



# FIGHTING TALK

Johannesburg

February 1, 1946

## THE ENGINEERING INDUSTRY

THOUGH little publicity has been given to the matter, a serious problem confronts not only the Demobilisation Department, but the trade union movement and the country as a whole over the question of employment for ex-volunteers in the engineering industry. From the scanty information available it appears that approximately six thousand soldiers, who have received some form of engineering training in the Army, are anxious to enter the engineering industry; while the engineering unions claim that there is hardly room for six hundred new recruits to the industry, let alone thousands, and are naturally opposing the training of thousands of men whom the industry cannot absorb.

This situation shows up clearly what has always been one of the major weaknesses in an otherwise praiseworthy demobilisation scheme, namely the question of the policy to be followed in finding employment for ex-volunteers. This policy has never been anything more than that of pushing soldiers into whatever odd vacancies exist, guaranteeing them employment for six or twelve months, and leaving them to sink or swim thereafter. There has never been a plan worth speaking of, apart from the absorption of men into Government departments, and the capacity for private enterprise to absorb the rest has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Hence the present difficulty in disposing of artisan trainees in the engineering industry.

Of the two solutions to this problem, it appears that the most niggardly will be followed. Would-be entrants to the engineering industry will be talked out of their choice and shunted into less attractive occupations. There is no indication that the Government will have the courage and vision to attempt the real solution by embarking on a vigorous plan to open up new industries, exploit our great mineral resources, and aim at a policy of full employment. Never has there been a more opportune time for such a programme for both the exploitation and conservation of our rich natural resources. The expenditure of only a fraction of the money spent on war would make such a programme possible, and ensure full employment not only for ex-servicemen but for the rest of our working population as well.

Already there are many signs that the number of jobs to be had by ex-servicemen are dwindling rapidly, and the placing of men is becoming increasingly difficult. Difficulty is being found in placing children leaving school, and yet the number of men still in the army was recently in the neighbourhood of 90,000. Despite the optimism in the Demobilisation Department over the finding of employment for these men, we predict the most serious difficulty in the re-absorption of the last ten thousand.

We fear too that any minor set-back or slump in trade will throw ex-servicemen on to the streets in thousands. Having been pushed into the chinks and cracks of the employment market, they will be the first to be thrown out when the market crashes. But this time they will not take it lying down as they did after the last war, for they have learnt the necessity and power of organisation.

JOHN O'MEARA.

## LEGION BRANCH ADDRESSES

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|--|--|
| <b>Benoni</b> —56c, Cranbourne Avenue  | <b>De Aar (Non-European)</b> — Mr. Kroll, 26, Alexandria Street            |
| <b>Bloemfontein</b> —P.O. Box 339; Room 10, Old Barclays Bank Bldgs., West Burger Street | <b>Klerksdorp (Non-European)</b> —Mr. Mokhoena, P.O. Box 253               |
| <b>Brakpan</b> —Stella Mansions, Kittinger Avenue  | <b>Cape Town</b> —P.O. Box 1062; Union House, Queen Victoria Street        |
| <b>Durban</b> —P.O. Box 2616; 56, Anglo African House                                    | <b>Claremont</b> —C/o P.O. Box 1062, Cape Town                             |
| <b>Durban (Non-European)</b> — P.O. Box 2616   | <b>Seapoint</b> —C/o P.O. Box 1062, Cape Town                              |
| <b>East London</b> — 1, Netherlands Bank Building  | <b>Woodstock</b> —C/o P.O. Box 1062, Cape Town                             |
| <b>Germiston</b> —P.O. Box 372, President Arcade, President Street                       | <b>Parow</b> —C/o P.O. Box 1062, Cape Town                                 |
| <b>Johannesburg</b> —Central House, cr. Main and Simmonds Street                         | <b>Amsterdam</b> —C/o C. J. Tosen, P.O. Amsterdam, Dist. Ermelo            |
| <b>Johannesburg (Non-European)</b> —New Court Chambers, Fox St.                          | <b>Swellendam</b> —P.O. Box 1  |
| <b>Krugersdorp</b> — 45, West Rand Buildings   | <b>Alexandria</b> —C/o Chief J. Maduna, 107, 13th Avenue                   |
| <b>Pietermaritzburg</b> — 7, Cuthberts Buildings, Church Street                          | <b>Cullinan</b> —C/o S/M McKechnie, 61 Base Workshops, T.S.C. Premier Mine |
| <b>Port Elizabeth</b> —P.O. Box 168; 92, Mutual Arcade, Main Street                      | <b>Queenstown</b> —C/o Mr. Stevenson, Barclays Bank                        |
| <b>Pretoria</b> — P.O. Box 322; 24, Security Buildings, Pretorius Street                 | <b>Grahamstown</b> —C/o Mr. Minnaar, 12, Park Road                         |
| <b>Randfontein</b> —C/o W. Jewell, 96, Park Street                                       | <b>Kaemas</b> —C/o Upington Branch, Schroder Street                        |
| <b>Springs</b> —P.O. Box 485   | <b>Kakamas</b> —C/o Upington Branch, Schroder Street                       |
| <b>Upington</b> —Schroder Street   |  |
| <b>Vereeniging</b> — Galen Chambers, Voortrekker Street                                  |  |



The trouble with the Springbok Legion, Charlie, is that it's in the wrong hands.

## EMPLOYMENT POSITION ALREADY SERIOUS

EMPLOYMENT for Ex-Servicemen is analysed in the following review of the work done by the Employment Section of the Public Relations Department of the Johannesburg Branch of the Springbok Legion.

Each month the Public Relations Department submits a report on work done over the specified period of time. The reports include employment figures and detailed observation of the success the Labour Bureau has had in assisting ex-servicemen who approached the organisation for employment.

Statistics covering a period of just under two years, i.e. from March, 1944 to the present time, bring out a very disturbing fact—the fact that the labour market, as it concerns ex-servicemen, has shrunk to negligible proportions.

