

of passing importance. In 1953, when the Select Committee on the Coloured Vote heard evidence, majority Coloured opinion was expressed through two organisations—the Coloured Peoples' National Union and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation.

The C.P.N.U. declared, "It is, and always has been, ever since the question was first mooted, utterly opposed to the principle of the communal or separate representation of Coloured voters." Unfortunately, the C.P.N.U. had compromised this forthright declaration by having discussions with Dr. Malan, Mr. Havenga and Dr. Dönges, an action which resulted in a rift in the organisation, from which was born the S.A.C.P.O. This latter body told the Select Committee, "the present attempts at limiting the vote and providing alternative means of representation are nothing but part of a scheme to keep the non-Europeans in suppression, i.e., in a position of inferiority to the European."

The C.P.N.U. has now virtually disappeared, mainly as a result of the demoralisation caused by a surprise letter, offering a compromise on the Coloured Vote, which was sent by its President, Mr. Geo. Golding, to Dr. Malan at the height of the critical Joint Sitting of 1954.

Public Protest

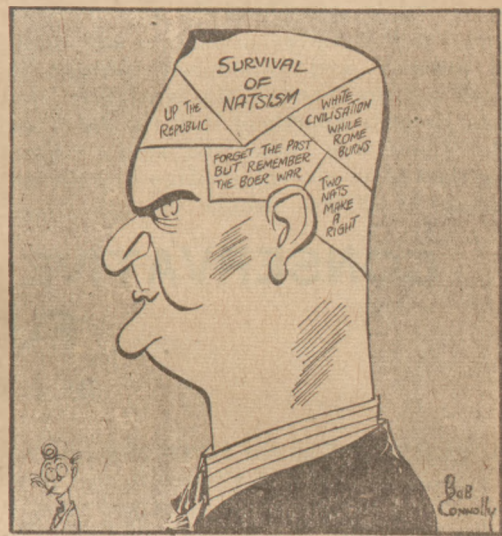
ON the other hand, S.A.C.P.O. appears to be increasing its activities. It has been responsible for all public protest in recent times. In January its members paraded outside Electricity House, Cape Town, protesting against the introduction of apartheid at the Municipal Accounts Office. In March it held a public meeting on the Parade, demonstrating against a proposal to take away the municipal vote from Coloured women.

Its apparent silence during the Joint Sitting should not be misconstrued. One of S.A.C.P.O.'s leaders has said to me that the Joint Sitting was a mere formality, once the new Senate had been created. The Coloureds feel that, in any case, there is little they can expect from the Parliamentary parties. Dr. R. E. van der Ross, a Coloured leader, once asked, "What is the difference, anyway, between the Nationalist 'blanke baasskap' and the United Party 'White leadership with justice'?"

THE FORUM, APRIL, 1956.

This attitude is becoming widespread. It gained ground last year, when Mr. Strauss made his two astounding statements on the Coloured Vote. Despondency is giving way to a spirit of defiant arrogance. I saw that at Newlands in January, at the baseball match between the U.S.A. and South Africa. On the arrival of the Governor-General and at the playing of "Die Stem" the Coloureds remained seated, loudly jeering the proceedings. These were not hooligans. Their behaviour was exemplary for the rest of the afternoon.

What would have happened if the Coloureds had demonstrated outside Parlia-



NAT. MENTALITY
—Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

ment during the Joint Sitting? Well, I saw what happened to a dozen peaceful non-Whites, who silently paraded there one evening in February, carrying placards protesting against the Industrial Conciliation Bill. Immediately the place was swarming with police. The demonstrators were rounded up, their names and addresses taken, and they were hustled away.

There is another aspect of this matter. If Coloured demonstrators had appeared outside Parliament during the Joint Sitting, what would their effect have been upon the Sash women? I am sure that the Sash women would have found the situation most embarrassing, fearing that the Nationalists would claim that they were acting in unison with the Coloureds. It will be remembered that the Black Sash had made it quite clear

that "the participation of Non-Europeans in the movement could not be considered."

Many Meanings

THE Coloured people are learning that "unity" has many meanings in South African politics. More than once they have achieved unity only to see it fade more quickly than it flowered. There was, for example, the National United Front of 1939, which was full of promise. It arose after Dr. Malan, then in Opposition, presented a petition to Parliament, demanding legislation to apply apartheid to all non-Europeans. The U.P. Government gave way under this pressure and announced through its Minister of the Interior, Mr. Stuttaford, that it had its own Apartheid Bill, the Servitude Bill. There was immediate, angry protest from the Coloureds, culminating in a demonstration of 20,000 people on the Grand

Parade on March 27, 1939. The Servitude Bill was not heard of again.

Unfortunately, the roots of the National United Front were not deep enough. Like other sections of the people, the Coloureds had still to discover the way to real unity.

Now a new phase has been reached. The Government has succeeded in enacting its law to remove the Coloured voters from the Common Roll, and is pushing on with its other apartheid measures. This is changing the Coloured peoples' way of thinking. There is a deep significance in the fact that S.A.C.P.O. is part of the Congress movement, linked with the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. The Government may devise many temptations and tricks to divide and rule the Coloured people, but if they only knew it, they have awakened a new spirit among the masses of the Coloureds that will achieve more for them than they might otherwise have gained in the way of favours from White South Africa.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY HAS NO FUTURE

By J. R. NEAME

COMMENTING on the future of a political opponent, Winston Churchill said there was nothing certain about it except that he did not have one. The same prediction, with the same degree of certainty, can be made of the Conservative Party. The 1958 general election will sound the death-knell of a party that has no followers, but six representatives in Parliament.

The Conservative Party's Parliamentary representation was obtained under United Party colours in 1953; and its six members, ignoring the demands of their constituents to resign, still cling to safe United Party seats.

The Conservative Party came into being about two years ago when its leader, Mr. Bailey Bekker, elected to Parliament as United Party member for Johannesburg North, and five other United Party M.P.s decided to compromise with the Nationalist Government on the Coloured vote issue. Seeking to help Dr. Malan out of the constitutional impasse in which he found himself after the Appellate Division had declared the Separate Representation of Voters Act

and the High Court of Parliament Act invalid, the Conservative Party was prepared to support the Government if it agreed to remove the Coloureds from the common roll by degrees. The proposal of the Conservative Party was to leave those Coloureds who were already registered on the common roll, but to establish a separate roll for all new registrations.

Dr. Malan accepted the compromise, believing that it would be supported by a sufficient number of United Party members to give him the two-thirds majority he needed to carry out his political apartheid programme.

Instalment Plan

BUT the United Party stood firm. It washed its hands of the Bekker instalment plan of removing the Coloureds from the common roll.

The fundamental cause of the breach between the Bekker group and the United Party was a difference of opinion on non-European policy, but personalities played

TWO KINDS OF APARTHEID

By ALEX. HEPPLER, M.P.

THE Parliamentary debate on the Tomlinson Report was a debate on apartheid. It had to be. If the discussion on the socio-economic development of the Native Reserves was to be fruitful, it had to begin with clarity on non-European policy generally. All parties recognise that the future of the Reserves cannot be separated from the future of the Africans as a whole.

There was the usual amount of talking in circles and political skirmishing, encouraged by the fact that no decisions were to be taken. Mr. Strauss pleaded, "Let us lift the non-European question out of the heat and dust of the party political arena." Mr. Strijdom responded with the call, "If we must fight, let us fight on some other issue. On apartheid we stand together." But the battle was joined on apartheid for that was the issue.

Clearer Picture

THE Tomlinson Report, the Government White Paper and the debate have together succeeded in bringing us nearer to grips with the Nationalist Party policy of apartheid. We now have a clearer picture of what to expect in the field of racial policy from now to the end of the century. The road to the ideal of a totally segregated South Africa is long and uncharted. Not even

the dedicated Dr. Verwoerd presumes to predict when the end of the road is to be reached, nor what exactly we shall find there.

So Parliament, like Professor Tomlinson and the Government, concentrated upon that part of the road between here and the year 2000 A.D. What emerged from this is of extreme importance, for it answers many questions on the policy of baasskap apartheid.

For example, it is now clear that white South Africans are not to get apartheid after all. Apartheid is for black South Africans only. The only territory exclusively for members of one race, will be the Native Reserves. On the other hand, the so-called European areas will be populated by all races, with Africans, Coloureds and Asians outnumbering the whites by three to one. In order to overcome this absurdity, the Government intends to persist in its efforts to keep the different races apart, by applying a limited form of apartheid in the white areas. This form of apartheid, because it is aimed to maintain white supremacy, will involve the use of oppressive laws, which will become harsher as social and economic pressures tend to break down racial barriers.

Several Opposition speakers stressed some of the more glaring fallacies of the Tomlinson Report. However, as the Government happily welcomed the Report's "endorsement of the standpoint of the Government," most

criticisms were based upon the premises of the Report, as well as the White Paper.

Two Societies

It seems that, if the Government's plans are fulfilled, we shall have two societies within the Union by the year 2000 A.D. One will be a pure apartheid society for Africans only. The other will be a mixed or integrated society of all races. The forms of these two societies will differ enormously. These two divisions, that will be the Union of 2000 A.D., can be described briefly as follows.

Mixed Society

THE population of the mixed society, if the plans of the Tomlinson Commission are fulfilled, will comprise:

- 5,000,000 Whites.
- 6,500,000 Africans (permanently settled).
- 3,000,000 Africans (migrants).
- 4,000,000 Coloureds.
- 1,350,000 Asiatics.

making a total of about 19,000,000 in all. They will inhabit the developed areas of South Africa, where the mines, the industries and the cities are established—the places of employment and opportunity.

In this mixed sector, not all persons will enjoy the same rights. The pattern of differentiation is being drawn at the present time by means of the many apartheid laws that are being put on the Statute book.

Narrower Meaning

DR. VERWOERD says that apartheid is not confined to the territorial sphere. It also has a narrower meaning, applicable in areas where the races are intermingled. This is our mixed society, where the narrower apartheid will be providing separate schools, universities, buses, station entrances, trade union branches and the like. It will not apply to the domestic employment sphere. There the races will mix freely with the non-whites making the whites' beds, cooking the whites' food, nursing the whites' babies, dressing the white children.

The Africans will be ruled, as they are now, by a mass of restrictive laws, specially conceived to keep them in their place. They will have no political rights. They will have no real civic rights. Their freedom will be curtailed by the pass laws and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. They will have no trade union rights. Their labour will be strictly

controlled and directed through labour bureaux. They will have no property rights.

When asked, in 1954, whether economic progress would not break down this apartheid, Dr. Verwoerd confidently replied, "South Africa can have both economic prosperity and still take stronger steps against the eventual intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans in many spheres of life."

This means, of course, that even the meagre existing rights of the urban Africans are threatened, and that harsher laws and



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—Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

restrictions are inevitable. In such circumstances, even the liberty of the whites will be in jeopardy. In order to maintain this mixed society, and keep three-quarters of the population subject to their will, the whites will have to make many sacrifices, not least of which will be important rights and freedoms. The white minority will become prisoners of their own domination.

On this basis the mixed society of 2000 A.D. will be a highly-developed police state, with all the energies of the whites directed towards defending their authority in desperate endeavours to uphold baasskap apartheid.

Apartheid Society

IN the Reserves there will be 15,000,000 Africans, of whom two to three million will be migrant workers going out to serve the needs of the white areas. This will be

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THE TOMLINSON DEBATEby ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

75/5/54

Tomlinson

June 1954

Two kinds of Apartheid

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THE TOMLINSON DEBATE

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THE TOMLINSON DEBATE.by ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

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THE APARTHEID SOCIETY.

In the Reserves there will be 15,000,000 Africans, of which two to three million will be migrant workers going out to serve the needs of the White areas. This will be the Apartheid Society. The Commission proposes the establishment of industries and towns in order to build up a separate African economy, providing opportunities for Black merchants, artisans, manufacturers and professional men. On this question of industrialisation there were two arguments, one about method and the other about money. The Commission recommended that private European industrialists should undertake the job. The Government rejected this, declaring that its policy is to keep Whites out of the Reserves, but to allow them to establish factories on its borders to make full use of migrant African labour from inside.

As for money, the Commission proposed that a sum of £25,000,000 should be spent on industrialisation over a period of five years through a Development Corporation. The Government turned this down. In any case, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., who has some experience as an entrepreneur, thought the amount of £25,000,000 unrealistic. He estimated that "to industrialists on the scale contemplated by the Report would mean industrialisation at two-thirds of the tremendous pace now going on in South Africa. This would cost about £800,000,000 in the next 25 years."

Dr. Verwoerd said he attached no importance to such challenging estimates. He preferred the happier delusions of his apartheid dream.

However..... / 6

THE TOMLINSON DEBATE.by ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

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However, let us look at other aspects of this second society. How does it compare with the Mixed Society, apart from the fact that it has somehow beaten the White man to the goal of apartheid ?

In the first place it will not be a democratic Society. According to Mr. de Wet Nel, M.P., member of the Native Affairs Commission and of the Tomlinson Commission, the Reserves can never have autonomy or self-determination. At best, they may eventually ^{achieve} ~~have~~ a form of provincialism, with strictly limited powers.

The inhabitants will be ruled through the Bantu Authorities Act and the Native Administration Act, which will peg them to tribal authority and custom. The Black industrialist, artisan, businessman and professional man, no less than the most backward and primitive tribesman, will be subject to the arbitrary powers of the chiefs and headmen, expressed through the Natal Native Code of the Nineteenth Century. The real authority, who will decide and decree on all matters affecting the lives of the 15,000,000 people in the Reserves will be the Minister of Native Affairs, designated by Parliament ^{as} Supreme Chief of all Africans.

