

Articles

. Note: All newspapers, periodicals and journals in which articles appear are South African publications unless otherwise stated.

Many copies of/or original typescript are pasted in 3 volumes. (Big Red Books.)

"Comment on the annual conference of the South African Labour Party conference." 1 January, 1930. Typescript letter to Editor, Forward.

Letter to Forward re 1929 annual conference of South African Labour Party. Typescript, 1 January, 1930.

"Retaliation", Sunday Times, [31 June 1929/32 ?] [Short story, first piece ever published - for which Alex was paid 10/-]

"Time for masterful speeches is gone". A tip to Mr. Hofmeyr." Forward, 18 September 1942.

on Typewriter.

Pub in ab 20
margin a 35
Spain ab 1

A.H. Personal

9
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JHBURG 13 9/10AM

ALEX HEPPLE

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

CAPETOWN

CONGRATULATIONS GOOD SHOW LOVE

MOTHER AND RITA



1948

A. H. Personal

JGF 137

Handwritten initials

POST OFFICE TELEGRAM

This form should accompany any Enquiry

JHBURG P 30 8AM

ALEX HEPPLER

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

CAPETOWN



Handwritten signature

WELCOME TO THE HOUSE GO FORWARD WITH CAREFULL MEDITATION
AND CALM COURAGE YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN GOD BLESS YOU

GIRL AND BOB

POST TELEGRAM

Hierdie Vorm moet alle navraag vergesels.

1948

Commonwealth
Empire Parliamentary Association

(Union of South Africa Branch)

RECEIVED from A. Stepple Esq. M.B.

the sum of ~~£1 (one pound)~~ ^{f10. 10. 6} ~~10/- (ten shillings)~~ being his subscription as an ~~affiliated~~ ^{life} member of the above Association for ~~the year ending 31st May,~~
194

Life member

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Cape Town, 1/9/

1949.

W. J. [Signature]
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.



Blacks & Co.

mem pamphlet sent 30/11/83. att

72, York Road,
Kensington S.,
Johannesburg,
6th. August 1951.

Letter to Hymie Solly

Letter M^A

Dear Hymie,

I suppose you wonder if I, too, have forgotten you. The fact is that I have been very busy since I returned from Durban that I haven't had a moment to sit down and write. One of the things which has occupied my time is Azet; after much negotiation and argument I have now sold all my shares and have resigned from the Boards of both Companies. This means that I have no further interest in business. I think it better that way. The next thing that took up time was the writing of some articles, amongst which was one on "Political events of the Year" for the S. A. Jewish Year Book and another (just completed) on the Cost-of-Living for the Mercury. I don't think you have seen my last article in the Mercury, so I'm enclosing it herewith. Then, of course, there have been the million and one things that always crop up.

Something is stirring in the political field. First of all, two recent Branch meetings (Jhb. South and Bez. Valley) well best attended for years and with tons of enthusiasm. I am getting a lot of calls from my constituency and more interest than ever before. On Sunday we had the quarterly meeting of the N. E. C. (21 present) at which it was reported:-

1. Negotiations with U. P. had failed. They want to write us off and kill us if they can. Offered 4 seats, then said we had better fight and show if we have any following.
2. 17 Labour candidates in the field, with about 4 to follow. All that is needed is some money. Smith and Epstein reckon £150 is enough with the smaller wards.

The meeting was very enthusiastic and Solly managed to collect about £500 there and then for Head Office. I said you would probably give £25, which is what Leo and I contributed, saying that I had no authority to speak for you. Leo went out with Solly last week and got a few hundred and I am to go out with him this week. We expect to get another £500. This is apart from what is wanted for the municipal elections. The NEC decided to throw all its weight into the fight. I think Tucker & Co. have lost their reason. Surely they realise that a fight now will finally end all co-operation. When I appear on platforms for Labour candidates who are fighting U. P. opponents, I must attack the U. P.? I must tell the truth of their cowardice and confusion, their division and doublecross; I must accuse them of undemocratic action as shown by their banning of meetings on the City Hall steps and their attitude to various Bills in Parliament. What a mess they are making of things! However, it seems that they are determined to fight, even though only the Nats. stand to gain, so let them get on with it. I know that the L. P. will come out much stronger than before and the U. P. broken forever. But the Nats. will be the real gainers. Is that what Tucker wants? Meanwhile Straussie runs around the world. Even Malan made a joke of that.

Our Durban trip was most successful. John addressed several meetings and is full of optimism. The press told us that our meeting (about 100) was much better than the U. P. had managed to get. A Natal Executive has been elected and you will be pleased to know that most of them are young and enthusiastic men, well known in Natal and determined to make a name for themselves. ~~Our~~ Some public representatives are now really worried!

I was glad to get a letter from Nettie saying that you hope to be home soon. I sure you will be glad. Perhaps while you are convalescing you might be able to think of some parties who would give the L. P. some money. With a fair amount of cash we can win some good seats in JHB. I'm digressing. Please let me know if there is anything you want and let me know when you expect to leave Cape Town. Hope you are feeling more optimistic and cheerful. Remember, you might have been a lot worse. I heard that Colin Legum was in JHB for a day and went on to Serowe as a Press Correspondent. Girlie asks you to give her love to Becky. Regards to Nettie and yourself. Totsiens.

On AH speech

27 Feb 1952

House of Assembly

Cds 1916 - 1928

28/2/52

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

1952

CAPE TOWN.

Thursday, 2.30p.m.

Dearest Doll and Bob,

That's calling
'Em - ump!

Last night Dad made the most brilliant and witty speech. I must tell you about it briefly ----- (it is now 7.30 p.m. - since starting this, I have been in the House listening to Eric Louw, typed a long thing out for Dad, made and eaten the dinner) Now here is the story of Dad's wonderful speech from the beginning. You remember, Bob, how Dad conceded his time on the Part Appropriation to Hymie (Bob explain to Doll.) Well H spoke on Monday and brought up a lot matters including what Dad thought was an untimely attack on the Minister of Labour re the Ind. Leg. Com. Report. Yesterday morning Dad did a little preparation on other matters which he wanted to bring up under this debate, intending to come in today - Thursday. He was quite perturbed, however, when yesterday avva John said he was coming in today. Anyway, Dad said he would not be rushed into speaking before he was ready, even if they both had to speak today. You can imagine my surprise when he arrived home at 6.p.m. (me in the midst of getting dinner ready, and hoping Dad would have the night off) positively foaming at the mouth at the way Schoeman had attacked the L.P., quoting the reasons which Wilson gave for leaving, saying we were being run by two trade Unionists, Sachs and one other. This meant that he simply had to come in and reply that evening. He wanted a certain ~~xxx~~ speech that Schoeman

had made in 1942, but we could not find it in our files (burial ground). I managed to dissuade Dad from going to the market as usual and we went early to the House and at the last minute found the speech. Well, Dad was brilliant- first he brought the Min. of Ec. affairs to task for the incompetent way he dealt with the answers to questions, the C.O.L. and then went on to the blackmarket in steel. Well, Louw was by this time so worked up, that there was a regular battle going on between him and Dad, even the Nat "Kitchen was fairly quiet. Anyway Louw had so much to say that Dad stopped in his tracks, and addressing the chair requested that the Minister should wait until it was his turn to speak and furthermore was it not correct procedure for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ him (Dad) to be addressed through the Chair and not across the floor as the Minister was doing. The Min. tried to corner him, but Dad was so sure of his ground that it ~~xxxx~~ was the Minister fencing with Dad, and not as usual the other way around. The Parry and Thrust was ~~xxxxxxx~~ terrific, and our "Kitchen" came in with some excellent interjections, especially when Dad attacked Schoeman, he told the story of how a man (in our case Wilson) leaves a party and ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ in order to vindicate his reason for doing so usually attacks the party he is leaving, but in truth is seeking greater opportunity elsewhere - "Other members have done this with great success." All this with great subtlety - as you know Schoeman left the U.P. to join the Nats.- then on the question of the Trade Unionists he was very good, and someone interjected ~~xxx~~ "they haven't even got one in the Nat Party". Then he read from Hansard where Schoeman in 1942 had given as the Program of the Nats the very things that were implemented by the IND. Leg Com. - what a bombshell- all this among heaps of interjections, witty and brilliant replies

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

Don 22? →

by Dad, and also gales of delighted laughter from not only the Opposition but the gallery, including myself. Although there was laughter it was all on a most statesmanlike level - as I said the ~~that~~ kitchen was hushed, leaving it to the Ministers versus Dad with clever interjections from our corner. Dad ended his speech with an appeal to the Minister ^{of Finance} ~~with an appeal~~ to legislate for the masses.

The amazing thing ~~xxxx~~ was that he was so imperturbably calm, but so sure and determined. How I wish you could both have been there. Remember to read the speech in Hansard - 27th Febr.- but I believe certain bits have not been truly recorded there and one can't get the true atmosphere on the debate - or can I call it attack.

When Louw replied today, he made a violent attack on Dad, saying he must have some interest in the Steel question etc. and was made to withdraw his remark, and after three requests (on a point of order) and quite and uproar ~~did~~ so very grudgingly, he was in the middle of attacking Dad when his time was up and although he was given leave to go on refused to do so. I am thrilled that Alex has done so well - I hope and feel sure that he has really found his feet on this high level - everyone is thrilled about it - I reckon he can be granted a "first." We are not gloating, however, - you know how it is in battle - now our victory - now yours. *Hairs.*

Talking about battle - we decided to bunk select Committee this morning and have a bit of exercise on the golf course - which we did to the sound of cannon fire - they were practicing from that fort on the

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on the 9th hole - what an experience! - what a noise! - first the noise - then the flash - then the roar of the bullet going through miles of space then the splash far out to sea.

See Note

he too!



Thanks for your card, Doll. Do you want me to get some nice sock wool!!!!!!!. I have started Al's maroon jersey. Thanks for your letter Bob and the timetable. It would be quite a good idea to pop into a sociology lecture one day to see what it is all about, but I, or rather we, think it is wise to take Afr. this year. The very best of luck with it all- as long as you are happy. How nice of Harold to go with you. Dad is writing to Mrs. Roper in a day or two about her property. Doll, I got a nice note from R. Walker. I had asked them whether they were interested in the Health Amendment Bill- and he put it so well - how they were only educational- that when people came to them they could not cure them but could only teach them the proper use of their bodies, and by so doing they would probably find that their ills would vanish. - also a nice letter from Spring.

Well, it's past 8 - time to wash the dishes - Dad is resting on his laurels and we are having the night off, for a much needed early night (we hope)

first this session

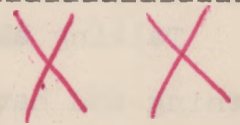
Give our love to all and sundry. Keep this letter- even though it is badly put it tells the story of a great victory. "Achievement is better than Rest - Aangaer Wen!"

LOVE

Mom - Girl (Advertising Agent for M.P.)

NOTE. The "bullets" happened to be 6" & 8" shells, fired from howitzers manned by gun crews of 16 men each!

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



Arbeids-party
se Leier

Mnr. Alex Hepple, L.V. vir Rosettenville, is op 'n vergadering van Senatore en Volksraadslede van die Arbeidsparty aangewys as opvolger van wyle mnr. John Christie.

Die verkiesing van mnr. Hepple is 'n aanduiding dat die Arbeidsparty ietwat meer links swaai. Daar kan nou verwag word dat daar 'n strewe by die party sal wees om meer op sy eie bene te staan in plaas van om aan die V.P. gekoppel te bly, het politieke waarnemers gister in Johannesburg verklaar.

Hepple New
Parliamentary
Leader of
Labour Party

MR. ALEX HEPPLER, M.P. for Rosettenville, will succeed the late Mr. John Christie as Parliamentary Leader of the South African Labour Party.

UNANIMOUS

Mr. Hepple was unanimously elected at a meeting of Labour Party Senators and Members of Parliament on Wednesday.

Mrs. Jessie McPherson as senior vice-chairman of the Labour Party now assumes the office of acting chairman and Leader of the Party until the next annual conference in January, 1954.

New leader
of Labour
Party

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He was unanimously elected leader at a meeting of Labour Party Senators and Members of Parliament yesterday.

Mr. Hepple, who is 49, has been chairman of the Labour Parliamentary caucus since 1948, has served several terms as senior vice-chairman of the party and was for many years its national treasurer.

He has been a member of the party for more than 30 years and a member of the national executive committee for the past 15 years.

He was M.P.C. for South Rand from 1943 to 1948.



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Hepple

1953

Sept 1953

Malan tells parliament:-

"The amendment by Mr Hepple & the attitude he had taken meant there was nothing to protect & that therefore barriers between the various sections of the population were unnecessary & that where such barriers existed they should be removed. --- With the removal of barriers all must be thrown into the same pot, boiled down together & reduced to the same substance. ---"

DATE TIME
29/5/54

IT had to happen. Dr. Malan, who has been putting the world right for the last five years, has at last revealed why God made the earth round instead of flat. As any good South African might have guessed, the Almighty adopted this structural design in order to ensure *apartheid* here below.

The revelation was made during the joint sitting on Wednesday in the course of a sermon delivered by our Calvinist Prime Minister to the Roman Catholic Mr. Hepple, Leader of the Labour Party. If the Creator had wanted there to be no race or colour divisions on earth, we would to-day have been navigating the sun in a world as flat as a flying saucer, according to Dr. Malan.

What the amiable Mr. Hepple thought of this bit of inside information on the intentions of the Creator has not yet been recorded. But at least one listener suddenly found himself remembering the conviction of E. K. Chesterton's imperialist Englishman that

The Gods made the Greeks to grow currants for us.

Footnote

The main political interest in his episode is that it constitutes the first attempt by Dr. Malan during the joint sitting to offer some moral grounds for providing the Coloured voters with separate representation.

Important Dispatch

The Prime Minister was so full of surprises this week that it is hard to remember whether anybody else even took part in the debates. He certainly electrified the joint sitting when, holding a voluminous letter from Mr. George Golding within four inches of his nose, he laboriously read extracts showing a willingness on the part of this Coloured leader to compromise on the franchise question.

The letter certainly came at an opportune moment, and it came in very handy to read out just after faintly commending the Independent U.P. compromise as "an honest and well-meaning" effort to solve the "crisis". Mr. Golding, however fortuitously, offered a prospect

of putting the same sort of compromise before a Coloured convention.

This pliance on the part of Mr. Golding immediately changed his status in Nationalist eyes. He became "the most influential Coloured leader" and his letter "an important document". One cannot recall the Prime Minister referring to him in these warm terms when the memoranda Mr. Golding presented used to stand uncompromisingly for maintaining the present common roll franchise.

Open House

For anybody who had only heard Dr. Malan's condemnation of "horse-trading" at UNO, the biggest surprise of all would have come in the closing stages of the Prime Minister's 90-minute speech. He quite plainly indicated that he might accept the Independents' compromise if there were enough members willing to forsake the United Party's franchise policy and give him a two-thirds majority as a quid pro quo for the "concession".

Anybody could come along and be in on the deal—"negotiations, discussions, call it what you will"—said the Prime Minister in effect. There had never been such an open offer to turn the coffee-room at Groote Schuur into a bargain basement.

The proposal was made so unashamedly, in such a spirit of man-to-manliness, that the political effrontery of it seemed to shock nobody. Perhaps the House has become used to it—for it had seen the Prime Minister make the same gambit before. The only effect it had this time was a weak giggle deep in the ranks of the Opposition

Very, Very Good

From the exciting incidents on last Friday night, when the Opposition (except the Independents) moved out of the chamber in an indignant mass, until late on Tuesday, the members thought of little else but the motion of censure on the Speaker. It was obvious that the Opposition was fully aware of the seriousness of the step it had taken, and most of the

speakers on the left side of the House spoke in hushed voices.

The point insisted on by all these members was that the standard of conduct in the House had seriously degenerated under the present Speaker. They seriously feared some of the younger members would accept that the behaviour in the Assembly over the last few years was parliamentary conduct as it had always been.

Whatever the ultimate results of this motion may be, the immediate one is that Parliament has become very self-conscious about its department. Ever since the censure debate the members have all been sitting there like that little girl "with a curl right in the middle of her forehead, who when she was good, was very, very good, but..."

Big and Small

Dr. Malan chose muffled-drum proceedings of the censure debate to make what is becoming his routine personal attack on Mr. Strauss. The attack is roughly that Dr. Malan is always being disappointed by Mr. Strauss—he expects Mr. Strauss to do the "big thing" and Mr. Strauss always does the "small thing".

