



TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL

by

ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

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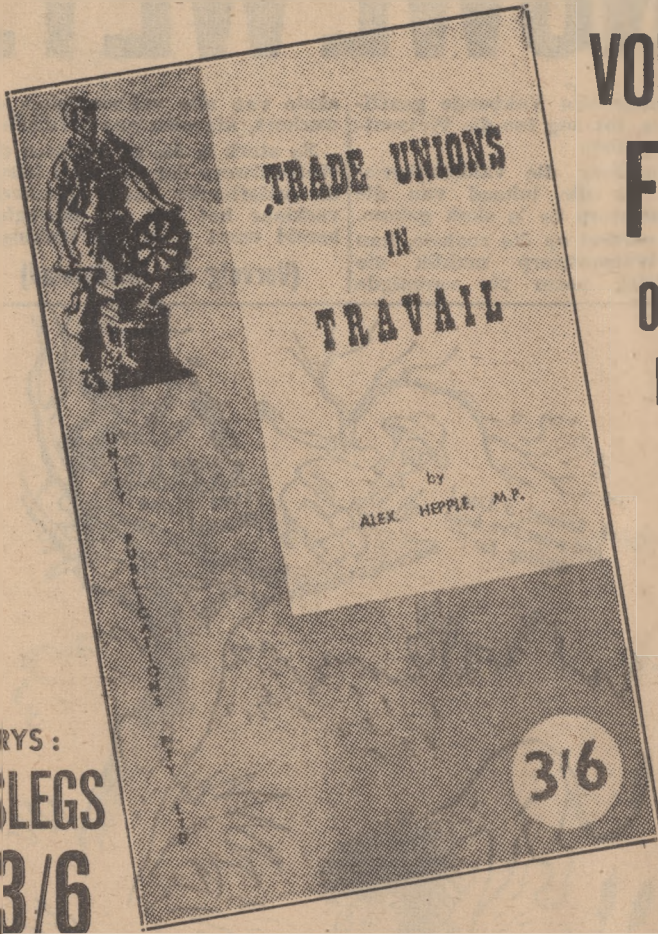
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Dit Lees Soos 'n Spanningsverhaal!

ELKE WERKER MOET DIE BOEK LEES



VOLGEPAK MET FEITE

OMTRENT DIE
BROEDERBOND-
NASIONALISTIESE
PLAN OM S.A. VAK-
BONDE TE BEHEER

PRYS :
SLEGS
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DIE SKRYWER :

ALEX HEPPLÉ, L.V.
Parlementêre Leier van die
S.A. Arbeidsparty.

(3/9 Posvry)

BESTEL U EKSEMPLAAR VANDAG!

VUL IN DIE VORM EN POS DIT

Aan Unity Publications, Posbus 4719, Johannesburg.
Ingeslote posorder/seëls ter waarde van
waarvoor geliewe my eksemplare van „Trade
Unions in Travail” te stuur.
Naam
Adres

**VERKRYGBAAR VAN ALLE BOEKWINKELS OF UNITY
PUBLICATIONS, POSBUS 4719, JOHANNESBURG**



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SCHOEMAN ORDERS COPY

THE Minister of Labour ordered by telephone on Wednesday a copy of the book "Trade Unions in Travail" by Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P. which is being published later this month by Saamtrek.

SAAMTREK PUBLISHES ITS FIRST BOOK

Alex Hepple, M.P.
On "Trade Unions
in Travail"

EVEN before its publication, the book by Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, on the position of the South African trade unions has caused a sensation in the Press.

This book is to be published by Saamtrek (Unity Publications, Pty., Ltd.) later this month at a price which will be within the reach of the pocket of every working man or woman.

The book, "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL," was previewed by Mr. Stanley Uys, political correspondent of the Sunday Times, in a double-column leader page article last Sunday.

As a result of the publicity given there of some of the points which Mr. Hepple makes, Die

Vaderland on Tuesday published an article under a prominent three-column headline in which Mr. E. A. Socher, leader of the split-away faction of the Leather Workers' Union, challenges Mr. Hepple to prove on a public platform his facts regarding the split.

In his book Mr. Hepple deals with the history of the Nationalist Party's attack on the trade union movement. For the first time he correlates in a handy and easily available form authentic documents and quotations by prominent Nationalist politicians. These quotations, stretching over many years, show the connection between the policy of the party and the legislation at present being introduced step by step to carry out that policy.

Having analysed the position, Mr. Hepple offers the workers a solution and a programme of action.

This book will for many years be one of the most important works of reference not only for trade unionists but also for politicians of all parties. It will serve workers to gain a clearer understanding of the forces and difficulties confronting them.