The Prime Minister persistently asserts that, while it would be dangerous folly to give rights to Africans in the mixed areas, the Government offers them "opportunity to develop in their own areas, according to their own character and capabilities, and there to enjoy rights and privileges." What are those rights and privileges? They have not been defined, nor will they be.

XXXXXXXX A BLEAK PROSPECT../ 7

THE TOMLINSON DEBATE.by ALEX. HEPPLER, M.P.

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A BLEAK PROSPECT.

In the debate, some members expressed fear that these two conflicting societies would end in disaster for the White man. They suggested that the Black States in the Reserves would become hostile to the other Sector of South Africa, where a racial fifth column of majority proportions would be waiting to revolt. It was a gloomy and depressing prospect, on which Dr. Verwoerd had the last word. He said, "If in terms of our policy a White-controlled South Africa is established and there are separate Black States ... at least the control of the White man is assured in White South Africa. He there controls the economic power, the governmental power and the defence machinery and he can plan his future. Should the country be so unfortunate that White South Africa has to fight a Black South Africa, the White man at least still has a chance."

And there the debated ended, temporarily.

As this is being written, Parliament waits to take the discussion further. It will go so whenever it can. But we shall get nowhere. We ~~are~~ once again ~~able to~~ see that the Nationalist policy of apartheid, however ornamented, is nothing but the old-fashioned policy of "kaffer op sy plek". There is no intention to advance the African people ^{towards} ~~to~~ sharing democratic society, nor to enjoy it as a segregated people. Nor is there a desire to embrace them as a free people in the community of democratic nations.

END.

Capetown.

25/5/56

ROM

READERS' POINTS OF VIEW

STILL NO PASSPORT FOR MRS. JESSIE MacPHERSON

"Low Political Blow" at Labour Party

To the Editor, "Rand Daily Mail."

Sir,—I see that the Government's reply to Father Huddleston's book, "Naught For Your Comfort," will be published on June 8.

I hope that the author, Mr. Alexander Steward, Director of Information, South Africa House, London, has included an answer to Father Huddleston's chapter entitled "Who Goes There?"

This chapter deals with the important question of personal freedom, particularly the refusal of passports to South Africans. Father Huddleston states that Mrs. Jessie MacPherson, chairman of the Labour Party, was refused a passport. I know that to be an undeniable fact. In spite of persistent efforts, I have been unable to extract any sort of explanation from the Minister for the refusal.

If the Government does not explain why Mrs. MacPherson was refused a passport, then the State

Information Office must expect "unfavourable publicity" abroad to continue. The refusal is a grave slur not only on Mrs. MacPherson, a woman of high repute and an ex-Mayor of Johannesburg, but also on the Labour Party, of which she is chairman. Can people here and abroad who know Mrs. MacPherson be silent while she is a political prisoner in South Africa? Must we, her party colleagues, ignore this unjust action by the Government? Must we let it pass without public protest?

By refusing the chairman of the Labour Party a passport, the Government has struck a low political blow at one of its opponents. The effect is also to besmirch the honourable reputation of the Labour Party, which is not a sinister or conspiratorial organisation, but a political party like the Nationalist Party, although much older. As Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, I refuse to accept this slur.

For my part, I shall raise my voice against injustice whenever I can and as loudly as I can. If this leads to "unfavourable publicity" abroad, then the Government's remedy is not to silence me (and its other critics), but to end the injustices. Home truths cannot be suppressed by labelling them as foreign lies. — ALEX. HEPPIE, M.P., House of Assembly, Cape Town.

16th May, 1956

Dear Jessie,

Once again I raised the matter of your passport. I have just read the Johannesburg papers and see there was no report of it, so I enclose a cutting from the Natal Witness for your information.

When the Hansard appears next week you will be able to read the full report. It's quite impossible to get anywhere with the Government or to get the U.P. to join in any fight on major principle, such as this. The next election seems to be frightening the U.P. to death. Privately they compliment the Labour Party for its stand, but when we suggest they should do likewise, the discussion comes to an abrupt end. Yesterday, after I had spoken ~~in~~ on the Tomlinson Report, the United Party showered me with praise, but what use is that?

South Africa has become nicely conditioned to fascism and everyone's aim seems to be to mind their own business and fight shy of every contentious issue. However, the future is with us. Sooner or later we shall come into our own. That is one thing we are sure of.

Tell Bennie that I shall try to raise the matter of the opening of letters under the Posts and Telegraphs Vote. We hope you are feeling better.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

Alex. Happle.M.P.

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND LABOUR LAWS IN SOUTH AFRICA.by ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

Two labour codes operate in South Africa. They are part of the general policy of racial discrimination. The two codes were not specially conceived as a specific plan. They emerged over the years as the cumulative result of various labour laws and conventional practices which gave effect to colour bars. During the past eight years, the Nationalist Party Government have sharpened the dividing line between the two codes by the enactment of new labour and other laws. It should not be thought, however, that the Nationalist party is the sole architect of discriminatory labour laws and practices. Other political parties, industrialists, mining companies and even many trade unions have supported this development. Many of them have done so with energy and enthusiasm.

The difference between the two codes is now considerable. On the one hand, White workers have perhaps as many rights as workers in most other countries. They have freedom to organise, form trade unions, and have them legally recognised, engage in collective bargaining, and sell their labour where they will. While their trade union activities will be handicapped in the future because of restraints applied through recent legislation, (of which more later) the code which applies to them includes the rights of industrial democracy. Coloured workers are included in this category, excepting that convention and custom limit their fields of employment, by denying them access to many occupations, especially in the Northern provinces. Broadly speaking, however, the one labour code may be said to apply to all workers except Africans.

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND LABOUR LAWS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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Africans are in a completely different position. Not only are African trade unions denied legal recognition, but every possible obstacle is placed in their way to prevent their growth. The Government looks upon such organisations as a menace to White civilisation. As one Cabinet Minister expressed it ⁽¹⁾ - "..... the stronger the Native trade union movement becomes, the more dangerous it would be to the Europeans of South Africa... we would be committing race suicide if we give them that incentive."

African workers are not permitted to engage in collective bargaining through the industrial council system. African trade unions cannot obtain legal status. Disputes with their employers cannot be argued and resolved by African workers themselves, but must be settled by Government officials. All strikes are prohibited under heavy penalties. Other laws and regulations, applicable only to Africans, are woven into the fabric of the labour code for African workers. One example is the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, which restricts the free movement of African labour. Another is the Labour Bureaux system, established under the Native Labour ⁽²⁾ Regulation Act.

It is usually claimed that discrimination in the economic field is merely one of colour, in accordance with the country's accepted policy of racial separation.

- However...../ 3

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1. Mr. B.J. Schoeman. Minister of Transport.
House of Assembly. 4/8/53. (When Minister of Labour.)
 2. Native Labour Regulation Act. (Act. No. 15 of 1911.)

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND LABOUR LAWS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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However, the discrimination has far greater economic than social effects. It does not secure racial segregation in the workshops. Everywhere there are Africans assisting White artisans and operatives in the factories. The discrimination mainly imposes severe restrictions upon African workers, retarding their progress or limiting their earning power. The ultimate effect of the code applicable to Africans is to make them a reservoir of cheap, disciplined labour.

In order to understand fully the effect of these two codes upon labour organisation, one must first take note of the composition of South Africa's industrial labour force. African workers comprise 53% of all workers in private industry, Whites 30%, Coloureds 13% and Asians 4%. This shows that only a minority of South Africa's industrial workers are entitled to combine for the purpose of collective bargaining. The majority (i.e. the 53% Africans) are prevented from using their collective strength to this end in association with White and Coloured workers.

LABOUR ORGANISATION.

Trade union progress in South Africa has suffered because of colour problems. Race prejudice has put workers' solidarity beyond the grasp of the trade unions. Lacking that basic essential, labour organisation has been uncertain and often weak. In the skilled trades of the engineering, building and printing industries, where White artisans inherited a long trade union tradition, ~~powerful~~ powerful unions have always existed.

-These unions made...../ 4

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND LABOUR LAWS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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These unions made no effort, however, to organise the African labourers and operatives in these industries and enrol them as members of their unions. In the mining industry where approximately 300,000 Africans and 30,000 Whites are employed, only the Whites are organised, most of them in the Mineworkers' Union. With a membership of 17,000 the Mineworkers' Union comprises all eligible White mineworkers. As this total represents a mere 6% of all mining employees, it may be thought that the Union would be anxious to extend its influence among the rest of the employees, the 300,000 Africans. On the contrary, the Mineworkers' Union is positively opposed to the extension of trade union rights to African miners, and has stated that it would strongly resist such a development.

This policy is encouraged by the legal colour~~bar~~ bar in the Mines, whereby many mining occupations are reserved exclusively for White workers. It is strengthened by the attitude of the mining companies who are not only hostile to African trade unions, but take special steps to prevent African miners from organising.

In secondary industry, trade union growth has been hindered not only because of racial difficulties, but also because of the changing character of industry itself. During the last twenty years, a period of great industrial progress, large numbers of Whites and non-Whites have flocked into the urban areas, attracted by the jobs offering in the new and expanding industries.

These new workers...../ 5

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND LABOUR LAWS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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These new workers, lacking a trade union background and tradition, were ignorant of trade union purposes, suspicious of its intentions and susceptible to the propaganda of the politicians who shouted racial and communist-bogey slogans. The Nationalist Party, unsuccessfully busy with such propaganda since the early 1930's, suddenly met with success in the post-war years, mainly because of these new workers. The fruits of Nationalist success in disrupting the unions is revealed in the fact that workers are to-day divided into five federations, four of which bar African trade unions from membership.

This is a reversal of the former policy of the White unions, for, in 1929, the only trade union federation, then in existence, the South African Trade Union Congress, was urging its affiliated unions to enrol all workers, irrespective of colour, as members of their organisations. In 1939 (now established as the Trades and Labour Council) this federation was pressing the Government to grant legal recognition to African trade unions. By 1949, however, it was fighting a losing battle on the question of colour. Its affiliated unions, enmeshed in the web of the country's apartheid policies, quarreled, compromised, retreated, and finally fell apart. In a last effort to hold the few remaining unions together, the South African Trades and Labour Council radically modified its attitude, proposing the setting up of a separate Co-ordinating Council of African trade unions under its protection and guidance. This came to nothing.

- The crisis in the unions...../ 6

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The crisis in the unions was then aggravated by the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act, as a result of which many prominent trade union leaders were declared to be statutory "communists" and ordered by the Government to resign from their unions. This law has also been used against militant trade union organisers and officials whom the Government could not name as "communists". Such persons are prohibited from attending meetings of any kind, and are therefore unable to continue their normal trade union work.

As the old Trades and Labour Council struggled on, two new associations of trade unions came into being, the South African Federation of Trade Unions and the Co-ordinating Council of Trade Unions.

In 1954, when the Government announced several drastic changes to the Industrial Conciliation Act, the trade unions held a special Conference, called the "Unity Conference" to decide upon action to resist the Government's proposals. The outcome was a decision to form a new and stronger federation, called the South African Trade Union Council. This new body, in an attempt to embrace the maximum number of "registered" unions, ⁽¹⁾ to exclude resolved/ from membership all African unions and unions having African members. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Although most unions joined the new federation, others were not attracted, in spite of the imposition of a colour bar for their benefit. The Co-ordinating Council of Trade Unions, strongly pro-Government and pro-apartheid, decided to remain apart and to give the Industrial

-Conciliation Bill..../7

1. "Registered" trade unions are those recognised by law in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. African trade unions cannot be registered.

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Conciliation Bill its full support. The unions remaining in the old South African Federation of Trade Unions also resolved not to oppose the Government's proposals.

Meanwhile, African trade unions, having been excluded from this "Unity" federation, were forced to make a home of their own. Thus was born the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Its constitution provides that workers of all races are eligible for membership, although its affiliated unions are largely African.

The five federations in existence at the present time are :-

	<u>No. of Unions.</u>	<u>Affiliated Membership.</u>
The S.A. Trades Union Council	48	150,000
The S.A. Federation of Trade Unions	11	41,000
The Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions.	13	19,000
The Federal Consultative Council of South African Railways and Harbours Staff Associations.	6	80,000
The S.A. Congress of Trade Unions.	21	30,000

In addition to the above, there are ^{a few} ~~lesser~~ trade unions which are unattached to any federation.

The division revealed by these figures is likely to widen as the compulsory apartheid provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, force presently-combined White and Coloured workers into separate unions.

In these circumstances, labour organisation in South Africa rests upon extremely weak foundations, and South African workers are in no position to assert themselves

in case of need...../ 8

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in case of need. Considerable apathy exists in the unions. A long period of full employment has blunted interest in activities. ~~union/affairs~~ The rank and file show little ~~interest~~ concern at Government interference in their domestic affairs. Pathetically few workers are alive to the latent disasters in their present disunity. As this disunity stems mainly from policies of racial discrimination, White workers are consoled by the existence of statutory and conventional colour bars.

THE INDUSTRIAL COLOUR BAR.

The colour bar in South African industry is part law and part custom. Legally, it applies in the mines through the Mines and Works Act, (1) ~~and in the building industry~~ which reserves certain occupations for Whites only, and in the building industry through the Native Building Workers Act, (2) which prohibits African building workers from competing with Whites in areas reserved for White occupation.

