modify a little the provisions of the church clause in recent legislation.

A strongly outspoken attack on apartheid was recently made by Prof. B. B. Keet, Professor of Theology at the Dutch Reformed Church Seminary, Stellenbosch, when he delivered the annual Hoernle Memorial Lecture of the Institute of Race Relations. Taking as his subject "The Ethics of Apartheid" the speaker described apartheid as "impractical and immoral" and the division of the country in terms of the Tomlinson Report as a "fantastic dream."

Of even greater political significance are the views of Prof. L. J. du Plessis, head of the faculty of law at Potchefstroom, an influential member of the "Dopper" church, chairman of the board of directors of the Government-supporting Sunday paper, the "Dagbreek," and an intimate friend and confidant of the Prime Minister and Dr. Verwoerd. Writing in that journal on 14 April this year the professor sees behind the bus boycott and other events the power of the growing national consciousness of the non-Europeans in this country.

"The national consciousness of the growing non-White nations of South Africa has begun and nothing in the long run can stop it. It cannot be bought off with various material and cultural concessions. Nationalism does not strive merely for prosperity and success, but for political self-determination."

He urges with "the greatest possible emphasis and the deepest conviction" that responsible quarters should make known to the non-European people of this country that "our racial policy aims at the national liberation of the non-White in co-operation with them."

Such a statement on national liberation is, coming from a man of Prof du Plessis's standing, most significant; but, no less significant are his views about the leaders of the non-European peoples. No longer, he says, must it be said that

"the so-called agitators are not true non-White nationalists but Communists and that the tribal chiefs are the true national leaders. Those agitators are not all Communists and those tribal chiefs are in a sense hirelings of the Government."

In an earlier article he makes it clear that in seeking the co-operation of the African leaders the Government must definitely approach the "progressive Bantu, even of the African National Congress."

Behind job reservation in
the clothing industry

30 OCT 1957

Is the Govt. preparing for a depression?

UNTIL 1951, South Africa's only statutory industrial colour bar was contained in the Mines and Works Act, which excluded Africans from certain occupations in the mining industry.

Then came the Native Building Workers' Act, which made it illegal for Africans to do skilled building work anywhere outside Native areas.

In 1956, the principle of the colour bar in industry was extended by the inclusion of Section 77 in the amended Industrial Conciliation Act. Described as "Safeguard Against Inter-racial Competition", this clause empowered the Minister of Labour to apply a colour bar in any undertaking, industry, trade or occupation.

The law states that "if it appears to the Minister that measures should be taken in order to safeguard the economic welfare of employees of any race", he may order the Industrial Tribunal (comprising five Government appointees) to investigate the matter.

First determination

The Tribunal must hear evidence from all interested persons and consult the industrial council concerned, the employers' organisation, the trades unions and the Central Native Labour Board.

The Tribunal must then make a recommendation to the Minister. After consultation with the Minister of Economic Affairs, the Minister of Labour may make a determination reserving specified occupations in specified areas for the employment of persons of a particular race.

The first determination of this kind has now been made in respect of the clothing industry.

The Industrial Tribunal, under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen, has recommended that the work of machinists, supervisors, cutters or choppers-out, and table hands in the clothing industry throughout South Africa, be reserved for Whites only.

Strong opposition

These categories embrace about 40,000 employees, of whom 4,500 are White and over 35,000 non-White. They comprise more than 70 per cent of all workers in the industry.

On what evidence did the Tribunal base its decision?

None that emerged at its public hearings. Both the employers and the trade unions expressed strong opposition to "job reservation."

Except for a small group of White workers at Germiston, no witnesses supported the application of a colour bar in the industry.

As a matter of fact, a Wage Board which investigated the clothing industry in 1955/56 was convinced that White workers were not in need of protection.

by
ALEX HEPPLER

In this article Mr. Hepple, a Rand Labour M.P., suggests that the Government is applying its job reservation policy because it fears a depression. In a depression, he says, the Government will exert pressure to ensure that Coloured and African workers bear the brunt of unemployment.

Deeper significance?

By a coincidence, the Chairman of that Wage Board was Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen. He is also Chairman of the Industrial Tribunal and the Board of Trade.

The report which he signed on May 1, 1956, declared:

"Owing to the shortage of European labour during the war and post-war years, girls have been finding work in spheres of employment more congenial to them than industry . . ."

"The result has been an almost complete absence of new European entrants into the trade . . . The entry of non-Europeans into the industry has not led to the displacement of Europeans . . ."

It would seem, therefore, that the Government is seeking to protect a non-existent body of White garment workers.

Or is there a deeper significance in the decision to declare the clothing industry a "White" industry?

Exemptions

The racial composition of the labour force in the clothing industry is such as to make the reservation manifestly absurd.

In 1955, of the total of approximately 48,000 employees, no less than 60 per cent were Coloureds, while 20 per cent were Whites and 20 per cent Africans.

If the determination is strictly applied, 35,000 Whites must be found to replace the non-Whites.

Obviously, exemptions will have to be granted on a wholesale scale, for Whites are not available. The reserved categories are for skilled workers and untrained Whites cannot be put into these jobs merely because they happen to be White and unemployed.

The peculiar situation will therefore be created that four-fifths of the industry will be operating under exemption. This is bound to cause considerable uncertainty and confusion.

Migration

Employers, unable to get White apprentices, will nevertheless be afraid to engage non-White learners, and waste time and money training them for jobs they may never be allowed to occupy.

As the Wage Board says, Whites prefer more congenial employment. And the application of an impracticable colour bar will not remove their dislike for this kind of work.

In recent years there has been a tendency for clothing factories to drift to Northern Natal, the Protectorates and Rhodesia, where cheap African labour is plentiful and there is no possibility of racial quotas being applied.

This migration is now likely to increase. In other places shiftlessness, absenteeism, bad workmanship and irresponsibility will become prevalent because the worst White worker can be secure in the thought that he cannot be displaced by the best non-White worker.

Insecure

Naturally, Coloured and African workers are seething with anger. They see this as another act of cruel discrimination.

The reservation of this predominantly non-White industry for White employment has made the lives of 35,000 non-White workers bewilderingly insecure. Henceforth they will exist in the gloomy shadows of unemployment.

The Minister of Labour revealed the purpose of Section 77 when the Industrial Conciliation Bill was being debated in Parliament.

He said: "The Department of Labour has always managed to find other employment for these women who clear out of the clothing factories, but how long will it last? Now is the time to tackle this matter, because when a recession comes we will have the weapon."

A delusion

It seems that the Minister is planning for a depression, when the Government will exert pressure to ensure that Coloured and African workers bear the brunt of unemployment.

At a time conveniently close to the next general election, Senator De Klerk is holding out the promise to White workers that he will give them the 35,000 jobs presently held by non-Whites.

This is a delusion for the Whites and a provocation of the non-Whites.

Could anything be more cruel? The clothing industry is not the only one to be thrown into turmoil.

Recommendations are also pending for the engineering and other industries. The motor assembly and the boot and shoe manufacturing industries are likely to be investigated soon.

Section 77 strikes at every

undertaking, industry, trade and occupation in the Union. The grave problems that have been posed for the clothing industry are, therefore, the concern of all who are interested in the economic well-being of the nation.

Forum
OCT
1957

In the coming general election, says Mr. Hepple, Nationalist hecklers will fire many questions on the colour bar. This article analyses the origin of the bar and the forms it takes to-day.

Light On The Colour Bar

By Alex. Hepple, M.P.

IN the coming general election Nationalist hecklers will fire many questions on the colour bar. I have seen it coming during the past two Parliamentary Sessions. The first shots were aimed at Sir de Villiers Graaff during his recent Free State tour.

Colour-bar questions can be far more devastating than the oft-quoted "Have you stopped beating your wife?" An insistent questioner can easily make his victim squirm by demanding a "Yes" or "No" to his generalisations. Like apartheid, the colour bar has a variety of meanings in theory and remarkable elasticity in application. Because of its many interpretations it lends itself to the twists and tricks of political propaganda.

Constant Examination

This is probably the reason why it is impossible to have an objective debate on the colour bar, either inside or outside Parliament. Yet it is something which demands constant examination and consideration if we are to protect the economy of our country and safeguard the living standards of our people.

What is the colour bar? Where and how does it apply? How effective is it? Does it protect White workers? Does it hamper non-White progress?

The colour bar has its origins in South Africa's early days of industrial development, when skilled White workers came into conflict with employers who attempted to use the large resources of African labour at low rates of pay. The wages paid to White workers at that time were low enough, but

the temptation of getting even cheaper labour was irresistible.

The mining industry was the first to make a determined effort to replace White workers by lower-paid Africans. Their excuse was that unless labour costs were reduced, many mines would become unpayable and would have to close down. Naturally, the White miners strongly resisted this threat to their livelihood.

Dangerous Slogans

The controversy soon developed into a major national issue. It provoked the devastating 1922 strike, in which many lives were lost. It gave birth to dangerous political slogans such as "Unite and Fight for a White South Africa," which distorted the true character of the conflict, making it appear racial instead of economic, as it really was.

In a country where the franchise is limited to the White section of the population, slogans proclaiming the maintenance of White civilisation are sure to fool the electorate. Many White workers really believe that the colour-bar slogans offer a safeguard to their living standards, and they cannot be persuaded by the facts of the situation. These facts show that while the politicians have been shouting the slogans, the industrial colour bar has been crumbling. During the past quarter-century, South Africa's economy has absorbed so many non-Whites in so many occupations that industry shows little sign of having been kept "White," as some workers fondly believe. Between 1925 and 1952,

the number of Whites employed in private manufacturing industry increased from 53,000 to 217,000, while the number of non-Whites increased from 99,000 to 524,000.

Before 1948, the industrial colour bar existed in three forms. First, the statutory colour bar, as expressed in the Mines and Works Act, which specifically excluded Africans from employment in certain mining occupations. Second, the conventional colour bar, expressed in the practice of not accepting Africans as apprentices in any skilled occupation. Third, the State's "civilised labour" policy, whereby Whites were given preference for employment in all unskilled Government jobs.

Since 1948, when it came into power, the Nationalist Party has demonstrated its determination to widen the scope of these colour bars.

The first statutory colour bar was contained in the Mines and Works Act of 1911. After that, there was no extension of this principle until 1951, when the Government passed the Native Building Workers Act (Act No. 27 of 1951). This law prohibits Africans from doing skilled building work in the urban areas (defined as "White" areas), but at the same time affords Africans legal entry in the building industry, to learn the trades of bricklaying, carpentering, plastering, painting, plumbing, etc.

The difference between trained White and African building artisans is that the latter have received a shorter and lower standard of training and are paid one-third the wages of the Whites. This differentiation is based upon two theories. One is that equal training and equal pay would imply equal status, an insult the White artisan would not tolerate. The other is that low-paid Africans cannot afford to live in houses built at "White" rates of pay.

Peculiar Theories

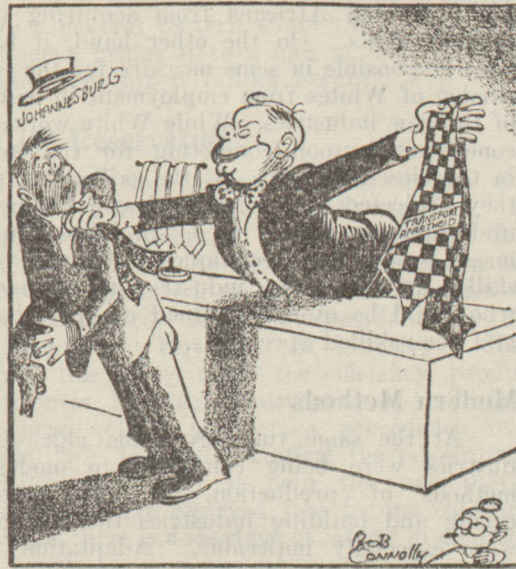
These peculiar theories are defended in many ways by the Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman. He frankly declared their basis in Parliament in 1954, when he said, (Hansard Vol. 86, Col. 5854):

"The statutory colour bar as well as the conventional colour bar are in conflict with economic laws. The question, however, is this: What is our first consideration? Is it to maintain the economic laws or is it to ensure the continued existence of the European race in this country?"

This attitude has prompted the Nationalist Government to endow itself with the

power to extend the colour bar to other trades and occupations.

When amending the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1956, the Government took the opportunity of inserting the principle of the colour bar, by adding a clause entitled "Safeguard against inter-racial competition." This gives the Minister of Labour the authority to order the Industrial Tribunal (comprising five Government appointees) to



THE INSISTENT SALESMAN
— Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

investigate "the desirability" of reserving any industry, trade or occupation for the employment of members of a particular race. If the Tribunal recommends job reservation, the Minister has the power to apply it, whereupon it becomes a criminal offence for a worker of one race to perform work reserved for members of another race.

So far, the Minister has ordered the Tribunal to investigate the Road Passenger Transport Industry in the Cape Peninsula and Durban, the Traffic and Fire Departments of the Cape Town Municipality, the Clothing Industry and the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical industries.

The conventional colour bar finds its expression mainly through the Apprenticeship Act. Although the Apprenticeship Act makes no reference to race or colour, the signing of indentures of apprenticeship by

Africans is unknown. A minor reason is that the educational requirements are higher than those usually acquired by Africans seeking manual work. The main reason is that there is a mutual understanding between employers and White trade unions that Africans should not be apprenticed.

The conventional colour bar, which was of major significance in the early days of industrialisation, has now lost much of its effect. Because of vast changes in manufacturing processes, this form of colour bar has not prevented Africans from acquiring industrial skills. On the other hand, it has been responsible in some measure for the exclusion of Whites from employment in many of the new industries. While White workers concentrated upon competing for the jobs in the closed preserves of the skilled crafts, they neglected the opportunities in the new undertakings, which used specialised and mass production techniques. Instead of skilled artisans, these industries sought men who could be quickly trained as operatives and semi-skilled specialists.

Modern Methods

At the same time, even the older industries were being converted to modern methods of production. In the engineering and building industries the changes were especially noticeable. Adaptation to mass production, simplified manufacturing methods and new processes, curtailed the need for the skilled artisan of the old school. Africans were readily absorbed in the new occupations and this changed the labour pattern of even the most protected industries. For example, the Amalgamated Engineering Union reported (A.E.U. Monthly Journal December, 1953, and January, 1954), that 95 per cent. of the manufacturing divisions in the engineering industry are manned by Africans, while the percentage of skilled artisans has dropped to a mere 13 per cent. of the total labour force.

In the motor trade the Wage Board found that the ratio of White to non-White directly employed in the assembly of motor vehicles fell from 82 per cent. to 54 per cent. between the years 1949 and 1954. In the commercial distributive trade the percentage of Whites employed as motor vehicle drivers dropped from 57.5 per cent. in 1937 to 20.2 per cent. in 1951 (Dept. of Labour Report for 1953).