Copies can be ordered from Saamtrek, P.O. Box 4719, Johannesburg.

TRADE UNIONS IN S.A.

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (Pty.) Ltd. is a publishing company formed and controlled by trade unions for the purpose of issuing publications to serve the interests of the workers.

We are proud to announce the publication of our first book "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" by Alex Hepple, M.P.

This is no ordinary book. In 14 chapters it sets out in clear and simple language the story of South African trade unions and the many difficulties facing the workers. It contains valuable excerpts from important declarations, reports and documents relating to South African trade union and political history.

"TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" fills a long-felt need and



Miss Kühn and a friend.



Ivan and Allan Handel, nephews of one of the Witwatersrand Branch organisers.

should be read by every worker, every trade union member, every trade union official and by all those who are concerned with the future welfare of South Africa.

The author of "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" is well equipped to deal with the subject of his book. Born and bred in South Africa, he originates from a typical working-class family—his father, an active member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, was blacklisted, victimised and arrested for the part he played in the early working-class struggles of South Africa.

Alex trudged the streets together with thousands of others who formed the huge army of unemployed in search of work during the great depression.

The background and history of Alex Hepple moulded him for the task he set himself in later life and which he is fulfilling today with great distinction. As a public man who has risen from the ranks of the workers, Alex is admired and respected even by his greatest political enemies for his ability.

TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL

THE STORY
OF THE
BROEDERBOND-NATIONALIST
PLAN TO CONTROL
SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

By

ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

PUBLISHED BY
UNITY PUBLICATIONS (PTY.) LTD.
P.O. BOX 4719 JOHANNESBURG.
1954.

FORWARD 29/11/54

NAT PLOT LAID BARE IN LABOUR LEADER'S BOOK

MR. ALEX HEPPLE, Parliamentary Leader of the S.A. Labour Party, has compiled a book of first-rate importance for an understanding of what is happening to South Africa at the present time. It is "The Story of the Broederbond-Nationalist Plan to Control South African Trade Unions," but in fact the plot whose anatomy the book reveals extends much further than the Trade Unions, who are (or were?) simply the most formidable opponent that the Nationalists have had to face.

"Plot" is a melodramatic word. It conjures up memories of Eric Ambler, John Buchan and Carol Reed, of discussions in cellars and escapes through sewers. We have all heard of the Broederbond and know it to be an organisation working in secret for unspecified ends, yet, through constant repetition, warnings about the Broederbond have lost their force.

The Nationalists have gone about their work piecemeal, tackling first this section of the population, now that, and all the time under such a barrage of ideological nonsense that it has been difficult to see the connection between their various activities.

Mr. Hepple's book comes as a counterblast to scepticism and complacency. By a painstaking collection of evidence, a putting together of documents and speeches of the last twenty years, he has revealed both the pattern of the plot and the tenacity with which it is being carried out.

The word "Fascist" has become a term of abuse, now rather out of fashion, which has been used indiscriminately to insult political opponents. Yet one can apply the term with complete precision to the Nationalists and the movement of which they are one manifestation. They are Fascist, in the exact meaning of the term, and are pursuing a Fascist programme.

Mr. Hepple shows the way in which various organisations were evolved or seized, to pursue the single purpose of the Broederbond. The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, the Reddingsdaadbond, the Blankewerkingsbeskermingsbond, are only three of its

tentacles put out to embrace various aspects of national life. Their aim is identical — the establishment of an authoritarian state, which, under the cloak of "Christian-Nationalism," will establish a corporate state.

Mr. Hepple deals particularly with the Nationalist plans to win over, immunise or destroy the trade unions. The whole character of these organisations is to be changed. A Central Economic Council will provide a link between the Government and a "remodelled system of regulatory boards, each board being representative of its own trade, profession or industry." Subsidiary to these, will be a "Labour Council," on which the "Christian-National" unions will be represented, and which "will exercise control over the appointment of officials by, and the general activities of the trade unions and workers' organisations."

The ironic fact is, as the author shows, that those unions which

have been successfully "Christian-Nationalised" have become corrupt and worthless as weapons to defend workers' interests. But the bigger the lie, the more likely it is to be believed. Many workers persist in blindly following the Nationalist road to servitude, and some trade union leaders timidly tag along behind.

Mr. Hepple's book reads like a thriller — and leaves one with the uncomfortable feeling that it is the reader who is to be the victim, unless he takes stringent action to defend himself.

—G.R.

"TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL"
by Alex Hepple, M.P. Published by Unity Publications, and obtainable from the S.A. Labour Party, 32 Kerk Street, Johannesburg. Price 3/6d.

