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PREFACE.

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Comrade Bill Andrews who is a legendary figure in the history of the South African liberation movement was born in England. He was a very handsome, imposing personality, highly principled and modest. All who knew him were impressed immediately by his iron will, self-discipline and unrelenting championing of the working class. In spite of the fact that at one time he was an elected member of the House of Assembly, Bill was not concerned with the idea of holding high positions in bourgeois society. As a result of his principled stand against the class enemy, Comrade Bill was arrested and imprisoned on numerous occasions beginning with the 1922 Rebellion right up to the time of the Sedition Trial after the 1946 mineworkers' strike. He died in 1948 at the age of 80. '

'He was one of the founder members of the Communist Party of South Africa in the early twenties and was a leading figure in the formation of the Trade Union movement.

Nobody else therefore is in a better position to explain the struggles in such explicit detail as Comrade Bill has done in this historical survey of the South African Trade Union movement. All the undercurrents, the growing pains and political tactics are eloquently revealed. And from it emerges the invaluable and clearest version we have of that period.

It is with this in view that the South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.) have decided to republish this series of lectures which should be studied extensively by all serious students of the working-class movement.

S.A.C.T.U., at this critical stage in the liberation struggle, are confident that the knowledge thus gained will add vital fuel to the effort to bring about the eventual downfall of the hated Apartheid regime in South Africa and usher in a new dawn for all workers in our country.

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FOREWORD

. No one is more qualified to write about the Trade Union and Labour Movement in South Africa than the author of this pamphlet, the veteran Trade Union and Labour leader, Mr W.H. Andrews. Those who are anxious to see the Labour Movement in this country grow in strength, must carefully study its history, examine the errors of the past, and learn to avoid them, maintain and revive those traditions of Labour which are calculated to inspire the younger generation coming into Industry with a spirit of confidence, determination, heroism and sacrifice. Many Trade Union and Labour leaders today are only too anxious to bury and forget the past so as to make it easy for them to tread the smooth and comfortable path of class-collaboration.

-For the mass of workers, however, this path of surrender to the ruling classes and the policy of cringing and crawling, of cowardice and treachery has already resulted in many defeats. The absence of a militant policy has brought trade unionism in South Africa to a state of impotency and unless the present policy is changed and changed very rapidly, complete disaster will inevitably follow. In this pamphlet the workers of this country are singularly fortunate in having the outstanding actor in the dramatic events which fill the annals of the Labour Movement of this country, writing their sequence. W.H. Andrews is no mere spectator or historian. The reminiscences recorded in this pamphlet are not the calm reflections of a retired Labour leader on the past events. He has devoted 50 years of his life to the Labour Movement, and for the past 35 years played a leading and in many instances the leading role in the struggles of the workers of this country, and, in spite of his 70 years, is still very active. .

'Many persons in the British and South African Labour Movement have risen from the ranks and have become leaders, secretaries of big mass organisations, Members of Parliament, and even Cabinet Ministers. What is important, however, is not the position which these people have attained, but how many of them have remained loyal to the class from which they come.

If W.H. Andrews has not reached the rank of Cabinet Minister or does not hold today an important Government post, it is not due to lack of ability and intelligence. Everyone knows, and even his most bitter enemies will admit it, that Bill Andrews is one of the most able, energetic, dignified and logical has produced, and if he has not become an immortal public man, like some of his earlier colleagues it is solely due to his honesty and to his loyalty and devotion to his class. He chose the thorny path of struggle rather than the easy path of capitulation. W.H. Andrews did not confine his activities to that section of the working-class - the skilled artisan - from which he comes. Every section of workers, skilled or unskilled, European or non-European, English or Afrikaners, have at one time or another called upon his services, which he gave willingly and unstintingly. Nor did

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dig he confingrhis tireless energy to the mundane everyday Trade Union struggles of the workers, but almost from the very commencement of his activlties in the Movement, realised clearly that if the - workers are to obtain their full economic, social and political rights the present system of capitalism must be changed to Social sm, which cause he has ccnsistently and determinedly championed. '

In 4912 he was'elected Labour Member of Parliament for Georgetown (Gerhiston), and for the four years he sat in the House he was ' .t' con5ldered one of the best speakers. When the Imperialist war of 1914 broke out, the majority of the readers of the Labour Party went over to the side of the enemy. w.H. Andrews, then Chairman of the Party, refused to go over to Imperialism, but remained loyal to the principles of International Socialism. with a number of others, he formed the International Socialist League, and in 1912, when the Communist Party of south Africa was formed, he was elected secretary, and editor of the official organ of the Party.

In the struggle of the workers on the Rand in 1922, w.u. Andrews played a leading role. I remember distinctly that Sunday in March, when he addreSSed a meeting of about 5,000 strikers.in the City Hall, Johannesburg. The strike had been in progress for two months and the reactionaries convened the meeting to hold a ballot and thus split the workers' ranks. Bill Andrews had no official _ standing, but the workers saw in him an honest, able and courageous leader. He was asked to speak. He smoke. A superb orator, Bill Andrews is able to combine in his speeches cold legic with pathos, . simple language with eloquence, dignity and humility; His speech was a_call to action for the workers - a real insniration. The. reactionaries faded out of the oicthre and Bill Andrews took the lead. The general strike was proclaimed - two months too late. A .few days later he was arrested.

The history of the struggles of the workers of South Africa, and more particularl' the earlier period, is rich in heroism and sacrifice, in devotion.and courage. In spite of the blunders committed.and the defeats suffered at the hands of a greedy, cruel class of employers, the glorious struggles of our predecessors were not in Vain. The sacrifices which the workers have made in the past have not been wasted, as some disapointed people maintain. Tens of thousands of workers enjoy somewhat fair standards of wages and conditions of work today, due to the determined struggles of the past. The vast mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in this country who have entered industry in recent years, and who are compelled to Work for starvation wages at present, will learn clearly from the events recorded in this pamphlet that they will secure for themselves a better life only by means of determined struggle and not by placing their faith in false prophets of which we have an; endless variety. ' ' '

. But just as we are prouc of out cowntless heroes, the brave men and women who throughout the years have unflinchingly fought the battles of the workers, so we are equally ashamed of those who before 1922, and more partiCularly after 1922, haVe followed a policy of surrender and who'have been instrumental in tutning the National 3 .o/

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National Trade Union Centres and other organisations of Labour, into servile tools of a reactionary and oppressive Government. If the history of our Movement teaches us nothing else, it at least teaches us that the higher standards which the Various sections of workers enjoy to-day can be traced to the heroic struggles of 1907, 1913, 1914, 1922 and not to the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, which have only served to sap the vitality of the Trade Union Movement. ' A

At the present time, when the reactionary classes of this country are raking up all sorts of 'heroes' and 'heroic traditions' in order to divide the people on racial lines and to enslave the masses of workers still further, a bounden duty rests upon us in the Labour Movement to remember our own heroes, to erect monuments to them, and to revive our own traditions of glorious struggles. By so doing, the masses of workers in this country will learn that their salvation lies not in tribal division, not in following the policy of the reactionaries ruling this country and their lackeys but in complete working-class unity free from chauvinism and racialism, and in a policy of militant struggle. They will learn further that in former years, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking workers fought side by side, with a common purpose in a common struggle.

There is very little or nothing written about the Trade Union and Labour Movement and its problems in this country, and W.H. Andrews has rendered the Movement an invaluable and lasting service by placing on record, even if only in a sketchy way, the past struggles, and by pointing out some of the shortcomings in the Movement. The people in the Movement, more particularly the younger ones, must now follow up the work started by Mr Andrews. Many of our young enthusiasts are inclined to dilate too much upon other countries, but pay little or no attention to our own problems. This is entirely wrong and will not help the Labour Movement. By all means let us study fully the events in other countries, but the most extensive knowledge of the workers' struggles in the other countries will not help the Movement here if we fail to attend to our own problems and to apply the experience of other countries to them.

In conclusion, I want to state that my references to the author are not actuated by any personal motive. I am very deeply indebted to Mr Andrews for the great deal that I have learnt from him. My eulogy of him in this Foreword is due to my conviction that he! more than anyone else in the Labour Movement in this country, embodies those qualities (honesty, loyalty, courage, tact, logic, dignity and determination) which all other workers in the Movement should emulate. The man's life and work are in themselves worthy objects of study and emulation. I know full well that without my raising the name of W.H. Andrews will live and be held in the highest esteem when the names of our so-called great public men have long been forgotten or held in contempt as servants of imperialism or misreaders of the workers. E.S. SACs,

General Secretary,
Garment Workers' Union.
- January 1941.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN SOUTH AFRICA

By ".171. .ANDBWS .

FIRST LECTURE.

Introductory.

Living as we now do in the midst of world-shaking events, the trade union movement in south Africa may appear a very tame and humdrum subject of study. 'Nevertheless, the story of trade unionism in South Africa is very interesting; even dramatic; but only the most sketchy attempts-have hitherto been made to place on record the circumstances of its rise and development.

The first and, I believe, the only attempt to make such a record is contained in a little book published in 1926 by the late ones Trembath and Ernest Gitsham, a tutor for the Durban Workers' EGUCational ' Association. The book is called 'Labour Organisation in South Africa,' and was printed in Durban. Most of the information in the book was undoubtedly supplied by Trembath, who was a Typo. Union man, and an active trade unionist and socialist. He collected a great quantity of press cuttings and other data during his residence in cape Town, Kimberley and Durban which, if still in existence, should be a Valuable - source of information on the Subject. Trembath's book'naturaliy.gave considerable prominence to the doings of his own union, and possibly undue weight to hapnenings in the Cane and Natal, where he lived and o worked.

I shall perhaps be accused of olacing emphasis on the movement in the-Transvaal. If so, my justifiCation (or excuse if you will) must be that over forty years of my life was snent on the WitWatersrand, where I took an active part in various trade union and labour political movements. Furthermore, it will be conceded, I think 5 that trade unionism in the Other provinces is, and has .always been, but a pale shadow.of the movement in the TranSVaal.