In the clothing industry the percentage

of White workers dropped from 60.9 per cent. in 1938-9 to 29.1 per cent. in 1952-3. All these figures are the latest available and relate to the situation five years ago. As the process of change is continuing it is obvious that the ratio of non-White to White is even greater to-day. A general survey would show the increasing preponderance of Africans in most industries, the majority of them doing semi-skilled work.

"Civilised Labour"

The "civilised labour" policy was first applied in 1924, when the Pact Government of the day instructed all State departments and provincial authorities to employ "civilised" labour in place of "uncivilised" labour. The latter was defined as "the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life, as understood among barbarous and undeveloped people."

The instruction was intended to apply to all unskilled grades of work, not only labouring jobs on construction and maintenance work, but also that done by messengers, cleaners and attendants. It was accepted as meaning that Africans were not to be employed in these occupations if Whites were available.

In 1949, soon after his party gained power, Dr. Malan instructed all Government Departments to apply strictly the "civilised labour" policy of 1924. Within two years 1,290 Africans had been replaced by White labourers, at an extra cost to the State of £226,310.

The revival of this colour bar was only partially effective because of the general shortage of labour, and before long the trend was in the opposite direction, with the Government employing more Africans than ever before. The Railways, at the end of March, 1956, were employing 15,353 non-Whites in jobs previously occupied by Whites. In the Western Province, notwithstanding the replacements in the period 1949-1950, the number of Africans employed by the State had increased from 2,365 to 3,208 by the end of 1954.

The definition of "uncivilised labour" is incongruous to-day in relation to the African urban proletariat. However, for political purposes, it still serves to justify the official policy of preferential treatment for Whites in taking on unskilled workers.

What is the attitude of White workers

to these three forms of colour bar? Generally, there is not a very clear understanding of what they mean. Vaguely, most workers think they serve a good purpose.

The "registered" trade unions (i.e. unions which by law are barred to Africans) have always maintained that the industrial colour bar is in fact a "cheap labour" bar. They believe that there must be protection against the widespread use of non-White workers at cheap rates of pay, otherwise their own hard-won standards will be destroyed.

Their alternative, as advocated for many years, is the application of a policy of "equal pay for equal work." By this they mean that every worker should be paid according to the job he does and not according to the colour of his skin. This principle, sometimes referred to as "the rate for the job," is not accepted by the present Government, which is strongly opposed to equality even in the economic field.

Racial Fear

A considerable section of the "registered" unions does not support the alternative of "equal pay for equal work." They are opposed to the entry of Africans into the skilled occupations under any circumstances. Their fear is not so much economic as racial. They flatly declare that skilled jobs are "White jobs" and that if Africans are allowed access to them, even at equal rates of pay, not only will the status of these crafts be lowered, but they would very soon be completely captured by Black men.

In face of this opposition the skilled crafts remain closed to Africans and there seems to be little likelihood that the "registered" trade unions, as an earnest of their alternative of "equal pay for equal work," will couple it with a promise to allow Africans access to skilled jobs, or even with an offer to make a quota of apprenticeships available to Africans.

A study of the workings of the industrial colour bar shows quite clearly that it has not prevented industry from making ample use of African labour. The facts show that, despite artificial barriers, Africans have assumed a dominant position in most spheres of employment. In private manufacturing industry Africans now constitute 54 per cent. of the total labour force. More than half such workers are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. They are invading fields

of employment that were always considered the preserve of the White man or beyond their capabilities.

This trend has been commented upon by the Wage Board, after a special investigation into the clothing industry in 1956. The Wage Board commented, "the clothing industry is, in fact, tending to conform to the general pattern of employment in South African industry, for in 1951/52, 29.5 per cent. of the employees in all private secondary industry were Europeans."

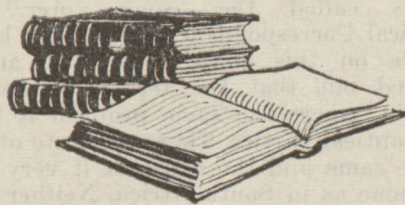
But where does this tendency to conform to a general pattern stop? What magic influence brings it to a halt at 29.5 per cent. and prevents it falling lower?

"Job Reservation"

The Government believes it has this magic influence in "Job Reservation," as provided in Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. As Mr. B. J. Schoeman has frankly declared, as far as the Government is concerned, economic considerations are secondary. But what of industry? How will this policy affect the efficiency, productiveness and competitiveness of industries where colour must take precedence over ability? How will it affect the labour market? How will it help the unemployed queueing for reserved jobs in one category, while there is a shortage of labour in another?

These are some of the questions which the Government expects the Industrial Tribunal to answer. If the Tribunal tackles its responsibilities seriously, it should produce some momentous documents. It may well shatter many cherished concepts of the colour bar.

As soon as the first recommendations of the Tribunal are available, it behoves all responsible South Africans — industry, commerce, the trade unions, the political parties and others—to study their proposals seriously for they can make or break the economy of the country.



SECTION 77 OF THE INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION ACT AMENDMENT ACT STRIKES AT EVERY UNDERTAKING, INDUSTRY, TRADE AND OCCUPATION IN THE UNION

Job reservation is a cruel and costly colour bar

Same article as in E.P. above

UNTIL 1951 South Africa's only statutory industrial colour bar was contained in the Mines and Works Act, which excluded Africans from certain occupations in the mining industry.

Then came the Native Building Workers Act, which made it illegal for Africans to do skilled building work anywhere outside Native areas. In 1956 the principle of the colour bar in industry was extended by the inclusion of Section 77 in the amended Industrial Conciliation Act. Described as "Safeguard against inter-racial competition," this clause empowered the Minister of Labour to apply a colour bar in any undertaking, industry, trade or occupation.

The law states that "If it appears to the Minister that measures should be taken in order to safeguard the economic welfare of employees of any race," he may order the Industrial Tribunal (comprising five Government appointees) to investigate the matter.

The tribunal must hear evidence from all interested persons and consult the industrial council concerned, the employers' organizations, the trade unions and the Central Native Labour Board. The tribunal must then make a recommendation to the Minister who, after consultation with the Minister of Economic Affairs, may make a determination reserving specified occupations in specified areas for the employment of persons of a particular race.

Declared White

THE first determination of this kind has now been made in respect of the clothing industry. The Industrial Tribunal, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen, has recommended that the work of machinists, supervisors, cutters or choppers-out and table hands in the clothing industry throughout South Africa be reserved for Whites only. These categories embrace about 40,000 employees, of whom 4,500 are White and more than 35,000 non-White, comprising more than 70 per cent. of all workers in the industry.

On what evidence did the tribunal base its decision? None that emerged at its public hearings. Both the employers and the trade unions expressed strong opposition to "job reservation." Except for a small group of White workers at Germiston, no witnesses supported the application of a colour bar in the industry.

Not needed

A WAGE BOARD which investigated the clothing industry in 1955-56 was convinced that White workers were not in need of protection. By a coincidence the chairman of that Wage Board was Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen.

by Alex Hepple, M.P.

leader of the South African Labour Party.

This article was written before the Minister of Labour issued a statement yesterday about the difficulties he has encountered in enforcing job reservation in areas under the jurisdiction of industrial councils. This statement appears in The Star today. These difficulties do not affect the validity of Mr. Hepple's arguments.

who is also chairman of the Industrial Tribunal and the Board of Trade.

The report which he signed on May 1, 1956, declared:

"Owing to the shortage of European labour during the war and post-war years, girls have been finding work in spheres of employment more congenial to them than industry. The result has been an almost complete absence of new European entrants into the trade. The entry of non-Europeans into the industry has led to the displacement of Europeans."

It would seem, therefore, that the Government is seeking to protect a non-existent body of White garment workers, or is there a deeper significance in the decision to declare the clothing industry a "White" industry?

Non-White

THE racial composition of the labour force in the clothing industry is such as to make the reservation manifestly absurd. In 1955, of the total of about 48,000 employees, no fewer than 60% were Coloureds; while 20% were Whites and 20% Africans.

If the determination is strictly applied, 35,000 Whites must be found to replace the non-Whites. Obviously exemptions will have to

be granted on a wholesale scale, for Whites are not available. The reserved categories are for skilled workers and untrained Whites cannot be put into these jobs merely because they happen to be White and unemployed. The peculiar situation will therefore be created that four-fifths of the industry will be operating under exemption. This is bound to cause con-

siderable uncertainty and confusion.

Afraid

EMPLOYERS, unable to get White apprentices, will nevertheless be afraid to engage non-White learners, and waste time and money training them for jobs they may never be allowed to occupy. As the Wage Board says, Whites prefer more congenial employment and the application of an impracticable colour bar will not remove their dislike for this kind of work.

In recent years there has been a tendency for clothing factories to drift to Northern Natal, the Protectorates and Rhodesia, where cheap African labour is plentiful and there is no possibility of racial quotas being applied. This migration is now likely to increase. In other places shiftlessness, absenteeism, bad workmanship and irresponsibility will become prevalent because the worst White worker can be secure in the thought that he cannot be displaced by the best non-White worker.

Coloured and African workers are, naturally, seething with anger. They see this as another act of cruel discrimination. The reservation of this predominantly non-White industry for White employment has made the lives of 35,000 non-White workers bewilderingly insecure. Henceforth they will exist in the gloomy shadows of unemployment.

Planning for depression

THE Minister of Labour, Sen. De Klerk, revealed the purpose of Section 77 when the Industrial Conciliation Act Amendment was being debated in Parliament.

He said: "The Department of Labour has always managed to find employment for these women who clear out of the clothing factories, but how long will it last? Now is the time to tackle this matter, because when a recession comes we will have the weapon."

It seems that the Minister is planning for a depression, when the Government will exert pressure to ensure that Coloured and African workers bear the brunt of unemployment. At a time conveniently close to the next general election Sen. de Klerk is holding out the promise to White workers that he will give them the 35,000 jobs presently held by non-Whites. This is a delusion for the Whites and a provocation of the non-Whites.

Turmoil

THE clothing industry is not the only one to be thrown into turmoil. Recommendations are also pending for the engineering and other industries. The motor assembly and the boot and shoe manufacturing industries are likely to be investigated soon. Section 77 strikes at every undertaking, industry, trade and occupation in the Union.

Correct Job reservation In his article on the leader page of The Star yesterday under the heading: "Job Reservation is a Cruel and costly Colour Bar," Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., leader of the Labour Party, referred to a report by the Wage Board in 1955/6 in which it was stated that the entry of non-Europeans into the clothing industry had not led to the displacement of Europeans. The word "not" was inadvertently omitted, thus giving the sentence the opposite meaning of that intended.

FORUM
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1957

The Undesirable Publications Commission set out to consider the problem of obscenity, pornography and horror comics. It ended with a frightening plan that offers this or any future government a blank cheque to suppress all political views but their own.

The Undesirable Censorship Plan

By Alex. Hepple, M.P.

THE Commission of Enquiry in regard to Undesirable Publications has put forward a plan for the censorship of books, magazines, newspapers and other publications. It proposes the establishment of a Publications Board, consisting of seven to eleven persons, appointed by the Cabinet and endowed with wide powers of control over publications of all kinds.

To the last detail

The Commission took its task seriously enough to express opinions to the last detail, even stipulating that Pretoria should be the seat of the Board and that its members should be South African citizens only. The Report is an exhaustive document. It may become a classic of its kind. It portrays the mental disturbances of this age, where fear dominates the lives of most people and cold-war anxieties are incessantly aggravated by hot-war threats and regular reports of new discoveries of bigger and better weapons to blow the world to smithereens. The insecurity of the times produces many forms of escapism, not least of which are sadistic thrillers, horror comics, science fiction and sex.

Not only adults are escaping through the opiates of savagery, smut and sex. Children, too, are imbibing the dreadful products of perverted minds. Other countries are not finding it easy to deal with this social problem. Here in South Africa it is complicated by race prejudice.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising

that the Undesirable Publications Commission has taken the line of least resistance. Not only has it decided that strong measures should be taken against "dirt for dirt's sake." It recommends in addition, that advertisements of underwear should be respectably separated from the human figure, that left-wing literature should be suppressed, and that the portrayal of "intimate social intercourse between Europeans and non-Europeans in a eulogistic manner" should be prohibited.

The Report proposes that the Publications Board shall list all publications in four classes. The first is to consist of "Exempted publications," every issue of which may be distributed without prior inspection and approval by the Board. The second, "Submitted publications," is to include publications, every issue of which must be submitted to the Board for approval before publication. The third class is to consist of suspect publications, which have produced one or more undesirable editions, and must therefore be specially approved. The fourth category, "Excluded publications," applies to foreign publications which are suspect and cannot be imported without permission.

Censors' talons

This classification does not place any book or magazine beyond the talons of the censors. The Board will have the right, even in the case of scientific, technical, professional, religious and educational journals, to ban any or all issues.

The Commission recommends that two

authorities shall be vested with the power to decide what publications are undesirable. Books, magazines and similar publications will be subject to the decrees of the Publications Board. Newspapers, jobbing and other objects will fall under the jurisdiction of the Courts, subject to the legislative prohibitions proposed by the Commission.

When one examines the definitions in the Report one realises the real dangers in the Commission's recommendations. The Commission suggests that "*Printed matter and other objects shall be undesirable if they are deemed indecent, offensive or harmful by the ordinary, civilised, decent, reasonable and responsible inhabitants of the Union.*" Could this mean that a poll is to be taken to get the views of all such inhabitants? Not at all. The Publications Board, comprising Government appointees, will decide on behalf of us all. They will be the dictators of our literary taste.

Fair cross-section

Perhaps the Government will take care to appoint a fair cross-section of the nation? Certainly not. In the very nature of things, the Government will make sure that the Board is completely sympathetic to Government policy in regard to censorship. And, having listened to fervent Nationalists inside and outside Parliament for many years, I am sure that the majority opinion of the Board will express the uttermost in extreme Nationalism.

In any case, what is an "ordinary, civilised, decent, reasonable and responsible" South African? How many of us will not claim to fit that description? Despite possible legal interpretations, the definition could include the uninhibited Bohemian no less than the sanctimonious puritan. Even the most ordinary citizen may be possessed of some extraordinary prejudices. This is particularly so when he judges the morals of his neighbours.

The most serious aspect of the Report is the intrusion of the Commission into the sphere of political censorship. The Commission explains its attack upon political works by referring to "harmful publications," "communism" and the "racial situation." It recommends that "*publications which tend to engender or have the effect of engendering friction or feelings of hostility between the European and non-European population*

groups of the Union" should be deemed harmful and suppressed.

