

MEMORANDUM FOR PROGRESSIVE PARTY LABOUR GROUP

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE WHITE WORKER

INTRODUCTION

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

The White worker of South Africa is today largely of the lower middle-class to middle class group. His values are those of a group more concerned with improving his economic lot, and he is less concerned with ideological politics of an extreme kind. He is nonetheless, as most middle class groups are, concerned with status, but he is today more flexible in his attitude as to how this status can be maintained or achieved.

A decent house, a nice car, children going to school beyond standard six and a respectable job are the things that the average White worker is chiefly wanting. As a citizen his concerns are the concerns of the average White South African. However, his views on the race question are perhaps stronger than those of the middle-class proper or the upper-income group. He feels more strongly for concrete evidence of the security procedures that are needed for the White community. The upper-middle class and the upper income bracket do perhaps tend to accept much more on faith, when it comes to the arrangements needed for securing the future under a changed political or economic situation. This latter view is probably the result of greater confidence in one's own capacity to look after one's self because of their higher economic status and their greater experience of independence in the economy and in social intercourse.

If the above opinions are accepted, it becomes important that political policies being pitched at the White worker, be very clear on the points of security arrangements that the Party envisages for the future. Complications and too many subtleties are not liked by this group.

Also it is necessary to place a greater degree of reliance on the checks and balances provided by real power groups in the society in order to protect the new arrangements, because these workers do not have the degree of confidence in their unaided, single effort to protect themselves and their interests. It is illustrative of this fact that trade unions are typical of this group, but worker organisations are rarely found among the upper-middle class employee or upper income brackets.

A further point to consider when approaching the White worker,

1) wider - manifesto.

Workers.
+ Petit bourgeois

Training
of Africans Act

Swambo
strike

is the fact that he is usually suspicious of vague and general promises of the "good life" in the future. His situation has in the past not improved dramatically and so he is rather sceptical of the promises of any politician or employer who claims that he will be given 'security' a 'better income' etc. The worker, especially the "old guard", tends to think of the Sidarels that have collapsed, and wonders where the future benefits are going to come from, for the "old guard" worker thinks that there is a kind of fixed 'wage fund' which must be shared among all workers. So if another worker is to get more then he must get less. So to claim that the non-White will in the future be paid better and so also will the White worker, is regarded with disbelief by this old guard.

This point leads me to conclude that one must be very clear and have indisputable evidence of the promise of the 'better life' when trying to sell new political programmes to White workers of the old guard.

Fortunately, there are, as indicated above, an increasing number of White workers who are adopting a flexible and pragmatic attitude towards change and a more open attitude towards the future. For some, this new attitude arises from an increasing awareness of the problems that face the society and the inadequacy of some of the present solutions provided by the Nationalists.

Thus for example the economic ills facing the country are causing a re-think among many urban workers. The high cost of living, the breakdown of public services, the increased strain and burden of work arising from Whites trying to do all the key jobs, are all causing concern and resulting in a stirring of thought and a questioning of present arrangements.

Another influence on the White worker of the older generation is the influence of their children. In some instances, and I cannot claim to know the extent of this influence, their children are bringing new thoughts, new unanswered questions into the home. It would be a gross exaggeration to claim that the revolution of thinking that has been brought into the American home by the youth is what is occurring to the same extent in South Africa, but there are signs that the change in thinking of the youth when brought into the home, has possibly the most powerful influence on a family's thinking. For it is in the home where a confrontation of think-

ing cannot be ignored, when it involves one's own children. I know of cases where parents who are bus drivers accept with a kind of mild amusement and resignation, the fact that their children, who are at Pretoria University, are Progressives.

The young White worker is a more difficult person to reach in some ways. He is less secure than his elders. He is frequently in a dilemma over his exact position in the society, because he hopes to raise himself to the middle-class, but is worried that he may not be able to do it. I believe that he is keen to improve himself but is in some respects unpredictable when it comes to reactions to political policies of any party. He knows that the race is on and that the non-White will be brought into jobs previously the preserve of the Whites, and that if he wants to maintain his status he will have to move up quickly.