The mining unions are entirely located on the Witwatersrand and most national unions have their headquarters and the bulk of their membership there. For exanple, my union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, has a membership of about 8,000, of whom 6,300 are in the . Transvaal; the others being seattered over the three other provinces and Rhodesia.

The figures of a number of other unions would probably show similar proportions. . .

Early naZs. ' 00

It is customary to date the birth of' trade unionism in South Africa in the eighties of last century; 25% it is obvious that the movement could not get started until modern ind&strialism had to some extent become established. It was therefore the discovery of diamonds.;.../

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diamonds in Kimberley, and later of gold in the Transvaal, which made trade unionism possible and even inevitable.

The period prior to the South African War need not detain us too long. In the eighties and nineties a number of British unions opened branches in Durban; Kimberley and Johannesburg (notably the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in Cape Town in 1881); branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers were opened in Durban, Kimberley and Johannesburg between 1886 and 1893. My connection with the Trade Union movement dates from 1890. I took part in opening the Johannesburg branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1893. The Printers in Durban and Maritzburg formed unions in 1888. These unions united in 1898 with other local "typo" unions in the Transvaal, Cape Colony and Rhodesia, and formed the S.A. Typographical Union, which was probably the first permanent purely South African Union to come into existence. The Rand Engine Drivers organised in 1895, but it was not till 1902, under the leadership of the late Senator Peter Whiteside, that the S.A. Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association became fully established. These early unions were looked on with hostility by the employers and had to fight for their existence; and a number of local actions took place, such as the Rand Engine Drivers' strike for a 48-hour week and higher wages in 1889; the Printers in Durban in 1895 for a minimum wage of £1 17s 6d per week; and a number of building workers' disputes. The strike of all European workers on the Randfontein gold mines where I was working in 1897 was my first experience of a strike in South Africa -

The management of the mines put up a notice on April 30th informing the workers that wages would be reduced on May 1st by amounts varying from ten shillings to twenty shillings per week. 8

Mass meetings were held that evening and the workers decided not to start work in the morning, and with some difficulty the engine drivers and miners, who were equally affected, were induced to take similar action. A myth has since grown up that Kruger's name to the effect that he was always on the side of the poor man and the worker. This legend is not borne out by his action on this occasion. At the request of J.B. Robinson, the owner of the mines, Mr Paul sent a strong force of his Zouave, P.S. (mounted police) with orders to clear every striker and his family out of his house and off the mining property within twenty-four hours. This was ruthlessly carried out, my wife and myself being among the victims. An attempt to spread the wage reduction policy to the Kruigersdorp area failed, as the men there, after listening to a denunciation of strikers from Randfontein, decided to stand down and the management withdrew the notices. Within a week or so, the Randfontein men were back at work on the old conditions.

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De Beers Draws First Blood

It was a little earlier in this period that the first example occurs of the readiness of the South African employers to use terrorism and murder as weapons to defeat the workers. (We shall have to note a number of similar occurrences as we proceed.) -

In...../

En Kimberley, an organisation of workers called 'the Knights of Labour' existed in the eighties (see Appendix A), and it was during its brief existence (in 1884 to be exact) that the management of De Beers Mine decided that every European miner should be searched for stolen diamonds on leaving work every day. The miners and other workers refused to submit to this indignity (although they made no objection to the native workers being searched). They left work and marched in a body to the Kimberley Mine to persuade the miners there to join them. They were met by the Mine manager, who shot one man dead and an ambush which he had prepared and posted opened fire and killed four more and wounded forty others. There was naturally a great uproar and an enquiry took place, but neither the manager nor his hired gunmen were hanged for murder, nor even prosecuted.

The only result was that the attempt to search the European workers was abandoned and has never been tried again.

In 1890; two of the founders of the 'Knights of Labour,' 'Tug' Wilson and Kelly, were charged and convicted of blowing up the offices of De Beers Mines. It was probably a frame-up, but they got eight months' hard labour and the 'Knights of Labour' ceased to function shortly after this blow.

It may be said with safety that only after the South African War did the trade union movement, as we know it, take firm root. Thousands of disbanded soldiers and others were unable to find work and realised that all the fine promises about liberty became a joke when the fighting ceased. They had no political rights and naturally turned to industrial organisation. In 1902, the Transvaal Miners' Association was formed, later to become the S.A. Mine Workers' Union.

A policy of linking up the isolated branches of the overseas unions under South African executives was also adopted and carried out. These executives in most cases were located in Johannesburg and still remain there.

Trades Councils.;

Following the British and Australian model, bodies known as Trades and Labour Councils were formed in the chief towns. The Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council was probably the most important of these bodies. It arose out of a strike against task work on the Crown Reef Gold Mine in 1902. A Joint Mechanics' Committee was formed to carry on the strike, and after bringing the strike to a successful conclusion, it was decided on my proposal, supported by Peter Whiteside, to call delegates from all the unions and form a permanent body.

This was done, and for a number of years the W.T. and L. Council and similar bodies in other South African towns did a great deal of useful work of a co-ordinating, organisational, and agitational character. Their functions were political as well as industrial, but their funds were small, consisting of small per capita fees from affiliated unions, who jealously safeguarded themselves (by withdrawing their delegates if necessary) against any attempt of the...../

the councils to interfere with the jurisdiction of the union executives.

The Councils; for a period, selected and ran labour candidates for Town Councils and such other bodies as existed, organised labour Day celebrations, etc. The first Labour Day demonstration in Johannesburg was held on Good Friday; 1904, (It was not until some years later (1919)-that 1st May was fully recognised by the workers as Labour Day.) It is on record that De Beers Company in '1905 destroyed the Kimberley Trades Council by the simple expedient of sacking all the delegates who happened to be employed by that benevolent company. It is interesting to recall that one of the victims was the Hon. Walter Madely, the present Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, who was thus attracted from the lathe and fitter's bench to a political career, which has twice landed him in office as a Cabinet Minister.

Railway Circular No. 111t

In 1904, the Transvaal and Free State were under the direct control of the British Colonial office with Lord Milner as Governor. The railways of the two ex-republics were run as one system known as the Central S.A. Railways. J! '

The General Manager early in that year issued a circular notifying the employees that after July 1st all war bonuses and other allowances, would cease. As this meant a serious cut in earnings, a strenuous campaign of opposition was launched. It became so formidable that the Railway Board, under the chairmanship of Mr Patrick Duncan, the present Governor-General, decided to appoint a commission, five to represent the railway daily paid staff and five the administration and private employers, to enquire and report to Lord Milner on the situation. I was elected to represent the Transvaal artisans on the commission which sat in Bloemfontein under the chairmanship of Sir John Fraser, a prominent Free Stater. '

After a fortnight's discussion, the commission agreed that all allowances should be added to wages, which should be raised to 205 per day for artisans and drivers throughout the two provinces, and other grades in proportion. Hours were fixed at eight and nine per day for artisans and drivers respectively and ten per day for guards and the daily paid running staff men. Lord Milne: accepted the report, which took effect as recommended from the 1st July. The effect of this was that the wage cuts which had already taken place from that date were restored plus the increases recommended by the commission, involving no less a sum than 530,000 in back pay for the Free State men alone. The Transvaal men, whose wages were higher than the Free State men, gained less in actual cash, but had the satisfaction of avoiding the proposed cut of 4s per day and of raising their Free State fellow-workers to the Transvaal level of 205 per day. Lord Milner called it a great victory for the men, as undoubtedly it was.

Federations and Labour Parties:

In 1907, the Transvaal and Free State were granted responsible government by the British Parliament. It became obvious that the Trades..-/

Trades and Labour Councils, being local bodies, could not adequately handle either political or industrial questions which extended beyond their sphere of operation. -

Consequently, there came into existence Labour Parties in the different provinces to handle the political side of the workers' movement, and later on Industrial Federations were formed to deal with the purely trade union work, first on a provincial and later on a national scale. In consequence of this specialisation of functions, the Trades and Labour Councils gradually faded away. The first Industrial Federation was formed in the Transvaal in 1911 and was called the Transvaal Federation of Trades (later becoming the S.A. Industrial Federation). Its life was short, coming to an end in 1922, but it played an important part, as we shall see, in the Trade Union movement during that hectic period. The whole of the period under discussion, 1912 - 1914, was one of considerable working-class activity, both industrial and political. It would take too long even to mention the numerous strikes and other important events, which occurred in the labour world. Dilution of Labour in Mines.

But one occurrence, the Rand Miners' Strike of 1907, deserves some attention, as it had important results which were probably unforeseen by either parties to the dispute.

The dispute was over the question of the number of rock drills each white miner should run. The mining companies said three, the men said one; the companies also wished to reduce wages about 15 per cent. The real question was, of course, how to convert the underground native labourer into a native miner and the European into a supervisor of the natives. - a

There was a good deal of sabotage during the strike, blowing up of machinery, and a hotel at Boksburg. There were some casualties; one or two of the Miners' Association Executive were tried for murder, but the evidence not being conclusive, they were acquitted; General Botha and Smuts, who had just been returned to power in the Transvaal partly by the votes of the British miners and other workers, showed their gratitude by calling on the British troops, who still garrisoned the country, to drive the miners' pickets off the properties and miners back to work. The miners lost the strike. It was during this strike that Dr. Kruuse called meetings of unemployed Afrikaners and poor whites and told them: 'Now is your chance to get down the mines and earn to be miners.' They took his advice in considerable numbers and from that time the proportion of Afrikaner miners increased until to-day probably ninety per cent of the European miners are Afrikaners. The Chamber of Mines welcomed this departure on the principle of divide and rule. But they miscalculated, as we shall see later on; the Afrikaans workers joined the unions and in future industrial struggles were among the best and most determined fighters. St. I. UggJC-e000a/

191.

-Struggle for Saturday Half Holiday.

In 1908, De Beers Consolidated Mines again comes into the picture.

-The De Beers mechanics were told in October that year that the Saturday afternoon holiday would be abolished. The men refused and stood out against the proposal, which was finally abandoned by the Company, after a three months' struggle.

