

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ACTIVITIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF
THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS ORGANISING IN THE
ZULULAND DISTRICT OF THE NATAL REGION.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I certify that the research project is my work and that all references and sources have been accurately reported.

Signature 

SYNOPSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

It will be recalled that in the past two decades or so, many Black trade unions organising in this country, especially those affiliated to COSATU, did not confine their activities to issues emanating directly from the workplace, but they engaged in broad socio-political issues. In the 1980's some Black trade unions formed alliances with political organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) in order to attain broad socio-political goals. Black trade unions regarded themselves as important change agents in what was perceived to be an undemocratic social order. These unions engaged in different forms of protest actions demanding issues of a broad socio-political nature such as the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations and the establishment of a democratically elected Government in South Africa.

Trade union leaders argued in the past that for as long as the political organisations were banned and their leaders were in jail, they would continue to play a dominant role in the politics of this country. The impression was created then that with the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and the establishment of a democratically elected Government, Black trade unions would focus their attention on "bread and butter" issues i.e. issues emanating directly from the workplace.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Considering the fact that the political climate has been normalised in this country, the main objective of this study was to establish whether the Black trade unions, in general, and the National Union of Mineworkers, in particular, will continue to play a dominant role in the politics of this country. In order to attain this objective, an attempt was made in this study to investigate the activities and perceptions of the National Union of Mineworkers organising in the Zululand district of the Natal region during the early stages of democracy in this country. For the purposes of this study, the early stages of democracy in South Africa was defined as a period starting from 10 May 1994, when the first democratically elected State President was inaugurated, to a stage when the second general elections were held in 1999.

3. THE LOCATION OF THE STUDY

In this study the Zululand district of the Natal region was defined as the Richards Bay-Empangeni and surrounding areas. It should be borne in mind that the researcher's main objective was to collect the data from the three branches of the NUM based in the Zululand district of the Natal region. However, in order to acquire a view point that is representative of the NUM in the Natal region, six other branches from various parts of the Natal region, stretching from Port Shepstone, in the South Coast, to Newcastle, in Northern Natal, were included.

4. HYPOTHESES

No hypotheses were formulated by the researcher as this project was considered to be an exploratory study.

5. THE RESEARCH METHOD

To collect the data from the respondents, the researcher used both the mail and self-administered questionnaires. Questionnaires were personally administered by the researcher to those respondents working in the Zululand district of the Natal region. Self-administered questionnaires were used to collect the data from the respondents stationed at Eskom-Empangeni, Empangeni Depot and Richards Bay Minerals. Mailed questionnaires were used to collect the data from respondents stationed in six other branches of the Natal region. These branches are: Slater coal-Ingagane, Klipwaal-Pongola,, Eskom-Drakensberg, Drake and Skull-Durban, Idwala Carbonate- Port Shepstone and Eskom-Ingagane.

The questions asked by the researcher in the questionnaire were close – ended in nature. In this case the questions included in the questionnaire asked a question and provided the respondents fixed responses from which to choose. e.g. “Is the NUM doing a very good, good, fair or poor job, in your opinion?” In this case the respondents selected one of the specific responses provided by the researcher.

Prior to finalising the questionnaire, the order in which the questions were to be presented was noted by the researcher. Those questions that were perceived to be easy to attempt were placed at the beginning of the questionnaire. This was done in order to ease the tension and to make the respondents feel comfortable with the questionnaire. Sensitive questions and those that were perceived to be difficult to attempt were placed at the middle of the questionnaire. Demographic questions which dealt with age and length of service were placed towards the end of the questionnaire. Questions that required the respondents to give their views on the NUM were placed at the end of the questionnaire.

Out of the total of 75 questionnaires handed out to respondents in the Zululand district of the Natal region, the researcher collected a total of 62 completed questionnaires. Of the 60 questionnaires handed out to the six targeted branches from the various parts of the Natal region, 43 completed questionnaires were received by the researcher in the post. In total, out of 135 questionnaires sent to the respondents, 105 were returned.

As far as the literature review is concerned, the researcher decided to briefly review the history of South Africa in chapter two. Such a review sought to explore the socio-political development of events in South Africa after the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in this country in 1652. The researcher also did a brief overview of the historical development of trade unionism in South Africa in

chapter three as this background would help lay the foundation for a discussion of the NUM, which is the main theme of this project.

6. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that the majority of the members of the NUM believe that their union should continue to play an active role in the politics of this country. It is important to note that the overwhelming majority of the NUM members and leaders are of the opinion that there is a strong need for the continued existence of the ANC/ SACP/ COSATU alliance. Similarly, NUM members believe that their leaders should be allowed to occupy leadership positions in the ANC and SACP.

It was shown in this study that the majority of the NUM members are strongly opposed to the privatisation of the parastatals such as ESKOM and TRANSNET by the state. They believe that privatisation will cause job losses. It is important to note that the majority of the members of the NUM strongly advocate socialism as the ideal economic system for South Africa.

In conclusion, this study has shown that the involvement of Black trade unions in broad socio-political issues is certainly not caused by the lack of avenues for political expression to Blacks living in this country. According to the NUM members who took part in this project, their union has a role to play in the politics of this country in the post apartheid era.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REPORT

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.
AMWU	African Mine Workers Union.
ANC	African National Congress.
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation.
CCOBTU	Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions.
CEC	Central Executive Committee.
CNETU	Council for Non-European Trade Unions.
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions.
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa.
D.E.I.C.	Dutch East India Company.
ESCOM	Electricity Supply Commission.
FNETU	Federation of Non-European Trade Unions.
FOFATUSA	Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa.
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions.
GEAR	Growth Employment And Redistribution.
GNU	Government of National Unity.
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus.
I.R.	Industrial Relations.
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party.
IMO	International Mineworkers' Organisation.
ITS	International Trade Secretariats.

IWA	Industrial Workers of Africa.
MAWU	Metal and Allied Workers Union.
MIF	Miners' International Federation.
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions.
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council.
NNP	New National Party.
NP	National Party.
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers.
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers.
PAC	Pan African Congress.
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme.
SAA	South African Airways.
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers Union.
SACP	South African Communist Party.
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions.
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union.
SAMF	Southern African Miners Federation.
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa.
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union.
TUACC	Trade Union Advisory Co-ordinating Committee.
TUCSA	Trade Union Council of South Africa.
UDF	United Democratic Front.

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In terms of the labour Relations Act of 1995 virtually all employees have a right to strike with the exception of employees working in the South African National Defence Force, the National Intelligence Agency and the South African Secret Service. It is important to note that the strike figures recorded in our industries over the past few months have increased dramatically. Both the Government and the employers have expressed concern at the number of man-hours lost through the various forms of industrial action. The then Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki (August 9, 1998, P.10) described as "Madness the rush of strike activity that has seen fuel depots blockaded, essential services disrupted and long queues of motorists at depleted petrol stations."

Nel (1997, P.127) argues that " With South Africa's economically active population estimated at 13.8 million people, 27% are members of trade unions". It is general knowledge that a number of trade unions affiliated to COSATU, which is the biggest trade union federation in the

country, are prone to strike action. Malabo, a senior shop steward at Nestle' (June 1997, P.95) states that " Our members look to the strike as an example of what workers can achieve through unity and strength. My belief is that management needs to be pressurised to meet workers' demands and the strike is the most effective way of doing this". Judging from the number of strikes that have taken place both in the public and private sectors during the first half of 1998, it would appear that many, if not most employees still consider the strike action as the most important tool to resolve problems in the workplace. Chipps (1998,P.6) states that "In the first nine months of 1998 some 1.85 million mandays were lost as a result of industrial action. This was higher than full-year figures for the preceding three years." Anstey (1997,P.314) sums it all up when he states that "There can be little debate that South Africa has become a strike prone nation".

It would appear, that in the 1960's, Black trade unions were relatively passive. It would seem that the then hostile attitude of the Government and the employers towards Black trade unions contributed to the passivity of those unions. Trade union officials were viewed with suspicion by the Government and the employers. Many trade union officials were detained and banned by the Government. Consequently, many Black trade unions refrained from playing an active role in the politics

of this country. Friedman (1987,P.430) argues that “The unions had indeed spent the decade ignoring politics, but not because they thought it evil; their founders had launched the new movement precisely because they wanted political change. But they knew that it would be tactical suicide to voice political demands when even factory battles invited police action – and that they could hardly win political rights if they were not strong enough to gain a say in the factories”.

Friedman (1987) also maintains that many trade union officials were reluctant to form alliances with political organisations because the leaders of these organisations were perceived to be collaborating with Homelands, which were regarded by the unionists as conservative. It is also important to note that some Black trade unionists did not form alliances with political organisations because they did not want to surrender their independence. Friedman (1987) argues that from the 1980’s onwards, the Black trade unions realised that they could no longer ignore the politics of this country. According to Bendix (1985,P.33) L. T. Mabasa, former president of AZAPO, stated that “In the unique situation that is South Africa, trade unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour. We envisage a persistently militant system of trade unions

which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the White minority government and thereby bring about change”

Friedman (1987) states that after the formation of the United Democratic Front on 20th August 1983 many Black trade unions decided to play an active role in the politics of this country. What could have been the reason for this change in the thinking of Black trade unionists? Friedman (1987,P.440) concludes that “Because all Blacks were affected by racial laws, all had a reason to resist them and unions had a duty to their members to join the political groups in their battle”. He argues that Black trade union officials are now pushing unions beyond pure and simple trade unionism. This is perhaps highlighted by the demands that are presented to the companies during the wage negotiations.

It would appear that in many cases these demands extend beyond the workplace to include broad socio-political issues such as township rent, housing, pensions, etc. Webster (1985) states that a new form of workplace organisation is in the making. He argues that this was demonstrated in November 1984 when over half a million workers stayed away from work in protest over issues in the schools, townships and factories. Webster (1985,P.279) concludes that “The stay-away marked a new phase in the history of protest against apartheid, signalled by united action involving organised labour, students and

community groups – with unions taking a leading role”. He argues that many trade unions representing unskilled Black workers have adopted some of the characteristics of what he terms a “social movement”

In 1990 the Government unbanned political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and SACP. In view of this fact, the question was raised whether Black trade unions would in future continue to play a dominant role in the politics of this country. This is so because Black trade unions had argued in the past that as long as the political organisations were banned, they would have to continue to play a dominant role in the politics of this country.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

According to Bendix (1996,P.166) Salamon defines a trade union as “...any organisation, whose membership consists of employees, which seeks to organise and represent their interests both in the workplace and society, and in particular, seeks to regulate their employment relationship through the direct process of collective bargaining with management”.

On the other hand, Flipppo (1984,P.425) defines a trade union as “...an organization of workers formed to promote, protect and

improve, through collective action, the social, economic, and political interests of its members. The dominant interest with which the union is concerned is economic. In this area desires and demands for improved wages, hours, and working conditions are foremost”.

It would seem that most Black trade unions in South Africa do not beset the above mentioned definitions. Black trade union groupings in this country have formed alliances with political organisations in order to attain broad socio-political goals. It would appear that in the past, most Black trade unions in this country did not regard themselves as organisations that merely represented workers in the workplace, but that they saw themselves as important change agents in what was perceived to be an undemocratic social order. Businessmen and other industrialists expressed grave concern at the number of days and man-hours lost through different forms of protest actions such as mass demonstrations, stay-aways and boycotts. On the 2nd of February 1990 the former State President, Mr F W De Klerk, made important announcements that were regarded by many people as conducive to creating an atmosphere that would in the ultimate end see the establishment of a new democratic Government in this country.

As have been indicated already, the unbanning of political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and SACP raised the question whether the Black trade unions in general and the National Union of Mineworkers in particular will continue to play a dominant role in the politics of this country. An attempt will be made in this study to investigate the activities and perceptions of the National Union of Mineworkers during the early stages of democracy in this country. For the purpose of this study, the early stages of democracy in South Africa will be defined as a period starting from 10 May 1994, when the democratically elected State President was inaugurated to a stage when the general elections were held in 1999.

If one looks at the relationships that have always existed between the Black trade unions and the political organisations in South Africa, one gets the impression that the major Black trade union groupings in this country have always formed alliances with political organisations in order to attain broad socio-political goals. In the review of the CSD/SWO Bulletin (April 1993) published by the Human Sciences Research Council, no evidence was found of a study undertaken to explore the activities and perceptions of the National Union of Mineworkers organising in the Zululand district of the Natal region during the early stages of democracy in South Africa. This was also confirmed telephonically with the Council.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study attempts to answer the following basic question:

Was the involvement of Black trade unions in broad socio-political issues caused by the lack of avenues for political expression to Blacks living in South Africa?

1.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the activities and perceptions of the National Union of Mineworkers organising in the Zululand district of the Natal region during the early stages of democracy in South Africa. The study has the following aims:

- (a) To facilitate the employer's understanding of Black trade unions which will in the long run promote peace and stability in our industries.
- (b) To find out if the Black trade unions feel that they have a role to play in the politics of this country in the post-apartheid era and to ascertain the reasons thereof.
- (c) To ascertain if the Black trade unions perceive that they have a role to play in the socio-political and economic reform.

