# Parliamentary Parade By ALEX HERRI

The latest figure shows THE COST OF LIVING still goes up. the largest single rise for years. This rise of five points has

lifted the Retail Price Index from 185.3 in August to 190.3 in September.

Behind these figures lies the desperate struggle of workers in their losing battle to make ends meet. They wonder if prices will ever stop rising. The Government does not seem to know, or to care. They have all the answers, but never the one that will bring down prices.

#### Allowances Too Low

We are told that the latest increase is merely a reflection of an adjustment in the Rent item, which is surveyed every two years. The latest survey shows that Rents have increased by 10.3 per cent, since June 1050 1950.

This method means that the Retail Price Index can never be correct and therefore allowances based on the Index must always be too low. Workers are being systematically swindled out of their rightful allowances. their rightful allowances.

#### Landlords' Charter

The Government is entirely to blame for the rise in rents. Whenever we complain about the never-ending rise in the cost of living, the Minister of Economic Affairs blames the war in Korea and overseas prices. He cannot use this excuse in the case of rents. Higher rents are the work of his own Government.

When the Rents Act was amended in 1950, the Labour Party said that it was a Landlords' Charter and warned the Government that it would be used to squeeze higher rents from tenants. The Government is entirely

We also said that the exclusion of new premises from control would force rents sky high. But the Government was on the side of the landlords.

In helping the landlords to get higher rents, the Government has done so at the expense of the worker.

Saantrek 31/10/52

## Parliamentary ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

'S TERRIBLE to be poor. It's worse to be poor and physically handicapped-crippled, blind, deaf and dumb or mentally

deficient.

There was a time when the poor and suffering were left to the mercy of the cruel and selfish world, dependant entirely upon their families. Over the past century private charitable institutions and groups of social workers have changed that sorry state of affairs.

Governments have been compelled to do their share, mainly in the way of supplying money. In South Africa, although the need is great, very little is spent on social services. The Department of Social Welfare spends about £5,000,000 annually.

Last week, the Secretary for Social Welfare announced that

Last week, the Secretary for Social Welfare announced that "there is no longer enough money to extend or develop Social Welfare Services". He says that money has run out "because of present unavoidable economic conditions". In other words, he says that South Africa has fallen upon hard times.

If that is so, why must the poor and suffering be the first to get the axe? Why not let the rich take the first knock? We remember that Klasie Havenga has said that there is a limit to which you can tax the rich. We know that Dr. Diederichs has said that if you tax the rich too much, they will lose the incentive to produce more. We also know that the rich are experts in the art of squealing.

Before economising upon its

of squealing

the art of squeaning.

Before economising upon its Before economising upon its social services, the Government should look at the money it is spending on other services. South Africa is spending twice as much on its police force as it does on Social Welfare. It spends five times as much on Defence and tens of millions on weapons of destruction.

Gone are the wonderful propriets of yesterday.

on weapons of destruction.

Gone are the wonderful promises of yesterday.

Child Welfare, Orphans, Cripples, the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, the Mentally Handicapped, are all on the black list.

Meanwhile life continues to be good for the rich. Luxury-living for the few is defended by the Government. Government.



NE of the virtues of democratic government is that the Opposition is liable to hamper, if not prevent, attempts by the ruling party to take away the rights of the people. Governments have a nasty habit of becoming despotic, especially when they hold power by a bare majority and are anxious to entrench their position.

It is essential, therefore, for the Opposition to be critical and vigilant. They must be constantly on the look-out for interfer-

ence with the rights of the people; they must be the defenders of the civil liberties of the nation.

If the Opposition is determined and tenacious, it often succeeds in defeating attempts by the Govern-ment to circumscribe the freedoms of its citizens.

An example of this was the Population Registration Act. The Bill which came before Parliament in March, 1950, provided that all persons should carry Identity Cards; it also provided that such cards must be produced upon demand. Section 14 of the Bill read: read:-

"Every person whose name is included in the Register . . . shall upon demand by any person authorised by the Director, or any member of the police, or within seven days of the date of

such demand, produce his Identity Card . . ."
The Labour Party immediately saw the dangerous aspects of this saw the dangerous aspects of this Clause. In practice, it could mean that people who opposed the Government could be denied their anonymity; they could be placed in difficulties in relation to their employers; their enjoyment of free association could be imperilled.

#### Spies and Black Lists

Speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, Mr. Leo Lovell explained:—
"I want to show the House how this Bill will work. A trade union this Bill will work. A trade union has a meeting... a trade union that does not agree with this Government. We know that the Government has already started to send police to trade union meetings... They can now send detectives in and station policemen at the door, and when people leave the hall the police can demand their Identity Cards and their names and addresses... to be docketed... for future to be docketed . . for future

## Alex Hepple's

The well-known Labour M.P. continues his weekly commentary. Opinions expressed are the personal iews of the writer, and not necessarily those of "Forward."

The Minister of the Interior not only pooh-poohed this argument but was most abusive in his reply.

#### Dogged Defence

But the Labour Party persisted. Its dogged defence of the rights of

Its dogged defence of the rights of the people led to success.

First of all, the Select Committee, to which the Bill was referred after the Second Reading, completely changed the Clause, so that the production of an Identity Card could be demanded only in cases where persons were suspected of being guilty of an offence.

Later, at the Report Stage, Mr. Lovell secured further protection for law-abiding citizens. The Government accepted his amendment which made it essential for officers, in carrying out their duties under

in carrying out their duties under the Act, to produce written authority from the Director when demanding the production of Identity Cards.

Victory for Democracy
The Population Registration Act
is not yet operating. The Government is still busy preparing its
Register and completing other

essentials.

one to carry Identity Cards, there will be many occasions when they will have good reason to thank the Labour Party for its vigilance, in spotting this threat to fundamental civil rights and one to there w securing its defeat.

The radical change that was made to Clause 14 of the Population Registration Bill was not only a victory for the Labour Party — it was also a victory for democracy in South Africa. in South Africa.

(Written by A. Hepple, 72 York Street, Kensington, Johannesburg.)

#### ALEX HEPPLE'S COLUMN

## Forward 7/11/52



10.3 risen cent. over past two years, according to the Department of Census and Statistics. It revealed this fact when announc-ing that the Re-tail Price Index

Alex Hepple tail Price Index had risen five points in September — from 185.3 to 190.3.

Actually, as everyone knows, rents have gone up by far more than 10.3 per cent. Families who are forced by the housing shortage to occupy newly-erected flats

are paying three and four times as

much in rent as they did pre-war.
It is difficult for the Department of Census and Statistics to make an accurate calculation of the average increase in rents. Some premises are under control and others are not.

#### Not Protected

Tenants who live in dwellings erected after the 21st October, 1949, are not protected by the Rents Act. Their landlords Rents Act. Their land charge them whatever they please.

Those who occupy dwellings erected before that date are lucky enough to be protected by the Rents Act. Yet even some of them have had their rents raised by more than 10.3 per cent. since the passing of the Rents Act in

By exempting dwellings built fter the 21st October 1949, after the Government hoped to solve the housing problem. They housing problem. thought it unnecessary to take steps to ensure that houses were erected. As a result, investors and speculators in all the urban centres stampeded into the building of expensive blocks of flats. Houses were forgotten, flats. Houses were forgotten, while flats began to shoot up everywhere. It was a case of quick investment and unlimited returns.

Today, there are plenty of flats all termed luxury flats — and all at luxury rentals — and not enough houses for families.

#### Landlords' Charter

The recently announced sharp rise in the Retail Price Index would have been far greater had it not been for the Labour Party's determined stand on the Rents Bill.

If the friends of the landlords had got their way in Parliament in 1949 and 1950, rents would have gone up by 35 per cent. or 40 per cent. and perhaps even more. The Select Committee (of which the majority were Nationalists) made proposals which would have enabled landlords to If the friends of the landlords would have enabled landlords to obtain enormous increases in rentals

But the Labour Party opposed the proposals tooth and nail.
They rightly termed the Bill a
"Landlord's Charter." As a
result the Government eventually brought in a new Bill, somewhat better than the old.

#### Labour Was Right

But the Labour Party mained critical. Speaking on be-

half of the Party, Mr. H. Davidoff said: "This Bill protects the landlords far more than it protects the tenant . . . If it is passed in its present form, rents will go up by 20 per cent, to 25 per cent, and the cost-of-living will go up . . . it must force the cost-of-living to soar skyhigh . ."

Events have proved the Labour Party right. That is no consola-tion to the harassed tenant. But it exposes the Government's unsympathetic attitude towards the wage and salary earner and its anxiety to please the rich.

#### Soaring Rents

In an attempt to protect the tenants, the Labour members moved many amendments, the most important of which were rejected by the Minister.

The Rents Act was prouml-gated in July, 1950. Immediately there were demands for higher rents, and notices to quit, to such an extent that I found it necesof Parliament to say: "Those members who supported the amended Rents Act last year now see the first effect of that new Rents Act. Rents and rates have gone up ten points and they will go up still more . . ."

The following month the Min-

ister of Health admitted that all was not well with the Rents Act, and before the Session was over he brought in an amending

Unfortunately for tenants, the Act still leaves wide scope for regular increases in rentals of controlled premises. Every day controlled premises. landlords are succeeding in their applications to increase rents.

#### C.O.L. Spiral

It is obvious, therefore, that the Cost-of-living must continue to rise. Because a survey of rents is made only once every two years, this will not be reflected in the Retail Price Index, and

in the Retail Price Index, and allowances will be much lower than they should be.

So the worker catches it in the neck both ways. The Government blames overseas conditions and the war in Korea for tions and the war in Korea for rising prices. In the case of rents, they have no excuse.

The time has come for drastic steps. Workers must demand adequate Cost-of-Living allowances, and must also demand that all premises, new and old, should come under rent control. That would be a start.

#### ALEX HEPPLE'S COLUMN

## ORDS AND LU

ERIC LOUW, Minister of Economic Affairs, must be



an embarrassment to his Party as well as to his Cabinet colleagues. As everything, he is left with get at facts. Last weel

Alex Hepple he boidly de-clared: "Evidence that South Africa has been overbuilding is to be found in fiat now standing vacant in Johannesburg and elsewhere... Unfortunately, too much building activity had gone into blocks of luxury flats, when what were really needed were houses and ordinary flats to meet the needs of people of limited means... Some of the people who had built blocks of luxury flats for letting at high rentals were now finding that they had burnt their fingers, because many of the flats were cause many of the flats were cause many of the flats were unoccupied."

#### Nats. To Blame

If Mr. Louw had asked the Minister of Social Welfare, he would have learned things that be had taken time out to read the Select Committee's Report on the Rents Bill, he would have gathered more information.

If he had studied the debates on the Rents Bills in 1949 and I form Rent Control.

This was the green light. Immediately, there was a rush to build blocks of flats. The prospect for the property owner was a rosy one—an acute shortage of accommodation and no rent control on new premises.

Luxury Rentals

The landlords There was a rush to build blocks of flats. The prospect for the property owner was a rosy one—an acute shortage of accommodation and no rent control on new premises.

If he had studied the debates on the Rents Bills in 1949 and 1950, he would have remained silent, in shamed admission of the role played by the Nationalist Party.

The facts show that the Government is to blame for the building of luxury flats at the expense of "houses to meet the needs of people with limited means." They readily capitulated to the demands of the property owners to exclude new premises owners to exclude new premises from rent control. It is idle to pretend now that concentration upon the building of luxury flats was unexpected.

#### Held To Ransom

The Labour Party pleaded and argued with the Government at the time. On the 5th May, 1949, I quoted in Parliament a circular I had received from a Pro-Owners' Association, in which they said that the housing programme was at a standstill because of control, but that the problem could be solved if owners were encouraged by a reasonable return on their

I described this as black-mail. I said that property owners were holding the mail, I said that property owners were holding the country to ransom until they could extort a guarantee of unlimited rentals. Soon afterwards, Mr. H. W. Johns, speaking for the Trans-vaal Property Owners' Associ-ation, said: "I am confident with

ation, said: "I am confident that

risen, the Minister of Social Welfare announced that all new premises would be excluded from Rent Control.

The landlords have replied to Mr. Eric Louw. They say that the new flats are not luxury

ats.

They are right — only the rentals are luxury. They say that flat owners have not burnt their fingers. They are right again — only the poor tenants are burning their fingers. fingers.

fingers.
That is not their fault. In their desperate need for a place to live, many families are compelled to occupy these so-called luxury flats at rentals far beyond their means. Some are spending a third and more of their incomes in rent

spending a third and more of their incomes in rent.