This lock-out, for strictly sneaking it was not a strike, presented some rather unusual features. When the mechanics took their stand, the De Beers Company announced that, whatever the result of the dispute, none of the strikers would be reinstated. Under these circumstances, it was decided by the strike committee and the unions concerned to ask the men to remain in Kimberley, and to pay them fairly substantial strike pay on condition that they assisted wholeheartedly in a continuous campaign against the policy of De Beers Mines. The men loyally carried this out. I was national organiser of the A. S. Engineers at the time and remained in Kimberley throughout the dispute, and, with the able and enthusiastic support of James Trembath and the strikers, organised a regular series of big open-air meetings, two or three every week, which were attended by large crowds of Kimberley workers and other citizens. All the 2 available prominent labour and trade union leaders from the Transvaal and Natal were brought along to provide variety and keep up the interest. A municipal election was contested by one of the strikers, W. M. Queen, and he narrowly missed election against the nominee of De Beers. A continuous discussion on Socialism and Trade Unionism was kept up in the local press, pamphlets dealing with the labour movement were broadcast with the result that after three months' agitation De Beers, to get rid of us, climbed down and restored the old terms of work, including Saturday afternoon holiday. But none of the union men who had carried on the gallant struggle ever got their jobs back in Kimberley and, as often happens, others reaped where they sowed.

For:
Perceval on Natal Railways.

In 1909, a spontaneous strike of the Durban Railway Shop men against piece work spread right through the Natal Government Railway System in which I, as organiser of the A. S. Engineers, took an active part, but after a month the men returned to work unconditionally, leaving 400 of their number on the streets. This strike had a rather unpleasant sequel. Public protests against the victimisation policy of the Natal Government was so strong that, to save its face, the Railway Administration decided to take a vote of all the men who had returned to work on the following question: Are you prepared to work short time (44 hours per week) in order that the victimised men may be reinstated? With others, I strongly urged the men to vote for the 44 hours on the ground that a reduction of hours was more important than wages, which would inevitably be adjusted to the shorter week. The voting resulted in a big majority against the proposal, thus condemning the most militant fighters to a further period of unemployment.

General.....1/

General Hertzog Protects Scabs. .1 wv_l 7"_,j

In 1911, the Typo. Union had their last important strike. It started in the Cape Times Printing. Works over non-union labour and spread to other printing offices in Cape Town. It lasted eight weeks and is noteworthy because General Hertzog, the Minister for Justice in the first Union Cabinet, permitted, indeed encouraged, the importation by the Masters Printers of a large number of strikebreakers from England to defeat the South African workers, an example of class being a more potent influence than nationality. I was on the strike committee-representing the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, whose members came out with the Typos, in this dispute. At the same time, the Johannesburg Tramwaymen were on strike. The feature of this strike was the action of the authorities in resurrecting an old Transvaal Law of 1894 which made it an offence for more than five or six persons to assemble in any street or public place.

Meetings held in defiance of this order were broken up brutally by police armed with pickhandles, etc. Two Tramwaymen were charged with placing dynamite on the tramlines and kept incommunicado for some time; they were ultimately tried and acquitted. At the trial it came out that the whole thing was a frame-up, the chief witness for the Crown being the real culprit, who was provided with a Government job for his services. .

I, with two others, was summoned during this strike for addressing one of the illegal meetings in Johannesburg, but having been sent to Cape Town by my union to help the printers, I was unable to appear in court. The case was, however, dismissed.

In 1909, the Transvaal Industrial Disputes Act was passed, providing machinery for conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes, but, like the present Industrial Conciliation Act, it gave little satisfaction to the workers.

Strikes became more frequent, bigger and more embittered. The climax was reached in 1913 - 1914.

Rand Mine Workers' Strike 1913.

The 1913 strike started in May over the same question as the De Beers strike of 1908. A handful of underground mechanics on Kleinfontein Mine in Benoni were ordered to work the same hours on Saturday as on other days. They refused to forego their Saturday afternoon holiday. (One of them was the same B. J. Brown who was interned in Johannesburg a few months ago.)

The Miners' Union and the Transvaal Federation tried to effect a settlement, but the mine management declined to deal with what they called 'outside' bodies. The result was that all the Europeans on the mine ceased to work. Again the Federation and the Miners' Union worked for peace and endeavoured to confine the dispute to the one mine. They succeeded for about four weeks. But the mine workers were in a militant mood, particularly when the mine was fenced.../

fenced and guarded like a fortress to protect the scabs who had been smuggled inside in considerable numbers.

One after another came out in sympathy, until on July 4th a general strike of all workers on the Reef was declared. Among those who were prominent in spreading the strike was Archie Crawford (who later became secretary of the Federation), George Mason, and Mrs Fitzgerald. Meetings were held continuously all along the reef, culminating in a mass demonstration in Johannesburg on the afternoon of July 4th. At the last minute, when thousands of people had assembled on Market Square, Johannesburg, they were confronted with an order from C. Hofmeyr, the Mayor of Johannesburg, to disperse, under the old Republican law already mentioned, which prohibited more than six people assembling in a public place.

c

Police and Pick-handles;

Large forces of foot and mounted police and two squadrons of the Royal Dragoons were held in readiness, and before the huge crowd was aware that the meeting had been prohibited the police and military were amongst them charging the unarmed crowd with pick-handles and swords. Infuriated crowds later in the day burned down part of the 'Star' newspaper office and the railway station and stopped all traffic on the local railway. The next day was Saturday and crowds gathered, some outside the Rand Club, which was alleged to be defended by Chamber of Mines men. The dragoons started indiscriminate firing on all and sundry, killing about twenty and wounding many more. Few of the victims were miners, and in fact some were women and children. There is little doubt that shots were also fired from the Rand Club on the people in the streets, and it is alleged that the first shots came from this headquarters of the Rand magnates. The whole reef was in an uproar and the people vowed that they would burn down Johannesburg during the night. But realising the seriousness of the position, the Prime Minister, General Botha, and General Smuts asked the Federation President, Andrew Watson: the Miners' Secretary, Tom Mathews, J. B. Baig, of the A.E.U., and one or two others to meet them at the Carlton Hotel. There an armistice was agreed upon and signed by the two parties over the head of the mining magnates, who had gone into hiding and could not be found. The terms provided for reinstatement of all strikers, removal of the scabs, and no victimisation. a

The scabs were removed, but were compensated at the rate of £300 each by the Government. On the other hand, hundreds of strikers found, in spite of the promise of no victimisation, that they were on the black list when they reported for work. South African Railways Strike 1914.

Botha and Smuts had, however, overplayed their hand and had fallen in badly. But Smuts determined to have his revenge. He did not wait long. In January, 1914, the railway men were irritated by threats of wholesale retrenchment, and Peutsma, the general secretary of the National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants...../

hervants, threatened to call a general railway strike. There
15 a strong suspicion that Podtsma was playing into the hands of
Smuts. In any case, Poutsma obtained the rather reluctant consent
of the Federation to support him, and on January 12th, 1914,
he declared a strike of all railwaymen throughout the Union.
The mine and other workers loyally supported the railwaymen. But
Botha and Smuts were prepared. 'About 70,000 police, defence
force men and armed Burghers took possession of the Witwatersrand
and other important centres. Martial law was proclaimed on the
15th, and the strike was over in a week, the railwaymen surrendere
ing unconditionally. Hundreds of trade union leaders and others
were thrown into prison, including Creswell, M.P., then the '
leader of the Labour Party, who had issued a manifesto
supporting the strike. Colin Wade, Labour Provincial Councillor
for Germiston, was arrested and held in jail for a month
without charge or trial under an old Republican law. Botha
and Smuts had retrieved their reputations. But, strangely
enough, they had overplayed their hand again;

The Degortationstv

In the dead of night, nine strike leaders, including Poutsma,
were taken out of their prison cells, rushed by train with
blinds drawn under armed guards to Durban, and bundled aboard
the 8.8. Umgeni, which at once put to sea and made straight for
England without touching at any South African port. The story
is well known. On arrival in England, the deportees were
lionised and huge demonstrations took place all over the
British Isles, at which the deportees were the central figures.
In South Africa, the people were thoroughly aroused, and when
Smuts brought his Indemnity Bill before Parliament, the six
Labour members, of whom I was one, took advantage of the opportunity
to thoroughly ventilate the grievances of the workers, keeping
the House sitting for what is, I believe, still a record
sitting of the South African Parliament (from 2.15 on one day
till 6 p.m. on the following day). '

The effect of all this was seen in the swing over to the Labour
Party of Vissers of the voters. Labour won two more Parliamentary
by-elections and in the Transvaal Provincial elections which
took place later on in the year the Labour Party members of
the Transvaal Provincial Council rose from three to twenty-
three giving them a complete majority on the Council. Everyone
was convinced that at the Parliamentary elections in October
the Government would be defeated by Labour. But then came
the war

The Indian Workers Take Action.

But before saying this period, & is necessary to mention the
remarkable movement of Indian workers which took place in Natal
in 1913. It was partly political, but its significance lay in the
fact that the strike weapon was used to remove a political
grievance.

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' Indian labourers who refused at the end of their Period of indenture to renew the contract were required by a Natal law to pay a tax of L3 per annum, which they resented. Under the leadership of Mr Gokale and Gandhi, they started a passive resistance movement - in effect a strike - to continue until a definite promise was received from the Government that at the next session of Parliament the tax would be removed. The response was overwhelming. Not only on sugar plantations and coal mines did the men down tools, but cooks, waiters and other town workers in Durban also came out in sympathy. Attempts to arrest the strikers on some Natal estates led to the usual South African tactics of shooting the workers. 'A' number were killed and wounded by the police, but the movement was successful, in so far that the obnoxious L3 tax was abolished. It was in connection with this agitation that Gandhi led his 'non-violent' army of men, women and children from Durban to the Transvaal in defiance of the law prohibiting Indians to cross the Transvaal border without permission. He and Polak were imprisoned, but Smuts was forced to come to a compromise with the Indian people which became known as the 'Gandhi Agreements.'

Trade Unions Support the War.