This opens the way for the banning of all books which oppose or criticise the policy of baasskap apartheid. It threatens the writings of all those who advocate a common society and the end of racial discrimination. Publications of this kind are already being kept out of South Africa by use of the Customs Act. Africa Digest, the periodical of the Africa Bureau of London (under the directorship of the Rev. Michael Scott) is one of these censored publications. The nature of the Commission's Report indicates that this policy is approved and will be continued, probably in a stricter fashion, under the proposed censorship law.

Next, we have what the Commission is pleased to describe as "communistic publications," defined as those which "*propagate or tend to propagate communistic principles, spread of Communism, or further or tend to further the achievement of any of the aims of Communism.*" The Commission leans upon all the dangerous implications contained in the Suppression of Communism Act, thereby threatening many shades of political opinion, some of them far to the right of Communism.

At the present time, everything printed in Communist countries is automatically excluded from South Africa in terms of the Customs Act, without regard to the nature or the contents of the publications. Such books as "Higher Education in the U.S.S.R.," "Labour Insurance Regulations in the People's Republic of China" and reports of the World Federation of Trade Unions are banned without question. This is a completely stupid attitude, born of the Nationalist Government's love of exhibiting its anti-Communist crusade. Instead of offering intelligent proposals to remedy this ridiculous state of affairs, the Commission has joined in the crusade. Their proposals will curb intellectual freedom further by instilling fear in all those who might show some curiosity about other political systems.

Severe penalties

For those who transgress the proposed law, there are some severe penalties. The heaviest penalties apply to those who offend against the political taboos. If the Board decides that the contents or any part of the contents of a magazine are "Communistic," not only will the magazine be closed down,

but the owner cannot apply for the registration of another periodical for five years, the editor is prohibited from taking employment as the editor of any other publication for five years, and the publisher shall be denied the right to publish anything for the same period. In addition, there are penalties of fines up to £1,000, imprisonment up to five years, or both the fine and imprisonment.

In a burst of dangerous moderation, the Commission advances an extraordinary proposal. It recommends that the Board may grant permission to particular libraries to import, acquire or possess prohibited, excluded or Communistic publications, solely for study and research, provided that such publications are kept separate and made accessible only by the librarian at his own discretion and upon his personal responsibility to observe the law. It suggests also that in special cases research workers may be granted the same facilities.

It will take a brave student to risk his career by daring to refer to such specially classified books. No easier way of attracting the attention of the Special Branch could be conceived. Only the avowed reactionary or inveterate Nationalist could safely avail himself of books placed in this category.

The Commission is like the doctor who, having satisfied himself that his patient suffers from nothing worse than a bad headache, proceeds to cut off the patient's head. This is the sort of operation recommended in great detail in Section A of Part II of the Report.

Not abashed

The Commission was not abashed by the fact that, in addition to censorship through the Customs Act, the Government already possesses arbitrary powers to suppress newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets and other printed matter under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Public Safety Act.

The Report reveals that the Commissioners were bothered from the start by the fact that censorship is generally unpopular. This prompted them to offer a dissertation upon the subject of the "False Notion of Freedom of Publication." They complain that, "... matters have reached the stage, even in this country, where a certain degree of reluctance is frequently observable when it is obviously essential that positive and vigorous action should be taken ... against

an indisputable evil of this kind. . . ."

It is heartening to be assured that "*even in this country*" there is resistance to censorship. Unfortunately, that fact has not deterred the Government from banning a considerable number of imported books, nor the Commission from making its own drastic proposals.

On the way to control

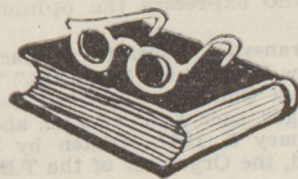
The public should reject the Commission's proposed control measures. Let us remember that the Press Commission is looming in the background. If we now surrender to any form of censorship, we shall be on the way to a controlled Press in South Africa.

The Undesirable Publications Commission's Report cannot be treated as something apart. It cannot be isolated from the policy, the political outlook, and the aversion to criticism of the present Government. Only this year Mr. Greyling, the Nationalist M.P. for Ventersdorp, railed against the Opposition in Parliament, accusing them of being, "*under the influence of a post-war, sickly humanistic spirit . . . because we waged war against a so-called dictatorship and allegedly to preserve Christianity and decency.*" Let us not forget that the "so-called dictatorship" was Hitler's Nazi Germany, which indulged in a mass burning of books. When some of the world's greatest classics went up in flames on the Franz Joseph Platz of Berlin in May, 1933, there were hurrahs from many Nationalist supporters.

The Commission set out to consider the problem of obscenity, pornography and horror comics. It ended with a frightening plan that offers this or any future Government a blank cheque to suppress all political views but their own. Let us beware. A democracy which resorts to political censorship is in decay.

Robbie Burns spoke for me, too, when he said:—

"Here's freedom to him that wad read,
Here's freedom to him that wad write,
There's nane ever fear'd that the truth should
be heard,
But them wham the truth wad indite."



STRYDOM'S ECONOMIC COUNCIL IS SUSPECT.

by ALEX. HEPPLER, M. P.

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In his recent interview with the Federated Chamber of Industries on the question of job reservations in the clothing industry, the Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, announced that the Prime Minister was considering legislation for the establishment of an Economic Advisory Council. He said that, "the Prime Minister felt that there was now the need for a high-level body, directly responsible to him, to advise in regard to long term economic policy and to co-ordinate important economic activities of the various Ministries" .

This would be a commendably intelligent decision, were it not for the fact that we have heard of this Economic Advisory Council before. Because of what we know, there is more in Senator de Klerk's announcement than meets the eye. When they were in opposition, the Nationalists devised a plan ~~for~~ to control and direct the economy of South Africa. For one reason or another, this plan has been kept in cold storage, being preserved for the day when the party hierarchy felt a need for it. That need seems to have arisen now, as a result of the upheaval in the clothing industry, caused by the Government declaring this 80% Non-White industry to be reserved for White employment. This emphasises that if the Government is to achieve any success with job reservations under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, it must ~~bring~~ subject industry to rigid control.

Of course, the Government will not admit that this is its intention. Its excuse will be that critics of the Government are always insisting that the experts should be consulted before Nat. policies are translated into legislation or its laws are strictly enforced. It will say that the

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proposed Economic Advisory Council will indeed be purely "advisory", with no further powers than those of fact-finding and recommendation. ^{ment of} To establish ^{however,} a body of that kind would be a sensational reversal of policy by the Nationalists. It would be a mortal blow to the Broederbond theorists who conceived the grand plan for a "New South Africa".

In their statement of policy, issued prior to the 1948 general election under the enticing title "The Road to a New South Africa", the Nationalists revealed that once they became the Government of the country, drastic changes would be made in ~~the~~ our economic system. The master of the new society was to be a Central Economic Council, an authoritarian body ~~which would~~ vested with vast powers. The purpose and powers of this Central Economic Council were defined as follows:-

"There must be an authoritative and responsible link between the government and the economic life of its citizens. The link will be provided by a Central Economic Council. In the first place the Council must be in close contact with all the ramifications of the country's economic life, inter alia through a remodelled system of regulatory boards, each board fully representative of its own trade, profession or industry. In the second place and arising from its representative character and its technical resources, the Council must advise the Government on the necessary steps to be taken to develop our resources along pre-determined paths, to co-ordinate the diversified economic interests properly, to maintain social justice and to eliminate usurious activities".

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At first blush, there seems to be little that is objectionable in this proposition. Closer examination, however, reveals several sinister features.

The Central Economic Council will interlock with a Central Licensing Board, which will "exercise control over the development of our industries" and in issuing licences "keep in view....the application of an equitable quota system and segregation policy in the provision of employment for both Europeans and Non-Europeans".

The true character of the Central Economic Council is ~~revealed~~ exposed in that part of Nationalist policy which deals with labour organisations. There it is clearly stated that "the system of collective bargaining ^{will} be supplemented by a system of State responsibility, exercised by means of the Central Economic Council and the Labour Council.....the Labour Council will exercise effective control over the appointment of officials by, and the general activities of the trades unions or workers organisations".

As the idea of an Economic Council has been revived by Senator de Klerk because of complications in connection with racial quotas and segregation in industry, it must ^{BE} presumed that the Nats. ^{INTEND} ~~propose~~ to implement their original plan, which means that the proposed Economic Advisory Council will be the authoritarian, policy-making body described in the 1948 declaration.

For this reason it is important for us to understand what we are in for. There is an interesting similarity between the Nationalist Central Economic Council, Mussolini's Central Corporative Committee and Hitler's National Economic Chamber. It must not be forgotten that the Nat. Council was conceived at the time when the Nat. leaders were

STRYDOM'S ECONOMIC COUNCIL IS SUSPECT.

in a bitter mood over South Africa's participation in the war against fascism and many of their economic theorists were ardent admirers of the dictatorships.

Take, for example, the Nat. proposals for " a remodelled system of regulatory boards, each fully representative of its own trade, profession or industry". This is the Corporative system. Mussolini had twentytwo such ~~corporations~~ corporations and his Central Corporative Committee had absolute power over them all. Hitler had his National Economic Chamber. It was a policy-making body, controlling the Co-operative Council of Chambers of Industry and Commerce, which enforced its policies. All its members were appointed, never elected. Its leader was a trusted party member.

The Nat. Labour Council which, together with their Central Economic Council is to control workers and their unions, follows the pattern of the German Labour Front, which ruled the workers of Germany with a rod of iron. The Labour Front was managed by the Business Office of the National Economic Chamber by the simple device of making the Business Office boss over the Economic Bureau of the Labour Front.

The Nationalists find these comparisons odious. Yet they have never succeeded in explaining the curious similarities which exist. Nor have they divulged the names of the economic theorists who designed their grand economic plan.

Why does the Prime Minister now feel the need for his Economic Advisory Council? What was wrong with the Social & Economic Planning Council, established in June 1942? This Council came into being as the result of a recommendation made by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission, which stressed the need for a research and fact-finding body

STRYDOM'S ECONOMIC COUNCIL IS SUSPECT.

of this kind, to assist the Government in its efforts to solve the many economic problems of our rapidly developing country. Under the Chairmanship of Dr. Van Eck, the Social & Economic Planning Council produced many valuable reports, covering such subjects as Regional and Town Planning, Economic Aspects of the Gold Mining Industry, Social Security, Taxation and Fiscal Policy, ^{and} Employment.

The Nationalists never liked the Social & Economic Planning Council. In March 1948, during the pre-election Parliamentary session, Dr. Donges expressed the Nationalist attitude in saying, "...the only solution is to have a Central Economic Council, a Council which can sublimate the different departmental activities in the national interest not the caricature such as we have to-day in the form of the Planning Council".

In 1950, the Government appointed Dr. Norval, Chairman of the Board of Trade as a one man Commission to investigate the possibility of establishing a Central Economic Council and during the 1951 ^{session of Parliament} / Dr. Malan reported that Dr. Norval had submitted "a most important report, which the Government is studying". The following year the Government introduced a Bill for the establishment of an Economic Advisory Council. Industry and Commerce strongly opposed the Bill, which they considered would subordinate them to ^{THE INTOLERABLE} the bureaucracy of officials ~~don~~ ~~which must be intolerable.~~ They declared that the Bill went too far. On the other hand, the Bill also offended the economic theorists of the Nationalist Party. They thought the Bill did not go far enough. Consequently, the Bill was not proceeded with.

What does the Prime Minister propose to do now?
Revive the generally unpopular Bill of 1952, or legislate for

STRYDOM'S ECONOMIC COUNCIL IS SUSPECT.

the sinister Central Economic Council as described in the "Road to a New South Africa" ?

It will be necessary for us to examine the Government's Advisory Council with the greatest care. The very fact that the Prime Minister has discarded the Social & Economic Planning Council is a warning. We dare not risk undermining our already weak democracy by delegating controlling powers to a statutory body of civil servants or Government appointees. We must firmly resist all proposals to endow either the Government or the civil service with powers which rightly belong to Parliament or other elected bodies.

E N D.

Johannesburg,
25th. November 1957.

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

by ALEX. HEPPLE, M. P.

The Multi-Racial Conference, which was held at the University of the Witwatersrand on the 3rd., 4th. and 5th. December, was a demonstration of the desire growing among South Africans "to discuss and explore the steps which can bring about friendly and effective co-operation among the different racial groups".

A conference of this kind could not have taken place five years ago. Many of those present would not have taken part in a similar conference in the past. Their association at the present time was a natural reaction against the widening pressures of baaskap. The significance of the Conference was not only its character and purpose but that it took place at the height of South Africa's apartheid frenzy and close on the heels of the newly-enacted Native Laws Amendment Act, 1957, which gives the Minister of Native Affairs the power to prohibit racially mixed gatherings of this kind.

Other multi-racial conferences have been held in South Africa but none had the ~~significance~~ breadth of the recent gathering.

THE INSPIRATION.

The Conference was convened as a result of a suggestion made by the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF), after a conference at Bloemfontein from the 4th. to 6th. October 1956, attended by 394 accredited delegates and some 400 observers and visitors. After rejecting the Tomlinson Report and the policy of apartheid, IDAMF decided that an effort should be made to call a multi-racial conference.

The Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Methodist Conference, many leading churchmen and other individuals promptly welcomed the proposal. A small group thereupon

- set about -

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

set about making the necessary arrangements, and in June 1957 an appeal was issued, inviting a number of prominent South Africans to sponsor the Conference. This appeal was signed by ^{REV.} A. L. Mncube as Secretary of IDAMF, the Bishop of Johannesburg, (Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves), Mr. Leo Marquard, Chief A. J. Lutuli, Mrs. Ruth Foley, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. Alex. Hepple, M. P. and Mr. Alan Paton.

There was a good response and the final list of sponsors contained the names of 63 persons, belonging to many different churches and organisations.

PARLIAMENT'S ISOLATION.

Earlier in the year, I decided to test Parliament's attitude to a mixed conference for discussions across the colour line and to the principle of consultation with the chosen leaders of the Non-White majority. I therefore introduced a motion in the assembly on the 8th. February 1957, asking the Government to call a National Convention, representative of all sections of the community, White and Non-White, "to consider ways and means of fulfilling the common desire of all South Africans for inter-racial harmony and co-operation".

The Government flatly rejected the proposal, Dr. Verwoerd declaring that "such a Convention has only one object. It is to create a set of circumstances as the result of which apartheid, segregation will be destroyed forever.... What is aimed at in this sort of consultation is...something dangerous".

Speaking on behalf of the United Party, Mr. S. F. Waterson also turned the proposal down, arguing that, "in view of the steadily increasing rigidity of the ideological policies of the present Government, the ideal of such a Convention is - now impracticable". -

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

now impracticable".