The serviceman who joined the army without making definite arrangements with his pre-enlistment employer to take him back after his discharge is facing a difficult time as far as his reinstatement into civilian life is concerned. The ex-serviceman who is without employment at the present, and who has no profession or trade, will find it impossible to secure a suitable job.

### IMPORTANT FACTORS

This state of affairs is attributable to several important factors. The Public Relations Officers are constantly in touch with the Department of Labour. The officials in that department have concurred with observations made by the P.R.O.'s upon the present serious employment situation. In addition this position has been assessed through discussions with the heads of large commercial enterprises in Johannesburg, with employers of large numbers of men, and with representatives of the Trade Unions and with the Distributive Workers' Unions.

It must be borne in mind that figures quoted refer only to the very small section of the Johannesburg population that has made use of the Employment section of our Public Relations Department.

### APPLICATIONS

In March 1944, 53 ex-servicemen applied for jobs. Twenty-five were suitably placed in employment. The report for July-August shows the same percentage of placements: 44 applications were received and suitable employment was found for 22 of the ex-servicemen. Up till May, 1944 this percentage of placements was maintained, 50 per cent. of all applications being successfully dealt with.

The May-June report shows a drop in the employment figures and the statistics record a steady decline after that date. Only one-third of the ex-servicemen who approached the organisation for assistance with employment over the May-June period were found jobs. Thirty-nine ex-servicemen made application for employment on the July-August period and 11 were placed. During

Sept.-October 7 men were placed out of 43 who applied. During October-November we received 27 applications and were able to place only 2. The latest report records a slight improvement in the state of affairs.

In March, 1944 certain War Measures were promulgated enabling firms and factories to employ semi-skilled men in skilled capacities in order that war-time contracts might be fulfilled. E.g., emergency welders were employed by engineering firms on war production, as many of the artisans were away on active service. In addition to this, munition factories were maintaining a steady output and were absorbing all the available unskilled labour.

### VACANCIES

In the distributive profession vacancies had occurred as a result of large numbers of staff having attested for military service. These men were replaced, and large commercial enterprises maintained their turnover with a more or less skeleton staff. Clerks, timekeepers, counter assistants, checkers, and bookkeepers who were out of employment at the time found a ready market for their services.

This state of affairs continued until June, 1945. The end of the war naturally affected the Labour position: war-time contracts were cancelled and munition factories retrenched thousands of men. The labour market was flooded with semi-skilled men who had gained technical knowledge and experience through the war, and who were now unable to make use of it.

### POSITION CRITICAL

In the distributive sphere of activity, firms were not taking on extra staff as they anticipated having to absorb their own men who were returning. During the war the large enterprises had achieved greater profits than they had ever before realised. This was due to inflated prices and to the reduced costs of maintaining a greatly diminished staff. They were averse to engaging ex-servicemen with the necessary experience because of this.

Today the position is critical. The C.O.T.T. Scheme is an attempt to make use of experience men have gained through the war, either through courses of technical training taken while in the army, or mechanical training taken while in the army, or mechanical training gained while on war production. It is an excellent scheme and will reduce the great army of unemployed semi-skilled workmen.

In industry the old position has been reverted to. On December 1 a regulation was passed that only artisans and apprentices were to be employed by the In-

## OUR EDITOR LEAVES US

ARTHUR RUDOLPH, the man who was responsible for the development of "Fighting Talk" to the level it has reached today, has left the Legion to take up a job as foreign correspondent for the "Guardian" newspaper in Europe.

In wishing Arthur farewell and the best of success in his new job, it is fitting that we should place on record all that he has done for the Legion. First of all he has edited "Fighting Talk," and we think you will agree it has become quite a readable and useful paper under his direction. But "Fighting Talk" is not by any means the only baby the Publicity Manager has to handle. Most of the Legion pamphlets, press statements, leaflets, posters and everything else that you see in print about the Legion, though not all written by him, fall under his supervision. Arthur knew all the tricks of the trade, and when something was wanted, we knew we could leave it to him.

There is more to what the Legion owes Arthur than even that. He was a foundation member of the Legion, and has shared all its trials and tribulations ever since it came bawling and bustling into this difficult world. He has addressed meetings at many of our branches and in many army camps. He has been a member of the National Executive Committee for three years, and has always made a solid contribution to its discussions. Through all these activities in the interests of the Legion and ex-volunteers generally, Arthur has been in a position to mould Legion policy and guide its activity—and he has made his mark.

He has served on the D.S.D.C. in Johannesburg, and has represented the Legion on several occasions in interviews with Ministers and Government departments. He also presented a memorandum setting out the Legion's point of view to the Select Committee on Land Settlement.

We are sorry to lose Arthur. He will be away for about 18 months to two years, so we may have him back with us before long. In the meantime he has promised to set up Legion Committees in London, Berlin and Moscow, and we will probably have a message from him to read out to our National Conference in April.

Industrial Council for European Trade, forcing firms to dispense with the services of their emergency workmen. Only firms with manufacturing licences can employ "operatives." There are thousands of munitions' operatives to be catered for, and comparatively few concerns with manufacturing licences at the present time.

### NO MORE

To turn once again to distributive workers; whenever an attempt is made to get a job for an ex-serviceman, the answer is invariably: "We have our own men returning and cannot absorb any more staff." This in most instances is true—particularly where it is applied to small business concerns. On the other hand one just has to glance through the paper and see the numerous positions for clerks, accountants and secretaries, that are advertised. I was informed by one of the mines which advertised for a storeman that 150 replies were received for this one position.

There is something drastically wrong with the whole situation. Labour officials at the Dispersal Depot are finding it exceedingly difficult to place men in suitable jobs. The Employment Bureau at the New Magistrates' Court is not making any headway with finding "civilians" employment and, as can be seen from the figures quoted, our employment section is virtually at a standstill.

Except for attempts made by Government Departments, e.g. the S.A.R., to absorb ex-servicemen, and attempts made through the C.O.T.T. schemes, and the Training Schools of the Mines, the public appear to have lost interest in the cause of the ex-serviceman.

(MISS) J. M. HINDSON.