By custom, the colour bar covers a wider field. It does this in various ways. For example, in State employment the Government pursues a "civilised labour" policy. Since 1924 all State and Provincial departments have given preference to Whites in even the most menial occupations. In recent years, because other employment has been plentiful, insufficient Whites have been available and the Government has been compelled to employ Africans. There is no doubt that they will be replaced by Whites when jobs again become scarce.

- In the v. / 9

1. The Mines & Works Act (No. 12 of 1911) as amended by Act No. 27 of 1956
2. The Native Building Workers Act (No. 27 of 1951)

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In the skilled trades, where the Apprenticeship Act operates, few if any, Africans are able to become apprentices. Although the law does not deny them the right, custom demands that only White youths sign indentures. Even when there was an acute shortage of apprentices in many trades this conventional colour bar was strictly observed.

Now the statutory colour bar is to be extended. In future, in terms of a new principle introduced into the Industrial Conciliation Act this year, the Government can declare any occupation, trade or industry to be the preserve of one racial group. The relative section of the law is entitled "Safeguard against inter-racial Competition". The debate in Parliament showed quite clearly that the real intention is to exclude Non-Whites from many spheres of employment.

As the reservation of jobs on a racial basis can succeed only through extensive State interference in industry and large-scale direction of labour, both employers and workers must expect to ~~take~~ sacrifice many rights as this law is applied. Labour relations, already aggravated by many laws, will become more complicated. As it is, employers are compelled to treat their non-White employees differently from their White employees.

EMPLOYER - EMPLOYEE RELATIONS.

In disputes, one set of rules is laid down for White and Coloured workers through the Industrial Conciliation Act, and another set for Africans in the Native

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Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. In the case of White and Coloured workers, settlement can be arrived at through the procedures of negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, in the manner provided by the Industrial Conciliation Act. Throughout, the trade unions play the major role. The essence is self government in industry.

On the other hand, where disputes arise between African workers and their employers, quite a different procedure must be followed. Trade union intervention is avoided. The machinery of the Natives Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act is applied. This machinery is clumsy and complicated. The workers' interests are represented by Government officials who are usually out of sympathy with them. The workers cannot negotiate through trade unions, nor can they elect representatives to any of the Committees or Boards which are supposed to be looking after their interests.

They may, if they wish, set up Works Committees, but these are of little help to inexperienced workers, especially as they are denied the official support of recognised trade unions. Most African employees fear to organise such Committees for lest they be victimised. Experienced trade unionists will have no illusions as to the worth of such Works' Committees, where employers are not obliged to recognise or deal with the protecting unions. Such Works' Committees could easily be puppet committees comprising "boss boys", usually the company police.

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African workers are totally prohibited from taking strike action, under severe penalties. This places them at the mercy of their employers and makes it almost impossible for them to resist intolerable conditions or gross injustice. The dividing line between a dispute and a strike, as defined in the law is so blurred that even a protest during working hours may lead to prosecution for stopping work. Whenever strikes do occur, the police are called in and the workers arrested.

In cases where African trade union leaders have endeavoured to intercede on behalf of their members, officials acting under the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act have instructed employers to ignore them. But many employers are finding the law troublesome and expensive. Factories have suffered complete stoppages of work, not only during the disputes, but while the employees have been under arrest and appearing in Court on charges of striking. In some cases employers have even gone to the extent of paying the fines imposed upon the workers, in order to free them and get them back to work.

There were 33 illegal strikes in 1954 and 73 in 1955. It is interesting to note that in 15 cases only did the workers gain higher wages or better working conditions, despite booming industrial conditions.

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APARTHEID'S INSATIABLE APPETITE.

Having two labour codes is one of South Africa's many burdens of apartheid. It is a burden which increases with economic progress. The racial theorists cast aside the fact that not only are all racial groups integrated into our economy, but that they are all indispensable to it. Even if racial discrimination in the economic field retards progress and threatens everyone's security, apartheid must be served. But apartheid's appetite is insatiable. It is not satisfied with two labour codes, separating workers two ways only. Now it is claiming further divisions.

The drastic new principles added to the Industrial Conciliation Act this year impose apartheid upon the registered trade unions. No longer will White and Coloured members of these unions mix freely and enjoy the same rights. In future, no mixed unions will be registered. Existing unions must separate their members into White and Coloured branches, which must meet separately. Coloured members, even if in the majority, cannot be elected to the Executive committees of their unions, which must consist of White persons only.

These will not be the last demands in the cause of apartheid. If the unions were unable to resist interference in their affairs in the past, they will be less able to do so in the future. Their solidarity has been shattered by racialism and their power reduced by law. Many old established unions may end up as

- nothing better/ 13

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nothing better than friendly or benefit societies.

There was a time when the unions could have asserted themselves through political action. That right has now been taken away. Henceforth, it will be illegal for any trade union to affiliate to a political party, or to give financial aid to political parties or candidates.

Apartheid will begin to crumble first in the economic sphere. Workers, whatever their colour, will have to bear the brunt of that event. It is essential that they should be seeking ways to unite their forces in order to withstand the upheavals of the future. That unity is possible only if enough White trade unionists adopt a more enlightened attitude towards non-White workers. So far, there is little sign of it.

E N D.

Johannesburg.
26th June, 1956.

'No Racial Hostility Among Trade Unions,' Pleads Hepple

SAAMTREK'S CAPE TOWN CORRESPONDENT

"IN the years ahead many old-established trade unions may expect serious disruption and damage as a result of the new principles in South Africa's Industrial Conciliation Act," Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, told a meeting of trade unionists in Cape Town last week.

Mr. Hepple was speaking at a meeting called by the Cape District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to discuss the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Members of the South African Boilermakers' Society, the South African Electrical Workers' Association, the Iron Moulders' Society of South Africa and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers also attended.

TWO ASPECTS

Explaining the Act's provisions, Mr. Hepple said that it had two aspects which needed to be considered independently.

The one was the provision of machinery for the recognition of trade unions and employers' organisations, collective bargaining, the settlement of disputes and kindred matters concerning industrial democracy.

In this regard, while there was some disagreement regarding such matters as the Industrial Tribunal, compulsory arbitration and the right to strike, these did not threaten the solidarity or bargaining power of organised labour.

"It is the other aspect which must be of extreme concern to workers," said Mr. Hepple.

"It imposes the racial policy of a political party on the trade unions, whose real function should be to protect the economic welfare of their members.

"Without regard for the consequences, apartheid is being forced on the unions, which are thereby not only forcibly divided, but also made to dissipate their accumulated assets in share-outs with breakaway sections.

"FIRST DAMAGE"

"The first damage to unions from this law is to be seen already in the garment workers' union in the Transvaal and the building workers' union in the Western Province.

"In hard times, when men queue for jobs and employers

engage in fierce competition and price wars, the divided unions will be unable to withstand the pressures to reduce wages."

Mr. Hepple illustrated the effect of the new provisions of the Act, taking as his example an existing mixed union in the Cape, four-fifths of whose members are Coloured.

He said that when Section 8 of the Act was applied, its injustice to the Coloured majority would force them to break away and form a separate union.

They could then claim four-fifths of the assets of the union, which included fixed property.

The White minority of one-fifth would obviously be unable to maintain the staff to render service to its members on the previous standard.

"GRAVE DISADVANTAGE"

They would be at a grave disadvantage in bargaining with employers, who might well prefer employing members of the stronger union, if only to avoid inter-union squabbles and consequent disruption.

The Government had promised protection in such cases by invoking Section 77—the reservation of jobs.

But here was a case where job reservation could not be applied without grave injury to a large section of workers or dislocating the whole industry. This was not an isolated example but a typical one.

Mr. Hepple stressed that in their own interests workers of all races should co-operate in their common struggle against exploitation.

"AVOID COMPETITION"

In spite of being compelled by law to divide on colour lines, the trade unions should at all costs avoid the development of two hostile, competitive workers' organisations, based upon racial lines.

He advised an early fulfilment of the undertaking by the S.A. Trade Union Council to establish liaison with the non-European trade union movement.

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WHAT PARLIAMENT TOOK FROM THE PEOPLE

By ALEX. HEPPLER, M.P.

ONE does not have to look closely at the debits and credits of the recent Parliamentary session to realise that South Africans suffered further serious losses. As before, most of these losses are social and political and cannot be measured in money. That does not mean that they have no economic effect in the long run. Such losses always cause some economic hardship for the non-Europeans.

Some people have said that the 1956 Parliamentary session was unique in that it saw the policy of apartheid explode in the faces of the Nationalists. I would believe that if I had ever believed that the Nationalists believed in the apartheid they preached. The debates did show, however, that their policy is what some of us have always said it was—a reckless endeavour to resist the march of progress and maintain the outmoded White master-Black servant system, whatever the consequences.

Others have said that the session was memorable because of the Joint Sitting, with 77 Nationalist Senators nobly doing their duty, voting away the voting rights of the Coloured people of the Cape. Or, for those who think it important, the session will be remembered as that in which Dr. Jonker finally found his way back home into the Nationalist Party.

Gains and Losses

HOWEVER small, gains are always pleasing. The increased benefits bestowed through amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Pneumoconiosis Act brought happy relief to an unhappy session. For the rest, the session was a sad one: Naturally, it was sadder for some than for others, depending upon where one is classified along the colour line. Take the Coloured people, for example.

What Coloureds Lost

THE Coloured people suffered considerably at the hands of Parliament this year. The common roll voting rights of the Coloured people of the Cape were finally lost at the

Joint Sitting, where the new, enlarged Senate delivered enough votes to give the Government its long-sought majority of two-thirds.

Next, the Coloured people lost the right to sit in the Cape Provincial Council. No two-thirds majority was needed to take away this right. It happened with the simple passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act.

A Cruel Blow

EARLIER in the session Parliament had enacted the Industrial Conciliation Act. It struck a cruel blow at Coloured workers by depriving them of the right to serve on the executive committees of their trade unions, if such unions included White members. This meant that even in unions where the Coloureds comprised 99 per cent. of the membership, the controlling committees had to be composed of White persons only.

To cap it all, there was the amendment to the Population Registration Act. No one was quite sure whom it would hurt most, dark-skinned Coloured people or light-skinned Africans. One thing was quite clear, however. The human misery inherent in this law has not been eliminated, nor has family tragedy and disruption been prevented.

What Africans Lost

SOONER or later, every session of Parliament gets deeply involved in heated arguments on Native policy. Sometimes the row begins with the introduction of new measures or amendments to old laws affecting Africans. Often it erupts in the course of party conflict, as the major parties seek to discredit each other's Native policy. And all the while Mr. Strijdom and Mr. Strauss plead for the removal of the Native question from the party political arena.

This year, Parliament staged a special bout on Native policy. Time was set aside to discuss the Tomlinson Report. Last month I wrote what I thought of that debate. Dr. Verwoerd's views will be found in the 58 columns of Hansard which were necessary to

being taken to the front of another hotel in error, we were quite sure that it would be impossible or that we would not be booked in. Actually, everything was in order and we are very pleasantly provided for.

As I had been a subsidiary player in all this drama, I had seen the comic-opera undertone right from the beginning—except for the bump — but it was not till half an hour later that my sister called out from the bath that our entry into Rome would not have disgraced the Marx Brothers.

On Being a "Tourist"

IT is just a little bruising to the ego to find out that, when visiting foreign countries, one ceases to be a person and becomes not a visitor but a "tourist" — a race apart. What is more, one is easily recognisable as such—I suppose because of the large hand-bags—by post-card and souvenir sellers and drivers of hansom-cabs.

For the most part we have "toured" on our own, ploughing our way through Rome on foot, with the travel guide as an accessory before or, more often, after the fact. In this way we have seen much of the city itself, ancient, medieval and modern. We have seen the monuments and historic ruins, visited galleries and museums, window-shopped in the fashionable streets, and have duly thrown our coins into the Trevi Fountain. (How impressive, how refreshing and how generous in flow of water as well as lovely in aspect Rome's fountains are. We dined last night on a pavement in the Piazza Navona, just opposite Bernini's Fountain of the Rivers. I am ready to join in an agitation for open-air restaurants and huge splashy fountains in Johannesburg.)

We did, however, take part in one organised "tour"—a bus ride through the city with notable spots pointed out, and then an hour and a half in the Vatican Museums. The visit was memorable — the Sistine Chapel, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvedere, the Raphael rooms—but seldom have I been so unsubtly put in my lowly place. The guide exhorted us to "shake a leg"; he told us recurringly that "students" were interested in this and that, but that we were "tourists." It was all very funny and it did not detract from the "wonders" which the guide said he was concentrating on.

Cardinal's Garden

ON the afternoon of the same day we had a very much more human conducted tour. A division of the organisation for

which my sister works has its headquarters in Rome, and a very charming young Italian woman turned up with a driver and a car to show us the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, 19 miles away. The sixteenth-century Cardinal d'Este, son of Lucrezia Borgia, converted a convent into a villa and a garden, the garden being what the guide-book precisely describes as "breathlessly beautiful." Here again it was the fountains which enraptured me—a rich abundance of water (in this case I believe frugally returned to the river) has a particular magic (I did *not* feel the magic when our plane dipped in salute to the Victoria Falls).

The Italians

OF the people of Italy and the problems of Rome it would be impertinent to say anything after four days. Apart from the young woman and the driver who took us to Tivoli (her English was excellent; he had none, but made several suggestions to her for our enjoyment, including a drive along the Appian Way), our contacts have, of course, been impersonal. But everyone has been open and friendly — the immigration man, the hotel porters, the waiters in the trattorie, the husband and wife in the tiny tabacchi who sold us Italian matches and accepted with ceremony a king-size South African cigarette each to demonstrate how the matches were used. . . . A fair number of waiters and porters have quite a good knowledge of English, but if they haven't, there seems to be endless goodwill, even when, as on my confused first day, I got stupidly muddled up between 10 and 100.