The cheaper flats, subject to Rent Control, are unobtainable. Very rarely do they become available, and when they do, they still command "key money."

Reduce Luxury Rents
Instead of indulging in his
usual hobby of gloating, Mr.
Louw should act with a sense
of responsibility where he sees undesirable economic conditions. After all, he is Minister of Economic Affairs.

As an immediate practical step, he should urge upon the Cabinet to extend Rent Control to include all premises, old and new. That would help him to solve the Cost-of-Living problem, which appears to have baffled him up to now.

### Parliamentary Parade ALEX HEPPLE. M.P.

THE NEXT Parliamentary general election is not far off. months' time the people of South Africa will make a momentous

They will decide whether they want further doses of the Nationalist social and economic policy, or whether they have had enough and want a change.

and want a change.

Before they get confused by the noise and shouting of election-eering, now is the time for everyone to stop and consider what things would make an election victory. We must make up our minds now what we want of the Government which we will elect.

**Progress Or Poverty** 

At the next election workers will vote for progress or poverty. They will vote to decide whether a free trade union movement is to exist in South Africa, or if it is to be replaced by stooge unions under the dictatorship of boss-plus-state, as planned by the Nationalists. as planned by the Nationalists.

They will also decide whether they are to protect themselves against the tyranny of organised wealth, and whether they are to continue losing the battle against ever-rising living costs.

Worker M.P.'s

In order to make the right ecision, workers must stir hemselves now. This is the decision, workers must themselves now. This time to make their known to the political parties.

There is a crying need for more workers' representatives in Parliament. Big business and big money have many voices; rich farmers are there in plenty; but it is left to a small group of crossbenchers to fight for the

Organised labour should encourage and assist reliable men to become candidates in the coming

Workers' Manifeste

In addition, the trade union movement should draw up its own manifesto, setting out a clear programme to improve economic and social conditions.

This manifesto could be challenge to the politicians; it could be the basis of a sane and realistic election. Without it, workers will have to accept the usual promises, forgotten soon after the pools are closed.

A workers' manifesto would offset the emotional appeals which confuse and stampede the electorate and saddle the nation with bad Governments and rotten policies. policies

## Parliamentary Parade By Parade ALEX HEPPLE, M.P

THE building world is made up of people who can lay more than 10,000 bricks a day and those who can't, won't or don't. The former do it in theory — in newspapers, magazines, lecture halls, pubs and places where the bosses gather. The latter do it for a living — they are the "brickies."

Brickies usually end their days worn-out and exhausted and die poor. When they are too old to work, and the bosses don't need them, they can pass away the time admiring the magnificient skyscrapers and mansions, which are the fruits of their life's work, and of which they don't own a single brick

When Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs complained the week before last "are that bricklayers maintaining the same output per worker as was the case ten years ago," he was not referring to the theoretical bricklayers. He was taking a swipe at the brickies.

His solution to our economic problems is quite simple. If brickies would lay more bricks, building costs would come down with a bang, the cost-of-living would drop, and everyone would be prosperous.

It's the old story. Blame the brickies. Forget about the land speculators who force up the price of land; forget about the moneylenders who grab their interest; forget about the inefficient employers; forget about the profit-makers.

All my political life I've had to listen to the sad and sorry story of bricklayers who refuse to lay more than 300 bricks a day and are therefore responsible for the housing shortage, the high costof-living and other ills.

The buildings all over South Africa, from the smallest cottage to the biggest skyscraper, are monuments to our building workers. From their teens to their seventies, day after day, week afseventies, day after day, week at-ter week, year in and year out, in heat waves and cold snaps, in sunshine and rain, they have la-boured. They have suffered low pay and unemployment.

When the building boom ends they will have no security.

Would it not have been better, therefore, if. Mr. Louw had said that his Government was preparing some scheme of social security for all workers, with decent pensions on retirewith decent pensions on retire-ment, rather than to accuse building workers of becoming lazy?

# Parliamentary Parade By

JAS the Government given up all hope of keeping down the Cost-of-Living? It seems so.

Month after month the Retail Price Index shows a steady increase. Of course, there are always excuses and explanations, but these are of no help except in political arguments.

For the rich, higher living costs are not important, What's a few pounds more or less if you're lucky enough to earn £2,000 or

few pounds more or less if you're lucky enough to earn £2,000 or £3,000 or more a year?

For the worker, however, every penny counts. Forever with him is the struggle to feed and clothe his family on a wage or salary that shrivels to nothing under the heat of soaring prices.

As prices rise, employees are steadily robbed of their hard-earned income. Look at these compartive figures of the Retail Price Index:—

October 1950 162.0

October 1951 October 1952 191.1

THE STOLEN FIFTH
These figures show that
there has been a rise of nearly

30 points in two years and a rise of about 19 points in the last twelve months.

That means that real wages have dropped by a fifth and that the £1 of 1950 is now worth only

While this goes merrily on, the Government does nothing. The big question is — can anything be done?

be done?

Of course there can! But most of the things that should be done would hurt the big-money boys—and the Covernment doesn't want to do that.

Instead of hurting the bigmoney boys, the Government prefer to offer the people an occasional sop in the form of small increases in Cost-of-Living allowances.

These are quickly swallowed by further price rises.

Having argued the Cost-of-Living in Parliament until I was exhausted, I can tell you that this Government will never get tough with the profit-makers in order to keep prices down.

And so prices must keep on

And so prices must keep on going UP,

## Parliamentary Parade ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

THE Minister of Health, Dr. Karl Bremer, told the Natal Congress of the Nationalist Party that since Letting Control was abolished, 3,000 flats and 10,000 houses have been built.

He also said that rents had come down in the past two years and would come down still further in the future.

That sounds fine. But where does the Minister find his facts? Has he tried looking for one of those flats or houses at reduced rentals? Does he know of anyone who has had his rent re-

#### Bremer Is Wrong

Facts are stubborn things. They tie Ministers in knots. If Dr. Bremer doesn't want to believe the people who search in vain for homes at rentals they can afford, let him take a took at the Retail Price Index.

In September there was a sharp rise in the Cost-of-Living. The Department of Census and Statistics explained that the rise was due to the fact that Rents had risen by 10.3 points in the past two years. It seems as though the Minister hasn't been doing his homework.

#### Houses For Whom?

Now let us look at the Minister's claim that 3,000 flats and 10,000 houses nave been built in the past two years. For whom were they built? Not for the working man. According to Estate Agents, "accommodation in new blocks of flats commanded double the rent of older flats people were paying rent far beyond their financial resources

Another authority said that no dwellings were being built for the lower and middle income groups because rising costs were making such dwellings uneconomical.

By that he meant, of course, that they were uneconomical for the landlords, who preferred to erect so-called tuxury flats to bring in luxury rentals

After painting his glowing picture of plenty of places to live at cheap prices, the Minister declared that there would be no extension of control.

And so the landlords will continue to make hay while the sun shines. The poor tenant has no choice: if he wants a place to live he must pay up and look pleasant.

# Parliamentary Parade By Parade By

VEXT WEEK South Africa will celebrate the Day of the This is the new name for what Covenant (Geloftedag). used to be known as Dingaan's Day.

Early this year Parliament decided two things about the 16th December — firstly, that the day should be named in keeping with the vow that was taken before the battle of Blood River, and secondly, that the day should be observed as a religious or holy day. On this day there was to be no organised sport, no public entertainments, shows, races or contests. In other words, the day would be the same as a Sunday. Sunday.

#### SPIRITUAL VALUE

I remember some of the fervent and emotional speeches that were made in Parliament that day. The Nationalist member for Mossel Bay, Dr. Piet van Nierop, declared declared:

"We should regard that day not only as the Day of the Covenant but the day on which the Almighty decided that a white Christian nation would be founded here in South Africa . . . I think the Convenant was that the day should be observed as a

He was followed by the Nat. member for Brits, Mr. Potgieter, who said:

". . . the name the Day of the Covenant will give that day a religious meaning . . It will always have a meaning and weight for us and will forever have a spiritual value for us ."

ma magnates? Why was the cinema monopoly getting this favoured treatment from the Government? By what standards had the Government decided that the Day of the Covernment decided the Covernment enant was less holy in 1952 than in other years?

#### PROFITS ARE SACRED

To these and other questions
Dr. Dönges blandly replied:

".. because, to a certain extent that is a vested right... which has been exercised by that

over a long period of years..."

The Government thought that sacred profits should triumph over sacred days. The pious pleadings of Government members evaporated before the stronger. bers evaporated before the stronger desire to preserve the profits

Covenant will give that day a religious meaning. It will always have a meaning and weight for us and will forever have a spiritual value for us."

SENTIMENT FOR SALE
Hardly had they sat down than Dr. Donges, Minister of the Interior, rose and proposed that

## Parliamentary Parade By By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P

DEMOCRACY is going through a lean time in South Africa. Rights and freedoms are being curtalled to an alarming extent. Of course, the poor and the underprivileged are the chief

The vested interests of the rich are left undisturbed. Profit-making is not curtailed. Living costs are allowed to soar to any heights, without restraint by the

WORKERS IN CHAINS

WORKERS IN CHAINS
As if this were not enough hardship for the worker, his right to protest is being denied. The Government has made it clear that it dislikes militant trade unionism and will tolerate only docile, servile, pro-Nat., stooge workers' organisations. As a first step, the most militant trade union leaders have been removed by the Government.

In a free democratic society

In a free democratic society no obstacle should be placed in the way of workers in their legitimate struggle to better their conditions and preserve their independence. Unfortunately, such activities have become subversive in South Africa. Africa.

In these unhappy circumstances it is indeed tragic that free speech is prohibited in Johannesburg by Councillors who profess to be on the side of democracy.

Last week the

Last week they refused to allow the Trades and Labour Council to hold a public meeting on the City Hall steps. This is a repetition of other refusals they have made in the past two years. When the City Council abolished the long-standing right of its citizens to hold these openair meetings, the Labour Party protested. Afterwards it tried other approaches and made other appeals for the repeal of the iniquitous by-law.

But the City Council was adamant, and free speech remains on the banned list.

DEMOCRACY'S LUBRICANT

DEMOCRACY'S LUBRICANT

DEMOCRACY'S LUBRICANT
Since the beginnings of Joh'
burg, the Market Square and the
precincts of the City Hall have
been the popular meeting place
of the people.

In a healthy democratic
society, free speech is the
lubricant which keeps the
machine t working | smoothly|
To deny the free expression of
opinion is deliberately to destroy the machine.

Our Councillors could turn the tide in democracy's favour if they restored the right of free speech in Joh'burg. As a pre-lude to the coming general elec-tion, this could be a signal action on their part.

# Parliamentary Parade By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

THE announcement has now been made of the electoral agreement between the Labour Party and the United Party for the general

election next April.

The success of this arrangement is extremely important to all workers. For them, the deteat of the Nationalists is essential. By avoiding three-cornered contests, the Opposition has the greatest chance of bringing about this defeat.

Under Nationalist rule, workers and their organisations have been to choose their own leaders and to conduct their own affairs.

On the other hand, the Nationalists promise to "cleanse and purify the trade unions," to abolish collective bargaining and set up boss-controlled Labour Councils.

With this choice before them, workers should have no doubt

and their organisations have been the chief afferers. The trade union movement has been thrown into confusion and disorder be-cause of the vicious attacks upon it from the Government.

Divide And Rule

Screaming "Communism," the Government has frightened many innocent people into aiding their schemes, and allowing them to interfere in the private affairs of the trade unions.

This policy of divide and rule weakens workers' power and gives aid and comfort to greedy and unscrupulous employers.

workers' while the Government has not been slow to attack workers' organisations, they have shown themselves to be powerless to protect workers against the evil effects of the ever-rising costof-living.

#### Workers' Watchdogs

Workers' Watchdogs

In Parliament, the Labour members stand out as alert and tireless watchdogs in the interests of the workers. It is they who persistently demand practical steps to keep down living costs. Even though their realistic and constructive proposals are usually rejected by the Government, they never relax their efforts.

On the other hand, Nationalist members either remain completely silent on Labour matters, or delight in attacking and criticising workers and their unions.

#### **Evil Effects**

So far, the full evil of Nationalist anti-worker policy has been hidden behind continued industrial and commercial activity and the demand for workers of all classe.

However, there are now signs that this activity is tapering off. This will mean less work available and more workers than jobs. In such times, the steps now being taken by the Government will reveal themselves in their full force and ferocity. ferocity.