LABOUR STALWART IS 80

MR. J. P. ANDERSON, who for many years contributed the feature "Letters to Henry Dubbs" to "Forward", celebrated his 80th birthday this week, and sent a message of greetings to all comrades in the Labour Movement, wishing them success in their struggle for a better South Africa. The S.A. Labour Party extends its felicitations to this fine old Labour stalwart.

LITTLE SIR ECHO

YUSSUH
YUSSUH
YUSSUH

INTRODUCING
Charlie
McSchoeman
 —
 THE GREATEST LITTLE
 YES-MAN THIS SIDE
 OF THE LINE



According to statements by the Minister of Labour his new industrial legislation, to be introduced this Session, will aim to establish "proper" trade unions.

Nat. Attack on Trade Unions

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By STANLEY UYS

"SUNDAY TIMES" POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Government has used the Suppression of Communism Act to remove more than 40 trade union officials from their posts in the past two or three years.

According to Mr. Alex. Hepple, M.P., Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, the Suppression of Communism Act is designed "to suppress trade unionism and eventually democracy in South Africa." In "Trade Unions in Travail" (to be published in Johannesburg later this month), he gives a well-documented account of the 20-year campaign by the Nationalists to gain control of the trade union movement.

Mr. Hepple recalls that, when the Act was passed in 1950, it was predicted that not only Communists would feel its lash. The prediction has come true. Active opponents of the Government, whatever their political views, have been deprived of their jobs.

Mr. Hepple shows how the trade union movement, already, has been split into three main groups, each with its own co-ordinating council. Colour prejudice has been exploited; Whites have been pitted against non-Whites; and White workers have been divided by the encouragement of a feeling of "separateness" among Afrikaans-speaking workers.

Keep Its Grip

BRITISH artisans, Mr. Hepple writes, brought trade unionism to South Africa when the Afrikaans-speaking worker had barely begun his trek to the cities and when the Native was a pick-and-shovel labourer.

But to-day, tens of thousands of Afrikaners are members of trade unions, and Natives constitute more than half the labour force in the towns.

The Government is attempting to master this situation by rooting out traditional trade unionism. In this way, it hopes to keep its grip on the urbanised Afrikaner.

The campaign for "Christian-National" trade unions began in the early 1930's. The aim was to wean the Afrikaner away from "un-South African" trade unions. The "Reddingsdaadfonds," established to help poor Afrikaners, became in 1939 the "Reddingsdaadbond," working for the political "salvation" of Afrikaners.

"Afrikaner Front"

HERE is the story that Mr. Hepple tells:

Dr. Albert Hertzog (Nationalist M.P.) told a "national economic conference" in 1939 of the "menace" of trade unionism to Afrikaner workers, and urged that the Reddingsdaadbond should make adequate funds available to "reform" the trade unions.

The aim of the Reddingsdaadbond was "to prevent Afrikaner workers developing as a class distinct from other classes in the Afrikaans national life."

The Reddingsdaadbond began by telling Afrikaans workers that trade unionism was hostile to their church and traditions and disloyal to the country. Then, a "national unity committee" was set up—consisting of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies, the Reddingsdaadbond, the Ossewa-brandwag and the three Dutch Reformed Churches—to fight on social, cultural, religious, educa-

gramme, which aimed at placing wage control "entirely in the hands of the State."

The next year, Dr. Malan repeated that "collective bargaining has outstayed its usefulness."

Dr. Malan admitted that this meant that "the principal function of the present trade unions will disappear."

Examples

STAGE by stage, the Nationalists have carried out their plans—and one by one they have attacked the trade unions, singling out the most important ones first.

Mr. Hepple deals with several of these bigger trade unions:

MINeworkers' UNION: In 1936 a rich Stellenbosch woman donated £10,000 to rescue Afrikaans miners from the evil influences of the Rand. Subsequently, the "Reformers" movement was started in the Mineworkers' Union. A commission inquiring into its activities in 1941 found that the "Reformers" were being "disruptive and detrimental to the interests of the workers."

The Reformers stated their aim was to "link the mineworkers with all other Christian-National trade unions." They added that once they controlled the miners they would turn to the Garment Workers' Union.

GARMENT WORKERS: Since 1932 this union, and its general secretary, Mr. E. S. Sachs, have been the target of the Nationalist attacks. Four months after the Nationalists came to power fighting broke out at a union meeting on the City Hall steps. Mr. Schoeman appointed a commission to inquire not only into the disturbance, but into the general affairs of the union. The commission's report, in fact, made recommendations affecting fundamental trade union principles.

Recently, Mr. Sachs was "named" and ordered to resign from the union. He is now in Britain.