There is no disguising the almost spinsterish venom that the Prime Minister puts into these attacks—he tries to wring all the acid he can from hammering on the words "big" and "small", and making the comparison of Mr. Strauss and General Smuts. It is not a pretty sight—and has very little dignity in it.

Through it all, one remembers that General Smuts — Dr. Malan's example of a man capable of "big" things — was never known to make personal belittling attacks on opponents.

In the background to all these momentous happenings the Native Resettlement Bill (to move 58,000 Natives elsewhere in Johannesburg) has been slipping almost unobserved on its way through the Senate to the Statute Book. With its becoming law will start the main action under the policy, which on sadly humorous Bantu journalist described as "Foreve Hamba".

example to the non-Europeans, the Prime Minister should have started thinking about that long, long ago"

PERSONAL ATTACK

The Prime Minister concluded his remarks on a strong party political note—the first of the few to be heard in the debate—by delivering a personal attack on Mr. Strauss. "He shows time and time again that he cannot take the heights but can always descend to the depths," said Dr. Malan.

The quietest, yet one of the most effective speeches of the debate came from the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Hepple, who stated that he would have preferred to have had this matter out in private.

However, he had a number of complaints against the Speaker. He had found him unnecessarily rebuking, aggressive and given to calling people rudely to order. He thought the Speaker would

Continued on page 3, column 4.

Hepple

17/5/54
Col. 5

19/5/54
Cols 80-91

Censure of
Speaker
25 May 1954
Col. 5634-8

The FORUM

Printed and published at 176 Main Street, Johannesburg. P.O. Box 1067, Phone: 22-8271. Subscription: 13/- per annum including postage.
Managing Editor: E. B. Dawson. Editor: Joel Mervis. Editorial Board: A. B. Hughes, Lily Rabkin, G. M. Thain, A. M. Williams.

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THE GOLD COAST IS STILL ADVANCING

WHILE Dr. Verwoerd is busy telling the Natives in South Africa that they must know their place and that it is presumption on their part to expect to become educated, civilised, skilled or sophisticated, the Africans in the Gold Coast have reached the last rung of the ladder before full independence is attained. The contrast is striking; and for South Africa, the Gold Coast's swift evolution towards an independent Dominion is an event of the first importance, with far-reaching possibilities. It will, on the one hand, send a shock throughout Africa that will have a profound and resurgent effect on Native ideas and attitudes; on the other hand, if and when the Gold Coast is admitted as a full member of the Commonwealth, Dr. Malan will be given his opportunity to walk out. As a

member of the Commonwealth "club," South Africa has a right to be consulted; and she is rather particular about the type of new member who is admitted.

The time when these events will be decided is closer than many people may think. The Colonial Secretary was able to tell the House of Commons the other day that, of the suggestions put forward by Dr. Nkrumah last June for Gold Coast independence, almost all have been adopted. Indeed, the only important proposal so far reserved is that calling for the Gold Coast's affairs in London to be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Under the new Constitution, the Governor's authority will be confined to defence, foreign affairs, Togoland, and certain matters relating to the police and

the judiciary. For the rest, a Cabinet composed entirely of Africans will have complete responsibility, and a kind of "privy council" (again, all Africans) will advise the Governor of the discharge of his duties.

The announcement of these new reforms had been held up, presumably, because of the inquiry into corruption in the Gold Coast. As well as being an inquiry into the conduct of individuals, this investigation also put self-government on trial. A number of persons have been found guilty of corruption; but the result of the trial of self-government has been a general acquittal. Dr. Nkrumah himself emerges from the report unscathed, the commission exonerating him completely from all four allegations made against him. No other Minister was concerned in the inquiry, those found guilty being ministerial secretaries.

If the commission has cleared Dr. Nkrumah's Government, it has also shown how difficult it must be for inexperienced African politicians to live up to the high standards of conduct set by British administrators. The Gold Coast has received a salutary warning on the need for integrity in public life; and just as these Africans have been fast to learn in other matters, so, one hopes, they will heed the lesson of this inquiry and its findings.

The Gold Coast has come a very long way in the past 20 years. Not only is it acquiring the status of independence but, under British tutelage and guidance, it is

producing the men capable of administering an independent state. Whether they will do it as skilfully as white men could is another matter; the important fact is that they are being given the opportunity to run a country on their own. If they stumble and falter now, it will not be long before they acquire the experience to develop a smooth, sophisticated administration.

In South African eyes it is not Dr. Nkrumah but Britain which is the nigger in the woodpile. Britain, by her liberalism, by her charity towards "black barbarians," and by her failure to accept the black man's inferiority as a cardinal principle of policy, has brought about this disastrous state of affairs. Worse still, Britain has actually *guaranteed* that the Gold Coast's independence can be achieved within the Commonwealth. That condition has virtually now been fulfilled.

But full membership of the Commonwealth is, of course, another matter. It will require the agreement of the other members; and we know that the Gold Coast is certain of at least one black ball. The opposition of South Africa might, in certain circumstances, be an enduring barrier to the Gold Coast's admission. But we do not think it will be decisive. In the end, the Gold Coast's case will be judged by the hard test of its performance. If it comes up to standard, it will be admitted. By then, we hope, South Africa will be in a more reasonable frame of mind. It may, perhaps, have seen the fallacies of Verwoerdism.

HEPPLE AND THE LABOUR PARTY

BECAUSE the Labour Party's representation in Parliament is small, its importance is apt to be overlooked. Yet in the political upheavals of the past few years, in all the soul searching and in all the commendable efforts made by many people to escape from reaction and find a more rational home, the Labour Party has been an example of constancy. It has not deviated from its stand of fair and just treatment for all workers, and that includes the non-Europeans; it has not compounded with its principles; and it has provided a haven for those who see in South Africa's future the economic integration of non-Europeans in industry.

Much of the credit for this goes to the wise and statesmanlike leadership of Mr. Alex Hepple, the member for Rossettville. A power in the Labour Party during the lifetime of Mr. John Christie, its former

leader, Mr. Hepple has taken over the direction and control, and exercises these with a sure and deft touch. He is one of Parliament's ablest and most sincere debaters; and there have been occasions in the past when the United Party would have been wiser to follow his lead. As matters stand, it seems certain that Labour's long sojourn in the wilderness is coming to an end. It now has the prospect of better things; and that will be its reward for taking a line and sticking to it at the risk of courting unpopularity.

The Nationalist Party, in its bid to capture the trade unions, has to some extent succeeded and has done the Labour Party incalculable harm. But the plausible Nationalist deception of the workers is at last coming to an end. They realise that they are intended to exist merely as a tool of the Nationalist Party; they see now that their

prosperity can only be watched over by a political party which makes their interests primarily its own. That party is unquestionably the Labour Party, and if we do not see a quickening response to its appeal we shall be very surprised.

The trend is already discernible, and much of the credit for it goes to Mr. Hepple and his steadfast supporters in Parliament.

A STORM RESETTLED

THE excitement caused by the submission of a new and unauthorised solution to the deadlock between the City Council and the Minister on the Natives Resettlement Bill has died down and it is possible to review the incident calmly in retrospect and to assess its results.

It seems abundantly clear that the three-man deputation to the Minister exceeded its authority; whether innocently or with deliberate intent is no longer of significance.

On the whole the incident has produced more good than harm, for at long last we find the municipal caucus of the United Party in Johannesburg taking a definite and unified line. The Minister is now obliged to go ahead with the formation of his own Board without the assistance of any United Party councillors and without the official co-operation of the Council itself.

It will be interesting to see how the Minister is going to succeed under these circumstances. He gambled on securing the support of certain United Party councillors, whose help he badly needs, and on splitting the United Party further in the process.

He failed; and we can only regret that the caucus and party did not show the same firmness on principle that it did on procedure. On the principle whether it was necessary to remove the Western Areas *in toto* the party wobbled and finally collapsed after a quantity of double talk surely unparalleled on any issue other than the Swart Acts. For in the last resort what

SPAN OF LIFE

THERE is a refreshing candour in what an American medical scientist has been saying about that perennial contradiction in terms—eternal youth. For it seems that science's struggles to prolong the span of human life are not turning out nearly so successfully as the efforts to shorten it. While scientists are slowly but surely getting the measure of the more notorious killing diseases, they "cannot foresee, within the next century, the slowing up of the steady downhill path of our ageing nervous system." Which is only another way of saying that in the tempo and trials of modern living, men of seventy or more will still be old in a hundred years' time. It also lends added point to this scientist's other shrewd guess that not many people would want to live to be more than a hundred. He might also have added that if some other branches of modern science go on tinkering with unmanageable forces the chance would be a fine thing.—*The Natal Mercury*, Durban.

They should make good use of the workers' dissatisfaction with the Government to improve their own position. The industrial development in South Africa makes it plain that the Labour Party is earmarked for an increasingly important role. We find it gratifying to reflect that in this period of great transition, the Labour Party has available the wise leadership of Mr. Hepple.

does the Tucker-Bielski statement mean? It means that, like the Nationalists, the United Party has identified slum clearance and total removal—only the United Party would like to do the removal "in a human and tolerant way" plus consultation in execution but not on principles, freehold for the fortuitous few who may still enjoy it on the date of expulsion and — the only important point—without direct invasion of the City Council's authority.

It seems to us that it is the Minister, in the last resort, who has won. He is still getting his way, i.e., his Board and removal, and it is the United Party by its ambivalence and refusal to face the central facts of the situation that has been outmanoeuvred. Moreover, it is even doubtful if the procedural point of its dissociating itself from the Board has been finally won. The three negotiators have more influence and more following in the caucus and among the higher-ups in the party than the incident perhaps reveals. Unless great care is taken, their viewpoint may be found to predominate after the October elections.

It seems to us that it is the Minister, has really "resettled" and whether the United Party will be as faithful to its decision not to participate on the Board as it proved itself to be on the Robinson Statement of 1952, which first committed the party to total removal; on conditions, it is true, but the Minister then rejected and continues to reject most of these conditions.

FEAR CAMPAIGNS IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

By STANLEY UYS

ONE of the few tangible things which emerged from the recent joint sitting of Parliament was that the Coloured vote will be a big issue in the Provincial Council elections. We have the Prime Minister's assurance for this—as though we had not expected it.

The days are fast disappearing in South Africa when candidates in provincial or municipal elections could rest content after promising their constituents to get better roads and more traffic lights. They are required now to bare their souls on apartheid as well.

Not only these candidates, but also others seeking election to school boards and to a dozen other bodies have had their once unnoticed political endeavours drawn into the whirlpool of Nationalist politics.

The candidate who ignores apartheid in the provincial elections (even if he wins his seat), is out of touch with the mood of the times. This is one of the most striking features of the elections—the way the whole field of candidates has become entangled in the apartheid mesh.

THE other outstanding feature of the elections is the impression the Nationalists give that they are fighting against time. It is not defeat at the hands of the United Party they fear at the moment; it is the impossibility of fighting indefinitely on the white and non-white fronts.

There is an unmistakable urgency in the Government's efforts to hustle all white men into the Nationalist kraal—and this has never been demonstrated more vividly than in relation to the Coloured vote.

The Coloured vote campaign, like nearly all the major Nationalist campaigns, is a fear campaign—fear of the Coloured people; then there is apartheid itself—fear of all non-whites; and the Industrial Conciliation Bill—fear of the non-white worker. All these will be major issues in the provincial elections.

It is an intensification of the old Nationalist technique of summoning the faithful with the battle-cry: "An enemy approaches"; except, this time, an enemy

actually is approaching — the numerous enemies of apartheid.

IT is an interesting development. After a life-time of creating imaginary enemies, the Nationalists have discovered to their alarm that they are perfectly right in behaving as if the hand of every man is against them—it is. If the enemies of the Nationalist Government were placed end to end, they would stretch around the world.

Dr. Malan, in fact, admits this. He sees enemies in Africa, he sees them all over the East (particularly in India), he sees them at the United Nations and at editors' desks all over the world, he sees them in pulpits and on platforms—if there was life on the moon he would see them there.

Even the mother countries in Europe are not on his side. He has dismissed them as feeble representatives of the Caucasian race in this hour of the white man's peril. Only here, at the southern tip of Africa, and then only among the whites, and then again only among a section of the whites, is the light of civilisation burning with a pure flame.

Dr. Malan is not fighting merely a provincial council election campaign: he is leading a new renaissance, a renaissance of the white man.

THE United Party, advancing cautiously into the election arena, finds itself confronted by its old enemy, the many-headed monster of apartheid. It quails a little, but continues advancing. Then, in its rear, it hears another bellow, and turns around to see two further combatants approaching. Truly, the gods are not smiling on the U.P.

This is the first time that Liberal and Federal parties are really testing their strength, and they are testing it not against the Nationalists, but against the United Party. This is logical. Both parties hold the view that they are better Opposition parties than the U.P., but before they can try out their weapons against the Nationalists they must build up their armies. And they can do this only by settling accounts first with the United Party.

The Liberal Party has invaded the "safe"

MALAN vs HEPPLER on Apartheid.

Joint Sitting 1954

HEPPLER moved that Bill to remove Coloured voters from common roll be "read this day six months" i. e. rejected.
said: See Hansard Cols. 5 and 80-91 on 17th. and 19th.
May 1954

MALAN replied (Hansard Col. ~~374~~ 307-348) that Hepple's motion was in fact a charge against the Creator and against Creation. He said that Hepple's attitude was against the Creator who had created the world with different countries and different people ... and different colours

JOINT SITTING (BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT)COLUMN 56814th June, 1954.

THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. MALAN) :-

..... "What is happening in this country is that the power of the white man to safeguard his future and to save himself and ensuing generations is being undermined. It is continually and dangerously being undermined. First of all there is the changing over we have seen here, and especially recently, more especially in this Session, of the Right Wing of the Opposition towards the Left Wing. In other words, there is an increase of Liberalism. ..That has progressed so far that the leader of the Labour Party has accepted what I said the other day, namely that the **change** is in his direction. He does not follow; he leads.....

Joint Sitting 1954 (Coloured Voters) Cols 307-348

Moving a motion that the Bill be read this day six months Mr Hepple said... that instead of reducing the political rights of the Colours we should be extending them - that what we should aim at in SA was not a series of trials for our racial groups but the building of a composite society

This, said Malan was tantamount to a charge against the Creator who had created the world with different countries & different people. Mr H's attitude was that the world should have been created as flat as a table because then there would be no barriers. But instead the world was created in such a way that it was impossible to have anything but different countries and different languages, and in addition to that the Creator had proceeded to create different colours

"No, I say that basically is really a charge against Creation and against the Creator"

but he added, Mr Hepple was not alone in that view. He had a little cousin in Russia who took the same view [The Red Smear!!]

Malan - Joint Sitting 26 May 1954
Col. 366

(1)
Sef Rep. of Notes Act Validation
& Amendment Act.

The hon member began by saying that he represented only a small party. The thought immediately occurred to me that he was being altogether too modest. On the contrary, taking all the cues into consideration, having regard to the whole situation in the Joint sitting, I believe that he & his party are much more powerful than he thinks. Those who do not belong to his party but who sit on that side of the House have very rapidly come a good deal closer to the attitude which he represents, particularly in recent times.

The hon member of P. R. need not be ashamed of the smallness of his party. On the contrary he can boast of the powerful influence which he has exercised on that side of the House. He can really be proud of it & I congratulate him on his success, although I do not agree with him.

Now the question is what is the fundamental attitude of the leader of the L.P. Summarised, it means in the first instance that there is nothing to protect & that it is wrong therefore to erect barriers in this country between the different sections & between the different groups. Those are the words he used - to erect barriers between one section of the population and another. The barriers which were erected by others which may still exist must be done away with & therefore the Europeans, among other, who want to remain Europeans, who want to preserve the European race, are people who only stand in his way. That is the attitude which he adopted & defended. To put it differently, to his way of thinking it is essential & fundamental that regard must be had to numbers in the State. Accordg to him there is nothing to protect & numbers constitute the decisive factor in everything and numerical strength is all that counts. With the removal of those barriers between the one section of the pop. & the other, everyone... must be thrown into the same pot & boiled down together into one & the same substance or mixture. That is really his political ideology, his doctrine, his aim.

Basically, it is a change on his part against the Creator. The question that he put, although he did not express it in so many words, is this: Why did the Creator make the mistake of creating countries, nations & languages? He should not have done so. He set mankind a task which is almost impossible, the task of destroying His work again.