#### The Contrast

The Opposition stands for the freedom and independence of the trade union movement, the right

With this choice before them, workers should have no doubt about their decision. They should begin no to organise support for the Uni Democratic Front. That is t road to freedom and progress

# Parliamentary Parado By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P

WE are saying goodbye to 1952 and turning our thoughts to 1953, which we hope will be a better year than the last.

This is one of man's happiest habits. Unfortunately, the joys and hopes of the New Year are usually forgotten very quickly in the daily struggle for existence. When the holidays are over and we are back at the daily grind, the same old worries and the same old troubles beset us.

Under Capitalism this is invitable. The ugly grab for evitable. profits, riches and power brings nothing but sadness into the lives of most people. Here in South Africa the whole sordid business is aggravated by serious racial problems.

#### Political Persecution

Workers in South Africa have not only to fight against poverty through ever-rising living costs. They face the constant threat of persecution because they do not agree with the Nationalists. Already their leaders have removed from office by official decree; that is only the beginning and more may be expected to fol-

Others who do not conform to the Nationalist way of thinking are also in danger. Civil liberties are disappearing with alarming rapidity, race relations have never been worse, and there is a growing state of uncertainty and fear amongst the people.

#### Wishes For 1953

Five years of Nationalist rule has been an exciting but most unpleasant experience for South Africans. One of the most popular wishes for 1953 must be a wish for the defeat of the Nats. at the coming general election. But wishing is not enough. Good South Africans must also work for a change of government. Happiness and prosperity cannot be sucked from the air. A better life for all of us can be won by determination, planning and unturing effort.

Let our resolution for the New Year be "Out with the Nats", and let us work hard for its fulfilment.



In his New Year message to the nation, the Prime Minister quoted what he called "five beacons which indicate to us the way towards that peace and happiness which we desire for each other and our country."

and our country."

Unfortunately, Dr. Malan omitted a most important beacon—the economic security and well-being of the people. Everyone wants a higher standard of life, without the constant worry of poverty, unemployment and insecurity.

It is all very well to talk airily about "common heritage", "undivided loyalty" and "peace between man and man". Fine words do not build a nation; nor do they feed hungry mouths. Something should be done about the causes of man's unhappiness.

Finest Message

Finest Message

At a time when rising prices are robbing the worker of his earnings, a sane Government would be racking its brains to find some way to help the com-

find some way to help the common man.

One of the finest messages that the Prime Minister could have sent out to the nation would have been a declaration of immediate and positive steps to reduce the cost of living and to raise living standards. To this he could have added a guarantee of security for everyone for the rest of their lives.

Rights Denied

Rights Denied

Rights Denied

His message to the workers of South Africa could have been one of great hope and encouragement. He could have told them that his Government would leave workers' organisations alone in the future and would allow them to run their own affairs without interference. In saying, "We must recognise each other's right of existence unreservedly," Dr. Malan must have blushed at the remembrance of how the Government had denied this right to the trade unions, by removing

the trade unions, by removing some of their best leaders and holding over their heads the perpetual threat of further action

A Divided Family

The Prime Minister says we must all consider ourselves as children of South Africa. The policy of his Party makes us a very unhappy family, however.

That policy encourages favouritism and discrimination; it upholds the privileges of the greedy; it establishes riches for the few and poverty for the many; it creates outcasts and it

Malan engenders strife and division

engenders strife and division everywhere.

Let us hope that the day is not far off when the people will get something real for the New Year, and not just fine words.

## Parliamentary ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

JUMBUG and ballyhoo. These are the two words which come The propaganda experts will bug and ballyhoo. . . and whenput on the heat and the voters of South Africa will be fed with plenty of promises, threats, warnings and accusations.

#### Spooks And Goggas

The real problems of the Nation will be forced into the background in order that the Government may place before Parliament measures to frighten and confuse the electorate.

The Government will raise its hysterical scare stories about "communism", the "black danger", "lawnessness" and such things. They have a very good reason for using such tactics. It helps to divert the attention of the people from the real issues upon which they would be judged. They fear that judgment.

When the people ask themselves, "Are we better off now than we' were in 1948?" the answer is a definite "No." The answer is the same when they ask, "Are we a happier and more united people than we were in 1948?"

united people than we were in 1948?"

For the workers of South Africa especially, life has become more difficult and uncertain than it was. Despite plenty of work, most families are struggling to stretch their incomes from one pay day to another. Many are falling hopelessly into debt.

Like people everywhere, the wants of South Africans are very simple. We want peace at home and abroad; we want steady employment at fair wages; we want a decent home to live in; we want opportunities for our children; and we want comfort and security in our old age.

A good Government would take steps to provide these things. It would curb the activities of the greedy; it would plan for the prosperity of all; it would seek to make everyone happy.

Alas, we haven't got such a Government. Let me get on with my packing. I must be off to Cape Town to listen to the hum-

### Parliamentary Parade ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

#### Howlers Were Organised!

LAST week I was billed to speak at a Public meeting at Krugersdorp. I was very much looking forward to speaking there,
because that is the kingdom of my ex-comrade, the ex-socialist
Mr. M. J. van den Berg, now turned
But I didn't utter a word of
that speech. The meeting was
broken up by a well-organised
crowd of Nationalist supporters.
They howled and yelled and sang
without a stop. With the aid of
an extra large loudspeaker they
drowned the voices of the Chair
man and the Candidate. For
two hours they maintained a
barrage of noise and refused to
allow the meeting to proceed.

Something Sinister

Something Sinister

Now let me tell you that I have seen many meetings broken up. I grew up in the hard school of politics. I have had my share of rowdy meetings; I have taken my share of licks and punches and have had to fight my out of halls; also, when discretion was the better part of valour, I have made a run for it.

But what happened at Krugersdorp last week was quite different and most sinister. The wreckers were well organised and disciplined. Under the leadership of about half-adozen men, they acted with a grim determination. Their purpose was to prevent the Opposition from putting its case to the electorate.

#### Terror Tactics

Throughout the evening a menacing atmosphere prevailed. The threat of violence and rioting hung over the meeting. It was clear that if the wreckers had been resisted or opposed in any way, force would have been used. That was proved when one fight broke out — immediately there were hysterical shouts and a surge of Nats. into the melee.

Many people left the hall in a hurry, obviously afraid of being hurt.

hurry, obviously afraid of being hurt.

While the Nationalists may be delighted at the success of these terror tactics, they should stop to consider its effect upon the people. If allowed to develop, such methods will place terrorism above intelligence. The brute will rule the thinker.

There are many things about the Krugersdorp meeting that demand the attention of the Nation's leaders. The prevention of free speech, the use of sacred songs and anthems to drown the voices of the speakers, the tearing down of posters, are but a few of the matters that demand explanation. I hope that Dr. Malan will be among the first to denounce such behaviour, for the sake of democratic government and the good name of South Africa.

## Parliamentary Parade By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

HOW times change! Last Friday, as I listened to the Governor-General reading the speech from the Throne, my thoughts were carried back to the heat of the election campaign of 1948.

That was the time when nearly everyone was sick and tired of the wretched war-time bread and longing for a nice slice of fresh white bread. Because the Nats promised white bread some people voted for them. The Nats won the election and we got white bread - and a lot of other things, which were not so nice.

And now, in 1953, I hear the Governor-General saying, "The Department of Nutrition . making good progress in its work; its first major undertaking — the enrichment of brown bread has been launched with good results

#### What's Cooking Noo?

I couldn't help but smile. I was thinking of all the people who voted for white bread. How are they enjoying their Bremer Brown Bread, and all the other things this Government has given them? The country is now gearing up for the general election in April. This session of Parliament will be devoted to propaganda. But behind the scenes the vote-catchers are thinking up new tricks to trap innocent voters.

#### Ministry Of Food

The boasting about the Department of Nutrition brought back other memories. I remembered how hard the Labour Party had now hard the Labour Party had fought for a Ministry of Food, to ensure that the people of South Africa should get enough food all the year round at prices they could afford. I remembered how the Government had always jeered at our demand and called us "unrealistic".

Only two years ago, when the Labour Party proposed in Parliament that a Ministry of Food should be established, the Nationalists moved an amendment, in which they declared, "to create a Ministry of Food would disrupt existing Government machinery..."

Last year, however, the Government set up a Ministry of Food under the name of the Department of Nutrition. Of course, its activities are very

But all this goes to show how easy it is to say one thing and do another.

## Parliamentary Parade By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

THE GOING is very hard in this pre-election Session of Parliament. Everyone wants to speak but few get the opportunity. After waiting all week for a chance to have my say on the Motion of "No Confidence in the Government", I finally had to give up all hope on Friday afternoon, tear up my notes and trust to better luck next time.

The debate carried on for four days, yet fewer than twenty members took part. The leaders of the parties each spoke for about an hour and nearly all the others took the full forty minutes allowed under the rules.

allowed under the rules

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Strauss, charged the Government on what he ealled "six main counts".

Case Against Govt.

Case Against Govt.

These counts were, (1) the destruction of unity between the white people (2) the creation of a state of fair in South Africa (3) the bad handling of race relations (4) the loss of sympathy for South Africa overseas (5) the violation of the Constitution and the rule of law, and (6) "incompetence and waste in the affairs of the country and towards the welfare of the common man who, under the present crubhing burden of living costs is finding it impossible to make ends meet."

Case For The Govt.

Case For The Govt.

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, produced three long sheets of paper from which he read his amendment. It was a story of glowing praise for the Government and a counterattack on the Opposition. He matched five of his own points against Mr. Strauss' six. He said that the Government had (1) taken important steps to carry out their Apartheid policy (2) Acted against communism (3) maintained South Africa's status abroad (4) resolved to uphold the sovereignty of Parliament and (5) "brought about conditions of exceptional prosperity, industrial expansion and increasing employment — maintaining the standards of living of the people and industrial peace".

Remarkable Claim

Remarkable Claim

I have quoted the claims for and aginst so that readers can make up their own minds. As far as I am concerned, Dr. Malan's Point Five in reply to Mr. Strauss's Point Six is astenishing. When I heard it I thought that I had been living in a different world.

He talks of "... conditions

He talks of "... conditions of exceptional prosperity..."
For whom, Doctor? He talks of "... maintaining standards of living ..." Where, now, when, Doctor? Have you tried to extrate your shirly. tried to stretch your shrink-ing £ to keep your home going. Doctor?

# Parliamentary Parade By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P

THE 1953 short session of Parliament will live in the history of South Africa. It will live not because of any magnificent achievements for bettering the lives of the people or because it solved any major problem.

Its fame—or notoriety—will lie in an Act of six clauses, the Public Safety Act. By that Act, this Parliament has surrendered all its rights to the Cabinet, who will in practice delegate all powers to the Minister of Justice, who in turn, will confer them upon police officers.

In other words by the mere

In other words, by the mere declaration of an emergency, a police officer can suddenly be in possession of greater power than Parliament itself. For the law says that "regulations may suspend in whole or part any Act of Parliament."

#### Police State

From now on, South Africa will live under the shadow of Martial Law. On the slightest pretext, a state of emergency can be declared, and peaceful, lawabiding citizens will be hounded and terrorised by harsh decrees and severe regulations and threatened by vicious penalties.

The Government argues that

threatened by vicious penalties.

The Government argues that this law will enable it to deal with rioting and outbreaks of violence. The Labour Party challenged the Government to show how this new law could prevent such outbreaks. There has been no answer. The Labour Party also challenged the Government to prove that it cannot deal with lawlessness under existing laws, such as the Riotious Assemblies Act. Again, there has been no answer.

#### Naked Dictatorship

The truth of the matter is that the Government has lost faith in the processes of democracy. In claiming these absolute powers, it is choosing the methods of Dictatorship. Before the 1948 general election, the Nationalists promised to lead the people along the "Road to a New South Africa."

Laws such as the Public Safety Act, show that the end of their road has brought up to a deviation leading to nothing less than naked dictatorship.

naked dictatorship.

In their five years of Covernment the Nationalists have established the machinery for absolute and despotic control over the lives of all sections of the people. So far they have hardly used these powers and South Africans believe they have nothing to fear.

But these weapons of dictator-

But these weapons of dictatorship are lined up for use when the people will dare to protest in the future. Before it is too late, there must be a change of Government.

## NEW PARTIES OR NEW POLICIES?

"Labour Has Seen Many Parties Come And Go"

By Alex Hepple, M.P.

tion is the appearance of new political parties. These parties attract public attention because they seem to offer success in place of defeat. The public is inclined to search for peculiar reasons for the defeat of the United Democratic Front. It is not surprising, therefore, that opportunists and cranks are able to excite public interest by producing new parties, dressed like "white hopes" and exhibiting a great deal of confidence.