The Great War changed all this, and Smuts staged a comeback into public favour in the elections; which he won on the war issue. I lost my seat in the Georgetown division of Germiston on the same issue; Having decided to spread the war to South Africa by invading German West and East, Botha and Smuts needed friends. The Nationalists having gone into rebellion, they, 'Botha and Smuts, looked to the trade unions and the Labour Party for support and at once invited the denortees to return to South Africa. - Poutsma soon after became National Secretary of the South African Party, which gives colour to the suspicion that he had played Smuts's game in forcing the 1914 Strike. Another denortee, Archibald Crawford, became secretary of the Transvaal Federation of Trades, which soon after changed its name to the S.A. Industrial Federation. From being a violent revolutionary, Crawford rapidly changed his policy and tactics and modelled his policy on that of Sam Gompers, Secretary of the American Federation of Labour, and Appleton, of the British Federation. He urged the unions to keep out of Labour Party politics, avoid strikes and collaborate with the Government of the day and the employing class generally and the Chamber of Mines in particular. During the war the unions, in return for their support of the war and their new policy in 'peace in industry', were given certain concessions. Instead of being treated as enemies, as had hitherto been the case, their officials were now flattered and sought after by the employers and the Government. Trade unionism 'of the right kind' now became fashionable. In fact, the 'closed shop' principle was adopted by the Chamber of Mines, some important municipalities and private employers, and thousands of new members swelled the ranks of the unions. The cost of living rose rapidly and Crawford was able to obtain a number of wage increases...../

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increases which Stfegthenethhe workers' faith in his policy of negotiatiOn as againSt militant action, although strikes were not .unknownteVeh gurihg?the war heriod; t ' wH-ti -e

The Class Struggle Resumed-s ? I: ' Vtie X ex h.; tt.; pup m

But soon after the war had come to an end, these hanhy aonditiens were threatened. Wages were attacked and reduced faster than the cost of living declined, and again the waikers Were cemnelled;lin defiance dfFCrawfdrd and the Fedeggtjon to take direct action.t hIanactgfthe,eeriod'1918gi 22 was the moSt stormy in the history of the Seuth African Trade Union movement. .During 1918, there were strikeg'ofhhrinters, miners, municipal engineers; ironmoulders, and a succeQSful three months' strike of the Transvaal building workers for a44-hour week. ' " W'tiw h t - - , I ' h

lh January, 1919; the'first important native tradegpnion (the H Industfiiai ane commercial Workers"Union - the I.C.U.) was formed. I will deaI with'this'mbre'fully when we come to consider hoan. European t:3de'uhiohs.tTheVmilitancyEof.the workers increased, no ,doubt,partlY:ih sympathy With What,was-hapbening in Europe and," wpartipulliarly;thegRuSSian,RbelUtioh. 'w M4 ., ? h3

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New methods ahd_tactics began to be advocated and-adopted. For Hexample, ih Maren, 1919, the Pretoria Trwnwaymen.Went on strike; As they appeared to have_reached a deadlockwa interviewed the ' strike committee on behalf of the International Socialist League - (now Q;P.), and Suggested that they should take nossession of the Power Station and man the trams and run them in defianCe of the 'TQWnthqheil, thus removing the grievance of the general Dublic and forcihg the hand of the Municipal Council. After thcusding jthe matter, the eqmmittee said h: was a good idea, but got me further. The same month; the Johannesburg Municinal Mechanics and Tramwaymen cam. out :n steihe on the question of retrenchment. At a mass ;.Q;v meeting Of the strikers.in.the Town Hall, at which vaas invited ""t to Speak, I put the same nronosition as-I had done at Prethia,:t with a very different result, The great audience took up'the, hidea entusiastically and within a quarter of an hour the ' pbWer station was at work and the trams were running, to the gzeat delight of the humbler citizens of Johannesburg. The 'stfike committee, under its chairman; the late-J.T. Bain, formed itself into a board of control, took possession of the Town Hall, and held its meetings in the Council Chanber. With Bain in the _ Mayor?s chair; everything was running smoothly withihran hour and the TOwn Council Was homeless and_helpless. The AdminiStrator of the Transvaal and Ministers of the Crown hurried t9 Johannesburg. and interviewed the self-appointed Board bf Control and'the crest-fallen Town Councillors, and by assuring the workers that neither retrenchment nor victimisation would take.place, persuaded them to vacate the Town Hall and hand it over to the much-humbled Town Council; A similar situation arose in Durban'edrly the following year over the victimisation of an official of the Municipal Workers' Union. A strike was called and a Board of Control took charge...../

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lhfcharge for One daerWhen the official was reinstated.

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The Native Workers Begin to Move
.rAt the end of 1919 and beginning of 1920, the native workers weret
ln motion, Eight thousand dock workers in.Cane Town downed tools '
and succeeded_lh getting an increase in pay. In February, 1920 .
70,000 native miners en the Rand'Gold'Mihestxme out on strike %or
higher wages and the right to be employed on skilledkwork; Over
twenty mines.were affected by the strike. The Government and the
Chamber of Mihes at once mobilised all the forces to defeat the Nativea
-- workers. ,Being ieeenturedtlaDOurers, they had comnitted a nenal
offence in striking.
The European workers and Trade Unions gave no support whatever to
the natiVe strikers.
The strike lasted for a week and was but down with the usual Dolice
measures of vicienee ard terror, '

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't-Strike succceeded gtrikeni johannesburg Engineers for 44 hours.- The
twhole-of the Rhode5lan railways were stophed and the men wan their
CaSe;- Tramwaymen in East London and DUrban, Barmen and Barmaids, and
' Engineers in Durbary_even the Engine Drivers for the first time in
their history struck work in August and, nerhaps most remarkable of
w_'all, the'Scuth African Society of Bank Officials had a cne-dav strike
in Johannesburg during December fer increased pay and secured.
-their demands.

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tPort Blizabeth_gassacre of Native Workers. , ;7 in
Again the native workers moved into the battle, this time in Port
'Elizabethn Thai: leader? Masabalalay was arrested and a erge
number of natives quite neaceably assembled near the Phlice Station .
Without warxirg7 Whooting began and white civilians rushed for
guns and revorvers. Over twenty native workers were killed'and
many wounded? -Not one white rah was even seriously injured, and no
one was Dunished for this cowazdly and"lawless attack.
The Rand Revolt, 192g.

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The culminating noint of this period of trade union militancy was
the 1922 General Strike. It began on the Transvaal coal mines on
New Year's Day against a propOSed reduction of 55 per day. Within
two or three weeks, the strike spread to the Witwatersrand gold
mines, the Viztoria Falls Power Statibns, and to'Municipal power
stations and ether wotkers all along the reef, all of whom were
threatened by E fhdpcction sf wages. In addition to a substantial
reduction in wageerf all workers, the Chamber of Mines intimated
that in future itiwould alter the contract system on the mines,
tj.which in effect meant the rptrenchment of several thousand .
h). European workers and their replacement by native workers; also certain
work which had hitherto been done by Euroheans would in future be
fsyperfonmed by native'wbrkers; _lhe wages of the Eurooean workers
r anthdfghld mines are at least seven times as much as thoese Of the
a
. African wdrhqrg. The Stiike was nurely a Eurobean workers' strike;

in fact; one of the slogans was: 'No departure from the mining regulations,' which confined certain work on the mines to 'Europeans (the Colour-Bar). The strike was orderly; pickets, under the name of commandos, were formed to prevent scabbing and to keep order at meetings. But the Government was looking for trouble and had drafted large forces of police into the Transvaal and had prepared martial law regulations. General Smuts, on the 13th February, called upon the mines to restart, promising protection to strike breakers. On the 14th February, Percy Fisher, Harry Spendruff, Geo. Mason, Ernest Shaw and myself were arrested and charged with inciting to 'Public Violence.' I was then Secretary of the Communist Party and Editor of 'The International,' We were released on bail on February 22nd; The pot began to boil, some skirmishes took place between police and wickets, and some hickets were put in Boksburg jail. In the evening of the 28th February, a number of strikers assembled outside the jail and, to cheer the prisoners up, sang the Red Flag. They were fired on by police, and three were killed and others wounded. The funeral of the victims at Boksburg was attended by thousands of men and women from the Reef and the surrounding country. It was a quiet and orderly gathering, whilst the burial service was conducted by the Dutch Reformed Church, but clearly the people were deeply incensed. The Chamber of Mines renounced the Federation and refused to recognise it any longer as representing the men. Early in March, the Federation leaders prepared to throw up the sponge and decided to take a ballot for or against continuing the strike, and arranged for a mass meeting in the Johannesburg Town Hall to put the question before the strikers on Sunday afternoon, the 5th of that month.

The Workers' Commandos.

Meanwhile, the Commandos had been augmented. They numbered thousands by this time, some mounted, many ex-service men amongst them. They were drilling and were disgusted with the defeatism of their leaders and realised that the Government was determined to defeat them by force. At the great meeting in the Johannesburg Town Hall on the 5th March the Federation representative made a defeatist speech recommending that a ballot should be taken. I was asked by the Chairman (George Walker, an A.E.U. man) to speak next, and I denounced the ballot as a tactic to split the workers in the midst of a battle, and urged the workers to demand a general strike. My proposal was carried by acclamation, I, with other comrades, addressed large meetings all the rest of that afternoon and evening. The Committee of Militants or Committee of Action which we had formed was closely in touch with the leaders of the commandos who were all in favour of a general strike, and the committee advised them to bring in their commandos to Johannesburg on Monday, the 6th March, when a joint meeting of all the Union Executives would meet in the Trades Hall to consider the question of the general strike. They (the commandos) were early on the job on Monday morning from East and West Rand and central areas surrounding the Trades Hall and occupying all the streets leading to it throughout the day.

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The executives were virtually prisoners, but after a whole day of deliberation, during which the commandos remained faithfully at their hosts with almost nothing to eat, listening to an unceasing torrent of oratory from the Trades' Hall balcony, the chairman of the joint executives, Joe Thompson, announced from the balcony that the general strike had been agreed to. 'When does it start?!' shouted the commandos. Joe hesitated. 'Go back to the executive and find out,' shouted the commandos; 'or else they will not be allowed out of the building.' In five minutes Joe reappeared and said the strike is on now and will be conducted by a council of five; A storm of applause greeted the announcement and the commandos marched back to their districts tired and hungry but triumphant.