Prices of food seem quite a bit lower than in South Africa, and so do the prices of clothes, except in the luxury grades, where they are about the same—and much more attractive. But I understand that prices are not low in relation to salaries.

A meal is about as cheap as a snack—and even including wine and an offering to itinerant musicians is very much cheaper than are comparable South African restaurants. I noticed many more men than women eating out, and was told that it was quite usual for the wife to eat at home with the kids while her husband dined out with his friends, a way of life which South African women would resent, I am sure. But as the average Italian woman cooks her own dinner, maybe she is readier to have her husband eat out.

record his opening and closing speeches. What with one thing and another, Dr. Verwoerd must have spoken a million words this session. Not only did he speak for some three hours in the Tomlinson debate, but with unabated fire and enthusiasm he also piloted through his six Bills (four of them provoking long debates) and energetically argued his way through the Committee of Supply, when his Native Affairs vote was discussed.

No Advantage to Africans

WHAT emerged from all this? Certainly nothing to the advantage of the African people. On the other hand there was much to their disadvantage. The passing of the Native Administration Amendment Act extends the 80-year-old Natal Native Code to the Africans of the Western Province, subjecting even the most advanced Africans to outmoded tribal sanctions.

At the third reading of this Bill, Dr. Smit, forthrightly declared: "The whole of the Minister's administration is based upon fear of the Native . . . Like other dictators, he is trying to build up a citadel which will exclude all authority except his own."

As if in answer, next came the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act. Its effect is to enlist the 500 local authorities as minor despots, with complete power to punish African political leaders in a cruel, arbitrary fashion. They are empowered to banish any African whose presence they consider to be "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and good order." Where the outcasts are to go apparently does not concern the Minister of Native Affairs. This is the weapon to smash the African National Congress.

Different Justices

A THIRD contentious Native Bill was the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Bill. The name correctly describes its purpose, although the Minister and his colleagues persisted in denying the fact of the title. As the Opposition so correctly said, this measure introduces discrimination in the sphere of justice, something that did not exist before. Briefly, it establishes circumstances where Africans, but not Whites, are denied the right to seek an interdict in the Courts.

Africans suffered further losses through the Bantu Education Amendment Act and the Group Areas Amendment Act. The former tightens Government control over private Bantu schools, and the latter wipes

out freehold property rights remaining to Africans in certain urban areas.

The final blow came in the form of a threat to their meagre political rights. Through the mouths of the Minister of Native Affairs and other Government members, Parliament heard the grim warning that the Native Representatives must go. Dr. Verwoerd declared that, as soon as his Bantu Authorities are working to his satisfaction, a system of consultation between them and the Government will replace the present system of Native representation in Parliament.

It was quite a session for the Africans.

What Workers Lost

A PARTHEID dominates everything. Had it not been for the drastic apartheid provisions in the Industrial Conciliation Bill it might have had a quicker and smoother passage. The measure has been before Parliament for two years and was finally enacted during this session. It found organised labour hopelessly divided, unable to fight back. This division in the trade union movement must inevitably widen as a result of the Act: firstly, because breakaway racial sections are to get a share of the accumulated assets of mixed trade unions; and, secondly, because the apartheid provisions of the Act must force White and Coloured workers apart. As African workers are already excluded, South Africa's registered trade unions now stand stripped of unionism's fundamental safeguard—solidarity.

"I Spy a Stranger"

FEW noticed the Stranger in the House. He was there throughout the session, and he entered every debate. His name was used more than anyone else's. Week after week, Government and Conservative members strove to make the Stranger and his book a major issue. Before long his name became a new and popular interjection. "Father Huddleston!" "Father Huddleston!" was hurled across the floor of the House. It was cried in agonising pity and crushing contempt; it was raised in angry condemnation or scandalised protest! It was uttered in biting scorn and accusing sneer. However said, the Nationalists found it a more satisfying epithet even than "Kafferboetie!" "Liberalist!" or "Communist!"

Aug 1956

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WOULD A PROGRESSIVE POLICY DAMAGE THE U.P. IN 1958?

By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

DURING the recent session of Parliament the popular topic of conversation in Cape Town was the next general election. As that event is scheduled to take place during the second quarter of 1958, it is interesting that both Government and Opposition parties have exhibited signs of pre-election jitters as early as this.

It is understandable that the Government would like to get the election done with as soon as possible. This is not, as some optimists would like to believe, because the tide has begun to turn against them, but because the Nationalists are men working desperately against time. They do not want their progress towards the Christian-National Broederbond Republic interrupted by economic setbacks, which are threatening already and which will be accelerated by the mounting cost of baasskap apartheid. The Nationalists are anxious to get a further term quickly, before the economic consequences of their policies disillusion enough of their supporters to bog them down on their "Road to a New South Africa," upon which they so fanatically embarked in 1948.

Unhappy Years

SO much for the Nationalists. But what of the Opposition? Why should the attention of the United Party be focussed upon the next election, often to the detriment of grave current affairs? As far as their M.P.s are concerned, this mood has grown from a desire to get away from the frustration, humiliations and uncertainties of the past four unhappy years. They are looking to the future, not with confidence or resolution, but with a longing for something to turn up—something that will somehow solve the difficulties that beset them, or better still, will whisk the Nationalists away.

This wishful thinking is producing some remarkable theories about future political developments, all of which ignore the real dilemma of South Africa's Parliamentary opposition. Whether it wants to or not, the opposition is compelled to resolve this dilemma, or perish. Longing for better days, hankering after a return to the tranquillity

of the past and waiting for miracles have done nothing but reduce the public to a state of extreme apathy.

Grave Choice

TO alert the public, action must be taken to show them the alternative to baasskap apartheid. Progress and Nationalist rule have shattered the old, complacent policies of benevolent white trusteeship and benign racial separation. The times call for positive thinking and courageous action. The old



ALEXANDER HEPPLE: "Why kick me?
Rather hit the big fellow."
—Ivanoff in the *Vaderland*.

days are gone forever and the whites, who are the rulers of South Africa, must make a grave choice in racial affairs.

They can choose to go with the Nationalists along the road to baasskap apartheid, which is now being cloaked under the misleading description of "separate development." Of course it is nothing of the kind, for the Nationalists themselves admit that the separation of the races will be partial and the development of the non-Europeans limited. One does not need be highly intelligent to realise the inevitable cruelty, injustice and dangers in this policy.

Not Easy to Persuade

IT would seem logical, therefore, to assume that the majority of electors would choose the other road, which runs in the opposite

direction. Unfortunately, it is not easy to persuade the white electorate to take this path. The simple fact of the matter is that the specialised character of our limited Parliamentary democracy is such that emotional appeals to colour prejudice are highly persuasive, especially as the victims of such appeals have no retaliatory vote. In these circumstances, the United Party is frustrated when making appeals to reason, just as the Labour Party has been for decades past. It is therefore tempted to pander to the colour prejudices, real and imaginary, of the white electorate. In doing so, it is avoiding the challenge that progress poses in our multi-racial society.

Issues for 1958

IT is in this context that we should consider the issues for the 1958 general election. Despite many other questions that may be raised, there can be no escaping the dilemma of colour policy. This will overshadow all else. The United Party can do one of two things. It can try to compete with the Nationalists on the basis of racial propaganda, or it can strike out bravely and realistically along new lines of non-European policy. In other words, the U.P. can either endeavour to out-Nat. the Nats., or it can present an alternative, based upon the logical consequences of its own acceptance of the fact of integration.

There is recent evidence that the Party has tried to do both these things. They have indulged in some deplorable "kafferboetie" propaganda, accusing the Nationalists of doing too much for the non-European and of giving the non-white preferential treatment. This is the line which is being pushed by the Conservative element, who strongly believe that methods of this kind are the surest to defeat the Nationalists. Let us assume the impossible, that by use of these tactics the U.P. could be returned to power. Would they then be able to solve any racial problems? Would they depart from the path of baasskap apartheid and undo the wrongs done by the Nationalists? Would they bring about a healthier racial atmosphere and the winning of the confidence and co-operation of the non-whites?

Of course not. For example, having won support by condemning the Nationalists for spending too much on African education, the United Party could hardly spend more, or even as much. Having won power by out-Natting the Nats. they would be com-

pelled to continue out-Natting them, otherwise their victory would be short-lived.

Lesson of Session

WHAT then, of the alternative? What would be the consequences if the U.P. adopted a progressive line in non-European policy? There is nothing to show that such a course would lessen their chances in 1958. Rather, there is the likelihood that it would inspire the anti-Nationalist forces to repair their present unhappy disunity and fight the Nationalists with vigour and enthusiasm.

The possible effects of such a tonic were demonstrated during the recent Parliamentary session. In the course of the debates on those shameful Bills, the Native Administration Amendment, the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts), and the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment, the United Party played a most praiseworthy role. They not only condemned these measures in a forthright manner, but did so with a sparkle and enthusiasm which they have not shown for years. With certainty and vigour, U.P. spokesmen condemned not only the Bills, but also the policies upon which they were based. They found the progressive role much to their liking, for it enabled them to be positive, where previously they had been uncertain and often apologetic. In the debates on these Bills we were able to see the power of a fighting Opposition. It produced, in the closing stages of the Session, a debating strength of combined U.P., Labour and Native Representatives which had the Government floundering on the defensive.

Forced to Retreat

MR. STRAUSS took full advantage of this situation to force the Nationalists into retreat. He asked whether the non-Europeans in the white areas of South Africa "are to become a hate-ridden, unsettled proletariat, seething with resentment at injustice and oppression, or to become a contented community integrated with proper safeguards into the South African economy." He demanded to know if it was "moral" for us, as Europeans, to accept all the economic fruits, all the advantages, all the wealth which we can accumulate as a result of the labour of the non-European . . . and to give him nothing in return."

Mr. Strauss summed up his attitude by declaring that "the future of the non-European is the challenge to all white South

Africa." Indeed it is. And it cannot be met by indulging in "kafferboetie" propaganda. That kind of thing can be left to the Nationalists. This is their pet snake and they are already struggling in its coils.

Other Point of View

THE time has come for the major Opposition in South Africa's Parliament to express the other point of view, which Mr. Strauss describes as being based "on the fundamental concepts of Christianity," and "on sound moral foundations." Surely this indicates that the logical and moral answer to the challenge to white South Africa is to advocate a policy which recognises the in-

evitability of African progress in all spheres of human activity and which rejects all efforts to retard that progress. Of course, there are the political pundits who will cry that to do this would be to kill the U.P.'s chances at the polls. But as it is, their chances of defeating the Nationalists are nil. As a matter of fact, they stand in danger of losing more seats, especially because of the wide division in the ranks of the anti-Nationalist forces.

On the other hand, just as a progressive policy engendered vitality in the ranks of the U.P. in Parliament, so surely could it animate the jaded supporters of the Opposition and inspire them to new effort, and greater unity.

MUST THE UNITED PARTY GO?

By DR. F. J. TROMP

IN a country like the Union of South Africa, with its problems arising from English- and Afrikaans-speaking groups as well as from the co-existence of Europeans, Coloureds, Indians and Natives, it is essential that there should be an effective Opposition to see that the Government acts in the best interests of the country and to take over authority if the electorate so desires. The question therefore arises whether the United Party constitutes such an Opposition.

The Opposition at present has to face a most unenviable position — created by itself and ably assisted by Dr. D. F. Malan. The former frightened the English-speaking South Africans and the latter frightened the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, until each got a measure of racial unity in the group he frightened most. The Opposition got all the English-speaking South Africans into one group, and Dr. Malan's group contains only Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

However, the Opposition was short-sighted in making and trying to maintain a group having such a composition. It should have known that if it shaped party policy so as to try and attract all the English-speaking South Africans it would never get sufficient Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to return to power.

Jettisoned Extremists

WHEN the party was first formed both English- and Afrikaans-speaking

extremists were jettisoned and the party became the home of the moderate elements of both sections. Under the present regime the party's call for racial unity has become as barren as that of the Nationalist Party. It has failed to realise that if the two European races must live together, there must be give and take. We find, for example that at present no United Party M.P. dare make propaganda for a republic, in spite of the facts that a majority of Afrikaners are in favour of it and that the constitution of the U.P. grants its members such power. One should have expected, under such circumstances that the English-speaking group's sense of fair play and its desire for co-operation would have been sufficient to make them accept a republican constitution in principle, while reserving the right to fight against anything that may amount to a diminution of their present rights. But the party has been bedevilled by extremists who suffer from the jitters, and the U.P. has done nothing to stem this destructive tide.

Native Question

THE Native question illustrates the technique of the United Party.

It would require too much interpretation and speculation to determine whether the United Party really has a Native policy that extends beyond generalities. Popular opinion, together with the fact that the party recently stated that when it got into power it would appoint a commission to enquire into

THE CHANGING MOOD OF URBAN WORKERS

By ALEX. HEPPLER, M.P.

THE Nationalists are not worried about their rural seats at the next general election. Despite United Party claims to be winning converts in the platteland as a result of "kafferboetie" propaganda and promises to reduce taxation on rich farmers, the Nationalists are confident that all their platteland seats are safe.

They are concentrating, therefore, upon the urban and peri-urban seats, where there are large communities of workers. These are the key seats, and the Nationalists are being realistic when they pay them special attention. To be equally realistic, the Opposition should throw its major efforts into these constituencies, which are likely to show a greater response than the so-called political experts of the Opposition seem to believe.