Of course, Dr. Verwoerd was right. Once the Whites broaden the basis of democracy, White hegemony is on the way out. Democratic discussion ~~between~~ with the Non-Whites must lead to the bargaining away of baasskap, something Dr. Verwoerd is determined to prevent at all costs.

The Parliamentary debate reflected the tragic limitations of Parliamentary democracy in South Africa. Parliament, the ivory tower of apartheid, spurns all suggestions of multi-racial discussion on the country's multi-racial problems. It is fortunate, therefore, that those outside Parliament have taken the initiative to break down the forbidding walls.

Coming as it did, on the eve of a general election, the Conference was bound to lack appeal to those engaged in the elections. Candidates seeking White votes are always afraid of appearing to be too concerned with the needs and aspirations of the Non-Whites. They act as though the White electorate expects them to be model exponents of baasskap apartheid.

SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE.

The Sponsors of the Conference had some difficulty in deciding how wide they could make its appeal. They were anxious to secure the widest possible support, yet did not want to stultify the activities of the progressive movements who would form an essential part of the Conference. Obviously, ~~the~~ support for the Conference would be ^determined by its agenda. Although many people favoured the idea of inter-racial talks or consultation, few agreed upon the actual method to be followed. Some were prepared to discuss specific issues only with the Non-Whites. For example, at the Volkskongres at Bloemfontein, convened by SABRA, the F. A. K. and the three Dutch Reformed

- Churches - ,

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

Churches to discuss the Tomlinson Report, Prof. E. F. Potgieter of the University of South Africa, said that it was "imperative that discussions should take place with the Bantu and their full co-operation obtained to implement the development programme". At the same Conference, Prof. Bruwer of Stellenbosch, a prominent member of SABRA, said that "Whites and Bantu must get to know each other better than in the past".

The Planning Committee, which was entrusted with the task of organising the Conference, finally decided upon an Agenda which they considered would have the widest appeal without making the Conference abortive. This Agenda was submitted to a meeting of the sponsors on the 2nd. September and, after some modification, approved.

THE PARTICIPANTS.

The sponsors decided that the Conference should be one of individuals, ~~and~~ not of organisations. The only exception was IDAMF, which had sponsored the African Conference in Bloemfontein. The purpose of this arrangement was to encourage the frank exchange of opinions and free discussion of all matters, something more possible between individuals than between committed delegates representing organisations. In addition, it was felt that participants attending the conference in their personal capacities, would discuss controversial matters freely in the knowledge that they were not committing the organisations to which they belonged.

When the Conference opened, there were about 800 people present, half of whom were participants and the remainder observers. There were Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians, the Whites being in the majority. There were Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Jews, Moslems and Hindus. There were educationists, sociologists, churchmen, politicians, There were members of the United Party, the Labour Party, the
- Liberal Party -

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

On religion, the Conference recommended "that religious communities make use of all available means to achieve the ends of moral education in social and racial matters.....and that practical applications of inter-racial collaboration be fostered in worship, discussion, social exchanges and in charitable and and cultural undertakings".

On economic rights, the Conference declared that "every-one should have the right to earn his living in any legitimate way, according to his skill and ability....All colour bars in industry must be abolished and all workers should be entitled to a living wage according to civilised standards". It added that all workers should be entitled to combine in trade unions and have the right to strike.

On education, the Conference called for compulsory, free education for all and rejected educational policies "which seek to perpetuate White domination, accentuate ethnic differences and resuscitate tribal nationalism".

On political rights, the Conference stated that it was convinced that only universal adult suffrage can meet the needs and aspirations of the people, adding, "It appreciates, however, that there is disagreement as to the ways and means of achieving the transition from White supremacy to a non-racial democracy..."

WHAT NEXT?

It seemed that everyone was pleased with the Conference. Although the Conference took no decisions as to practical action ~~concerning~~ "to achieve the abolition of all discriminatory laws and the extension of full citizenship rights to all", as resolved at the Bloemfontein Conference in October 1956, it has started the ball rolling. The difficult stage lies ahead. The fruitfulness of the Conference can be judged only in the future. Many of the participants wanted Conference to commit

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE.

itself there and then to a definite line of action. I believe that in view of the wide interests associated in this important gathering, such a ^{decision} ~~XXXX~~ would have been premature. If the Conference is to lead somewhere, none must be frightened away by the impetuous demands of the more politically enlightened participants. On the other hand, it would be a waste of time and energy if the Conference became an annual outing for those who prefer talk to action.

Several resolutions on this issue have been referred to the Planning Committee for consideration. This Committee has been empowered to co-opt additional members and instructed to publish the findings of Conference. Its major duty is to plan the next step. Much will depend upon the determination and goodwill of those who made the recent Conference what it was.

E N D.

Johannesburg,
30th. December 1957.

of years. There were times when some of the participants at the conference may have described such a policy as "left-wing" or "extremist." That time is, however, past. There can be no return to pre-Multi-Racial Conference days. With the remarkable unity achieved, the movement for a multi-racial South Africa must proceed along wider and wider perspectives, drawing in more and more people until it is irresistible.

A noteworthy feature of the Conference was the large number of ecclesiastic leaders who participated in its deliberations—approximately forty. There were two Catholic Archbishops and an Anglican Bishop. Two religious denominations were however conspicuous by their absence—the Dutch Reformed clergy and the Jewish clergy. Only one representative of each group were present.

While one can possibly excuse the Dutch Reformed Church from participating in a conference where all men were equal, it is difficult to find grounds for justifying the absence of the Jewish clergy. Are our Ministers and Rabbis disinterested in the fight for social justice in South Africa? Are they insensitive to the sufferings and persecution of the vast bulk of our population? Have they no care whether South Africa is fascist or democratic? Their absence from the Conference certainly suggests this to be the case.

It is high time that the Jewish clergy awakes to its social responsibilities as members of other religious denominations have done. As long as they preach the Ten Com-

mandments and refuse to take steps to secure its acceptance in the peculiar conditions of South Africa, there is only one word to describe their behaviour. We will make no bones about it: the attitude of the Jewish clergy in South Africa is hypocritical. They have no right to condemn Cain for asking "Am I my brother's keeper?" as long as they, in effect, ask the same thing when confronted with the cries of the suffering millions of South Africa. By denying the basic ethic of the Jewish religion—"love thy neighbour"—they are betraying their own calling, and perverting the dynamic message which the Jewish people, who have suffered so much persecution and oppression themselves, offers to mankind.

Unfortunately the Jewish clergy were not the only culprits among our community. Why were none of the lay communal leaders present at the conference? Why did they boycott a conference at which leading representatives of all sections of the community were present? Again one can only draw adverse inferences from their absence.

To the lay and religious leaders of the community we say:

You cannot—nay, you DARE not—hold yourselves aloof from political developments in South Africa. Nor can you in all conscience blind yourselves to the glaring social injustices in our land without betraying all that is noble in the Jewish ethical heritage.

RACE, JOBS AND POLITICS

BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

THE Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, has thrown the clothing industry into a sea of troubles by declaring it to be reserved for the employment of White persons only. Both employers and employees are up in arms. The employers declare that White workers are unobtainable and the workers say that they are not in need of protection of this kind.

At one time the majority of workers in the clothing industry were White. In 1936, Whites comprised 88.7% of all employees in Witwatersrand clothing factories, 91.5% in the Eastern Cape and 46.4% in the Western Province. By 1955, these percentages had dropped to 32.6% on the Rand, 17.7% in the Eastern Cape and 12.9% in the Western Province. The cause of this decline has been explained by the Wage Board, which studied this question in 1955/56. The Board says:—

"Owing to the shortage of European labour during the war and post-war years, (White) girls have been finding work in spheres of employment more congenial to them than industry . . . The result has been an almost complete absence of new European entrants into the trade, and the consequent ageing of the European labour force."

Nationalist propagandists assert that the influx of Non-Europeans into the industry is forcing Whites out. Even the Minister of Labour uses this argument. But the Wage Board refutes it, stating that *"the entry of Non-Europeans into the industry has not led to the displacement of Europeans . . . The demand for European employees . . . is such that all available European employees can readily be*

absorbed, and the Board can foresee no reason why these conditions should change in the future."

It should be noted that, despite the marked change in the ratio of White to Non-White workers, the actual number of White workers in the industry increased from 11,114 in 1938/39 to 13,987 in 1952/53.

In the light of the above facts, what prompted the Minister of Labour to declare that this industry should be reserved for the employment of Whites? Therein lies a tale. It is the story of long years of fruitless endeavour by the Nationalist Party to entice White workers away from their trade unions and to follow the path of purified Nationalism. In the thirties, the main efforts of the Nationalists in this field were concentrated upon the members of the Garment Workers Union. Most of their activity was centered in Germiston, where Senator Jan de Klerk, now Minister of Labour, and Mr. J. du Pisanie, now M.P. for Germiston, played the leading role.

One of their efforts was to form the Breë Kerklike Komitee, invoking the aid of the three Dutch Reformed Churches in their campaign to "rescue" Afrikaner workers from the evils of militant trade unionism and racial mixing in the factories. Later, this Committee was supplanted by another organisation founded by Senator Jan de Klerk, the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond, which declared its aim to be "combating the evils which affect the workers' community of the Witwatersrand." Among its objects the BWBB included job reservation and factory apartheid. The Minister of Labour cannot forget the issues which occupied his energies in those less rewarding days. He is still dedi-

cated to job reservation and factory apartheid. The difference is that he now has the power to do something about it.

The Nationalists aver that the only way to protect White workers against unfair competition from Non-White is by State action. They have no faith in the ability of workers to protect themselves through trade union strength and unity. On the contrary, they prefer to weaken and divide the trade unions, and so make it impossible for workers to defend themselves against exploitation.

Many people are perplexed at the procedure followed by the Minister of Labour in applying job reservation in the clothing industry. On the 25th October 1957, he published a determination, effective for five years, reserving the work of machinist, supervisor, cutter or chopper-out, and table-hand for White persons only. The total number of workers in these occupations is 39,500, comprising 4,500 White and 35,000 Non-White workers.

If strictly applied, the Minister's order would have required employers to dismiss 35,000 Non-White workers and replace them by the same number of Whites. Of course, this could not be done, as the Whites cannot be found. They all have better work elsewhere. The Minister was well aware of this fact. He also knew that in terms of Section 77(11) of the Industrial Conciliation Act, job reservation cannot be applied in areas where industrial council agreements are in operation, without the consent of the industrial councils. Such agreements existed in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal. It so happened that the Transvaal agreement had just expired and was awaiting the Minister's approval for renewal. In Natal and the Cape, the agreements had another eighteen months to run.

The existence of these agreements provided the Minister with a way out of the embarrassing difficulty he had created for himself. When the employers and employees in the industry protested against his job reservation order, he retorted that he was "surprised and disappointed at the irresponsible and misleading" criticisms of his action, and he announced that he would, therefore, grant exemption to all other clothing manufacturers in those areas where no industrial council agreement existed. The effect of this was to wipe out his job reservation order.

Unfortunately, only temporary respite has been gained. The Transvaal industrial council agreement has been extended only to the 17th March 1958. When it expires, job reservation can be applied forthwith. Perhaps this is the Minister's intention, for he has ordered the Wage Board to undertake an investigation into wages and conditions in the industry, with a view to making a new wage determina-

tion, which will make it easy for him to refuse to renew the industrial council agreement.

There is general uneasiness in the trade. The unions have decided to go to Court to test the Minister's Determination. If they succeed, there is no doubt that the Government will suitably amend the law to enable them to proceed with their job reservation plans. In any case, the Government has already made it known that they will change the law to the extent of making it possible to apply a quota system to any industry, so that employers may be compelled to employ a stated quota of persons of specified races.

One thing has emerged with startling clarity during this crisis. Those manufacturers who have removed their factories to the rural areas have been placed in a most advantageous position. They have escaped from the battleground of racial politics. They cannot become the victims of job reservations designed to attract votes for the Nationalist Party. Only the factories which remain in the urban (i.e. the White) areas will suffer the upheavals and crippling cost of struggling to comply with the Government's impractical job reservation decrees. As it is, they are threatened by competition from the rural factories, which pay their African workers as little as 15/- per week, because they are beyond reach of all wage regulating measures.

Who can really believe that job reservation on a racial basis can provide economic security to White or any other workers? If the clothing industry case is any guide, job reservation can shrink the opportunities of employment for Whites. Industrialists are being forced to migrate to the rural areas, near the Native reserves, where they will not be bothered by racial problems in manning their factories. Eventually, rural Africans will enjoy almost a monopoly of industrial employment, while urban workers of all races will be increasingly unemployed.

Employers who migrate to the Native areas will enjoy other advantages. With the full approval of the Government, they can subject their African employees to tougher treatment than they would dare apply to the more advanced workers in the urban areas. Employees in the rural factories will be disciplined by racial laws, while official hostility and the severe penal sanctions of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act will exclude the intervention of African trade unions.

In the circumstances, manufacturers who wish to escape bankruptcy will have either to move to the rural areas or close down. If the Government had deliberately set out to take jobs from White workers they could not have thought of a better way.

THE WAR IN ALGERIA

UNO has refused to accept the resolution introduced by the Asia-African countries that France should negotiate with the people of Algeria in terms of the United Nation's Charter, in order to bring war in Algeria to an end. Instead in terms of a non-commitment resolution France will continue discussions (although one does not know with whom) to find a peaceful solution to the Algerian problem. Once again the colonialist powers have succeeded in staying clear of another "burning spot" in the world, this time in North Africa.

Since 1st November 1954 a full scale war and not a rebellion has been going on in Algeria. This is a war of annihilation and destruction. France has a half million soldiers in the field with all modern weapons which include the

Napalm bombs. Algeria is being brought to complete ruin.

France herself is facing a crisis as a result of this war. In 1956 France spent almost 300 billion francs on this destruction. Every day we read that scores of insurgents are being captured and killed. No information, however, is given as to the French losses, but many families in France mourn the death of their sons and husbands. Cost of living has risen sky high in France. New taxes have been introduced to cover the cost of this war. The French colonialists have forgotten the lesson taught them in Indo-China and continue this war of genocide in Algeria. But the Algerian people have not surrendered and continue to fight for the independence of their country and for liberation from the yoke of colonialism.

Election Preview

On the forthcoming election for representatives of the Coloured voters in the House of Assembly.

Four Ripe Plums

By Alex. Hepple, M.P.

IN a few weeks' time, the Coloured people of the Cape will go to the polls to elect four White persons to represent them in the House of Assembly.

This will be the first election under the Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1951, which imposes electoral apartheid upon the Coloured people. In terms of the law, these elections must take place at least eight days before the date set for the General Election itself. The four seats to be contested are Peninsula (Cape Town and environs), Boland (Stellenbosch, Paarl, etc.), Outeniqua (Eastern Province, Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn, etc.) and Karoo (including Northern Cape, Kimberley and Namaqualand).