It would be wrong to condemn all new political movements out of hand. Sometimes they are born from a popular desire to break away from conservative and backward politics and to follow bold and realistic ones.

However, if all new parties were to have their policies and programmes tested against those of existing parties, it is doubtful if any would prove their need or worth.

The Labour Party has seen many parties come and go. Those who genuinely want to make South Africa a better many parties come and go. Those who genuinely want to make South Africa a better place for white and cranks are able to who the south of the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear the growing autocracy of the Nationalists, those who fear ONE aftermath of the Nationalist victory in the General Elec-

The Labour Party has seen

# NATIVE TRADE UNIONS WILL BE MAJORISSUEIN

By ALEX HEPPLE, M.P. ARTHLES AN

THE Parliamentary Session has been set down to begin on the 3rd July. Apart from the Budget Debate, which should take the usual six weeks, the major issue to be debated will be the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill.

The Minister of Labour, Mr. B.
J. Schoeman, stated recently that this Bill will be proceeded with during the coming Session. It appeared as a Government Gazette Extraordinary No. 4946, on the 24th. October 1952. Some trade unions have already studied its provisions, and others are now busy studying them.

machinery as a substitute for free association and free bargaining.

Many Dangers

Of course, there are many aspects of this Bill, other than these, which strike at established practice not only here, but in all parts of the world.

Unless European workers take an interest, in this measure and have

However, there are many trade unions who are under the impres-sion that because they cater for European workers only, it will not affect them.

This is quite wrong. The whole principle of free trade unionism is affected by this Bill, and all trade union sts would be well advised to consider the implications of accepting the proposed

Unless European workers take an interest in this measure and have their say about it, they may have cause later to regret it.

cause later to regret it.

Not only individual trade unions, but all Co-Ordinating bodies should prepare Memoranda on the proposed Bill and see that all members of Parliament are given copies.

Otherwise it will be left to the few Labour members of Parliament to argue the case of the workers to an unsympathetic House.

# HOW TO HIT THE

IF you want to get your name into the papers — resign from the Labour Party. A regular feature in leading South African newspapers for the last quarter of a century has been the announcement "X RESIGNS FROM LABOUR PARTY" (large capitals please!)

Individuals who previously have been quite unknown suddenly see their names prominently displayed; by deserting the cause to which they had pledged their loyalty, they have achieved fleeting fame.

The current run of this type of publicity occurs in Durban. So far — nicely spread over the weeks so as not to steal the limelight from each other—four individuals have "hit the head-lines" by announcing that they have resigned from the Labour

They don't all give the same reasons. Most of them are disappointed aspirant candidates for Parliamentary nominations, and their resignations have been expected. Somehow, they forgot to mention this.

The use made of such desertions by the anti-Labour press should be a lesson to the rank and file of the Labour Party. We should not be so quick to elect as office bearers new recruits who boldly assert themselves. Such persons let the Party down every time . . . and become "news" in the daily press.

In the meantime, let Natal count the deserters — four down (see the newspaper headlines!) and maybe a couple to go (wait for more headlines!). Reported (singly, and in large capitals, please!) it seems a lot. But what do four deserters amount to against the increased majorities polled by Natal's Labour candidates in the Gen-eral Election — Len Whiteley returned by a majority of 6,977 in Umbilo, and Norman Eaton by a majority of 4,906 in Um-lazi?

# JOHANNESBURG CITY BY-ELECTION

## Labour Candidate Needs More Workers

By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

THE Parliamentary bye-election for the Johannesburg seatwhich was postponed owing to the death of Mr. John Christie-will take place on Wednesday, June 24. It is vital to the Opposition that the Labour Party's candidate, Mr. H. Davidoff, should win this seat. He is an experienced Parliamentarian, and will be a valuable addition to the team of four Labour M.P.s elected last month.

The campaign, following so quickly after Mr. Davidoff's strenuous effort in Germiston, throws a heavy burden upon his key workers. In many ways, the so-called "safe" seat of Johannesburg City is presenting many new prob-lems which are making the contest a difficult one.

For example, the nation-wide organisation that existed during the General Election has now gone out of existence; in consequence, the handling of Postal Votes and the tracing of removals, has become very complicated. Furthermore, the enthusiasm that was created and successfully maintained throughout the General Election, faded away at the closing of the polls on the 15th April. The heat of the election fever has abated, and people have returned to their For example, the nation-wide people have returned to their normal tasks; re-awakening interest is becoming a major task

To these problems has been added the fact that the usual General Election publicity is absent, and even in the constituency it requires ceaseless activity to remind the electorate that there is an election on.

Although both the United Party and the Torch Commando are loyally supporting Mr. Davidoff, there is still a serious shortage of workers in Johannesburg City. Canvassers especially are needed. In view of the large number of people who have removed from the area, a thorough canvass must be area, a thorough canvass must be completed soon.

Labour Party members and supporters are asked to help in

report without delay to the Committee Rooms, 11 Yorkshire House, c/r Marshall and Rissik Streets.

(Written by A. Hepple, 32 Kerk Street, Johannesburg.)

## Party's Policy For Urban NATATION NATIVE Workers

To give the Labour Party an opportunity of putting its views before the public "The Natal Mercury" places this space at its disposal once a month. "The Natal Mercury" does not necessarily associate itself with the views expressed. This is the 38th article.

#### By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

MANY South African problems are never satisfactorily solved because they are considered on the basis of race instead of economics. This approach inevitably leads to a complexity of laws that slow down progress, inflate production and distribution costs, multiply red tape and cause racial friction.

A nation's prosperity depends upon the fullest and most beneficial employment of all its people, aimed at maximum output and efficiency. In South Africa this objective is difficult to attain because of the general attitude towards Native labour. It has been considered cheap because its wage rates are low; it has been attractive because it has been plentiful and docile.

However, experience and study have ex-

However, experience and study have ex-ose he wastefulness resulting from ex-en. high labour turnover and inadequate training.

#### Two Attitudes

The Fagan Commission came to the con-clusion that:

clusion that:-

"the townward movement of Natives is simply an economic phenomenon which is also occurring with the other races . . . it is impossible to prevent it or to turn it in the other direction . . . We, therefore, have to accept the fact that there is a permanent urban Native population."

The Labour Party long ago, accepted this fact and all the responsibilities which go with it. Among other things, this population of urban Native workers must be decently housed, fed, educated and protected from exploitation. For all these things Labour has a plan.

#### ility And Apartheid

ON the other hand, the Government refuses to accept the facts, Speaking in Parliament last year, Dr. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, said:—

"... we take the view that there are only two alternatives—on the one hand equality and on the other Apartheid ... The Fagan Report maintained that there was a third course, a middle course ... of economic integration . . . that is where we disagree fundamentally with the Fagan Report. We say it is wrong to say there is a third course . . ."

Amidst the confusions of Apartheid, Dr. Verwoerd quoted his Party's policy as being the separation of Europeans and non-Europeans in industry as far as practicable and in addition:

. . . a judicious and equitable quota system should be applied on the under-standing that if possible and desirable, certain specific trades or activities might be reserved for certain definite groups

#### A Road To Chaos

I WONDER how seriously this proposal has been examined. Attempts to apply it to South Africa's present industrial set-up would result in chaos. Where knowledge and efficiency are demanded, how could racial quotas be substituted? What would be the cost of retraining displaced labour from newly reserved industries and imparting skills to those who take their places? Rapid industrial development in South Africa over recent years, the advent of mass production, the division of labour and the shortage of European workers have brought many thousands of non-Eurpeans into industry as skilled and semi-skilled workers.

The policy proposed by the Government could be applied only in a totalitarian country, where the State is everything and the individual nothing. Certainly its application would lower efficiency and production and subject the masses to directed and even forced labour. WONDER how seriously this proposal has

AS opposed to this, there is the Labour Party plan, based upon the belief that there is another way to develop industry, promote Coloureds employed in our manufacturing prosperity and prevent the dangers of racia industries. These figures must expose the rivalry. On the basis of "equal pay for equal folly of trying to deny accepted workers' work" one racial group cannot threaten the rights to the non-European section.

Such denial means that half the

To prevent discrimination and exploitation are subject to one set of laws and the other all workers must receive the full protection half subject to a different set.

Of the law. The Labour Party says that in the interests of the whole nation as well. of the law. The Labour Party says that in the interests of the whole nation, as well as in the interests of the workers themselves natives must not be placed upon a different basis from other workers. Therefore, there has the statutory enforcement of the principe of "the rate for the job" and prevention of economic differentiation on the grounds of colour.

#### Right To Organise

THERE can be no substitute for the tried and proved methods of trade unionism and collective bargaining. Today our industrial laws exclude most non-Europeans from this right. To correct this anomaly, the Labour Party advocates that all workers should be included in the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act. It is opposed to the proposed Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill for that reason. Existing trade unions should have the unfettered right to decide whether to admit non-Europeans to membership or to leave them to form their own trade unions in any industry or trade. industry or trade.

#### Acquiring Skills

MOST of our secondary industries are employing Natives in semi-skilled occupations; some of them are even fully skilled. This has not resulted from any special plan but merely from economic necessity.

It is essential to determine a policy in this regard. If South Africa is to raise the present low overall national wealth it must increase the productivity of all workers and ensure the continued expansion of industry, agriculture and mining.

The Labour Party advocates the training of non-Europeans to play their part in the development of South Africa, subject to the following safeguards:-

- (a) To ensure that European workers need not fear ousting from their jobs, security of employment at standard rates of pay must be guaranteed by
- (b) To ensure that employers do not exploit non-European labour, no employer shall be permitted to pay a lower rate for the same work on the ground of colour.

#### Free Labour

THE Labour Party advocates the abolition of all criminal penalities presently attaching to Natives in relation to their right to obtain the best employment and to their free movement in order to do so. Pass Laws, Master and Servants Laws, the Native Labour Regulation Act and other measures prevent Natives from selling their labour in the best market and result in discontent, lawlessness and inefficiency.

and inefficiency.

In other parts of the world the industrial revolution was attended by shocking social evils, vicious and repressive laws in the interests of the exploiting class and eventually bloodshed and revolution. Surely South Africa need not repeat the performance. In the light of others' experience we should recognise the need for a sane policy in our attitude towards Native workers.

#### The Only Way

# PREJUDICE s. PROGRESS

By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

Governor of the S.A. Reserve Bank, Dr. M. H. de Kock, cently told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer that there is no y solution to the Union's labour problems. He said that if we threw open our doors to immigrants, we would not iem, because Europe is also short of skilled workers. He inted the only alternative, fuller use of non-European in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in secondary in-, because it would cause an even greater shortage of led workers in agriculture and mining.

de Kock's pronouncement delcomed by the official newsof the Nationalist Party as for its policy of opposition common integration" of the propean. However, in offer-solution to the problem, Dr. ck actually advocated economic integration. If "Die Transwill follow his proposition logical conclusion, they will at it can mean nothing else. It can mean nothing else is apparently no way cut," he said, "the said, "the should immediately contact on extending facilities" have a maniferation of the better educated and properly trained worker will be more efficient and productive than the illiterate and untrained. Therefore Dr. de Kock must be calling for such training and education.

The Progressive Viewpoint

The Labour — it must be obvious that the better educated and properly trained worker will be more efficient and productive than the illiterate and untrained. Therefore Dr. de Kock must be calling for such training and education.

The Progressive Viewpoint

The National Income can be raised only if everyone is beneficially employed and if everyone is given the opportunity to give of his best. This would ensure maximum production, higher incomes ate on extending facilities raining . . . and in general best to eliminate the wastese of Native labour."

The Logical Effect practice, the fulfilment of bjects must mean extended for Non-European work-as there is a shortage of an workers, any extension ning facilities must be to ropeans. In fact, this is now place in the building trade, special legislation intropy the Nationalist Govern-

oy the Nationalist Govern-it is also taking place in ndustries where Non-Euro-orkers predominate, and in where Non-Europeans are

g Europeans. e second point — the elim-of wasteful use of Native

The Progressive Viewpoint
The Labour Party takes a realistic view of this important problem. The National Income can be raised only if everyone is beneficially employed and if everyone is given the opportunity to give of his best. This would ensure maximum production, higher incomes for all and general prosperity.

At the same time, Labour insists upon safeguards to prevent exploitation, and especially upon the principle of "equal pay for equal work." We also believe that industrial development must be planned, that agricultural workers must be trained, and that decent wages must be paid to all workers.