Voted Blindly

AT the last general election the Nationalists won some remarkable victories in the urban areas because of the influx of large numbers of Afrikaans-speaking workers from the platteland. These workers continued to follow the popular platteland appeal of Afrikaner Nationalism and blindly voted for the Nationalist candidates. They had not yet felt the full impact of urban society, with all its new problems, inexplicable in terms of the simple politics of the platteland. Even in times of full employment, the anxieties of the urban worker are many, and they are particularly distressing to newcomers from the platteland.

Many of these workers, faithful followers of the Nationalist Party, are becoming disillusioned. They are finding that their mighty idol, from whom they expected so much, is giving them so little. The grand schemes of the Nationalist Party theorists, which promised to elevate Afrikaner workers, are dismal disappointments, for in most cases they now demand sacrifices in the cause of apartheid.

Busy Africans

TAKE, for example, the Native Building Workers Act. White building artisans were assured by the Government that the

Act was necessary to protect them from the competition of cheap Black labour. During the recent slackness in the building trade this was poor consolation to unemployed White workers, who looked across the colour line and saw busy African building workers. They wondered whether there was any merit in apartheid of this kind, especially when they realised that the African building workers were being paid only a third of their rates.

Then there were the bonus incentive schemes which Mr. Ben Schoeman insisted were necessary to raise production. Nationalist propagandists sold the idea to their supporters by telling them that this was a chance for the hard-working and diligent to add to their incomes. Now there is much grumbling and resentment from older workers who find that they cannot maintain the pace, and from younger workers who find that the bonuses are not worth the extra effort.

Lack of Ambition

THE much-lauded Training of Artisans Act has been a flop. The Government complains that unskilled White workers, for whom the scheme was created, have shown a sad lack of ambition by not coming forward. But the average worker of this type is at present earning more money than he would receive as a trainee and is reluctant to make the financial sacrifice demanded. This may appear to be a short-sighted attitude, but it is practical, poor man's economics.

It is related to wage rates generally. Many workers expected that under a Nationalist government the old days of low wages were gone for ever. Nationalist propaganda led them to believe that the new industries would provide wonderful opportunities to earn high wages. Yet they now find that while the work is there, the wages are disappointing and the prospects of advancement few.

The major cause of dissatisfaction is the continued rise in the cost of living. While Mr. Eric Louw, when Minister of Finance, produced reams of paper and rows of statis-

ties to prove how cheap living costs were in South Africa compared with other countries. The average worker looked at his pay packet and sighed.

Whatever the economists and the experts may be able to prove on paper, the working man knows how little his money will buy. He is scornful of those who accuse him of bad budgeting and living beyond his means.

Official statistics are on the side of the worker, and the Nationalists are finding it difficult to explain away the fact that the Retail Price Index has risen from 146.7, when they came to power in May, 1948, to 207.1 in July, 1956. Against this, statutory cost-of-living allowances for those workers not covered by Industrial Council Agreements remain pegged at the levels of February, 1953, when the Index was 188.9. These allowances are now less than half of what they need to be if the actual rise in living costs is to be compensated.

Newcomers from the platteland, whose earnings were much higher than previously, at first had little or no interest in such problems. They were better off, and were surprised at those who grumbled. Now many of them are grumbling, too. Life in the urban areas has transformed their habits and increased the calls upon their purses.

Mounting Wave

NATIONALIST PARTY organisers are running up against a mounting wave of complaints. So far, they have been able to contain the dissatisfaction, partly because it has not yet reached large proportions and partly because workers find no encouragement from the badly divided Opposition. To cushion the rising discontent, the Nationalists are trying to distract workers' attention with their colour bogies. But they are worried. They know what this discontent can do to them at the next election.

It was not surprising, therefore, that a recent Nationalist Party newsletter was devoted entirely to pleading the virtues of the Nationalist labour policy and boasting of what has been done to improve the lot of the White worker. Boldly headed "Blankes Versterk," the pamphlet crudely claims that the Government has done many things to raise White living standards during its eight years of power. It lists £65-millions spent on White housing; £116-millions on White pensions; £100-millions on food subsidies; £36-millions on increased wages for Railway workers; £25-millions for

Civil servants; £11-millions for silicosis sufferers. This flood of figures looks impressive on paper, but leaves the most ardent Nationalist worker unmoved. His problem is not the nation's budget, but his own. Knowing this, the writer of the pamphlet hastens to add: "But this is not all. These are only some of the steps taken by the Government to strengthen the position of the Whites."

Greatest Step

THIEN follows the big thing—"APARTHEID IN THE TRADE UNIONS." This, according to the pamphlet, was the greatest step of all. Two full pages are devoted to the Industrial Conciliation Act, illustrated with a mass of Hansard quotations from speeches by unnamed persons, crudely presented as facts. It boasts, "Now the Nationalist Government has given the trade union movement a South African character for the first time which conforms to our South African social and economic pattern." What is that pattern? Apartheid.

Reading this pamphlet reminds me of the many fantastic devices which the Nationalists contrive to implement their apartheid policy. The inevitable harm, the devastating disunity, which must flow from the new I.C. Act are completely ignored. Behind the boasts of this pamphlet lies the fact that the trade unions have been undermined and weakened as a result of a philosophy that is hostile to real trade unionism and which wishes to regiment the nation.

Thousands Disappointed

THIS, then, is the Nationalist contribution to the general welfare of the workers. What impact have these so-called achievements had upon the workers? As far as economic benefits are concerned, it would be difficult to find many workers in a state of elation. For every ardent Nationalist who claims to be satisfied, there are thousands who are disappointed.

As far as trade unionism is concerned, very few workers have yet grasped the significance of the changes in the I.C. Act. The practical effects of compulsory trade union apartheid will be felt only when workers have need of their unions, when times are bad and bosses are stubborn. White workers will then discover how the Nationalists have destroyed their greatest asset—solidarity. Between now and the

general elections of 1958 growing numbers of workers will have cause to realise that their bargaining power has been gravely weakened. They will begin to understand the heavy cost of Nationalist apartheid.

Discontent Will Grow

DESPITE Nationalist appeals to Afrikaner workers not to undermine their "own" Government, the rumblings of discontent will grow louder. After eight years of Nationalism many workers who voted Nationalist are asking themselves what they have got out of it. Many of them were led to believe that a Nationalist Government would make this a land of milk and honey for them, that their bosses would be brought to heel and that in future things would be the way they wanted them.

With disillusionment comes resentment. It will be easier to win such voters away

from the Nationalists in 1958 than it was in 1953. But that cannot be done if the issues are clouded by ideological appeals. The emphasis must be upon a positive programme, devoid of "kafferboetie" propaganda and wild promises. Those who are turning away from the Nationalists are sensitive to insincerity and cannot be fooled by opportunism. At present they are discouraged by the acute division in the ranks of the Opposition, with nearly a dozen parties and groups contending for their support. They have no inclination to turn to the major Opposition, for they feel that the United Party has nothing to offer them.

The changing mood of urban workers will be beneficially expressed at the next general election, provided it is intelligently guided. That cannot be done by the Opposition in its present state of division and confusion.

JEWISH OPINION

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JOHANNESBURG

September, 1956

A NEWSLETTER

THE 1956 PARLIAMENTARY SESSION

(BY A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT)

According to the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, the recent Parliamentary session was one of the most important in the Union's history.

He was thinking of his Party's success in finally removing the Coloured voters of the Cape from the common Voters' roll. In his hour of triumph, the Prime Minister was oblivious to the voices of protest and the cries for justice. After five bitter years of turmoil he had at last found a way to circumvent the Constitutional obstacle which had frustrated his plans. The Joint Sitting, crowded out by the army of new Senators, presented a farcical situation. Its decision was known in advance, for the Nationalists had enlarged the Senate sufficiently to ensure that they had the necessary two-thirds majority.

Whatever Mr. Strijdom may think, the Session was important for other reasons. Not happily important, unfortunately. Among the 72 laws that were enacted were some that are destined to make life wretched for many South Africans.

For example, whether they have realised it or not, workers will pay a heavy price for the Industrial Conciliation Act. This law smashes the solidarity of workers. It prevents them from becoming a powerful force. It exposes the trade unions to the activities of wreckers and disrupters, who are now guaranteed a share of the assets of the unions which they split. The Industrial Conciliation Act permits extensive Government interference in the domestic affairs of the trade unions and denies organised labour in South Africa rights which are enjoyed by workers everywhere in the democratic world.

One of the major tragedies of our times has been the timidity and apathy of the trade union movement. While the Nationalist Government systematically proceeded with its plans to destroy the power of the unions and reduce them to the status of ineffectual benefit societies, hardly a murmur was heard from the unions. Their leaders proved to be weak and nervous.

The I.C. Act was known to be part of the Nationalist attack upon trade unionism. It should have aroused the ire of all workers and inspired them to action. In other countries such a law would have led to a general strike. Nothing approaching real protest was seen in South Africa. For their passivity and neglect the members of the registered trade unions will suffer dearly.

It is illustrative of our times that not even the high cost of living stirs organised labour to action. Because of their apathy, Parliament now treats this serious problem as a joke. This year, when the Leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., introduced a motion asking the Government to halt price

increases, re-examine profit margins, and take other steps to protect wage earners, only 35 members out of a total of 159 took the trouble to attend the debate. The Government's attitude was shown by the fact that only one Cabinet Minister was there. In the past there had never been less than three.

In comparison to this lack of interest, there was the crowded House when Mr. Arthur Barlow introduced his motion, asking for one flag and one anthem. The Government benches were packed, for this was a nice, juicy, ideological subject, where all the emotions could be given full play. It was a motion dear to the hearts of the Nat. propagandists, embracing all the frenzies of purified Nationalism.

Apartheid, as usual, dominated the Session. Dr. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, is the busiest Minister of them all. He rushes from the Senate to the Assembly, glowing with energy and enthusiasm, as he pilots his Bills through Parliament. While the Opposition criticise and attack all the measures he produces for their approval, Dr. Verwoerd blandly boasts that he is acting in the best interests of the Natives, and that they really want his laws.

It is an old saying that those who must be subject to the laws should have a say in the making of the laws. Unfortunately for four fifths of the people in South Africa, they are not allowed to have a say in the making of the laws. They are not given the voting power to choose a Government to their liking. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many laws are passed every year affecting the Non-White people, rarely to their advantage.

Take this year alone. The Coloured Voters of the Cape had no sooner had their voting rights diminished than the Government brought in a Bill to deny Coloured persons the right to sit in the Cape Provincial Council. The Africans, however, are the chief sufferers. Among the laws enacted "in their own interests," was the Native Administration Amendment Act, which extends the Natal Native Code to the Cape. It is part of the scheme to establish Bantu Authorities, vesting wide powers in tribal chiefs, and preparing the way for puppet regimes under the patronage of the Nationalists.

Then came the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, which denies Africans the right to seek interdicts in the Courts in certain circumstances. It is the first law which provides for discrimination on the grounds of colour in the sphere of justice.

The cruellest Act of all was the amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. This empowers the 500 local authorities in South Africa to banish from the area under their authority any African whom they

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consider to be a threat to peace and order. This is an arbitrary power, which cannot be challenged in the Courts. When a municipality uses this power and tells an African to clear out, he must go. Where he is to go seems to be nobody's business. Those who are banished can be hounded from place to place, and will become nomads, with nowhere to lay their heads. The obvious purpose of this law is to break the African National Congress.

Against this background, the debate on the Tomlinson Report had an air of unreality. But, if it did nothing else, the debate exposed the sham of apartheid. It now appears that true apartheid can be achieved only in the Native areas. Only in the Reserves will there be total segregation. For the rest of the country, carefully described as White areas, there will be integration. In other words, after boasting for years that they are out to segregate the races, the Nationalists have decided that they cannot do without the Non-Whites and will keep them in the White areas.

If the Tomlinson plan is fulfilled and the Government's policy enforced, "White South Africa" will consist of 19,000,000 people by the year 2000 A.D., of these, only 5,000,000 will be White. The rest will be Non White; it will comprise 6½ million permanently settled Africans, 3 million migrant Africans, 4 million Coloureds, and 1,350,000 Asians. "Black South Africa", i.e., the Reserves, will consist of 15,000,000 Africans.

According to the Nationalists, these 15 million Africans will develop along their own lines and according to their own capabilities, without any restraint upon their progress. However, upon closer examination, we discover that this "separate development" will always be under the control of White South Africa. Politically, their status will never be higher than provincial. They will never be allowed self-determination, nor will they be allowed to share in the Parliament of the Union.

After all the great speeches and grand promises of the Tomlinson Debate, Parliament was brought back to earth by Dr. Verwoerd, when he explained why he thinks the present system of Native Representation should be abolished. He said that his system of tribal authority under the Bantu Authorities Act is much

better, for it restores the authority of the Chiefs and Headmen. Many people wondered, after hearing this, whether he wants to make the brave new world for Africans as primitive as possible.

A review of the Session would not be complete without reference to the political health of the Opposition. First of all the Conservatives. They had an unhappy session. They disagreed at the Joint Sitting and were at sixes and sevens on other issues. Their leader, Mr. Bailey Bekker, M.P., has never looked more dejected. He could not take the cheers and applause of the Nats. as comfortably as Mr. Abraham Jonker and Mr. Blaar Coetzee. When Jonker crossed the floor, to return to the comforts of the bosom of his real mother, the Nationalist Party, the Conservative Party looked politically healthier, but still close to death.

The small Labour team performed with their usual vigour. In most of the debates they gave an intelligent lead, often forcing the United Party to take a stand when they showed signs of retreat. Each Session proves the value of a Labour group in Parliament and it would be a tragedy if they are not returned at the next election.