Wide Disagreement

As this is being written there is considerable discussion on the possibilities of the Coloured Elections. There is wide disagreement among the Coloured people on how these elections should be treated; some insist that they should be totally boycotted; others argue that they should be freely supported, while a third group is seeking to put up a selected panel of anti-apartheid candidates.

On the other hand, there is no confusion in the minds of White aspirant candidates. As far as the Whites are concerned the Coloured seats are four ripe plums, ready for the picking. There is a long queue of people desperately anxious to become Coloured Representatives in Parliament. Most of them are unattached to any political organisation or movement.

The coming elections will be extremely interesting, if only as a demonstration of what sort of persons are able to win the four Coloured seats. This raises the question of the organised support it will be possible for

White candidates to get from this segregated electorate.

One of the tragic consequences of the protracted struggle over the Coloured Vote issue is the deep division it has engendered among the Coloured people themselves. That division has not developed because of differences on the principle of separate representation. The overwhelming majority of Coloured people are strongly opposed to being placed on a separate roll.

It is true that once or twice there have been signs of wavering in some quarters. On the whole, however, the opposition to separate representation has been unanimous, although not united.

Political disunity confounds the Coloured people. Concerted action in defence of their century-old voting rights has been impossible because of it. The tyranny of colour prejudice in South Africa has made life a purgatory for the Cape Coloured people. Tempted on the one side by the patronage of White masters and pressed on the other by a rising Black proletariat, some display a racial snobbery that would put White supremacists to shame.

Blanket of Apathy

In their pathetic attempts to rise out of their purgatory of colour many avoid association with Coloured organisations. Apathy has fallen like a blanket over the whole community. Indifference is encouraged by the behaviour of many Coloured leaders, who adopt a negative attitude, preferring passive resentment to political action. This mood is reflected in the number of Coloured persons who have registered as voters.

On December 31, 1949, there were 47,597 Coloured voters in the Cape Province. In

July, 1957, there were only 29,244. This drop is partially due to the decision of many Coloured intellectuals to abstain from registering. In the main it is due to apathy. There are probably 200,000 who could qualify for the vote if they applied. Of course, had there been equal educational and other opportunities in the past there should be something like 500,000 Coloured voters on the rolls. The 1,011,000 White population of the Cape Province provides 510,000 voters, so it would be fair to say that in an equal society the 1,169,000 Coloured inhabitants would have at least the same number of voters.

There are several groups and organisations operating among the Coloured people. All claim wide support, but it is difficult at this stage to ascertain the real extent of their influence. The coming elections should give the answer. There are three main groups, each with a different attitude to the elections.

Fully in Favour

First of all there is the Coloured People's National Union (CPNU) led by Mr. George Golding. They are fully in favour of participating in the elections, a decision they took at a conference in Cape Town in the first week of January this year. This conference was attended by 70 delegates representing 50 branches of the organisation, as well as churches and ratepayers' associations. In opening the conference Mr. Golding appealed to the delegates to "cease the cold war with the Government," and to pursue a policy of negotiating with the authorities. Mr. Golding has been a controversial figure in Coloured affairs for many years. In face of bitter attacks and widespread criticism, he accepted the chairmanship of the Coloured Advisory Council when it was established by the Government in 1943. He is also remembered for that memorable occasion in June, 1954, when Dr. Malan dramatically announced in the closing stages of the Joint Sitting of Parliament that he had received a letter from Mr. Golding which appeared to be an offer of compromise on the Coloured vote issue. Mr. Golding recently joined the Moral Re-orientation Association.

The second major organisation is the Non-European Unity movement (NEUM), comprising mainly Coloured intellectuals. They want nothing to do with the elections.

They advocate a complete boycott. NEUM draws much of its support from teachers who are members of the Teachers' League of South Africa. Closely associated with their point of view is the Teachers' Professional and Educational Association (TEPA), led by Dr. R. E. van der Ross, an able and influential man in the small circle of Coloured intellectuals.

Congress Affiliate

The third organisation is the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation (SACPO), one of the affiliates of the Congress movement. Some of its leaders have been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and some are among those undergoing the preparatory examination on charges of treason.

SACPO first took a decision to boycott the elections. They argued that participation would be tantamount to approving the principle of Separate Representation. Later they had second thoughts and decided at a second conference in December, 1957, in favour of taking part in the separate elections, on specific conditions. They have issued a declaration that "the return to Parliament of treason trialists and Congress members who have by sacrifices and work proved their unflinching loyalty to the people's struggle in South Africa would be the best demonstration of the Coloured people's complete rejection of any system of inferior representation."

The decision to participate in the elections provoked new argument inside SACPO, and resulted in the resignation of six executive members. Because of bannings and other factors, SACPO will have difficulty in finding candidates of the calibre they have described, but they have made it clear that they will support no others. This organisation has strong trade union connections, which may prove useful in at least two of the seats.

From the above, it would seem that the many independent aspirant candidates will have to look to Mr. Golding's CPNU for organised support. There are many people who are exhibiting great eagerness to sit in Parliament as representatives of the Coloured people.

Mr. Abe Bloembergen, at present United M.P. for Cape Town Castle, has already boasted that he holds 3,100 signatures of sponsors for his candidature for the Penin-

...sula seat. Mr. Chris Starke, United Party M.P. for Cape Flats, has decided to put up in the Boland seat. It is said that both these candidates will have the backing of the CPNU. How many votes that is worth no one knows.

Other Aspirants

Other aspirants already known are Dr. B. Friedman, former M.P. for Hillbrow (who resigned from the United Party when they wavered on the Coloured Vote issue) Mr. P. J. Wolmarans, a former Mayor of Cape Town, Mr. A. S. A. East and Mr. Louis Kellner, two Cape Town city councillors. In addition there are many others who are preparing to enter the field, and it is likely that

both the Nationalists and the United Party will run unofficial candidates.

The elections will answer many questions on which there is now only speculation. Their result will certainly be a guide to the next stage, the election of the Union Council of Coloured Affairs. Sometime after the general election the Coloured people will be called upon to elect three of their own people from each Province (i.e. twelve in all) to sit on the Union Council of Coloured Affairs, with fifteen others nominated by the Government. All members of the Council are to be paid.

Once the Whites have plucked the four big juicy plums, will there be a scramble of Coloureds for the smaller fruit?

Nationalist commentators reacted to the Afro-Asian "solidarity" conference in Cairo by a reiteration of self-centred isolationism.

Nationalists and the Cairo Conference

By Scrutator

WISHFUL thinking, wistful memories and lachrymose sentimentalism came naturally at the turn of the year but the seasonal manifestations also had their more revealing moments of conscious (or sub-conscious) truth. In a guest editorial, Dr. J. C. Coetzee, of Potchefstroom, meditated in the Transvaal on the tasks of the Afrikaner folk in the "extremely significant year" lying ahead. In the process he laid bare a tolerably comprehensive and accurate blueprint of the driving forces as well as the half-hidden fears and anxieties of Afrikaner Nationalism today.

Immediate Assignment

1958 was to be a year, he wrote, when the "Assembly of our People" would be reconstituted, and its new composition would be very closely tied up with the future of "our land and folk." Aware of its divinely-

given mission and destiny the Afrikaner would have to accept as its immediate assignment "the maintenance of our Afrikaner dependence by means of our political, cultural, educational and economic resources. He proceeded to list and define these major problems of Afrikanerdom in what was presumably intended to be their order of importance.

Shadows

Politically, he declared, "the new year will mean everything to us: Shall we be able to continue developing as a separate people or shall we slowly but surely go under?" Culturally, he went on, "the new year will mean a great deal to us. In the past quarter of a century we have made enormous strides towards the establishment of a distinctive Afrikaans culture. And yet the future is not without its shadows. Our cultural life

Labour Party members tell why they did not join U.P.



MR. HEPPLÉ

THE LEADER of the Labour Party in Parliament, Mr. Alex Hepple, and his colleague, Mr. Leo Lovell, announced for the first time today why they are fighting the election alone and why they refused to join the United Party.

They believe that if they joined the United Party they would be prevented from maintaining "our unrelenting opposition to Nationalist extremism."

"We would become victims of political expediency, as were several members of the United Party in the case of the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the 'Hanging Bill,'" says a joint statement by Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell, that will be read at a Labour meeting in Benoni tonight.

"It should be known that on many occasions individual members of the United Party tell us that they privately support and

admire our unequivocal opposition to objectionable Nationalist measures, but cannot vote with us against the Government because they are bound by caucus decisions, usually taken for tactical reasons.

"UNHAPPY BAND"

"Neither of us desired to join the unhappy and frustrated band of United Party members of Parliament who are constantly held in check by their less progressive colleagues. Joining the United Party would have relegated us to share their gloomy silence."

The statement says that Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell feel it necessary to explain why they refused to join the U.P. "now that the U.P. has made public the fact."

"Naturally, we felt it a compliment that the U.P. considered us the first and best choice for the Rosettenville and Benoni seats. Moreover, we were encouraged to learn that the U.P. was ready to have us as candidates, knowing our political viewpoint.

"We were also impressed because the differences in the policies of our two parties were not presented as an obstacle.

"Obviously, had we accepted the U.P. invitation, we would have been assured of easy election.

ON OTHER HAND

"On the other hand, we would have fallen into the category of political opportunists ready to perform a somersault on the eve of the election merely to be sure of getting back to Parliament by the easiest route.

"We are quite sure that Opposition supporters have had enough of political turncoats. They are obviously seeking dependable representatives who remain steadfast and true.

"Taking the recent U.P. criticism of our policy into account, it now seems that in making their offer the U.P. was inviting us to lead a Jekyll and Hyde political existence.

"The second point we had to consider in weighing up the U.P. invitation was how it would affect our work as honest representatives of the people.

"We believe that we have proved ourselves by our records.

"It is well known that we have been uncompromising in our opposition to the Nationalists.

"We are assured by everyone that our attitude has won for us a high personal regard, not only in our constituencies but throughout the country."

Membership of the U.P., says the statement, would prevent them from carrying on their unrelenting opposition to Nationalist extremism.

(Written by Wharric Nelson, 41 President Street, Johannesburg.)



MR. LOVELL

Election Torment for anti-
nats - March 1958

lent to Alex

Heard the one-party
date - Torment

May 1958

lent to Alex

Alex Hepple gives his answer to the question

Where Does South Africa Go From Here?

AS I write this the Nationalists are holding a great victory celebration on Church Square, Pretoria. They have been elected to rule South Africa for a third term of five years. They have increased their strength in Parliament from 94 to 103. They have increased their majorities in almost every constituency.

The United Party are saying that they were defeated because the Nats. cleverly exploited Afrikaner sentiment and the colour bogey, and because of the loaded vote and the delimitation.

Their crushing loss is made more humiliating by the defeat of their leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff and their chief propagandist, Mr. Marais Steyn. Two successful U.P. candidates must now resign their seats to give these key party men places in Parliament.

The United Party pathetically console themselves with their own little victory, for they now can boast that they have eliminated the voice of Labour from Parliament, having defeated Alex. Hepple in Rosettenville and Leo Lovell in Benoni. This contemptible triumph gave the Nats added cause for jubilation. It brought the one-party State a little closer.

A Mandate

Where do we go from here? The victors are holding their celebrations. They declare that South Africa's white electorate has now clearly expressed its approval of baasskap apartheid. They take the result of the election as a mandate to proceed with their cruel and unjust policies of discrimination.

The Prime Minister took the first opportunity after the results were known to tell South Africa and the world that the colour policy of the Nationalist Party would be "pursued resolutely". The boisterous rejoicing of the Nats provides the best atmosphere for realistic and constructive thinking by the vanquished Opposition.

Whiteness

Let us take the United Party first. What is their future? As in previous elections, they fought the Nats on the basis "Our White Supremacy is nicer than yours". The nature of their appeal was well stated by *The Star* in its eve-of-election message:

"The United Party has wobbled and wavered about many things. But it has always been rather more obstinate than the Nationalist Party about keeping the whites white and in the lead. It fights the Nationalists only about the method of doing this."

This was the policy which had lost previous elections. It was the old game of trying to out-Nat the Nats. The pro-apartheid electorate were not to be fooled. The pro-apartheid leaders of the United Party will now stop fooling themselves and move closer to the Nats.

Having struck the death blow at Labour representation in Parliament, the United Party will find it easier to behave like a "responsible alternative Government" and less like a vigilant, militant Opposition.

Freed from the constant prodding from the Labour benches, which has tormented them for so long, they will have less difficulty in compromising on vital issues. No longer will they stand in fear of being shamed by the example of a handful of Labour men.

The voice of conscience, where it exists, can be lulled by facile excuses. The voice of Labour, which has nagged the U.P. into action and resistance in the past, has been silenced.

The U.P. can now make its peace with Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Strijdom.

THE views expressed on this page are those of the individual writers. **CONTACT** takes no responsibility for them and does not necessarily endorse them. Nor do these writers necessarily subscribe to **CONTACT'S** views.

What of the much talked-of "liberal back bench" of the U.P.? What will they do in the circumstances? Some of them will now move nearer the front bench. But they will still fear to assert themselves.

Having watched their progress during the past five years, my guess is that they will spend a great deal of their time scurrying out of danger.

At all costs they will avoid a showdown between themselves and the conservative element. However, that will not save them. To fulfil their ambitions, the right wing of the U.P. must purge the party of all reputed "liberals". Before they can do a deal with the Nats they must demonstrate that they are free of all taint of liberalism. And the Nats will gladly help them purify themselves.



ALEX HEPPLE

The pressure is already on. The Nats are demanding a more co-operative attitude on the colour question. A response is already being heard in financial and commercial circles.

Influential interests which backed the U.P. in the election are now urging that it is the duty of the U.P. to help the Government make baasskap apartheid work.

The Nats will make sure to present the issues and the legislation that will force a showdown.

There is no escape for the so-called "liberals" in the U.P. Their fate is sealed. Unfortunately, there is little likelihood of any of them taking a progressive stand and putting up a real fight on the real issue.

Grim Future

The forces to the left of the United Party also have a grim time ahead. They have all suffered a series of setbacks recently.

The Labour Party has lost the last of its public representatives. Its membership has dwindled in the past ten years; it has been robbed of its necessary trade union support through the action of the Government.

Full employment, racial privilege and the failure of the registered trade unions to give their members political education in the days when it was legal, have helped to dry up the flow of members to the Labour Party.

The Liberal Party, while it did not expect much better, was soundly defeated where it put up candidates. It cannot go on forever losing deposits.