26/5/1954

Malan (Ch 366-370)

(2)

Why did he not, instead of allowing such an assortment to come into existence, rather make the world a flat, level place, as level as a table? Then all those difficulties & those barriers would not have existed today. But He proceeded to create the world in such a way... that it is impossible to have anything but different countries & different languages and in addition to that the Creator also proceeded to create different colours. No, I say that basically it is really a charge against Creation & against the Creator

... In holding that view he is not alone in the world. He has a little cousin in Russia. Or I might put it a little more strongly & say that he has a little brother in Moscow & that little brother is not dead.

Take it that he is a democrat & that he wants to remove tyranny from the world. But I want to remind him of the fact that in the absence of what he called barriers between the one section & the other for protection, there is nothing which can be as tyrannical as numbers.

That little cousin or little brother of his in Moscow, whose ideology is the same, stated the position much more clearly than he did. There must be one class only, there must be one kind only in the world... their aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

[My Comment: Did the Creator create the Coloured people of SA, whom were the object of the Bill we were discussing? Or were the Colours created by lustful whites who ignored the Creator & destroyed his great work by breaking down his barriers, through sexual intercourse with blacks. etc. etc

confusing stories to be spread in the Opposition ranks.

TAKE first the succession of tales about Mr. Strijdom's health. The Prime Minister has spent little time in the House and has taken almost no part in the proceedings. In fact, one has been hardly conscious of his existence, which is an unusual state of affairs with the dynamic and impetuous Mr. Strijdom.

Emanating from Nationalist sources, the Lobby has heard (1) that the Prime Minister's health was so bad that he would shortly announce his retirement; (2) that already a move had been started among the Cape Nationalists, led by the disgruntled Mr. Paul Sauer, to call in Mr. Havenga; (3) that Mr. Strijdom's health was steadily improving, but he was relaxing before the constitutional struggle broke out anew after the recess; (4) that Mr. Strijdom's health was poor but not dangerous, and his recent illness had changed his whole outlook—he was now out for racial co-operation above all else.

Then there have been conflicting stories about whether or not the Government would press on with measures to remove the Cape Coloureds from the common roll and assert the "sovereignty" of Parliament during the present session. While leading Nationalists were stoutly assuring Opposition Members in the Lobby that Mr. Strijdom had no intention of disturbing the political peace during his first year in office, a Government Whip made a speech on the platteland declaring the opposite.

A THIRD set of rumours has concerned the position of Dr. Verwoerd. One of the most noticeable features of the present session has been the lack of interest shown by Government Members during the debates on Dr. Verwoerd's controversial Bills.

When Dr. Verwoerd moved the second reading of the much-publicised "Slums-in-the Skies" Bill, the Government benches were half-full, while during the Committee stages the Government Whips were hard put at times to maintain a quorum.

Strangest of all, criticisms of the Minister's "long-windedness," his domination of the caucus and impatience generally were freely expressed by Nationalists in the Lobby.

Not unexpectedly, this gave rise to speculation about a possible split in the Nationalist ranks should Mr. Strijdom's

health compel him to retire. But this "split" story has a habit of reappearing whenever the Nationalists are anxious to lay down a heavy smoke-screen, and no experienced observer seriously believes in such an eventuality.

FINALLY, there has been the role of the Conservative Party, which votes more frequently with the Government than against it, and spends its Parliamentary energies berating the United Party.

The Conservative Party has been kept



GULLIVER'S TRAVAILS

—Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

well informed of everything that has happened inside the United Party caucus. In every caucus there are differing viewpoints, and the technique of the Conservatives is to taunt individual members of the United Party with having gone against the party line, or with swallowing their own real opinions, or with failing to have the courage of their convictions.

The Nationalists sit watching this performance with obvious enjoyment, alternating their laughter with encouraging "hoor-hoors."

AS for the United Party, nobody could pretend that it has worked as a happy team. Its performance in the House has been ragged and at the one stage of the Session there were rumours of a fresh move

against the leadership of Mr. Strauss.

Strangely enough, while these rumours were circulating, Mr. Strauss was drawing remarkable audiences at public meetings. At Caledon, in the heart of a Nationalist constituency, there was a record turn-out of about 1,500. In Cape Town Mr. Strauss packed the City Hall with all standing room taken up and about 100 turned away.

At Worcester, the constituency of Dr. Dönges, a count was taken of an audience which gathered under some oak trees on a farm, and the figure was 1,200.

ONLY the small Labour Party led by Mr. Hennla and the Liberals under Mrs.

Ballinger can be said to have distinguished themselves so far this session. Both Mrs. Ballinger and Mr. Hepple are in much better debating form than they were last year, while Mr. Lovell, on the Labour benches, has earned widespread respect for several of his fighting speeches.

Such, then, is the record of the past two months of "phoney warfare" at the beginning of Mr. Strijdom's term of office. No doubt the revival of the constitutional crisis will change the picture out of all recognition, just as Hitler's breaching of the Maginot Line and invasion of Belgium and Holland altered the whole pattern of World War II.

THE SIX BEST M.P.s

By MENTOR

The name "Mentor" is the nom-de-plume—maybe nom-de-guerre would be a more appropriate description, since this article is nothing if not controversial—adopted by a well-known South African with a vast knowledge and experience of politics. In his years of preoccupation with the political scene, he has, he tells us, always been intensely interested in the personal quality and calibre of politicians. What follows is his assessment of the Members of the present Parliament.

I AM not going to include the Government side in this appraisal of talents. The reason is that I want to examine the worth of Members from a purely Parliamentary point of view, and this automatically excludes the Nationalists. They despise the Parliamentary system and they behave not as Parliamentarians, but as a tightly disciplined bunch of party politicians. There is no exchange of ideas—an essential feature of the Parliamentary system—as far as the Nationalists are concerned, nor any give and take. The Nationalists believe in the monolithic State.

But it is worth mentioning the names of some Government Members who have revealed at least intelligence. And here it should be observed that most of the smart, determined members of the Cabinet are firmly on Mr. Strijdom's side. Take Mr. Louw, or Mr. Swart, or Mr. De Klerk. They know exactly what they want, which is more than Mr. Sauer does. Mr. Schoeman, a semi-

Strijdom man, is the most capable Minister, with the possible exception of Mr. Louw.

Among the Nationalist rank and file in the Assembly, the flame of genius burns low. There are some able debaters—Mr. J. E. Potgieter (Brits), Mr. Japie Basson (Namib)—but the rest are mostly run-of-the-mill politicians who seldom rise above monotonous pumping of the party line. Is this political judgment too harsh? If you had been in the thick of affairs as long as I have, and had been as intimately connected with them as I have, I submit you would agree with me.

NOW to choose six able Members of the Opposition. Let's begin at the tail-end of the House where the Native Representatives sit. I reject all three. Mr. Lee-Warden and Mr. Stanford are new Members and it would not be fair to pass judgment at this early stage. Then there is Mrs. Ballinger, who, instead of responding to the challenge of apartheid, has shown signs of uncertainty, even bewilderment. Her influence in the Assembly has declined steadily. Naturally with the advent of apartheid, she lost her special position as almost the only pleader for the Native cause—everyone started talking about Native affairs—but she also lost a rare opportunity to put a sharper edge on her pleading and keep the lead of the field. Her hesitancy has affected even her renowned capacity for collecting facts and presenting them effectively. It is a pity.

NEXT, the Labour Party, which is living under the shadow of extinction (the U.P.

has served notice on it that it wants its seats back). Two Labour Members, Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell, must be mentioned in any cataloguing of able Parliamentarians. Indeed, I think Mr. Hepple can be placed at the top of the list. He is energetic, outspoken, keenly aware of the things that are at stake in our country to-day. Mr. Lovell, although inclined to seize too hungrily on "angles" of a debate and overlook the broad meanings, is a thoroughly realistic person. If Mr. Lovell were a little more hardworking he and Mr. Hepple would be the Opposition's most useful debaters.

As it is, I must place both Mr. Hepple and Mr. Lovell on my list of six Members.

I do not propose to include any members of the Conservative Party (the Bekker group) in the category of able Parliamentarians, not because they are not good debaters—Mr. Blaar Coetzee and Dr. Abraham Jonker can hold their own with anyone—but simply because they have so many axes to grind that they make no contribution to Parliamentary debating at all.

THE most diligent Member of the United Party back bench which on the whole is very disappointing is Mr. Townley Williams—a little lofty perhaps, but highly intelligent and tremendously interested in everything that is happening around him. He makes number three on my list.

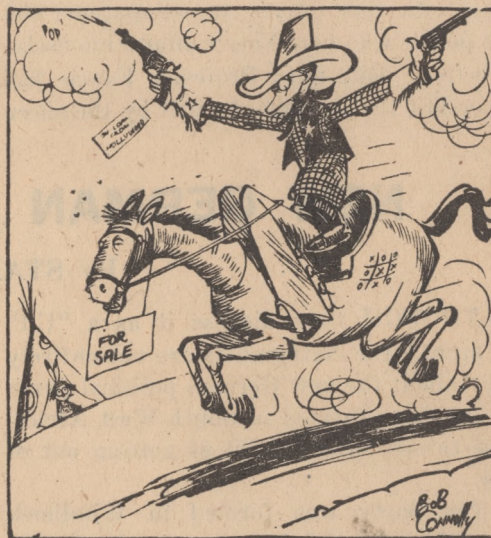
I hope I am making clear what yardstick I am using: I am applying a test of energy, enthusiasm and conscience. Surely, if Members of Parliament are not prepared to put all they have got into their Parliamentary work, they should step out and let more willing hands do the work?

Anyone who takes an interest in Parliamentary proceedings is immediately struck by the uninformed state of the modern M.P.'s mind—not all of them, but most of them. Large numbers of United Party Members, as I have discovered, never read Bills; they read newspapers cursorily; they are abysmally ignorant on many South African topics, and almost totally unaware of what is happening outside South Africa. For sheer inactivity, their minds take a lot of beating.

WHERE was I?—Mr. Hepple, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Williams. I must include Mr. Oppenheimer, not because of quantity, but quality. The criticism can be justly levelled at him that he specialises too much, that he avoids the general political rough and tumble, which after all is the lot of every M.P., what-

ever his special position. But Mr. Oppenheimer, when he sets about a subject, does so thoroughly, efficiently and often with devastating effect. Would these spaced-out attacks be less effective if Mr. Oppenheimer mingled just a little more freely with the ordinary herd of politicians? I think not.

Mr. Marais Steyn sets a problem. He is an extraordinarily gifted orator, but also extraordinarily easy-going. He has such a keen knowledge of politics, pure politics, and such a delightful style, that he is an asset in any debate. Just think how much more of an asset he would be if he went to the trouble



WILD WEST SHOW
Swart told he has "Wild West" approach to law, and is a "Horse Trader"—Parliamentary Report.

—Bob Connolly in the *Rand Daily Mail*.

of doing some research and spicing his political arguments with facts!

Mr. Steyn must be given a place, bringing the number up to five.

MY sixth choice is Dr. Douglas Smit, former Secretary for Native Affairs. It will be argued that Dr. Smit's political judgment is not always consistent, but on the other hand he has two invaluable advantages: an encyclopaedic knowledge of Native affairs and an awe-inspiring capacity for getting his nose down to the grindstone. What some politicians divine by instinct, Dr. Smit discovers by study—and then has the facts to support his views (a combination rarely achieved in the Assembly).

Here, I humbly submit, are the six best

Opposition M.P.s: Hepple, Lovell, Oppenheimer, Williams, Steyn and Smit.

I WOULD like to include Professor "Sakies" Fourie, who has the makings of a good Parliamentarian, but who up to now has become entangled in the web of Native affairs. As the author of "integration," he has lifted himself on to a special plane, and he has not only been occupied with the development of this idea, but also with the necessity to defend himself again assaults on his career (even by fellow back-benchers). There is nothing wrong with this intense preoccupation: the more people who take Native affairs intensely, the better. But until Professor Fourie has won or lost the struggle, he will by the sheer

force of circumstances not be able to venture into the broad parliamentary field.

No doubt, my choice of six Members will be challenged and questioned. But you will notice that all six possess the quality of being interested and enthusiastic. And what kind of an M.P. is the man or woman who does not reveal these emotions? Mr. Badenhorst Durrant, for example, compels Parliament to take notice of him not because he is a charming man and delightful company, but because he works hard. Mr. Cope is another worker, and by his endless energy has already established a place for himself in the Assembly.

WORK—work and enthusiasm and optimism. If my acquaintance with political life has taught me anything, it is that principles are never strongly held without these qualities.

NEW GERMAN PARTY IN S.W.A.

By STANLEY UYS

ALTHOUGH they dismiss it as a "U.P. stunt," the Nationalists are not entirely happy about the new German political party that has been formed in South-West Africa. These things have a habit of getting out of hand.

The party was formed in Windhoek during March, and its name is the South-West Mandate Party. It stands for the mandate principle, the right of the territory to market its products where it wishes, and freedom of religion and speech.

The Nationalists claim that the United Party in Windhoek is behind the party. They say that the inaugural meeting was attended by about 12 people, all allegedly "well-known United Party supporters."

THE Nationalists see in the new party an attempt to weaken the Nationalist Party's grip on the political life of the territory by cultivating a desire for independence among the Germans there. Some of the six Parliamentary seats in South-West Africa are held by the Nationalist Party with precarious majorities.

If it is true that the United Party in

South-West Africa is behind the new party, then it means that the United Party sees little or no hope of beating the Nationalists in a straight fight either now or in the foreseeable future. It means that the U.P. is specifically encouraging the Germans to launch out into political independence.

PROBABLY there is not much likelihood of the new German party becoming popular immediately. If the Nationalist accusations are correct, then the whole thing is too transparent to succeed. But the fact remains that a considerable section of the German community of South-West Africa, according to reports, would like to keep the territory as independent as possible. They think this is to their economic advantage.

The Nationalists, on the other hand, want the Germans and the territory generally to submerge its identity in the Union of South Africa. Here is a basis at least for a possible division of views later. But it all depends on whether economic conditions encourage the Germans and the other inhabitants of the territory to press for independence of mind. If this does not happen, then the new party will make no progress.

Forward
29/10

HEPPLE DENOUNCES BANNING OF "ADVANCE"

MR. ALEX. HEPPLE, M.P., Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, issued the following statement on the banning of "Advance":

"Just before my return from my visit overseas, the Government issued a proclamation banning the Cape Town newspaper, 'Advance', and I have been surprised that this act of despotism has passed almost without comment. Has South Africa strayed so far from the ways of liberty that the suppression of a newspaper is accepted as a normal event? Has the Press itself nothing to say? Why are our editors and journalists so obviously silent?"

"Surely the principle of the freedom of the press is worthy of some defence. Political censorship is a weapon of dictatorship; it is the suppression of the voice of criticism; it is the denial of the right to dissent; it is a brutal command to silence opposition.

"Let us realise that by remaining silent, we condone this attack upon the freedom of the Press: to condone the banning of one newspaper is to concede the right of the Government to suppress all newspapers.

"'Advance' was no friend of the Labour Party; it persistently sneered at us and attacked our policy. But we accepted that as its democratic right, however much we disliked it and differed from 'Advance's' policy.

"If democracy means anything to us, we must reject the imposition of a political dictatorship and the suppression of unpopular views. I appeal to all those who desire to protect the freedom of the Press in South Africa to raise their voices and demand that the ban on 'Advance' be lifted. The freedom of the Press is the lifeblood of democracy. Let us not silently watch it being drained away."

(See also editorial comment, P. 2)

THIS IS WHAT THE CRITICS SAY ABOUT HIM:—

- *Mr. Hepple (Rosettenville) a hard-working and conscientious Parliamentarian.*
— *The Star* 21/6/52.
- *"This forthright and spirited member."*
— *Cape Argus* 2/6/49.
- *"Mr. Alex Hepple, a tireless fighter . . ."*
— *Sunday Times* 2/3/52.
- *"Mr. Hepple . . . one of Parliament's most effective debaters . . ."*
— *Cape Argus* 21/1/52.

CLEARER PICTURE OF APARTHEID EMERGING

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

A NATIONALIST backbencher wandered wearily out of the debating chamber just before the House of Assembly adjourned on Thursday night. "For an encore," he said, "the Minister of Native Affairs will now deliver a short speech on apartheid."