- (d) To gain knowledge and understanding of Black trade unions in general.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It is important to note that the findings of this study are limited to members of the National Union of Mineworkers employed by some of the major companies based in the Zululand district of the Natal region. Recognition of this fact is important because responses obtained from NUM members in this part of the country may not necessarily reflect the thinking and worker attitudes of NUM members living in the other parts of the country

1.6 DEFINITION OF TERMS

(a) STAGES OF EARLY DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the purposes of this study, the stages of early democracy in South Africa will be defined as a period of political reform starting from 10 May 1994, when the first democratically elected State President in South Africa was inaugurated to 1999, when the second general elections were held.

(b) THE ZULULAND DISTRICT OF NATAL REGION

In this study the Zululand district of the Natal region will be defined to mean the Richards Bay – Empangeni and surrounding areas.

(c) SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES

For the purposes of this study, this term will be used to refer to all the issues which are pursued by Black trade unions, issues which may be classified as falling beyond the scope of basic and pure trade unionism. In other words, these are the issues which are pursued by Black trade unions which do not emanate directly from the workplace.

1.7 HYPOTHESES

It is important to note that no hypotheses have been formulated by the researcher as this project is considered to be an exploratory study.

1.8 METHOD

Neuman (1997,P.228) maintains that “Surveys produce quantitative information about the social world and describe features of people or the social world. They are also used to explain or explore. The survey asks many people (called

respondents) about their beliefs, opinions, characteristics, and past or present behavior”. This study is considered to be an exploratory study and therefore it has been decided to use the survey research.

Some of the advantages of the survey method cited by Neuman are that it is cost effective to use this method and that it can be conducted by a single researcher. It would appear that the major disadvantage of using surveys is a low response rate. Neuman argues furthermore that mail questionnaires are not suitable for illiterate respondents.

(a) THE POPULATION

All the officials, shift representatives and shop stewards of the National Union of Mineworkers organising in the major companies in the Zululand district of the Natal region. It is envisaged that the approximate size of the population could be two hundred.

(b) THE SAMPLING METHOD

In this study a sampling technique known as purposive sampling will be used. Neuman (1997,P.206) maintains that “Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind...It is used in

exploratory research or in field research”. It has been mentioned in section 1.7 above that this project is considered to be an exploratory study. It is precisely for this reason that this type of sampling has been chosen.

Bailey (1982) is of the opinion that purposive sampling enables the researcher to use his own judgement about which subjects to choose. In this technique the researcher only chooses people or subjects who best meet the purposes of the study. Bailey (1982,P.99) states that “...the advantages of purposive sampling is that the researcher can use his or her research skills and prior knowledge to choose respondents”.

(c) DESCRIPTION OF THE INTENDED RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

To gather the necessary data, questionnaires will be hand delivered and administered to the subjects. Once the questionnaires have been completed by the subjects, they will be personally collected by the researcher. It is hoped that this procedure will enable the researcher to have a better response rate than using the mailed questionnaire. This technique will be discussed at length in chapter five, where a detailed discussion of the research methodology used in this project is presented.

A brief review of the history of South Africa will be presented in chapter two. This chapter seeks to explore the socio-political development of events in South Africa since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in this country in 1652. It is hoped that this background will lay a foundation for a discussion of the nature and structure of trade unions, which will be the subject for discussion in chapter three.

Once a detailed discussion of trade unions in general, including the evolution of trade unionism in South Africa, their goals, structure, types of trade unions and a discussion of COSATU have been presented, the NUM, which is COSATU's biggest affiliate, will be discussed. This discussion will be presented in chapter four. Chapter five will constitute a discussion of the research method, which will be followed by an analysis and interpretation of data in chapter six. The conclusion, important findings and recommendations will be discussed in chapter seven.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is important to note that social and political events have had a tremendous impact on the development of Industrial Relations in South Africa. If one looks into the history of South Africa, especially when Jan Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652 to establish a refreshment station, it would appear that the activities and policies of previous Governments and rulers impacted heavily on the development of I. R. in South Africa.

In this chapter the author is going to briefly review the history of South Africa under the following headings:

- 2.1.1 Early perceptions of land ownership at the Cape.
- 2.1.2 South Africa under the VOC rule. The VOC was a private company which ruled the Cape independently of the Dutch.
- 2.1.3 South Africa under British rule.
- 2.1.4 South Africa under Afrikaner rule.

A brief analysis of each of the above-mentioned stages follows:

2.1.1 EARLY PERCEPTIONS OF LAND OWNERSHIP AT THE CAPE.

It is important to note that the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) and San (Bushmen), which are collectively known as the Khoisan, lived in South Africa before

the arrival of the White people in this country. This group of people is sometimes referred to as the Stone Age people. The Khoisan inhabited South Africa as early as 1,7 million years ago. On the other hand, the Iron Age people (Blacks) moved into South Africa in the third century A. D.

It should be noted that the indigenous, non-White people who lived in this country before the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck at the Cape were traditional people, who were to a great extent, influenced by traditional beliefs and values in their particular way of life. These people survived mainly through agriculture and cattle-farming. Ncube (1985,P.1) argues that "The traditional African social system was organized along collective and communal lines. It was composed of peasant producers who engaged in agricultural activities, hunting, craftwork and bartering."

It is important to stress that under the above-mentioned system no individual person was allowed to own land. The land which was under the control of the chief belonged to the tribe as a whole. In this manner, it can be seen that there was no private ownership of property. Ncube (1985) maintains that members of the tribe supported collectivism whereby members owed their allegiance to the tribe and were expected to sacrifice their self-interest for the benefit of the tribe as a whole.

It should be borne in mind that the concept of purchasing or selling land was unknown to the indigenous people. Barrow (1977,P.22) states that "Land to Blacks was communal property held in trust for a tribe by tribal chief. No chief could sell it or cede it, he could merely give others the right to use it." It is important to note that this is in sharp contrast to the belief shared by Whites who later on arrived in this country. Barrow (1977) argues that Whites firmly believed that land was there to be purchased, developed or sold. Obviously, this gave rise to conflict between indigenous people and Whites which later on developed into wars.

One should hasten to state that the above-mentioned way of life was practised by the indigenous people throughout South Africa. The Khoikhoi and San were the first indigenous people that most Whites had come across when they arrived in South Africa. In support of this view, Van Jaarsveld (1971,P.22) maintains that "Toe Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652 sy verversingstasie en fort vir die Nederlandse Oos-Indiese Kompanjie aan Kaap die Goeie Hoop kom aanlê het, het hy in aanraking gekom met die Khoisanmense van Suid-Afrika, naamlik die Hottentotte (Khoikhoi) en die Boesmans (San)"

While the Khoikhoi were known for owning cattle and sheep, the San, according to Davenport (1978,P.4) "...were highly mobile on account of

their dependence on game, and for the same reason widely dispersed territorially.” The concept of private ownership of property was unknown to these people as well. It must be noted that the Khoi and San were arch enemies. What was the cause of this animosity? The Khoi were bitter that the San hunted their cattle. Both the Khoi and San had a Communal ownership of land, but the former had a tribal system. In this instance the tribes were bound to certain territories e.g. the Peninsula tribe.

Barrow (1977) maintains that the San were good hunters who abhorred violence. They lived peacefully with other people. Barrow (1977,P.12) states that the Khoi “had a well developed system of justice. In serious disputes both parties were given a fair hearing and decisions were reached by a majority vote. Murder, treason, theft and adultery were punishable by death and the sentence was carried out immediately.” Barrow (1977) argues that Black people left Central Africa about two thousand years ago and migrated south of the continent. Barrow (1977,P.16) states that Blacks “entered South Africa in two main streams. The Sotho came down through Zambia, Rhodesia and Botswana and settled on the interior plateau. The Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) moved south between the Drakensberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean and dispersed over Natal and the Eastern Cape as far west as the Fish River.”

When King Shaka became king of the Zulus in 1816, he conquered all the neighbouring tribes in order to form one powerful nation. The two most important assets that the indigenous people possessed were land and cattle. It has been stated elsewhere in this chapter that the land which was under the control of the chief belonged to the tribe as a whole. Tribes often attacked one another in order to acquire land and cattle. The concept of unemployment as we understand it nowadays was completely unknown. There were no employers, employees and labour laws governing the relationship between the two. Ncube (1985,P.2) concludes by stating that "The principles of a free enterprise society, namely profit motive, competition, consumerism and individualism were unknown. In short, the working class was absent during this epoch"

When the Boers left the Cape and moved inland during the Great Trek, they again came into contact with the indigenous people. The Boers were also in need of land. The fact that Whites had completely different ideas of land ownership compared to the indigenous people, was bound to cause conflict between the two racial groups. Barrow (1977,P.22) argues that "Basically, the Europeans believed that land was there to buy, develop and sell. Land to Blacks was communal property held in trust for the tribe by the tribal chief. No chief could sell it or cede it, he would merely give others the right to use it. In fact conquest was the only way in which one

tribe could take land from another. Conquest of land was therefore an economical exercise.”

The desire to acquire land obviously led to a number of wars between the Whites and the indigenous people. De Kiewiet (1957,P.74) argues that “the native wars, from major campaigns to unheralded skirmishes, were spectacular phases in a lengthy process of encroachment, invasion, extrusion and dispossession. For the most part the wars were not caused by the inborn quarrelsomeness of savage and warlike tribes, but by the keen competition of two groups, with very similar agricultural and pastoral habits, for the possession of the most fertile and best –watered stretches of land”. Hattersley (1973,P.48) maintains that “In the eighteenth century, farmers, even on the eastern frontier, did not, to any appreciable extent, look to the Bantu to supply labour. Hottentot servants were more knowledgeable in regard to the White man’s wants and more dependent on his favour. It was soon found that the tribesman, once he had earned an ox or a blanket, was only too likely to desert his master.”

The next section will explore the events that took place when the Dutch occupied the Cape.

2.1.2 SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE DUTCH RULE

It must be noted that when the Dutch East India Company (D.E.I.C.) sent Jan Van Riebeeck to the Cape in 1652, the purpose was to build a refreshment station in the Cape, which would service its ships bound for the East. It is important to note that initially, it was never the intention of the Dutch to establish a colonial settlement at the Cape. However, this arrangement was short lived. What could have been the cause of this? Devenport (1978) is of the opinion that the D. E. I. C. did not have any intentions of establishing a full fledged colony at the Cape but it was forced by economic considerations to do so. As the time passed by, the Dutch slowly increased in numbers and began to expropriate the land of the indigenous people.

In his comparative study of American and South African history, Fredrickson (1981,P.4) states that "Starting from the small coastal settlements of the seventeenth century, the Whites penetrated into the interior of North America and Southern Africa; by the end of the nineteenth century they had successfully expropriated most of the land for their own use by extinguishing the communal title of pre-modern native societies and transforming the soil into private property within a capitalistic economy. The indigenes were left with collective ownership of only a small fraction of their former domain in the form of special reserves."

Fredrickson (1981) states that the expropriation of the land of the indigenous people was essential for the material success of the colonial settlers. Fredrickson

(1981,P.5) concludes by saying that the expropriation of the land by colonial settlers in South Africa "...made possible the establishment of White minority rule over an African majority, provided access to minerals on which to base an industrial revolution, and by denying Africans the right to own land outside their over-crowded reserves insured a supply of exploitable labor for the White economy." The relevance of this assertion will be highlighted in the next chapter where focus will be placed on the growth and development of trade unionism in South Africa.

The process of White penetration into the interior is complex. The main reason was that by 1700 there was an over supply of foodstuffs at the Cape. This caused a major switchover to cattle farming. Cattle need grazing and therefore a movement took place into the interior. This movement was unintentional as it was against the VOC policy. The expansion into the interior was made possible by three serious smallpox epidemics which took place in 1713 and in the 1760's. The epidemics wiped out about ninety per cent of the Khoi people, who had no natural resistance as Whites. Grazing licences were issued to these cattle farmers.

White farmers were compelled to sell products to the VOC, which was the only body that could sell products to ships at a profit. The VOC paid the lowest possible prices to the farmers for the reason that its motto was "maximum profit for minimum expenditure." This is the reason why most farmers generally

suffered. It was only towards the end of the 18th century that wealth could be seen at the Cape in the form of the Cape Dutch houses and other property.

It is important at this stage to examine the form of a working relationship, if any, that existed between the Dutch and the indigenous Black people. It should be borne in mind that the aim is to trace the nature of the events which led to the formation of trade unions, and specifically, Black trade unions. It goes without saying that without the working class, there could be no trade unions. To shed some light on this matter, it is necessary to examine the issue of slavery as it was practised during the Dutch and later on the British occupation of the Cape. Ncube (1985) is of the opinion that two forms of oppression were practised during the Dutch period of occupation of the Cape. He refers to these as feudalism and slavery. A closer examination needs to be taken of each of these.

As far as feudalism is concerned, Ncube (1985) is of the opinion that the land of the indigenous people was expropriated and such people were converted into peasants and landless labourers. Ncube (1985,P.2) maintains that the "White settlers expropriated the land but the occupation and production remained in the hands of the indigenous inhabitants, who paid rent in cash or kind to the expropriators. In addition, the White settlers earned money by selling agricultural products to passing ships at fairly exorbitant prices. These commodities were produced by the peasants who worked on the land owned by the master."