The Balloon Goes Up.

On Tuesday, the 7th March, all commandants were busy in their districts organising and making preparations for the storm which they knew would soon break. On Wednesday evening, the 8th March, a Council of War was held in the Trades Hall of commandants, with Joe Thompson representing the joint executive and myself the Council of Action. (Most of the Commandants had by this time become 'generals.') Afterwards the generals had a secret meeting in the Communist Party office, but even I was not allowed to this meeting. The generals and commandants returned to their posts, and the next day, Thursday, the 9th March, was perfectly quiet; On Friday morning, the 10th March, the storm broke and the Reef was ablaze from Benoni to Randfontein.

I was in my office with George Mason, Ernest Shaw and a few others on the Friday morning, when suddenly the police surrounded it, and plain clothes men rushed into every office in the Trades Hall and arrested everyone except the typists and the office boys. Two lorry loads of trade union officials, red, pink and yellow were rushed off under armed guard to the Fort and handed over to the jailer. The 'International' was smashed, the printing office of the Communist Party dismantled and its office raided by the police.

The rest is a matter of public knowledge. Police stations were stormed and police disarmed and made prisoners and Fordsburg police station burned down. A three days battle raged, particularly in Benoni (where the Miners' Hall was destroyed by a bomb), Boksburg, DunSWart, Brakpan, Jeppestown, Fordsburg, Booyssens, Vrededorp, Newclare and Newlands and other suburbs of Johannesburg. The men fought heroically, many were killed (some say 300) on both sides, but the forces of the Government were too strong and the people had few arms and no real plan.

Fisher and Spendiff, two of our Council of Action, were killed in the last assault on Fordsburg. Stassen, Hull, Lewis and 'Long' were hanged on a charge of murder. The three brothers Hanekom, Dowse their cousin, and Smith were shot in cold blood by the military; thousands were arrested; the prisons were crowded and special camps had to be made to accommodate the prisoners.

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The funeral of Hull, Lewis and Long (who had all walked to the gallows singing the Red Flag) was impressive; 50,000 people, followed the three bodies to the grave. Many were still handed out periods of imprisonment by the special courts, but the hangings and shootings ceased after this.

Although many strikes and disputes have taken place since those heroic though tragic days, it may be said that 1922 brought to an end an epoch in South African Trade Union History.

SECOND LECTURE.

Industrial Legislation.

One result of the defeat of the workers of the Transvaal in 1922 was a considerable shrinkage in the membership of most of the Unions, and a widespread feeling of hopelessness and defeatism.

The phrase on the lips of the majority of the Trade Union officials at this time was 'never again.' The Government under General Smuts took advantage of this sentiment and in 1924 passed the Industrial Reconciliation Act, almost without opposition. Most of the trade union officials, in particular Mr Stickland, then secretary of the Municipal Employees' Association, Mr H.W. Samson, M.P., President of the Tyne Union, and other Labour M.P.'s subverted the Bill.

In 1925, the Wage Act was passed and later on the Riotous Assemblies Act was amended, still further curtailing the liberties of the workers.

The Industrial Conciliation Act was ostensibly passed to provide a means of settling disputes and fixing wages and other working conditions without resort to strikes and lockouts.

In reality it was designed to make strikes illegal for all essential services, i.e., public transport, water, light and power supplies, etc., and in the case of other industries to provide machinery for conciliation boards, industrial councils and arbitration which had to be used before a strike could legally be entered into. In practice these provisions made a successful legal strike almost an impossibility.

Under the chairmanship of Advocate F.A.W. Lucas, the Wage Board, which was set up under the Wage Act, did slightly improve conditions in a number of small poorly paid industries, but after Mr Lucas had been forced to resign it became simply a government machine to keep wages at the lowest possible level.

Class Collaboration.

It must not be assumed that these measures arose out of the blue.

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The ground had already been prepared and a number of unions had adopted a policy of collaboration with the employers. we have been made familiar during the past year or two with the phrase 'fifth column.' In the class struggle the fifth column in the workers' organisations has always been one of the weapons of the employers. 'The control of the capitalist class of the means of life (the r jobs) enables them to bribe or intimidate a certain number of workers, and sometimes to bribe whole settlements of workers to betray their fellows.

For example, when, notwithstanding the opposition of the employers, a section of workers in a 'key' position becomes fairly well organised, the following tactics are often adopted by the employers:- After carefully sounding the leading men in the union, the employers put forward a proposition something like this: 'Why should we continue fighting and having strikes which result in loss of profits to us and of wages to your men? Let us negotiate an agreement, which will be binding on both sides for a definite period, and so avoid industrial strife and dislocation. 1. Trade Union officials, when well established and drawing comfortable salaries, do not as a rule want trouble, and hate strikes or any form of militant action; they eagerly fall for the proposals of the employers and agree to remain aloof from any attempt to build up militant Federations of Unions.' In the event of a strike breaking out in another trade or industry, they refrain from sympathetic action by their members and, even if not actively hostile to the strikers, they remain passive spectators (non-intervention policy). a . - '

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Privileged Trade Unions.

One of the first unions to adopt this policy was the S.A. Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, the members of which, in spite of its name, are confined almost entirely to the mines of the Transvaal. Under the leadership of the late Senator Whiteside, who became secretary in 1902, this union entered into an arrangement with the mining interests not to go on strike, but to conduct its business with the Chamber of Mines by negotiation and conciliation, and in 1916 the drivers reaped their reward by receiving from the Chamber of Mines a minimum wage of 23s. 8d. per day, provided they signed a contract for five years, thus cutting themselves off from all co-operation with their fellow trade unionists.

The drivers were 'key' men, and the mining interests knew that if the drivers left their engines all the underground workers would automatically have to cease work. Relatively attractive conditions were, therefore, secured by the Association. A system of certificates was adopted without which no man could become a winding engine driver. The union had representatives on the board which granted the certificates. No coloured person was granted a certificate. Continuity of employment was secured through what amounted to a labour monopoly in the hands of the union. This position continues to the present day and the drivers have rarely, and even then only half-heartedly and under great pressure, supported other mine workers in their struggles. They have never affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council.

Another...../

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Another example is that of the S.A. Typographical Union, which, as we noted in the first lecture, was established in 1898 by the amalgamation of a number of local unions. For the first few years of its existence the union was militant and fought a number of battles to improve its members' conditions. But its policy had undergone a change before the 1913 - 14 general strikes on the Rand, and in which its members took no part. On the contrary, in the Johannesburg 'Star' and 'Rand Daily Mail,' as well as in other printing offices, its members remained at work and continued to produce the daily papers which were putting out misleading reports and anti-working class propaganda.

In 1919, a formal National Wage Agreement was come to between the union and the Master Printers' Association, the most important members of which are the Argus Company and other newspapers; concerns, and in 1920 a National Industrial Council for the printing industry was formed. Since that date the union has been granted relatively satisfactory rates of wages for the Grade One men, but Grades Two and Three have not been so generously treated.

In the 1922 general strike, the Typo. Union again ordered its members to remain at work, but in this case the officials of the union went even further, as the following incident will show. It was at that time secretary of the Communist Party and editor of a paper 'The International,' which was the only paper on the Witwatersrand which whole-heartedly supported the strikers. Articles also appeared in the paper which criticised the action of the Typo. Union officials in ordering their members to remain at work in the Capitalist newspaper offices. In the course of the strike a deputation from the Typo. Union called on me at the printing office of the Communist Party and informed me that, if any further criticism of the Typo. Union appeared in 'The International,' the union would withdraw its members from our printing office. Comment is unnecessary.

The S.A. Trade Union Congress,

The S.A. Trades Union Congress was born of the necessity to find some substitute for the S.A. Industrial Federation, which had collapsed after the 1922 strike. As already noted in the first lecture, the tendency of the workers is to swing over to political action after an industrial defeat. This is what happened after the events of 1922, and the politicians, who had held aloof or secretly sabotaged the general strike, took full advantage of the workers' resentment against the Government. By means of an agreement between Hertzog (Nationalists) and Creswell (Labour) the Smuts Government was defeated in the 1924 election and the Pact Government was formed with Hertzog as Prime Minister. Three labour members were included in the Cabinet.

Colonel Creswell, leader of the Labour Party, became Minister for Labour and wanted some representative trade union body to give sanction to any industrial legislation that he might introduce, and to help him secure the smooth running of the Industrial Conciliation and Apprenticeship Acts. Amendments to the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1914, and a Wage Act were already under....

under consideration.

With this end in view, Creswell convened a meeting of trade union officials in Cape Town in 1924 and asked them to form a trade union co-ordination body. The meeting agreed and elected a committee to draft a constitution and to convene a meeting of trade union delegates to whom the draft constitution would be presented. The delegate meeting was held in Johannesburg early in 1925 and the Drafting Committee presented their report. It proposed that the new body should be called by the extraordinary name of the S.A. Association of Employees' Organisations and included a draft constitution.

A Surprise.

The delegate meeting, at which Creswell and his secretaries were present, adopted the report and proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The candidates for office had been carefully chosen beforehand, and Jo George, Secretary of the Reduction Workers' Union, was nominated for the secretaryship. I was present as a delegate from the A.B.U., having been elected to the S.A. Council of that union. To the surprise of the members of the meeting, I was also nominated for the secretaryship from the body of the hall, and on a ballot was declared elected. Frank Glas a communist was elected treasurer and number one left wingers was elected executive. One of the reasons for this unexpected turn of events probably was that, in defiance of the express wishes of most of the unions, J. George and others had been persuaded by Creswell to support the Riotous Assemblies Bill.

The Johannesburg 'Star' came out that afternoon with screaming headlines: 'Trade Unions captured by the Communists,' and predicted dire calamities if the unions supported the new co-ordinating body. In the evening session H. W. Sampson and others tried to have the election upset and a new ballot taken. I refused to withdraw and T. Bringas, who had been elected chairman, ruled that the election had been fairly conducted and the delegates had voted freely by secret ballot, and he declined to call for a further vote. It will be understood from the foregoing that the new organisation entered on a stormy path from its inception.