However, the young White worker is also more aware of the need for policies for the future and he feels more keenly the economic burdens of the present Nationalists policies. His income is not high enough to allow him to buy a home. He feels the rise in the cost of living more than his parents because many of the things he wants to and has to buy are consumer durables which are expensive.

The young White worker, like his student contemporary, does not have great confidence in the political process to get the kind of society he wants. But his confidence in the established political party system is certainly stronger, although qualified, than that of the student and higher income youth groups.

Trade unionism is not keenly supported by the majority of the White workers in the private sector. It seems to have ceased to be respectable. In the public sector the idea has greater acceptance because most of the unions there are presented as staff associations which are as much part of the civil service tradition as the idea of being a civil servant itself.

To be a trade unionist in the private sector, is something which one does not advertise widely unless one is one of a relatively small group within a particular union. Of course, the unions are still extensively used by the workers for services and improving wages etc.,

C.F. drop out rates 1920's. University Extension and person

Japan's Circulation rates. also stagnation

Yawning mouths of Bastards. Quelle Cante Report 1945.

Various circle of blocks poverty birth rate failures of homelands

budget.

but the gilt is off the ginger bread. There are, of course, some important exceptions, particularly in the long established trades such as printing and fitters.

Any approach to the White workers must, to my mind, be distinctly divided between an approach through the trade unions, and one which appeals directly to the worker as worker with no attachments to the trade union. This is essential because of the weakening of the White workers keenness towards the trade union movement.

*would they
then oppose
black trade
unions on
grounds
of workers
against
bosses
use Toland
Review
Figari*

The above remarks are not meant to suggest that the White workers will not use their trade unions if the need arises to protect themselves, and if the union is able to help them in any way, but this is an interest much like some people's interest in religion, "I need it when I am baptised, married and needing a funeral".

WHERE TO BEGIN

The above remarks, do not pretend to be comprehensive, nor indisputable, but they are my impressions of the White worker. With this caution in mind we must be prepared to experiment at first, try strategies out and see how things go.

WORKER MANEFESTO

There are arguments in favour and strong arguments against, us producing a Workers Manefesto in printed form for general distribution at this stage.

*Ini again?
- How about
loose pamphlet
with chalk + Figari*

The arguments in favour are firstly, to clarify in our own minds our White worker policy and secondly, to counteract adverse propoganda directed against our party and its policy towards the White worker. Particularly in view of the fact that the Progressive Party is regarded as the wealthy, Northern suburbs Party, a firm commitment to a White worker policy is urgently needed.

However, by committing ourselves in writing, at this stage, to the details of such a White worker policy, may be premature for we invite an attack before we are in a position to show concrete examples of White worker support.

The Committee will have to weigh up the pros and cons of these two arguments.

DRAFT OF A WORKER MANEFESTO

The Progressive Party of South Africa as a truly South African and national political party has a definite policy for the security and welfare of South Africa, and its people.

Progressive Party policies are clear, not vague and contradictory like the policies of the other major political parties.

Its policies and programme is firmly rooted in the South African tradition of recognising the central role that relations between the various racial and language groups must play in politics. Its policies are soundly based on the reality of providing for the continued security and wellbeing of the White while uplifting in a controlled manner the non-White people so that they can eventually enjoy justice and equal opportunity with the Whites.

The sound, hard realism, and firm policy of the Progressive Party runs through all its policies.

Thus the Progressive Party sees that the security of the White as a worker is just as important as his security as a citizen. The Progressive Party does not offer the White worker a false policy of security, as does the Nationalist Party with its policy of Job Reservation which in today's changing jobs situation protects none, for what is the use of fencing-off a job exclusively for one racial group when the job no longer exists in six months time.

The Progressive Party recognises that technology, a changing economy, new products, cheap labour are the threats that threaten the White worker. These threats the Nationalists do not recognise for if they did they would have programmes and policies to handle them, when all they cry about is that Job Reservation is adequate protection.