He was joking of course—but only just.

The Minister, after one of his marathon speeches in reply to the debate on the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill had gone enthusiastically on that afternoon to pilot through its second reading discussion his "Flogging by Bantu Chiefs" Bill—the Native Administration Amendment Bill.

AFTER TWO WEEKS

All this was after two solid weeks of apartheid. It was no wonder that by Thursday night even the most faithful of "the faithful" were beginning to tire of the sound of Dr. Verwoerd's voice.

One good thing has emerged from all this talk, talk, talk about colour legislation, however: we now have a much clearer picture of true apartheid.

There may not be many people in the white utopia of the Minister's dreams—but, oh, the machines.

Industry will have machines to run its machines, so that it will no longer need the 400,000 odd non-Europeans it uses at present. The white housewife will no longer be bothered with noisy domestics—obliging "buildiners" will have replaced them with automatic floor scrubbers, dish washers, window cleaners, clothes pressers, furniture dusters and every other labour-saving gadget get imaginable—and unimaginable.

IN PARADISE

We have the Minister's word for this.

And Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, one of his under ministers, assured us that the Natives would be in a "paradise" too, in the 13 per cent. of South Africa that has been allocated to the 10 million of them.



Mr. De Wet Nel Dr. Verwoerd

But that is only the ultimate, ideal apartheid state. Meanwhile, according to Dr. Verwoerd, industry will be able to follow the Native worker on the "great trek" round the Union that the Government is organising for him, presumably packing its raw materials, power supplies and market outlets into its old kit bag and lugging them along, too.

The housewife will be able to pester officialdom into parting with enough servant permits to save her from having to do her own scrubbing. Again the Native is not neglected. He will have his place in the white man's economy according to Mr. Gideon Brits, of Losberg, "under the farmers' thorn tree."

MYSTIC FIVE

The mystery of the mystic five still has Parliament baffled. No one has discovered what made Dr. Verwoerd select this figure as the maximum number of Natives who will be allowed to live in a city building. This was the nearest Parliament got to an explanation:

Dr. Henry Gluckman (U.P., Yeoville): The Minister in taking an arbitrary figure of five apparently pays no attention to the variety, size, type or character of the building.

The Minister: It is decided on merit. It is taken into full consideration. You have to have a basic figure.

Dr. Gluckman: Why five and not 15?

The Minister: Because it is a wise figure.

Dr. Gluckman: Is it a wise figure because the Minister decided on it?

The Minister: After investigation.

MILD GIANT KILLER

Mr. Alex Hepple, the leader of the Labour Party, does not look like a giant killer. He is a round, mild-looking little man with kindly eyes that twinkle behind their glasses. But he is not afraid of man, beast or bogey in the political arena.

If he thinks something needs saying he says it—with a punch. Last week this dauntless David again had a very successful "go" at the government Goliaths. In fact, next to Dr. Verwoerd he was the outstanding figure in the week's debates.

On Monday he had a good whack at the Minister of Native Affairs on the subject of the Urban Areas Bill, refusing to be swept off his feet by the torrent of detailed argument with which the Minister flooded the House.

On Tuesday he took South Africa's most fearsome political bull by the horns and forced some plain speaking out of Parliament with his motion urging the extension of the political rights of Natives.



Mr. Swart

Mr. Hepple

Then on Wednesday night when the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, had almost succeeded in working the House up into an hysteria matching his own it was Mr. Hepple who broke the spell and put the Western Areas situation back in perspective.

INNOCENT VILLAIN

Professor "Sakkies" Fourie (U.P., Edenvale) is Parliament's most innocent villain. Last week he again indulged in one of those quiet, philosophic discourses on United Party policy that get him into so much trouble.

He merely repeated what he has said in platform speeches throughout the country about deserving non-whites in the dim and distant future having to be given some form of democratic self-expression.

But when he picked up the Cape Nationalist newspaper, "Die Burger," the next day he found that he had apparently committed a ghastly "liberalistic" sin.

After reading "Die Burger" even some of Professor Fourie's own colleagues got quite worked up about the speech. The irony of it all is that the real liberals regard Professor Fourie as a classic conservative.

They point out that even although he has been saddled with the paternity of the United Party's integration policy his subsequent talk of "qualitative" integration, "the inevitability of gradualness," and "little steps" hardly fits him for the tag "liberal" In fact, in some circles he is now being called "Stappies" Fourie.

Mr. "Chappie" Frielinghaus (U.P., Port Elizabeth South) supplied a quoteworthy comment on this week's "locations in the sky" debate. "We can't settle this matter across the floor of the House," he said. "It needs the attention of the best brains in the country."

(Written by G. Clay, Press Gallery, House of Assembly, Cape Town.)

Whatever one's feelings may be about the Labour Party policy as such, all those who follow South African politics closely must surely agree that much of the really effective opposition in Parliament since 1948 has come from the Labour Benches.

It was, for instance, the small Labour Party that on the eve of the 1953 election fought a valiant and - with the Natives' representatives - an isolated battle against the Swart "martial law" Bills.

It has been the Labour Party that has fought consistently against the granting of dictatorial powers to Ministers and the many encroachments on individual liberties which have flowed from Nationalist legislation during the past seven years. A troubled United Party has faltered often but Labour has preserved an unblemished record.

In doing this the Labour Party has given expression to the feelings of thousands of people in this country who are resolutely opposed to undemocratic ideologies and policies.

Evening Post

February 25, 1955

THE FUTURE OPPOSITION

MR. J. G. N. STRAUSS, leader of the United Party, announced this week that any further election pacts between the United and Labour Parties were "extremely unlikely."

He was commenting on an exchange which had taken place between the United Party Divisional Committee in the Rosettenville constituency and the M.P. for that seat, Mr. Alex Hepple, leader of the Labour Party.

Mr. Strauss' announcement and Mr. Hepple's reply to the United Party Divisional Committee have focused attention on the precarious position in which the five Labour M.P.s will find themselves at the next general election.

It seems almost certain that if they are opposed by United Party candidates the Labour candidates will be defeated in every seat.

Reflects their feelings

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It has been the Labour Party that has fought consistently against the granting of dictatorial powers to Ministers and the many encroachments on individual liberties which have flowed from Nationalist legislation during the past seven years. A troubled United Party has faltered often but Labour has preserved an unblemished record.

In doing this the Labour Party has given expression to the feelings of thousands of people in this country who are resolutely opposed to undemocratic ideologies and policies. Those people are entitled to a voice in Parliament.

Parliament 1955

(Labour Party)
(Opposition)

Exclusion of the vigilant?

But there is a danger that at the next election the United Party by dint of the weight of a more effective organisation, will succeed in expelling from Parliament Labour's "still, small voice."

There is the danger also that the United Party will exclude from its own benches a number of those who are associated with the "liberal" wing and have a reputation for maintaining a vigorous watch on Government policies. At present there seems to be no way of preventing the loss to Parliament and the country of valuable voices in the Opposition ranks.

But it does seem desirable, in the interests of healthy Parliamentary government, that some effort should be made to ensure that men of the calibre of Mr. Hepple and Mr. Leo Lovell in the Labour ranks and of the six or seven most active members of the United Party liberal wing are returned at the next election.

Without them the Opposition—already at a disadvantage—would be very much the poorer.

Mr. Hepple Breaks A Spell

THERE is something Darwinian about Dr. Dönges, the Minister of the Interior.

When he sets out to argue a point he delves back in history almost as far as Charles Darwin in his "Origin of Species".

And Dr. Dönges in debate is almost as soporific as Darwin in print. The Minister has a fine command of both Afrikaans and English but the suave monotone in which he delivers his speeches has a lullaby effect.

Even so, perhaps the chairman at Dr. Dönges's Vredenburg meeting did not really mean it that way when he said at the end of the Minister's lengthy address: "There is not much time for questions—I think you must all be sleepy by now".

★

Dr. Dönges's hypnotic effect on audiences stands him in good stead in Parliament. His flood of smooth-sounding syllables mesmerizes many members into a state of near-paralysis.

But Mr. Alex Hepple, the punchy Labour Party leader, broke the trance abruptly this week. The House of Assembly sat up and took notice when he laid into the Government's proposal of a National Council for Coloured Affairs as "a mockery of democracy", a "crude and blatant" attempt to find "Quislings" among the Coloured people to serve on what was nothing more than "an unrealistic sop".

And Mr. Hepple was quite unrepentant when Dr. P. J. Nierop (Nat., Mossel Bay) asked whether he was telling the Coloured people to reject those of their number who were nominated to the National Council.

"Yes", said Mr. Hepple, "I hope they will do so".

Perhaps Mr. Hepple's strong words may even stir the Coloured people themselves from the political trance into which they seem to have fallen.

★

Mr. Sidney Waterson, the U.P. front-bencher, was another whose words should put some new heart and life into the Coloured people.

He delivered one of the most forceful, compelling speeches Parliament has heard for many a day.

Amid horrified gasps from the Nationalist benches he said bluntly: "The Prime Minister appeals for unity among the European people . . . he says in effect we must support this kind of legislation because he is



White. But what has colour to do with justice and political wisdom? I am on the side of what I believe to be justice and I am bound to support the Coloured people against even the Prime Minister and his friends."

★

Mr. Arthur Barlow: "There are no newspapermen of repute in the Press Gallery. At the week-end again Mr. George Clay will be using his ordinary mud."

Hooray, another reader!

★

Advertising, that? Maybe, but I take my cue from the high places.

Report of the State Information Office for 1955-56: "It is not always sufficiently appreciated that a particularly onerous burden rests on the State Information Office."

★

Mr. Leo Lovell, Labour M.P. for Benoni, is an apt phrase-maker. He has neat nutshells for most situations.

The Labour Party tried valiantly but in vain this week to get Parliament to look at the colour bar in the mines with "reason, instead of prejudice". Doggedly the Labour member pointed out that an artificial protection for White workers based on the colour of their skin was not half as effective as the all-round protection against unfair competition provided by the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

"We want a 'cheap labour bar' instead of a 'colour bar'." said Mr. Lovell.

★

Mr. Arthur Barlow (ex-Unionist Party, ex-Labour Party, ex-Pact Government, ex-Central Party, ex-United Party, up-to-time-of-going-to-Press Conservative Party) paid Mrs. Margaret

Ballinger, veteran Natives Representative, one of his typical back-handed compliments this week.

"She might be dull, but at least she is consistent," he said.

Who would have guessed that Mr. Barlow considered consistency a virtue?

★

Mr. Barlow's son-in-law, Mr. Frank Waring (Cons., Orange Grove) is no counsellor of consistency. He said: "I may have subscribed to a lot of things . . . Only fools won't change".

Dr. Abraham Jonker, the Conservatives' first "burnt offering", also made an elaborate act of contrition this week, before he walked over to the Nationalists, publicly recanting the things he had said while in the United Party—thus apparently clearing his conscience, to his own satisfaction, for the brave new life ahead.

"I want to admit readily, and with shame, that I was often bitterly wrong in the past", said Dr. Jonker.

Dr. Jan Steytler (U.P., Queenstown) later referred to him as "the political Radley of the United Party".

★

Mr. Arthur Barlow: "I am not a Nationalist".

Mr. Townley Williams: "No, it's just protective coloration".

★

The veil is lifted—

Professor L. I. Coertze (Nat., Standerton): "We don't want the Coloureds in the Provincial Council for the same reason that we will not have them in this Parliament; we don't want to give the impression that the parliamentary system is successful in this multi-racial country."

★

Mr. Arthur Barlow: "I have a lot of respect for the United Party back-benchers".

Mrs. Helen Suzman (U.P., Houghton): "It isn't mutual".

★

Mr. "Chappie" Frielinghaus, U.P. member for Port Elizabeth South, coined a nice word this week for the type of person whom Mr. Alex Hepple had earlier described as "suffering from delusions of White grandeur".

Mr. Frielinghaus referred to the Nationalists as the "baasvolk".

★

And then there was the time that Mr Arthur Barlow . . . Or should we call a truce now, Mr. Barlow?

George Clay

THE ICEMAN COMETH

By STANLEY UYS

"SUNDAY TIMES" POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN, Saturday.

ABOUT this time when the Opposition are tired and homesick the apartheid season begins and sharp icy little bills start appearing.

With a frosty half-smile playing at the corners of his mouth, Dr. Verwoerd bustles out of the autumn blast and into the Chamber. Chilly ripples run up a few spines.

Monday saw the start, and every succeeding day produced something new in the way of Native laws. For the past eight years the emphasis has been on taking away the rights of the Native. Of "positive" apartheid, the granting of rights, not a sign.

Move Along There

The Group Areas Amendment Bill was introduced by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Eben Dönges. The Minister's purring made no impression on Dr. Douglas Smit (U.P., former Secretary for Native Affairs) who said that the Group Areas Board had sat recently in Pretoria, but had adjourned because Lady Selborne and Claremont townships were two "black spots" which could not be removed without a change in the law.

The effect of the Group Areas Amendment Bill would be to deprive Natives who had a permanent home in that area of their sense of security.

They would be tolerated only in terms of the Group Areas Act.

The debate then revolved around the question whether Natives should have freehold rights in "White areas."

Government members said "no" and they said it emphatically. Opposition members said "yes."

Here is apartheid's basic law: no freehold rights in "White areas," no security, no permanence.

The Native becomes the eternal soujourner, always moving on.

Mr. "Blaar" Coetzee intervened in the debate to try to prove that the United Party was split on the question of freehold rights for Natives.

He hurled questions angrily at the United Party, but got a stony silence for his pains. A solitary, U.P. member who was about to respond, sat down again when his colleagues yelled "don't answer his questions." Defeated Mr. Coetzee flung up his hands and jeered at the U.P. for its "double talk."

To Vote or Not to Vote

But Mr. Coetzee had at least one laugh at the expense of the United Party when Mr. Alex Hepple, opposed a motion by the Government for leave to introduce the new Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Bill.

The United Party was undecided, not having anticipated Mr. Hepple's move and some of its members scampered from the chamber, while about a dozen others crossed the floor to vote with the Government. The Conservatives chuckled gleefully.

The Labour Party and the Native Representatives voted against the introduction of the Bill.

Rocking the Foundations

Mr. Hepple caused another flutter when, during the debate on the Mines and Works Bill, he moved the abolition of the colour bar in the mining industry and its replacement by the principle of equal pay for equal work.

The mines colour bar, the country's first statutory colour bar has loomed massively in South African affairs for 30 years solid and unassailable.

It was not startling that Mr. Hepple's move to have it scrapped, failed: What was startling was that someone dared to make it. Hardly anyone in Parliament, apart from the Labour members, agrees with Mr. Hepple's views, but most have a great respect for his courage.

The Education Squeeze

Dr. Verwoerd has introduced a bill which gives him the right to register and de-register Native schools without giving them a chance to state their case.

Dr. Smit, on behalf of the United Party, moved the rejection of the bill and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger (Native Representative) pointed out that subsidies to Native schools were paid in respect of the individual teachers. If the Secretary for Native Education did not like the looks of a particular teacher — then no subsidy in respect of that teacher.

In this way Native school boards had been forced to dismiss a number of teachers. Mr. Willie Maree (a Nationalist and a member of the Native Affairs Commission) said that the Government was not prepared to pay subsidies for "trouble-makers."

Coloured Vote

After filling the air with impassioned appeals for White unity, the Government members looked horror-struck this week when Mr. S. F. Waterson replied: "While I am only too anxious to respond to the Prime Minister's appeal for unity, when he brings forward legislation which is neither just nor wise he cannot complain if I say 'no.' I am on the side of what I believe to be justice.

"And I am bound to support the Coloured people against even the Prime Minister and his friends. The Coloured Vote Bill is simply another step, cold-blooded and callous, in a campaign of injustice against the Coloured people. In this matter I am 100 per cent. on the side of the Coloured people against the Prime Minister and his friends."

The Coloured Vote Bill to which Mr. Waterson referred amends the main Bill by providing that the Coloureds must be represented by two Whites in the Cape Provincial Council instead of by members of their own racial group.

Two Bills

The introduction of two bills which restrict the right of Natives to defend themselves in the court completed the week's grim mood. One bill prohibits Natives who have had removal orders served on them from applying to court for interdicts to restrain execution of the orders.

What was it the Tomlinson Commission wrote? . . . "The individuals of all population groups are equal in the eyes of the law."