BUILDING WORKERS' UNION: The Mineworkers' Union, after the Nationalists came to power, started a newspaper which launched attacks against the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. The newspaper accused Mr. Piet Huyser, national organiser, and Mr. W. Blake, general secretary, of being Communists.

Recently, Mr. Huyser was named, and has now been banned from taking part in the union's affairs.

LEATHERWORKERS' UNION: Mr. Hepple quotes this as "an example of what can happen to a peaceful, well-conducted union once it is subject to Government interference." Mr. W. Kalk was secretary of the union for 22 years. He was named and banned. Immediately, a crisis was precipitated in the union. A minority group became active and attacked the union's executive. A meeting called to discuss a motion of confidence in the executive ended in disorder

"THIS IS NO ORDINARY BOOK"

-Carl Rehm On "Trade Unions In Travail"

THE CHAIRMAN of Unity Publications (Pty.), Ltd., Mr. O. Rehm, (president of the South African Trades and Labour Council), has issued a circular to all trade unions, branches and workers' organisations calling on them to buy the book "Trade Unions in Travail," by Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., which has just been published by Saamtrek.

Trade unions can buy directly from Saamtrek at 3/6 per copy (3/9 post free) but bulk orders of not less than 100 copies can be obtained at the reduced price of 2/6 a copy.

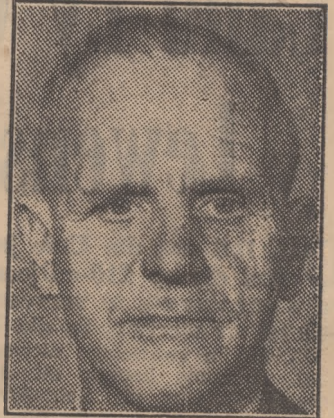
"This is no ordinary book," says Mr. Rehm. "In fourteen chapters it sets out, in clear and

simple language the story of South African trade unions and the many difficulties facing the workers.

"It contains valuable excerpts from important declarations, reports and documents relating to South African trade union and political history."

Mr. Rehm states that Mr. Hepple was well equipped to deal with the subject of his book, coming from a typical working class family and being born and bred in South Africa. Alex, trudged the streets together with thousands of others who formed the huge army of unemployed in search of work during the great depression.

"A public man who has risen from the ranks of the workers, Alex, is admired and



Carl Rehm

respected even by his greatest political enemies for his ability, his sincerity and his devotion to the cause of our working sons and daughters."

Hepple warns trade unions against Nat. plans

From the Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN, Monday.—At a critical moment in the life of the trade union movement—the eye of radical amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act—the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. A. Hepple, M.P., has warned the trade unions that the Government plan to break their power, shatter their unity and reduce them to "the role of friendly or benefit societies."

Mr. Hepple gives this warning in a book "Trade Unions in Travail," published by Unity Publication, the purpose of which, he says, is to enable workers to see as a connected story the apparently isolated incidents that go to make up the labour pattern in South Africa.

Mr. Hepple's story, every major point of which is supported by references, shows how the Broederbond and its tentacles conceived the belief that the trade union movement in its present form was an obstacle to their monopoly of power and influence over the Afrikaans-speaking workers.

Out of this follows their capture of the Mine Workers' Union and their endeavours, so far unsuccessful, to capture the Garment Workers' Union and Leather Workers' Union.

He describes how the Suppression of Communism Act has been used to weaken the structure of trade unions generally by removing leaders and placing them under restraint.

DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENTS

Then comes what Mr. Hepple thinks is one of the most dangerous developments of all—laws such as the Native Building Workers' Act and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which separate Native workers from White and place them on an inferior footing. He says this not only destroys the unity of the workers but imperils the White workers with the danger of undercutting.

Finally, Mr. Hepple describes how the propagation of unjustified and unnecessary racial prejudices has divided trade unions, internally and against one another, robbing them of the cohesion which, he says, is their only hope of survival.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1954.

Disciplining the People

AS is usual with this Government's radical measures, a silence is being preserved about the details of the bill to put an end to the trade union system as we and the rest of the world outside authoritarian countries know it. The measure will probably be produced on the eve of its introduction and forced through with perfunctory attention to the views of critics or the opinions of the workers concerned. The bill, if usual form is maintained, will probably be described as a means of strengthening and improving the trade union system. The High Court of Parliament was presented as a monument of constitutionalism, the Communist Act and similar measures as a blow for civil liberties, the Coloured Vote Act as an exercise in national good faith and the Citizenship Act as a "little bill on the lines of the Canadian statute".