It would appear that during this period there was no form of legal protection given to the peasants to safeguard them against maltreatment from the feudal lord. The VOC viewed the Khoisan as independent and not under VOC laws. From the analysis of this relationship, it would appear that there were no working conditions upon which the relationship between the peasant and the feudal lord was based. It is worthwhile to examine this type of a relationship because it serves as a foundation for the development of the concept of employment as it is understood nowadays. It is important at this stage to briefly look into the concept of slavery as it also explains the concept of employment as practised nowadays.

Mockford (1944,P.41) states that the first slaves which arrived at the Cape “came from Angola-Negroes from the West Coast that was then being raided continually to fill the racks of slaves plying to the American colonies. Then they came from the East Coast- Bantu tribesmen whom Mohammedans called Kaffirs or unbeliever; and from Madagascar-romantic folk who originally came out of the sunrise, crossing the Indian Ocean in courageous catamarans; and from the Dutch islands in the East – Malays as Cape Town called them and still so calls them”.

The different categories of slaves brought to the Cape were taught by their masters different trades depending on their intelligence. Slaves were taught different crafts such as bricklaying, tailoring, banking etc. Hattersley (1973,P.27) states that “Employment of slaves, during the rule of the Company, tended to follow a stereotyped pattern. The more intelligent Eastern slaves, often Moslem

and highly skilled in crafts, were too useful to be employed in agriculture. They were purchased, usually at a high price, by burghers in the Town. Many were skilled craftsmen before they reached the Cape. Others, including the more intelligent Africans, were taught such crafts as tailoring, bricklaying and baking by burghers and soldiers."

It is worth mentioning that not all slaves were subjected to bad treatment by their masters. It would appear that although some masters expected slaves to work very hard, they were considerate towards them. Some slaves did enjoy benefits which were provided by their masters. Hattersley (1973,P.27) in support of this statement argues that "In the agricultural hinterland of the Cape a slave, though kept hard at work, could count on a reasonably happy existence. As a house servant he would know what his daily task was and, in the evening, he was free to sit round the fire with a pipe, for tobacco was commonly given to slaves, or to sing and dance, if he wished. At busy seasons work in the field would be strenuous, but there was compensation in the form of boon meals and other customary privileges, especially during harvest. The slave had security for his old age, since it was incumbent on his master to keep him in food and clothing even after he might be physically incapacitated for labour."

It should be stressed however, that the majority of the slaves received bad treatment from their masters. In most cases the conditions under which they worked left much to be desired. It was common practice for the master to whip a

slave who was perceived to be disobedient. The master saw nothing wrong with this arrangement and in fact accepted it as a way of life. De Kiewiet (1957,P.22) maintains that "Little effort was made to raise the standard of living or increase the opportunities of the class of slaves and servants. In this manner the limited wealth of the Colony became the privilege of its white population, whose higher standard of living was at the expense of the economic and social welfare of a numerous servile population. Thus early did South Africa learn that a self-conscious may escape the worst effects of life in a poor and unprosperous land by turning distinctions of race and colour into devices for social and economic discrimination."

It is clear from the above discussion that the employment relationship which existed between the masters and the indigenous people was characterised mainly by coercion and the notion of "employee rights" was virtually unknown. Unfortunately, this undesirable state of affairs was later to characterise a relationship between the employers and the employees in the early days of industrial development in this country.

Fredrickson (1981,P.56) maintains that Van Riebeeck believed that the Khoikhoi could not solve his labour problems because "...the notion soon became prevalent in the colony that 'Hottontots' would make poor slaves because of their allegedly irremediable laziness". This was one of the reasons why slaves had to be bought from other countries. Farmers also believed that it would be advantageous to use

slaves bought from other countries because these people had no intimate knowledge of the Cape. It was hoped that these slaves were less likely to abscond from the farms. However, it must be noted that when the practice of slave trade was abolished in 1807, the White farmers had no option but to make use of the indigenous people, namely the Khoikhoi, as a labour force.

Before proceeding to the next section, it is important to explore the role played by the French Huguenots at the Cape. The first group of Huguenots arrived at the Cape in 1688. The majority of them took up farming when they arrived in this country. Most of these people were industrious, honest and Godfearing. Their descendants were later on to play a significant role towards the development and advancement of the South African society. Grant et al (1988,P.117) state that "Their descendants participated in all the great events of the young nation on its road to independence."

The next section will explore the development of events under the British rule.

2.1.3 SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

Ncube (1985) argues that when the British landed in the Cape for the first time in 1795, their intention was simply to prevent the Cape from falling under the jurisdiction of the Batavian Republic. They feared the French (Napoleon) who was at war with Britain and who had toppled the Dutch. The British knew that

the owners of the Cape would be the masters of the Indian and Atlantic oceans. However, when the British landed in the Cape for the second time in 1806, their intention was to occupy the Cape permanently. Ncube (1985,P.5) maintains that “The principal reason for this colonial invasion was the strategic significance of the Cape as a sea route to the East, particularly the sub-continent of India, which was one of the many colonies of Britain.”

It will be recalled from the previous section that the practice of slave trade was abolished by the British Government in 1807. This does not mean that slavery was no longer practised in the Cape after 1807. This simply means that the practice of buying or importing slaves from other countries and selling them in the Cape was declared illegal. It has been seen in the previous section that in order to counteract the effects of the abolition of the slave trade, Whites made use of the indigenous Black people on their farms. This state of affairs continued under the British rule until 1 December 1834 when all slaves throughout the British Empire were eventually set free. Such slaves were indentured for four years after that. They were given full freedom on 1 December 1838.

The British Government made every effort to recruit British people to the Cape. Davenport (1978,P.30) maintains that “... the British Government had decided not merely to admit but actively to promote the settlement of British people. A substantial number of Englishmen soon settled in Cape Town, and began to play a prominent role in the life of the Capital...” A group of about four thousand

settlers were brought to the Cape in 1820 by the British Government. Davenport (1978) states that this was part of the campaign by the British Government to convert the Cape into a British colony in spirit and in law. It must be noted that most of the 1820 settlers were professionals who played a significant role in the struggle for press freedom in the Cape.

It can be safely argued that the British played a significant role in the growth and development of commerce in the Cape. Davenport (1978,P.32) states that “British institutions made inroads into the commercial as well as the political and cultural life of the colony. Commerce had revived at the Cape during the Batavian period, when the first Chamber of Commerce was set up. But the scale developed markedly after the second British occupation, under the stimulus of imperial preference, and it was for the most part the British immigrants who captured the market”.

Mockford (1944,P.55) explains that among the British who arrived at the Cape “There were respectable tradesmen and jolly farmers, with every appearance of substance and snug English comfort about them. There were watermen, fishermen, and sailors, from the Thames and English seaports, with the reckless and weather – beaten look usual in persons of their perilous and precarious professions. There were numerous groups of pale-visaged artisans and operative manufactures, from London and other large towns, of whom doubtless a certain proportion were persons of highly reputable character and steady habits...” It

must be borne in mind that these people brought the concept of trade unionism to South Africa. This issue will be explored at length in Chapter three, which highlights the evolution of trade unionism in this country.

→ It is worth mentioning that when the British occupied the Cape Colony, they discovered that the Colony was very conservative. It was an accepted practice that slaves had no rights. The slaves were there to serve the interests of their masters at all costs. De Kiewiet (1957,P.31) states that when the British arrived in South Africa the "...Cape society was deeply conservative. Nothing stood higher than its desire to preserve the differences and distinctions which had grown up within it. It was ready for the economic, the legal and the constitutional reforms of which this Company had been so aspiring, yet its displeasure was certain to be quick and strong against whatever changed or challenged the relations of master and servant of white and black."

It would appear that the judicial system that was in place during this period was also biased against the indigenous people and slaves. Supporting this statement, Ross (1993,P.175) maintains that "... there remained a definite differential, in the sentencing of Whites, slaves and Khoi: the latter two suffered capital punishment for murdering each other, and, if they murdered a White, were put to death in a particularly gruesome, painful way. Whites, on the other hand, did not die for the murder of a Khoi, or for that matter, of a slave, even when a murder was peculiarly cold blooded and unprovoked, although there were occasions when

Dutch authorities came, near to doing so.” It is important, however, to mention that some laws, such as ordinance 50 of 1828, impacted positively on the Khoi, San and the slaves. This Act placed the Khoi on equal footing to Whites in that it enabled them to hold land if they could get it.

What was the condition of the Cape when the British took over in 1795? De Kiewiet (1957) states that the Cape was economically underdeveloped and culturally backward when the British occupied it in 1795. He maintains that at that stage the Cape contained one town, which could hardly be called a town in the true sense of the word. The Cape was at this stage completely underdeveloped with hardly any infrastructure. It should be borne in mind that the VOC did not spend money in the development of the Cape as it was guided by its motto of “maximum profit for minimum expenditure.”

When the British occupied the Cape, they introduced a new policy called Anglicization and a new ideology called Christianity. Ncube (1985) is of the opinion that the policy of Anglicization was a strategy designed to convert the inhabitants of the Cape into British citizens and also make them loyal to the British empire. The overall strategy of the British Government was to make the Cape British. It would appear that the British wanted to diminish the influence of the Dutch and other Whites at the Cape. English was imposed on the inhabitants of the Cape and it is clear that this strategy was pursued at all costs, with little or no regard for the feelings and aspirations of the people who were not English-

speaking. In a nutshell, the British wanted to convert the Cape into a Colony with a true English character.

Ncube (1985) argues that in line with the policy of Anglicization, the inhabitants of the Cape had to sing the British national anthem and also honour the Union Jack. In this manner, English became the official language of the Colony and as such, this language was used at schools, hospitals, courts and other institutions. It would appear from the above – mentioned analysis that other population groups which lived in the Cape, especially the Afrikaners, resented the manner in which the policy of Anglicization, as outlined above, was imposed on them. This may serve to explain to a certain extent, some animosity that existed between the English and the Afrikaners during the infancy stage of the evolution of the mining industry in this country. This is also one of the causes of the “Great Trek”.

The missionaries, especially the Anglican missionaries, played a significant role towards the abolition of slavery in this country. They attempted to persuade the masters to treat the slaves and the indigenous people as equals. They also exerted enormous pressure on the Government of the day to abolish slavery. Davenport (1978, P.34) argues that “The London Missionary Society, for its part, was conspicuous for its willingness to confront the farmers, or the Government, or both, over the treatment of the free Coloured or over frontier policy.” In this regard, the missionaries demonstrated a remarkable courage.

It is worth mentioning that some indigenous people resented the manner in which the missionaries attempted to change their way of life. Ross (1993,P.115) states that Dr John Phillip, reflecting on how the missionaries had changed the lifestyle of the indigenous people remarked that “The sheep-skin caross, with its filthy accompaniments, has disappeared, and the great body of the people and of the children are clothed in British manufacturers.” The missionaries influenced the indigenous people’s thinking on important issues such as polygamy, religion and tribalism.

It would appear that although the missionaries brought about liberal views and fought for the abolition of slavery in the Cape, their commitment to these ideals was suspect. In most cases when they were faced with the opposition, the missionaries failed to match their words with deed. This has sometimes given credence to the belief among some Blacks that the missionaries’ intention was to promote the ideology of the British Government. It is for this reason that some people accused the missionaries of failing to eliminate divisions among people of various population groups in South Africa. The failure to create a united working class hampered the growth of a trade union movement in this country. The last stage of this analysis, namely, the Afrikaner nationalism will be explored in the next section.

2.1.4 SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE AFRIKANER RULE

It is important to note that the attempts by the British to Anglicise the Cape did not go down well with the Dutch population. Some of the laws passed by the British to regulate land were viewed with suspicion by the Dutch population. It was for this reason that these people decided to move further away from the Cape. This movement culminated into the "Great Trek". De Kiewiet (1975,P.5) explains that "The true Voortrekker hated a boundary. When the British Government insisted on fixed boundaries for the Colony and for the farms within it, something was taken from him. It was a sense of spaciousness that was an intimate ingredient of his sentiment of freedom."

Muller (1972) is of the opinion that Afrikaners undertook the "Great Trek" because they wanted to preserve their identity as Afrikaners. He argues that it is for this reason that the "Great Trek" is of historical significance to the Afrikaners. Muller (1972,P.127) states that "Die Afrikaanssprekende sien die Groot Trek – tydperk as 'n heroïese periode waaruit by sy nasionale besieling put. Sy eerste eintlike Republikeinse tydperk het toe begin. Die behoud van die Afrikanervolk se identiteit is toe verseker en sy nie- blanke beleid toe vasgelê".

The above-mentioned point is echoed by Van Jaarsveld (1971,P.123) when he states that "Die Afrikaner-grensboere van die oostelike dele van die Kaapkolonie

het uit streke van ouer vestings gekom, maar streke waar hulle lewe en eiendom in gevaar verkeer het en onseker was, onseker as gevolg van die Britse beleid teenoor die nie-blankes. Daar het politieke griewe geakkumuleer en tot historiese herinnering geword, wat 'n groepsbesef en gevoel van lotsverbondenheid geskep het.”