The Progressive Party worker policy is also geared to the new reality that Black workers do not have any channel of communication with the employers. This we think is dangerous for without channels of communication to discuss real or unreal grievances, people get

frustrated, wrongs build up unattended and the radical politicians have a fertile ground for causing trouble by exploiting the frustrations of the people. //

The Progressive Party does not support the argument that to give the Black worker the training and opportunity to participate in the registered and responsible trade unions of South Africa they will automatically misuse this authority. The Nationalists are claiming that they will give Blacks separate states, to run themselves, we believe that joint co-operation with the White worker, the Coloured and Asian workers who already have experience in running trade unions is the best way to build responsible trade unionism among the Blacks.

The Progressive Party is working for the following worker policies for South Africa:

1. A National Contributory Pension Scheme.
2. Rate for the Job to prevent cheap labour being used to undercut the established wage standards. *What does this mean.*
3. The provision of assistance from the State, the employers and in co-operation with the workers for workers to adjust and maintain their capacity to hold down a productive and remunerative job. //
4. Special facilities for those workers, of any race, who cannot hold down a productive job. These facilities will allow the worker to either graduate out of the disadvantaged group or if he cannot do so with assistance then remain permanently in this group getting assistance.
5. The abolition of Job Reservation and the systematic removal of the Colour Bar through the orderly and practical improvement in the skills and training of the non-Whites so that they can take jobs now by custom alone the exclusive preserve of some Whites'.
6. The acceptance that Blacks must become part of the industrial relations system and have channels of communication between themselves and employers, and to this end they must become part of the registered trade unions.
7. The promotion of education, technical training for all workers

unemployment figures

so that there are the trained people to permit the South African economy to grow at a much higher rate, so as to raise the standard of living of all workers and provide enough jobs for the many tens of thousands of new work seekers coming onto the labour market for jobs each year. //

8. The establishment of a national manpower development agency for the promotion of manpower research and the calculating of the manpower requirements of South Africa, so as to avoid either training too many persons of a particular job category or training too few. Also this development agency will have the task of advising the Prime Minister in the co-ordinating of manpower policies of various State Departments.

The Progressive Party has the policies for the job and income security of workers in the decades to come. It is a Party that does not ignore the realities of problems in a modern industrial society. It is a Party that seeks to promote maximum economic growth, with the minimum of inflation so that the great wealth potential of South Africa can be developed and all citizens can have a fair share. It is a Party that demands an orderly and practical programme for the running of this society and the protection and development of worker welfare.

COMMENT ON THE IDEA OF A WORKER MANEFESTO

The above draft of a worker manefesto causes me some concern. White South Africans, even workers, do not really like being classed as such in blunt and bold terms. It seems to dilute their status to be called workers by more sophisticated groups, but they do not mind being called workers by their worker colleagues.

I believe that a worker manefesto produced by the Progressive Party should start off by being sent out under the name of a number of key worker members as a message to other workers. A message describing the Progressive Party policy. The form of the manefesto will then be very different for it will in the first instance be largely in direct speech. It will also indicate from the start that workers

have committed themselves to the Party. It is also identified with flesh and blood people who can later be approached by the workers to explain their support of the Party. It comes from fellow workers and seems less patronising.

I therefore suggest that the above draft of the manifesto to be used merely as the basis for a very much more personal statement on the Progressive Party policies and in particular its labour policies, coming from a selection of Progressive Party worker supporters.

PROGRAMME FOR ACTION

It was agreed at the last meeting of the Committee that Vereeniging be the starting point for this campaign, and that the Party branch in Vereeniging be the base for this beginning.

The following plan of action is submitted to the Committee for their consideration:

- a) The preparation of a draft worker manifesto to be submitted to sympathetic worker leaders for their comment and corrections.
- b) The Vereeniging Branch prepare a list of potentially sympathetic workers in its area.
- c) A small task force to be set up of suitable persons from Vereeniging and other areas who will put their names to the manifesto and also be prepared to speak at meetings to workers in Vereeniging on the manifesto and other Progressive policies.
- d) A meeting to be arranged by special invitation attended by suitable workers in the Vereeniging area, which will be addressed by the signatories of the manifesto.
- e) These meetings to be repeated and a further plan of action to develop from there.

