

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

Re: PEM - 24

101 Alteryn Mansions
Corlett Drive,
Illovo, Johannesburg
July 22, 1954

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Although the enclosed letter is largely about the Nationalist Party's attempts to gain control of trade unions in South Africa, there are several other aspects of life in Nationalist South Africa that I felt it necessary to emphasize in order to answer the question, "Why do the Nationalists feel they must gain control of the trade unions?"

These aspects are matters of long standing and are presumably well-known to students of South African life. But I had such a hard time finding cogent, pressing reasons for this particular phase of the Nationalist reign that I was forced to dip into the long-range ideology and policy of the Nationalist Party. Collected in one place and put down in black and white they present a startling picture.

This move to split existing trade unions and strengthen government control over them is more than just an attack on a few obstreperous, anti-Nationalist organizations. It is a combination of anti-British sentiment, the desire to preserve the "Afrikaner entity," the fear of economic power in non-European and un-Afrikaner hands, the threat of Communism and the necessity of developing a labor movement sympathetic to the Nationalists. I think you will find all of these elements clearly indicated in the story of the attempt to Afrikanerize the trade unions that I have outlined in the latter part of the newsletter.

In one part of the letter I have gone out on a limb. By that I mean that I have taken a couple of Parliamentary speeches of B. J. Schoeman, the Nationalist Government's Minister of Labor, and have quoted them in fairly close proximity to an excerpt from Hitler's Mein Kampf. I thought long and hard before doing this but finally decided that the similarity between the speeches and the book was so striking that I would be more at fault leaving it out than including it. There is the risk that in including it I have given the impression that Schoeman (and, through him, Dr. Malan) are budding Hitlers. This is not the impression I meant to convey. I meant to point out that in order to fulfill the long-range Nationalist promise of an independent republic outside the Commonwealth policies like Hitler's seem to be necessary.

In connection with this letter it might be interesting to point out how well the Nationalists have been keeping their election campaign promises. In "The Road to a New South Africa," the Nationalist Party's list of aims and policies, it is stated under "Organization of Labor," "The Party considers the present system of wage control and the regulation of working conditions as ineffective, and proposes that the system of collective bargaining be supplemented by a system of State responsibility, exercised by means of the Central Economic Council and the Labor Council. . . The Labor Council will exercise effective control over the appointment of officials by, and the general activities of, the trade union or workers' organizations."

Sincerely,



NOT FOR PUBLICATION

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

FBM - 24
Nationalists vs.
The Trade Unions

101 Alteryng Mansions
Corlett Drive,
Illovo, Johannesburg
June 30, 1954

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue,
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers :

I remember, in the years after the war, spending day after summer day in New York hiring halls of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. I was waiting for a ship with an empty Ordinary Seaman's berth so that I could spend my vacation on the high seas and (as it later turned out) on the cobbled streets of Oslo and the rubbled streets of Le Havre. The men in those hiring halls were almost always tough, big-fisted, big-bellied men who were always ready to help--even a green "college punk" like me. They wore their trade-mark, a dirty white cotton golf cap,¹ at a cocky angle and you couldn't help but feel that if they didn't wear a don't-tread-on-me tattoo they were out of uniform.

My mind goes back to those days just now because of a piece of labor legislation that has just passed its second reading in the South African Parliament--and I remember the telegraph-Truman-to-veto campaign that went on in those hiring halls during the days of the passing of the Taft-Hartley Bill. What, I asked myself, would those sailors have said and done about a bill that threatened to split their union; seriously curtail their right to strike, deny them access to the law courts and prohibit their giving support to a political party through Political Action Committees? And what would the members of the National Maritime Union have said if they were told they would have to establish an entirely separate branch for their Negro members? For these are some of the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act that are pushing up blood pressures in many trade union offices throughout South Africa.

The most important section of the Amendment Bill is one which encourages the split-up of big unions into little unions. The Bill says that if there is a mixed trade union² in existence in a specified area representing workers in a particular industry, that union can be broken up into three smaller unions each independent of the others. One union will consist of 51 per cent of the white workers in the industry; a second union will consist of 51 per cent of the colored workers in the industry; and the third union will be what is left of the original union. To encourage such a split, Mr. Ben Schoeman, the Nationalist Minister of Labour, has included the provision that the workers who break away will be entitled to stick their thumbs into the original union's financial pie and pull out their share of the plums to take with them to the new union.