It was precisely for the above-mentioned reasons that the majority of the Afrikaners decided in 1835 to move into the interior. The rise in the price of land and over population at the Cape forced the Boers to “Trek” further into the interior in search for land. At that stage the Afrikaner did nothing else but farming. Land was needed for that purpose. Walker (1948) argues that the administration policy of the British, as discussed in the previous section, brought the Boers to the trekking point. Omer-Cooper (1987) states that the Voortrekkers left the Cape because they rejected the authority of the British Government. He argues furthermore that they left the Cape so that they could establish an independent community free of British rule.

It is important to note that when the Afrikaners left the Cape, their intention was not to go out to the interior and attack the indigenous people and rob them of their land. According to Mockford (1944,P.67) Piet Retief had declared in a manifesto farewell to the Cape “that we quit this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hithertofore done. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves

fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability, against any enemy.” It is clear from this statement that the original intention of the Afrikaners was to leave the Cape with its perceived British influence and go out to the interior and lead a quiet life. However, it must be noted that the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act prevented the Afrikaners from leaving the Cape.

It would appear that the Afrikaners had a great respect for the Bible. Their religion influenced how they perceived life. Ross (1993,P.189) states that the Afrikaners “are said in their isolation, to have had no intellectual resource except the Bible and to have build their own highly idiosyncratic fundamentalist Christianity on the basis of it alone. Such people certainly did exist. The language of some Voortrekkers, notably Sarel Cilliers, is indeed drenched in references to the Old Testament. They believed, not entirely without reason, that the Lord of Hosts was with them. They identified with the Israelites of whom they read in their Bibles.”

It is worth mentioning that a number of skirmishes broke out between the indigenous people and the Afrikaners when the latter arrived in the interior. The need for land was one of the major causes of the wars between the Afrikaners and the indigenous people. The Voortrekkers who moved across the Drakensberg mountains into Natal fought with the powerful Zulu nation over the question of land. These clashes started after the death of Piet Retief on 4 February 1838.

It has been stated that it was not the intention of the Voortrekkers to dispossess the indigenous people of their land. However, it would appear that when the Afrikaners arrived in Natal in big numbers, the Zulu king, Dingaan, who was otherwise friendly with the Whites and other missionaries, felt threatened and devised a strategy which led to the massacre of the Afrikaners which were led by Piet Retief at the King's Royal kraal at Umgungundlovu. After this incident the Afrikaners brought in reinforcements and eventually defeated the Zulus in 1838 at the battle of Ncome. Van Aswegen (1990,P.270) states that "The Voortrekkers reacted in self-defence and in vengeance for the Zulu aggression."

The victory over the Zulus on 16 December 1838 was significant to the Afrikaners and they held celebrations to mark this historic occasion. A hundred years later they constructed the Voortrekker Monument. They used the monument for the yearly commemoration of the Day of the Covenant as a Sunday. According to Barrow (1977,P.20) such celebrations were important in that they "inspired the Afrikaner people with a new pride in themselves and an intense awareness of their national destiny. It led to a cultural rebirth, economic growth and political solidarity. It lit the flames of a national feeling that led to an electoral victory for Afrikaner nationalism in 1948. This in turn gave momentum to the movement which culminated in South Africa becoming a republic in 1961."

Ncube (1985,P.8) states that "The Afrikaners tended, with religious zeal, to support segregation on the basis of race or colour." This analogy will perhaps

serve to explain why the Afrikaners have had difficulty working with employees from different racial groups, especially Blacks, during the early stages of industrialisation in South Africa. It can also be safely argued that the Afrikaners tended to form conservative trade unions which were inclined to discriminate against Black employees.

It is important to note that the year 1852 saw the birth of one of the Boer Republics called the Transvaal. It would appear that the British found the task of managing the areas to which the Boers had moved, in addition to that of managing their territories, Natal and the Cape, unbearable. It was precisely for this reason that they decided to stop interfering in the affairs of the Boers. De Kock (1968,P.15) states that “ the British, finding the imperial burden too heavy in South Africa, adopted the policy in the 1850’s of jettisoning rather than acquiring responsibilities. Thus in 1852 interference in Boer affairs ceased in the regions across the Vaal, called the Transvaal.”

The year 1854 saw the birth of the second Boer Republic, called the Orange Free State. The establishment of this Republic was brought about by the continuing policy of the British to abandon those areas, occupied by the Boers, which did not fall under their jurisdiction. De Kock (1968,P.15) states that “continuing the policy of purposeful abandonment, British representatives repeated what had been done in the Transvaal two years before, and, in a convention signed at

Bloemfontein in February 1854, literally thrust independence on the land between the Orange and the Vaal.”

As time passed by, a spirit of cooperation developed between the two Boer Republics and the two colonies, Natal and the Cape, which were still under the control of the British. The Boer Republics and the British colonies had to cope with the African population with whom they had to live in their areas. In this regard, the Boers and the British were faced with similar problems. Clearly, this gave rise to the movement towards political cooperation between the Boers and the British. De Kock (1968,P.21) states that “ Soon the men who had been bitter enemies in the war sat together in the National convention (1908-1909) to draft a highly important Bill.” The bill was passed and it gave rise to the establishment of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910. Louis Botha, who had led the Transvaal Republic since 1907, became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

It is important to note that in line with the Carnarvon Federation policy, the British conquered various African tribes in this country. They conquered the Basuto (1868), Pedi (1879), Zulus (1879) and the Ndebeles (1898). Muller (1972,P.272) argues that “ ’n Federasie sou hieraan voldoen. Selfs grensgesille soos dié met die Basoetos en oor die diamantvelde, het Carnarvon geredeneer, sou binne ’n federasie verdwyn. Ten opsigte van die nie-blankes kon ’n gemeenskaplike beleid geformuleer word wat talle probleme sou uitskakel. ’n

Federasie sou ook sekuriteit bied vir die Suid Afrikaanse kuslyn, wat strategies vir Brittanje van waarde was”.

Webster et al (1994) argue that when the Boers, as the Voortrekkers were often called, arrived in the Transvaal, they were faced with the serious problem of labour shortage. It should be borne in mind that in the Cape these farmers had relied heavily on the use of slaves and other indigenous Black people to resolve their labour problems. The Trekkers discovered, much to their dismay, that in their new ‘territory’ life was going to become unbearable without the available supply of cheap labour to which they were exposed in the Cape. Under these conditions, the Trekkers had no option but to apply coercive methods to attract a supply of cheap labour.

Webster et al (1994,P.54) state that “ There were usually males who would work for notionally three or twelve month contracts, mainly as headers in exchange for hoes, blankets and, for the longer contracts, heifers. While these rewards were sufficient to attract some voluntary labour, pressure was brought to bear on rulers of chiefdoms and heads of settlements to ensure that the demands for this form of labour were met and that contracted workers did not abscond. Chiefs and others who failed to meet these obligations found themselves sternly and even violently dealt with: increased demands for other forms of tribute, and whippings, featured amongst the principal sanctions employed.”

The relations between the Trekkers and their servants were no different from the relations that existed between the Whites and the indigenous Black people in the Cape. Van Vuuren et al (1983,P.170) maintain that "The relations between master and servant during that period can be described as individualistic (i.e. relations mainly between one employer and one employee.) and paternalistic, with the advantages of power and remedies heavily in favour of the master. The pattern of White 'supremacy' in the economic field had thus already been firmly laid at a very early stage." This was the position in South Africa until the discovery of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1886 respectively.

For the purposes of this chapter, not much emphasis will be placed on the development of events between the discovery of the above-mentioned precious metals and the coming into power of the Nationalist Party. This section will be referred to in the next chapter, when the history and development of trade unionism in South Africa is discussed. It should be mentioned though, that with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the last quarter of the 19th century, thousands of skilled workers were imported into the country to extract these precious metals. This event had a major impact on the development and growth of Industrial Relations in South Africa. The imported workers introduced trade unionism in this country.

When the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948, it introduced a policy of separate development for the various racial groups which was called apartheid. It

can be argued though that this form of discrimination was not invented by the Nationalist Party Government. It has been indicated in the previous section that the British discriminated against the indigenous Black people in the Cape. It has also been noted that when slavery was practised in the Cape during the era of the British rule, the indigenous people were treated as inferior to their White masters. The British introduced separate schools, "reserve areas", etc. The Afrikaners just gave a name to it.

It would appear that the Nationalist Party Government merely continued the system which had been practised by its predecessors and perhaps elaborated on it. In support of this argument, Fredrickson (1981,P.240) states that "Rather than representing a sharp break with a more liberal past- as is sometimes supposed: the Nationalist hegemony in the period since 1948 brought to fruition a basic program of racial segregation and dominance that previous White regimes had already initiated or sketched out. The Nationalists closed the remaining loopholes in the system, extended its scope to include some local areas and nonwhite subgroups previously immune from its full rigors, improved and vastly enlarged the centralized bureaucratic machinery used to administer the program, gave to the state new and arbitrary powers to counter resistance and enforce restrictions on Black freedom..." Fredrickson (1981) maintains that the Nationalist Party Government eventually established various "homelands" for different African groupings in this country. It should be borne in mind that these "homelands"

played a significant role in the supply of cheap, unskilled labour which was used in the mining and later in the manufacturing industries.

Apart from introducing apartheid, the Nationalist Party wanted to ensure that the position of the White worker in the workplace remained protected at all times. In line with the policy of apartheid, the Nationalist Party pushed for separate trade unions for different racial groups. This may serve to explain why in South Africa up until now there is no united working class. In practice it is found that to a large extent, trade unionism in South Africa operates along racial lines. This has presented numerous problems to the workforce as it has failed to speak with one voice to management. To a great extent, this can be traced back to the doctrine of apartheid as advocated by the Nationalist Party Government. According to Van Vuuren et al (1983,P.182) when the Nationalist Party came into power it "...made no bones about its intention that the races should be separated in the work situation, that trade union activities should be limited to purely industrial relations matters and that the economic security of the White worker should be protected statutorily. In short, the ideology of racial segregation of the government was to be imposed on the labour market."

The above-mentioned scenario continued until the early 1970's when the emergent Black trade unions, which were not statutorily recognised then, began to fight for the rights of their members. Companies were faced with a major problem in that there were no recognised Black trade union leaders to negotiate

with, as the Black trade unions were not recognised by law. It was only after the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission of inquiry that this problem was resolved.

— The next chapter will explore the growth and development of trade unionism in this country. It will explore the objectives of trade unions, especially Black trade unions, and the role, if any, which these unions have played towards the birth of a new and democratic social order in this country.

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 THE DISCOVERY OF DIAMOND AND GOLD IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is important to note that when diamond and gold were discovered in South Africa in 1870 and 1886 respectively, there was no ready source of skilled labour to extract these precious metals from the ground. In order to overcome this problem, skilled mine workers were imported from overseas countries, especially Europe and Australia. The most significant aspect of this development is that these workers brought with them knowledge and expertise of organising trade unions.

Du Toit (1976,P.10) maintains that “These unionists, who arrived at a stage when unions in Britain were still struggling for recognition, brought their own union ideals with them and soon established branches of their ‘home unions.’ Some of them, including Thomas Bain, Archie Crawford and Bill Andrews had more militant ideas. A few, labelled ‘communists’, were in later years to play an important role in South African unionism.”

Du Toit (1976) argues that 23 December 1881 can be regarded as the date on which the first trade union was formed in the Republic of South Africa. Du Toit (1976,P.11) states that this trade union “ was a branch of the amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners of Great Britain, set up in Cape Town. Together with other branches of the same union, which were later established in Durban and Johannesburg, it formed what is still known today as the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.” Du Toit (1976,P.11) furthermore argues that “The first locally based union, the Durban Typographical Society (May 1888), combined with similar organizations in other centres to form the first true South African union, the S. A. Typographical Union (5 January 1898).”

It should be noted that the majority of the unions which these unionists established in South Africa were craft unions. These unions were established exclusively for skilled White workers and they were mainly concerned with the maintenance and protection of the status of their members. Jones (1985,P.2) maintains that “ These skilled men formed their craft unions to protect their interests and emphasise their uniqueness. There was a need to protect themselves not only from employers but from the rest of the working class.”

The unskilled, Black workers were treated with contempt by these unions because such workers were perceived as an attempt by the employers to downgrade the wages of the skilled workers. The

Afrikaans-speaking workers, who were also relatively unskilled, just like the Black workers, were initially viewed with suspicion by the craft unions, however, they were later allowed to join these unions on the basis of their skin colour. Ncube (1985,P.24) maintains that “Consequently, all white workers became an elitist labour aristocracy regardless of their skills; and correspondingly all black workers formed a pool of unskilled, cheap labour. Thus from the very beginning artisan skills, high wages and the power to bargain collectively became the prerogative of white labour. It was therefore not surprising that what became known as ‘skills-gap’ and wage-gap’ assumed a racial profile.” It would appear that this is one of the major factors that contributed to a divided working class in this country.

Feit (1975,P.12) argues that “ The lure of mineral wealth attracted adventurers at first, but as the levels grew deeper, the mines drew capital, administrators, engineers and artisans from abroad. The artisans mainly from England and Wales, brought two kinds of exclusiveness with them: National exclusiveness as Britishers and so superior to other whites, and racial exclusiveness which put whites above all men of color.” It is clear from this statement that the British artisans who arrived in this country after the discovery of diamond and gold brought with them the concept of trade unionism. The next section will explore the emergence of Black trade unionism in this country.