The public should not be deceived. It is the intention of this Government, for ideological purposes, to eliminate trade unions. Enforced *apartheid* (that is, instructing trade unions on whom they shall admit to membership) and the recognition of more than one union in an industry (to allow for the creation of politically-dominated splinter unions) will kill trade unionism as certainly as the more direct course of adding trade unions to the organizations which the Minister of Justice is empowered to put out of existence when the spirit moves him. The record leaves no doubt of the lethal intentions of the Government. The public is indebted to Mr. A. Hepple, M.P., for setting out some of this record in a pamphlet "Trade Unions in Travail," which has just been published by Unity Publications.

The attack on the trade unions is part of a larger objective, described in a "Declaration of People's Organizations" (which Dr. Malan formally accepted), as:

a free, independent, Republican, Christian-National State, based upon the word of God, eschewing all foreign models . . . with a Christian-National educational system . . . and the strongest emphasis upon the effective disciplining of the people.

A little more specific is the statement of the chairman of the Reddingsdaadbond, the Rev. Jac Conradie, in 1952:

The Afrikaner worker is to-day forced to subject himself to the existing trade unions so that approximately half of the Afrikaner nation is to-day ensnared in the powerful machinery of the trade unions . . . an enormous task awaits to rescue the Afrikaner nation from the claws of this un-national power.

Even less doubt is left by Mr. Schoeman, the Minister who will be in charge of this bill. He was speaking in Parliament in 1942, giving some ideas of the principles of a disciplined Christian-National State ":

(firstly) that wage control and wage fixation should be entirely in the hands of the State and that the power should be exercised through the medium of (a permanent board) . . . secondly, and this is the most important principle, self-government in industry must be eliminated . . . self-government in industry and collective bargaining are things of the past . . . The time has arrived that in the interests of the State, in the interests of the employer and employee, self-government in industry and collective bargaining should be eliminated from our economic life . . ."

Die Burger 3/2/54 'n Nuwe **TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL** Agitasie

TOE die Nasionale regering in 1948 aan die bewind gekom het, het hy ondersoek laat instel na die uitvoerbaarheid van *apartheid* in die Suid-Afrikaanse vakbondwese. Die Botha-kommissie het die vraagstuk deurtastend nagegaan en in sy lywige verslag aanbeveel dat die *apartheids*beginsel aanvaar word, maar met 'n verskeidenheid van voorbehoude en voorsorgmaatreëls, want, soos die verslag tereg beklemtoon, geld dit netelige aspekte van ons nywerheidslewe en ons arbeidsorganisasie.

Sedert die kommissie in 1951 gerapporteer het, het die Minister van Arbeid, mnr. B. J. Schoeman, die aanbevelings met die oog op uiteindelijke wetgewing in noue oorleg met belanghebbendes bestudeer. Nou is die saak so ver gevorder dat 'n voorlopige wetsontwerp opgestel is as basis vir verdere same-sprekinge met vakbondvertegenwoordigers. Die voorlopige wetsontwerp sal, in die lig van die onderhandelinge, gewysig word voordat dit, hopelik nog in die huidige Sitting, aan die Parlement voorgelê word.

In heel sy optrede het min. Schoeman uit sy pad gegaan om die groots moontlike samewerking van die vakbonde te verkry sodat hy so na as moontlik 'n ooreengekome wetsontwerp by die Volksraad kan indien. Hierin het hy dan ook aansienlike sukses behaal. Hoe na aan absolute sukses dit sal wees, sal eers kan blyk wees deur die finale wetsontwerp gepubliseer word. Inmiddels verdien min. Schoeman egter alle lof vir die wyse waarop hy 'n moeilike en potensieel strydwekkende vraagstuk benader het.

Maar plotseling is nou, voordat die volle feite bekend is, 'n histeriese agitatie teen

die wetsontwerp aan die gang gesit deur die Trades and Labour Council en sy dubbeltaliger die Arbeidersparty. Die Sappers loop, soos indertyd met 'n dergelyke agitatie teen die uitwerking van Kommuniste uit die vakbonde, gediensig agterna.

Die Trades and Labour Council en die Arbeidersparty se woede is verstaanbaar. Min. Schoeman het hulle in hierdie saak, soos in ander arbeidsake, nie geken nie, om die baie eenvoudige rede dat albei hierdie instellings niemand verteenwoordig behalwe 'n klik van linksgesinde afwykelinge in die vakbondwese nie.