There are other unusual provisions of the new bill which do not fit comfortably into the pattern of modern industrial legislation. For instance, the Bill practically prohibits labor unions from taking an active part in politics. They may not affiliate with any political party. No political contributions may be made except from a special fund subscribed to voluntarily by members of the union. As for strikes,

1. Called a "Lundberg Stetson." Harry Lundberg, popular secretary of the Union, started the fashion.
2. A mixed trade union consists of white and colored members. Native trade unions and Native trade unionists are not recognized officially, therefore mixed unions do not include them.

there can be no strikes during arbitration of a dispute or for one year after an award has been made. And, if there should come a time when a strike would be legal, the new Bill requires a two-thirds majority, not merely of those attending a strike meeting, but of the entire membership of the union.

An important provision of the Bill deprives trade unions of access to the normal South African law courts. Instead, matters of dispute will be taken to a new industrial tribunal consisting of five members appointed by the Minister of Labor. Of these five, only one is required to have any legal training. The Bill gives tremendous power to the Registrar of Trade Unions (also appointed by the Minister of Labor). He may, if he suspects some sort of shady behaviour, conduct an inquiry into the internal affairs of any union in absolute secrecy--and then make recommendations. Following which the Minister can publish the recommendations in the Gazette and they automatically become law. The Registrar must refuse to register any new mixed trade unions. Inspectors, appointed by the registrar, may enter at any time the place of employment of union members and examine records and question anyone.

The obvious question that follows is Why? The obvious answer would be that there must be continual running sores of labor trouble--strikes left and right, lockouts, mutinous labor leaders dashing into Native locations with lorry-loads of Bren and Sten guns and a general lack of a sense of responsibility among trade unionists. The situation is very much otherwise. The last major strike in South Africa was in 1922, among mineworkers on the Witwatersrand. Admittedly it was a bitter struggle, complete with broken heads, volleys of rifle fire and attacks on scabs, but its very bitterness contributed a great deal to the relative industrial peace that has existed since then.

For, as an indirect result of the 1922 strike, legislation was passed in 1924 (amended in 1937) which set up efficient machinery to unravel employer-employee tangles. With industrial councils made up of representatives of management and the unions as the heart of the machinery, labor relations have run smoothly even though South Africa is going through an industrial revolution.

Perhaps, comes the second obvious conclusion, it is a racial matter. This strikes a little closer to home except that there is no need to pass trade union legislation for Native trade unions that are prohibited to exist. But, because of the inherited "liberal" tradition of the Cape Province, colored workers are permitted to join European trade unions and to bargain collectively. One may say, without fear of contradiction, that the Nationalist government does not like this state of affairs. It is definitely not what is meant by apartheid and there are instances where colored workers, willing to accept lower pay, have forced Europeans out of semi-skilled jobs. This is the aspect of economic integration that the Nationalists fear most--hence a provision in the new bill which allows the Minister of Labor to say what industries are for white people and what industries aren't. It also accounts for a provision which rules that trade unions which now have mixed memberships must hereafter establish separate branches for white and colored.¹

1. In industries where management is required to pay a fixed rate for a job regardless of the worker's skin color, colored workers had been taking over jobs formerly held by whites, thus disproving the old "equal pay for equal work" theory--the theory that if European and non-European must be paid the same rate for the same job the European will always be hired because he is naturally a better worker. This protection of the white worker also shows the bad effect the Nationalist administration is having on white immigration. Only 6000-plus last year.

There is another angle which might explain the obvious fact that the Bill gives the Minister and his minions a great measure of direct control over the affairs of the unions. That angle is that Socialists and Communists have played an important role in the South African labor movement and are still, according to labor leaders I've met, very active. For instance, the Garment Workers' Union under E. S. (Solly) Sachs¹ was making substantial gifts of money to the South African Friends of the Soviet Union, Medical Aid for Russia and the Red Army Birthday Gift in 1948-49 when a government inquiry was conducted into the affairs of the Union.

That is not a very good recommendation to the majority of South Africans who are almost as conscious of the Red Menace as the junior Senator from Wisconsin. South Africa is almost a storybook example of the socio-economic set-up where Communism should flourish. People who are in a position to know have told me confidentially that branches of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress are executive-riddled by Moscow-instructed Communists.