# UNEMPLOYED EX-SOLDIERS ARRESTED

**TWENTY-SIX** African ex-servicemen, living at Kopjes, Orange Free State, were arrested on the 9th January for not being registered as lodgers in the location and fined 10/- each. The men have all been warned that if they do not find employment within the municipal area by the 31st January they will be re-arrested and deported.

The majority of the men were born and bred in the location, and their families have been living there for years. Urgent representations to the Location Superintendent, protesting against the arrest of these men, resulted in a letter stating baldly that the location regulations at present in force provide that no person over the age of 18 years shall have the right to reside or be in the location unless he or she is in the continuous, bona-fide and actual service of an employer within this municipal area.

In accordance with the instructions given them when they left the Dispersal Depots, the men have all reported to the Magistrate for employment on numerous occasions. The Magistrate, who is supposed to deputise for the D.G.D. in the absence of a D.S.D.C. and is therefore responsible for seeing that the men are successfully rehabilitated, offered them employment of only one type—farm labourers at a wage of £1 10s. a month.

### EARNED MORE

As the majority of the men concerned earned far more than that prior to enlistment they quite rightly refused the ridiculous offer. A summary of nine individual cases shows that none earned less than £3 15s. per month, while one earned as much as £8 per month as a driver before the war. To offer these men employment at the inhuman wage of £1 10s. a month is to make a mockery of the principles of Demobilisation and is, in relation to those men who earned substantially more prior to enlistment, a direct contravention of the Soldiers' and War Workers' Employment Act.

Many of the men were discharged less than six months ago and are therefore technically still entitled to a "period of rest." The Location Superintendent refuses to grant these men permission to reside in the location unless they find employment within the municipal area. The responsibility for finding these ex-soldiers employment rests, not on the men themselves, but on the authorities and, in the first instance, the Magistrate who fined them 10s. each and is now threatening to deport them. Arrest and deportation in all probability means forced labour on the farms, through convict gangs hired out to farmers too mean to pay decent wages, and the men may be forgiven if they feel that the local authorities are in league with the big farmers.

### TYPICAL CASE

The Minister of Native Affairs and the Director-General of Demobilisation have been requested to intervene on behalf of these men. As this case is typical of the treatment meted out to African ex-volunteers in the rural areas, particularly where the anti-war elements are strong, the action taken will be a good guide as to whether or not the Government is prepared to live up to its promises. It is intolerable that the freedom of ex-soldiers should

# WE WANT YOUR MESS FUNDS

The committees of all unit or camp messes and canteens are reminded that the Springbok Legion is an organisation approved by the Adjutant-General for the denotation of mess funds. So when the time comes for surplus mess funds to be donated to some charity or other, just remember that there is no more deserving cause than the Springbok Legion. Many messes have already donated several hundred pounds to the Legion, but our needs are tremendous, so why not follow suit and help us out?

be jeopardised through the defection of the authorities who are supposed to look after their welfare.



Dont' look now, pal, but you're being followed.

# A "LIVING" WAR MEMORIAL

**THE** scheme, inspired by Springboks Up North, for a National War Memorial in the form of Health Services for Non-Europeans, has been modified and is now gradually taking final shape.

The original idea was for these health services to be limited to non-Europeans, in view of the appalling toll of disease amongst them, and in recognition of our responsibility for these conditions. On this basis, a sum of over £5,000 has already been collected from troops in Italy and the Middle East.

But to be effective, massive support by the civilian population was essential. An Interim Committee, representative of ex-soldier organisations (Springbok Legion and B.E.S.L.) and civilian organisations (including Toc H., Y.M.C.A., Trades and Labour Council, S.A.W.A.S., Institute of Race Relations) met in Johannesburg and agreed unanimously to broaden the original charter to cover "all needy sections of the community, with special regard to the non-Europeans."

The soldiers' Trustees and the Action Committee up North finally accepted this extension of the original aims and negotiations with government have been undertaken to find the most suitable form for the Memorial.

### MINISTERS' VIEWS

From discussion held with Dr. Gluckman (Minister of Health) and Mr. Hofmeyr (in his capacity of Minister of Finance) it became clear that, whilst they were sympathetic to the idea of a "living war memorial of a national character" which should contribute to an improvement in the

health of the needy of all sections with special regard to the non-Europeans, Government could not support a scheme which would relieve it of responsibilities to which it was committed. For that reason, health centres, an Institute of Hygiene, and an Institute of Social Medicine were ruled out.

The Committee has, all the time, tried to select some aspect of health which, whilst of great importance to the country, would have a low priority in the national health scheme envisaged by the national Health Commission. At the meeting with the Minister a proposal was put forward that the Memorial be a National War Memorial Health Foundation, analogous to the Rockefeller Foundation, and combine an Institute of Nutritional Research with an endowment Fund for assisting research and for the provision of bursaries for non-Europeans. This proposal is now going forward to the Prime Minister.

### INDEPENDENT BODY

It is contemplated that the Health Foundation will be an independent body with its own trustees. The Chairman of the Interim Committee mentioned £5,000,000 as the goal to be achieved. The main function of the fund would be, not academic research into nutrition, but positive action to improve nutritional standards.

LEO KUPER.

FILL IN THE ENCLOSED FORM TO-DAY

# PUNISH OUR W

**THE** Springbok Legion is taking steps to see that the following questions are put to the Government during the present Parliamentary session:

- (a) Why the Prime Minister, after receiving a deputation from the anti-democratic, anti-war, pro-fascist Nationalist Party subsequent to the recent disturbances in Johannesburg was unable to grant an interview to both, or either, of the deputations from the Campaign for Right and Justice and the Springbok Legion?
- (b) What are the intentions of the Prime Minister in respect of the matters submitted by these organisations? Will the Government take steps to
  - Punish racial incitement as a crime?
  - Dissolve all organisations of a Nazi kind.
  - Ban private armies — no Storm Troopers in South Africa.
  - Expel all anti-democratic elements from the Public Service.
  - Prevent any discrimination against the ex-volunteer.
  - Punish our Quislings and War Criminals.
- (a) Why free franking facilities are enjoyed by one ex-servicemen's organisation on the basis of its pension work, while the same facilities are refused to the Springbok Legion, an organisation with a record of achievements in

all spheres, including pensions, employment and housing?