Compromise or Class Struggle?

There were two opposing parties on the executive, on which several unions were represented who had no intention of becoming affiliated, notably the Engine Drivers, Typos., Miners, Bank Officials, and Municipal Employees. They did not, however withdraw their members from the Executive, although, with the exception of the Typo Union, they contributed nothing to the funds. Very little money was received in affiliation fees during the first year and the infant organisation appeared unlikely to survive, as of course, having lost control, those responsible for its birth hoped would be the case.

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We struggled on, however, and laid down methods of work and a policy on important questions as they arose, such as the relationship with the non-European workers and the various legislative proposals. -

At the first annual conference the name of the organisation was altered to Trades Union Congress and a few small unions affiliated, but the Miners, Typos, Bank Officials, and Municipal Employees, etc., remained aloof and hostile. The T.U.C., however, made progress. During 1925 I was appointed a member of the Economic and Wage Commission and at a later date to the Saturday afternoon Holiday for Shop Assistants Commission, and was sent as workers' delegate to Geneva for two successive years, 1928 - 9. (As I relinquished any claim on the T.U.C. to satisfy whilst serving in these capacities, the Congress was able to meet its liabilities for office expenses and equipment, printing, etc.) The Conservative elements at the head of the non-affiliated unions, finding that the T.U.C. was carrying on in spite of this, changed their tactics. Reluctantly they decided to affiliate, one of the reasons possibly being in order to have some say in the election of the workers' delegate to the International Labour Congress, and so, the Typos, and later on the Miners and Municipal Employees, became affiliated. One effect of this was that the relatively liberal, not to say militant policy, which the organisation had adopted in its early years of struggle tended to become watered down.

The S.A. Trades and Labour Council.

From 1913 there had existed a local trade union body in Cape Town - called the Cape Federation of Trades. Notwithstanding repeated efforts, first by the S.A. Industrial Federation and later by the T.U.C., to bring about some form of co-ordination, the Cape Federation had doggedly refused to co-operate with those bodies. However, after interminable correspondence and interviews between officials of the two organisations, a joint conference was convened in Cape Town in 1931: the chairmanship of Mr Cousins, then Secretary for Labour.

At this conference, in the teeth of opposition from some leaders of the Cape Federation, an overwhelming vote in favour of complete amalgamation was recorded. A constitution was drafted and the new organisation was called the S.A. Trades and Labour Council. The Cape Federation, although a local body and much smaller than the T.U.C., was given half the representatives on the Executive. I was elected secretary and J. Briggs President. The Government, on receiving a report of what had been done, announced that the Council would in future be recognised as the channel of communication between the Unions and the Government on all national and international questions affecting labour.

It appeared that the long-standing breach between the Cape Federation and the Workers in the rest of the Union of South Africa had been healed. But no sooner had the delegates returned to their homes than it became apparent that the Cape Federation officials had no intention of carrying on with the decisions of conference.../

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conference. Mr R. Stuart, the Federation Secretary, resigned from the Executive, and within a short time the Cape Federation resumed its attitude of isolation and hostility to the organisation which its rank and file members had assisted to create.

Further attempts were made to bring about some form of co-operation, and after endless difficulties a joint committee of the two bodies was set up. It held one or two meetings and a joint memorandum on the organisation of the non-European workers was drawn up by the joint committee in 1927 (see appendix B), but the Federation officials stubbornly refused to co-operate further and a complete breach resulted.

The National Joint Committee.

In 1938, the present arrangement was come to, by which the Trades and Labour Council and the Cape Federation formed a National Joint Committee and the Council dissolved its Cape Town local committee and allowed the Federation a monopoly of organising the workers in the Cape district.

This compromise was made possible by a certain change in the policy of the Council which was the result of the affiliation of a number of conservative unions and a swing to the right of the craft union leadership. It may be noted that, after taking a prominent part in the compromise with the Cape Federation, the S.A. Mine Workers disaffiliated from the Trades and Labour Council. A National Joint Committee of eight was formed, consisting of four each from the Council and Federation. The reactionaries had now completely captured the organisation and, although there is still no real co-operation between the two bodies, an appearance of unity has been obtained. In any case, the Council has a policy almost as conservative as the Federation, particularly since the war started. Most of the former members of the Council were excluded from the Executive of the Council at the 1940 Conference by means of an amendment of the constitution which all the conservative unions supported, and which provided that henceforth the N.E.C. will be elected by a card vote and not by a vote of delegates.

Both bodies support the Government in all its war measures and frown on any militant action by the unions. The Council's policy of assisting the non-European workers to organise and recognise their full equality in the deliberations of the conference is now being attacked. In order to induce the Mine Workers' Union to re-affiliate, it is possible that a Colour Bar will be introduced. Thus the Trade Union Movement has revolved full circle. From the class collaboration of the S.A. Industrial Federation under Crawford during the last war to extreme militancy in 1922 which was reflected in the liberal policy of the T.U.C. and Labour Council until 1936. Since then the organisation has grown in numbers, but has become increasingly reactionary in policy, until at the April Conference this year we witnessed the spectacle of the reactionaries and Government yes-men altering the constitution of the Council in order to enable them to collar the

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the whole machine and to turn out those men who must still remain due to
the founders of the organisation in 1925.

Union in Secondary Industry.

We have now to retrace our steps a little and consider the new
forces which have entered the trade union movement since the Great
War. What are generally known as secondary industries received a
great fillip during the 1914 - 18 war period and have continued to
expand and enter new fields. Leather, Garment, Furniture, Sweets,
Textiles, Tobacco, Motors and other similar industries now employ
large numbers of workers, the majority of whom are Afrikaners
speaking or non-Europeans. They had little previous experience
of industrial conditions of labour. Inevitably they began to form
trade unions, and in several industries have made considerable
progress, notably furniture, garment, leather and transport workers.
Under able and progressive leaders, amongst whom Mr E.S. Sachs
is outstanding, these new unions generally adopted a militant
policy, and as a result of a long series of bitter struggles
have materially improved their working conditions. It is interesting
to note that in the debate on the attitude of the Trade and Labour
Council to the war at the 1940 conference, it was the delegates
from unions in the newer industries who generally spoke and voted
against the policy of unconditional support of the Government's
war policy.

The Struggles of the Women Workers.

There are tens of thousands of Women workers employed in the
Secondary Industries, usually under very bad conditions. During
the last ten years these trade unions, consisting mainly of women
workers, have shown a fine-fighting spirit, and waged many bitter
struggles to improve their conditions. 1.

Prominent among these is the Garment Workers' Union (Transvaal),
which organised a general strike in 1931 and again in 1932.
Thousands of workers struck work against proposed wage cuts. The
struggle of the garment workers in 1932 is an epic in this
history of the Trade Union Movement. For nearly two months
-thousands of young Afrikaner women workers waged a determined
struggle. Pirow, the Minister of Justice, mobilised all the
forces of the State against the workers. Scores were beaten up
by the police and jailed. Pirow even issued a banishment order
under the Riotous Assemblies Act against Mr E.S. Sachs, the
General Secretary of the Union, and others.

Although the workers were defeated, their spirit could not be
broken, and today the Garment Workers' Union is one of the most
militant and best organised unions in South Africa. This Union
has produced a group of very able and courageous Afrikaner women
who are playing an ever-increasing role in the Trade Union
movement.

The Textile, Furniture, Leather and Transport workers have also
waged many bitter struggles.

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ggjipnalism 19 the Unions.

In most unions the Buttreews, whether Afrikaans or English speaking, have found it 00551ul: until recently to works i harmoniously together. Since the rise of Hitler to power, showever, a change has taken place. Purely Afrikaans unions have appeared, such as the Spoorbond on the railways. The Miners' Union is torn with dissension on racial lines, and a struggle goes on in a number of unions to secure the kaadership for thinly veiled Nazi agents. A considerable proportion of the membership is influenced less by the trade union principle of working-class solidarity than by the antagonisms which are acute between-the Nazi policy of the Nationalist Republicans and the Government party led by General Smuts. .4

The Non-Euroggan Workers' Organisation,
But the most fundamental onublem still remains the relationship between the European and the non-European workers. We have already noted the early beginnings of mass action of the non-Ehropean ' workers - e.g. the Indian nass strike in Natal in 19133 The native miners on Randfontein mines were orevented during 1917 from working for five days owing to a strike of white miners. When the strike was settled, the Natives refused to go down the mines until they were oaid for the five days they had been compulsorily idle and won their case.

The most spectacular movement of the Native workers was, of course, the rapid rise of the Industrial and Tommerclal Workers' Union (I.C.U.) under the leadership of Clements Kadalie. Kadalie was a Native of Nyasaland and could not speak any of the South African Native languages. He addressed the audience in English and relied on interpreters to get his ideas across. His success was phenomenal. The Union started in Cape wan in 1919 and first spread intt the Free State, where one of its leaders, Maimsemang, agitat d Jar higher wages and was arrested. It was probably, "his 2:1a 5 ad the strike of the Cape Town dock labourers, already te'ernne h "2- . ' " inn its : "itial impetus. - .

In July, 1920, the movement had sufficiently developed to enable the first conventhn of ufrican workers in the history of the country to assemble in B10emf0ntein. Fifty delegates attended and various problems of organisation and propaganda were dealt with. A few weeks later a substantial rise in wages of 8s. per day was won by a section of the Cape Town dock workers without a strike. (The stevedores who obtained this vise are still organised in the Stevedores' Uninn;)' In Octobe; of the same year, the a Native workers of Port Elizabeth: wndec the leadership of Masabalala, demattcd 'n incgease Of waces and stopped work. The sequel was the coteabinnded shooting of many Native workers described in the tirst -ecture. But the moevement spread throughn out the Union, and tens of thousands of Native workers in all industries joined the Union in Natal and the Transvaal. In 1923, a Ngtnional Congress was held in Cape Town, after which thecoooooo/

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the headquarters were shifted to Johannesburg, where a well equipped office was established, and the Union published a monthly paper - the 'Workers' Herald'.