3.2 THE EMERGENCE OF BLACK TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Du Toit (1976,P.34) maintains that "Industrialization and the increasing number of Blacks who entered the cities to seek employment, led to the Black workers coming into contact with another institution of the whites, viz, the trade union. Of importance in this respect was the economic situation immediately after the First World War, which was characterised by a higher cost of living, shortage of food and bad housing. The Black workers were in a more parlous position as the result of exploitation by employers, long hours of work, unstable wages, prosecution under the Master and Servants Act, pass laws and other restrictions. They soon began to take notice of the ways and means which the White workers employed to air their grievances."

Feit (1975,P.14) states that "Some rudimentary efforts at organization of African unions had been attempted by militant left-wing socialists of the International Socialist League who formed the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) in imitation of the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States." The Industrial Workers of Africa was formed in 1917. It is worth mentioning that during the early days of trade unionism in this country liberal Whites played a significant role towards the establishment of Black trade unions. This could be attributed to the fact that at that stage Blacks lacked the necessary

expertise and organisational skills to establish and maintain effective trade unions.

One trade union which had a major impact on Black trade unionism during the early stages of trade unionism in this country was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) which was formed among the dock workers in Cape Town in 1919. Ncube (1985,P.28) maintains that "As was the case with the Industrial Workers of Africa Union, the formation of the ICU was initiated by a white socialist politician, Mr A. F. Batty who presided at the first meeting of dock workers on January 7, 1919 at which the ICU was established." Clements Kadalie, one of the founder members of ICU, was elected the first secretary of the trade union. It should be stressed that the ICU was formed at a time when the workers in general were experiencing the effects of the First World War.

Du Toit (1976,P.34) maintains that the ICU " soon catered for heterogeneous interests which later included members who were not employed in an industry and became more of a political organization than one representing workers." Instead of paying attention on work-related issues, the ICU focussed on broad socio-political issues which did not really emanate from the workplace. Unfortunately, poor administration, financial irregularities, repressive laws from the state and leadership conflicts led to the demise of the ICU in 1929. Sached (1989,P.71) maintains that " Although the ICU failed to build a strong

democratic organisation for workers, it was a major advance for the struggle of African workers against exploitation and oppression.”

3.3 THE PERIOD FROM 1924 ONWARDS

The Government passed the Industrial Conciliation Act No. 11 of 1924. This Act provided for the prevention and settlement of disputes in industry by establishing industrial councils and the registration of trade unions and employers' associations. This Act was regarded by many people as an important piece of legislation in the sense that it laid the necessary foundation for the promotion of industrial peace. However, the serious drawback of the Act was that it excluded the Black people from the definition of an employee. This meant that Black trade unions could not be registered in terms of the Act.

It is important to note that the Act provided an important stimulus for the growth of trade unions representing White workers. The period between 1924 and the outbreak of the Second World War saw a dramatic growth of trade unionism in general in this country. Du Toit (1976,P.15) argues that “ the war years were of specific significance for trade unionism. New factories, geared to wartime production, resulted in more employment becoming available.” He furthermore argues that the period between 1929 and 1950 saw a dramatic increase in the number of industrial institutions established in this country. Du Toit (1976,P.16) concludes by stating that ‘Most of these increases

took place in those sectors most adaptable to unionism, namely mining, industry and services, union membership being boosted from 75 496 at the end of 1930 to 358 626 at the end of 1950.” The growth of the manufacturing sector saw a dramatic increase in the number of trade unions representing workers employed in this sector.

Many unionists representing Black workers decided in 1928 to form the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions (FNETU). The FNETU was basically an umbrella body representing the interest of Black industrial unions. It would appear that the FNETU, unlike the ICU, focussed on work-related issues. In support of this statement, Sached (1989,P.72) states that “The FNETU followed a different strategy to the ICU. FNETU saw itself strictly, as an industrial trade union body which would deal with working conditions, demand a 48 hour week and equal pay for equal work.” The FNETU collapsed in 1932 due to police harassment, internal disputes and financial instability.

It is important to note that one federation that played a significant role towards the development of African unionism in the 1940s in this country was the Council for Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU). This federation of Black trade unions was formed in 1942. Sached (1989,P.99) states that “ Many of the leaders of the CNETU were members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), or the African National Congress (ANC) or both.” It is worth mentioning that the CNETU was formed when the employers and the state were

preparing for the Second World War. Sached (1989) is of the opinion that Black workers were in stronger bargaining position during the war years because of the demand for labour to keep production going.

Some of the affiliates of the CNETU, such as the African Mine Workers Union (AMWU), which was formed in 1941 were very militant. The AMWU tried to improve the working conditions of the Black employees employed in the mines. Feit (1975,P.39) states that when the CNETU collapsed in the early 1950s "Meetings were not held regularly, minutes of the meetings were often incomplete and unsigned, funds were in disarray and there was a tendency to treat members' money as that of the union." The next section will explore the development of events when the Nationalist Party (NP) came to power in 1948.

3.4.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN THE LABOUR FIELD FROM 1948 ONWARDS

It is important to note that when the Nationalist Party (NP) came to power in 1948, it introduced a policy of separate development for different races, commonly known as apartheid. In line with this ideology, the NP Government passed laws which were perceived by many people as an attempt to entrench its stated policy of Apartheid. Sached (1989) argues that when the NP came to power it promised the White voters that it would solve the labour crisis in South Africa and

that it would smash the political threat presented by African trade unions and other liberal organisations.

In view of the above-mentioned promises, the NP passed, in 1951, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act which allowed the Government to force Blacks to move from any land to resettlement camps. The NP Government had earlier on, in 1950, passed the Group Areas Act which allowed the Government to set aside land for the occupation of different racial groups. In 1953 the Government pass two important Acts. It passed the Bantu Education Act which provided for the establishment of a separate educational system for Blacks and also passed the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act which established a different I. R system for Black workers. The NP Government also passed the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 which gave the police a powerful muscle when dealing with threats posed by Black unions.

All the above-mentioned laws made the task of the organising Black unions unbearable. It was in the midst of this political climate that the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was formed in 1954. It would appear that although SACTU was a non-racial trade union movement, it focused its attention on addressing the aspirations of the Black workers. In support of this statement, Feit (1975,P.33) maintains that "Although intended as a multiracial trade union co-ordinating body, SACTU was largely a multiracial head on an African

body. Men and women of all races made up the leadership, but the membership of the forty-seven unions that SACTU claimed as affiliated to it was mainly African.”

SACTU believed that the struggle for economic emancipation was inextricably bound with the struggle for political freedom. Du Toit (1976,P.41) maintains that at its first conference, SACTU argued that “A mere struggle for the economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers.” It was for this reason that SACTU decided to work in alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) and other parties of the Congress Alliance. Friedman (1987,P.29) argues that some of the factors that increased the effectiveness of SACTU were that “They used their resources more effectively by concentrating on key industries, chiefly metal, and they stressed the need to build strong factory committees to seek bargaining rights directly from employers. They emphasised the importance of worker education and were the first unions to use consumer boycotts to pressure employers into dealing with them.”

The NP Government launched a sustained and systematic assault on SACTU. Its leaders were detained, served with banning orders and others were killed by the police. It is worth mentioning that some of the problems of SACTU were caused by the union’s over-indulgence

in political issues. Feit (1975, P.33) maintains that “ Political trade unionism has many pitfalls because of these divided aims. To gain its long-term political ends the union must bring its members economic advantages in the short term. If overtly political decisions compromise immediate gain, the leadership risks alienating its followers, yet failure to take political action may compromise the long-range goals.” Because of the repressive laws of the Government and other organisational problems, SACTU virtually ceased to function in 1964.

It is interesting to note that Bonner (1980) is of the opinion that SACTU’s demise was partly brought about by its participation in broad socio-political issues. Bonner (1980,P.183) concludes that “SACTU’s virtual extinction then can be attributed to its participation in the liberation struggle and the consequent repressive action of the state. This raises serious questions for current African trade unionism. In particular, could such outcome have been avoided, and does a similar fate await African worker organizations today?”

With the demise of SACTU in the mid 1960’s, the only other African trade unions that were somewhat active in the labour field were the parallel unions that were established by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) in the 1960’s. Webster (1985,P.114) states that “ In 1962 TUCSA amended its constitution to allow African unions to affiliate and the following year set up an African Affairs section, establishing the African Sheet Metal Workers Union – later the

Engineering Industrial Workers Union-as TUCSA's first African 'parallel' union."

It is important to note that TUCSA supported the Federation of Free African Trade Unions (FOFATUSA), which was formed in 1959. Unlike SACTU, which was actively involved in politics, FOFATUSA attempted to separate politics from the economic struggle of the workers. Unfortunately, FOFATUSA collapsed in 1965. It is important to note that FOFATUSA did not pose any serious threat to the NP Government as it was not a strong trade union federation.

It would appear that with the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organisations in 1960 and with the demise of SACTU in 1964, there was little, if any resistance mounted by Black trade unions in the labour field. It should be born in mind that during this period the Government, with the assistance of the police and the defence force, had crushed the threat that was posed by the African trade unions and other militant political parties. It should be noted that the employers collaborated with the Government in this regard.

Perhaps it is for the above-mentioned reasons that the 1960's are usually referred to as the period of "industrial peace". In support of this statement, Bonner (1980,P.186) argues that "With the crushing of SACTU in the early 1960's there was a period of relative quiescence in South Africa's industrial relations. Whereas between 1955 and 1960

there had been an average of seventy-six strikes a year, there were only sixteen strikes in 1962 and seventeen in 1963.” The next section will attempt to explore the development of events in the labour field from the 1970’s onwards.

3.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN THE LABOUR FIELD FROM THE 1970’S ONWARDS.

It is important to note that the events that took place in the labour field in the 1970’s marked a major shift from the period of “industrial peace” that was experienced by the employers in the 1960’s in South Africa. It should be borne in mind that this process began in the late 1960’s, when the TUCSA unionists attempted to revive African unions. However, one of the most significant events in the development of African unionism in this country took place in Durban and surrounding areas when African workers struck in demand for higher wages.

Apart from demanding higher wages, African unions began to challenge the dualistic structure of I. R. in this country. Black workers put pressure on the Government and the employers to formally recognise African unions. Friedman (1987,P.40) argues that the 1973 Durban strikes “hastened the rebirth of African unions and jolted employers and government into changes which would help the new organisations survive and grow.” It is important to note that the

African unions achieved a major breakthrough in 1974 when the management of Smith and Nephew agreed to recognise and bargain with the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW).

It is interesting to note that when the Durban strikes erupted in 1973, the Government and the police initially assumed a passive and somewhat sympathetic role towards the striking workers. In keeping with this, the then Minister of Manpower ordered the wage board to review five wage determinations setting minimum pay for unskilled workers. The Government then passed the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act of 1973. Although this Act was designed to curb the growth of African unions, it gave the African workers the right of strike under certain conditions. The Act also provided for the establishment of liaison committees, which were structures initiated by management to serve the interests of the employees in the workplace. Unfortunately, such committees were not popular with the African workers as they were perceived to be "sweetheart unions" designed to serve the interests of management.

In 1973 the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) and other African unions formed the Trade Union Advisory Co-ordinating Committee (TUACC). It is important to note that the TUACC was committed to establishing non-racial industrial unions in this country. Such unions were based on strong organisation at the shop floor. Sached (1989) argues that the

trade unions which were affiliated to the TUACC sometimes used the liaison and works committees as a strategy for organising.

Another federation that was formed in the mid 1970's was the Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions (CCOBTU). Sached (1989,P.174) maintains that "The CCOBTU included parallel unions organised by TUCSA. Within all these unions the principle of Black leadership was stressed." It should be noted that the CCOBTU also utilised works and liaison committees to further their objectives in the workplace. These union federations carried the flag of African unionism until 1979, when a giant umbrella body, the Federation of South African Unions (FOSATU) was launched.

The employers used various tactics to curb the growth of African unions. Companies tried in vain, to revive the liaison and works committees. Webster (1985) states that some companies used the tactics of fear and smear to curb the growth of Black trade unions. Some companies enlisted the help of the police in an attempt to block the organization of African unions. Webster (1985,P.147) describes the tactic of smear as "The characterization of the union as 'illegal' or 'corrupt'". In this light the union was portrayed in a negative light by management.

Friedman (1987) asserts that the years immediately after 1973 were harsh to the Black trade unions. This was so because the companies

had returned to normality and the Government and the employers had regained their confidence. The Government and the employers began to act against African unions. In order to survive, the African trade unions developed a strategy to fight for formal recognition agreements. This arrangement proved to be a very effective strategy for the African trade unions. Some multinational companies doing business in South Africa began to grant African trade unions formal recognition. This created a big dilemma for the Government in that whilst the African trade unions could not be registered in terms of the Act, some companies were beginning to recognise them and were granting these unions recognition.