With proper planning and sane policies, there should be no harmful competition between primary and secondary industry for workers, with one section seeking to exploit cheap labour without without accepting responsibility for its social welfare.

(Written by A. Hepple, 32 Kerk Street, Johannesburg).

### FORWARD BIOSS ANOTHER ATTACK \*\*\* ON THE LABOUR **PARTY**

PROBABLY excited by the efforts of those who are busy cutting up the Opposition forces, the "Cape Argus" recently de-cided to join in the fun and strike the Labour Party a smart backhander.

In an editorial on the In an editorial on the 27th May, this paper argued that "the real fact which Labour must face is that it no longer appeals to that section of the white working class from which it originally derived its strength. It has failed to attract into its ranks those Afrikaans-speaking uphan workers who are the inranks those Afrikaans-speaking urban workers who are the industrial successors of the traditional trade unionists of the Walter Madeley type. Labour has not lost these potential supporters because its economic programme offers them nothing, but because its aims have become obscured in the mists of feud and doctrinaire jealousies."

Before expounding these views the "Argus" should make sure of its facts. Membership of the Labour Party is not confined to any particular group of workers. Support comes from all who have an intelligent understand-

Support comes from all who have an intelligent understanding of the real economic problems, which themselves have become clouded in the mists of racialism and prejudice. By rejecting opportunistic pandering to these emotions, the Labour Party has chosen the hard path, and in consequence, its progress must be slow. Nevertheless, that progress is being made.

The "feud and doctrinaire jealousies" exist only in the columns of the hostile press, which delights in giving major publicity to minor figures who desert from the Labour Party. These occasional desertions merely reveal the disappointment of "fair-weather" friends who clung to the Labour Party only as long as they thought that the prevailing political wind was in their favour. This is not peculiar to the Labour Party. The only difference is that some South African dailies like to make headlines of anything that is bad publicity for the Labour Party.



11/6/53

#### STATEMENT BY ALEX. HEPPLE, M. P.

#### on Question of Coloured Franchise.

The suggestion by two United Party members of Parliament that the Opposition should get together with the Government and to solve the problem of the Coloured franchise and to concede a two-thirds majority if a solution demands it, suggests a shifting of ground on one side or the other.

The Government certainly has not indicated that it intends to modify its demands. On the contrary, Dr. Malan has invited a dozen renegades to cross the floor to halpxhim enable him to achieve his purpose legally. The history of this sordid affair, with the violation of the Constitution and the fantastic High Court of Parliament, should be proof enough that the Government will not deviate from its course.

Any solution, therefore, mustain can solve only as a result of concessions from the Opposition. As the basic principle is a simple one - the remark taking away of rights enjoyed by the Coloured people of the Cape for over a hundred years - any concession must involve a reduction of those rights.

In such circumstances the Opposition would be guilty of a gross betrayal of the principles on which it has resisted the Governments intentions and upon which the it received such magnificient support from the public.

#### STATEMENT - ALEX. HEPPLE, M. P.

In so far as the general Mon-European question is concerned I would like to see wider discussions between the political parties and interessed bodies in order to determine our future. However, it would be essential for such discussions to cover all aspects of racial relationships in order to deal adequately with the whole problem.

In addition it is imperative that the opinions of the Non-Europeans be heard.

A Commission consisting of members of both

Nouses of Parliament was proposed by Dr. Malan in 1949

"to consider the application in detail...of the principle
of separation as approved by the electorate".

#### WELLES BENERATE TEXT SERVICE S

Unfortunately nothing came of it because further the words inquiry by General Smuts elicited that/"as approved by the electorate" was intended to refer to the policy of the Nationalist party only.

end.

11/6/53.

# NO COMPROMISE ON COLOURED FRANCHISE"

## Alex Hepple States Labour Party View

RECENTLY individual members of the United Party have been Encouraged by the suggestion of a suggesting that the Opposition should get together with the set its trap for the foolish and weak elements among the Opposition. Government in order to solve the problem of the Coloured franchise. In order to make the Labour Party's attitude quite

R. Swart, speaking in his constituency during last week-end, declared on the control of the state of the control Labour Party, has made a statement in which he says that any concessions would be a gross betrayal of public suppport.

"The suggestion by United Party Members of Parliament that the Opposition should get together with the Government to solve the and to concede a two-thirds majority if a solution demands it, suggests a shifting of ground from one side to the other".

#### Invitation to Renegades

The Government certainly had not indicated that it intended to modify its demands. "On the contrary, Dr. Malan has invited a dozen renegades to cross the floor to enable him to achieve his purpose legally.

"The history of this sordid affair, with the violation of the Constitution and the fantastic High Court of Parliament, should be proof enough that the Government will not deviate from its

solution, therefore, Any evolve only, as a result of concessions from the Opposition. As the the taking away of the rights enjoyed by the Coloured people of the Cape for more than a hundred years — any concessions must involve a reduction of these rights.

#### "Gross Betrayal"

"In such circumstances, the Opposition would be guilty of a gross betrayal of the principles on which it has resisted the Government's intentions and upon which it received such enthusiastic and magnificient support from the public".

The Opposition, said Mr. Hepple, had received a clear mandate from its supporters, the majority of the electorate, to maintain its previous stand on this important question.

"To surrender now, in order to

end a deadlock which is of the Government's own creation, would be a grave admission of weakness and will lead to division amongst Opposition supporters", added Mr. Hepple.
"A Trap"

There are indications that the Government intends to test its chances early in the coming Session.

ency during last week-end, declared that the U.P. would be given "an opportunity to vote with the Government". The Nationalists do not want "co-operation"; they demand unconditional surrender. Those Opposition M.P.'s who talk in terms of "co-operation" are deluding the public and are setting a trap for themselves.

As the Nationalists themselves say, on this issue there can be no com-

# NO NEED FOR A DEPRESSION

## Spend On A 'War On Want'

BY ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

DEACE "scares" are becoming too frequent for Big Business. There is a fear that an outbreak of peace may lead to a slump. Whsiperings of peace create panic on the world's stock exchanges.

Since 1945 the threat of war has Since 1945 the threat of war has resulted in steadily increasing expenditure on armaments, and the spending of over 63,000 million dollars this year by the United States has ensured full employment and prosperity to American industry. However, that did not prevent jitters at the mere suggestion of an end to East-West tension. Two months ago, when peace prospects brightened, heavy losses were suffered on Wall Street and were suffered on Wall Street and the prices of raw materials, notably tin, copper and lead, dropped considerably.

"Brighter" View

Having overcome the first shock, experts are now taking a brighter view, although without much cer-

tainty. Last week-end a report from the U.S.A. stated:—

"American business men had one 'peace' scare in March but now that they know the Administration is determined to go

ahead with a substantial rearmament programme, the achievement of a truce is expected to have little impact upon business or consumer psychology.

War On Want

This short-sighted belief that only large-scale expenditure on only large-scale expenditure on munitions can keep Western in-dustry going is refuted by Mr. Harold Wilson, who was the Presi-dent of the Board of Trade under the British Labour Government. Writing in the "Tribune," he

Western civilisation crazy that it has to admit that it can only maintain anything it can only maintain anything like full employment through war, hot or cold? . . . If our Western economies require a war to keep them fully employed then the only sane course is to declare war now, not on Communism or some temporal power, but on what President Truman called mankind's ancient poverty, hunger, enemies — poverty illiteracy and disease.

As he rightly points out, if this is done — and only if this is done - can we escape from the ordinary economic laws and attitudes of capitalism, which dictate that peace must mean a slump.

# Budget Is S.A's. Greatest Post-Election Shock

To give the Labour Party an opportunity of putting its views before the public "The Natal Mercury" places this space as its disposal once a month. The Notal Mercury" does not necessarily associate itself with the views expressed. This is the 39th article.

### By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

SOUTH AFRICA'S greatest post-election shock has come with the Budget. The Government has aroused general indignation because of the new taxes and the increase in the price of bread.

Many are wondering why the Government, lushed with victory at the polls, should mmediately introduce a Budget that is not only unfair but extremely cruel. Its effects strike heavily upon the poorest and leave the rich relatively free.

#### Background

N order to understand why the Govern-IN order to understand why the Government has presented a Budget of this kind, one must understand the Government itself. It is in the main a Government of rich farming interests and expanding Afrikaner capitalism. Its social policies run in direct conflict with large scale industrialisation. Under pressure from powerful conservative agrarian interests on the one hand, and ambitious capitalists on the other hand, it inevitably finds itself forced to extract more money from the poor and middle extract more money from the poor and middle classes.

In presenting his Budget, Mr. Havenga said he was confronted with the difficult task of following a middle course between the evil of Inflation and the danger of Deflation.

#### Dangerous Choice

HIS choice seems to have been aimed at deflation, but his method will set up new stresses and strains in our economy. At the present time South Africa is returning to competitive conditions in most commercial sompetitive conditions in most commercial spheres. Goods are becoming more plentiful, noney scarcer and unemployment is rising. Iowever, prices are not falling. The conditions of price inflation persist although trade slackens and a buyers' market is developing in many commodities.

It would appear that the intention of the Government was to make the first move in rolling back prices. But does the Budget achieve this? Far from it.

This Budget makes no attack upon the spots of inflation such as wasteful production, exorbitant prices, excessive profits, unreasonable overheads and high rents. Instead, it attacks the wage and salary earners, making no distinction between rich and poor. the brings higher bread prices and a compul-tory savings levy; it creates higher living osts, through a higher petrol price, higher rail rates and higher electricity and other

The obvious effects of this Budget will be not to bring down the Cost of Living but to bring on a depression.

#### Taxing The Poor

THE Budget has imposed several new burdens on the struggling wage and salary earner. His bread will cost him more; he earns more than £34 per month, he will if he earns more than £34 per month, he will have to pay £6 plus 10 per cent. on his Income Tax as a Compulsory Savings Levy; if he uses a car for work or pleasure, his petrol will cost him 3d. a gallon more. If he travels by train his fares are up. But the most shocking aspect of the Budget is the decision to bring into the tax net millions of poor. These people always hurdened with indirect These people, always burdened with indirect taxes, too poor to pay direct taxes, are now callously made to pay more for their bread in order to help the Minister balance his

But that is not all. The poor face the grim prospect of further burdens. Increased rail charges will force up prices of everyday needs. Civil Servants have been told that there will be no further rises in Cost of Living allowances no matter how high prices may go. It must follow that the Government will not increase existing Statutory Cost of Living Allowances. Furthermore, it must be expected that in negotiating future wage agreements, employers will copy the Government in this regard and also refuse increases of Cost of Living Allowances to most river in the second of the cost of Living Allowances to most river. of Cost of Living Allowances to meet rises in the Retail Price Index.

In contrast, the rich have been asked for little. While they may contribute slightly more to the Savings Levy, there are no other demands upon them that are not made on the poorest.

South Africa sees today the results of bad budgeting over the past five years. A wise policy for any Government would have been to have taxed heavily in times of plenty to build up reserves for leaner times. During the years when Inflation was rampant and a section of the community had money to burn, the Government could have taken bold action that would have curbed Inflation At the time when the 1949 Budget was presented, when money was plentiful and profits were large, the Labour Party demanded a Purchase Tax on luxury articles; it demanded Purchase Tax on luxury articles; it demanded a Savings Levy on high incomes. We made these demands because there was dire need for anti-Inflationary taxation; there was need to conserve funds for the future. However, the Government refused to take heed of those demands and today the common man is being made to find the money which was so recklessly spent by the wasteful in the years gone by years gone by.

#### Shortage Of Capital

TODAY the Government is embarrassed by a severe shortage of Capital. There was a time when Capital could have been accumulated and wisely applied with proper priorities for private industries, public works and public utilities.

In dealing with the Budget in March, 1950, Is uggested the setting up of a Capital Invest-ment Board. Because of insufficient control over capital for investment, the Government was competing with private enterprise and capital was being directed into unnecessary or less useful channels. A Capital Investor less useful channels. A Capital Investment Board could have ensured the quick investment of savings in urgent capital needs; it could have directed investments to correct priorities; it could have prevented the dissipation of savings in unnecessary and foolish enterprises; and it could have prevented the spending of large sums of money on redundant capital equipment. If this suggestion had been pursued and adopted in some form or another, perhaps the present chaos in the country's capital market would have been largely avoided. It certainly would have prevented the Central Government pretending to solve this problem by telling Escom and to solve this problem by telling Escom and the Local Authorities to find some of their own capital where and as they can.

#### Labour Party Policy

THE Labour Party says that taxation must be imposed upon the basis of ability to pay, regardless of the source of income it must not discriminate against the poorer section of the community; it must be steeply graded so as to put a "ceiling" on high incomes and it must assist in industrial expansion and ensure the most beneficial use of Capital.