COMMENT ON THE PROGRAMME FOR ACTION

It seems to me that an approach to any large number of workers will not be possible until we have the enthusiastic and working

*Yes
manifesto*

support of a small number of workers. The first priority will be to get this leadership group who will later make the approaches to a wider audience.

In the meantime, preparation can be made to list the people who we will approach from the wider group, so that when we have suitable leaders prepared to work for the Party in this way, we can soon put them in touch with an audience.

At this stage in the presentation of the Party's labour policies, it will be personal style, and personal conviction that will make the most headway in converting people for the public is aware of the fact that the Party does not yet have general worker support. Personalities committed to the Party is our only hope to make the more general approach.

But we cannot go to these personalities with no labour policy whatsoever, we must give them the framework on which to work, but allow them some leeway in the style of presentation. We need a touch of individual character stamped on this approach and not a neutral and cold presentation of the policy.

The proposal in the Programme that a first draft be prepared, in consultation with sympathetic worker leaders, separately, and even before we get the signatories, is made because we must be in the position to give the signatories something to chew on and something to believe in.

R.L. KRAFT

1.) Growth P.M. $R1 = 400$ actual wages
c.f. Japan

Dpt. of Inland Rev. Statistics

2.) Decentralisation - myths - Howlands.

3.) Education

4.) Declining population.

5.) Map. Reserve

6.) Productivity + literacy.

~~24th June.~~

17th June.

10 A.M.

Editorial Committee

Dudley - Bob

Bruckner - George.

Dept. of Statistics

Manpower.

Fault of

System for

inefficiency of Civil Service.

7.) Pension Funds - Wynand Louw.

8.) Unemployment Insurance Fund.

9.) Retraining of Artisans. - Lieberberg.

10.) Management + Entrepreneurship.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE NATIONAL ADVISORY
COMMITTEE ON LABOUR.

The impact and effect of the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government on the employment of African labour is of two kinds: firstly, what may be described as the philosophy of major apartheid, enshrined in legislation; and secondly, petty apartheid, which is not the subject of direct legislation, but is often the result of legislative enactments, and sometimes just the attitude of certain authorities towards the African who is seeking work or who wants to change his employment.

The Prime Minister and other leading Nationalist public figures have said from time to time that they do not know what petty apartheid is, thereby implying that there is no such thing. Anyone who is at all involved with the employment and registration of African labour is, however, made very well aware of the existence and impact of petty apartheid. The Progressive Party has always been very conscious of the existence of petty apartheid as a very real factor in exacerbating public relations, and demands that these obnoxious restrictions must be removed.

The more important illustrations of the existence and impact of these policies can probably be found in:

The Pass Laws
Restrictions on entry of Africans
into urban areas
Employment
Looking for work
Changing a job

The principle of major apartheid insofar as these aspects of South African administration are concerned, is to be found in Job Reservation, the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Settlement of Disputes Act, the Bantu Labour Act, and the Urban Areas Act. All these Acts have one common thread running through them, namely, the prevention of an African from employment in particular categories of work, simply

because/.....

because of his race, regardless of his individual skill, aptitude and training. South Africa is the only country in the civilised world where this sort of legislation is encountered on the scale and complexity experienced here.

Insofar as the impact of petty apartheid on employment, seeking work and changing a job is concerned, this is to be found in the endless paper work, permits, queueing, waste of time, discourtesy displayed by junior White officials, the sending of African applicants from pillar to post, the instruction: "come back tomorrow", and, not least of the obnoxious features, the constant incidence of petty bribery found among African Clerks in Municipal and Government offices dealing with Africans.

Pass Laws and Restrictions on Entry

The Urban Areas Act (25 of 45), the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act (67 of 52), the Bantu Labour Act (67 of 64), the Bantu Labour Regulations No. R1892 of 65, the Physical Planning Act (88 of 67), comprise in general what is loosely called the Pass Laws, together with other incidental legislation.

The effect of this very complex and far-reaching legislation is to deny the right of an African to enter an urban area to seek work or to take up residence unless he complies with the provisions of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. This is the Section of the Act which governs what is commonly known as Influx Control and, together with the Bantu Labour Act and Regulations, makes it impossible for Africans to move from one town to another to seek work without authority, or to change their employment within the area of jurisdiction of a particular Bantu Administration Board, without first having obtained the necessary permission.