Policy of VI .C.U.

The constitution of the union showed evidence of socialist influence. It recognised the class struggle and the necessity of organising to overthrow the capitalist system. It aimed to organise on an industrial basis. In addition to increased wages and improved working conditions, the constitution provided for a number of benefits to members, such as legal assistance, sick, old age and funeral benefits. It established offices in every important town in the Union. Fees were 25. entrance and 6d. per week for men and half the amount for women and agricultural workers.

In September, 1925, Kadalie gave evidence before the Economic and Wage Commission and stated that the union then had 30,000 members, but only half of that number was in financial standing. In 1927, when he made application to affiliate the I.C.U. to the Trades union Congress, Kadalie claimed that he had 100,000 members. Probably this was an exaggeration. But in any case the movement made phenomenal progress during these few years and caused considerable uneasiness to the authorities. u

The Trades and Labour Council was frequently asked to assist the I.C.U. and was always willing to do so. For example, it was a joint deputation of the Council and the I.C.U. which interviewed the Postmaster-General in Johannesburg and later on Mr Madeley (then Minister of Posts and Telegraphs), about the bad working conditions and housing conditions of Native workers in the Post Office in Johannesburg. It will be remembered that Madeley's action in favour of the Native workers on that occasion resulted in a Cabinet crisis, and Hertzog forced Madeley out of the Cabinet, Mr H.W. Sampson obligingly taking his place.

Again in 1927, with other speakers; I addressed large meetings of Native workers under I.C.U. auspices. It was at one of these meetings that I advised the Native workers to learn a lesson from the Chinese workers, who had then reached the peak of their revolutionary movement. The speech was reported and was the subject of a heated debate in Parliament led by Mr Marwick, a Natal member. Various M.P.'s mildly suggested that I should be "laid-by the heels," "put up against the wall," and subjected to various unpleasant experiences. .

There were strikes of Native workers at the Government experimental farm at Onderstepoort (Baviaanspoort), near Pretoria. Laundry workers in Johannesburg, etc., which were assisted by the Council.

The affiliation to the T.U.C. was never consummated, and the memorandum on the subject (see appendix A) was adopted by the joint committee of the Cape Federation and the T.U.C. in 1928. This memorandum throws an interesting light on the attitude taken up by the trade union movement towards Native organisation at that date.

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Decline of the I.C.U.

By this time the I.C.U. began to show signs of disintegration. The funds were not carefully administered. There were numerous paid officials and offices to keep going. Numerous legal actions cast the Union large sums of money, ambitious schemes of farm buying and co-operative societies gave opportunities for doubtful practices. Kadalie himself had extravagant tastes. He paid a visit to Europe and appeared at the International Labour Conference at Geneva in; I think, 1927, where it appears that he created somewhat of a Sensation.

The membership became dissatisfied with the absence of real results, and when Mr Ballinger came out from England to teach Native workers to organise, he appears to have antagonised Kadalie and, so far from putting the Union into shape, he appears to have but hastened the process, already inevitable perhaps under the circumstances, of decay and dissolution. Kadalie still asserts that he is secretary of the E.C.U. and lives in East London, but the glory is departed and Kadalie has become a discredited and disappointed man.

But the mistakes of the I.C.U. have not been fruitless. For the past ten years or so a number of people, European and Native, have patiently worked on less ambitious lines to build up Native trade union in various industries. The difficulties are tremendous, but there are results to show. ' ' 't

It is, of course, true that there have been a number of non-Europeans organised in Cape Town for a number of years, but they consist of coloured men and women as a rule, and the Unions are largely dominated by Europeans through the Cape Federation, whose secretary stated a few weeks ago that 75 per cent of the members of the Cape unions are non-Europeans. The genuine Native union has a more difficult row to hoe. Although there is no legal bar to the formation of unions of Native workers, the special test under which they live hampers their activity in many ways. But, in spite of this, success has been achieved.

Membership of African Unions.

It is difficult to get more than a rough estimate of the number of Native unions, their membership and importance, but the following data was made available during the present year in respect of the unions in the Transvaal: h

Under the African Unions Joint Committee, the following unions are co-ordinated: - African Commercial and Distributive Workers' Union, African Laundry Workers' Union, African Bakers' Industrial Workers' Union, Dairy Workers' Union, African Printing Workers' Union; African General Workers' Union, S.A. Chemical Workers' Union, with a total membership of 19,920. '

; . Under the Non-European Coordinating Committee, the following unions are co-ordinated: - African Clothing Workers' Union, African Broom...../

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Broom and Brush Workers' Union, African Sweet Workers' Union, African Tobacco Workers' Union, African Rove and Canvas Workers' Union, African Hide and Skin Workers' Union, African Cycle Workers' Union, African Furniture Workers' Union, African Bag and Trunk Workers' Union, African Tin Workers' Union, African Metal Workers' Union, African Iron Workers' Union, with a total membership of 2,672 (say 3,000). . u

The S.A. Railways and Harbour Workers' Unions in Natal are composed largely of Indian members, but in the other provinces the membership is almost exclusively Native and numbers several thousand. t_ -...-' H

'-jQIt is probably a conservative figure if we place the number of Native workers organised in unions at 30,000.

Problems of Trade Unionism

Although what I have said has been in the nature of a continuation of the historical sketch given in my first lecture, nevertheless, I think certain problems of trade unionism become revealed in the course of the narrative. Of course, the first problem in all trade union activity is to get a substantial proportion of the workers in a given trade or industry to join the union, and then to get them to stick to it. ' But having done this and removed the more glaring injustices, the question arises of either accentuating the position of the 'satisfied' section, whose object is chiefly to maintain the 'militancy which brought those results and to continue the class struggle. '1

The tendency to adopt the former policy has generally proved almost irresistible when a union has reached a certain stage of stability. Every country has, of course, its special problems. Here we have the complication of the political cleavage between Afrikaans and English speaking workers, which projects itself in the SpoorbondghMtherkers Done.r Afrikaans Teachers' Union, etc; But these movements are only the South African varieties of the old device of all ruling classes: 'divide and rule.' '

In other countries we find Christian Trade Unions as against unions under social democratic guidance. Language and national difficulties are also not peculiar to South Africa alone,, Reduced to its simplest terms, the problem is to enable the workers to realise their essential unity of interest as workers and their equally essential antagonism to the system of society which creates the inequalities and hardships of which most of them are in some degree conscious. This result can only be brought about by much patient well-informed, self-sacrificing and sustained effort.

The most difficult and fundamental problem in South Africa is, of course, the relationship of the non-European worker, not only to the exploiting class, but also to his European fellow-workers. We have seen that, as various sections of workers become...'/

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become organised and show their capacity to stand on their own feet and fight for better conditions, they become recognised, not only by their employers, but by the older established unions as organisations to be treated with respect. '

But the policy of taking sections of workers apart from the rest and corrupting their officials can only be applied to a limited number.- Obviously the great majority cannot become a privileged class or-section. They must rely on their numbers and fighting strength. This is particularly true of the unskilled workers in general and the non-Europeans in particular. Hard as the road may be, there is no other path for them to tread but the path of organisation, -education' and disciplined mass action. They must become strong and then they will be able to demand justice and liberty. .

Organised Mass Action the Solution.

Their potential strength lies in their overwhelming numbers and consequent importance in agriculture, mining and industry, a generally. organised and ably led, these masses must make their voice heard; it is the task of all honest trade unionists and believers in social justice to assist in this task to which the best of the non-European workers have addressed themselves. wa ., It may appear (particularly to the non-European workers) that an almost impossible task lies before them. That before the , huge mass of African workers can be organised, instructed and. induced to move forward in a disciplined manner, generations_i must come and go. Let me remind them, however, for their encouragement, that, at certain periods in history, owing to various causes (the aftermath of a great war or perhaps with 'i s millions of unemployed and starving people), the masses begin to move almost spontaneously. The period of the I.C.U. may be called such a period, the 1922 strike was another. At such times the whole psychology of the workers appears to change' rapidly. Men who never opened their mouths in public before,; spring up and address vast audiences. Ordinary quiet and " retiring men and women develop initiative and even heroism. These are the times when an instructed, disciplined leadership is required. It is for these times we must be prepared.

Responsibility of Leadership.

Great strikes, like revolutions, are, only to a limited extent, brought about by leaders. In a sense they are elemental revolts against conditions which, although they may not be novel, are suddenly discovered by vast masses to be intolerable. The masses move. The leaders must guide (steer if you will). Only when . the ship is under weigh can the steersman function. Then, as the great vessel gathers momentum, it responds to his lightest touch on the wheel.

What is needed when the workers move are steersmen, guides, leaders. Men and women who know what to do and are honest y and fearless.h People who can estimate correctly the possibilities of...../

of the situation at any given moment and who will boldly lead the workers against their oppressors.

This is what the trade union movement, in conjunction with other working-class organisations, must prepare for. This is the leadership which must be created, perhaps years before an opportunity presents itself to function. Although the workers may not at present be willing to follow its advice, this leadership must be known to them, must keep close to them in their daily struggles. When the workers are moving to the attack, when they want a militant leadership, they will call for you. Then with mass enthusiasm, able and devoted leadership, a few days, even a few hours, may suffice to achieve a great leap forward towards a 'society based on justice and liberty for all.

APPENDIX A

Knights of Labour, IVE

'The noble order of Knights of Labour' was a secret society founded in Philadelphia in 1869 by a small group of clothing cutters. Their leader was Uriah Sa Stephens, a tailor, who had been trained for the ministry. Since it was a secret society it was able to grow in a period when open unionism in the United States was going to pieces because of the depression. Many craftsmen whose unions had collapsed formed locals of the Knights of Labour. But the organisation was open to all workers, white and black, men and women, skilled and unskilled, farmers and even some employers as the rules provided that 'any person over eighteen working for wages or who at any time worked for wages could join.' Even middle-class people could join, but the rules excluded 'any person engaged in the sale of intoxicating drink, lawyers, bankers, professional gamblers, and stockbrokers.'