3rd May, 1958.

continued

In the elections for the four Coloured representatives in Parliament, SACPO suffered a humiliating defeat. The Unity movement, which campaigned for a boycott of these elections, cannot claim success.

Victory went to the "Independents," who will now take their places in the United Party caucus. The Coloured voters have elected representatives belonging to a party which stands for white supremacy.

The A.N.C. is also having a difficult time. The demonstration planned for election week was poorly supported and petered out miserably. The organization is under constant pressure from the Government and confusion is spreading through the activities of the Africanists and others.

Ware Panic

All in all, the progressive forces are having a bad time. Perhaps their setbacks were necessary to bring them back to earth. Too many progressives have been up in the clouds for some time. I cannot forget how some of them were actually talking in terms of a U.P. victory last year, really believing it possible, despite all evidence to the contrary.

Bravado and unwarranted smugness were exhibited by some people after last year's bus boycott and the multi-racial conference.

The road to a just society has many tempting byways and exciting distractions. Recent reverses should be a reminder to beware of them.

At the same time we should beware of those who panic or spread a mood of defeatism. The Nats will take full advantage of the situation. They will incite and encourage the disrupters. They are masters of the art of divide and rule. Having divided and broken the Parliamentary Opposition, they can now concentrate upon their enemies on the extra-Parliamentary front.

The progressive forces must prepare their defences. The time has come for a careful review of their organization and work. Priorities must be determined. Activities must be more intelligently planned and there must be closer collaboration between the various groups and organizations which are striving for a better life for all the people of South Africa.

We stand in the shadow of the Treason Trial. Looming ahead are the dark clouds of Press censorship, the banning of the A.N.C., the removal of Native Representation from Parliament, further curbs on the trade unions and greater curtailment of civil liberties. Above all, there are unmistakable signs of an economic depression, in which workers of all races will suffer great hardship.

This is not the time for drawing-room discussions on the African franchise. The situation demands courageous reaction to the Nationalist victory.

One Party

The elections have shattered all hopes that Parliament might begin to accommodate itself to non-white progress. The favoured few who enjoy the franchise have made it clear that they have no desire to make Parliament a forum for discussions on the rights and aspirations of the non-white majority. They have preferred to give the Nationalist Government a mandate to proceed with the implementation of its repressive policies.

Worse still, they have reduced the Parliamentary Opposition to a single party which differs little from the Government. In its hour of greatest need, the Nation suffers an Opposition which fears to oppose.

Talks Now

Only the forces outside Parliament can save the Nation from the evils of this tragic situation. Their following represents more than four-fifths of the population. They lack only organization and unity.

Now is the time for them to work together, to rally their forces and determine their line of action. There must be clear and courageous leadership and strenuous efforts to build a powerful rank and file.

All progressive groups and parties should begin to discuss these things with each other now.

SE 4/5/58
"S.A. TRADE UNION EXECUTIVES ARE JUST PUPPET DICTATORS"

"FAIRPLAY," Johannesburg, writes:
YOUR LEADING ARTICLE "Labour's Point of View" (Sunday Express, April 27) deplores the passing of Mr. Alex. Hepple and Mr. Leo Lovell from the Parliamentary scene and the fact that the Labour Party has virtually come to the end of its public life.

SUNDAY EXPRESS, May 11, '58 19

"Stupid, false" charges against trade unionists

MR. ALEX. HEPPLÉ, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg, writes:
THE letter headed "S.A. Trade Union Executives are Just Puppet Dictators" (Sunday Express, May 4) contains such serious allegations that its author should have given his name instead of hiding behind the nom-de-plume "Fairplay."

If you could spare me the space, I would gladly reply to all the stupid and false charges in "Fairplay's" letter. The least he can do is to let us know who he is and give us some facts to prove why he thinks trade unions "are being run for the benefit of the officials and executives and not the workers" and why "they are not run democratically."

● We can certainly spare Mr. Hepple—who was until recently a Labour M.P.—the space. His reply will be published next week. Meanwhile, would "Fairplay" care to come out into the open?

"TOO POWERFUL"

"SCAB," of Kenilworth, Johannesburg, writes:

I AGREE with "Fairplay." Trade union bosses are becoming too powerful. Just look at the hardship and misery the London bus strike is causing.

● What about the hardships suffered by the busmen?

I would like to know just how and when the skilled and semi-skilled artisans' points of view were heard when the Labour Party members were in Parliament.

The trade union executives—who are nothing but puppet dictators—led the Labour members and the Press up the garden path and gave their own views and not the views of the members they represent.

Not Represented

The true feelings of thousands of workers all over the country were not represented and much injustice was done to the workers.

If the true facts had been published it would have prevented thousands of votes being swayed from the U.P. to the N.P., especially in Vereeniging.

Statements that the Govern-

ment wanted to break the unions were answered by the dissatisfied workers who, in the last election, ousted Labour and returned the Nationalist Party to power.

Satisfaction

The workers today regard the trade unions as being run for the benefit of the officials and executives and not the workers. They are not run democratically.

● While apathy among trade union members could result in a "dictatorship" by their leaders—for example, Jimmy Hoffa and Dave Beck in the United States—the record shows that most of them in this country are responsible men and women, concerned only with the economic welfare of their members. And Hansard shows that Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell have repeatedly put the worker's view in Parliament.



SE 18/5/58

Alex. Hepple warns workers of when hard times come

Mr. ALEX. HEPPLE, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg, writes:

THANK YOU for allowing me space to reply to "Fairplay" ("S.A. Trade Union Executives are Just Puppet Dictators," Sunday Express, May 4). I shall deal with his more specific charges.

● He wants to know "just how and when the skilled and semi-skilled artisans' points of view were heard when the Labour Party men were in Parliament." The answer is to be found in Hansard. During session after session the Labour Group put up motions on cost-of-living allowances, pensions, and so on and continually pleaded the cause of all workers on all matters concerning them.

Was it wrong?

● He says, "The true feelings of thousands of workers were not represented and much injustice was done to the workers."

OFFICIAL SAYS: "WHITES SCAB ON AFRICANS"

Miss E. WALTON, Branch Secretary, Textile Workers' Industrial Union, Uitenhage, writes:

THE White workers in South Africa are, by their selfishness, largely responsible for the fact that the workers' point of view is seldom heard in Parliament.

Whenever African workers have gone on strike against conditions that White workers would not tolerate for five minutes, the White workers have scabbed.

No protest

When laws were passed making it a criminal offence for Africans to strike, there was never a murmur of protest from the White workers.

When White workers stop clinging to every privilege that their skins give them, and extend the hand of friendship to their darker-hued fellow workers then, and only then, will the workers' point of view be heard in Parliament.

● Perhaps Mr. Hepple will comment on this one?

What does "Fairplay" mean by "true feelings"?

Was it wrong of us to demand higher c.o.l. allowances, better pensions, and so on? Was it wrong to defend the right of workers to organise and to run their own affairs?

The only injustice done to workers has been at the hands of the Government, through the damaging effects of its amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act. When hard times come, workers will discover how grievously the Government has reduced the effectiveness of their unions.

● "Fairplay" says that the trade unions are being run for the benefit of the officials and executives and not the workers, and that they are not run democratically. To which unions does he refer?

His duty

If he knows of unions where such undesirable conditions exist, it is his duty to expose them. In any case, what are the members doing to allow this state of affairs to continue?

Unions are run by their members, who elect the executives and officials. If the elected men are no good they can be dealt with by the rank and file. There must be something wrong with the members of a union if they re-elect officers who put their own interests before those of the members.

★ It seems to me that "Fairplay's" grouse is simply that he does not like trade unions—or that he does not understand the role of trade unionism in a modern democratic society.

● A lack of understanding seemingly shared by many trade union members.

16 SUNDAY EXPRESS, May 25, '58

Alex. Hepple denies . . . and admits . . .

Mr. ALEX HEPPLE, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg, writes:

I GLADLY accept your invitation to comment on the letter from Miss E. Walton ("Official says Whites Scab on Africans," Sunday Express, May 18).

It is not true that "When laws were passed making it a criminal offence for Africans to strike, there was never a murmur from the White workers." The S.A. Trades and Labour Council, at that time the largest trade union co-ordinating body, unanimously decided at its conference in April, 1952, to oppose such legislation.

The following year, when the Government published the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes)

Bill, the Council issued a detailed criticism of it, ending with the appeal, "We urge all workers . . . all employers . . . all political parties . . . to oppose this Bill."

In 1955 the S.A. Trade Union Council (successor to the T. and L. C.) at its first annual conference in Cape Town demanded the repeal of this law, which denies African workers the right to strike.

"I agree"

As far as Miss Walton's other complaint is concerned—the failure of White workers to make common cause with Africans in matters of mutual concern—I am in agreement. Our race-ridden

society produces many paradoxes but none more tragic than that of White workers siding with employers against other workers, merely on the grounds of colour.

Many White workers suffer from delusions of aristocracy, fostered by politicians who thrive on racial antagonisms. They are deceived by the illusions of economic security presented in the form of job reservation and petty privileges over non-White workers. They fail to understand that, in the long run, it is they who will be discarded as employers are compelled to make greater use of cheaper labour.

● A word to the wise from one who knows.

RDM

Article Mt

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

 31/5/58
 DISCUSSIONS WITH
 AFRICAN TRADE
 UNIONS SUGGESTED

Sir,—Your industrial reporter is to be congratulated on drawing attention to a burning problem in industrial relations. In his article, "Management should have a labour problems 'school' meeting," in the "Rand Daily Mail" on May 28 he emphasises the lack of proper communication between industrialists and their African

employees.



MR. ALEX. HEPPLÉ
 . . . sees danger

He suggests "a level-headed conference between management, labour and the Government, where top management, representative Government officials, trade union leaders and responsible African leaders could meet for a week-long re-appraisal and new look at South Africa's labour problems."

Such a conference should be welcomed. Something must be done soon to end the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

Trade unions

However, care must be taken that it is not merely a device to circumvent direct dealing with organised African workers. Industrialists are creating most of their own labour troubles by stubbornly refusing to negotiate with African trade unions.

There is no substitute for trade unionism in employer-employee relations. There is no more effective liaison than between organised employers and organised workers. This is the universally accepted practice.

The danger

It is simply not good enough for employers to excuse their folly in this matter by saying that Africans are not yet ripe for trade unionism, that they are easy victims of agitators and that the Government does not want employers to deal with African trade unions. Just as Africans can be good factory workers so can they be good and responsible trade unionists.

There is more danger of anarchy and unrest from discontented, frustrated and unorganised workers than from those who have combined together in trade unions and have learned to channel their grievances through the civilised processes of negotiation and collective bargaining.

Frank talk

Perhaps a management-labour school as suggested by your industrial reporter could examine this subject of African trade unionism and the need for their legal recognition.

It is time industrialists had an open and frank discussion on the matter. — ALEX HEPPLÉ, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg.

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PROGRESS REPORT ON JOB RESERVATION.

by ALEX. HEPPLÉ

In spite of protests from organised industry and commerce, leading economists and trade unions, the Government of South Africa is sweeping onward with its fiery cross of job reservation.

The Minister of Labour, in what may prove to be his first determination fulfilled without complications, has ordered the Durban Corporation to employ only White drivers on the vehicles used to remove night soil and refuse.

He ran into trouble, however, with the recommendation of the Industrial Tribunal that the Cape Town Tramways should be ordered to reserve 84% of its running staff jobs for Whites. His difficulty arose because of a flaw in the Industrial Conciliation Act, which does not allow him to apply racial quotas, although it permits the total reservation of industries, trades or occupations for the employment of ^{workers of} a particular race.

But Senator de Klerk is not dismayed at the setbacks that hamper the speedy enforcement of his plan to reserve the cream of employment for Whites.

He has ordered the Industrial Tribunal to investigate the building trade in the Transvaal and the O. F. S., the tea and coffee packing trade in Pretoria, leftmen's jobs in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, jam and food processing, leather goods making and tanning, and the manufacture of electric

stoves, refrigerators, water heaters and metal kitchen furniture.

THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY.

Meanwhile, the situation in the clothing industry (the Minister's first target) is becoming more complicated. First, there was the consternation when the Minister declared that the industry's main categories of employment to be reserved for Whites; then there was the confusion when he upset his order by issuing a general exemption; now there is widespread fear.

It seems that the clash between baasskap apartheid and industrial progress has come sooner than expected. The Tomlinson plan (and its variations) for the development of the Native Reserves, quickly whetted the appetites of entrepreneurs, who are now establishing factories where African labour is plentiful and cheap. This development has struck a mean blow at job reservation.

Those seeking guidance on the problems of the Tomlinson plan and job reservation should be interested in the story of the trip taken recently by a party of White garment workers.

THE "SEE FOR YOURSELF" TOUR.

At dawn on the 25th. March 1958, two specially chartered Railway buses left Johannesburg for Natal, carrying eightyfive White garment workers, most of them ardent believers in apartheid and firm supporters of the colour bar. They were on a "See for Yourself" tour of

the new clothing factories that have been established in and around the African townships of Natal country towns.

At Charlestown, two miles beyond the Transvaal border, the sightseers visited three factories, set amidst the mud and straw huts of the Native Location, the reserve for the African people of Charlestown. The visitors were greeted by crowds of barefooted, ragged African children, who excitedly chased the buses down the dusty location streets, until they stopped at the factories.

It was the lunch hour and the factory workers sprawled in mealtime comfort about the open square facing ~~one~~ ~~the~~ factory. This was their novel rest room, providing all the joys of location life right outside the factory doors.

There, the White garment workers from the Rand were able to ply their Black fellow workers of Charlestown with all sorts of questions about wages and conditions of work. They also spoke to managers and supervisors at the factories.

From Charlestown the sightseers went on to Ladysmith, one hundred miles away, where they saw two more clothing factories. Here the buses parted, one turning off to the Free State towns of Villiers and Parys. The other continued down the Durban main road to Camperdown, a village between Pietermaritzburg and Durban, where a new factory, larger than all the others, has gone into production.

TOMLINSON A LA VERWOERD.

The establishment of this factory is a model of the Tomlinson Plan applied in the correct Verwoerd manner. ~~It is~~ The undertaking is White owned; it has a prominent Nationalist Member of Parliament on its Board of Directors; it is neatly situated on the border of a Native Reserve.

It has other features which must appeal to any ambitious industrialist. A large slice of the capital has been provided by the Industrial Development Corporation, the body set up by the Smuts' Government in 1946, to assist in the development of South African industry. The premises were erected by Africans, at wages less than one-third the standard White rates, and they worked every day of the week, including Sundays.

In the course of their tour, the White garment workers saw eight rural factories and came away wondering how Senator de Klerk could ever enforce his job reservation order of October 1957.

THE RURAL SET-UP.