Budgeting must aim at forcing money to work in the interests of all the people. It must promote the maintenance of full employment and endeavour to level out incomes. The Labour Party says that by increasing general prosperity South Africa can save millions of pounds which it now spends on Social Services.

#### Worse To Come

DESPITE the growth in South Africa's national income over the past decade, the wages of the mass of our workers is still deplorably low. Because it is so low, the deplorably low. Because it is so low, the Government finds its sources of taxation extremely limited. The remedy for this is to apply a policy of advancement and higher living standards for all. But South Africa's Nationalist Government chooses to turn back the clock because it fears the progress of the non-European and looks upon his advancement as a threat to the White man. This outlook must produce bad Budgets. It forces the taxpayer to subsidise low wages.

Poverty causes disease, physical and mental disabilities, crime and other social evils, which require heavy Government spending to combat. The more the State requires, the more it must take from the pockets of the

people.

This Budget can be but a forerunner of worse and harsher Budgets.

# Alex Hepple, M.P.

(Leader of the South African Labour Party)

I think that an early meeting on I think that an early meeting on the highest level between, Britain, America and the Soviet Union is a necessary step towards lessening world tension and ending the con-stant threat of war. The obvious way to clear up misunderstandings and to remove suspicion and fric-tion, is to have a candid exchange of views round the Conference table

Since the end of the last war the people of the world have been kept in a state of nervous suspense, with one alarm following another. The truce in Korea presents a favourable atmosphere for top-level talks and no time should be lost in arranging a meeting of the leaders of these three powers.

businessmen. Currently with the prospects of an armistice in Korea are scares of a slump in trade. In the minds of some, the slowing down of re-armament programmes would spall down to the In the minds of some, the slowing down of re-armament programmes would spell doom to those who have prospered on army contracts. This is a shocking, stupid and selfish attitude. The leaders of the great powers must make it clear that the lives of those who bleed and suffer in war are more important than the profits of the few.

The wealth and the energies of The wealth and the energies of mankind must be concentrated upon solving the common problems of poverty, homelessness, illiteracy and disease. An ending of the cold war would bring hope of a better life to all those who suffer as victims of these evils. International co-operation is imperative to raise standards everywhere. This task would be a wonderful alternative to the present of the prese preparations to blow each other to

#### THE QUESTIONS

- 1. Do you think there should be a meeting of representatives of Britain, America and the Soviet Union to discuss their outstanding differences?
- 2. Do you think that such a
- 2. Do you think that such a meeting could reach an overall settlement of their differences by negotiation? If so, why? If not, why not?

  3. Do you think that such a meeting could be effective in reducing the burden of armaments, extending East-West trade, and raising living standards?

As far as the possibilities of such a conference reaching overall agreement is concerned, this is naturally the hope of everyone who longs for peace. However, it must be expected that some questions will not be easy of solution, but even the contrasting political systems and ideological outlook of the N.A.T.O. countries and the Communist countries should not be allowed to stand in the way of reaching settlement of outstanding differences.

#### DESIRE FOR PEACE

Meeting round the table to discuss these differences would be in itself an indication of a desire to come to terms. In this frame of mind a Conference would be well on the road to argue rationally and reasonably. Further progress could be ensured if both sides remembered that to get concessions the negotiators must be prepared to make concessions. Prominent in their thoughts should be the deep desire of the peoples of this wartorn world for peace.

On this basis, I can see no reason why settlement of outstanding differences should not be reached. It may take time and patience but the effort must be made.

While talks are proceeding, the

While talks are proceeding, the withe talks are proceeding, the nations of the opposing camps would at least have the satisfaction of knowing that world tensions had eased and that they could concentrate upon pressing domestic problems.

#### SELFISH ATTITUDE

One effect of removing the constant threat of war would be the ending of the long period of inflation. This appears to worry many

# FOCUS SHIFTS TO PARLIAMENT

# Labour Leader Forecasts Nat. Moves

THE coming session of Parliament—the first of the eleventh Parliament of Union-may produce events of historic importance. Flushed with their victory and increased majority, the Nationalist Government will, no doubt, assert itself with vigour and determination, said Mr. Alex. Hepple, M.P., Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, prior to his departure from Johannesburg for Cape Town this week.

Mr. Hepple said that it is a known fact that the Government was determined to overcome the two-thirds majority difficulty and to make the Coloured Voters' Bill law.

It is believed, he added, that the Government would introduce these measures in a form made palatable for Corposition members.

for Opposition members

"Within sight of their coveted two-thirds majority the Government will lose no time in tempting and cajoling Opposition members to give them that majority."

For that reason we might expect a great deal of manoeuvring and juggling in the time-table of the session to suit the purposes of the majority party.

The main aim of the session, according to Mr. Hepple, will be the Budget. This usually occupies six weeks. Most new members will find this their opportunity to make their maiden speeches. their maiden speeches.

#### Testing Time

The session, Mr. Hepple said, would be the testing time for the Opposition which would have to demonstrate to the majority of the electorate who voted for it, whether it had the faith, courage and determination to continue the fight to defend the voting right of the Cape Coloureds, the rule of law and the Constitution. and the Constitution.

"If they steadfastly withstand the tricks and blandishments of the Government, they will establish

"It will require the sane com-"It will require the sane commonsense and clear thinking of the Opposition to bring the Government to earth and impress upon them the need to understand and to take note of events elsewhere. We cannot afford to be out of step with current thinking and events."

South Africa, he added, is a country with great possibilities and boundless opportunity. These belong to all the people and not to the favoured minority. All must help to develop the nation and all must share in its wealth.

#### Herrenvolk Plan

The Opposition did not dare com-The Opposition did not dare compromise with the Nationalists whose plan was to establish a form of herrenvolkism in this country. There was only one ending to such a policy — doom for the White man in South Africa.

The Nationalists' attempts to break up the Opposition and destroy the United Party could only succeed with the help of the Opposition itself, he said.

Opposition itself, he said.

"As far as the Labour Party is concerned, there can be no compromise," added Mr. Hepple. "We have our clear-cut policy, aimed at the well-being of all the people, White and non-White. We shall not depart from it.

"We are Socialists, Our aim will be to focus the attention of Parliament on pressing economic problems and to oppose further attempts to interfere with the civil liberties of the results." civil liberties of the people."

# The changing labour Cape Argus pattern astacles AH in South Africa

A T the Nationalist Party congress in Pretoria, the Minister of Labour (Mr. B. J. Schoeman) made two very important declarations of policy. The first was that he will introduce a Bill next session to 'curb malpractices and enforce racial segregation in the trade unions'; the second was that 'legislation is being considered to enable the Minister to proclaim that certain types of work shall be done by one race only and other types by another race.'

To understand the Government attitude to trade unions one must look back over the years. There one will find the record of events which influenced and decided Nationalist labour policy. It is a record of their failure to win the support of the rank and file of the trade unions, who persistently rejected Nationalist-inspired nominees in balloting for their officials.

It is important to remember that in the formative years of Nationalist labour policy, Nazi Germany's Labour Front found many admirers in South Africa who condemned free, democratic unions as corrupt, decadent, unnational and inimical to the best interests of the workers and the State.

Groups became active in advocating that the trade unions should have a Christian and national basis. They ranged from the secret Broederbond to the Reddingdaadsbond and its subsidiaries; they included the F.A.K., the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond and even church committees.

On the political front the Nationalist Party declared itself in favour of this basis for trade unions. In its manifesto of 1943 the Nationalist Party declared that 'trade unionism on national foundations has love and respect for its own culture, language and church.'

#### Growth of policy

As this new policy took shape it was expounded in speeches in Parliament, and was eventually embodied in the Nationalist 1948 election pamphlet, 'The Road to a New South Africa.'

In one such speech on January 19, 1943, the present Minister of Labour, seconding a motion by Dr. Malan, explained their objectives as follows:

bargaining has outstayed its usefulness entirely . . Under the new economic system which we want to bring about it will . . . be redundant . . If the State accepts full responsibility for the fixing of wages and the regulation of working conditions . . . the principal function of the present trade unions will disappear . . . They will be mainly entrusted with the task of regulating domestic matters as between the employers and the employees, and for the rest of looking after the spiritual welfare of the workers . . .

That policy has not been changed. Mr. Schoeman ignores repeated invitations to repudiate it and three such challenges during the present session of Parliament have met with no response.

ALEX
HEPPLE, M.P.
(Parliamentary leader of the

South African Labour Party)

#### The plan applied

IT is no surprise, therefore, that now the Nationalists are in power with a safe majority this labour policy is being applied. On the pretext of 'purifying' the unions, the Government have taken drastic action

As a first step they passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which enables them to list trade union officials and order them to resign their posts, without recourse to the courts. The purpose and effect of removing these trained and experienced leaders is obvious. It makes the application of the Nationalist labour planeasier.

The recent Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act permanently removes all Natives (two-thirds of South Africa's industrial labour force) from the benefits of the Industrial Conciliation Act. This step automatically prevents the healthy development of the tried and proven methods of collective bargaining and consultation between organized workers and their employers.

#### Malpractices

A PRELUDE to the next step is the latest allegation of 'malpractices' in the unions. This is merely argument to justify further interference by the Government and is not in accordance with the facts.

The Industrial Legislation Commission reported that 'the financial management of 62.5 per cent of all trade unions, representing 91.0 per cent of the total membership, appeared to be in order . . . while the financial management of the balance of all trade unions, representing 9.0 per cent of the total membership, required major improvements or complete reorganization.'

It cannot be shown that abuses are relatively higher in the trade unions than in business or even departments of State.

The Industrial Conciliation Act fully provides for the control of trade unions, including matters which must be covered by their constitutions, and the Registrar has the right to intervene if these constitutions are not strictly observed by officials.

Yet Mr. Schoeman talks of 'malpractices' as though an extremely unhealthy state of affairs exists in the trade unions. Mixed unions

IT is also proposed to prohibit mixed trade unions. Interference in the affairs of oldestablished unions with mixed membership can wreck such unions.

The problem is discussed at length in the report of the Industrial Legislation Commission which contains the following significant statement: "The majority of witnesses favoured the retention of mixed organizations." This includes some of the oldest and most conservative unions in South Africa.

#### Quota system

THE quota system to which Mr. Schoeman referred is a well-known Nationalist theory.

Being ousted by cheap Native labour has long been a fear in the mind of the White worker. The 1922 strike, which arose as a result of the conflict between White workers and the Chamber of Mines on the employment of Natives in skilled occupations, led to South Africa's Colour Bar Act of 1926.

With the integration of the Native in industry, where he comprises over 60 per cent of the labour force, the Labour Party and many trade unions believe that the only solution is 'equal pay for equal work'—that the rate should be for the job and not on the basis of colour.

This is rejected by the Nationalist Party, principally because it fears that 'economic equality' will result in 'social equality,' and also because it wishes to maintain a large reservoir of cheap and servile Black labour.

#### System defined

DR. MALAN has defined the quota system as follows:

'... we should lay down for the industries in our country a quota for White labour and a quota for non-White labour. There is an opening for making certain industries White and keeping them reserved for Europeans alone. There is, however, a large area where we shall have to use both and where a quota will have to be laid down for European labour. It can be prescribed that not less than so many White workers must be taken into employment. (Hansard, Vol. 31, Col. 758.)

More recently, Mr. Schoeman said that the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work was no longer a protection for Europeans and that the only possible way of protecting all races was by an extension of the provisions of the Mines and Works Act to all occupations.

#### Economic effects

IT does not require a close study to perceive the effects of such a system on commerce and industry. Apart from devising a workable scheme, it is obvious that peculiar problems of employment and production will arise.

The Industrial Legislation Commission came to the conclusion that 'the task of finding a satisfactory solution in regard to protective measures in general is one which should be entrusted to an expert scientific body, which would require careful study before it could complete a general survey of the whole labour economy and submit concrete and sound proposals.'

Apparently the Government are determined to go ahead without making such scientific survey or seeking expert opinion.

#### How free is free?

THESE are some of the things which are changing the labour pattern in South Africant is new pattern has no routed for the old school of trade unique leaders with their traditionate are being removed by the ruthless application of the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mr. Schoeman now says: 'The unions must be free and the best way to ensure their freedom is to ensure that all workers, especially the Afrikaner—who has been mistrustful of the unions so far—belong to them.'

What does he mean? Until now, have the unions not been free? How can the rank and file ensure the freedom of the unions if Mr. Schoeman's own Government insist on restricting their normal and natural development?