(b) Is the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs aware of the fact that in the first six months of 1945 the Springbok Legion dealt with 4,172 problems affecting individual soldiers and ex-soldiers?

(c) Does the Minister consider the Government to have no obligation in this matter?

3. (a) What steps are being taken by the Minister of Demobilisation to end widespread unemployment among African ex-servicemen?

These questions are intended to clear up several matters which we have been pressing with the authorities for some time now without success. Other matters will be raised in Parliament as the opportunity offers.



# CAST YOUR VOTE IN PARLIAMENT

**ABOVE** are listed the questions which we are going to have raised in Parliament. Now we want your help. We want each one of you to fill in the form enclosed in this copy of "Fighting Talk" and send it to your M.P. **DON'T FORGET ABOUT IT. POST THE FORM TO-DAY SO THAT YOU KNOW YOU HAVE DONE YOUR BIT FOR THE LEGION.**

1. To help you we can explain the questions a bit. The first series of questions about the Johannesburg riots is intended to force the Government to take action against the anti-war elements, or at least to let us know what the Government's policy towards Malan, the O.B. and the Broedersbond is. Malan and his crowd, van Rensburg and his crowd, Pirow and his very small crowd, all want to make a mockery of our victory. They hate democracy, tolerance, racial co-operation. They want dictatorship, intolerance and racial oppression. We must show clearly that the soldiers are not prepared to take this anti-democratic propaganda lying down. Nor must the Government think it can go on doing nothing about it. Too many boys died in the field for us to forget. If the six points in the question are adopted, we can make South Africa safe for democracy.

2. The other two series of questions are quite simple. If we can get free franking facilities, it means we get all our post carried for nothing. That in turn means that we can devote hundreds of pounds that normally go towards postage, to direct assistance for

the ex-soldier. The B.E.S.L. get free franking facilities on the basis of their pension work. The Government knows the value of the work we have done and are doing for ex-soldiers. So why can't we get free franking facilities as well, especially when a very large proportion of our correspondence is with government departments?

3. Finally, the question about African ex-volunteers. For the European soldier, demobilisation is going on the whole fairly well. Many blokes have their troubles, but the majority have a chance of getting a square deal. The **AFRICAN EX-SOLDIER IS MOST DEFINITELY NOT GETTING A SQUARE DEAL.** The thousands of letters that pour into our office from African ex-soldiers show that thousands of them have no jobs, and thousands of them are faced with starvation. These people went to war like the rest of us. Over 1,000 of them died on active service, and all of them did their job in the army and did it loyally and well. It is not good enough that they should be treated almost like criminals after discharge. Read the two articles in this issue—the one about the ex-soldiers at Kopjes and the other about un-attested labourers—and you will realise that the African ex-serviceman is being victimised. Is this the reward for service? Is this the new world General Smuts promised them? No one can rest idle in the face of injustices like these.

**YOU ARE CITIZENS OF A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. MAKE YOUR VOICE FELT. TELL YOUR M.P. WHAT YOU THINK. YOU CAN VOTE THIS WAY TOO. FILL IN THE ENCLOSED FORM AND SEND IT OFF TO-DAY. BUT DON'T FORGET THE HALFPENNY STAMP.**

### SHORTY



# FRIENDSHIP FAIR

Stalls, Gambling and Other Games.  
Music, Dancing and Tasty Eats  
Beer and More Beer.  
FRONT-LINE FIRE WORKS, ETC.

For 3  
18th, 19  
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JNDERWE

# WAR CRIMINALS

## LEGION STAMP SCHEME

Have you heard about our stamp scheme? Well, take a look at the picture on the right. That's an enlarged version of the stamp itself. The colours are orange, white and blue. Take 80 of those stamps and make them up into a book, make up thousands of books of these stamps,



which have a face value of £1, send out these books to every business firm in town, ask them each to send you £1 to cover the cost of the book and to use the stamps on their correspondence, and you have the Springbok Legion stamp scheme. The idea is both to make the public ex-volunteer conscious during the difficult period of demobilisation, and to add to the revenue of the Legion, so that it can continue its fight for the interests of the ex-soldier. Both purposes are being adequately fulfilled. So far we have only covered Johannesburg, but already you can see envelopes going through the post with our stamp on them. Equally important, although the scheme only started in December, we have already raised £1,500 from it. Soon we will be sending books of stamps to other towns, South Africa will become plastered with our slogan "His job is our fight," and once more we will have done our bit towards making the soldiers' return to civvy street easier.

## THEY DREAD THE WINTER

A LEADING member of the Springbok Legion recently undertook to investigate the fares paid by African ex-soldiers employed at various military departments at Roberts Heights. Approximately 30 ex-servicemen, representing a fair cross-section of the unattested labourers involved, were interviewed by the investigator.

The inquiry revealed that the Department of Defence is by no means setting an example to other employers in its treatment of ex-volunteers. Married men living out of the camp received 26 2s. per month, while those who live in the compounds get 24 18s. 1d. Out of the £6 2s., the men spend approximately one-third (£2 2s. 6d.) on transport to and from their homes. Rent takes

up another £1 5s., leaving a balance of £2 14s. 6d. available for food, clothing and other necessities. As the size of an average family was six, that means less than ten shillings per head per month for expenditure on the bare necessities of life.

Without exception all the men interviewed complained bitterly that their children were always hungry and that they had been unable to buy any clothes for them or themselves since they were discharged. The majority of them went without lunch because they could not afford it. One said that if he were very hungry he would "hang around the Airmen's Mess looking for scraps—like a dog." Their clothes are already threadbare and all have a common dread of the coming winter.

### NO MONEY FOR FOOD

They all reported that the last week of every month was a time of great difficulty, as by then there was no more money for food. They had to keep back enough for the fares to take them to work. The men ask ironically whether they are the forgotten men General Smuts said there would not be.