Aan die voerpunt van die agitatie staan mnr. A. Hepple, L.V., wat 'n vlugskrif uitgegee het met die tema dat die Broederbond daarop uit is om die vakbondwese te vernietig, en die Cape Times praat geesdriftig saam. Waarom andersins intelligente mense met 'n normale, beskaafde afkeer van propaganda van die aard van die „Protokolle van die Ouderlinge van Sion”, nog steeds meedoen aan propaganda van die aard van die „Protokolle van die Broederbond”, is moeilik om te begryp. In elk geval vernietig hulle hul eie strewe met histeriese buitensporighede van hierdie soort.

Ewewigtige mense sal in aanmerking neem dat Suid-Afrika se arbeidswetgewing sy beslag onder die eerste Nasionale bewind gekry het, en dat die tweede Nasionale bewind, soos die eerste, na byna ses jaar nog steeds deur merkwaardige arbeidsrus kenmerk word. Hiervolgens sal hulle die gesindheid tussen die Nasionale Party en die werker beoordeel, en nie volgens die beweringe van mense wat met hul luidrugtigheid die onbetroubaarheid van hul saak verraai nie.

There is much more on these lines. But the over-riding fact is clear. Collective bargaining is to go and arbitrary power is to be exercised by Nationalist politicians and Nationalist nominated bureaucrats and delegates. And this in a country which for years has enjoyed industrial peace based fundamentally on negotiation in terms of the classical trade union system. And part of this ideological lunacy is to set up an industrial caste-system, the statutory creation of an economic proletariat. There is no better method of creating industrial instability and, finally, economic disaster. All that is left to wonder is how much longer our nation, descendants of the British, the Dutch and the French, will knuckle down to this process of "disciplining" by a group of politicians.

25/2/54

in Travail



'Advance Post'

Address letters to Advance Post, 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town. Some of the letters below have been shortened or extracts only printed.

TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL

From Peter Cooke, Main Road, Mowbray, Cape.

I read with interest Ray Alexander's criticism of Alex Hepple's booklet, "Trade Unions in Travail." I cannot say that Ray Alexander has really 'hit the nail on the head' this time. She praises the way in which the author has put together the damning evidence against Nat. infiltration in the Trade Unions, but then has two main criticisms, viz: (a) deeper analysis of the working class, Afrikaans workers, etc., should have been made, and (b) the book practically ignores Non-European Trade Unions.

The first criticism is partially valid, but isn't Miss Alexander demanding more of this book than it itself sets as its task? The book is sub-titled "The story of the Broederbond-Nationalist Plan to Control S.A. Trade Unions." It does not pretend to be a comprehensive analysis of the structure, history, development, etc. of the Trade Unions. As Miss Alexander says, "we still need (such) an account."

The second criticism is largely unbiased in fact. Mr. Hepple is dealing with trade unions, i.e., organised workers. How many Non-Europeans are organised—dangerously few. Mr. Hepple goes into some detail of all the laws which affect African workers, organised and unorganised, showing how trade unionism is practically stifled for Non-Europeans. And as he says, the inroads of the Nats. on certain unions, the Suppression of Communism Act, etc., affects all workers, whatever their race.

The real main theme of the booklet comes out in the Concluding chapter when the author states:

"Despite discouragement and repressive laws Non-European trade unions will rise and become powerful. That is the lesson of history... Trade unions cannot be looked upon simply as organisations to defend their members against capitalist exploitation. In South Africa they must be seen as part of the movement to educate and advance all the people to a better life... Racial fears may make many white trade union leaders afraid to support that view. Yet it is the true answer to the future of democracy in South Africa... Working-class unity is needed now. Workers should no longer allow themselves to be duped by cunning appeals to racial prejudices and cries of 'Communism'... If they fail to do that

they will surrender themselves to slavery."

This is the message which the book attempts to get across to every worker. It is this which Miss Alexander should have stressed in her review.

(Mr. Cooke has misunderstood Ray Alexander's criticisms. She did not demand a detailed analysis of the position of Afrikaans workers, but said that the book failed to go into one of the key questions related directly to the story of the Nat. plan to control unions. **WHY WERE THE NATS. SO SUCCESSFUL AMONG AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING WORKERS?** The Nats. are not the only ones to blame. The trade union leaders (among them those in Mr. Hepple's party) who failed to give their unions the **POLITICAL** lead necessary for an understanding of the class struggle, played into the hands of the Broederbond and were a very important part of "the story of the Broederbond-Nationalist plan."

And speaking of Non-European unions she criticised Hepple for not taking into account "the most important issue of all—the relationship between the different racial groups."

The Nats. only succeeded because, there again, by shirking the cardinal importance of fighting all out against the laws which divide the workers of our country into hostile national groups (and instead abetting the colour bar, as the Labour Party did) the bulk of trade union leaders played according to the Nat. rules.