This sounds like a nice, meaty reason for Mr. Schoeman to step in and do a bit of political controlling of trade union leaders--except that it has already been done. Under the Suppression of Communism Act, passed by the Nationalists in 1950, about 30 trade union leaders and several hundred other South Africans have been "named" by the Minister of Justice as Communists. As such they are required by law to resign all public positions, to keep away from public gatherings and to take part in no political activity. There are many other trade union leaders, I was told, who are living on borrowed time, waiting for the axe to fall.

The question still remains, Why? Miss Dulcie M. Hartwell, General Secretary of the South African Trades and Labour Council, had an answer to that question. She said: "Because the Government is a fascist government." The answer, of course, sounds much too pat, much too highly colored and much too obviously the product of deep prejudice. It is the sort of answer one might expect from the leader of an organization which, although it represents 85,000 members of 52 well-organized unions, was not allowed to sit on a ministerial committee considering the new bill because, as Mr. Schoeman put it, "they had rejected the (bill) in toto." It is the sort of answer one might expect from a woman formerly married to Solly Sachs and who, although now divorced from him, still feels a strong sympathy for the principles Sachs stands for.

The word fascist has been used so many times in connection with the Nationalist Government that it is beginning to sound a bit trite. But Miss Hartwell did not use the expression as a cliché and then drop it. She gave reasons for her point of view which certainly bear mentioning. For example, in 1942 Mr. Schoeman laid down the Nationalist Party Policy as it applied to trade unions. He was speaking in Parliamentary debate as a member of the Opposition. Said he: "I want, however, to touch upon a few of the main underlying principles (of the Nationalist Party). Firstly, we contend that wage control and wage fixation should be entirely in the hands of the State and that the power should be exercised by way of a permanent board with sub-divisions consisting of experts. . . Secondly, . . . self-government in industry has resulted in nothing else than continual bickerings between employer and employed in strikes and disputes. . . Self-government and collective bargaining should be eliminated from our economic life. It is, of course, essential that in conjunction with this the State should be responsible for the employment of all its citizens. In addition to that, of course, there should be a limitation

1. Sachs admits to being a theoretical Communist but denies membership in the Communist Party.

of profits. In regard to the non-Europeans, the unhealthy economic competition which is gradually arising and which will become more and more intense should be entirely eliminated. My Party maintains that this can only be done by fixing a definite quota for Europeans and non-Europeans in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled occupations in industry. . . . The people of South Africa want something entirely new, something radical, and it is for the government of the future to give the people a new economic order."¹

In introducing this sort of legislation, Miss Hartwell said, the Nationalists are trying to accomplish two things. They are obviously aware of the tremendous increase in economic integration. They are out to protect the European worker at all costs from competition by non-Europeans. They keep hopping onto political platforms and saying "there's no such thing as economic integration." Then they hop off and draft legislation aimed at stemming the tide.

And they are trying, as hard as ever, to extend Afrikaner control to include trade unions and the South African workers they represent in order to preserve Afrikaner "race" and culture.² Of course, the biggest source of material on up-to-date "race" and culture survival is Hitler's Mein Kampf. In his chapter on trade unions he lays down several rules. For example, he says "The National-Socialist movement, which as the goal of its activity has before its eyes the National-Socialist folkish state, must not be in doubt that all future institutions of this future state must grow out of the very movement. . . . Merely out of this . . . viewpoint, the National-Socialist movement has to recognize the necessity of trade union activity of its own. . . . National-Socialist unions, by integration of certain groups of participants in the national economic process, must increase the security of (the) national economy itself and strengthen its power by corrective elimination of all those abuses which, in their ultimate consequences, have a destructive influence on the national body, and which damage the vital force of the national community and with it also that of the state. . . ."³ Hitler goes on to say that in the National-Socialist union, there can be no strikes under the National-Socialist folkish state--that disputes must be handled by governmental bodies. And that there can be no other unions but National-Socialist unions. There seems to be a definite similarity between these ideas of Hitler's and the policy and actions of the Nationalist Party.