The other bill empowers municipalities to eject without any sort of trial or inquiry any Native whose presence "is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" — in other words, any politically-active Native who offends them. There is no appeal against the municipality's decision.

What was it the Tomlinson Commission said? . . . "Nobody is exposed to arbitrary banishment . . . any person may apply to the courts for redress when his person is violated."

24/4/56

Prospects for formation of Anti-Nat. front

① Parliamentary

Existing divisions

UP

LAB

LIB.

FED

CONS

Friedman dissidents

S.A. Bond

Covenanters

Black Sash

Anti-Rep. League

Defenders of Connet

= 6

= 5

probably others

What is their diff with Nats.?

• U.P. chief criticism of Mats - that they stole fruits of office & sent us into "Opposition"

• U.P Liberals Myths

- see their record

- now toeing the line

CONSERVATIVES.

- pol. opportunists

- ~~stalking~~ stalking horseshoe Mats

LIBERALS.

- and have remained Asson.

- no impact on SA politics

- Evenhalligen shield at standing as hits at election

FEDERALS

- to last. reps.
- total + C.P. only
- narrow Rep. platform (jingo)

LABOUR

- 5 MP's
- fighting losing battle
- more they become real Socialists
less chance with White elect.
- far ahead of T. U. & White workers.

- Against that background
2 Questions

① ~~Do~~ Have smaller parties a Parl. future
~~Yes~~ ~~no~~

- ② What are chances of unity?
- (a) among abl Parl. opp. parties
 - (b) " smaller " " "
 - (c) " all anti Mats.

- Answer to ① = NO.

- Major parties determined to destroy
- off agenda
- 2 Party Parl - 1 Party State

- Answers to (2).

(a) Is Parl. fight worth while?

- focus attention real issues
- watchdogs of liberty
- force items on agenda
- expose real nature of Parl.

- (b) Road to wide unity based & narrow

- privileged white elect.
- wh. labours aristocrats
- of T.U. attitude.

- Long hard fight,
not easy

- Seek three T. U org. - propaganda
- polit. education.

4/21/50

Teach Natives sound trade unionism, pleads M.P.

By the Political Correspondent

Enlightened self-interest demands that White South Africans permit, and promote, sound trade unionism among Native industrial workers.

This is the gist of a provocative and eloquent booklet entitled, "The African Worker in South Africa—a Study in Trade Unionism," written by the leader of the South African Labour Party, Mr. Alex Hepple, M.P., and published by the Africa Bureau in London.

Mr. Hepple tells the story of Native trade unions in this country their slow development and the obstacles to which they have been subjected, and summarizes the laws that bear on him.

In the course of this he makes three points of special importance.

First, he points out that the more the Government try to prevent the growth of a Black proletariat the more African labour makes an appeal to employers. "African labour," he says, "is cheap, docile, defenceless and disciplined by special laws . . . Employers are always at an advantage for they have the full weight of law on their side."

MILLIONS IN TOWNS

Mr. Hepple shows in a table that between 1937 and 1951 (the latest figures available) the percentage of Native employees in industry rose from 44 to 53, while the percentage of Whites dropped from 42 to 30.

He remarks: "The continuing demand by industry for African workers is establishing large Black populations in the urban White areas. There are now nearly 3,000,000 Africans in the main urban and peri-urban areas of the Union and their number is steadily increasing."

Secondly, Mr. Hepple points out that "White and Coloured workers cannot protect their own rights and freedoms if they abandon those of the Africans."

Thirdly, he says: "Before it is too late we must seek a solution of our racial problems in the direction of bringing the African people into the framework of democracy. There could be no better way to do that than by schooling urban African workers in the ways of sound trade unionism, which is today recognized as an essential institution of civilized society."

Bus Boycott

CT. University

18/3/57

- The Route - Alex - to City
Houghton Ridge - Skirts Millionaires Mans.
- Magaliesburg & Lawveld.
- Beautiful if energy & inclination to look
- 9 miles in 9 out
10 weeks = 1000 miles to date
- Summer storms, hard pavements, police
patrols, badging, arrests (14,000)
- What inspires this agony, suffering
- Govt. says "Agitators" - "It's political!"
not economic!"

- Boycott a long story - no time
 so let's examine the
 "economic vs political" argument

First the 'economic' aspects

① The 1944 Boycott

- 7 Operators
- Raised fares from 4d - 5d. 1943
- Boycott - fares reduced to 4d.
- Therefore Commission

findings page 20/21 para. ~~26.2 (1) (2) (9)~~
 26.2 (1) (2) (9)

- What was basis of findings?

1944 Commission Report (p 17)

Minimum Essential Exp.	£12-11-11 pm
Family Income	9-17-9
Income deficiency	£ 2-14-2 pm

- "But" says Schoeman, Mintz et al.
"wages have trebled since then!"

- Have they?

③ Figures for 1954
~~(substantiated by)~~

Surveys of Jhb. Council & Inst. of RR.

Minimum Ess. Exp	£ 23-10-4 pm
family Income	15-18-11
Income deficiency	£ 7-11-5 pm

- i.e. Worse off than in 1944

- If Commission right in 1944, what now?

④ For sake of those who might like to challenge surveys, let me

(a) give official wage rates (2)

(b) show deficiency in official CoLA
On 30¢-only. = 58%

(c) Tell story of Wage Det. 105

~~##~~
(d) decision of Employers to pay diff

(e) decision of Sta Municip to investigate

- All of which show ~~problem~~ ^{issue} is positively economic

- But what of "politics" ?

That is our Second aspect

- What do we mean by "political"

- Dictionary says "science of Govt"

- In Modern Society all issues political especially if

(a) they affect welfare large sections

(b) threaten privilege

- Despots authoritarians make decision of politics, bring it into contempt

- Purpose: to destroy democracy
to frighten people from defending RIGHTS

- 3 Illustrations

① Recent Rents Bill in Eng.

- economic? ~~WON~~

- Kent's Bill aroused large demonstration
now very political, rightly so
- won support for L.P.
- way of democracy.

② SA's Trade Unions

- Insisted for years "No politics"
- caught defenceless by Mats
- reduced in status - divided
weakened.
- now innocuous benefit Societies
prohibited from political action

③ Separate Universities Bill

- Purely academic
- But it's a political party's Bill
- Must Universities refrain from
alerting public & seeking their
support!

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- Must Universities refrain from alerting public & seeking their support!

- Beware of those who cry "politics"
- They are the despots, the enemies of democracy.
They shake the life lines of democracy, stifling its essential basis of criticism, comment, & dissent

But anyway who declared political war? Schoeman

- On 17th Jan S. stepped off plane & said:
 - ① Govt. wd not be intimidated
 - ② " not prepared to intervene
 - ③ Employers shd end boycott by penalising latecomers
 - ④ Public shd not give lifts
 - ⑤ Employer own business, if wanted to increase wages
 - ⑥ Told Transportation Board to act

- J said (24/1/57)
- "Test of strength by AMC."
- "boycott must be broken, whether it lasts a month or 6 months"
- Employers now want to settle

- 4 Interests
 - ① Bus users
 - ② Putco
 - ③ Employers
 - ④ Govt.

① ② & ③ anxious to settle
 only Govt. stands in way.

- Govt. irresponsible, heartless

- Negotiations still proceeding - But employers anxious to pay piped & settle.

- Need.

- ① Restore press
- ② Govt shd. take over PUTCO
- ③ General rise in level of of. wages urgent NOW

- Above all recognize that is only one

Hit Them Hard And They Go To Pieces

From STANLEY UYS,
"Sunday Times" Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, Saturday.—Thursday's debate on the bus boycott was the most exciting event of the session so far. It proved again that this "kragdadige" Government is made of straw. If you hit hard enough, it goes to pieces.

I can still see the look of shocked surprise on the faces of Government members when the United Party leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff, moved the total rejection of Mr. Schoeman's Boycott Bill and then proceeded to tear the Government's case to pieces.

One reason why the Bill was introduced — it prohibits anyone else from starting a service on routes from which PUTCO buses have now been withdrawn—was to try to embarrass the United Party.

But the United Party came to light with an unexpected display of vigour. Sir De Villiers's sensible comments contrasted vividly with Mr. Schoeman's tough language.

Mr. Schoeman had nothing to offer except blood and tears, and his constant recourse to the slogan, "Smash the boycott," began to ring dully in the angry House before he was halfway through his aggressive outburst.

Effective Arguments

SIR DE VILLIERS, on the other hand, piled his arguments effectively one on the other:

The Government's use of the police force as a political weapon in the boycott, he said, had tended to make the boycotters more stubborn;

The Government was spending £70,000 to £80,000 a month to meet PUTCO's losses, whereas the expenditure of "a little money" at the start would have avoided all the subsequent trouble; and

The present Bill was merely alienating the support of Natives who were out of sympathy with the boycott.

A Major Factor

SIR DE VILLIERS stressed that the boycott was not entirely political—the economic plight of the Natives was a major factor.

The economic background was one of poverty and hardship, he said. To the Native people, 2d. a day meant "a very great deal."

He charged the Government with "steadily destroying the bridges between the Whites and non-Whites." And now, he added, there was the Minister's Bill, which reflected some degree of panic.

He declared, "I wonder what the effect of the withdrawal of transport will be? It is inevitable that human factors like fatigue will make it impossible for the Natives to go on walking.

"Their labour, which is essential to commerce and industry in Johannesburg, will not be given regularly and there will be some measure of dislocation."

No Answer

THE Government members who followed Sir De Villiers in the debate had no answer to his charges. Each spoke his full 40

minutes, but all were bankrupt of constructive ideas.

Angrily they thumped Mr. Schoeman's tub, "Smash the boycott."

One of these Government speakers was Mr. Marais Viljoen (Alberton), whose contribution to the debate was an impassioned appeal for White unity and an even more impassioned attack on the African National Congress.

Rising to reply, Mr. Alex Hepple, leader of the Labour Party, referred to the "meanderings of a frightened mind."

The real purpose of Mr. Schoeman's Bill, said Mr. Hepple, was to punish the Native residents of Alexandra Township because they had stood up for an economic right.

The Bill had its origins in Government frenzy and ministerial hysteria; the Government was revealed as blundering, incompetent, irrational, inflexible and absolutely inhuman, he said.

And the Minister, added Mr. Hepple, was employing methods used by fools and tyrants.

He had turned a serious economic problem into a racial problem, and was trying to break the spirit of the Native people in South Africa.

He was pursuing his vendetta against the Native people to the bitter end in an attempt to uphold policies which had already brought shame and disgrace on South Africa.

Amid indignant Government shouts, Mr. Hepple compared the "statesmanlike attitude" of the boycott leaders with the "big stick" methods of the Minister, who himself, he said, was guilty of agitation, intimidation and irresponsibility.

The Look of

Dangerous Men

GOVERNMENT members were in no mood to be persuaded. When Mr. Hepple recalled Mr. Schoeman's "smash the boycott" statements, they bellowed, "Hoor, hoor."

But they looked just a trifle discomfited when Mrs. Margaret Ballinger (Natives' Representative) told them, "You have already been beaten on this boycott."

We should all by now be accustomed to the crudity of the Government's approach to the problem of peaceful co-existence of the races in South Africa—but there was something new and horrifying in the tone of speeches by Nationalist members on Thursday. They spoke too freely of clashes and bloodshed.

Perhaps they are just whistling in the dark to keep their courage up. But I wonder. Seen at close range, they have the look of dangerous men.

European People + others

CAPE TOWN - ANTI CHURCH CLAUSE MARCH -

NURSES

N.E. - nurses.

Protests - MEETINGS → PETITIONS - PAMPHLETS

All over country - all types of organisations.
Trade union - like churches.

Feature - Police Special Branch taking notes + names.

In some cases people need for holding meetings - e.g. HAW PATON without permission.

Ord. Prot. 'dies' might after say the bus. Bus will stop the in hours 6:30 - 7:30 - Numbers of bars outside meet places taken -

Meanwhile country is wild with real crime. Hoff's murder. ~~del~~ large bank held up + robbery.

BANNINGS AND ARRESTS - PASSPORT DENIAL

SWART BOSTING of 14,000? arrests during Johannesburg Bus Boycott alone.

Delegates to various conferences refused.

GENERAL

ONE M.P. out of trial for treason -

~~THE~~ CHIEFS + OTHERS BANNED

EVEN PEOPLE'S RECORDS BANNED.

OTHER FEATURES OF SESSION

What more do you want !!
The train disaster - the doggo raids -
+ subsequent murder trial.

THE HAUNTING of 23 people in BUS DAY

THE VERY FREQUENT raids for petty

Officers ^{win} the early hours of the night - SMART's refusal to be reasonable in this ^{press} _{last} ^{night} _{night} - 300 - 450 arrested

• Threat of learning hangout over A.N.C.

" ATTEMPTS AT MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE (but not by last or U.P.)

• ATTACKS by chant on Press - U.P. slow in coming forward -
• Refusal to improve wages - also no unemployment do.

• Coloured Swastika

• Simonstown - the stay the Amkoms.

• U.P.'s new leader

• Demonstration break up - 2 to Nats -

• labor - goes to U.P.

• Balas wait depend on Nats -

AND ALWAYS IN THE BACKGROUND THE TREAS ON TRAIN. (FEATURE - ASSISTANCE FOR GUNS (BATH & MESSIA).

You can say it again!

WHAT A SESSION! - AND YET THEY GO ON -

Dear Abe,

Attached appeared
in "New Day" organ
of the week.

I have written a
review of "Tuint" for
Fightay Talk — will
send you a copy
when it appears.

Dawie

16th. January 1954.

The Manager,
Messrs. Unity Publications (Pty.) Ltd.,
P. O. Box 4719,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir,

PUBLICATION OF "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL".

With reference to our discussions regarding the publication of my book, "Trade Unions in Travail", I wish to confirm:-

1. Your Company will be solely responsible for the sale of the book, either directly to the public or through booksellers or trade unions.
2. All profits are for your Company. I do not seek any share in such profits.
3. The cost of the book to your Company will be the cost of printing (estimated to be between 1/3 and 1/6 per copy) plus cost of blocks, etc., plus my small outlay for stationery, clerical assistance (not to exceed £10 - £12). Original Printer's accounts will be submitted to you.
4. 5,000 (five thousand) copies have been ordered from the printers, Messrs. Prompt Printing Co. (Pty.) Ltd., who have agreed to hold the type for two months in case a second edition is required.
5. The Selling price of the book is to be 3/6, as printed on its cover and you may sell to booksellers on such terms and conditions as you may decide, provided that trade unions and the S. A. Labour Party shall be entitled to a rebate of 1/- per copy for bulk orders.
6. As author, I am to receive 24 free copies.
7. Your Company undertakes to keep a separate account for sales of the book, from which the items referred to in Clause 3 above must be paid. Until these items are fully and finally paid, monies received from the sale of the book are not to be utilised for any other purpose. I have already paid the Printers £100 (one hundred pounds), which must be refunded to me after your Company has paid the balance of the Printer's account.

I shall be pleased if you will let me have your confirmation of the above.

Yours faithfully,

ALEX. HEPPLE. M. P.

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (PTY) LTD.

P.O. Box 4719.

'Phone: 23-9475/6.

First Floor,
Progress Buildings,
156, Commissioner Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

TO ALL TRADE UNIONS, BRANCHES AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS.

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

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

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

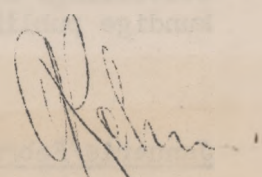
"TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" fills a long-felt need and should be read by every worker, every trade union member, every trade union official and by all those who are concerned with the future welfare of South Africa.

The Author of "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" is well-equipped to deal with the subject of his book. Born and bred in South Africa, he originates from a typical working-class family - his father, an active member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, was blacklisted, victimised and arrested for the part he played in the early working-class struggles of South Africa. Alex trudged the streets together with thousands of others who formed the huge army of unemployed in search of work during the great depression.

The background and history of Alex Hepple moulded him for the task he set himself in later life and which he is fulfilling to-day with great distinction. As a public man who has risen from the ranks of the workers, Alex is admired and respected even by his greatest political enemies for his ability, his sincerity and his devotion to the cause of our working sons and daughters. He has devoted a life-time to the study of labour laws, the problems of the workers and championing the cause of the underdog.

"TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" can be bought direct from Unity Publications at the above address at 3s. 6d. per copy, (3s. 9d. post free) or at any bookshop. Trade unions and workers' organisations can obtain "TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" at a reduced price of 2s. 6d. per copy for bulk orders of at least 100 copies (£12.10.0.) Place your orders now to ensure prompt and early delivery of this historical publication.