These are precisely the main reasons why to-day the Trade Unions are in Travail.

The sections you quote in conclusion are correct, but the booklet lost force in that the author shirked to go into **THE REASONS** for the correct conclusions.—Editor.

Hepple warns trade unions against Nat. plans

From the Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN, Monday.—At a critical moment in the life of the trade union movement—the eve of radical amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act—the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. A. Hepple, M.P., has warned the trade unions that the Government plan to break their power, shatter their unity and reduce them to "the role of friendly or benefit societies."

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"Trade Unions in Travail"

ADVANCE
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Alex. Hepple, Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, has written a booklet, "Trade Unions in Travail" (Unity Publications), price 3s. 6d., and Ray Alexander writes about it this week.

ONE of the standard accusations levelled by the enemies of the workers against "Communist" trade unionists is that they organise workers for "their" own purpose. This is what Schoeman has largely relied upon to justify his blows against free trade unionism.

In fact, however, as Schoeman has more than once admitted in Parliament, some of the best trade unionists in South Africa were among those whom Swart listed and banned as being Communists, and "best" in this context means not making propaganda for any political party but doing an honest straight forward job of defending the workers against exploitation and helping them to obtain a square deal from employers.

As a matter of fact, it is the Nats who made a practice of organising trade unions (I should rather say disrupting them) for party political purposes.

This is the main theme of Alex. Hepple's book, "Trade Unions in Travail."

NEVER SUBSTANTIATED

The accusation against Communist trade unionists has never been substantiated — the Botha Commission, after the fullest possible investigation, conducted by a body which to the last man was hostile to Communism, produced no evidence that the "lefts," as the commission calls them, were organising unions for political purposes.

But Mr. Hepple provides an abundance of proof to show that the Ossewa Brandwag, Broederbond, F.A.K. and other sections of Afrikaner nationalism made a planned, systematic and well financed effort to penetrate into

and disrupt existing trade unions with the object of ousting a working class leadership and substituting for it men and women pledged to sponsor the cause of their party. And the Schoeman Bill is the latest confirmation of this.

In that respect Alex. Hepple has done a good job, which needed doing. In the light of the material he has put together it is very evident that the Nationalist attacks upon free trade unionism via the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, the expulsion of trade union leaders, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act and Schoeman's proposed amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act are part of an evil scheme to expel the honest working class leaders to subject the trade unions to the sjambok rule of the Nats and the capitalist anti working class forces which dominate them.

But this is only one side of the story of the White trade union movement. There is another side, which also must be told to get the trade union story in the correct perspective.

DEEPER ANALYSIS REQUIRED

It is necessary to make a deeper analysis of the entry of the Afrikaans-speaking worker into industry and the increasingly important role he is playing there.

Dr. Van Aswegen, secretary of the Economic Institute of the F.A.K., estimates that on the Rand Afrikaans speaking workers form

85 per cent. of the 12,000 European miners;



60 per cent. of the 45,000 factory workers;
60 per cent. of the 2,400 engineers;
70 per cent. of the 20,000 railway officials;
83 per cent. of the 6,000 building workers.

—Die Burger, 8.2.54.

I doubt the accuracy of the figures, but it is undeniable that Afrikaans-speaking workers form a majority of the European workers in most industries.

It should be explained how the disruptive agencies succeeded in their evil designs to the extent that they have. Why, for instance, have the Nats captured the European mine workers and the steel workers? Why has it made such deep inroads in the transport, building, furniture and other industries?

I believe that the answer to this question would throw as much light upon trends in the trade union movement, as Hepple has done, by exposing the plots and underhand tactics of the Broederbond and its allies.

SERIOUS FAILING

Another serious failing in Hepple's account is that it deals in passing and very sketchily with the Non-European trade unions.

He apparently made up his mind to deal exclusively with the European trade unions. But one cannot understand the developments in any section of the trade union movement without taking into account the most important issue of all—the relationship between the different racial groups.

Surely this is what Hepple has omitted, and his picture is therefore distorted. We still need a full and accurate account of South African trade unionism.



TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL, by Alex Hepple, M.P. Published by Unity Publications (Pty.) Ltd. Price 3/6. Obtainable at all bookshops.

"The rapid industrialisation of Africa must be paralleled with equally rapid developments in the organisation of labour from which the Black man cannot be excluded . . . Working-class unity is needed now. Workers should no longer allow themselves to be duped by cunning appeals to racial prejudice and cries of "Communism". They should stand together and help to create trade union unity."

These are the all-important conclusions to which Alex Hepple, Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, comes in his book "Trade Unions in Travail", published in January to tell "the story of the Broederbond-Nationalist Plan to control South African trade unions."