The major opposition, the United Party, continues to flounder, mainly because of weak leadership. On too many occasions they have shown themselves ill-equipped to take up strong positions. They showed rare flashes of determined resistance to harsh measures but were too easily forced on the defensive.

This was generally due to their confusion over Non-European policy. While most of the U.P. members showed a desire to follow the line of the Labour Party and launch an all-out attack upon the Government's apartheid policy, they were always restrained by their conservative wing. To make their position more difficult, the Nats. were always ready to produce some U.P. publication or other, showing how U.P. organisers are busy pursuing a peculiar policy in the platteland—crying out that "the Nats. are doing too much for the kaffirs," and calling them "kafferboeties."

It is a dangerous policy. If it continues it will make the U.P. opposition in Parliament worse than it is. Next year Parliament will have its pre-election session, when all the window-dressing is done for 1958. It will be a horrible session.

Let Us Raise a Voice of Protest

The proclamation of the plan to implement the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg opened the eyes of all people to the cruelty and viciousness of this attack on human rights and dignity. One hundred thousand Indians, Coloureds, Malays, and Chinese will be moved against their will to different places, some of which are situated more than twenty miles from the city. They will lose their homes, where they have lived for decades, they will be deprived of sources of earning a living, they will be thrown into ghettos, oppressed and humiliated. Again as was the case with the Western Areas Removal Scheme, the Government piously speaks of the Group Areas Act as a means of bringing an end to the exploitation by a handful of unscrupulous landlords in the existing areas, and of freeing Johannesburg of filthy slums. If the Government would have been sincerely interested in achieving these aims, it could use more effective and just measures. The proclamation of the plan for Johannesburg is another proof that the Act will bring only misery, will breed hatred and will ruin many thousands of

peoples for the sole crime of having a skin of a different colour. The Government is obsessed with their ideal of apartheid, which will save according to their exponents, the so-called "Western Christian civilisation" in this country. The Group Areas Act is a brutal device to achieve the separation of the racial groups. That the Group Areas Act is not a workable piece of legislation could be seen from the fact that for 3 to 4 years the Act was amended at each session of Parliament. Now the Government has decided to commence implementation of the Act by force.

Can people with any conscience stand aside and remain silent when whole communities will undergo immense suffering, and deep tragedy will come to innocent people? The statement issued by 25 prominent citizens in Johannesburg urges "the Government to halt the application of the Group Areas act before too many are ruined." The statement says further, "We dare not stand silently while our Non-White fellow South Africans face mass uprooting and economic ruin."

Daily Dispatch

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READERS' VIEWS ON CURRENT TOPICS (X)

A Reminder

To the Editor, Daily Dispatch.

Sir,—I have just seen your sub-leader of September 20 entitled, "Thanks, Dr. Smit." It refers to a speech made by Dr. Smit in East London on September 18, and it would appear from your comment that Dr. Smit forthrightly condemned the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. If this is so, let me join you in complimenting Dr. Smit. My only regret is that he has come to this decision more than three years too late. Dr. Smit and his Party voted in favour of these two vicious Bills in 1953. Not only that, but the United Party was angry because the Labour Party refused to do likewise.

As you rightly say, "In these two Acts is all the legal machinery necessary for the operation of a complete dictatorship." The United Party should not have allowed the Nationalists to get away with it. Their action was an abject betrayal of Democracy. I am proud that the Labour Party

is on record as having voted against these laws. I am proud also that Dr. Smit now agrees that we were right.

During the recent Session of Parliament I was pleased publicly to congratulate Dr. Smit on his excellent speeches in denunciation of three Verwoerd Bills. He displayed a most enlightened attitude towards the rights and aspirations of the non-European people, indicating that he has lost patience with the old ways of equivocation and compromise. His mood of realism gave new life to his colleagues and proved most distressing to the Nationalists.

Although Dr. Smit's brave lead is being offset somewhat by the "kafferboetie" propaganda some of his colleagues are using on the platteland, I hope he will persist with it. I also hope that he will succeed in persuading the United Party to agree that the two "Martial Law" Acts—the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act—must be repealed.—I am, etc.,

(X) ALEX. HEPPLER, M.P.

dom said nothing that the delegates could get their teeth into. When he was in Opposition, and giving his famous impersonation of a roaring Waterberg lion, he was the Nationalist Party's greatest box-office attraction.

His recent speeches show, however, that

the responsibilities of office hang heavily on him, and that he is no longer capable of arousing a Nationalist audience. Because of this his performances at Durban, Windhoek, Bloemfontein and Pretoria were a political flop.

BANISHMENT AS A WEAPON OF ADMINISTRATION

By ALEX HEPPLÉ, M.P.

WHEN the magazine Drum published its report of Africans "Banned to the Bush" and the London weekly, Reynolds News, took up the story as a sensational front page exposure of "Strijdom's Secret Siberia," most South Africans were startled. Until the banishments to Frenchdale received this publicity, not many people seemed to know that Africans were being banished from their homes to far-off places, without benefit of a trial before a court.

But for more than twenty years the Executive has possessed the arbitrary power to banish both whites and non-whites. The increasing use of this power against Africans in recent years, emphasises the danger of delegating such authority to Ministers, and excluding recourse to the Courts.

Surprising Candour

REPUDIATING the accusation that the Government was setting up concentration camps, the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, said with surprising candour, "It is the policy of the Government not to create the slightest impression of concentration camps." To this end 98 banished Africans have been spread over 43 districts in various parts of the Union. As the number of exiles increases, however, the task of avoiding concentration camps becomes quite a problem.

"The number of Natives which the various municipalities wish to have removed is so large," said Dr. Verwoerd, "that if the Government allowed the implementation of these removals, it might become necessary to place large numbers of undesirable Natives together."

With Trial and Without

THE haunting fear of "creating the impression of concentration camps" has led the Government to confer sweeping powers

upon the 500 local authorities in the Union. Municipalities have now been given the unfettered right to banish any African "whose presence in the urban or proclaimed area is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order."

This adds to the already formidable armoury of powers to restrain the freedom of movement of Africans. These are now becoming weapons to intimidate those who too eagerly aspire to share in civilised society. Africans who are "too big for their boots," "too cheeky" or "troublemakers" can now be dealt with in many ways.

"Community Discipline"

THEY can be summarily banished, without trial, in terms of Sections 5 and 29 of the Native Administration Act, Section 3 of the Riotous Assemblies Act, Section 10 of the Suppression of Communism Act, or the new Section 29 bis of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

In a less arbitrary, but equally damaging fashion, they can be excluded or removed from an urban area in terms of Sections 10, 23 and 29 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

So far, the majority of banishments have been effected under Section 5 of the Native Administration Act, in terms of which the Governor General (i.e. the Minister) may order the removal of any African from one area to another "if he deems it expedient in the general public interest." Such persons may be given reasons for their banishment but they are not entitled to a trial before a Court, nor can they seek an interdict to delay their removal. The State Information Office has carefully explained that this drastic action is taken "for offences against community discipline—offences which for technical reasons cannot be levelled in the Courts."

An amendment in this Section in 1952,

requires the Minister to table, in both Houses of Parliament, copies of all orders continuing beyond twelve months. Dr. Verwoerd believes that because this makes the Minister answerable to Parliament, it is a safeguard against unwise action.

Actually, its only merit is that it ensures publicity for many cases of banishment and offers some opportunity for discussion in Parliament. It cannot lead to positive action, because resolutions by both the Assembly and the Senate are necessary to upset a banishment order. This would never



ROCK 'N ROLL
—Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

happen. This should be obvious to all who know the workings of our Parliamentary party system.

In the first place, the Government itself would not introduce a motion disapproving its own arbitrary action. Secondly, the major opposition, the United Party, haunted as it is by fears of liberalism, is unlikely ever to offer a motion deprecating the banishment of a voteless African.

Great Difficulty

AS for the minority groups, their difficulty would not only be the getting of sufficient support for a resolution of this kind. They would have great difficulty in getting time for a debate. Private members' days disappear halfway through the Session

and a motion would linger on the Order Paper but never come up for discussion. The best that could be done, would be to raise the matter in the Budget debate or in Committee of Supply, where it would be drowned in the flood of other issues.

Whatever merit this safeguard might have had when it was inserted in the law in 1952, disappeared when the Nationalists packed the Senate. Which of the 77 loyal Nationalist Senators would be so bold as to disapprove a banishment order issued by the Leader of the Senate, the Hon. Dr. H. Verwoerd?

The illusory "test of Parliament" cannot be compared with similar safeguards in other countries, where everyone has the vote, and Parliamentary criticism could initiate a campaign that would culminate at the ballot box. Here in South Africa the victims of these banishment orders are unable to use the processes of democracy to bring retribution for unpopular acts of the Government.

All Are Vulnerable

AS the African people become more closely integrated in urban society, because they are indispensable to the economic well-being of the whites, their clamour for more rights and greater freedom will increase. This must result in clashes with the restrictive provisions of many laws and provide cause for the banishment of otherwise law-abiding citizens.

Municipalities are able to apply a form of banishment against militant Africans by "endorsing them out" of the area of their jurisdiction. Although certain categories of Africans are exempted from the harsh provisions of Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, a growing number of laws expose them to violations which, sooner or later, will subject them to banishment. Take, for example, the plight of the African industrial and commercial worker.

Section 10 of the Act provides, among other things, that "No Native shall remain for more than 72 hours in an urban area unless . . . he has lawfully remained continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years and has not during that period been convicted of any offence in respect of which he has been sentenced to imprisonment, with the option of a fine, for a period of more than one month."

The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act makes striking a criminal offence, punishable by a maximum of £500 and three

years' imprisonment. Ignorance of the law, or intolerable treatment by a bad employer, may provoke African workers into taking strike action. If they are sentenced to more than one month's hard labour, with the option of a fine, the immunity from banishment for all but those born in the area would disappear. Thereafter, such workers would live under the constant fear of being "endorsed out" of the municipality where they have lived for the best part of their lives.

Africans caught doing skilled building work in a "white" area without special permission would suffer the same fate, for they are liable to a punishment of £100 and one year's imprisonment.

Five Hundred New Despots

THE recent amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act now strikes at even those Africans born in the urban areas. During the Parliamentary debate on this measure, the Minister of Native Affairs made it quite clear that he wanted the municipalities to use this harsh power to deal with "agitators" and "troublemakers."

Three local authorities have already sought to make use of these powers. In all cases the Africans concerned are active members of the African National Congress or the Advisory Boards and have taken a prominent part in demonstrations against Bantu education, the pass laws, increased bus fares, and in other protests. I believe that the arbitrary power of banishment is becoming a cruel weapon of intimidation aimed at African leaders in an attempt to silence their demands for a better life for their fellows.

The banishment of Africans from urban areas because they are leaders of the African National Congress or because they are politically active, derides the assertion of the Tomlinson Report that, "the Bantu, like other population groups, have the full right to form . . . organisations of a political nature (for example, the A.N.C.) . . ." and casts doubt upon its boast that, "In a general sense . . . it can be said that, as regards these wider civil rights . . . the Bantu are substantially in no worse position than the other population groups."

The Tomlinson Commission and the Government ignore the fact that African political organisations cannot vote the Government out of office, and that the right of political association is worthless once it becomes hazardous to indulge in political

activity and when personal freedom becomes endangered because of political dissent.

Must Progress be Bitter?

URBAN Africans who are banished under the new law will suffer bitter hardships. They will be excluded from one urban area and refused entry into all others. They will become nomads, hounded from place to place, unable to earn a living, unable to provide for their families or to keep a home together. They will end up as vagrants or starving refugees, denied the right of personal freedom. The worst criminal is not treated in this cruel manner.

The victims of banishment without trial may not be confined in concentration camps, encircled by barbed wire and sentries, yet their fate is worse than that of internees, for they are never free from persecution.

Marked Men

REFORMERS and rebels are heroes only in history. In their own age, unless they live to see victory, they are usually reviled and denounced as agitators, troublemakers and even enemies of the State. Governments are notorious for their intolerance of those who seek radical reforms. Champions of liberty, once in power, too often become afraid of liberty, and set about denying its fulfilment. They become conservatives and the enemies of those who demand continued progress and greater freedom.

Here in our own country, with only one-fifth of the population able to express themselves politically through the ballot box, other political expression assumes special importance. Yet the voteless who dare challenge the ruling politicians become marked men. The degree of their crime depends upon the extent of their activity, and the degree of their punishment upon the influence they exert upon their fellows. Will the terrible weapon of banishment silence the reformers and rebels of our times?

Source of Happiness

The further life has gone on, the more I've found the absorbing happiness of other people, the mere meeting of them, entering into some kind of discourse of mind and affection with them, is the most exhilarating, glorious thing in the world. As long as there's another human being on the earth with me I shall be happy.—Archbishop of Canterbury.

1956
"A TRAGIC COMMUNITY"

By ALEX. HEPPLÉ, M.P.

COL. DENEYS REITZ once said, "The Indians must realise that the Indian people would always be a tragic community because of the temper and temperament of the White man in this country." The first proclamations under the Group Areas Act give a terrible meaning to this remark.

Until the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 the aim of such legislation was to stop the spread of Indian settlement and to restrain Indian commercial activity. (I refer specifically to the Indians because they are the chief victims.) Now the law goes much further. Settled communities are to be uprooted and kraaled off in areas far removed from present places of trade and employment. As far as the Indians are concerned, the ultimate effect of such mass removal could be genocidal.