The Soweto uprisings, which erupted in 1976, had a crippling effect on the emerging African unions. In support of this statement, Friedman (1987,P.112) maintains that "The upheavals gave birth to new political groups which seemed to offer Blacks far greater hopes than the tiny union movement holed up in its handful of factories. The unrest also shook business confidence; foreign investment dried up and a decline in the economy turned into a deepening recession. What little bargaining power the unions had was swiftly eroded as thousands of workers were retrenched"

Sached (1989,P.180) states that " The Government also took this opportunity to try and smash the unions. Union work was seriously disrupted by these events. Many union officials were arrested, and in

November 1976, 26 officials were banned.” It should be borne in mind that the Soweto upheavals were significant in that they changed the perceptions and the thinking of the Government and employers on a number of issues which affected Black people living in this country. It was for this reason that the Government decided in 1977 to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate labour relations in South Africa. This commission was headed by professor N. E. Wiehahn. The Government also appointed the Rieckert Commission to look at influx control laws. Upon the completion of its work, the Wiehahn Commission made far reaching recommendations, which were going to effect drastic and important changes in industrial relations in South Africa.

The Commission recommended inter alia, that African and mixed trade unions should be allowed to register in terms of the Act. Another important recommendation of the commission was that job reservation should be abolished. The commission felt that registering African trade unions would help exercise some control over them. After months of deliberations, the Government reluctantly accepted the commission’s recommendations. This development went a long way towards normalising the industrial relations climate in South Africa. Initially, the African unions were sceptical to register in terms of the Act, but as the time passed by, they saw the advantages of registering and did so in numbers.

It is important to note that the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) which was formed in 1979 played a significant role in the growth of African unionism in the early 1980's. Some of the main principles of FOSATU were non-racialism, industrial unions and trade union unity. Sached (1989,P.192) states that " As a trade union federation, FOSATU grew in strength and became very powerful because of its attempt to build democracy from below – under workers' control." FOSATU continued to play a dominant role in the economic and political struggles of the workers until the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985. A discussion of COSATU will take place towards the end of the chapter.

Another federation, the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) which was formed in 1980 carried the flag of African unionism in the 1980s. Some of the central policies of CUSA were worker control, industrial unions and Black leadership. It would appear that unions affiliated to CUSA were not as militant as those affiliated to FOSATU. Sached (1989,P.194) states that " The CUSA unions were smaller and often spread out over a large area. This made the task of the organising democratically very difficult. So CUSA unions did not go on strike as often as unions from FOSATU." It is important to note that one affiliate of CUSA, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was very militant. The NUM will be the subject for discussion in chapter four.

In the mid 1980s African trade unions had become so powerful that the Government was beginning to view them with suspicion. The Government was concerned about the potential of some of these unions to fight for political change in this country. This was so because when the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983 it undertook to mobilise the support of Africans and vowed to work hand in hand with trade unions to bring about change in this country. In the mid 1980s the giant union federations, NACTU and COSATU were formed. These union federations, especially COSATU, indicated from the onset that they were going to embark on a vigorous campaign to fight against the perceived injustices which affected Black people in this country.

It is important to note that in the mid 1980's Black trade unions worked hand in hand with political organisations to bring about change in this country. In support of this statement Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1992,P.27) argue that "The union movement, as the only opposition group accorded some legitimacy through the Labour Relations Act, moved strongly to the forefront of the political struggle. The trade unions' ability to orchestrate the labour and consumer power of their members became a major tactic in the political struggle." These authors (1992) maintain that the Black trade unions and their allies in the political field intensified calls for sanctions, stay-aways, boycotts and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The Government used the police and the army to diffuse the situation. Trade union leaders were harassed and detained by the police. Some Black union leaders were allegedly assaulted and killed in detention by the police. During the height of the unrest in 1986 the Government declared a state of emergency in the country. This was a severe blow to the growth of the Black union movement as the unions could not hold meetings under the state of emergency measures. Finnemore (1996,P.38) states that “ Unions were pressurised further by the real decline in economic growth which placed great strain on wage negotiations.”

Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1992) state that by the end of the 1980's the economy suffered a severe recession as sanctions, disinvestment, strikes and other disruptions took its toll. It was clear to the Government of the day that the cost of enforcing apartheid had become excessive. It should be borne in mind that the pressure exerted by the international community also forced the Government to reconsider its tactics. Other economic factors such as the high rate of inflation and the high levels of unemployment contributed to the decline in the economy.

It was in the light of the above-mentioned factors that the then President of the country, F. W. De Klerk, announced on 2 February 1990 the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political parties and the commitment by the Government to negotiate the future of this

country with all affected parties. In 1991 the Government repealed all apartheid legislation, namely the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act. Nel (1997,P.62) states that “During December 1991, the Confederation of a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was formed to serve as an official forum for negotiations, which had to lead to a so-called ‘new South Africa’ , a post apartheid South Africa based on political democracy.”

The above-mentioned events culminated in the establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU), which was sworn in, in May 1994. It is interesting to note that trade unions in general and the Black trade unions, specifically, have shown a tremendous growth as the ANC –led Government is perceived as pro labour. Many former unionists, such as Alec Erwin and Jay Naidoo occupy senior positions in the GNU. Nel (1997,P.63) states that “ The pro-labour approach was reinforced by COSATU’s continued alliance with the ANC and the SACP, and by several meetings between the new Labour Ministry and COSATU, and between President Mandela and COSATU leaders.”

The Labour Relations Act No. 66 was passed in 1995. Basically, the overall objective of this Act is to maintain stability in our industries, which in turn will promote economic growth and development. The Act places heavy emphasis on co-operation among the parties i.e. Government, employers and employees. It is worth mentioning that to

counter the growing muscle of COSATU and other trade union federations, the major employer organisations in this country amalgamated and formed an umbrella body called Business South Africa (BSA).

Towards the end of this chapter an attempt will be made to examine the policies and principles of COSATU. Before that stage is reached, it is important to analyse the goals of trade unions in general. This will be the subject for discussion in the next section.

3.6 TRADE UNION GOALS – THE SOCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

3.6.1 INTRODUCTION

It should be noted that most of the interaction which people have with others takes place within the context of a group. This is perhaps highlighted by the fact that man is a social being. Man does not live in a vacuum. There is a tendency for man to establish relationships with other people. Consequently, man finds himself belonging to a number of different groups such as his family, cultural organisation, football team, welfare society, religious group, etc. It is important to note that these groups differ in their composition, formality, size and purpose. It would appear that man joins a group in order to achieve certain goals. For example, a resident who lives in a violent town may decide to join

a neighbourhood watch organisation in order to secure security for his family. It must be noted that man derives satisfaction from the attainment of his goals.

3.6.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF GOALS

Furnham and Argyle (1981,P.57) define a goal as “ A state of affairs, whether a bodily or mental state, behaviour of self or others, or condition of the physical world, which is consciously desired, or is pursued without awareness, and gives satisfaction when attained.” These authors maintain that in most cases people are motivated to pursue more than one goal. It must be noted that the two goals which an individual decides to pursue may be independent of each other, compatible with each other, or interfere with each other. These authors state that two goals are independent if the attainment of one goal does not affect the attainment of another goal. Two goals are compatible if one goal is instrumental to the attainment of the other goal. Lastly, two goals are in conflict if the attainment of the one goal interferes with the other goal.

3.6.3 GROUP GOALS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

It should be noted that goals may be classified as formal and explicit, as in the case of a retired lecturer entrusted with the task of investigating irregularities in the admission of first year students at a

university. Group goals may also be informal and implicit, as in the case of a group of youngsters who gather at the soccer field over week-ends as playmates. Mc David and Harari (1974,P.313) state that "Often the formal and publicly stated objectives of a group may be only nominal and inaccurate reflections of the real purposes of the group." For example, a cultural organisation whose stated objective is to cultivate cultural awareness between members, may in practice pursue goals which are highly political in nature.

Mc David and Harari (1974) make a distinction between operational and non-operational goals of a group. These authors define the operational goals as the short-term goals of a group which are transitory in nature than the non-operational goals. Mc David and Harari (1974,P.314) argue that " Groups tend to move simultaneously toward two kinds of general objectives: the execution of some purposeful function and the maintenance of the group as an organized system." It is important to note that the attainment of both these aims is important to the sustained organisation and maintenance of a group as a social system.

In many cases the goals of a group are adopted by individual members as their own personal goals. Mc David and Harari (1974) maintain that when the goals of a group coincide with the goals of the individual members, the individual members experience maximum personal satisfaction in the success of a group. This serves to explain for

example, why in politics a conservative is likely to join a conservative political organisation and vice versa. It is also important to note that there can also be a great deal of interdependence between group goals and individual goals. Mc David and Harari (1974,P.317) conclude that "... maximally effective performance of a group occurs when the group succeeds both in satisfying personal individual needs of each member and in achieving its collective goals."

3.6.4 THE STRUCTURE OF GOALS INTERDEPENDENCE

It would appear that the functioning of a group is likely to be enhanced when the group members are positively interdependent with respect to goals. This is perhaps influenced by the fact that when the members of a group are interdependent with respect to goals, they are most likely to co-operate and assist other members to achieve individual as well as group goals. According to Raven and Rubin (1976,P.258) it has been established " ... that group members who are positively interdependent with respect to goals tend to like one another more and to display greater work satisfaction and morale than do members of competitive groups"

What happens to man when he is deflected from his goal? Young (1957,P.13) states that " A goal-directed or goal-oriented object, such as man, will show what we call 'restorative' behavior when deflected from its goal. That is, if some environmental obstacle intervenes

between a goal and the human pursuer of that goal, the pursuer will tend to act in such a manner as to circumvent this obstacle and to seek another path to the goal in question.” This give the impression that man will not rest until his goal has been achieved.

It is interesting to note that cohesiveness, that is, all the factors and forces that bind the individual members of a group together, is likely to contribute towards the attainment of individual and group goals. Stephan and Stephan (1990,P.404) maintain that “Group cohesion typically increases productivity because group members who are highly attracted to the group want to help the group achieve its goals.” These authors also argue that cohesiveness improves co-operation within the group and also facilitates the functioning of a group as a whole.

3.7 THE GOALS OF TRADE UNIONS

In order to shed some light on the discussion of the goals of trade unions, it is imperative to analyse welfare and business unionism. It is important to analyse these two concepts because they help to determine the type and nature of goals which trade unions will pursue.

3.7.1 WELFARE UNIONISM

Welfare trade unions are not merely content with promoting the industrial welfare of their members, but they pursue broad aims and aspirations. Apart from pursuing work-related issues, welfare unions attempt to achieve broad socio-political goals. Jackson (1985,P.65) states that welfare unions "... are concerned with industrial conditions and the industrial welfare of their members; however, they are also a pressure group and 'cause' movement with wider aims and aspirations. Thus, these unions are concerned not only with the 'good' of their own members, but also with the 'good' of society in general." It must be noted that the British, European and to a lesser extent Australian unions are all said to be welfare unions.

In South Africa, it would appear that in the past many Black trade unions befitted the above-mentioned definition of welfare unionism. This is so because in the past, many Black trade unions in South Africa as it has been reported elsewhere in this project, did not regard themselves as organisations that merely represented workers in the workplace, but they saw themselves as important change agents in what was perceived to be an undemocratic social order. This was perhaps highlighted by the different forms of protest action such as mass demonstrations, stay-aways and boycotts which Black trade unions supported in order to show their dissatisfaction with the previous social order.

3.7.2 BUSINESS UNIONISM

Business unions limit their goals and energies to the industrial welfare of their members. In other words, business unions concentrate mostly on business and economic matters. Business unions are unlikely, for example, to pursue goals of a political nature. American unions, unlike their counterparts in Britain and Europe, are said to be business unions. It must be noted, however, that business unions do pursue certain goals which are not strictly economical in nature.

Jackson (1985,P.66) argues that “ This does not mean that American unions never act as pressure group; however, it means that when they act as a pressure group they do so on industrial rather than general social matters. Thus it has been argued that many American unions, unlike their counterparts in a number of other countries, are content to operate within the present social system.” It would seem that many White trade unions organising in this country befit the above-mentioned definition of business unions. The perceived unequal treatment of the various racial groups in the past in this country might have influenced White trade unions to pursue business unionism.

It is important to note that the type of society in which a trade union operates will, to a large extent, determine the emphasis which that particular union will place on specific goals. For example, in a society where trade union members are content with the existing social order, a

trade union may place emphasis on achieving maximum economic benefits for their members. In a society where the trade unions members are dissatisfied with the existing social order, a trade union may focus its attention on achieving goals which are political in nature. Bendix (1992,P.62) states that "... in a society where trade union members perceive themselves as repressed, or where they are not satisfied with the socio-political status quo, emphasis will necessarily also be placed on their socio-political objectives."

For the purposes of this study the following objectives of trade unions will be discussed.

3.7.3 ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES

All trade unions strive to improve the economic status of their members. This is one of the most important objectives of a trade union. Trade unionists are aware that workers join unions in order to be better off economically. It can be safely argued that a trade union which does not produce good economic results runs the risk of losing its members. It is for this reason that a trade union will attempt to secure the best economic deal when bargaining collectively with management.

Trade unions are usually faced with a dilemma when trying to achieve economic goals for their members. For example, if a trade union goes out of its way to improve the economic position of its members at all costs, this action may cause the company within which it organises to be unprofitable, and in the long run such an action may place the position of its members in jeopardy. Experience has shown that it is extremely difficult for trade unions to attain maximum economic gains for their members during a recession because the bargaining power of trade unions is severely reduced during this period. Some of the economic objectives of trade unions are the following:

3.7.3.1 JOB SECURITY

Another important goal of a trade union is to protect the jobs of its members. It is of vital importance that a trade union achieves this goal as it cannot exist without members. In some cases trade unions have been compelled to accept small increases from management in order to keep jobs for their members.