January/February, 1954.


C. REHM.

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (PTY) LTD.

Posbus 4719,
Tel: 23-9475/6

Eerste Verdieping,
Progress-gebou,
Commissionerstraat 156,
JOHANNESBURG.

BELANGRIKE AANKONDIGING.

AAN ALLE VAKBONDE. TAKKE EN WERKERSVERENIGINGS:

Unity Publications (Pty) Ltd. is 'n uitgewersmaatskappy wat deur vakbonde gevorm is en beheer word vir die doel om publikasies uit te gee ten einde die belange van die werkers te bevorder.

Ons is trots om aan te kondig, die publisering van ons eerste boek, „TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" deur Alex Hepple, L.V.

Dit is geen gewone boek nie. In veertien hoofstukke omskryf dit in duidelike en eenvoudige taal, die verhaal van Suid-Afrikaanse vakbonde en die vele struikelblokke op die werkers se pad. Dit bevat waardevolle uittreksels uit belangrike verklarings, verslae en dokumente in verband met Suid-Afrikaanse vakbond- en politieke geskiedenis.

„TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" vervul 'n behoefte wat reeds lank gevoel word, en behoort deur elke werker, elke vakbondlid, elke vakbond-beampte en al diegene gelees te word wat betrokke is by die toekomstige welsyn van Suid-Afrika.

Die Skrywer van „TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" is goed toegerus om met die onderwerp te handel waaroor sy boek gaan. Hy is in Suid-Afrika gebore en groot geword, kom uit 'n tipiese werkersgesin - sy vader, 'n aktiewe lid van die Amalgamated Engineering Union, was op die Swart Lys geplaas, geviktimizeer en gearresteer vir die rol wat hy in die vroeëre werkerstryd van Suid-Afrika gespeel het. Alex het die strate platge-loop tesame met duisende andere wat die groot leër van werkloses gevorm het, wat tydens die groot depressie moes werk soek.

Die agtergrond en geskiedenis van Alex Hepple het hom gevorm sodat hy die taak wat hy homself gestel het in sy latere lewe en wat hy vandag verrig, met groot onderskeiding kon baasraak. As 'n gesiene openbare figuur wat uit die geledere van die werkers verrys het, word Alex selfs deur sy grootste politieke vyande bewonder en gerespekteer vanweë sy bekwaamheid, sy opregtheid en sy toewyding aan die saak van ons werkende seuns en dogters. Hy het 'n leeftyd gewy aan die bestudering van arbeidswette, die probleme van die werkers, en die voorvegting van die stryd van die vertraptes.

„TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL" kan regstreeks by Unity Publications van bostaande adres gekoop word teen 3s.6d. per eksemplaar, (3s.9d. posvry) of by enige boekwinkel. Vakbonde en werkersvereniginge kan „Trade Unions in Travail" verkry teen 'n verminderde prys van 2s.6d. per eksemplaar vir grootskaalse bestellings van minstens 100 eksemplare (£12.10s). Plaas u bestellings nou en verseker onmiddellike aflewering van hierdie geskiedkundige publikasie.

Januarie/Februarie 1954

C. REHM.
VOORSITTER. RAAD VAN DI REKTEURE.

S. A. TRADES & LABOUR COUNCIL (1949)

P. O. Box 5592
Telephones : 33-6777/8

106 - 111, Union Centre,
31 Pritchard Street,
JOHANNESBURG

13th October, 1954.

The Secretary,
Wholesale Meat Factory & Cold Storage
Workers' Industrial Union,
52a Progress Buildings,
156 Commissioner Street, JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Friends,

RE: DISSOLUTION

You are hereby advised that at the Annual Conference of the Council held in Durban last week it was decided that the Council be dissolved and its affairs wound up by the 31st October, 1954 or as soon as possible thereafter.

The following resolutions were adopted by 53,683 votes in favour and 23,412 votes against -

- That (1) The South African Trades and Labour Council (1949) be and is hereby dissolved, the winding up of its affairs be completed by the 31st October, 1954 or as soon thereafter as possible.
- (2) A committee composed of the present available members of the National Executive and one member representing dissenting unions be hereby appointed to wind up the affairs of the South African Trades and Labour Council (1949)

.....

That The assets of the South African Trades and Labour Council (1949) be transferred to the South African Trade Union Council.

The proposals were carried by more than the necessary two-thirds majority.

As the books of the Council must be audited and all transactions completed by the 31st October, 1954 Unions are earnestly requested to pay their October affiliation fees immediately and any arrears that may be owing.

The Committee appointed by Conference in terms of the above resolutions will submit a final report in regard to the winding up of the Council's affairs in due course.

The amount outstanding in respect of your organisation appears on the account below.

Yours fraternally,
Dulcie M. Hartwell
DULCIE M. HARTWELL (MISS.)
GENERAL SECRETARY.

AFFILIATION FEES DUE - OCTOBER 1954	£ - 13 9
ARREARS - From <u>Oct. 53.</u> to <u>Sept. 54.</u> 1954		£ 8 5 0
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>£ 8 18 9</u>

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION COUNCIL

Meat

P.O. Box 1168
Telephones: 33-7868
33-5148

Fifth Floor,
Saker's Corner,
Cor. Eloff & Frederick
Streets,
JOHANNESBURG.
5th November, 1954.

The Secretary,
Wholesale Meat Factory & Cold Storage Workers' Union,
52a, Progress Buildings,
Commissioner Street,
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The interim National Executive Committee of the South African Trade Union Council extends to your organisation a cordial invitation to become affiliated to the Council.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the Constitution as adopted at the second Unity Conference held in Durban on the 4th and 5th October, 1954 together with application for membership forms which you will note are in two parts, paragraph 12 thereof being separated from the first part of the application. The application form is supplied to you in duplicate so that you may retain a copy for your own records. Paragraph 12 of the application form is divided into the four areas and we are sending you four copies of the document as referring to each area. Kindly complete and return three copies in respect of each area, the fourth copy is supplied so that you may retain one for your records. One of the three copies returned to us is to be supplied to the particular area division when it is established, the other two are for filing purposes of Headquarters.

In order to save time, it would be appreciated if applications for affiliation are accompanied by three months' affiliation fees in advance. Affiliation fees are payable on the basis of one penny per member per month in respect of members in good financial standing with your organisation. You will be notified as soon as Area Divisions are established and in such event an amount of half-penny per financial member per month will be payable to each ~~Area Divisions~~ in which you have members.

You will note that offices have been secured for the Council at Saker's Corner, Fifth Floor, Corner Eloff and Frederick Streets, Johannesburg. It is expected that we will take occupation of these offices at the latest from the 1st December, 1954 and you are requested meanwhile to send communications to the box number stated above.

We sincerely trust that we shall shortly be able to welcome your organisation into our ranks.

With Trade Union Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

B. J. Caddy

B.J. CADDY - CHAIRMAN

W. A. Coull *T. P. Murray*

W.A. COULL

T.P. MURRAY
JOINT SECRETARIES

Saamtyk (sup 6)

Meat

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE DISSOLUTION COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL (1949) HELD AT THE BOARD ROOM NO. 110 UNION CENTRE, 31, PRITCHARD STREET, JOHANNESBURG, on **TUESDAY** the 23RD NOVEMBER, 1954, at 10 A.M.

THERE WERE PRESENT:

W. GOLDBERG	B.J. ERASMUS
J. DANIEL	B. WEINEREN
C. REHM (In the Chair)	Miss D.M. HARTWELL (General Secretary)

APOLOGIES were received and accepted from Miss A. Schoepers, Miss J. Cornelius, Messrs. F. Kalk, D.J. Schutte, J. v.d. Linde and G. Burrell.

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES -- 10th November, 1954.

There was an objection to Item 14 of these Minutes. After discussion it was AGREED that the words from "received" in the third last line be amended to read - "received a letter as agreed at the last meeting. The Secretary stated that she was under the impression that after the last meeting she had requested a member of the staff to send Unity Publications (Pty) Limited a copy of the letter to the Agents. It was AGREED that the Secretary ascertain why this was not done."

THE Minutes were confirmed subject to this alteration on a motion by Mr. Daniel seconded by Mr. Boylovelde, with one dissentient.

2. CORRESPONDENCE

MISS HARTWELL reported that she wrote to the Western Province Local Committee on the 12th November, 1954, advising of the decision taken by the Dissolution Committee in regard to the Trust Funds. A copy of the letter had been sent to their auditors Messrs. Gibson, Hyslop & Winearls. No reply had yet been received from the Local Committee. It was AGREED to hold the matter over until a reply is received.

GIBSON, HYSLOP & WINEARLS letter dated 19th November, 1954, acknowledging receipt of copy of our letter and advising that they are not in a position to say when the audit will be finished due to pressure of work, but they will try to do same as soon as possible, but it will not be ready by the 25th November, 1954. NOTED.

WESTERN PROVINCE LOCAL COMMITTEE letter dated 17th November, 1954 enclosing copy of Minutes of Meeting on the 20th October, 1954. NOTED.

MATTERS ARISING FROM WESTERN PROVINCE LOCAL COMMITTEE MINUTES.

(a) Salary - Acting Secretary

The Local Committee decided that the Acting Secretary be paid the same salary as Mr. F.C. Peters received.

After DISCUSSION it was AGREED to request the Local Committee to advise its reason for such a decision as the Acting Secretary is employed in a part time capacity, and the salary is that which was paid to a full-time employee.

TELEPHONE, LEASE etc.

THE SECRETARY reported that she informed the Local Committee that if one of the affiliated unions wanted to take over the offices from the 1st December, they should let the same. She had not yet heard from the Local Committee regarding the matter, nor in regard to telephone, inventories etc.

DURBAN AND DISTRICT LOCAL COMMITTEE -- letter dated 14th November, 1954, enclosing Minutes of Meeting held on the 10th November, 1954,
NOTED.

MATTERS ARISING FROM DURBAN LOCAL COMMITTEE

IMPREST CLAIM

It was advised that the sum of £73.3.9d is still owing from the National Executive Committee. This amount was expended from their Private Fund but as the Council was dissolving the Local Committee had decided not to press for payment of this amount.

MISS HARTWELL reported that the reason for not sending the amount due was that on instructions of the National Executive Committee she asked for an Auditor's Report, which had not been obtained due to various difficulties and the position now is that the Committee waives the Imprest Claim.

FINANCIAL POSITION OF COMMITTEE

CASH IN HAND	£ 99. 1. 0d
OWING FROM HEAD OFFICE FOR IMPREST CLAIM	£73. 3. 9d

AMOUNTS OUTSTANDING

Secretary for moneys disbursed by him	£1. 0. 0d
S.V. Reddy	£12. 0. 0d

The following Resolutions were adopted:-

"THAT WE REIMBURSE S.V. REDDY THE SUM OF £12 BEING EXPENSES HE HAD INCURRED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HOWICK RUBBER WORKERS UNION AFTER H. BOYDER HAD BEEN DOWN TO ORGANISE THEM. FURTHER THAT WE PAY THE £1 OWING TO THE SECRETARY AND THAT WE DONATE TO THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF BUILDING TRADE WORKERS THE SUM OF £10."

MISS HARTWELL reported that she had a letter from Mr. S.V. Reddy dated the 10th November, 1954, in which he stated that the amount due to him was £12.15.0d plus £2.10.0d which was due to him for typing the Constitution.

After discussion it was AGREED on a motion by Mr. Weinbren seconded by Mr. Beyleveld to advise the Local Committee to pay to Mr. Reddy the full amount owing to him.

OFFICE FURNITURE

The following offer was received for the sale of the office furniture:-

Desk	£5
Cupboard	£3
12 Chairs	at 10/- each

It was AGREED on a motion by Mr. Daniel seconded by Mr. WEINBREN to authorise the Local Committee to dispose of these at the price mentioned.

POST OFFICE BOX

"AGREED that we hold the Box in case the New Area Committee of the S.A.T.U.C. which is to be formed soon wish to take same over."

LOCAL COMMITTEE'S action ENDORSED.

TELEPHONE

"As the telephone had for some years been at Com Barber's address it was agreed that we let this be transferred from the T.L.C. to L. Barber."

Local Committee's action ENDORSED.

T.C. McDERMOTT

"That the Chairman be requested to purchase at approx. £5 pen or propelling pencil initialled for presentation to Mr. T. McDermott in recognition of his services to the T.L.C."

AGREED to authorise the Local Committee to do this.

PRIVATE FUND - £99.1.0d

"It was AGREED to hand over the balance of this Fund to the Area Committee of the S.A.T.U.C."

It was AGREED that the Local Committee be asked that the balance of the above amount, after paying out the amounts set out in the earlier parts of this Minute, be sent to Head Office, and that the financial position of the Council be explained to this Local Committee.

FINANCIAL POSITION

MISS HARTWELL reported that the Council's liabilities are approximately £1773 and there was no money in Head Office General Account.

She had discussed the matter of the defamation cases with Mr. Zimmerman who informed her that the amounts of £124.9.0d and £236.7.2d are disbursements to date. If the main action succeeds then Voortrekker Pers will have to pay about $\frac{3}{4}$ of these amounts. In addition provision will have to be made for payment of Counsel's fees at approximately £100 per day for 3 days, which means about £600 will have to be lodged with the lawyers to cover costs if the action is lost. If the action succeeds then the major portion of this will be paid back.

She further reported that the following monies should be **received in terms of the Dissolution Committee's decisions:**

Western Province Local Committee (without Building Fund)	£214. 12. 11
Durban Local Committee	£ 81.16.0
Arrear Affiliation Fees	£181.15.2
Trade Union Unity Committee	46.10.8

MESSRS. Weinbren and Goldberg left the meeting at this stage.

It was AGREED after lengthy discussion that the South African Trade Union Council be approached with a view to obtaining £700 for all assets.

WESTERN PROVINCE BUILDING FUND

AS regards this fund it was AGREED to write again to the Western Province Local Committee asking for a list of unions who contributed to this fund, and then to write to these unions asking their permission to pay this amount into the General Funds of the Council explaining the financial position of the Council.

NATIONAL UNION OF DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS -- letter dated 18th November, 1954, pointing out that the National Executive Committee ceased to exist on the 7th October, 1954, and that any decisions taken by them would be of no force. In regard to the nomination of Mr. Kagan it is no concern of the Dissolution Committee whether any member of that body likes him or not. The fact that Mr. Kagan may have disagreed with the policy of the now defunct National Executive Committee is not relevant. NOTED.

After discussion it was AGREED that Miss Hartwell obtains legal opinion in regard to the functioning of the Committee and decisions taken by them after the 7th October, 1954.

MISS R. LAN -- BANNING

MISS HARTWELL reported that she wrote to the Minister of Justice in regard to Miss Lan and sent Miss Lan a copy, which she acknowledged with thanks.

The Private Secretary to the Minister of Justice merely acknowledged the letter on the 19th November, 1954.

AGREED that a further letter be written to the Minister of Justice.

POST OFFICE BOX

MISS HARTWELL reported that she wrote to the Postmaster informing him that the Council is going out of existence and the Box will be rented by the South African Trade Union Council. NOTED.

J.J. VENTER - TRUST

MISS HARTWELL reported that on the 11th November, 1954, she forwarded a cheque for £10.5.0d to the South African Trade Union Council to be held in trust pending a decision on a memorial. NOTED.

CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY

Subscription for the papers had been paid up to the end of December. The Central News Agency had been requested to deliver the papers to the South African Trade Union Council. NOTED and ENDORSED.

JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION -- letter dated 11th November, 1954, thanking the Council for the donation of £10 towards expenses of their Delegate to the Durban Conference was NOTED.

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (PTY) LIMITED

MISS HARTWELL reported that she had consulted Mrs. Brown regarding the letter about the offices to Unity Publication (Pty) Limited but Mrs. Brown did not remember being asked to send such a letter. It was possible, therefore, that she (Miss Hartwell) had not asked that this be done. A copy of the notification to the agents was subsequently sent to Unity Publications (Pty) Limited with a covering letter.

The explanation was accepted.

MISS HARTWELL requested authority to arrange with the Post Office to rearrange the placing of the switchboard and extensions as requested by Unity Publications (Pty) Limited.

AUTHORITY was GRANTED.