The rural factories all operate on a similar basis. Most of them are situated inside African locations. The owners, managers, administrative staff and supervisors, comprising less than four per cent of those engaged in these undertakings, are White persons. The other 96%, the factory workers, are African men and women.

Many of these factory hands are children between the ages of ten and fifteen. A large number of them work barefooted and in tattered clothes. Their

working day begins at 6. 30 a.m.

The Whites earn far more in these rural factories than they could in the cities. On the other hand, the Blacks earn a mere one-third (and sometimes as little as one-fifth) of the wages paid for similar work in Witwatersrand factories.

The factory workers have no trade union; their working week is 46 hours, compared with 40 hours in the cities; they are granted no sick leave; they have no Sick Fund or Medical benefit Society; because their low wages are less than the minimum qualification for African workers, they are excluded from the protection of the Unemployment Insurance Act; worst of all, they are subject to the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which ~~xxxxxxx~~ denies them the rights of other workers.

It is this last factor which ~~xxxxxxx~~ xxxxxxx plays the important role in the rural set-up.

THE INCENTIVE.

The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act not only makes it almost impossible for African workers to fight for improvements without falling foul of the law, but also makes it a crime to react in a normally human manner to bullying and unjust treatment ~~by~~ at the hands of employers.

In a recent case at Charlestown, a strike occurred in one of the factories because a European supervisor, in a fit of anger, struck one of the workers,

a girl of fifteen. Other workers were also threatened with assault and ran out of the factory.

The police were called and sixteen workers were arrested. They were charged under the Native Labour (S. of D.) Act with striking illegally, found guilty and sentenced to £5 or one month's imprisonment, suspended for three years.

Referring to this case, the "Garment Worker", newspaper of the Garment Workers' Union, commented :-

" The Charlestown case shows that the manufacturers in the uncontrolled areas not only enjoy the advantage over their competitors that they can pay very much lower wages. In addition, their employees are virtually prohibited from demanding living wages and proper treatment..... It is no wonder that factories are deserting the controlled areas and opening up in places like Charlestown, where they can make the fullest use of unorganised, unprotected Africans...."

COMPETITION.

The rural factories are manufacturing top grade articles of clothing, although some of the factories are specialising in cheaper qualities of men's wear. The standard of work done by the tribal Africans in these factories is generally high, once they have been trained. Some of the visiting workers from the Rand admitted that they saw work ~~done~~ as good as that performed by white

craftsmen. This is borne out by the fact that these rural factories have captured a large slice of Government contracts.

They make most of the blazers for White schoolchildren, the uniforms for the police, and for other officials.

Seeing all these things was a disturbing experience for the sightseers. They are now asking how the Minister of Labour came to declare the whole clothing industry reserved for White employment. If these rural factories, inside the African townships and on the border of the Native Reserve, attempted to comply with the Minister's order, they would have to import White workers into these Non-White areas. This would not only be a flagrant defiance of the professed policy of apartheid, but illegal into the bargain.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Fresh from the scenes of thriving industrial activity, the White garment workers returned home. There they were met with a different situation. The factories in which many of them worked were feeling the effects of a depression, which had begun to creep over the Transvaal clothing industry. Several were working short-time.

Since then, the depression has worsened. Now, one-third of the Transvaal clothing factories are on short-time, some of them working only two days a week.

8/..... The manufacturers

The manufacturers and the Garment Workers' Union attribute the slackness mainly to the loss of business to the factories in the uncontrolled areas.

Usually at this time of the year the trade experiences a seasonal slackness but nothing like that of the present time. In May 1957, there were 24 factories and 636 workers on short-time; this year there were 107 factories and 2,566 workers on short-time. Last year the slackness was over by June and the factories were back to full production. This year the slackness has increased and more workers are being put on short-time.

This should be Senator de Klerk's hour of triumph. This was the day for which he made his plans. Just over two years ago, ~~xx~~ when pushing his job reservation Bill through Parliament, Senator de Klerk said that its purpose was to protect White workers when jobs became scarce.

Referring to the very industry that is now in difficulties, he said, "Now is the time to tackle this matter, because when a recession comes, we will have the weapon!".

The Minister's recession has certainly come -- but so have the rural factories. His weapon of job reservation turns out to be a boomerang against the very people he promised to protect. The cruel artifice of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ this impractical colour bar is hurting all workers.

On the 11th. July 1958, the Wage Board began its investigation into the clothing factories in

the uncontrolled areas. It will be some time before the Board is able to submit its report or before the Minister of Labour is likely to make a new wage determination.

Whatever the Wage Board recommends, it is certain that Senator de Klerk will not raise the wages of rural African garment workers to the Witwatersrand levels.

That would kill the main attraction of the rural factories and, as far as the Government is concerned, would frustrate their baasskap plans.

The rural factories are an essential part of the Verwoerd pattern, as is his artificial tribal society, where needs must be simple and discipline strong.

Job reservation in the clothing industry may yet prove to be the achilles heel of economic apartheid.

E N D.

Johannesburg,
10th. July 1958.

Forum
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ARTICLES AH

On Mr. Oppenheimer's references in London to political rights for Africans.

Mr. Oppenheimer and the African Franchise

By Alex. Hepple

[DO not know what prompted Mr. Harry Oppenheimer to make his remarkable declaration on the African franchise when he spoke recently at the South Africa Club in London. It was a surprising subject for him to choose at this time, when a reactionary Nationalist Party has just been re-elected to rule South Africa for a third term.

Surely Mr. Oppenheimer's audience was expecting to hear his views on the possible social and economic consequences of a further implementation of Nationalist policy, rather than his criticisms of the "attitude of so-called Liberal opinion in South Africa as well as outside it to political rights for Natives." After all, the Liberal ideals of a universal franchise and a common society are still remote, while the Nationalist plan for a *baasskap* Republic is in the process of being fulfilled. The centre of interest is the Nationalist Government, who are making the laws and moulding the apartheid society, not merely dreaming about it.

U.P. Opposition

The world is curious to know to what extent the United Party Opposition can be expected to oppose the Government. It is anxious to learn whether South Africa is ruled by the Nationalist Party or by a White oligarchy. By his speech, Mr. Oppenheimer has indicated that the Nationalists do not stand alone in their attitude towards African advancement. He has presented the opponents of racial discrimination as the danger in South Africa. And he has done so at a curious moment.

Now Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is not

only a powerful figure in financial circles at home and abroad; he is also a shrewd and experienced politician, until recently actively engaged in the hurly-burly of political conflict. He is a hard-headed businessman, essentially a materialist, accustomed to operating at top levels and always keenly aware of those who wield the power.

Threat to Progress

He knows the issues in South Africa. He knows that the threat to progress and peaceful co-existence comes from the Right and not from the Left. He knows that the Left is weak and the Right strong. He knows that the policy of *baasskap apartheid* is being applied with vigour and ruthless determination by the Right. He knows that in the process, non-Whites and their allies are suffering considerable persecution and injustice. He knows that all those who advocate a common society and propagate their views are immediately suspect and closely watched by the Special Branch of the police.

Against such a background, Mr. Oppenheimer could well have used the occasion of the London dinner to comment upon the actions of the Nationalists, rather than the aspirations of the Liberals.

Be that as it may, but why did Mr. Oppenheimer feel impelled to argue as the Nationalists usually do—illogically, defensively and unfairly? Take, for example, his assertion that "the Africans would wish to use political power, not primarily to secure good government, but in the interests of Black Nationalism." And his declamation that "manhood suffrage, or anything approaching

it, would lead directly to inefficiency, corruption and tyranny."

This is the way the Nationalists always talk. Every time proposals are made to advance the non-Whites towards the practice of democracy, the Nationalists stampede, shouting slogans about "swamping" and "the death-knell of White civilisation."

This attitude flows from fear. It reveals an underlying racial prejudice.

One can argue indefinitely on the subject of the African franchise. All I would like to say here is that if the Whites resist African pleas for a share in the Government to the stage where the franchise is gained only by way of revolution, it stands to reason that the Africans are thereafter likely to assert themselves as a Black nationalist party. However, is it not persistently argued that the Whites are busy civilising the Africans, teaching them the virtues of our democratic way of life, and leading them to follow our



JUST A DROP.

—Winder in the *Sunday Times*.

cherished paths? Does Mr. Oppenheimer think it naive to believe too deeply in democracy or our ability to extend it?

Probably having in mind our own Nationalist Party, Mr. Oppenheimer declared that "African politicians would quite naturally put African government as an ideal far above good government." Here again, it all depends upon the Whites. If the Africans won the franchise with the aid and the goodwill of the Whites, they would develop politically in association with the Whites and, unless something untoward interfered, would not seek expression as a separate racial bloc.

South Africans have become adept at speculating upon the many dangers in tending the vote to even limited numbers of Africans. They should be guided by history. When the English masses got the franchise they brought to scorn all the arguments which had been used to deny them the vote. For a long time after the partial reform of 1832, which extended the franchise to a limited class of electors, the Whigs and Tories juggled with proposals and counter-proposals, each reluctant to extend the vote to the working classes because they were afraid of what the people would do with the vote.

Eventually, in 1873, six years after the passing of the Reform Act of 1867, the masses went to the polls and surprised everyone. They elected the Conservatives with a clear majority over all other parties and with a majority of 100 over their rivals, the Liberals. The ruling class sighed with relief, for at last it was proved that a popular electorate could be a conservative electorate.

Would Mr. Oppenheimer feel happier if he could be assured that the African electorate would be a conservative one? Or would he remain like the Nationalists—irrevocably opposed to a universal franchise, now or ever?

Important Points

So much for the franchise itself. Perhaps it is incidental to the other things Mr. Oppenheimer wanted to say. He did make two other important points. One was that, as things are, the United Party has absolutely no hope of ever becoming the Government of South Africa. The other was that "there is a wide area of agreement between the peoples of South Africa . . . South Africans often fail to grasp . . . how artificial in many ways are the barriers between the parties."

Taken together, the three matters discussed by Mr. Oppenheimer, may be significant. In attacking those who hold liberal views on the African franchise, recording the permanent defeat of the United Party, and talking of the "artificial barriers" between the two major political parties, was Mr. Oppenheimer seeking to bring the Government and the Parliamentary Opposition closer together? If that is so, and if he succeeds, then South Africa will indeed be ruled by a White oligarchy and not a Nationalist Party.

The Central African Federation is heading towards a constitutional conflict with Britain. The British Labour Party's confused policy may make it easier for the White community to get its way, in spite of the opposition from Africans.

Last Chance in Rhodesia

By Julius Lewin

"I DON'T want to talk about Boston tea parties and utter threats of what we will try to do (to gain independence) in 1960 . . . but . . . I, personally, would never be prepared to accept that the Rhodesians have less guts than the American colonists had."

These words, used last month by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, indicate clearly enough that Rhodesia is moving towards a crisis.

In two years' time a conference is due to discuss with the British Government changes in the Federal constitution. Everyone knows that European opinion will then demand for the Federation full independence within the Commonwealth and that African opinion will oppose this step.

By 1960 there will in all probability be a Labour Government in Britain as a result of the general election due there next year; and the British Labour Party has recently issued a remarkable statement of policy on the situation it expects to confront.

In effect, this declaration lays down the conditions on which it would concede dominion status to the Federation. These conditions are by no means as clear as a glance at the statement would lead one to think. Some of them seem to be long-run aims while others are immediate demands that must presumably be fulfilled before independence would be granted.

The latter include (a) larger representation for Africans in the Federal Parliament; (b) the extension to schools of the policy of integration now followed at the University; and (c) "the rapid elimination of racial discrimination in both social relations and industry." In addition, an unequivocal statement is required from the

Federation that "its objective is complete democracy and equal rights for every citizen."

And, even then, dominion status will not be conceded "until all the inhabitants of the Federation have expressed a desire for it, through the exercise of full and equal democratic rights."

What exactly this last sentence implies is anyone's guess. Does it mean that a plebiscite must first take place in order to prove that final independence from British control is really wanted by an overwhelming majority of all races?

In general, this strangely confused statement of Labour's policy will probably have the opposite effect of that intended. It will help Sir Roy Welensky to get what he wants—which is independence without any fundamental changes in the present Constitution.

The fact of the matter is that the men and women behind Mr. Gaitskell have no clear idea of what they want Rhodesia to do in, say, the next decade, or even in the next generation, nor what their own tactics are to be.

At present the main concern of those who are shaping Labour's policy is to put all the blame on the Conservatives and on the Rhodesian political parties for the disturbing situation that has developed in the Federation. Yet every realist knows that the Conservatives have always preferred to support the White people against the Black in any part of Africa and that the Europeans on the spot would always take all possible steps to promote and to protect their own interests as a group that feels threatened by African advancement.

In this view there is nothing new. What is new is the Labour Party's professed deter-

mination to secure for Africans a better place in the sun, and to secure it quickly.

In my opinion, this is a laudable aim, but I am afraid that it is doomed to failure in the battle of words that is now in prospect. Here are some of the reasons why I take this gloomy view.

The British Labour leaders and their advisers behind the scenes are under an illusion. They speak as if the initiative in colonial crises still lies in London. In fact, however, those whose perception is keen have known for years that this is not so.

Whether in Ghana or Nigeria, the Sudan or Uganda, Kenya or Rhodesia, events since 1946 have shown that what political progress Africans can achieve depends mainly on themselves, not on the fine words or gestures of their friends abroad.

Once this fact is grasped, it is easy to see why the theory of inter-racial "partnership," which was imposed on Rhodesia by Britain, has proved in practice such a dismal failure. "Partnership" was a British term invented to disguise the sordid realities of racial inequality that had prevailed in Southern Rhodesia for 30 years before the Federation was born in 1953.

Knowing this, some people (of whom I was one) opposed Federation. We pointed out that its effect would be to allow the colour bar in various forms to cross the Zambesi and establish itself in Northern Rhodesia and even in Nyasaland. These two British dependencies were at that time by no means free from racial discrimination, but they had not yet been deeply infected by it, like Southern Rhodesia. Consequently, there was still a chance that the right things would be done, under the pressure of the Colonial Office.

Very Faint

That chance remains to this day but under the influence of Federation it has grown very faint. Proof enough of the current trend is to be seen in the franchise proposals recently put forward by the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Amid all their absurd complexities, one thing is perfectly clear. These proposals, modelled on those already adopted by the Federation for elections to its Parliament, are designed to ensure that Africans will never hold real power in the Legislative Council.

Here again the Labour Party, in its

curiously evasive fashion, is content simply to ask for equal representation between Africans and other races in the Legislative Council, a formula bound anyhow to produce deadlock and so to leave the making of actual policy in the hands of the Colonial Office—which has lately revealed its own mind by rejecting the notion of equal representation in favour of continued European domination.