The Government has appealed to everyone to co-operate in sorting themselves out into separate race groups. The Government argues that if points of racial contact are removed, not only will friction be prevented, but remarkable new opportunities for communal development and self-expression will emerge in the group areas for those who lack such advantages to-day. It promises that the non-Whites will be able to achieve a large measure of self-rule in these separate areas because there they will no longer be a danger to the Whites.

Dr. Donges, the Minister of the Interior, when introducing the Group Areas Bill in Parliament, emphasised, "... it merely creates the necessary machinery for making the demarcation of areas over a period of years in a fair, equitable and judicial manner. . . . The carrying out of this Bill will be based upon justice. . . ."

History, however, warns us to expect otherwise. The whole background to this legislation is intolerance, prejudice and injustice. There cannot be justice in the application of discrimination. In a situation such as we have in South Africa, with the White minority the sole arbiter of what is best for everyone, there is bound to be injustice.

Looking back over the years we see how inexorably South Africa has driven herself down the road of prejudice to the present stage of the Group Areas Act. Despite all the warning signals, we seem determined to keep on, heading towards worse crimes against humanity.

Incessant Campaign

ANTI-INDIAN agitation began within 20 years after the first indentured Indian labourers were imported in 1860 by the British Colonial Government of Natal to serve the sugar planters of the Colony. Then, and ever since, logic, reason and tolerance have been brushed aside.

The Commission of 1886 in Natal, the first of many on what was to become the vexed Indian problem, reported that allegations of "unfair competition and menace from free Indians" were baseless. The fact did not convince or satisfy those who were hostile to the Indians. Down through the years this attitude has become the nature of an incessant, unjust campaign against the Indian and Chinese minorities.

As far back as 1891 Kimberley was in the throes of agitation against "the invasion

and aggression of the Asiatic hordes, their unadaptability to our customs, their vice and filth. . . ." The campaign was inspired by the Knights of Labour, one of South Africa's earliest trade unions, which had as one of its objects opposition to Indian and Chinese immigration, demanding the removal of the Asians of Kimberley to a location outside the city.

More than half a century later the pattern of prejudice was the same. It was typified by a petition to the Johannesburg City Council in 1946, organised by the Newlands Branch of the United Party. In the petition it was said, "It is not satisfactory to have a number of Indian women boarding the trams with dozens of Indian children, all reeking of garlic, seating themselves on all the available seats. . . ."

Likewise, the Durban Joint Wards Committee, for years the spearhead of anti-Indian agitation in Natal, was declaring in 1950, ". . . The Indian in South Africa will never be a true South African. . . . His interests are purely selfish; he resorts to insidious devices of an Oriental nature such as passive resistance; he endeavours to force his unwelcome presence into our European localities; he is a polygamist and as such develops a way of life which offends against our laws or customs. . . ."

Exploiting Prejudice

IT is not surprising that all "solutions" have failed and all "agreements" and "settlements" have been abortive. None have touched the malignant disease of blind prejudice. In one way or another all political parties contesting Parliamentary elections have been guilty of exploiting racial prejudice to further their ends.

For example, the Cape Town Agreement, which followed talks in 1927 between South Africa, led by Dr. Malan, and India, led by Mr. Sastri, was quickly converted to inflame public opinion in the struggle for political power. In Parliament the S.A. Party Opposition, led by General Smuts, accepted the Agreement. As the 1929 elections approached, however, the S.A. Party embarked upon a fierce campaign of criticism against the Agreement.

The Pact Government behaved little better. At the first test they ran away from it. This was when Mr. H. W. Sampson, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, tried to act in the spirit of the Agreement. As life president of the S.A. Typographical Union, Mr. Sampson welcomed the decision taken at the annual conference of his union in 1929 to admit Indians on an equal basis with White members. At a banquet in his honour, given by the Durban Indian Printers' Union, Mr. Sampson said that the admission of Indians into the Typographical Union was "not a special concession but a matter of principle" and in accordance with the Cape Town Agreement.

Contd. →

Immediate Outcry

THERE was an immediate outcry which almost precipitated a Cabinet crisis. Many Nationalists demanded Mr. Sampson's resignation from the Cabinet, declaring his offence to be worse than that of

Mr. Walter Madeley, who had been sacked from the Cabinet by General Hertzog because he met a deputation from the African Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. The Nationalist newspaper *Ons Vaderland*, in criticising Mr. Sampson, said that the purpose of the Cape Town Agreement was "to clear out the coolies from the Union, as desired by everyone except a few Communists."

Difficult to Satisfy

OF all the investigations, inquiries, Commissions, Select Committees, laws, Ordinances, regulations and the rest, nothing has been found to satisfy the real desires of the protesting Whites. It is difficult to satisfy prejudice. One never knows the limit of its demands. Even though it has absolute legislative power to decide the issue, the White minority cannot solve the problem of its own prejudice.

Discriminatory laws which meet the demands of one day fail to satisfy the next. Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal Republic and Law 25 of 1891 of Natal began a series of many enactments aimed at curbing the rights of South African Indians. The Class Areas Act of 1924, the Immigration Acts, the Pegging Acts, the Land Tenure Acts and many trading Ordinances stand as monuments to frustrated prejudice, despite all their injustice to the Asians in South Africa.

Repatriation

NEARLY everyone has come to realise that repatriation of South African Indians is impossible. Yet the dangerous and deceptive slogan "koelie uit die land" can still be heard. It has an appeal to those who like to talk of driving the Indians into the sea or would like them to vanish into thin air. Such people are comforted by the promise of Mr. W. A. Maree, Nationalist Party leader in Natal, who told an audience in Newcastle last June that, "After the Group Areas Act has made itself felt, the Indians would be only too pleased to get out of South Africa."

Government propagandists complain that, despite undertakings to subsidise their repatriation to India, few Indians will leave. Surely this attitude is human enough? After all, people born in South Africa must be expected to have a love of their country and a longing to stay there. Despite all the hardships of racial discrimination and the unhappiness, caused by

their position of inferiority, South African Indians rightly claim this as their homeland and have as much right to remain here as any other section.

How Far Away?

THE majority of Whites do not want to drive the Indians out of the country. All they ask is that the Indians be kept as far away from them as possible. They fear proximity, usually for financial reasons. Yet how far away is far enough? When Mr. Patel is pushed further away from Mr. Cook, he gets too close to Mr. Koekemoer. "Let them be someone else's neighbour, not mine!" is the general attitude.

There was a time when Johannesburg thought the Western Areas far enough away. Now it has become a "black spot" and is being cleared for White occupation. Not ten years ago plans were afoot to settle Indians at Mondeor, on the borders of Turffontein and Haddon. There was an immediate protest. Now Mondeor is for Whites only and the Government has decided to herd the Indians at Lenasia, 20 miles further afield. How soon will it be before the growing population of the expanding areas of the Witwatersrand industrial complex will find themselves crowding upon Lenasia?

No matter where they are, non-Whites—and especially Indians—are resented by someone who wants them removed. Apartheid's appetite, aggravated by the hungers of prejudice, is insatiable.

Surest Cure

WHITE South Africa has so far stubbornly refused to undertake the surest cure for its racial problems, for it believes the cure to be worse than the disease. It has preferred to persist with easy-to-take remedies, none of which gets at the root cause of the trouble, a chronic, hopeless prejudice.

Political leaders are content to excuse this condition for they fear to risk the cure. What party in power has tried to end the evil of racialist propaganda, such as that waged against the Indian community? What Government has tried to educate our youth away from cruel racial prejudice towards inter-racial friendship and co-operation? On the contrary, they have not only pandered to dangerous prejudices but excited them further for party political advantage.

The Group Areas Act is not the inven-

tion of the Nationalists. It is the logical consequence of the endless, bitter agitation of supporters of all political parties over the past 80 years. The Act's first proclamations present the entire White community with a real, practical challenge. The proposals, which will result in ruin and degradation for the Indians, are in the nature of a test. How many of us will share in this inhuman act? Reaction to the uprooting

and mass removal of settled non-White communities will show to what extent the present generation of Whites has cured itself of racial prejudice. It will demonstrate whether the temper and temperament of the White man in this country is unchanged and whether it continues to believe that we must always have our "tragic communities."

AFRICAN CONFERENCE'S OFFER TO CO-OPERATE

By GEORGE CLAY

RUNNING through the deliberations of the *volkskongres* organised by Sabra and the Dutch Reformed churches in Bloemfontein in July was a recurrent theme.

The Rev. M. Postma, of De Aar, gave vivid expression to this dominant thought. "I have sometimes stood on Johannesburg Station," he said, "and watched the thousands of Bantu pouring in to do their day's work in Johannesburg. I have stood beside the road and watched them stream into the city in buses and on their bicycles. I have had the feeling that I was standing beside a swift-flowing stream. And then I have thought—I can see that stream, but I do not know what is going on inside it. I do not know that stream."

And he added apprehensively: "We must learn to know that stream—or we will drown in it."

Many more delegates mourned the loss of "the link between the Afrikaner and the Bantu."

Unique Opportunity

BUT three months later, when a unique opportunity occurred for white South Africans to find out what the African is really thinking, it was ignored by all but a handful of liberals, some students of sociology and one professor from the University of the Free State.

The moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church was among those who found it impossible to perform the opening ceremony at the conference of African leaders held in Bloemfontein in October. Sabra sent no observers. The Government had no-one there.

Yet this conference may prove to be a

vital turning point in the history of South Africa's race relations.

"Momentous Meeting"

IF the Rev. W. A. Landman, chairman of Sabra, could hail the *volkskongres* as "the most important and decisive moment in the history of the *volk*, overshadowing even Blood River," then the chairman of the African conference, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, was even more justified in claiming it as "the most momentous meeting of Africans since the coming of the white man."

If the *volkskongres* was important because it mustered the bulk of the spiritual and intellectual forces behind the white authority to consider a plan suggested for the use of that authority, the African conference was even more important because it mustered the representatives of those who are called upon to submit to that authority.

If the *volkskongres* represented the power behind the Government, the African conference was the voice of the governed.

The African conference has been somewhat ingenuously dismissed by Die Transvaler as a gathering of a few Native intellectuals and white liberals. But in fact there is no doubt that this was one of the most truly representative conferences of African opinion ever held. It was sponsored by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation and for this reason there were many clergymen present. But among the 400 delegates there were also political leaders from the African National Congress, leading African educationists as well as representatives of teachers' organisations, prominent African professional men, African trade

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

(A Suggested pamphlet to be issued by the Black Sash -
under a suitable title)

5/9/56

"The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime, and the punishment of his guilt."

- John Philpot Curran (1790) -

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM.

Since the Nationalists came to power in 1948, South Africans have surrendered many of their liberties, often without realising it. The attack upon the Constitution, ^{and} the diminution of the voting rights of the Coloured people are part of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Nationalist plan to change the South African form of government. In the process our country is moving towards despotism. Many of our laws confer dangerous powers upon Cabinet Ministers.

The Executive possessed arbitrary powers before the Nationalists took over, but these powers were never used to the extent they are ~~xxxx~~ being used to-day. Not satisfied with this, the Nationalists have conferred upon themselves vast, new arbitrary powers. They are almost as wide and extensive as those of a dictatorship.

^{all}
The fact that these autocratic powers are not being used, does not lessen their threat to our democratic way of life. History has shown how quickly despots seize upon such powers to tyrannise their opponents.

27/7/2

The constant threat of punishment through the arbitrary powers wielded by Ministers of the Crown, acts as a brake upon the free expression of opinion. People become afraid to be "agin the Government"; they become "non-political" and apathetic; they lose the desire to protest against injustice and evil. When the people of any country become afraid to hold unpopular opinions, the way is open for totalitarianism.

PERSECUTION BY PASSPORT.

"Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country"

- Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Our passport system lends itself to the persecution and victimisation of opponents of the Government. The Minister of the Interior possesses the arbitrary right to grant or refuse anyone a passport. The origin of this power is vague. In 1949, Justice Malan described it as follows :-

".... the so-called prerogative of the Crown or State - that undefined, nebulous relic of the autocratic powers of kings of the dim past, which is alleged still exist, and which is in modern times usually invoked by those who have arrogated to themselves autocratic power and who, upon this power being challenged, are driven to seek refuge in its very questionable existence...."

Under previous Governments very few passports

- were refused. -

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

were refused. Nowadays many South Africans are denied passports and are unable to travel abroad. The Government is not compelled to give reasons and their victims cannot appeal to the Courts,

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dinges, told Parliament this year that he acts "on information from confidential quarters, the source of which cannot be disclosed". He says that the powers are exercised "only in the interest of the security of the State" and that they will not be exercised "unless there is reason for believing that their application is essential for the maintenance of our safety and security".

Does this send chills up your spine? Do you wonder who these dangerous conspirators are and what they are plotting against the State? Here are some of them.

One is an ex-Mayor of Johannesburg, Mrs. Jessie MacPherson. She is also National Chairman of the S. A. Labour Party. Another is Prof. Z. K. Mattheus, who was refused a passport in 1954, when he was Acting Head of the University College of Port Hare. He needed the passport in order to attend a world conference on race relations in Honolulu. A third was a Cape Town student, who applied for a passport so that he could attend an International Students' Conference in Birmingham, England. Another unsuccessful applicant for a passport was a sixteen year-old African schoolboy, who had won a scholarship to study at an American university.

In this case, an official of the Native Affairs Department declared that it would have been dangerous to the boy's whole future to let him study abroad in strange surroundings. Was that the only reason? Is it a sound reason?

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AT HOME.

" Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State"

- Article 13 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Freedom of movement inside South Africa is also restricted. Because of our racial laws there are many areas which are out of bounds to the peoples of the different races. Entry into such places is allowed only under permit.