This book has been primarily directed at the organised, but often conservative trade union movement, to show in the face of Mr. Schoeman's new Industrial Conciliation Bill, the unfolding of the Nationalist plan to create a servile movement, which they will be able to control politically.

For a proper understanding of what Mr. Schoeman's new I.C. Bill means, it is essential to analyse Nationalist intentions as pressed in policy declarations over the past two decades. It is no use stating, as certain conservative leaders are doing now, that the trade unions must wait for the final draft of Schoeman's Bill before a programme of action is launched. This self-evident truth is seen even by men like Mr. Ivan Walker, who has described much of the trade union leadership as "jellied".

Whatever changes the Minister might make to his draft Bill, he will *not* abandon his basic plan to shatter the movement into warring racial groups, curtail strike rights and set the stage for wholesale invasion by his stooges.

It is this development of Nationalist trade union policy and its steady application that Mr. Hepple analyses in his book which tells how the Broederbond started its campaign in the early thirties.

CONTROLLED UNIONS

The truth of Schoeman's repeated protestations that he does not wish to "destroy" the trade union movement becomes clear. Far from wishing to destroy trade unions, the Nationalists have followed Hitler's argument, as set out in Mein Kampf, that the unions are of paramount importance and that effectively controlled, they would be a powerful means of "disciplining the people."

The "Afrikaner Front" (including representatives of the F.A.K., O.B., Reddingsdaadbond and Dutch Reformed Churches) set this as their target in a declaration thirteen years ago — one of the many interesting documents quoted by Mr. Hepple. They then went forward to "rescue the Afrikaner workers from the claws of unnational trade unionism." Die Blanke Werkersbeskermingsbond was the direct instrument of political nationalism, campaigning under the useful banner of "Christian Nationalism" in union after union.

Schoeman's ravings of a decade ago against the principles of collective bargaining are recaled, as well as many other statements, clearly showing that under the "dynamic and progressing policy" of the new order, the class-struggle would be stopped, wages and working conditions regulated by the great white father of the workers, the "Christian National" State (neither Christian, nor National), and labour organisations rigidly controlled.

The sad story of the Mine Workers' Union, its use as a base from which to attack other unions, and the subsequent unsavoury happenings in the administration of that union is told.

Mr. Hepple recounts the onslaught on the Garment Workers' Union, from the first attacks in 1931 by gangs of hooligans shouting "We are Nationalists", to the dreadful spectacle of baton-wielding police, under Nationalist rule in 1952, beating down women on the Johannesburg City Hall steps. There are also the stories of the Building and Leather Workers' Unions.

But the Nat. plan could not have reached the dangerous stage of today, had the Nationalists not succeeded to become the Government.

USING THE LAW

After 1948 follows the practical application of their dangerous policies by means of ever worsening repressive legislation. The cornerstone on which the Nats. built their post-1948 attack on the trade unions (their white-anting having, on the whole, failed miserably) was the Suppression of Communism Act, first introduced two years after they as-

sumed office. In terms of this Act they have removed almost the entire wing of trade union leaders which does not fall under Mr. Walker's definition of "jelly fish".

This was the preparatory step to the complete shackling of the unions — the Nat. argument probably being that it would be an easy walk-over once the militants were gone. The second attack now unfolds.

Mr. Hepple analyses the denial of the rights to African workers by means of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, alterations to the Native Labour Regulation Act, the Native Building Workers' Act and the Mines and Works Act.

The long-standing desire of the Nationalists to carve up the mixed unions is demonstrated. Mr. Hepple warns trade union leaders who remain silent because they hope nothing really drastic will happen, that they are underestimating the Nationalists.

He deals with the Industrial Legislation Commission's report, and subsequent developments, which forms the basis for Mr. Schoeman's new industrial legislation to be introduced later this Session.

What is the answer to this threat? Mr. Hepple gives it as an immediate rallying of workers of all colours. "If the White workers persist in swallowing the propaganda that the non-European worker threatens their existence and as a result support reactionary policies, their unions will degenerate into artificial forms. On the other hand, despite discouragement and repressive laws non-European trade unions will rise and become powerful."

In South Africa trade unions must be seen as part of the movement to educate and advance all the peoples to a better life, he says.

His stand is far more realistic than that of many contemporary trade union leaders. He deserves credit not only for collecting in lucid form a great many declarations and documents illustrating Nationalist policy — which make of "Trade Unions in Travail" an excellent handbook — but for putting squarely before trade unionists what is really at stake and for giving the correct and only possible remedy — working-class unity, irrespective of race and colour.

—DAWIE COUZYN.

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