The change-over from military to civil status meant an almost two-third drop in the standard of living of these men. When it is realised that these ex-soldiers are called upon to perform roughly the same duties they had to perform while soldiers, the fact that they consider that the Government has defrauded them, by first discharging them and then re-employing them as unattested labourers on a much lower scale, may be appreciated.

The Legion considers that these men have an unanswerable case for higher wages, and feels strongly that the Department of Defence should be the first to set an example to all other employers of labour by their treatment of African ex-volunteers.

## THANKS

THE Springbok Legion has been asked by the military authorities to publish the following letter of thanks, as the unit referred to has been broken up.

The letter is from the Treasurer of the St. Joseph's Home, and reads:

"Would you please convey to the O.C., 45 S.A. Adv. Base Workshops (R. & H.) T.S.C. our gratitude for their donation of £49 15s. 6d. to the Coloured Children's Orphanage, Sophiatown.

"This donation has come at a time when we are practically struggling for existence due to the very high cost of living, and is, therefore, all the more welcome."

We take pleasure in passing on this message to the former members of 45 S.A. Base Workshops.

# CAUSE OF HOUSING SHORTAGE

THE world is short of shelter. The world was short of shelter 500 years ago, and has been ever since.

In the middle ages, especially in Europe, frequent wars and invasions necessitated high walls around the towns. The citizens had to build within those walls; the houses went higher and higher; people lived in tenement flats; there was overcrowding.

The world is short of shelter. The world was short of shelter 100 years ago. The industrial revolution reduced Britain's rural population from 10 to 9½ millions, and increased the urban population from 4 to 37 millions. Germany's rural population decreased while her urban population increased from 2 millions in 1801 to 48 millions in 1936.

The rush to the towns caught the townspeople unawares. The demand for shelter didn't necessarily increase the supply, for the demand came from the working class, who couldn't afford to pay. Councils had to supply sanitation,

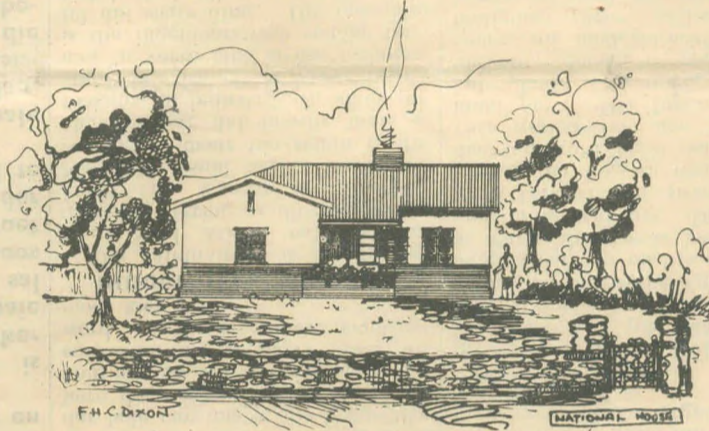
dominated by the English tradition. For this reason we were afflicted with the horror of Orlando. That is why the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg rudely splash themselves northwards, and that is why frantic rushes of National Houses are decorating the drawing boards in the offices of the Directorate of Housing.

The world is short of shelter. It has just battered to hard-core a fair percentage of its buildings. The atomic bomb is more effective, particularly in the compact, cold northern cities of the world. Housing is not only a national problem; it is one that invites the attention of the UNO at an early stage. Certainly we in South Africa cannot hope to home our poorer section for the next 50 years. At the present rate of progress ex-soldiers of the next war should register now.

F. H. C. DIXON.



## THE NATIONAL HOUSE



"It will not be easy to create this people's peace. We delude ourselves if we believe that the surrender of the armies of our enemies will make the peace we long for. The unconditional surrender of the armies of our enemies is the first and necessary step—but the first step only . . ."

"The firm foundation can be built—and it will be built. But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves."

—From President Roosevelt's message on the State of the Union, January 6, 1945.

transport, police protection, as these affected all—housing for the poor was never fully considered. It isn't today.

### DRIFT TO TOWNS

All that is happening in South Africa today. The people, black and pink, are massing into the cities exactly the same way as in Europe. Europeans, Coloureds, Asiatics and Africans are pouring into the towns. Only one-third of the European population is left on the land. We are experiencing our industrial revolution now.

We subject our people to the needs of mining and industry. The African urban workers are trudgeoned into black ghettos of tin and sacking. The poor whites have but the consolation of their racial superiority. All the poorer sections of our people seek the shelter of corrugated iron. Stinking hovels have been "home" for years.

### CHEAPEST WAY

The cheapest way for a State to erect homes is not through private enterprise. France, Italy and Sweden all realised this. An effective way to house poverty-stricken people like our native negro population is for the Government to tax dwellings and give this increasing income to an approved Corporation (say our National Housing Commission). The cheapest and most democratic way for more fortunate people (like 70 per cent. of our Europeans) is for them to help themselves in the form of housing co-operatives. This requires an educated and progressive membership. Perhaps this is not available in South Africa. Perhaps the Springbok Legion could organise a Soldiers' Co-operative—buildings to start in 5 years' time and payments now. I like this idea!

### FLAT TRADITION

Europe with its citadel walls and higher, mediaeval "flats" has a tradition of flat living and building. This leaves more country for people to play in. England had 200-300 years of peace. She hasn't needed fortified cities since the 17th century. She has no "flat" tradition, rather one of the sprawling, individual house. Even her slums are "individual" (and consequently bigger). Most South African town councils are

## TRAIN MORE ARTISANS

THE daily press has recently been obscuring the fundamental problems in the housing shortage behind a smoke-screen. The smoke-screen consists of a spate of articles on side-issues, particularly on the functioning of the recently introduced control of letting.

The fundamental feature is the fact that there are not enough houses to go round. So great is the shortage that no control measures, nor billeting schemes, can possibly put all the homeless into homes. We need over 200,000 new houses in urban areas NOW, of which about 50,000 are required for European and 150,000 for non-European families.