These restrictions are now being extended to embrace industry. In this competitive world, can our economy bear such artificial burdens? I doubt it.

#### WORKERS! YOU THINK YOU HAVE TROUBLES ?

#### LOOK HERE !

".... At the Annual Conference of the Transvaal Woolgrowers Association, the Moolman Branch will move that Supertax should not exceed It does not at present 10/- in the £. exceed 8/8....but Income tax and Supertax combined reach as much as 16/6 in the 2 on TAXABLE INCOMES OF MORE THAN £16,000..."

(The Star - 15/10/53)

What are your worries compared to the poor man who makes a mere 216,000 every year (that is, 2300 per week or allo per day) ??

The chap with £16,000 per year is 15 5 supertax Note: more than £10,000 after taxation how our tax system works. What are you left with ?

Sheep farmers want lower

By the Agricultural Correspondent
A request by sheep farmers for supertax to be lowered is one of the resolutions to be debated by the Transvaal Wool Growers' Association at their annual congress in Vereeniging, on October 20 and 21.

The Moolman branch of the association will move that supertax should not exceed 10s. In the £. It does not at present exceed 8s. 8d. (excluding this year's 30 per cent. surcharge) but income tax and supertax combined reach as much as 16s. 6d. in the £ on taxable incomes of more than £16,000.

Another tax proposal, to help landless farmers to rent their farms in face of strong competition for the land from big farmers, comes from the Volksrust branch.

It will suggest that the Minister might solve this problem by limiting the extent to which rent paid for hired land can count for taxation purposes as legitimate farm expenditure.

The difficulties of trekking sheep to and from winter pastures have led to eight highveld branches asking that the railway rebate on stock transferred to other grazing should be restored.

# "OPPONENTS OF NATS MUST RALLY N SAYS HEPPLE

# "Tomorrow May Be Town Too Late" AH

ADMITTING that he is extremely disturbed at the way things are moving in the Union ever since the Nationalist Party assumed power, Mr. Alex Hepple, Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, has handed a statement to "Forward."

Mr. Hepple reviews recent trends in this country, both in Parliament and out of it, and foreshadows the blowing up of a dark political storm on the South African scene.

He urges all the opponents of the Government to rally together and resist it. Hesitation now may

and resist it. Hesitation now may mean an inability to resist in the

mean an inability to resist in the near future.

Mr. Hepple's statement reads:—
"The Opposition went to Parliament with a mandate from 770.000 voters, while the Government had support from only 660.000.

"It they hesitate now, they may come be unable to resist."

Unhealthy Atmosphere

"In such circumstances it was expected that the Opposition would expected that the Opposition would put up a vigorous and unrelenting fight. Unfortunately the Government found allies in the ranks of the Opposition, and in consequence a very unhealthy political atmosphere developed during the session.

"Outside Parliament, too, there

are wavering elements who are anxious to sacrifice the Coloured voters of the Cape in the foolish belief that this will bring belief prosperity to business and an end to the reactionary demands of

to the reactionary demands of the Government.
"However, it is not only the Coloured franchise that is at stake. Once this is betrayed, the Opposition will collapse completely, and without a virile Opposition, Parliament will become a farce and a sham, and South Africa will quickly drift into a one-party state.

Nationalists' Policy

Nationalists' Policy
"The policy of the Nationalist
Party is well-known. The Govern-

text of solving vexed Colour problems are in fact solving nothing. On the contrary, they

soon be unable to resist."

#### TRADE UNION UNITY.

Mr. Ivan Walker, former Secretary for Labour made an last week for free trade unions to unite in one powerful co-ordinating body in order to fight back against the Government.

organisations unless they fight with every lewful means.

No purpose will be derved by secret deputations to Ministers.

Potitions, no matter how widely signed, will secure no relief.

Collaborating in the furthering of industrial legislation with a Minister who frankly states that he proposes to separate White and Colcured members of well conducted unions spells disaster.

This is a clear and forthright challenge to all who value their trade unions. In recent years too many trade union officials have shirted facing up to the real issues behind Government action. It is high time they realised that the Suppression of Communism Act has bothing to do with Communism but everything to do with the Nat.

plan for "Christian-National" trade unions.

The simple issue before every trade union official to-day is "Now far down the queue do I stand?" Eventually ell those who refuse to how-tow to the dictates of the Government will receive marching orders.

#### GO TO IT. MY. WALKER 1

Having the confidence of most trade unionists, Mr. Walker is the ideal man to bring about unity among the trade unions. As Secretary for Labour in 1988, he played a large part in bringing together the Trades and Labour Council and the Cape Pedfration of Labour Unions.

existed before. Coming Labour legislation demands unity.

Prade unions must act now - to-morrow may be tec late.

Go to it, Mr. Walker! Gave workers the lead to unity!

#### GOST OF LIVING SOARS AGAIN.

The Retail Price Index for September increased by 0.4 percent compared with the Index for August, bringing the weighted average for the nine principal areas for all items up to the record of 196.5.

Despite the repeated assurences of the Government that they will bring down the Cost of Living, it keeps rising month after month.

Mr. Havenga's recent Budget was preised by the Hationalist party as proof of the "strong measures" being twicen by the Government to reduce prices.

Mils was a nice piece of bluff to peg Cost-of-Living allowances for workers. Prices are allowed to sear to fantastic heights, but wages and salaries are kept down.

this is the penalty foolish workers must pay for having returned a National-Capitalist party to power.

END.

26/10/53

103.

## LET US FACE THE FUTURE. "DEAL WITH LABOUR SAYS: MERCH THE REAL ISSUES!".

By ......

the political situation in South Africa is at a dangerous pitch. While the Government pursues its harsh policies and applies its programme "step by step", the Opposition is distracted by domestic quarrels and disagreements. These conditions can bring disaster to us all.

In the circumstances, there is need for the European electorate to take stock of its position. The Non-European is excluded from deciding the country's future at this time because he has no say in the election of our Governments.

This makes the responsibility of the European much greater.

It is essential to decide what are the most pressing problems of the day. It is imperative to concentrate upon our permanent problems.

#### THE NON-EUROPEAN.

Everyone will admit that the Non-European question

falls in both these catergories. Therefore it must be

taken as a first priority. The political parties must be

clear and positive in this matter. The public must have every

opportunity to study and consider their solutions. Therefore

Therefore it must be

white population must make up its mind what role the Non
European is to play in the development of the country.

The Nationalist Party is already becoming entangled in the contradictions of its man Native policy, especially in so far as the urban Native worker is concerned. In their desperate endeavour to square extreme projudice with same planning and progress, they are creating many new stresses upon our enonomy.

The United Party has never had a clear policy in relation to the Non-Europeans. It has preferred to tackle problems as they arise and place their hopes upon the philosophy "Morê is nog 'n dag". Claiming that it stands for Christian Trusteeship, the United Party says it follows "the middle of the Road policy, based upon the experience of our greatest statesmen, a policy for which for centuries has given us racial peace, co-operation, progress and separate development".

Unfortunately for these high ideals, the Non-European is asking for something more tangible. He wants to know what he may expect.

#### LABOUR'S NATIVE POLICY.

Non-European policy. It does not claim that this is the perfect solution. As a Socialist Party, the Labour Party recognises the continuous and progressive minimal development of human society, and expects that this policy will have to be revised from time to time.

It believes that its policy is realistic and in conformity with present-day development of the KKEK Native people.

## W IS LEARNIN PC ARTICLES Alt Former 53

ABOUR Members of Parliament spend a lot of their time arguing with Mr. Eric Louw, the Minister of Economic Affairs, about the ever-rising cost of living.

the Cost-of-Living is in other parts
of the world. The Labour men
point out that wages are much
higher in those countries, too. But
Mr. Louw airily waves their facts aside.

Facts are stubborn things. They can be ignored, distorted, evaded and denied—but they still remain

#### The Lucky Farmers

Now it is Mr. Louw's turn to quote facts. He has publicly backed the Labour Party case. In so doing. he has also focussed attention upon the great asset South African farmers possess in their cheap black

According to "Die Transvaler" of the 27th October, Mr. Louw has

One of Mr. Louw's favourite found it necessary to comment upon tricks is to produce a mass of statistics, to show how much higher Chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation, that South Africa's maize crop should be increased so that part of it can be exported at "World prices".

Beginning To Learn

Mr. Louw says it is futile to talk in terms of "World prices" (i.e. American prices on the Chicago Corn Exchange) when labour costs are so much cheaper in South Africa. This is what Mr. Louw says:—

"The very much higher prices that are paid in the U.S.A. are principally the result of high production costs, especially farm labour costs, which is on a "Union Wage" basis. A South African farmer would faint if he had to pay such wages!!!"

Mr. Louw is beginning to learn.

#### WHO ARE YOU KIDDING DR. niederichs?

DR. NICO DIEDERICHS' the Particular of the Nationalist Party, is annoyed. Big Capital is trying to break the Government by economic sabo-

Well, he should know the power of money. He is the giant of the Reddingsdaadbond, which set out to help the poor white Afrikaner and ended up as the slave to Afrikaner Canifolium. kaner Capitalism.

and ended up as the slave to Afrikaner Capitalism.

Having spent most of his Parliamentary hours defending Capitalism and the profit system, he now dons the mantle of the slayer of that dragon, Mammon. It was an ideal mantle to wear for the working-class audience of Boksburg, and quite a chauge from his usual role of arch-enemy of Socialism. Dr. Diederiehs has made many interesting speeches, not least of which has been his comment on taxation, which he delivered on the 3rd April, 1952:

". . if you increase taxation you discourage saving; you will cause a setback to your industrial development. Yes, the Hon. Member for Rosettenville (Mr. Hepple) wants it . . The Hon. Member for Rosettenville wants a Socialist State where we shall all be regimented, where we shall all be regimented, where we shall all be slaves of a mighty Socialist State."

all be slaves of a mighty Socialist State."

Now he complains that his Party is being harrassed by the evil doings of Money Power. Is he trying to make out a case for the Nationalist Corporate State, where the Central Economic Council will see that Capitalism behaves itself and concentrates upon exploiting the workers (with Government authority)?

Formand ARTICLES AH

Forward 30/10/53

## RIGHT WAY TO DO

The Government is going the right way about things if it wishes to teach the Africans to lose all faith in democracy.

Not only do they expel an elected Representative of the African people from Parliament.
They now also leave them without an M.P. for eight months.

Mr. Bunting was expelled from Parliament during the last week of the recent Session. Under Proclamation No. 222, dated the 23rd October, the Government announces that another election will take place in the Cape will take place in the Cape Western Circle on the 21st April

This means that the African electors of the Cape Western Circle will be without a Member of Parliament for almost eight months. Fortunately, Parliament will not be sitting for most of that time.

However, the Native Representative benches in Parliament will have a vacant seat for the first three months of the 1954 Session.

Not being particularly enamoured of Native Representation, the Government couldn't care less.

ARTICLES ALL

#### WHO CARES FOR THE SICK AND UNWANTED WORKER?

Front page news this week was the report of a Johannesburg sweet factory, which subjected its Non-European employees to a medical test and discovered that 23% had venereal disease, 6.6% showed positive typhoid reactions and 30% were tuberculosis suspects.

The firm boasted that it had immediately dismissed some of these workers and had seen to it that the others were treated and cured. All this is fine publicity for the firm. It reassures the public of the purity of its products. Everyone will agree that the hygenic handling of the people's food is of paramount importance.

But what of the dismissed workers? How important is their health and their lives? Whose responsibility is that? The Director of the sweet factory saw one side of the problem. He said, "The trouble is that we cannot write these diseases into their discharge certificates, and for all we know, some of these people may just take jobs elsewhere without being cured".

Let us remind him and the authorities that there is a grimmer side to it. What happens to these sick workers if they go for treatment, which is often lengthy? Their incomes taxaxdaad stop. Their families are left to starve.

Not a penny comes into the home, except what a slaving mother doing might be able to earn by/odd jobs. Is it a wonder that so many of them dodge treatment and conceal their illness?

Thust the Director of the Company and others realise that the high degree of infectious disease among the Non-Europeans is the result of slum life, insanitary living conditions and poverty. To keep our factories clean, we must see that the workers have decent living conditions and proper medical services, with sick benefit schemes for everyone.

000000000

Johannesburg 17th. November 1953.