NATIONAL UNION OF DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS - letter dated 18th November, 1954, in which they queried the correctness of a statement made by Mr. Blake during Annual Conference.

After discussion it was AGREED to circulate a copy of this letter to all affiliated Unions.

BANNING MISS B. WENTZEL.

A letter was received from the Food & Canning Workers' Union dated 21st November, 1954, asking this Council to protest against the banning of Miss Wentzel.

THE SECRETARY reported that she sent a telegram to the Minister protesting against the Banning. NOTED.

It was AGREED that a letter of protest be sent to the Minister.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO HOSPITAL MATTERS IN THE TRANSVAAL

Circular dated 8th November, 1954 - It was AGREED that this be referred to the South African Trade Union Council.

"DIE VADERLAND" - SEASIDE FUND - Circular NOTED.

It was AGREED to advise that the Council is dissolved and is therefore unable to assist.

NATIONAL ROAD SAFETY ORGANISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA - letter dated 10th November, 1954, NOTED.

It was AGREED that this matter be referred to the South African Trade Union Council.

JOHANNESBURG TRADES HALL SOCIETY

MISS HARTWELL reported that she and Mr. Erasmus attended the monthly meeting of the Trades Hall Society. NOTED.

SELECT COMMITTEE - REPRESENTATION TO BE MADE

It was AGREED that a report be submitted to the next meeting as to the representatives of the South African Trade Union Council who will give evidence before the Select Committee.

MOVING OF OFFICES

MISS HARTWELL reported that she was arranging for the moving of

the offices on the 29th November, 1954 to 515/522, 5th Floor Saker's Corner, 34 Eloff Street, Johannesburg. ENDORSED.

SAAMTREK

It was reported that the sub-Committee of the Board of Directors met the sub-Committee of the Interim National Executive Committee. Prior to that meeting the Editor had written a letter stating that the Board of Directors decision regarding the handing of full control of policy of the paper to the South African Trade Union Council was a breach of his contract and insisting upon the terms of that contract being adhered to. The Editor was given two months' notice to terminate his contract. The matter was not yet finalised.

OLD RECORDS

It was AGREED that the old records of the South African Trades and Labour Council (1949) be handed over to the South African Trade Union Council on the condition that these should not be destroyed and if they are not wanted they be handed to unions now affiliated to the Council which may wish to retain them.

MARRIAGE MISS A. SCHEEPERS (MRS. VENTER)- to MR. A.R. MCLAUGHLIN

It was AGREED to send a congratulatory telegram to Miss Scheepers on the occasion of her marriage on the 27th instant.

THE MEETING CLOSED at 12.30 P.M.

DULCIE M. HARTWELL
GENERAL SECRETARY

CHAIRMAN

Date Confirmed:-

LABOUR PARTY ELIMINATED FROM PARL. ①

Excerpt from South Africa. A political and Economic History by Alex Hepple. London, 1960. 282 p.

pp. 162-163

More than at any previous election, the question of white security was uppermost in the minds of the electorate. The United Party had decided not to continue the electoral arrangement with the Labour Party which had operated at the elections in 1943, 1948 and 1953, fearing that the Labour Party's forthright anti-apartheid policy would damage its image. ~~Nevertheless~~ ~~the~~ ~~Labour~~ ~~Party~~ ~~was~~ heavily defeated. The result of the election showed that the surge of Afrikaner Unity was continuing with greater numbers of Afrikaners deserting the United Party for the Nationalists. The United Party won only 53 seats while the National Party increased its hold to 103 seats. The Labour Party was heavily defeated at the hands of United Party candidates, the English speaking voters working-class voters preferring the latter as more likely to keep the Afrikaner in check and uphold white supremacy. The elimination of the Labour Party from the Parliamentary scene ended Labour representation which had been uninterrupted since the first Union Parliament in ~~1910~~ 1910. It was a warning to white

"My Ten Years in Parl"

1958

continuation of
Labour Party eliminated from Parl
excerpt from Alex Hepple South Africa. etc. (2)

politicians that there was no road to
Parliament for those who opposed
race discrimination and sought to make
South Africa a non-racial democracy.
Parliament was only for those who stood
firmly for white supremacy."

(Note by ~~John~~)

Telegramadres:
Telegraphic Address:
„INSTRUCTOR“.

Alle briewe moet aan die
SEKRETARIS VAN ONDERWYS,
KUNS EN WETENSKAP
gerig word.

All communications to be addressed to the
SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION,
ARTS AND SCIENCE.

Privaatsak.
Private Bag.

Telefoon } 2-1156: { Uitbr.
Telephone } { Ext.



UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Geliewe in u antwoord te verwys na:
In reply please quote:

No. E. 53/115.

DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS, KUNS EN WETENSKAP,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND SCIENCE,

VANDERSTELGEBOU,
VAN DER STEL BUILDINGS,

PRETORIA, 195.....

Mr. A. Hepple, M.P.,
602, Marble Arch,
36, Goldreich Street,
HILLBROW,
Johannesburg.

Dear Mr. Hepple,

I have to inform you that His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government has appointed you as a member of the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill which has now been appointed in terms of the announcement by the Honourable the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, during the debate on the second reading of the Bill and as recommended by the Select Committee of which you were a member. The appointment of the Commission was notified in the Government Gazette of the 30th August, 1957, and its terms of reference are as follows:-

"To investigate and report on the details of the Separate University Education Bill having regard to the principles contained therein as adopted at the second reading of the Bill".

--- Enclosed herewith for your information is a copy of the Rules for the Financial and General Administration of Government Commissions. Whilst engaged on the work of the Commission you will be entitled to the allowances as set out in paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Rules.

The first meeting of the Commission has been provisionally set down for Wednesday and Thursday the 2nd and 3rd October, 1957, and I shall be glad to learn as soon as possible whether you will be able to attend the meeting on the dates mentioned.

Yours faithfully,

SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, ARTS AND SCIENCE.

duplessis

ALEX. HEPPLÉ,

602, Marble Arch,
36, Goldreich St.,
Hillbrow,
Johannesburg.

21st. April 1958

The Secretary,
Commission on the Separate
Universities Education Bill,
Private Bag 122,
PRETORIA.

Dear Mr. du Plessis,

I thank you for your letter of the 17th.
instant, enclosing documents in connection with the Comm-
ission.

I regret to advise that I have decided
to resign from membership of the Commission and I enclose
my letter of resignation, addressed to the Chairman, Mr.
M. D. C. de Wet Nel, M. P.

May I take this opportunity to express
to you personally my thanks and appreciation for your
courtesy and assistance to me during the period I was a
member of the Commission?

Sincerely Yours,

ALEX. HEPPLÉ.



Geliewe in u Antwoord te verwys na

In Reply Please Quote

No. E. 53/115.

UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

KANTOOR VAN DIE—OFFICE OF THE

COMMISSION ON THE SEPARATE
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BILL,

URGENT.

Private Bag 122,

PRETORIA.

23 APR 1958

A. Hepple, Esq.,
602, Marble Arch,
36, Goldreich Street,
HILLBROW,
Johannesburg.

Dear Mr. Hepple,

I submitted your letter of the 21st instant, in which you tender your resignation as a member of the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill, to the Chairman.

Mr. de Wet Nel has asked me to write to you on his behalf, informing you that he has learnt with sincere regret of your decision to resign and to request you to reconsider your decision. While he appreciates your point of view in regard to the later discussions of the recommendations of the Commission in Parliament, he feels that as a member you can make a valuable contribution in the discussions within the Commission.

It is trusted that you will be able to come to a decision before the Commission is due to resume its sittings on Monday the 28th instant.

Sincerely yours,

SECRETARY : COMMISSION ON THE SEPARATE
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BILL.

Star

1/5 University inquiry:
58 Hepple resigns

Mr. A. Hepple, former M.P. for Rosettenville, resigned yesterday as a member of the commission of inquiry into separate universities. The resignation will be forwarded to the Governor-General.

In a letter to the commission Mr. Hepple said that he had resigned because he was no longer a member of Parliament.

Mr. Dirk Mostert, M.P. for Witbank, moved that a letter of appreciation for his work on the commission should be sent to Mr. Hepple.

Universities

Hepple Will Not 'Throw Up Sponge'

ST 4/5/58
"SUNDAY TIMES" REPORTER

THE former parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Alexander Hepple, said yesterday that his resignation from the Commission of Inquiry into Separate Universities, now sitting in Pretoria, did not mean that he was "throwing up the sponge."

He stated: "There is no question of my retiring from the political scene. I have resigned because I am no longer in a position to serve any useful function on the commission."

After the report of his resignation last week, scores of letters, telephone calls and telegrams urged Mr. Hepple to re-consider his decision.

Mr. Hepple told me:

"As the only member of the commission who is no longer an M.P., I will be unable to take part in debates on the commission's findings and recommendations.

"I think it therefore correct for me to surrender my place to someone who will be able to serve on equal terms with other members.

"Many people seem to be under the impression that the commission might recommend against the principle of university apartheid. But its terms of reference prevent such a finding.

"They confine the investigations to methods of applying the principle of university apartheid, which has already been accepted by Parliament."

UNIE VAN
SUID-AFRIKA



UNION OF
SOUTH AFRICA

*Geliewe in u antwoord
te verwys na
In reply please quote*

No. E.53/115.

KANTOOR VAN DIE—OFFICE OF THE

COMMISSION ON THE SEPARATE
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BILL,

Private Bag 122,

PRETORIA.

30th April, 1958.

A. Hepple, Esq.,
602, Marble Arch,
36, Goldreich Street,
HILLBROW,
Johannesburg.

Dear Mr. Hepple,

Further to your letter of the 21st April, 1958, in which you tender your resignation as a member of the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill, and my reply of the 23rd idem, I have to inform you that, subsequent to our telephonic conversation this morning, I conveyed to the Commission your final decision not to continue as a member of the Commission.

The Commission has directed me to convey to you its regret that you will no longer serve as a member and its sincere appreciation and thanks for your co-operation and assistance as a colleague on the Commission.

Yours sincerely,

SECRETARY : COMMISSION ON THE SEPARATE
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BILL.

ALEX. HEPPLÉ,

602, Marble Arch,
36, Goldreich St.,
Hillbrow,
Johannesburg.

21st. April 1958.

M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Esq., M. P.,
Chairman - Commission on the
Separate Universities Education Bill,
Private Bag 122,
PRETORIA.

Dear Mr. Nel,

I hereby tender my resignation from the
Commission on the Separate Universities Education Bill.

I have decided to take this step because I
believe that I am no longer in a position to serve any
useful purpose on the Commission. As you will remember,
we began as a Select Committee of the House of Assembly
and were later converted into a Commission. Our terms
of reference confine us to the practical application of
University apartheid, the principle of which has been
accepted by Parliament. The findings and recommendations
of the Commission will form the basis of discussion in
Committee Stage debate.

As the only member of the Commission who will
be unable to participate in those debates, because I am no
longer a Member of Parliament, I think it only correct for
me to surrender my place on the Commission to someone who
will be able to serve on equal terms with other members.

I must place on record my thanks and appreci-
ation to you and the members of the Commission for the
friendly co-operation I enjoyed during my period of service.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely Yours,

ALEX. HEPPLÉ.

Notes etc for Book

I think these were already
used by Oupa - but the fact that Nat's
vote was increased could be added to page
in MS, (Guardian 29.6.84)

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5
5
58

L.P. HISTORY

LABOUR WILL NOT GIVE UP

By the Political Reporter

Despite the reverses the Labour Party suffered in the general election when its Parliamentary representation was wiped out, the Party will carry on.

Mr. A. Hepple, former M.P. for Rosettnville and Parliamentary Leader of the Party, said today that though the election had been a blow, the Labour Party would certainly not disappear from the political scene.

"Despite what happened in the election, the country needs a Labour Party and economic events are bound to show this.

"Within the Nationalist Party there is some concern over the absence of Labour representation in Parliament. Nationalist members of Parliament have already toyed with the idea for forming a labour group.

"There is the difficulty of reconciling the sometimes conflicting interests of town and platteland, of worker and capitalist."

The general election had shown that other issues were dominant and have sufficed up to now. Politicians had been able to dispense with Labour policies, but it was inevitable that the interests of the workers would sooner or later demand greater emphasis.

It is for this reason that the Labour Party was being kept intact. The real basic issues had not been faced yet, but economic trends showed that the time was not far off when they would have to be faced fairly and squarely, Mr. Hepple said.

USE IN CONCLU 610M

Mixed fortunes for Botha in Transvaal poll

Guardian 29.6.81

Johannesburg: South Africa's ruling National Party lost one key provincial byelection to a rightwing coalition yesterday, but strengthened its majority in another in what was regarded as a test of feeling on its political reforms.

Defeat in the rural Transvaal constituency of Potgietersrus would not affect the reforms, but the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, could use it to illustrate to world leaders the threat from the right to rapid change, observers said.

The Conservative Party won Potgietersrus, an Afrikaner constituency, in an alliance with the ultra-rightwing Herstigste Nasionale Party and the neo fascist Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

The constituency lies in the only one of 15 regions that voted no in a referendum last November on sharing political power with Indians and Coloureds. The majority black population is excluded from the reforms.

The ruling Nationalists increased their majority in the mainly English-speaking Johannesburg constituency of Rosettenville in elections for Transvaal Provincial Council, which runs local affairs such as education and roads.

The National Party leader in the Transvaal, Mr F. W. De Klerk, said the results showed that the Conservative Party was making no headway in urban areas although its victory in Potgietersrus was disappointing.

The Conservative Party's parliamentary caucus said in a statement that the results were

a triumph and a major setback for the Nationalists.

National Party officials say privately that the greatest threat to the party comes from the Right, particularly from the Conservatives who broke away from the Nationalists in 1982 in protest against the power-sharing reforms which are enshrined in a new Constitution that takes effect in September and which set up a three-chamber, racially-divided parliament.

The Conservatives won the Potgietersrus seat with 7,515 votes to give them a 1,034 majority over the Nationalists with a 71 per cent turnout.

In Rosettenville, the National Party increased its majority to 1,797 from 1,448 in 1981 in a three-cornered fight with the Conservatives and New Republic Party.

By failing to turn back the growing Conservative influence in Potgietersrus, the Nationalists missed a chance to claim a significant mandate for Mr Botha's policies.

Had the Conservatives also won in Rosettenville, the result would have been ominous for the Nationalists. As it is, the Conservatives beat the candidate of the New Republic Party, which claims to speak for white workers and hitherto was strong in the suburb. On racial matters the New Republic Party differs little from the Nationalists.

Asians and Coloureds are to vote in August for delegates to their own chambers of parliament. While Blacks still have no vote, the Conservative party complains that sharing votes with anyone not white is the first step toward abandoning white rule. — Reuter/AP.

Book

Include in Section on

African Trade Unions

reference to party in British
House of Commons in 1970

(card in Kadiliev's book)

on occasion of publication of
Kadiliev's Book on ICU

(card in book)

autographs in book flyleaf)

Entered in Chronology
book.

Michael Scott

With Compliments

Should be glad to have your
comments on this

Michael Scott.

The Africa Bureau,

38 Great Smith Street,

London, S.W.1

Telephone:

01-799 5808

17, Belmont Court,
Finchley Road,
London, N. W. 11

13th. March 1967

Dear Michael,

Thank you for your memorandum "Alternative to Apartheid" which I have read with great interest.

You suggest that as a realistic alternative, Britain should now try the persuasion of offering capital and technical aid to South Africa and the former Protectorates through the United Nations. This, as you rightly say, would be of great mutual advantage to everyone in Southern Africa. I am all for exerting pressure by peaceful means through aid programmes. This what I asked the British Labour Party to do when it was in the saddle but nothing came of it when the Party went into opposition. Since then so much has happened that my own feeling is that the initiative has been lost -- the pro and anti-apartheid forces are now determined that they want all or nothing and so much bitterness has been engendered that it will be difficult to win support in the circles of power for the sort of compromise you suggest.

I am thinking, on the one hand, of the ruling white oligarchy. If Britain and America could be persuaded to give a lead on your proposal, what must they ask of South Africa in return for massive aid? As you well know, the Nationalist leadership firmly believes that the slightest deviation from its apartheid policy will open the way for the total breakdown of white domination and therefore the only hope of white survival lies in inflexibility, in making no concessions whatsoever. The S. A. Government will want to know exactly what our intentions are and unless this is spelt out in advance, they won't give it even a thought. This is what bothers me. What proposition do we attach to aid?