To provide these houses there is an artisan force of 28,000. Allowing for a large proportion of them being used on other essential work, at their present standard of productivity, they can produce 7,000 houses per annum. This output will not even keep pace with the normal annual increase in total requirements.

### PRODUCTIVITY

The only possible way out of this apparent impasse is to increase immediately the productivity of the artisan force, and simultaneously to initiate measures to increase as rapidly as possible the number of artisans available. Both these steps are possible: in our view only powerful vested interests have prevented their being taken.

The productivity of the individual artisan is controlled by the method of construction. At present only traditional "brick-by-brick" methods are in general use. The National Housing Commission is, however, experimenting with non-conventional methods. Our only quarrel with this is that they should long ago have passed the experimental stage. The Springbok Legion has particulars of methods of production which increase the productivity of artisans by several hundred per cent.

We also have available in South Africa a hitherto untapped source

capable of providing a similar increase in the number of artisans available: the native population. It would, of course, take some time to train any considerable number of African artisans. The present time offers a golden opportunity for a start. Our suggestion is that the COTT scheme for training building workers be extended to include exNMC personnel. When trained, such African artisans should be employed in the native townships, releasing European artisans for work in the European areas.

### EQUAL RATES

The writer strongly opposes the view advanced in many circles that such artisans should be paid at rates equivalent to the present rates for white artisans. It is suggested that for a start the ratio of skilled to unskilled wages should be the same as in, say, Australia. This would enable such work to be undertaken on a reasonably economical basis.

We do not propose to join in the popular, facile criticism of the design of the National House. The standards adopted by the National Housing Commission, though less generous than those in pre-war South Africa, are superior to those accepted by low-cost housing in Great Britain or the U.S.A., and equivalent to those of Australia.

Provided that housing development is properly planned by the National Housing Commission, with due regard to aesthetic values, there is reason to hope that suburbs will be created with all the charm of the housing schemes of, for example, Switzerland, Sweden or Holland. We shall then have what we need: whole communities in houses designed for effective contemporary living.

DOUGLAS CHAPMAN.

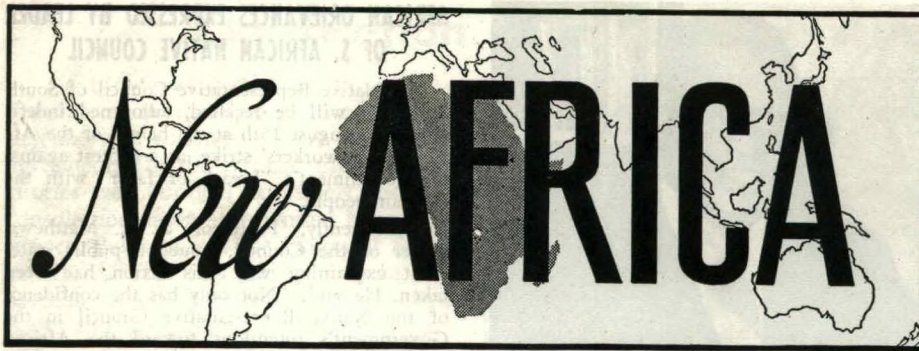
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**Council on African Affairs**

Monthly Bulletin

Dedicated to new relations with Africa—  
in the interest of African freedom and the  
promotion of international democracy,  
security, and peace.

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**COLONIAL TRUSTEESHIP LOOMS AS PARAMOUNT ISSUE BEFORE UNITED NATIONS**

**Anti-Imperialist Delegates Call for Clarification of Trustee Powers' Aims**

Serious weaknesses in the eight draft agreements thus far submitted, six of which apply to African colonies, must be eradicated if U. N. trusteeship is to promote the welfare and independence of colonial peoples in the territories under consideration.

There is unanimous accord on the necessity of establishing the Trusteeship Council at this session of the Assembly, but it remains to be seen whether improvement of the trusteeship drafts can be achieved so as to make possible the establishment of the Council now. Approval by the General Assembly of at least three trust agreements, at least two of them involving major powers, is necessary before the Trusteeship Council can be established.

Detailed discussion on the issues enumerated below is in progress in the U. N. sub-committee on trusteeship, as we go to press.

**Are Trusteeships Voluntary?**

One of the principal issues before the delegates is whether any power which received a mandate territory under its charge from the League of Nations, or (as in the case of the United States) plans to take over such a territory, can withhold such territory from the jurisdiction of the U. N. This issue came to the fore in the discussion on General Smuts' request for the annexation of South West Africa.

The Soviet, Mexican, Syrian and other delegates maintained that there were only two alternatives for mandate territories: trusteeship or genuine independence. The United States, South Africa and other colony-holding powers sharply opposed this view, maintaining that trusteeship, even with regard to mandate territories, was a purely voluntary matter left to the discretion of the mandate-holding powers.

If this latter view is sustained, the United Nations will have become even more helpless than was the League of Nations in its responsibility for dependent peoples, and the door will have been opened for outright annexation of former mandate territories.

**Who Are "the States Directly Concerned"?**

In drawing up their draft agreements, Britain, France and Belgium interpreted the undefined and long discussed phrase in the Charter, "states directly concerned," to mean merely

(continued on page 3)

**Smuts' Annexation Demand is Boomerang; Delegates Expose South African Misrule**

The first round of the fight to prevent the annexation of South West Africa by the Union of South Africa has been won. In the general debate which followed General Smuts' long and earnest plea to the Trusteeship Committee, only one state, Great Britain, gave the slightest support to the request for annexation.

Instead of getting endorsement, what General Smuts did was to provide the first opportunity for an international assembly to hear a full airing of the crimes of white supremacy oppression practiced by the government of the Union of South Africa against the 8,000,000 Africans in that country and the 300,000 more in South West Africa whom Smuts wanted to bring under the permanent control of his government.

The elderly Prime Minister was visibly shocked, humiliated and dejected by the sharpness and virtual unanimity with which the delegates around the conference table assailed his government.