3.7.3.2 SOCIAL WELFARE

It is one of the trade union's important objectives to see to the general welfare of its members. To this end, a trade union will make it a point that its members enjoy favourable benefits, such as paid sick leave, accident cover, pension benefits, etc. It is interesting to note that in

America and in Europe some of these benefits are provided by the trade unions themselves. Whilst most of these services are provided by the Government in Britain, in America they are provided by the companies.

3.7.3.3 JOB REGULATION

Job regulation refers to the attempts by trade unions to have a say in all work-related issues which affect their members in the workplace. This arrangement includes joint agreement on issues such as working hours, sick leave, overtime, etc. Nowadays trade unions are not merely content with consultation from management on issues that affect employees, but they want total involvement in the decision-making process. In South Africa the Labour Relations Act of 1995 will go a long way towards satisfying the needs and aspirations of trade unions in this regard, as it places heavy emphasis on consultation, information-sharing and joint decision-making between the employer and the trade union on certain issues which affect these parties.

3.7.4 SOCIO-POLITICAL GOALS

As it has been noted in this chapter, trade unions which operate in a society which is perceived to be unjust and undemocratic, will adopt as one of their important objectives the task of bringing about radical changes which are aimed at transforming that society. It would appear

that in the past many Black trade unions in South Africa were committed to challenging and replacing capitalism with socialism. This is so because many Black trade unions associated capitalism with apartheid. Many publications produced by Black trade unions in South Africa portray capitalism as exploitative.

However, Bendix (1992,P.64) argues that "...trade unions can never be viable vehicles of advance towards socialism in themselves; by their very nature they are tied to capitalism. They can bargain with society but not transform it." This author argues that trade unions cannot succeed on their own in transforming a society. Bendix (1992,P.64) furthermore argues that trade unions "...can at best conscientise and build up solidarity among the working class. The actual job of transforming society evidently belongs to other bodies especially established for this purpose, with whom the trade unions may work in a supportive role." It can therefore be safely assumed that realising that it could not bring about political changes on its own, COSATU decided to work in a supportive role with political organisations such as the ANC and the SACP to transform the South African society.

3.7.5 INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT OF MEMBERS

Trade unions regard the total development and the upliftment of individual members as some of their important objectives. To this end, trade unions afford their members the opportunity for education and

training. For example, members are nominated to attend courses and seminars at the union's expense. Finnemore and Van der Merwe (1992,P.57) concur with this point of view when they state that "Union activists undergo training and may develop skills that they would not have been able to secure in their ordinary daily jobs. Unionists have often risen from the ranks to become major players in political life of a country." For example, in South Africa Mr Cyril Ramaphosa rose from the ranks of the NUM to become one of the leading personalities in the politics of this country. Apart from providing educational assistance to members, overseas-based trade unions also provide legal advice and assistance to their members.

3.7.6 INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Industrial democracy refers to a move initiated by a trade union which will enable its members to have greater control over their work situation. This has become one of the important objectives of trade unions. Nowadays, trade unions do not merely want to be consulted about issues which affect their members in the workplace, but they want to participate in making decisions which will affect their members.

It must be noted that industrial democracy is not without its problems to trade unions. Jackson (1985,P.86) states that industrial democracy "...can result in a trade union becoming closely involved with

management and as a consequence losing its own independence.” Jackson (1985,P.81) furthermore argues that “ Clearly unions face a real dilemma; one of their central aims is the extension of employee control over the work situation, yet by allying themselves too closely with such moves they may impair their ability to defend workers’ interests in other ways.”

3.8 TYPE OF TRADE UNIONS-BRIEF DISCUSSION

For the purposes of this study, trade unions are going to be classified into craft unions, industrial unions, general unions and white-collar unions. A discussion of each of these classifications follows:

3.8.1 CRAFT UNIONS

Craft unions seek to organise all workers who exclusively belong to a specialised skill, occupation or trade. It must be borne in mind that the chief concern of craft unions is the protection of the status of their members. Craft unions recruit members from specialised occupations regardless of the industry in which their members work. Bendix (1992,P.58) states that “Craft unions find their power in the skill of

their members and in their ability to restrict entrance to the occupation which they represent. Their strength lies not in numbers, but in the fact that their members occupy strategic positions in an undertaking and are not easily replaceable.” One of the main objectives of craft unions is to ensure that their members enjoy a high standard of living by demanding high wages when bargaining collectively with management. Craft unions have always tried to keep their work scarce by insisting on high levels of training and by restricting the number of apprentices who are admitted into their occupation.

It would seem that technological changes have placed craft unions in a less powerful position. This is so because technological changes have led to the redundancy of some of the skilled trades of craft unions. It can also be argued that in South Africa, prior to the implementation of the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission, the policy of apartheid enabled craft unions to recruit members of a specific racial group at the expense of the members of other racial groups.

It would appear that despite the danger posed technology, craft unions still exercise a considerable degree of power. Jones (1985,P.3) states that “Because craft unions tend to cut across industries, and in some cases have members in most industries, they are in a position of potentially great bargaining strength. A national strike by electricians,

for instance, would affect virtually every workplace in every industry across the country.”

3.8.2 INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Industrial unions recruit their members in a single and well –defined industry regardless of the nature of the work that is performed. Industrial unions can recruit their members in specific industries such as mining, textile, building, catering, etc. For example, in South Africa the NUM organise workers employed in the mining industry. It must be noted that in terms of membership, the industrial unions have the potential to outnumber the craft unions.

The main reasoning behind the formation of industrial unions is that it is easier to recruit members who work in the same industry and under similar conditions than to recruit workers simply because they perform a particular skill. The membership of these unions in specific companies determine the strength and power of the industrial unions. It is important to note that some industrial unions are formed to achieve a socio-political aim. Bendix (1992,P.59) state that according to Salamon “ the original concept of industrial unionism was... seen as a means, together with a general strike, whereby the working classes could take control of both their workplace and society.” This is

perhaps one of the reasons why COSATU is in favour of industrial unions.

3.8.3 GENERAL UNIONS

General unions, as the name suggests, seek to organise workers in general regardless of the skill or the job which the workers perform, and regardless of the industry which employs them. However, it must be noted that a significant percentage of the membership of general unions is unskilled. Bendix (1992,P.59) argues that “ Although their membership is theoretically open to any employee, many general unions have tended to adopt a particular industrial pattern, as proved by a name such as Transport and General Workers Union.” In some instances general unions recruit members who are later on given the green light to join specific industrial unions. Some general unions concentrate their efforts on recruiting members from specific geographical regions within a country. For example, in South Africa the South African Allied Workers Union concentrated its efforts on recruiting members from the Eastern Cape region.

3.8.4 WHITE-COLLAR UNIONS

White-collar unions seek to organise non-manual workers such as teachers, civil servants, insurance officials, nurses, etc. It is interesting to note that in the past, office workers did not see a need to join trade unions because their status alone guaranteed them a high standard of living. These employees perceived themselves as forming part of the management. What could have caused this change in the thinking and perception of these workers? Jones (1985,P.5) states that "...the *raison d'être* of true white-collar unionism was as a reaction to the rapid gains experienced by manual workers and the erosion or, in many cases, complete eradication of the differentials between manual and white-collar workers." White-collar unions can be organised on a general, industrial or craft basis.

One gets the impression that in South Africa some of the white-collar unions were established not only to secure economic gains for their members but to pursue the socio-political goals as well. For example, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) is on record as having stated that it was going to carry its weight behind the ANC in the 1994 general elections.

3.9 THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF A BIG TRADE UNION

It must be noted that the structure and the organisation of trade union is determined by issues such as the constitution, policy, size and the rules of that particular union. Bendix (1996,P.179) states that trade unions have a "...hierarchical form of organisation similar to that found in business undertakings but, unlike business organisations, power is not necessarily vested at the top." She argues that the broad base of this hierarchy is made of the general membership which elect shop stewards to represent them in discussions with management.

Shop stewards are usually elected on a departmental basis to liaise with management on behalf of the workers. It is the duty of shop stewards to engage the management of a company in discussions on any issues which affect their members. It is also the responsibility of shop stewards to represent the employees in their disputes with management. Shop stewards are also expected to act as a link between the employees and the trade union. In order to execute their functions effectively, shop stewards form plant-based shop steward committees. A shop steward committee co-ordinates the activities of a trade union in a company.

Bendix (1996) states that the local branch constitutes the next level in the hierarchy of the organisation of a trade union. Of central

importance to the functioning of the local branch is the branch committee, whose function is to give guidance on general union policy to local members. Branch committees also ensure that suggestions, ideas and complaints from local members are conveyed to upper structures of the trade union. Every branch will have its own secretary, treasurer and chairperson. Depending on its size, a branch may appoint full-time officials who will be paid from the funds of the trade union.

Big trade unions have no option but to establish regional committees. Bendix (1992,P.68) explains that regional committees "...will usually consist of representatives from the various branches but may, like the branch committees, have full-time officers and organisers." It is the function of a regional committee to co-ordinate the activities of the different branches within a region and to liaise between the branches and the national committee.

At the top of the organisational hierarchy of a trade union is the national committee, national executive and the national congress. Bendix (1992,P.68) concludes that "It is the task of the national committee and particularly the executive to implement union policy and decisions, to speak and act on behalf of the union and, in general, to ensure that the organisation functions as smoothly and effectively as possible." The manner in which the officials of the national committee and the national executive are appointed is determined by the policy of the trade union. In some cases the union policy stipulates that these

officials must be elected from the regional and branch committees. In other instances these officials are elected by the national congress.

Bendix (1996) maintains that it can be safely argued that many trade unions are perceived to be democratic organisations in that they develop from bottom upwards and not the other way round. In this way trade union members are seen to be running the organisation. Figure 3.1 below illustrates the structure of a national union. The next section will explore the policies, principles, and ideology of COSATU

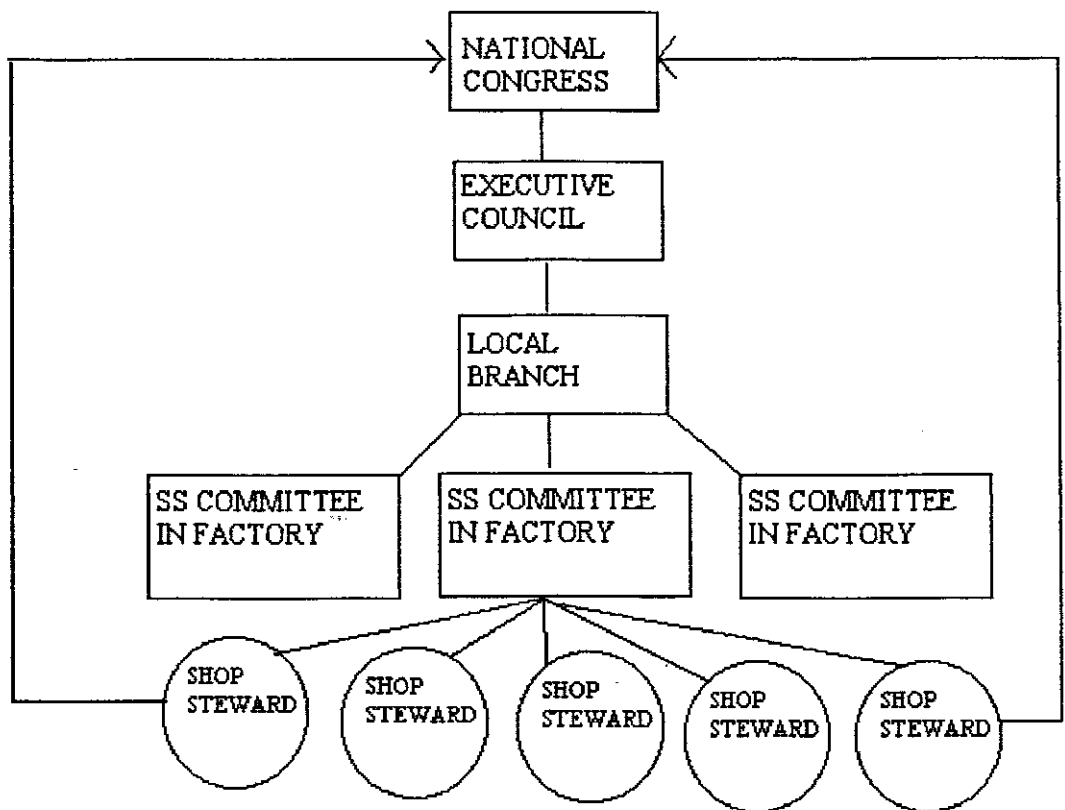


Figure 3.1 : The Structure of a National Union

Source : Finnemore (1996,P.88)

3.8 THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS: IDEOLOGY, POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES

3.10.1 MEMBERSHIP

COSATU was formed on 30 November 1985. According to Nel and Van Rooyen (1989), COSATU was formed mainly from the trade unions which were then affiliated to FOSATU, the UDF and other formerly independent trade unions. According to Baskin (1994), the trade unions which came together to launch COSATU had approximately 400 000 members. Baskin (1994,P.7) states that “ The pace of membership growth slowed markedly during the early ‘90’s, a period of recession and widespread retrenchments.” Finnemore (1996,P.101 maintains that “COSATU had a membership of 1 900 000 and 20 affiliates in 1996”. Figure 3.2 illustrates how the membership of COSATU has grown over the nine year period from 1985 to 1994.