The only trouble with this set of rules for trade unions in South Africa is that there are very few unions here run by men sympathetic to the Christian-Nationalist principles of the Nationalist Party. The unions here were founded towards the end

1. House of Assembly Debates, Vol. 44, Column 4190, March 19, 1942.

2. An indication of the move to widen the gap between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking South Africans is a current campaign by an organization composed of inmates and descendants of inmates of British-run Boer War concentration camps. A circular, sent out during the past few weeks, asks members the following questions: Were vitriol, fine glass or hooks found in food given concentration camp inmates? If you were transported in an open train truck, were precautions taken by the enemy (the British) against unfavorable weather and were there any sanitary facilities? How did the soldiers treat you at capture and during transport to the camps? The questions also ask for particulars about the suffering and medical treatment of those who died in camps and the graveyard facilities provided.

3. Hitler, Adolf; Mein Kampf, Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1939, Chapter XII.

of the nineteenth century by artisans who came from Britain. South Africa at that time was a big sandwich with farms for bread and gold and diamond mines for meat. The Afrikaans-speaking population were almost all farmers (boers) and the diamond and gold mines were run by British interests. From that time until 1922, trade union development followed its normal, struggling course. There were strikes, there was bloodshed, there was a secret deportation of trade union leaders and there were the usual other features of a labor movement fight following the first World War.

In 1922, there was a bloody, strife-ridden strike on the Witwatersrand gold mines which, if it accomplished nothing else, pointed up the fact that there were many Afrikaans-speaking farmers who had been sucked from the farms by the lure of wealth in the mines and budding industries around Johannesburg. Hard-shell Afrikaners were horrified--not only had these young boers left the land, but they were actually cooperating with the British in British-dominated trade unions. That was certainly not the right way to go about setting up an independent Boer Republic.

In dealing with the movement towards a free, independent, Christian-Nationalist Afrikaner State, it is important to have some idea of the deep conviction that lies behind it. The guiding light of the movement is the Broederbond, a secret organization which combines religious (Dutch Reformed Church) men and political (Nationalist Party) men in the struggle to preserve Afrikaner culture and language in a republic outside the Commonwealth. The organization, with its secrecy, is like something out of a book by E. Phillips Oppenheim, but its influence is felt at all levels of Afrikaner life. It is widely known that many of the Nationalist Party M.P.'s are members of the Bond and it can therefore be assumed that ideological policies of the Nationalist Government are also those of the Broederbond.

The Bond was founded as long ago as 1918 and now has several subsidiary organizations which are not secret. Among these is the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond (The White Workers' Protection Society). Membership of the B.W.B.B. is confined to white persons only, who are members of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church. Two of the present and past members of the B.W.B.B. are Mr. Jan de Klerk, Secretary of the Nationalist Party, and Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the Nationalist Party Minister of Labor. The aims of the B.W.B.B. are: (1) that there should be a clear determination of which occupations must be reserved for Europeans and which for non-Europeans;¹ (2) that no undesirable contact between European and non-European workers should be tolerated in their employment; and (3) that mixed membership of trade unions of European and non-European workers should be prohibited.²

Another Afrikaans organization which has as its aim the solidifying of the mass of Afrikaans laborers is the Reddingsdaadbond (Society for the Act of Saving People). Established in the late 30's, its original purpose was to help the mass of poor white Afrikaners thrown out of work during the depression. Its purpose today is to give Afrikaners some control of the country's business which was previously in the hands of the British. At its organizational meeting, Dr. Albert Hertzog, son of the famous Afrikaner general and politician, attacked the British trade unions, declaring that they must be reformed and purified along "Christian-National" lines. According to a report in Die Vaderland, an Afrikaans language newspaper (October 6, 1939), "Dr. Albert Hertzog. . . pointed out that the trade unions in this country

1. This aim, included in the Constitution of the B.W.B.B., is provided for in the new Bill (Page 2, last paragraph).

2. The same can be said of this aim, also taken from the B.W.B.B. Constitution.

collected £290,000 annually. He wished to embrace these organizations in the objects of the Congress and so put an end to trade unions 'completely ruining the Afrikaner in the cities'. . . He warned against the control of trade unions by foreigners who had considerable financial interests at stake. The Congress approved Dr. Hertzog's proposal that a 'large portion' of the Reddingsdaadfonds (Funds for the Act of Saving People) should be used for the reforming of the trade unions." Mr. Nico Diederichs, leader of the Reddingsdaadbond, is also a member of the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond and is the Nationalist Party Member of Parliament for Sandfontein.