And outside the conference room, Smuts and his fellow-delegates found no relief either. They were confronted with published statements in the press revealing the real truth about South Africa, statements made by South African leaders who were not members of the official delegation: Dr. Alfred B. Xuma,

President of the African National Congress; Senator H. M. Basner, leader of the progressive minority in the South African parliament, and Mr. Naidoo and Mr. Rustomjee, representatives of the Indian people of South Africa.

With the Indian delegate, Sir Maharaj Singh, leading the attack upon the South African request, delegate after delegate denounced the proposed annexation of South West Africa as a violation of both the mandate covenant of the League of Nations and the charter of the United Nations.

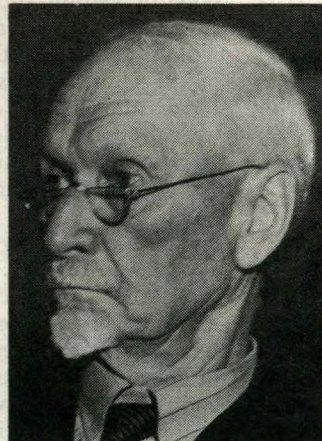
Besides India, the states voicing opposition to annexation included the Soviet Union, Egypt, China, Haiti, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Ukrainian S.S.R., Bolivia, Venezuela, Poland, Byelorussia, Mexico, Syria, and—with the reservation that more information might alter their views—Denmark, Cuba and the United States.

Significantly, not a single one of the British Dominions or European colony-holding powers spoke out against annexation; all except the United Kingdom carefully skirted this question, possibly having guilty consciences of their own.

(continued on next page)



Prosecutor—Sir Maharaj Singh



Defendant—Shocked and Humiliated

## ANNEXATION DEMAND PROVES BOOMERANG; S. AFRICAN MISRULE ASSAILED (Continued)

In his solitary support of Smuts' proposal, the British delegate reversed the stand previously taken by the British government in refusing to permit the incorporation of the South African High Commission Territories (Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland) into the Union, on the ground that the inhabitants of these territories should not be placed under the disabilities imposed upon non-white people in the Union of South Africa. If British policy were consistent, the British delegate would have agreed with the Indian delegate that South Africa "is unfitted to be entrusted with the trusteeship of any territory."

General Smuts had relied on three things to win over the delegates to approve his request for annexation: (1) his own long-standing prestige in international diplomatic circles, (2) the general ignorance of the outside world regarding the state of affairs in South Africa, and (3) the elaborate testimony regarding the official poll of native opinion in S. W. Africa allegedly favoring annexation.

He was sorely disappointed. His prestige apparently is wearing thin, the curtain of silence about South Africa's internal affairs was shattered, and the poll of native opinion was rudely rejected as a "a fictitious demonstration" (Mr. Novikov's characterization).

"I wonder," said Sir Maharaj Singh, "how many persons under the Nazi regime in advanced Germany would have dared to vote against the Fuhrer's wishes."

The Mexican delegate made the important point that even if the expression of the native people of South West Africa were to be accepted on its face value in favor of annexation, the General Assembly had no power to grant annexation under the principles of the Charter. Only when the entire population of South West Africa became independent and self-governing, and then voiced a desire for incorporation, could this question properly be considered, he said.

Round two of the fight against annexation

A straddling resolution on the proposed annexation of S. W. Africa, denying it for the present but leaving the question open, was introduced by the U. S. and Sweden and approved 12-6 by a U. N. sub-committee on Nov. 28, with Smuts' "reluctant" support. But the fight isn't finished.

In another committee an important victory for democracy was won on Nov. 29 when by a vote of 24-19 the Union of South Africa was told, in effect, to stop discriminating against its Indian minority.

Full stories in next issue.



Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, addressing the conference of organization leaders called by the Council on October 16 to secure the fullest cooperation in pressing for U. N. action in behalf of African freedom.

tion next took place in the sub-committee to which this question was referred. Having lost the first round and the hope of getting approval for annexation at this session, General Smuts is now quite willing to follow the veiled suggestion of the United States that decision be deferred until a later date.

Such delay would enable the South African Prime Minister to save face, at the same time leaving him in control of South West Africa (he threatened to retain such control anyway if the annexation appeal was denied).

Another consequence of the postponement of the decision will be to enhance the bargaining power of the United States in demanding the full backing of Britain and the Dominions when it comes time to deal with the Pacific island bases which this country proposes to take over.

There can be no justification for referring Smuts' proposal to the World Court or seeking other means of delay. There must be immediate and complete rejection of the annexation demand. General Smuts must return home without even a partial victory on this question.

If the General Assembly acts in accordance with the over-whelming expression of the delegates who have spoken on this matter, not only will subject peoples in South Africa take hope, but an important precedent will have been established barring further accession of colonial loot by any imperialist power. If it fails to take this step, the evidence will be clear that we have gone to great trouble to erect a world organization which is no better than the old one now abandoned—that plaything of the Big Powers, the League of Nations.

## AFRICAN GRIEVANCES EXPRESSED BY LEADER OF S. AFRICAN NATIVE COUNCIL

The Native Representative Council of South Africa, it will be recalled, adjourned indefinitely on August 15th at the height of the African mine workers' strike, as a protest against the government's "breach of faith" with the African people.

Subsequently, Professor Z. K. Matthews, leader of the Council, issued a public statement explaining why this action had been taken. He said: "Not only has the confidence of the Native Representative Council in the Government's intentions toward the African people been undermined by sins of omission, but a sense of despair and frustration has been induced in them by the increased output of restrictive and discriminatory legislative and administrative measures, and by the increasing provocative utterances of members of Parliament both from the Opposition and Government benches."

As examples of restrictive measures Professor Matthews cited the extension of the pass system in the registration of service contracts in urban areas, and the handing over of the control of this system to urban local authorities; discrimination against Africans in old-age pensions, pensions for the blind and invalidity grants, and the unsympathetic administration of these measures by some officials.