This does not impose grave hardships upon the white people. The chief sufferers are the Non-Whites. A mass of laws and regulations prevent people from freely choosing their place of residence and restricts their freedom of movement. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the Native Administration Act and the Group Areas Act dominate the lives of Non-Whites.

The Pass Laws, which have caused so much suffering to African men, are to be extended to African women. No African can enjoy the right of freedom of movement as long as he or she is compelled to carry a Reference Book and produce it to any policeman or official on demand. Even for Africans, free movement in and out of Native areas is prohibited; permission must always be obtained.

Africans can be banished under the Native Administration Act and confined to specific areas. In terms of the recently enacted amendment to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, municipalities can banish Africans from their

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

area of jurisdiction, merely on the suspicion that their presence is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order. There is no provision for a trial or an inquiry by a Court. If the local authority or its officials are wrong or unjust, their victims can do nothing about it.

The limitations upon the freedom of movement of Africans ~~ix~~ are so extensive that there is very little freedom of movement at all.

FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE.

The practice of limiting the rights of Non-Whites inevitably leads to limitations on the rights of the Whites, too. As the number of such restrictions increases, the free movement of Whites, no less than that of the Non-Whites, must be curtailed.

Here we have dealt with only the right of freedom of movement. Let us not forget, however, that the Government is steadily gnawing away at all our freedoms. The vast powers they have bestowed upon themselves in the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, enable the Nationalists to become the dictators of South Africa. They can declare a state of emergency, suspend all laws, suppress all newspapers, prohibit all meetings, dissolve organisations, seize mails, and stifle all civil liberties.

This is the threat to our precious rights and freedoms which hangs over our heads like the sword of Damocles. True democracy cannot survive where fear stalks the land. Autocratic politicians are greedy for arbitrary powers. We must not let them satisfy this greed. If we do not resist the autocrats, if we do not maintain "eternal vigilance", we shall be punished with servitude.

FESTIVAL FOLLIES.

by "Old Timer"

The Johannesburg Festival is a flop. I wonder if the City Fathers know, or care, what everyone is saying about ~~the~~ it? "You wouldn't know there's a Festival on", is what every second person remarks.

The whole affair has been bungled. From the very beginning there has been confusion and chaos. Nobody seemed to know what to celebrate or how to do it. Or was it that too many people wanted their own way?

Whatever the excuse, the Festival is costing the Ratepayers plenty - how much we won't know until the final account is presented. Those who say, "You wouldn't know there's a Festival on", will know all right when the Bill has to be paid, for the ratepayers will have to foot the bill.

What has the average citizen got for all this ballyhoo? Stars that won't shine and bells that can't be rung; concerts for which tickets can't be got and opera for which tickets can ~~get~~ be got - at a price. Of course, the V. I. P.'s wouldn't know about that, because ~~they~~ for them its been quite an event, with preferential booking for all concerts, free tickets for the opera and free tickets for the Festival Ball.

The one good thing was the Pioneers' Luncheon, a worthy entertainment for the old-timers and at least some tribute to their pioneering work upon which the Golden City has grown. Yet even that was almost bungled and would have been a shambles but for the good spirit and friendly co-operation of the Pioneers, who accomodated themselves to the unexpected turnout.

For Saantrik
Not printed

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FESTIVAL FOLLIES.

Talking of Pioneers, why wasn't more made of the workers, who really built the City. I am talking of the men who, by the sweat of their brow, dug out the gold, laid the bricks, drove the trams, manned the machines, and did all the labour to make the City what it is? Many have passed on. Many are too old to enjoy the simplest entertainment. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Yet something big should have been done to honour these pioneers while they are still alive. Not only the pioneers of sixty, seventy years ago, but all who are too old to work.

They gave their energies to the City. They helped to make it rich. They helped to make many men rich, too. Now that they are too old to work, and struggle to exist on some miserable pension, they should get something back from the City, in to which they put so much.

could there be
 What better way/of celebrating the City's 70th.
 Birthday? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~



30th. September 1956.

IN THE DISRUPTION OF FAMILIES, RUINATION
OF BUSINESSES, LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT AND
DESTRUCTION OF SECURITY

Is Group Areas Act bringing apartheid with justice?

IN THIS TROUBLED WORLD, with so many nations accusing each other of crimes they are committing themselves, it is not unnatural that South Africa, a cauldron of multi-racial contention, should come in for considerable criticism, both from the East and the West.

Cold wars, hot wars and other international conflicts provide only temporary diversion from the permanent controversy of apartheid in South Africa. The Government asserts that the treatment of non-Whites in the Union is strictly our own affair and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, has warned the United Nations to mind its own business. However, the matter cannot be dismissed so easily.

In this age of anti-colonialism, with the major powers showing an increasing sympathy for the establishment of independent non-White states in Africa, the solution of the racial problem in the Union is of major importance to many besides ourselves. The democratic world is worried lest Black nationalism or totalitarianism should sweep the African continent. They fear that the policies of apartheid and White domination will incite the Blacks against the Whites.

They fear also that the denial of democratic remedies to the non-Whites will provoke them into rejecting democracy on the grounds that it is a system of oppression.

The Government recognizes this concern in the Fact Paper No. 6, issued by the State Information Office, wherein Prof. J. P. Bruwer of Stellenbosch University states:

"As controlling authority in Southern Africa, the Whites have an enormous responsibility towards themselves, towards their neighbours in the rest of the Continent and towards the world of Christian democracy in general . . . South Africa represents the Christian and democratic way of life in Africa . . . " and he concludes that the building up of a pattern of separate development will serve as a beacon for Africa and "a proof that ethnically differing peoples are capable of living in harmony in the same country without destroying one another or renouncing what is their own."

Apartheid

AGAINST this philosophy one must examine the first proclamations under the Group Areas Act and the demands being made by many local authorities for future demarcations. Will Christian democracy be served if these are enforced? Will the principle of harmonious co-existence be upheld by such action? Is this really the kind of apartheid the Whites have been wanting? Can it be justified as being apartheid with justice?

Under the first proclamations for the Johannesburg area, large numbers of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Chinese will be uprooted and compelled to leave their homes. This is not being done to improve their living conditions or as a slum-clearance project. Its only reason is to enforce the policy of apartheid.

by

Alex Hepple, M.P.

Parliamentary Leader of the
Labour Party

Being driven from their homes is not all that will happen to these unfortunate non-Whites. In the process families will be disrupted, businesses ruined, employment lost and security destroyed.

As a trading class, Indian and Chinese shopkeepers will become impoverished. At present they make a living serving people of all races. Once they are uprooted from their present places of business and removed to their own group areas they will be cut off from their regular customers and virtually compelled to take in each other's washing.

White opinion

IN this time of deep anxiety for non-Whites, the attitude of the Whites is important. There are some who are not distressed at the suffering implicit in the strict application of the Group Areas Act. They believe that, whatever the consequences, the races must be forced apart. On the other hand, there is a growing body of opinion against such action.

It was encouraging, for example, to note the attitude of the recent United Party Congress at Bloemfontein. In his opening address, Sir de Villiers Graaff, the newly-elected leader, declared that the party did not accept the group areas as at present demarcated by the Government. Later the congress passed a resolution "emphatically condemning the hasty and inhuman methods being employed by the Government in implementing the Group Areas Act." Again, in his final address to the congress, Sir de Villiers Graaff,

spoke in even stronger terms, declaring that proper provision should be made for alternative accommodation, compensation and protection of the means of livelihood of the groups affected.

These forthright declarations will strengthen the hand of the United Party group in the Johannesburg City Council, who have already asked the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, to withdraw the first proclamations.

The Labour and Liberal Parties, too, have protested against the proclamations and urged the Government to suspend their operation. In addition to these protests by political parties, a group of leading South Africans, including important church leaders, have sponsored an appeal to the Government, "in the name of religion and humanity to halt the application of the Group Areas Act before too many people are ruined.

Challenge

THIS group is now calling upon all White South Africans to support their appeal, saying, "We dare not stand silently aside while our non-White fellow South Africans face mass uprooting and economic ruin. Let it not be said that we failed to come to the aid of those who are threatened with wrong in this grave emergency."

The issue of apartheid, as exemplified by the decided demarcations of group areas, now arises as a crisp challenge to the justice and humanity of the White man. If this is apartheid, do we want it?

The response of the public to the human appeal for the suspension of the operation of the Group Areas Act will be the measure of the White man's conscience.

It would be tragic, if, when the question is asked, White South Africa should find it necessary to reply, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

DEC 1956

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN S.A.

ARTICLES - AH

By ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P.

PROFESSOR KUPER'S *Passive Resistance in South Africa** is a very good book. It is a penetrating study, not only of the passive resistance movement in South Africa, but of the race conflict which inspired it.

Against the 1952 campaign for the "Defiance of Unjust Laws," Prof. Kuper has examined the policies of apartheid and White domination and their effect upon democracy in South Africa. He expresses the country's dilemma in saying, "The literal acceptance by non-Whites of democratic values, with their subversive implications for White domination, has influenced the Whites towards the rejection of democracy. The immediate problem is the extent to which this rejection of democracy will be carried, and the nature of the response by the non-Whites."

Frightening Rate

AT the present moment it seems that the Whites will go the limit. The flight from democracy proceeds at a frightening rate. In Parliament it has become the habit for members on both sides of the House to place White supremacy above right and justice. They defend despotic laws and arbitrary action as a normal process of dealing with non-Whites. Every session new laws are added to the already formidable list of undemocratic, discriminatory and restric-

tive legislation necessary to preserve the domination of the White minority.

As a White politician, elected from the White minority, but completely in sympathy with the aspirations of the voteless non-White majority, I am continually frustrated in defending democratic values because of democracy's one-sidedness in South Africa. Privilege makes it easy for normally democratic-minded Whites to repudiate democratic values.

Background to Passive Resistance

"**P**ASSIVE RESISTANCE," states Prof. Kuper, "was symbolic of an ideological conflict heightened by apartheid, and it was modelled on the ethical and political technique evolved by Mahatma Gandhi." In order to properly interpret the passive resistance campaign of defiance of unjust laws of 1952, one should understand the background of South African political theories and policies as well as the philosophy of passive resistance itself. This is the approach which has guided Prof. Kuper in the arrangement of his book. The result is excellent.

He has presented his study in an interesting form, covering apartheid legislation, "communism by statute," the sociological nature of passive resistance, the story of the 1952 campaign, its reactions and finally the counteractions of the Government.

The author explains that it was difficult to get reliable, factual information about the

* **PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA**, by Leo Kuper. (Jonathan Cape.)

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SA
continued from previous page

passive resistance campaign. "The English press," he says, fearing Government censorship, was guarded in its coverage of resistance news, and the Afrikaans newspapers, though more outspoken, gave the official point of view."

He also states that his approach has been selective and that some important aspects have not been included. Nevertheless, Prof. Kuper has produced a comprehensive survey and his book is a valuable addition to the growing literature of the epoch of apartheid. Part of the study is as exciting as a thriller. The introduction is a dramatic story in itself, as the author describes in detail the proceedings at a passive resistance meeting he attended in Durban.

The Riots and After

IT was at the peak of the passive resistance campaign of 1952 that, quite unexpectedly, a series of riots broke out. It was a moment "most inauspicious for the aspirations of the non-Whites and most convenient for the Government," comments Prof. Kuper. In his search for information he found no evidence to connect the resistance movement with the disturbances and he records the fact that at no time did the resisters advocate violence as a means of struggle.

The Government adamantly refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the tragic rioting that occurred at Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Kimberley and East London. Last year I asked the Minister of Justice whether he would appoint a commission to inquire into other riots, where lives were lost and people injured. The Minister's refusal made it clear to me that the Government has now adopted a policy to treat such disturbances as a routine matter for departmental action only, as merely another category of crime. This attitude is not only deplorable but extremely dangerous for it offers no solution to the recurring riots, which now appear to have become a feature of the South African way of life.

The Government believes the best solution is to stand no nonsense and to suppress the riots without caring about the causes. This attitude provoked their counter-measures to the 1952 passive resistance campaign, excellently described by Prof. Kuper in his chapter entitled "Counteraction."

Reading it brought to mind that dreadful Parliamentary session of 1953, just prior to the general election, when the Minister of Justice introduced his two "Martial Law"

bills, the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Laws Amendment Bill. With an air of mystery and with great imagination, Mr. Swart talked of "secret information which the Government cannot reveal," "schools for firebugs," and such things, amid the refrain "Mau Mau!" from the benches behind him.

The tactic is well known in Parliament and surprisingly enough, generally succeeds in winning support for bad bills. On this occasion, Mr. Swart was able to stampede the whole of Parliament, with the exception of the Labour group and the Native Representatives, into voting for his "Martial Law" measures.

Sacred Police State

Prof. Kuper suggests that South Africa may evolve its own form of police state—



BUBBLE, BUBBLE, FROTH AND TROUBLE
—Natal Mercury.

the Sacred Police State. That is debatable. But one cannot argue with his assessment of our present society, which is worth quoting here:

"For the average White person, South Africa is a supremely free society; he is quite unaware of the extent of police activity, or, if aware, approves. It is primarily the Africans, and the active opponents of apartheid, both White and non-White, who suffer under growing police intimidation. They feel the trend toward the police State, not fully realised under present conditions, when the non-Whites are too disorganised for a serious challenge to White domination but almost inevitable as the struggle becomes more acute."

This tragic state of affairs flows from "the conflict between the exclusive ethic of apartheid and the universal ethic of democracy" which Prof. Kuper has logically analysed in his very good book.

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