It is obvious from this brief rundown of Afrikaner organizations that it is the object of the Broederbond, its associated organizations and, consequently, the Nationalist Party, to break up the present trade unions which are of British origin and replace them by workers' societies favoring Afrikaner Nationalism. Before the Nationalists came into power in 1948, there was only one way to accomplish this-- work on the unions directly, both from within as members and from without as Afrikaner cultural organizations. The first union affected by the campaign was the Mineworkers' Union which had absorbed the heavy flood of Afrikaans-speaking farmers forced from the land during the depression.

The Mineworkers' Union was easy pickings. The attack began with the organization of a group known as "the Reformers" under the above-mentioned Dr. Hertzog. It included many members of the Union and its aim was "to convert the existing Mineworkers' Union. . . into an Afrikaans Christian-National trade union."¹ It conducted smear campaigns against the leaders of the Union which resulted, among other things, in the murder of Charlie Harris, Secretary of the Union, in 1939 by a young Afrikaner miner. By 1947 the Reformers were in a position to call a strike of about 6000 mineworkers, not against the management of the mines, but against the leaders of the Union. The strike lasted seven weeks and, when the Nationalists came to power in 1948, an election was held under government supervision. An out-and-out Nationalist, D. E. Ellis, was elected Secretary of the Union.

When the Reformers turned their attentions to the Garment Workers' Union in the Transvaal they found, much to their expense, that they had caught a Tartar. On the surface the Union looked ripe for the harvest. According to Solly Sachs, then General Secretary, the Union is made up of Afrikaner women, for the most part. The pattern of attack was the same as that used on the Mineworkers' Union. Sachs and other leaders of the Union were slandered and attacked in Nationalist-supported "workers' publications," rumors were spread about their political affiliations and attacks were made in Parliament. Sachs, however, fought back. Beginning in 1939, he fought a series of court actions for slander and won seven cases and was awarded damages totaling £4700. The more he resisted, the more support he gained among Union members, especially in the Johannesburg branch.

Most of the opposition was centered in the Germiston branch of the Union and, during a meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall in 1948, Germiston dissidents broke into the meeting and started a riot. The Union asked the Nationalist Minister of Justice to take action against those who broke in. Instead, the Minister of Labor appointed a commission to look into the affairs and administration of the Garment Workers' Union. The commission produced quite a report, full of Communism and sly
1. Part (a), Rule 3 of the Reformers' constitution.

digs at the personal integrity of Sachs--but there was nothing definite enough on which to base action against the Union's leaders.

Under the Suppression of Communism Act, Sachs was removed from office in May, 1952. Sachs could not take this action to court--the Suppression of Communism Act denies those "named" as Communists access to courts of law. In April, 1953, elections were held by the Union to fill the positions of President and General Secretary. There were two candidates for each position--one was what you might call a "Sachs" candidate and the other was an avowed Nationalist. The voting for the presidency was 12,570 for the Sachs candidate, 3569 for the Nationalist. In the election for General Secretary the Nationalist candidate got 3679 votes, the Sachs candidate 12,970.

The Reformers are also trying to split the Building Workers' Union and, in the Leatherworkers' Union, have gone so far as to ask for separate registration as a trade union. Under the new legislation splits, such as that in the Leatherworkers' Union will be recognized as legal--and, what's more, desirable. In view of these attacks, the Nationalist reasoning behind the clauses in the new Bill which encourage the splitting of present Unions into small sections becomes more clear. The difficulties experienced by the Reformers in the Garment Workers' Union must have made it plain that minority groups seeking power in well-organized unions have little hope.

I asked Miss Hartwell what action the trade unions could take to oppose the Bill. Her answer was precise. "Nothing," she said, "outside of a general strike." And in further conversation she made it clear that a general strike is impossible. "For one thing," she said, "the majority of the workers in South Africa are Natives--and their organization is so poor it amounts to nothing. Think of it--out of 644,000 European workers in the country, more than 400,000 are organized into trade associations of one kind or another. Out of 1,238,000 non-European workers, 53,000 are organized--and only 15,000 of those are Africans. And, of course, for an African to strike is strictly illegal (under the Native Labor (Settlement of Disputes) Act).

"Another thing, any legal strike we ever attempted would be impossible under that two-thirds majority provision. Ben Schoeman certainly knows how hard it is to get a two-thirds majority.¹ It doesn't sound so unfair, just reading it on paper. And it wouldn't be impossible to get a two-thirds vote from people actually at a meeting. But think how impossible that two-thirds majority gets when you have to get it, not only from the people at the meeting, but from all the people who are members of the Union but who just couldn't make it that night. A lot of times we're lucky if we can get two-thirds of the Union members to a meeting.