Now the future balance of political power in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the most important question that dominion status for the Federation will decide. At present the Colonial Office could conceivably use its legal position and its invisible pressure to assist Africans to attain a stronger status.

Once the Federal Parliament has acquired unfettered powers the Legislative Councils in the two northern territories will sink, at best, to the level of provincial councils in South Africa.

I believe that this trend towards White supremacy in the Federation will not be reversed, or even halted, by critics in London. A new situation can come about only as a result of African efforts.

In all the lost years, and especially since 1946, the Labour Party would have done better, both in and out of office, had it recognised the realities that lie beyond the scope of any constitution. These include the weakness of African nationalism; the consequent need for more and better education (especially at the secondary and technical levels); the vital importance of recognising and helping African trade unions; and (not least) the maintenance of civil liberties for all races.

If Labour is ready to fight Sir Roy Welensky, these are some of the issues on which it should have chosen to fight, yesterday and to-day. To challenge him to-morrow over such issues as equal political rights, mixed schools and social equality is to invite defeat.

These demands (however admirable in principle) presuppose a situation that does not even remotely exist in Rhodesia now. That, ultimately, is why, in planning to release the whole Federation from what remains of British control, it is the Europeans (not the Africans) who can display their strength by toying openly with the idea of "a Boston tea party" and the revolution it implies.

DR. VERWOERD'S 'WATCHFUL EYE' NO NONSENSE FROM JOHANNESBURG

QUITE clearly, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd has made up his mind to stand no nonsense from Johannesburg. He is determined that his apartheid laws will not be obstructed by local authorities.

That is why he has appointed a watchdog committee of five officials of his department, under the chairmanship of Mr. F. E. Mentz, M.P., deputy-chairman of the Native Affairs Commission, to keep an eye on things for him in Johannesburg.

The official announcement explains that "the committee will see that national policy is observed by all the local authorities concerned and will keep a watchful eye on all spheres where the Department of Native Affairs has an interest—for example, housing, influx control, labour matters, the removal of undesirable Natives from backyards and locations in the sky and similar matters."

CHURCH CLAUSE

Not specially mentioned but of particular importance to the Minister of Native Affairs are the apartheid measures covered by Section 29 of the Native Laws Amendment Act, 1957, better known as the "Church Clause." This law concerns a vital aspect of national policy, as was made very clear by Dr. Verwoerd when the clause was debated in Parliament.

Dr. Verwoerd wants to make sure that—to quote his own words—"Natives do not mix with Europeans at church services in such a way that they are a nuisance and cause offence." In his view, this is not a matter for the congregations to settle but one for the Government to stamp out.

But Section 29 does not apply only to church services. The debate in Parliament and the public interest centred on that part of the clause which applied to churches, but the scope of the clause is far wider than that. It covers gatherings of all kinds in the urban areas.

As a result of the general protest, the reference to churches was amended to the extent that the Minister cannot prohibit the attendance of Africans at church or religious services or church functions in an urban area unless he has the concurrence of the local authority.

This is not so in the case of other gatherings. As far as they are concerned, the Minister has the unfettered right "to prohibit the holding of any meeting, assembly or gathering, including a social gathering, which is attended by a Native" in any urban area outside an African township or location. The Minister has the further unfettered right to prohibit any person from holding, organising or arranging any such meeting, assembly or gathering.

ment of Section 29 of the Native Laws Amendment Act.

The committee will operate as a shadow city council, ready to intervene on the slightest pretext. Nationalist city councillors, anti-

by
**ALEX.
HEPPLE**

POWERLESS

The Minister's only obligation is to inform the local authority in writing of his intention to ban a gathering and give the local authority a specified time in which to state its objections. However, this is a mere formality. It makes no difference whether the local authority approves or disapproves. The Minister can do what he likes.

Obviously, once he has signified his intention to ban a gathering, the local authority will be powerless to stop him.

There can be no doubt that the watchdog committee will render a valuable service to the Minister of Native Affairs for the enforce-

social grouse, nose parkers, the selfish, the unneighbourly and the busybodies will run to the committee to report on all activities which do not meet with their approval. The committee, in turn, will report to the Minister, who will not be slow in taking action.

SHORT SHRIFT

While some church communities may fall foul of the Minister in this way, at least they will have some protection from the local authorities, because the Minister cannot interfere without their approval.

Other victims will not be so fortunate. Inter-racial gatherings, such as those of welfare and charitable organisations, trade unions, liberal and progressive parties and groups, will be smelted out, and dealt with at the whim of the Minister.

It goes without saying that social gatherings of a mixed racial character will receive short shrift, for nothing arouses greater horror in the minds of colour-conscious individuals.

One important inter-racial activity which is bound to receive the early attention of the watchdog committee are meetings

across the colour line, such as the multi-racial conference held at the Witwatersrand University in December, 1957. This now assumes a special significance because the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs is talking of meeting the leaders of the non-European people.

S.A.B.R.A. TALKS

What will happen if S.A.B.R.A. arranges a conference with non-White politicians, or other non-White leaders? What will Dr. Verwoerd do?

Dr. Verwoerd has very strong views on multi-racial conferences. I remember what he said when I proposed in Parliament that a multi-racial convention should be called, to which representatives of all races in South Africa should be invited. Dr. Verwoerd indignantly rejected the idea as "something positively dangerous," adding that "if ever there would be strife and dissension and disorder between White and non-White in South Africa, it would come from such a gathering."

DIFFICULTY

If S.A.B.R.A. decided to stage an inter-racial conference in an urban area, Dr. Verwoerd could prevent it by issuing a ban under Section 29, either to prohibit the holding of the conference or to prohibit S.A.B.R.A. from organising it. The Minister and his friends are sure to make every effort to dissuade S.A.B.R.A. from organising their multi-racial gathering. If S.A.B.R.A. persists, will the Minister let them carry on?

Once he does that, Dr. Verwoerd must permit all other organisations the same freedom of assembly. Perhaps the ingenious Minister has already worked out a scheme to overcome this difficulty.

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I.C. ACT

THE PLIGHT OF THE UNIONS.

by ALEX. HEPPLÉ

Trade unionism in South Africa is undergoing a withering change. Its strength is being sapped by the Industrial Conciliation Act, which came into operation on the 1st. January 1957.

In conformity with Nationalist policy, the old law was ~~changed~~ drastically amended two years ago and unions were called upon to amend their constitutions before the 1st. January 1958. They were obliged to establish separate branches for White and Coloured members, to hold separate meetings of the separate branches and to remove all non-Whites from all executive positions, so that their controlling bodies should consist of White persons only.

The unions affected are what are commonly known as "registered" unions. They cater for White, Coloured and Asian workers. The law excludes African trade unions, which cannot be registered or form part of the industrial council system.

In their efforts to adapt themselves to the provisions of the I. C. Act of 1956, registered unions are discovering that the customary methods of organisation and operation can no longer be applied, because the law demands the observance of practices that are foreign to the traditions of trade unionism.

THREE ALTERNATIVES.

Until now, most of the older unions accepted all eligible workers, White, Coloured and Asian, for membership, and afforded them full and equal rights. Many unions had a minority of Non-White members. In terms

of the changed law, the members must now be separated on racial lines. This ~~has~~ presented the registered unions with three alternatives.

The first was to comply with the law and establish separate branches for White and Coloured members and exclude all non-Whites from executive posts.

The second was to form, not separate branches but separate unions, one for Whites and another for Non-Whites and to link the two by means of an unofficial co-ordinating body or federation, which in fact would be the union, possessed of the real power, planning and directing the activities of both unions.

This is what several unions have done. At least two have gone even further. They have included a third union, comprising African workers in their industry, in their federation. This is not a violation of the law, because federations of this kind have no legal status.

The third alternative called for bolder action than the other two. It was not to register at all. Unions not registered under the I. C. Act are free to enrol members of all races. Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Africans sharing an identity of interests in their employment could combine in one multi-racial trade union and so ~~establish~~ establish a unity which would add considerable strength to their bargaining power.

However, apart from the difficulty in organising a single, multi-racial union in any industry, there are certain risks in this course. By not registering, unions lose the protection of legally enforceable collective

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UNION GOVERNMENT CUTS ILO DELEGATION.

Is the South African Government preparing to withdraw from the International Labour Organisation?

Last year, Senator de Klerk took a trip overseas to attend the 40th. Session of the I. L. O. Before he left, he told the Senate that the Government was considering its position in connection with the I. L. O. because it was worried about the organisation's increasing interest in labour matters in Africa.

He said, "Hon. Senators can imagine the difficulties for South Africa if this organisation becomes active in Africa", adding that the Cabinet had instructed him to go to the Conference at Geneva to get first-hand information about the I. L. O.

Senator de Klerk has not yet disclosed what he discovered in Geneva, but the signs are that his report to the Cabinet was unfavourable, because the Cabinet has cut down the usual South African delegation by excluding the two advisers to the workers' delegate.

In terms of the I. L. O. Constitution, member states are represented at its conferences by delegations composed of two government, one employer and one employee delegate, plus not more than two advisers to each delegate. The Constitution also provides that in nominating the employer and employee delegates and their advisers, the member states must do so in agreement with the industrial organisations which are most representative of employers and employees.

The appointment of the S. A. delegation is

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in the hands of the Cabinet and the expenses of all delegates have always been borne by the government.

This year the Government declined to appoint advisers and the S. A. delegation has been confined to two Government representatives, Messrs. A. W. Stead and L. C. Loock, one employers' representative, Mr. E. P. Drummond and one employees' representative, Mr. J. A. Van Wyk.

Concerned at this departure ~~from~~ from the normal procedure, two trade union federations, acting independently, decided to send their own advisers at their own expense. The Federal Consultative Council of S. A. R. & H. Staff Associations chose Mr. G. Van Onselen and the S. A. Trade Union Council chose Mr. L. C. Scheepers.

As these two trade union advisers might prove an embarrassment at Geneva because of their unofficial status, the Cabinet decided to include their names in the official delegation, although they have in fact gone independently and at the expense of their own organisations.

This treatment of the I. L. O. delegation may be a pointer to the Government's future attitude to the I. L. O., which was foreshadowed last year by Senator Jan de Klerk.

It is quite possible that this matter will provoke some comment during the current Session of the I. L. O. Obviously other member states will be interested to know why South Africa has acted in this way.

bargaining agreements. Furthermore, they may jeopardise Sick and Provident Funds, which are now secure under the industrial council system.

This third course also exposes the unions to other dangers which flow from other laws. For example, under the Group Areas Act, a multi-racial trade union might find it impossible to conduct its affairs from premises reserved for occupation by a particular racial group. It might also find its activities hampered because of the intervention of the Minister of Native Affairs, who could prohibit the holding of any trade union meeting (including a closed executive meeting) which is attended by an African member. The Minister has this power under Section 29 of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957, the section which achieved notoriety as the "Church Clause".

Trade unions which choose this third course would have to rely on their own organised strength and efficiency, rather than upon the law, to maintain favourable agreements with employers. Voluntary industrial agreements on this basis operate successfully in many other countries.

SPLINTER UNIONS.

The unhappy choice in this matter is being complicated for some unions because of the activities of dissident, pro-Government members in their ranks, who ~~xxx~~ asked for the changes in the law and are now using them in a bid to capture control. "Divide and rule" is written all through the 1956 Act. It does not merely enforce racial separation in the unions. It also promotes the destruction of unity, opening the way for the establishment of breakaway groups.

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/58SOUTH AFRICA AND THE I. L. O.

The South African delegation attending the current session of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva is in a peculiar position.

It is hardly more than a token delegation, having been reduced in size this year because the South African government is a reluctant participant. The Cabinet feels worse about the ILO than it ever did about UNO and would break with the ILO to-morrow, were it not afraid of further complicating its international relations.

For a long time the Cabinet has been thinking seriously of withdrawing from the ILO. In 1951, when Minister of Labour, Mr. Ben Schoeman attended/~~the~~ ^{its} 34th. Session and on his return stated that he was disaappointed with its work but added that "the Government has no intention of leaving the ILO at this stage".

Mr. Schoeman's successor as Minister of Labour, Senator Jan de Klerk, has also paid a visit

2/..... to the ILO -

to the ILO. At the direction of the Cabinet he went last year to attend the 40th. Session, "to get first-hand information on the organisation's activities".

The possibility of South Africa pulling out of ILO is better appreciated when one looks ~~back~~ at the chronicle of incidents in which South Africa has been involved since the end of the war.

These have arisen firstly because of South Africa's policy of apartheid and secondly because of trouble with its workers' delegate, whose credentials have been challenged at almost every session.

Racial discrimination in S. A. attracted the attention of the ILO before the Nats. came to power in 1948. In 1947, at the 30th. Session, Australia, France and India pointedly criticised the Union by demanding a total prohibition on colour discrimination in industrial legislation in all member countries.

At the same session, Mr. J. J. Venter, the S. A. workers' delegate openly attacked the

3/..... employers'

employers' delegate, Mr. W. Gemmill of the Chamber of Mines, on the issue of cheap, migratory labour in the mines. General Smuts, whose ear was always keenly attuned to the voice of the Chamber, had on the stocks a Bill called the Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill, which specifically prohibited African mineworkers from belonging to trade unions.

Mr. Venter bitterly criticised Smuts, whom he accused of fostering the exploitation of both migratory and urban workers.

South Africa was back in the unpleasant limelight in 1948, when its delegation refused to vote for the draft Convention on "Freedom of Association", after having failed to get support for an amendment that would have sanctioned discrimination against Africans in the guarantee of freedom of association in labour organisation.

In 1954, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions joined in the battle against racial discrimination in South Africa. This organisation was headed by Britain's

TUC and America's CIO and AFL. It had broken away from the World Federation of Trade Unions at the height of the cold war and was principally concerned with fighting communism.

Its complaint against South Africa was twofold - firstly, that the Suppression of Communism Act gave the Minister of Justice dangerous, arbitrary powers and secondly, that the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act "violated the principles of the Constitution of the ILO in that they discriminated against African workers and deprived them ~~rights~~ rights of freedom of association and trade union rights"

5/..... South Africa was -

South Africa was in trouble at the ILO again the following year. The Committee on Forced Labour declared South Africa to be one of twelve countries where definite systems of forced labour existed. Ten of the named countries were communist. The other two were South Africa and the Portuguese territories.

At the same session, the Union Government's increasing enforcement of apartheid created another scene. Mr. R. Bennett, the workers' delegate from South Africa, reported to the conference that his government intended passing a new Industrial Conciliation law which would be "the negation of the preamble to the ILO Constitution", in spite of the fact that the vast majority of South African workers were opposed to it.

This matter came again in 1956, after the law in question had been approved by Parliament.

6/..... Mr. Bennett -

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