### T.U.'S MUST FIGHT SAYS 1914-MAN GEORGE MASON was one of the

GEORGE MASON

was one of the
nine Labour leaders
who were deported
in 1914. He was
taken from his
home in the night
and rushed to Pretoria Gaol. From
there, with only the
clothes they were
wearing and no
other belongings, he
and the eight others
were rushed down
to Durban and
smuggled aboard
the s.s. "Umgeni"
for deportation to
England.

George and his

George and his comrades refused to be kicked around. They fought back. So did their comrades who were still free. They created such an uproar that they were soon back in South Africa. More than that, they got compensation from the Government.

ment.

At the Labour Party Conference at Durban last weekend, George Mason shook his head sadly, as he discussed the banning of the trade union leaders and the division in the workers' ranks. "What's got into them?" he asked. "Why don't they fight back any more? Well," he said, "if you haven't the guts to fight, you haven't the right to survive."

## Views On News By "SOCIALIST".

#### THE RIGHT TO CRITICISE

WHILE talking about educa-tion, Dr. Eiselen's warning to Native teachers not to take part in a meeting to protest against the Bantu Education Act, is an-other example of the way in other example of the which the Government rules this land.

Criticism is taboo. Yet the right to criticise is the essence of a free society. To stifle criticism is to halt progress, encourage despotism and bring corruption and decay. Even teachers, civil servants, judges should have the right to publicly join in protests against bad laws and bad Government. Let the people talk. Let them argue and let them criticise. Only good can let them criticise. Only good can come of it.

#### DEFENCE ECONOMY

THE Minister of Defence, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, says that the Government is prematurely retiring officers from the Union Defence Force "for reasons of economy."

That takes a bit of swallowing, considering that South Africa spent £25,000,000 on Defence last year and that in the

recent session of Parliament a further £23,303,000 was voted. The Labour Party moved that the amount be reduced and the amount be reduced and caused great indignation amongst the members of the Government. Our muddled Government prefers to save a few piffling pounds in sacking experienced army officers, rather than curtail its wild spending on stockpiling armaments which will be obsolete when the war comes that nobody wants — except those who profit by it.

#### UNIVERSITY APARTHEID

ONE day the Government sets up a Commission to investigate apartheid in our Universities; the next day the Prime Minister declares that the mingling of Europeans and non-Europeans at the universities will be eliminated as speedily as possible. That's telling 'em.

Dr. Malan has tried to add some decency to this campaign.

some decency to this campaign.

"Provided proper provision is
made for the needs of both sections." he says "academic segregation is not unjust."

He should now explain what
he means by "proper provision."
How soon can and will the Government provide separate

ernment provide separate and equal facilities for non-European students?

European students?

By equal we mean equal to what they are at present able to obtain at Wits. and Cape Town University. Unless such equal facilities are provided, it will be unjust (UNJUST, Doctor) to deprive non-Whites of the right to study at those universities which study at those universities which accept them. In any case, this madness of academic apartheid is another brake on progress in

is another brake on progress in South Africa.

Q.C. vs. THE PEOPLE

An eminent Q.C. of Cape Town has assured Dr. Abraham Jonker, the Gardens M.P. who was recently expelled from the United Party, that he is not bound, either legally or morally, to resign his seat in Parliament. Dr. Jonker seems to have become lost in the poetic tranquillities of some political "Hush-a-Bye-Baby" rhyme. He forgot to ask the 7,754 voters of Gardens constituency what they think. After all, they put him in Parliament — without the advice of any "eminent Q.C."

### VIEWS ON THE NEWS

By "Socialist"

## FLAT DWELLERS GET BIG SQUEEZE

LANDLORDS are giving the flat dwellers the big squeeze. New flats are being rented at £17-10-0 to £27-10-0 for bachelor, £25 to £30 for a two-roomed and £32-10-0 to £45 for three-roomed.

Old flats, at the cheaper controlled rentals are unobtainable. When they do fall vacant, they are quickly and quietly let to new tenants by the landlords or caretakers.

In many cases, key money is

demanded and paid. Honest landlords accept the law and obey it; dishonest ones get around the law and make money.

The injustice of the situation is driving all landlords to take full advantage of the provisions of the amended Rents Act.

Last year over 6,000 applications by owners for increased rentals on dwellings, were granted by the Rent Board. This year the number will be much higher. The Rents Act is truly proving to be a Landlord's Charter.

#### ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

THE African National Congress at Queenstown has decided to embark upon an economic boycott to intensify its campaign for equal economic rights and commercial justice for Africans.

mercial justice for Africans.

This looks like being a parallel movement to that of the Economic Institute of the F.A.K., which for years has been fostering similar action to build up Afrikaner Capitalism. South Africa is learnning that White Nationalism inspires Black Nationalism and what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

### MYSTERY OF THE MODEL TOWNSHIP

THE Native Affairs Department has decided that no more houses will be built at Zwelitsha, the model Native Township in the Ciskei Reserve. Why? The Chief Native Commissioner gives two reasons, (a) high building costs and (b) fewer people are applying for houses.

Scems queer, doesn't it? Aren't building costs high everywhere? That hasn't brought building to a standstill. Factories, office blocks, club houses, luxury flats and

shops are still going up everywhere.

Because fewer people are applying for houses at Zwelitsha, can it mean that everyone in that area is properly housed? Of course not!

In 1947 this was an urgent project.

The model town was laid out for 2,067 houses, each with a sixty foot frontage, four areas were set aside for shopping centres, sites were provided for two primary schools, three intermediate schools, one secondary school and one technical college.

Now, after six years and the completion of a mere 934 houses, the Government decides to quit. What's it all about?

## CLIMBING ON THE VICTORY BAND-WAGON

IN the race to congratulate the Federal Party on its victory in the Central African Federation elections, there was a dead-heat between the U.P. and the Federal Party of South Africa.

Both were anxious to get in first in claiming to be the Union's twin of the Northern sister.

Unfortunately, such gate-crashing into the victory banquet solves no problems for the Opposition here at home.

It's time they did something to win some congratulations for themselves. For example, a positive and determined effort to support the Labour Party in its defence of the elementary rights and freedoms of the people would earn the ungrudging praise of the hundreds of thousands who voted for the Opposition parties at the last election.

#### VIEWS ON THE NEWS

By "Socialist"

# S.A.'s SOCIAL INJUSTICE L

Christmas is over. The excitements, aches and pains are subsiding. As usual, it has been accompanied by many tragedies, bringing sorrow to many homes. Many of these unhappy occurrences could have been avoided.

Some of them caused by reckless driving, drinking and quarrelling. "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to men" — these words from St. Luke are quickly jostled aside in the crude ambitions of modern society.

Here, in South Africa, social injustice leads to such crazy contrasts as "Carols by Candlelight" at one end of the street and police raids on Native hostels at the other.

**Economic Equality** 

Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, the Chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, has made an appeal to the White miners of Rhodesia to agree to Natives doing certain classes of skilled work in the copper mines — at CHEAPER per mines — at CHEAPER RATES, of course. He says that the rates paid at present to the Whites "would not be justified for workmen of inferior skill and limited experience." limited experience

limited experience."

It is interesting to note that our Nationalists support this proposition of cheaper rates for the Black worker. They foolishly believe that that is the way to uphold the dignity of the White man. For the bosses, this is excellent. It is nice to have a large reserve of cheap and docile labour standof cheap and docile labour standing by in case the White worker becomes troublesome.

It's time the White worker got wise to this racket. Unless he takes a firm stand upon the principle of "equal pay for equal work" his economic security will disappear. He should not oppose the Black worker being given opportunities to acquire skills; but he must oppose all attempts to

pay the Black worker less than the rate for the job. Economic equality is economic justice and security for all workers. Ghost Voters

In compiling the new Voters' Rolls, the Electoral Officer has been asking numbers of people for proof that they are entitled to be enrolled. Most of them were registered and voted at the General Election last April. Now the Nats. have raised the sensational cry that thousands of immigrants who were not eligible to yet a life so. were not eligible to vote, did so at the General Election.

were not eligible to vote, did so at the General Election.

This is a nice red herring. The real point at issue is that many people are being asked to prove their right to vote, although they have never been challenged before. Obviously on the assumption that all immigrants voted against them, the Nats, make a blanket accusation against all settlers.

Why don't they take heed of the alarming facts produced in Parliament last September by Mr-H. Davidoff, the Labour M.P. for Johannesburg City? He showed cases of "ghosts" who had applied and received Postal Voting papers.

and received Postal Voting papers. He said that when he reported

three such cases to the police, the Prosecutor refused to prosecute because "there are so many loopholes in the Act." Isn't some cleaning up needed there?

New Year Messages

While the Party Leaders are issuing their bright messages to their supporters for the New Year, let me offer something written by the poet Tennyson 120 years ago:-

"Ring out old shapes of foul disease:

Ring out the narrowing list for gold; Ring out the thousand wars of old: Ring in the thousand years of peace. Ring in the valiant man and free, The larger heart, the kindlier hand; Ring out the darkness of the land,

Ring in the Christ that is to be.

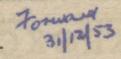
# OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY

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JOHANNESBURG, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1953

#### HEPPLE, M.P., RSON,

### YEAR'S MESSAGES



## PLEA FOR GOOD

## "Nationalist Path Won't Bring Better Life

Mr. Hepple's Message At the close of the eventful year of 1953, I sincerely and hopefully extend to everyone

wishes for peace, happiness and prosperity in 1954. To this I would add the wish that in the coming year we shall see a turning of the political tide in South Africa. Our wonderful country cannot afford a continuation of the provocative and reactionary policies which are being applied so relentlessly by the Nationalist Government.

WITH the uncertainties of the New Year facing the people of South Africa, both the National Chairman of the South African Labour Party, Mrs. Jessie McPherson, and the Party's Parliamentary Leader, Mr. Alex Hepple, have handed New Year massages to "Forward," the official organ of the Labour

Let us hope and pray that the spirit of goodwill towards all men will be the guiding light to all of us in this country," says Mrs. McPherson.

Min Reople says, "The simple desire for a better life cannot be reached along the road chosen by the Nationalists. That road to naved with sectionalism, privilege, harsh discrimination and intelerance."



MRS. JESSIE MCPHERSON



The simple desire for a better life cannot be reached along the road chosen by the Nationalists. That road is paved with sectionalism, privilege,

South Africa offers boundless opportunities for the future. Those opportunities cannot be restricted to the favoured few, otherwise our traditional New Year wishes for peace, happiness and prosperity cannot possibly be fulfilled.

Nationalist Lead to Disaster

is paved with sectionalism, privilege, harsh discrimination and intolerance. It leads to eventual disaster. A better life for all can be found at the end of a road which is more difficult and often dangerous. To travel it calls for courage, determination and unswerving faith. It is the road I would like all South Africans to take in 1954. That would make 1954 a great year.

Resist Despotism

There is much to fight for in South Africa today Despotism must be resisted; racial tensions removed; civil liberties defended, trade union freedom safeguarded and unity achieved; economic justice obtained for all-

Political change can be brought about by those who will stand up and fight. Besides wishing for good things in the coming year, let us rally and fight for them.

Mrs. McPherson's Message Mrs. McPerson appropriately starts her message with a quote from the Victorian poet, William Morris: "Oh why and for what are we wait-

ting? While our brothers drop and die And on every wind of the heavens A wasted life goes by."

1954!

"The voice of the world is stilled," writes Mrs. McPherson.
"Everyone is listening to the bells sweetly ringing the Old Year out and the New Year in. Hope springs into the hearts of men.

the hearts of men.

"Friends assembled everywhere joyfully embrace each other and the evergreen wish of a Happy New Year passes between the lips of millions. It is a joy to witness the spirit of brotherhood and goodwill. Grievances disappear and people all over the world are eager to travel the path of a new year with hope in their hearts.

"Auld Lang Syne is usually sung from the bottom of the heart.

Belief in Justice

"Let us hope and pray that this spirit of goodwill towards men will be a guiding light to all of us in this country and that it will strengthen the ties between us and give us strength to face the New Year with fortitude and courage, with added determination to practise and preach our belief of iustice to all men with renewed vigour.

"Pengember that reform was never

our belief of iustice to all men with renewed vigour.

"Remember that reform was never popular at first. The slaves were not liberated in a day. Hence the 'slaves' of our time will only be liberated after a long struggle.

"You have willingly offered your services to the great cause that binds us all together in the service of mankind.

"May you long be spared to serve these great and noble ideals. Ring Out the Old

"Ring out the Old. Ring in the New The bells are pealing out their message.
Maybe it's for me
Maybe it's for you,

Together we hear its song, Together we'll go along To a new world devoid of sorrow To a happier and richer tomorrow.



MR. ALEX HEPPLE, M.P.

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