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Changing a Job

The major apartheid restrictions involved here are to be found in Job Reservation, the Pass Laws and the Bantu Labour Act. The absence of legally recognised Trade Unions for Africans, as well as

the/.....

the absence of any official system of apprenticeship for African boys, results in the fact that it is impossible for them to acquire skills leading to higher wages in more advantageous employment.

The effect of petty apartheid is to require a permit for the basic right to look for work, something which applies to no other race. In the event of an African losing his job, he is allowed 14 days' grace to seek alternative employment in the first instance, which may be extended for two further periods of 7 days each, in the discretion of the authorities. This involves the applicant in endless administrative bottlenecks, and hours of wasted queueing while waiting for the essential permits. If the man does not comply with the host of legislative restrictions surrounding employment, his application may be refused and he may be refused entry and endorsed out of the urban area. There is no appeal to the Courts provided for, and his only recourse is to apply to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, where he may not be legally represented.

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The Progressive Party believes that the effect of these restrictions is to impose an artificial brake on the beneficial employment of African labour, which results in a curtailment of the normal economic development of the country's industrial and commercial potential on a par with other countries in an equal stage of development. South Africa is confronted with an acute shortage of manpower, and normal economic growth has been stifled for years by the artificial restrictions on the training, education and employment of Africans for jobs where Europeans are simply not available. There are so many examples that every person is able to quote instances from his own knowledge, but two examples which are apposite at the moment, i.e. the inefficient public transport services provided by local authorities because of the crippling shortage of European drivers, and the delays and high costs of motor repairs because of the chronic shortage of White youths entering the trade of motor mechanics, are apparent to everyone.

The Building Industry too has found it impossible to recruit and employ Blacks for work in which they would be eminently

suitable/.....

suitable, because of the existence and impact of the apartheid legislation referred to above.

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The Progressive Party believes that the entire economy can be given a tremendous boost if the unnecessary and irksome restrictions on the employment of African labour in spheres where they will not constitute any threat to the employment of Whites - because Whites are either not available or desirous of taking up such employment - were to be removed, and proper facilities established for the training and employment of this vast reservoir of labour, which would react to the benefit of all concerned.

To achieve this the following positive changes in legislation, as well as the aim of official Government policy, will have to be accepted; the Progressive Party therefore advocates:

- 1) The amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act by including "African" in the definition of "employee".

This will mean that Africans will be legally entitled to Trade Union membership, with all that this implies, i.e. proper organisation of African labour; participation in negotiating and fixing wage rates and Wage Determinations, and collective bargaining

- 2) Acceptance by the Government of African boys to be properly indentured as apprentices in the skilled trades and crafts, and to allow their subsequent employment in White urban areas as skilled craftsmen. At present the most the Government will allow is to train African youths as artisans in certain selected categories of labour, but only for employment in proclaimed Bantu Areas or in the Homelands.

N.B. Legally an African can be trained as an apprentice in any trade under the Apprenticeship Act of 44, but it is Government policy not to indenture African apprentices in White areas.

- 3) Abolition of the Bantu Labour Act and Regulations (which treat

African/.....

African labour as something special and apart from ordinary labour), and to vest the control of African labour in the normal process of legislation which governs all labour: in other words, the Progressive Party advocates the removal of the race tag from African labour and urges acceptance of the principle that African labour be regarded in the same way as all other types of labour.

- 4) Abolition of the principle of Job Reservation, which has been a feature in the Industrial Conciliation Act since 1957.
- 5) Acceptance of the principle of the "Rate for the Job".
- 6) Abolition of the restrictions embodied in the "Pass Laws" on the employment of Africans in White urban areas.
- 7) Amendment of the Urban Areas Act (25 of 45) to allow the maximum utilisation of African labour for the maximum benefit of the country as a whole.
- 8) To accept the principle of "Home ownership" for Urban Africans, because nothing ensures greater stability among the African working force than security of home tenure.

W.J.P. CARR
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

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