The objects of the order was stated to be 'to elevate the whole labouring class through organisation, education and co-operation' - and further: 'We mean no conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary Capital - we mean to uphold the dignity of labour, to affirm the nobility of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow - we shall, with all our strength support laws made to harmonise the interests of labour and capital, and also those laws which tend to lighten the exhaustiveness of toil.' The 'Knights' believed in organised 'producers' co-operatives, and about two hundred enterprises of this nature were started, including mines, cooperage works, and mills, shoe factories, etc. These eventually failed. But the Knights also agitated for political reforms, such as tax on incomes, abolition of child labour, workmen's compensation, unemployed labour exchanges, weekly payment of wages, social insurance, eight-hour day, public ownership of railroads and utilities.

In 1886 the membership had grown from the original eleven tailors to 700,000, and had reached the peak of its power. This rapid growth was due to the militancy of the rank and file who translated into action the slogan of the order 'an injury to one is an injury to all,' who forced strikes and boycotts, in spite of the leaders, one of whom, Powderly, said: 'Strikes are deplorable in their effects and contrary to the best interest of the order. I shudder at the thought of a strike, and I have good reason.' Where the Knights of Labour succeeded, it did so largely in spite of its constitution programme and leadership; where it failed, it did so largely because of them.

In 1886 the American Federation of Labour was founded on a narrow craft basis, and the Knights of Labour gradually faded away.

APPENDIX. /

APPENDIX B

Trade Unions and the Native Worker.

' On December 8th, 1927, the I .c U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union) applied for affiliation to the Trades Union Congress. Before coming to a decision the question was placed on the Agenda of the S. A. Trades Union co-ordinating Committee at the request of Mr R. Stuart, and at a meeting of that body which was held in Johannesburg on December 28th and 30th, the following memorandum was drawn up and adopted. It was presented to a meeting of Executives of all affiliated Trades Unions which was convened on January 15th, 1928, to consider the memorandum as the considered opinion of the S. A. Trades Union Co-ordinating Committee:-'

'MEMORANDUM on the question of affiliation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' union of Africa to the Trades Union congress - to be submitted to the joint meeting of Union Executives with the Trade Union National Executive Council on 15th January, 1928.

'Gentlemen:

'The South African Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee having been informed that the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (I.C. U.) has applied to the Trades Union Congress for affiliation, and that the question will be discussed at a joint meeting of Union Executives with the National Executive of the T.U. C., desires to make some observations on the question of the relationship between the European Trade Union movement and the native workers in general and the question of affiliation of the I. C. U. to your Congress in particular.

'The fact that the Co-ordinating Committee is composed of representatives of organised labour in Cape Province and the Transvaal, and that its members are also conversant with labour conditions in Natal and the Orange Free State will, it is hoped, justify its action in presenting this memorandum for your consideration.1 .

'It is felt that a proposal so important to all sections of the South African workers as the affiliation of a native labour organisation which claims 100,000 members to the Trade union Congress should not hastily either be turned down or adopted.

'It is becoming increasingly apparent that the entrance of native workers in mining, commercial and industrial undertakings which has been a feature of South African life for generations, and which has become rapidly accelerated during the past 30 years, has profoundly modified and continues to modify, the outlook on life of large masses of native workers, not only within the Union of South Africa, but in the neighbouring territories. The native worker finds himself, very often performing work for which he would be remunerated in European countries and the United-States at a rate much higher than he receives in South Africa.

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'What is more important, the native worker often finds himself in South Africa doing identical work to that done by European workers, and receiving a very much lower rate of pay. Observant and imitative as he is, the native has assimilated some of the lessons taught by European Trade Unionism, and after several false starts, has succeeded in building up an important industrial organisation, important in size, but still more significant as an indication of the direction in which he will move in the future. 'Politically his status is that of an inferior, not a citizen. He has, with the exception of a small number (about 41,000 in the Cape Province) no voice in National and Provincial affairs, and, only to a limited extent in the management of his own reserves and locations, with the exception of Basutoland and the Transkei, where a very limited form of self-government has been accorded to him. In the Transvaal, Free State and Natal he carries a pass, and is at the mercy of any constable or subordinate official. With the exception of the Wages Act, he is not included in any industrial legislation excepting such legislation as is repressive (Colour Bar Bill, Native Administration Act). 'The native worker, therefore, sees the only way to self-expression in industrial organisation. 'Having reached this stage; in spite of the aloofness and in many cases hostility of the European worker and of the policy of ruthless repression by the authorities (Bulhoek, Port Elizabeth, Witwatersrand massacres), he asks for recognition at the hands of his European fellow-worker - his big brother, so to speak, so far as experience at any rate goes. 'What is the answer of the European Trade Unions? 'The European worker is haunted by the fear of competition by the great masses of native labourers with their low standard of comfort and consequent willingness to accept wages which to the European mean degradation, if not starvation. He knows instinctively, if not " by observation and reading that the employing class is ever anxious to exploit the weak, whether women, children, or natives, to the detriment of those workers who have painfully, through generations of struggle, attained to a higher standard of living. 'Naturally this nightmare of the abyss yawning at his feet induced him to demand protection even sometimes at the price of gross injustice to those weaker than himself. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and so the policy hitherto adopted has been one of 'keeping the native in his place' in order that certain of the higher paid jobs might be retained as the special preserve of the European worker. 'If this policy has proved successful there might be no need - outside the ethical aspect - to be discussing the question. the native worker constantly, if Mining has great extent into the hands of the native and cultural work has always been almost exclusively 'Such is not the case, however; - slowly, encroaches on these privileged positions. already passed to a great Indian workers. Agriculture performed" 00/ K

performed by the same class. 1., 7',

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, with the growth of industries and mass production, the highly-skilled worker is becoming a less important factor. He will never be eliminated, but the proportion of skilled to so-called unskilled and semi-skilled operatives is rapidly diminishing.

'On the other hand, in spite of all his handicaps, the native worker is slowly but surely pushing himself into the higher and more responsible branches of industry, trade and even into the professions (doctors, parsons, lawyers).

What is to be done about it?

'That section of the workers who are willing and able to take the longer view is already convinced that repression, segregation - either industrial or geographical - can only be partially successful, and then only for a time.

'They recognise that sooner or later the National Trade Union movement must include all genuine labour industrial organisations, irrespective of craft, colour or creed. The question is when and how? This brings us to the question immediately under discussion. Would it be in the best interests of the European and the native organisations to grant the application for the affiliation which has been made by the I.C.U.?

The first objection is that the 100,000 members claimed by the I.C.U. would on a card vote in any Congress outvote all the other Unions put together if a division took place, as is possible, on race lines:

It may be argued, with truth, that this difficulty might be overcome by mutual arrangement, such as reducing the number affiliated to very much smaller proportions. In any case, it is doubtful if the I.C.U. seriously proposed to pay affiliation fees on 100,000, which would be £5,000 per annum. Assuming that this was satisfactorily arranged and \$99 voting strength reduced to, say, 5,000, which could never, without the co-operation of some European Unions, dominate Congress, there still remains the danger that 'important sections' of organised labour which have affiliated in the near future will remain aloof, and also that some Unions which are now affiliated would secede. If this happens the European Unions would suffer, and the I.C.U. would receive no benefit, they would again be as they were - isolated. It is the considered opinion of the Committee, therefore, whilst, keeping in view the soundness of the principle that all independent Trade Unions and Employees' Associations should be linked, up in a National Co-ordinating body, and through the National body to the International organisation, that a considerable amount of propaganda is needed among the Union membership before affiliation can take place with benefit to all concerned, and it recommends the meeting of Executives with the N.E.C. to give careful consideration to these points of view.

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'There is, however, another question which deserves careful consideration.../

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consideration, and that is how far is it desirable, and, if desirable, possible to bring about periodical meetings between the two organisations for consultation on matters of common interest?

. 'These meetings would tend to inform both sections of their mutual difficulties and problems, and would pave the way for more formal relations in the future.

'It must always be borne in mind that the I.C.U. or similar organisations which may possibly spring up from time to time, will seek and find contact with Europeans and European organisations as their strength increases, and if the workers' organisations refuse to associate with them and give them the benefit of their experience and superior knowledge of the Trade Union movement, the native masses will find friends in the enemy's camp.

'The question ultimately is, are the native workers to be 'friends or enemies of the European workers? As enemies they will be used to drag us down as nearly to their level as is possible. As friends they may assist us to maintain and improve our position by demanding and securing wages and 'conditions-which will narrow the great gulf between the two sections, and thus remove the nightmare which oppresses the 'European worker of being hurled into the abyss of native wage and living standards.

(Signed) R. STUART,

W.H. ANDREWS,

Joint Secretaries

'The meeting which considered the memo was a very representative one, and also included several non-affiliated Unions. Each delegate was supplied with a Copy of the memorandum, which, after full discussion, was adopted, with only two dissentients. It was published in the Press at the time.

'It may, therefore, be claimed that at that date the memo reflected the opinion of the most important Unions in South Africa, both in the Cape Province as well as the Northern Provinces.

'At a later date (on January 7th, 1929), a meeting was held in Johannesburg between the T.U.C. Executive and the Natal Workers' Congress-(an Indian organisation), at which the Right-Hon. L.V.S. Sastri, G.P.C., 'Mr Ivan Walker; and Mr McGregor; of the Labour Office, Rev. Sigamony, and Mr Ballinger, adviser to the I.C.U., were present. a

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'The meeting lasted a whole day and fully discussed the various aspects of the relationship between European and non-European organisation. The most important decision arrived at is contained in the following resolution:-

'"That the representatives of the Trades Union Congress will recommend to their National Executive Council the advisability of advocating to its affiliated Unions the enrolment of all employees in their respective Unions, irrespective of race or colour. If this is not agreed upon, that alternatively the policy of parallel branches in the Unions be adopted."

'This resolution was adopted at the next ordinary meeting of the N.B.C., and copies were sent to all affiliated Unions for their information. In no case did a Union dissent from the recommendation.'