There is, on the other hand, the massive opposition to apartheid, most of it dedicated to smash apartheid completely. But I don't think this would present an obstacle if the other side showed signs of shifting ground. For this reason there may be some merit in your suggestion. It would require (a) a sincere and determined attempt by Britain to take the initiative, and (b) a clear-cut statement of the alternatives to South Africa. As far as the former is concerned, there would have to be a bold departure from current Labour government policy.

Perhaps when you have had the comments of others we can discuss it further.

With kind regards,
Sincerely Yours

Ex-MP accepts damages over Boss agent's claims

A former Conservative MP, Mr Harold Soref, yesterday accepted "substantial" libel damages over allegations that he allowed himself to be used by the South African security services.

His counsel, Mr James Price, told Mr Justice Croom-Johnson at the High Court in London that the allegation had been made by a former agent of the South African Bureau of State Security (Boss), Mr Gordon Winter.

The allegations related to the years 1970 to 1974 when Mr Soref was MP for Ormskirk, Lancashire.

Counsel said the allegations were published in Mr Winters 1981 Penguin book, Inside Boss, about his experience in England as an agent when he posed as a journalist and used contacts to foster Boss's interest.

"There were two passages in the book about Mr Soref, both of them defamatory and neither of them true, and they resulted in Mr Soref's bringing this action for libel," said counsel.

"The short thrust of them was that Mr Soref, while a Member of Parliament, had occasionally allowed himself to be used as a tool by the South African security service."

The defendants had now acknowledged that any suggestion that Mr Soref would consciously or willingly lend any assistance whatever to Boss or its agent was wholly wrong, said counsel.

Mr Geoffrey Shaw, for Mr Winter and Penguin Books, said they accepted that the passages concerning Mr Soref may have been understood to contain the allegations of which he complained. There was no truth in any such allegation and they apologised.

The judge agreed that the record of the action should be withdrawn.

● Mr Allan Roberts, Labour MP for Bootle, has received damages in a libel case after the News of the World alleged he had been reported to the police for alleged sex offences, the High Court, sitting at Liverpool, was told yesterday.

News Group Newspapers, the NoW's publishers, admitted the article was untrue.

Under the headline "Smear, says MP in vice file," it said a file had been sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions over the alleged offences, and he was considering what action to take.

The News of the World agreed to pay the MP's legal costs and to print an apology in their next issue.

20/6/89

Dear Ginnie,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June
& your generous gift. I have
bought for the wee Alex baby
living above me a small toy,
I suppose it is a teddy bear,
but it is soft, nice to touch &
she is always using her hands &
trying to hold things, & it's too
big for her to put in her mouth!
So I think it is suitable & her
mother is most touched at your
kindness & interested to hear
about you Alex.

I have to go to Moorfields
sometime & they will then tell me
about the cataract, maybe its a
year before it will be 'ready'
for an op - or never.

I sympathise with your waiting
for the second eye op. & also
having to go back to hospital.
But as long as you can cope &
get around, all is well. How

We hang on to our independence.

Do you remember Frances Beard?

Long ago detained, in jail, then banished to the Transvaal - a trade unionist, Alex would have known her. She has started a creche.

She wrote once and said she was so cold, especially her legs - so I have sent her a pair of woollen socks & a pair of warm mittens & used some of your gift for the postage. I'll probably use the rest for the friend in Soweto

who distributes the garments I send to the old ones who need them & writes ecstatic letters of appreciation! You help a lot.

I often think of the nice day Poppe & I spent with you & Dolly on the beach, actually putting my feet in the sea!

Don't be too depressed about our home country - Our Comrades here are not depressed & a lot is happening. Its not static

Much love to Bolt

Nancy

Your friend Jan Hoogendyk is very poorly & is aching very brave - but his work goes on.

PW Botha

Former leader of South Africa, committed to state terrorism and murder to stop majority rule

PW Botha, who has died aged 90, ruled South Africa under apartheid for 11 years until 1989, and was gradually exposed during his long decline as one of the most evil men of the 20th century, committed to state terrorism, war and murder to thwart black majority rule.

The October 1998 report of the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission, before which Botha refused to appear, earning a conviction for contempt, said he had been responsible for "gross violations of human rights". As prime minister from 1978 to 1984, and then state president until 1989, he was also chairman of the State Security Council, and made remarks "in its meetings and recommendations that were highly ambiguous and were interpreted as authorising the killing of people".

According to the commission, he took no action against government agents who carried out atrocities, and supported covert operations "destabilising the governments of neighbouring countries". He also ordered police to blow up the Johannesburg offices of anti-apartheid groups. The nickname "Great Crocodile" was hard-earned.

Pieter Willem Botha was born in Bethlehem in the Orange Free State, where his father, a "bitter-ender" who had fought the British to the last gasp of the Boer war, was a horse farmer. His mother was interned in one of Lord Kitchener's concentration camps and the young PW, as he was usually known, inherited the sour, bullying, anglophobic obduracy that became his trademark from his parents.

He joined the pro-Nazi "Ossewabrandwag" movement in 1939, but, never over-burdened with moral courage, found it too risky and left after two years, avoiding internment. A politician all his adult life, Botha was already active in the Afrikaner National Party (NP). He became MP for the Cape Province constituency of George when the NP won power in the white electoral landslide of 1948. It sustained Afrikaner political domination until ousted by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) in 1994.

The qualities he showed in support of his ambition included ruthlessness, organisational efficiency, discipline and a liking for hard work (he was still doing a 12-hour day in his 70s). This won the attention of the messiah of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who made him a deputy minister in 1958.

His first full departmental post was as minister for community development and coloured affairs from 1961. As such, he was paternalistically responsible for the coloured racial group, in apartheid terms those of ethnically mixed origin, concentrated mainly in Cape Province. As an adoptive Cape politician, Botha always prided himself on his special feeling for the coloureds. This did not prevent him from ordering the demolition, as a blight on the city, of Cape Town's coloured quarter, District Six.

As District Six fell, so did Verwoerd, assassinated by an alleged madman in 1966 and succeeded by "iron man" John Vorster, who promoted Botha to minister of defence. This cherished promotion precipitated a lifelong love of the military, including acts of war and covert operations at home and abroad.

Botha brought South Africa close to self-sufficiency in weaponry, circumventing the UN arms embargo where import substitution failed. The state-owned arms corporation produced cannon that were regarded as the best of their kind. Major warships, the latest aircraft and helicopters were beyond reach, but three small submarines were acquired from France, while Israel proved a surprisingly willing partner in such joint enterprises as missiles – and nuclear technology. When the US secretly backed the increasingly blatant South African interventions in the Angolan civil war against the FPLA government backed by Cuban troops, Botha was able to acquire munitions and spares in corrupt quantities.

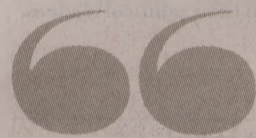
When Vorster was kicked upstairs as non-executive state president in 1978 in

the wake of the "Muldergate" corruption scandal, the NP felt the same need for a strong man as it had when Verwoerd died. Who better to face the "total onslaught" by communists and blacks than the man who had built up the strongest military power in Africa – even if his power-base was the Cape NP rather than Verwoerd's Transvaal?

Botha soon stunned everyone by pronouncing apartheid dead. "Adapt or die" became his watchword as he foreshadowed "reform" without precedent. The world fondly imagined he would abolish discrimination as he became the first South African leader to visit Soweto, Johannesburg's south-western township, and travelled abroad more than any of his NP predecessors. However, the furthest he was prepared to go was to shift the great divide in South African politics from between white and non-white to between non-black and black.

But progress could not be stemmed altogether. One of the most important changes under Botha's leadership was the legalisation of black trade unions in 1979, giving African industrial labour a real voice. "Petty" apartheid (anything but petty to its victims) was radically cut back: the fatuous laws banning marriage and sex between different races were repealed, the notorious pass laws, the British legacy that controlled the movements of Africans, and the ban on black freehold ownership were also scrapped.

But residential and educational segregation and racial classification were retained. In 1983, under loudly trumpeted constitutional reform proposals, the coloured and Asian minorities were given their own separate chambers in parliament. Black political rights, however, were to be enshrined in their tribal "homelands" as conceived by Verwoerd.



The Great Crocodile, exposed as one of the worst tyrants of a blood-soaked century, had clearly learned nothing



"Grand apartheid" was adapting, but only so as not to die.

The urban black population erupted, especially the young, as the reforms came into force in 1984, when Botha elevated himself to executive president. Only after tens of thousands had been arrested and 2,500 killed in confrontations with trigger-happy police under a permanent state of emergency was the lid forced back on the simmering townships.

The outside world lost patience as the domestic concessions backfired and the customarily apoplectic Botha took the view that the west was moving the goalposts on the urging of communistic liberals and black opinion. He decided on one more try, in a televised speech heavily telegraphed as all but revolutionary, on August 15 1985. He announced in a live worldwide broadcast that he was "crossing the Rubicon".

In fact, after a short attempt at walking on water, he returned to where he had started. Even the assiduously sympathetic Mrs Thatcher now gave up on Botha, the rest of whose time in office was marked by inertia. Nothing more could be expected from an authoritarian politician with a violent temper whom nobody dared to cross.

Even a secret meeting with Nelson Mandela, still the inspiration of the ANC after 25 years in jail, bore no fruit through Botha's intransigence.

Urged on by astutely mobilised black American opinion, US banks and corporations began to divest themselves of holdings in South Africa. This commercially motivated boycott was the undoing of apartheid: the rand's value collapsed. Botha was forced under US pressure to concede independence to Namibia amid military setbacks in Angola and growing economic problems.

The manifest intellectual bankruptcy of his last few years should not obscure the political cunning and manipulative successes of his heyday. He was consistently underestimated by foreigners, who forgot that, as an Afrikaner, Botha

was speaking a second, unloved language when he used his slow English as a blunt instrument, uttering such sentences as "Don't push us too far," in an accent thick with naked menace. He carried a big stick but did not speak softly.

After a stroke in January 1989, Botha threw away his power-base by quitting as NP leader while staying on as president, apparently seeking to rise above mere politics. The Transvaaler FW de Klerk took over the NP, and, in a brutal power struggle, provoked Botha's resignation in August.

In an extraordinary farewell address on television, a frail but seething Botha, his hands trembling, accused the cabinet of failing to inform him of de Klerk's plan to visit Zambia, and of playing into the hands of the ANC, which had bases there. De Klerk and ministers insisted that Botha had been kept informed, with the unmistakable implication that he was senile.

A year later the apartheid log-jam broke as de Klerk released Mandela under unrelenting international pressure. The two men warily shared power until a free election gave the ANC a handsome majority, and apartheid officially came to an end in 1994.

Botha at first chose obscurity, retiring to the well-named coastal resort of Wilderness on the coast 300 miles east of Cape Town. But when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, led by Archbishop Tutu, summoned him to give evidence on abuse of power during his time in office, Botha refused point-blank.

He became an object of ridicule at the age of 81, three months after his beloved wife, Elize, died in 1997 (they had two sons and three daughters), when he became engaged to a 46-year-old white traffic warden and double divorcee. He later ditched his Afrikaner fiancée in favour of an Englishwoman aged 57.

He continued to defy the subpoena and in January 1998, was hauled up before a black magistrate on a charge of contempt of court. Meanwhile, one witness after another told the commission of the involvement of Botha's government in all manner of crimes against its opponents.

In June 1998, the contempt case at last went ahead and a former police colonel, Eugene de Kock, a licensed killer under apartheid, attested how he had carried out bombings in Johannesburg and London on Botha's orders. Botha refused to give evidence.

Eventually he was fined 10,000 rand (nearly £1,000) and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, suspended for five years. This meant that another refusal to appear or testify would mean jail; but, as the commission issued its report in October 1998, there seemed to be no point in pursuing the old man any further.

The revelations of the depths to which the apartheid regime had sunk under Botha continued, including government research in the early 1980s aimed at finding chemical and biological agents that worked only against blacks. Although its two-year mandate expired before it could get to the bottom of this, the commission got wind of the research in its final weeks. It was already known to western drug companies and intelligence services – which kept silent, their only concern apparently being to stop the results being passed to the ANC when it took over government.

In a rare public statement during his 1998 court battle, an unreconstructed Botha showed his customary obduracy: "I stand with all those who executed lawful government commands in our struggle against the revolutionary communist onslaught against our country... I am not prepared to apologise for actions which I took to remove (sic) racial discrimination in this country [or] for lawful actions of my government in its struggle to curb the violent onslaught."

The jibbering, trembling Great Crocodile, exposed at last as one of the worst tyrants of a bloodsoaked century, had clearly learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

South Africa's post-apartheid constitution provides for a state funeral for former presidents. Those familiar with Botha's character and political record may view this as a bitter irony. His second wife and five children survive him.

Dan van der Vat

Pieter Willem Botha, politician, born January 12 1916; died October 31 2006

PW Botha making his Rubicon speech to the National Party's Natal Provincial Congress in 1985 Photograph: William F Campbell/Time Life Pictures/Getty



Betty du Toit

108 Ukubamba Amadolo

Federation of Labour Unions had dissolved to form a new body, TUCSA, which had excluded Africans from affiliation. TUCSA was indifferent to the union's plight. SACTU, the non-racial body formed in 1955, had also had its share of bannings. Both its president, Leon Levy, and its secretary, Marks Shope, were banned and removed from their positions in January 1957. By 1963, 27 officials of SACTU (20 Africans, 3 coloureds, 3 whites and 1 Indian) had been banned or detained. [2] The TWIU had adopted the retrogressive step in August 1965 of disaffiliating from SACTU. [3] This was during the conservative and cautious secretaryship of Alex Calmeyer, a coloured trade unionist who had been asked to become secretary of the Cape Town branch in 1954 when their secretary, Nancy Dick, was banned. He subsequently became general secretary.

Other progressive trade unions in secondary industry were in the same dire situation. By 1955, 56 of the leaders had been banned for life from trade union work and by 1966 the number had risen to 150. [4]

Not only were the trade unions weakened through the elimination of their leaders by bannings under the Suppression of Communist Act, but many leaders and rank and file members were among the 900 persons detained between May 1963 and January 1965 in terms of the General Laws Amendment Act no.37 of 1963. Section 17, the '90-day law' as it was commonly called, empowered the police to arrest without warrant and detain for 90 days at a time, without having to produce the person in court or lay a charge against him. The detainees were held incommunicado, so naturally when the secretary of a trade union vanished for three months at a time without any person knowing where he had disappeared to, the effect on the workers was devastating. Among the first to be detained were Caleb Mayekiso and Stephen Dhlamini of the African TWIU. [5]

The union sought desperately for new personnel and were able to find Alex Hepple, Labour MP, who could not undertake to go out into the field as organiser, but was prepared to assist in

negotiations. He was appointed adviser to the union in August 1958, and vice-chairman of the NIC, both of which positions he held until 1964 when he left the country.

Alec Wanless, who had been secretary of the Durban branch and secretary to the NIC, had to relinquish both posts when he was charged with theft of union funds in July 1958. When Dr Ron Press was banned in 1960 a textile worker of ten years standing, Don Mateman, became general secretary. He held this position until July 1964, when he too was banned. His experience as a worker in the textile industry helped him in negotiations with the employers.

Mateman realised that the union's failure to organise African workers in the cotton section, in mills in border areas, directly and adversely affected the wage levels of coloured and Indian workers throughout the industry. Legislation which effectively segregated and isolated African workers, police surveillance, pass laws and all the other measures that applied specifically to Africans were preventing the union from fulfilling its task of improving the conditions of these extremely poorly-paid African workers.

In 1966, when the union came to negotiate a new agreement for the blanket and flock workers, the employers refused to continue to adhere to the principle of equal pay for men and women on the same work. The union had always been proud of the fact that in all previous agreements it had been able to force the employers to pay the same wages regardless of sex or colour. After the NIC had failed to negotiate an agreement, an arbitrator was appointed to settle the dispute. His award granted the employers the right to pay future female employees 20 per cent less than the rate paid to men.[6]

The workers at Lancashire Cotton Corporation, New Germany, outside Durban, though unorganised went on strike in January 1964 because of low wages. Because there was no trade union the Department of Labour interceded on their behalf but, as can be appreciated, failed to conclude an agreement. The firm closed the mill and dismissed all 500 workers. After

Collection Number: A3393

Collection Name: Bob Hepple Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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