He also referred to the attempt to control the inevitable drift of Africans from congested native areas to the towns by empowering the railways to refuse them tickets; the use of force by the Government to settle industrial disputes as exemplified in the recent mine laborers' strike; the prohibition of meetings of natives in the northern provinces except by permission of the Native Commissioner.

Professor Matthews declared in his statement that the nine years of patient work by the Council, which has only advisory functions, had brought absolutely no results from the government and that the patience of that body was now exhausted.

The Council reconvened on November 20 in order to hear what the government had to say in reply. Mr. Jan H. Hofmeyr, Acting Premier in the absence of General Smuts, told Council members that the abandonment of discriminatory legislation affecting non-white peoples in South Africa was not immediately possible. "The changes," he said, "must necessarily be made gradually."

After hearing Mr. Hofmeyr's speech, the Council members adjourned to decide upon their further course of action.

### ATTENTION: U. N. DELEGATES— WHAT THEY SAY IN S. AFRICA

"Many consciences are uneasy already as to the existing state of repression of the non-European . . . The race problem today in this country is worse than it has ever been throughout our history . . . because of the extra chafing of the chains in . . . an era of growing enlightenment everywhere. Relations between European and non-European were never nearer the breaking point."—Cape Times, Oct. 17, 1946.

"Unless the Union of South Africa sincerely takes account of the political aspirations of all peoples under her flag, she will continue to find herself in embarrassing and possibly humiliating situations at the United Nations conferences and may turn more than half the world against her."—The Johannesburg Sunday Express, Nov. 10, 1946.

# Clarification of Trusteeship Aims is Essential

(Continued from first page)

themselves and mandatory powers having neighboring colonies. Thus the draft agreements for the African mandate territories were worked out solely through consultation among the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa. AFTER this had been done, the agreements were forwarded to the United States and the U.S.S.R. for their information.

The Soviet delegate urged that the Trusteeship Committee work out a definition of "states directly concerned" at the present session of the Assembly. He attacked the inconsistent interpretation of this phrase given by the United States delegation which, on the one hand, declared the U.S. to be one of the states directly concerned in all draft agreements, and on other hand, argued that the phrase had reference only to the individual mandatory powers.

It is common knowledge that the latter interpretation, which has been favored in the recent remarks of Mr. Dulles, is designed to prevent the Soviet Union from participating in the original drafting of trusteeship agreements. Apparently, the United States is willing to give the European mandatory powers a free hand in exchange for a free hand of its own in the matter of the Japanese mandate islands. All of which horse-trading, of course, leaves the U.S.S.R. out in the cold.

## Military Bases for Non-Strategic Areas?

One important reason why the Soviet Union, as well as other powers, is concerned about the definition of states directly concerned, is the fact that every one of the draft trusteeship agreements thus far submitted has a clause like the following from the Tanganyika draft giving the mandatory power the right—"to establish naval, military and air bases, to erect fortifications, to station and employ his own forces in Tanganyika and to take all such other measures as are in his opinion necessary for the defence of Tanganyika and for ensuring that the territory plays its part in the maintenance of international peace and security."

The League of Nations specifically prohibited the fortification of mandated territories. At the San Francisco Conference the United States, with its eyes upon the Japanese mandate islands, circumvented this by proposing a distinction between non-strategic and strategic trusteeship areas, the latter to be fortified and to be authorized and supervised by the Security Council rather than the Trusteeship Council.

But the British objected to this distinction, arguing that *all* trust territories should play a part in military service. As a compromise of these two views, the U.S.

African Mandate Territories		
Under United Kingdom		
	Area—Sq. Miles	Population
Tanganyika	360,000	5,300,000
Cameroon (Br.)	34,000	900,000
Togoland (Br.)	13,000	400,000
Under France		
Cameroon (Fr.)	161,000	2,600,000
Togoland (Fr.)	34,000	800,000
Under Belgium		
Ruanda-Urundi	20,000	3,500,000
Under Union of South Africa		
South West Africa	320,000	330,000
Other Mandates		
Under United Kingdom		
Palestine	10,429	1,865,000
Under Australia		
N. E. New Guinea	93,000	670,000
Under U. K., Australia, N. Zealand		
Nauru	8.4	2,672
Under New Zealand		
Western Samoa	1,130	56,000
Ex-Japanese Mandates Occupied By U. S.		
Marshall Is.	160	10,000
Caroline Is.	380	31,000
Mariana Is.	246	44,000

provision for strategic areas was retained, but Article 84 was written into the Charter granting states administering any trust territories permission to "make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance" toward the maintenance of international peace and local defense.

In their draft agreements the prospective trustee powers have gone far beyond the terms or intent of Article 84. They have, in fact, nullified the distinction between non-strategic and strategic trustee-

ship territories. The meaning of this action and the extremely grave consequences stemming from it are discussed in another article in this issue.

## Inadequate Provisions For Political Advancement

In striking contrast with the specific character of the clauses having to do with the authority and powers of the governing state, the clauses on the state's obligations toward the inhabitants of trust colonies are quite vague and inadequate.

The Indian delegate, Sir Maharaj Singh, was among those to point out that "the steps by which the people concerned will accomplish their progressive development toward the desired end [of self-government or independence] should be specified in greater detail. The establishment of popular elections with progressive widening of the franchise, the extension to all citizens of their right to hold higher as well as lower appointments and their right to share in the executive government should also be emphasized."

It was also this Indian delegate who declared, as the Council on African Affairs has repeatedly urged, "that a time limit should be fixed for each territory in the terms of Trusteeship for the attainment of self-government or independence. Otherwise, as has too often happened in the past, there will be a tendency on the part of the administering authority to move too slowly and to put forward as a plea, the lack of preparedness

(continued on next page) →



At the Council's Reception, Nov. 8, honoring Senator H. M. Basner, Dr. A. B. Xuma and Mr. H. A. Naidoo, distinguished South African leaders here to aid in the U. N. fight for justice in South Africa. Left to right: Dr. W. A. Hunton, Senator Basner, Mr. Naidoo, Dr. Max Yergan, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Xuma, and Mr. J. J. Singh.



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