"The only good thing to come out of this whole mess," Dulcie said, "is the unity it's given the trade union movement. We'll all have to comply with the law, but the reaction to it has been so strong that splinter groups in the unions will find it hard to get that 51 per cent they need to break away. We needed something like this to wake us up."

Dulcie's comments don't speak very well for the organization and drive of South African trade unions. Her organization is considered the most militant of

1. The Nationalists needed a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of the Assembly and the Senate to pass their latest attempt to place Colored voters on a separate roll from Europeans. They failed to get it.

all labor groups in the country. But while Dulcie was sitting in her office saying "nothing," Harry Lundberg of the S.U.P. would have organized a parade on the capitol steps, had signs printed, had sound trucks rented and would have put pickets outside the homes of Schoeman and Dr. Malan.

Dulcie just sat in her office, made helpless little sounds and sighed. There are several reasons. One, the fact that there hasn't been a need for organized action in the past 30 years has had a softening effect on labor organization. Two, there is now a generation of South African workers who don't know what a strike is and who think that sort of rowdy action is not respectable. And, three, the Minister of Justice has removed a good many of the strong, experienced leaders of the South African labor movement. A unity committee has been organized, but it is weak and aimless.

It is obvious that the Government will have little trouble in getting the Bill past its third reading during the next Parliamentary session. It will give the Nationalists almost complete control over labor unions when it is used in conjunction with the Suppression of Communism Act and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

The Bill has now been referred to a Select Committee. Although the Unity Committee, mentioned above, has said it will oppose the Bill in this committee stage, it is just talking through its collective hat. Once a bill has passed its second reading it is considered passed in principle and the only changes Mr. Schoeman will allow anyone to make are changes in phrasing and organization.

The answer to the Why? of this labor legislation seems to lie in two long-term policies of the Nationalist Party--separation of the races on a permanent basis and the desire to establish an Afrikaner republic outside the Commonwealth. The trade unions had the insolence and the bad luck to stand in the way of both these policies. Hence the campaign to emasculate them.

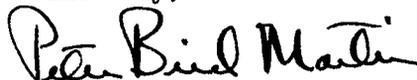
Basing the campaign on the threat of competition by non-European workers was a stroke of genius on Mr. Schoeman's part. In fact some unions have given every indication of being willing to go along on Schoeman's hayride. As Dulcie put it-- "They'd give up the trade union itself if it meant keeping the coloreds out of their hair."

Perhaps Mr. Schoeman is right--perhaps there is no longer any need for trade unions. But it seems to me that if he is right it is not because the South African economy has become perfect but because the Government has taken over so many powers that used to belong to trade unions that the Government has made trade union organization pointless. Since everything he predicted has come true, I will let Mr. Schoeman sum up for me. "We do not want a dictator state. We are not going to tolerate a dictatorship. We propose State interference and State control on a large scale, but we avoid regimentation. What I am saying can be taken as the policy of my party. . . We propose to divide the labor force of South Africa into three parts. . . . Whites, colored and Natives. . . In actual fact therefore, there will be three systems of minimum wage. Now it will be said at once that under such a system the white workers will be driven out by the non-European (because the employer will employ the cheapest labor). . . It is the policy of my Party, however, to provide for a large degree of State control. . . It will be laid down how many whites, coloreds

and Natives are to be taken into each particular occupation. We are going to substitute a system of individual responsibility together with a system of collective bargaining by a system of State responsibility. . . . In place of the present unsatisfactory wage board there is to be established by the Government a Chief Wage Board (industrial tribunal). . . . to be presided over by a Judge. . . . The members will consist of representatives to be appointed by the State, . . . representatives appointed by employees and representatives appointed by employers. . . . It will be entrusted with the fixing of wages and the regulating of working conditions. It will fix quotas for Native, Colored and White industrial workers. It will reclassify jobs as skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled. . . . But the fact remains that collective bargaining except for domestic matters will be done away with altogether. This system of collective bargaining has outstayed its usefulness entirely."¹

Wait until John L. Lewis hears about this!

Sincerely,



Peter Bird Martin

1. House of Assembly Debates, Vol. 45, Columns 82-86, January 19, 1943.