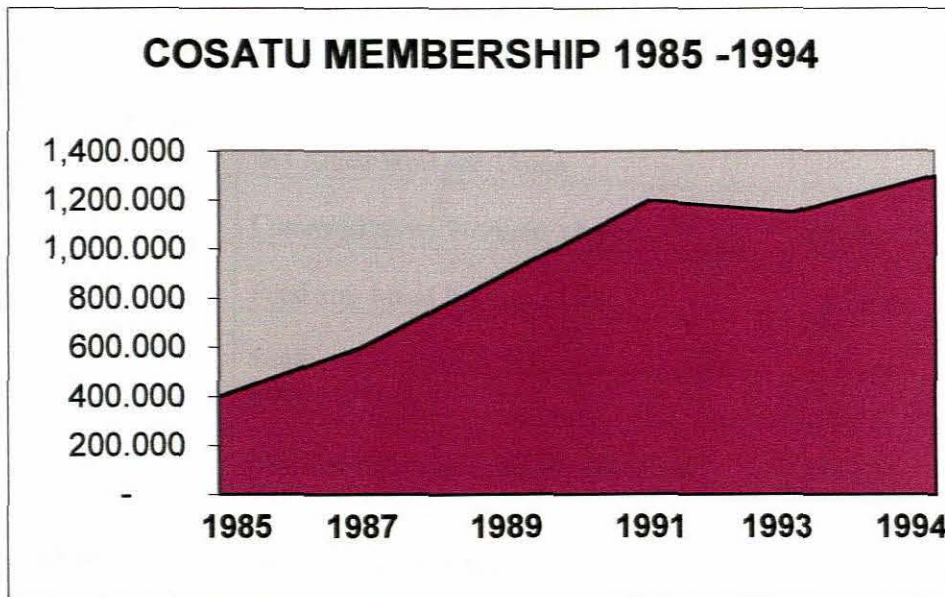


Figure 3.2 : COSATU MEMBERSHIP 1985 - 1994

Source : BASKIN (1994,P.8)

Of COSATU's affiliates, the NUM is the biggest, with the membership of 310 596 at the end of 1994. The membership of NUM increased to 357 198 in 1996. The following table serves to illustrate the membership of COSATU's affiliates from 1987 to 1994.

Finnemore (1996) states that COSATU had a total membership of 1 900 000 in 1996. The following trade unions were affiliated to COSATU at the beginning of 1999.

CAWU	Construction and Allied Workers' Union	31 606
CEPPWAWU	Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union	89 000
CWU	Communication Workers' Union	40 398
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers' Union	100 000
SAPSAWU	South African Public Servants Association Workers' Union	14 318
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union	231 825
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers	251 954
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa	220 000
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union	59 145
SAAPAWU	South African Agricultural, Plantation and Allied Workers' Union	29 000
SACCAWU	South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union	102 234
SACTWU	South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union	127 000
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union	210 509
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union	116 524
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union	49 000
SASBO	South African Society of Bank Officials	62 554
TGWU	Transport and General Workers' Union	55 438
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP 1999		1 786 505

Table 3.1 : COSATU Affiliated unions in 1999

Source : Finnemore (1999,P.105)

It is important to note that the biggest percentage of COSATU's membership is derived from the manufacturing sector. Thirty five percent of COSATU's membership comes from this sector. Twenty three percent of COSATU's membership is derived from the mining sector. The construction industry accounts for only two percent of the total membership of COSATU. Figure 3.5 below depicts the sectoral breakdown of the total membership of COSATU in 1994.

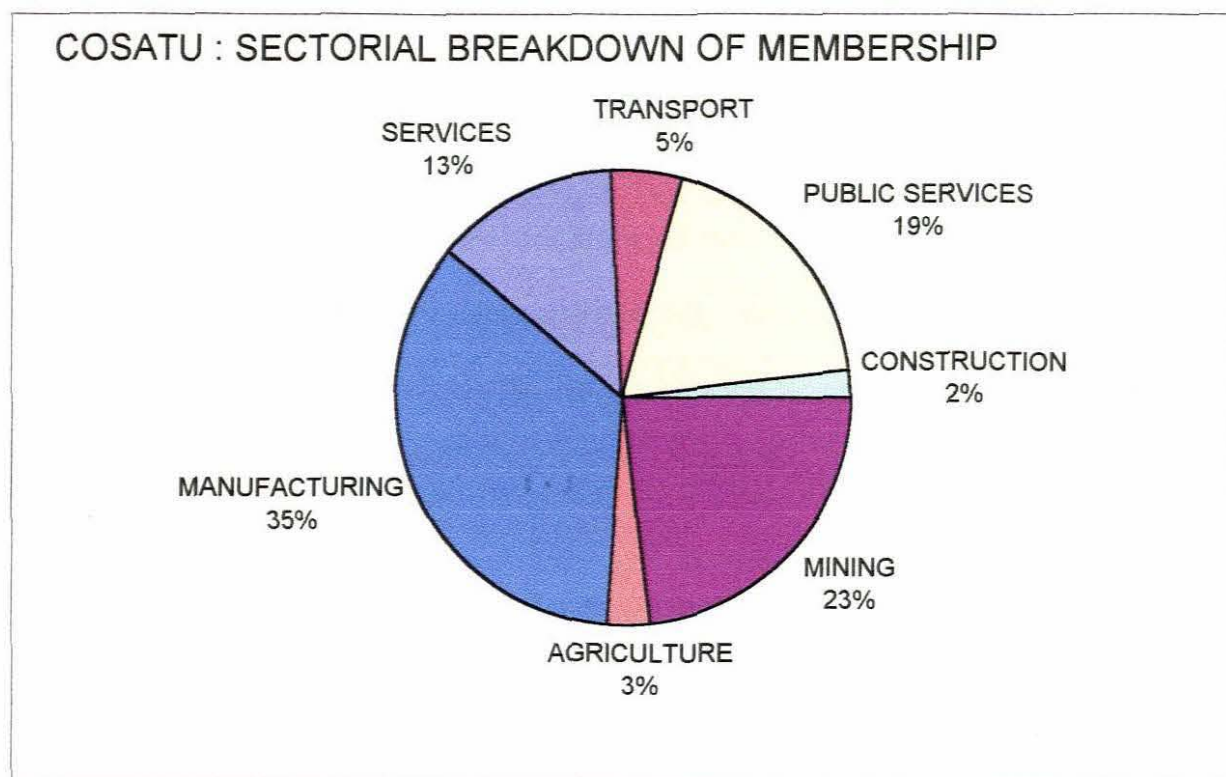


Figure 3.5 : COSATU Sectorial Breakdown of Membership

Source : Baskin (1994,P.11)

3.10.2 FINANCES AND STAFF OF COSATU

Baskin (1994) argues that COSATU and its affiliates employ more than 1 400 employees on a full-time basis. It should be borne in mind that this figure excludes the full-time shop stewards who are not paid by their trade unions. Baskin(1994,P.33) maintains that the “Annual income from membership subscriptions is around the R100 million mark. In short, COSATU affiliates combined are as big as a medium-sized company in terms of employment and income”. He furthermore states that COSATU and the trade unions affiliated to it have ninety five national and five hundred and ninety regional office-bearers. It is important to note that many of these posts are occupied by workers. According to Baskin (1994,P.34), “ COSATU employs 61 people (this figure includes posts that are currently vacant) and its affiliates employ a further 1392.”

It should be noted that COSATU has established structures or forums in all its regions which are called locals. These structures are designed to create unity by bringing together shop stewards from different trade unions or affiliates in a particular area, town or township. Baskin (1994,P.44) maintains that the locals “ aim to build grassroots unity and involve local leadership in the federation’s campaigns. They often provide a forum for unionists to interact with civic organisations on local community issues. COSATU locals are generally regarded as the backbone of the federation.”

3.10.3 POLICIES, PRINCIPLES AND IDEOLOGY OF COSATU

In order to get an insight into the ideology of COSATU, it is important to analyse and discuss the aims and objectives of this federation. It is interesting to note that when COSATU was formed in November 1985, the federation set itself to play not only an economical role but a political role as well. Bendix (1996,P.214) maintains that at COSATU's inaugural congress Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the then secretary general of the NUM, argued that "...we have also recognised that industrial issues are political. Workers have long realised when they are paid lower wages that it is a political issue. But what is difficult is how to make the link between economic and political issues... We all agree that the struggle of workers on the shop floor cannot be separated from the wider struggle for liberation."

COSATU has in the past called national stay-aways and strikes in order to protest against issues of a broad socio-political nature. When the secretary general of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani, was buried in April 1993 COSATU called a national stay-away and threatened to target all the employers who refused to co-operate with the unions in this regard. In his speech, delivered at the federation's second National Congress, Mr Elijah Barayi, the then

president of COSATU (1987,P.10), maintained that “ Politics, and especially the lack of even the most democratic rights for the majority of our people, is a bread and butter issue for the working class. It is the fundamental question which is tormenting millions of workers – and we are obliged to answer it. The solution to this problem has to come and it can only come from the democratic movement under the leadership of the working class.” Politically, COSATU supports a unitary state based on one person one vote as opposed to federal system, which the federation views as a recipe for disaster.

There has been concern that the overt involvement of COSATU in broad political issues might cause a serious ideological split within the giant federation. Nel and Van Rooyen (1989) argue that the ideological differences in COSATU between the ‘workerists’ and ‘populists’ negatively affected the merging of trade unions within COSATU. This must have been a serious blow to COSATU as it is known that one of the federation’s objectives is to form strong industrial unions. However, the leadership of COSATU has categorically denied that there is an ideological split between the ‘workerists’ and the ‘populists’.

Nel and Van Rooyen (1989,P.154) state that “Although the ‘populists’ have entrenched themselves firmly in the upper echelons of COSATU, it appears that the leadership is beginning to recognise the necessity of getting back to grassroots organisation.” It could also be argued that

COSATU's decision to play a dual economic and political role during the early stages of its formation might have impacted negatively on the federation's ability to form strong and united trade unions.

It is clear that COSATU's alliance with the ANC has in certain instances caused serious problems for the giant federation. Bendix (1996,P.223) argues that " Having made a pact with the ANC, the federation put all its energies into ensuring an ANC victory in the elections. More than twenty leading figures in COSATU were released to stand for parliament, while numerous others later left of their own accord in order to take up new positions which were being offered. This 'brain drain' is still continuing as reforms take place in the civil service." Feit (1975,P.33) warns against the dangers of political unionism when he states that " To gain its long-term political ends the union must bring its members economic advantages in the short term. If overtly political decisions compromise immediate gain, the leadership risks alienating its followers, yet failure to take political action may compromise the long-range goals."

According to Bendix (1996,P.214) the following are the aims and objectives of COSATU as announced by the federation in its inaugural congress:

- (a) " To secure social and economic justice for all workers."

- (b) “ To strive for the building of a united working class movement regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.”
- (c) “ To encourage all workers to join trade unions and to develop a spirit of solidarity among all workers.”
- (d) “ To understand how the economy of the country affects workers and to formulate clear policies as to how the economy would be restructured in the interest of the working class.”
- (e) “ To work for a restructuring of the economy which will allow the creation of wealth to be democratically controlled and fairly shared.”
- (f) “ To strive for just standards of living, social security and fair conditions of work for all.”
- (g) “ To facilitate and co-ordinate education and training of all workers, so as to further the interests of the working class.”

Barker (1992,P.127) states that “ COSATU is based on the principles of non-racialism; one industry, one union; worker control of the union ; and co-operation among the unions in the federation at national level. COSATU has adopted the Freedom Charter and forms an alliance with the ANC and the South African Communist Party to secure ‘a democratic, non-racial society’ in South Africa. COSATU is committed to a socialist economic system.”

In order to achieve its overall goal of attaining a united and democratic South Africa free of oppression and economic exploitation, Nel and

van Rooyen (1989,P.153) state that COSATU set itself the following tasks:

- (a) “ To organise the unorganised workers and build effective trade unions based on the democratic organisation of workers in the factories, mines, shops, farms and other work places.”
- (b) “ To organise national industrial unions, financed and controlled by their worker members through democratically elected committees.”
- (c) “ To unify these industrial unions into a national worker-controlled federation.”
- (d) “ To combat the divisions amongst the workers of South Africa and unite them into a strong and confident working class.”
- (e) “ To encourage democratic worker organisations and leadership in all spheres of our society together with other progressive sectors of the community.”
- (f) “ To reinforce and encourage progressive international worker contact and solidarity so as to assist one another in our struggles.”

Nel and van Rooyen (1989,P.154) conclude that “ A large part of COSATU's programme is political and its aim is to give firm political direction to workers. Workers are to be the ones to lead in the struggle for liberation, winning the confidence of other sectors of society.

COSATU's objectives are not only to take on employers, but the State as well."

The following diagram serves to illustrate the structure of COSATU.

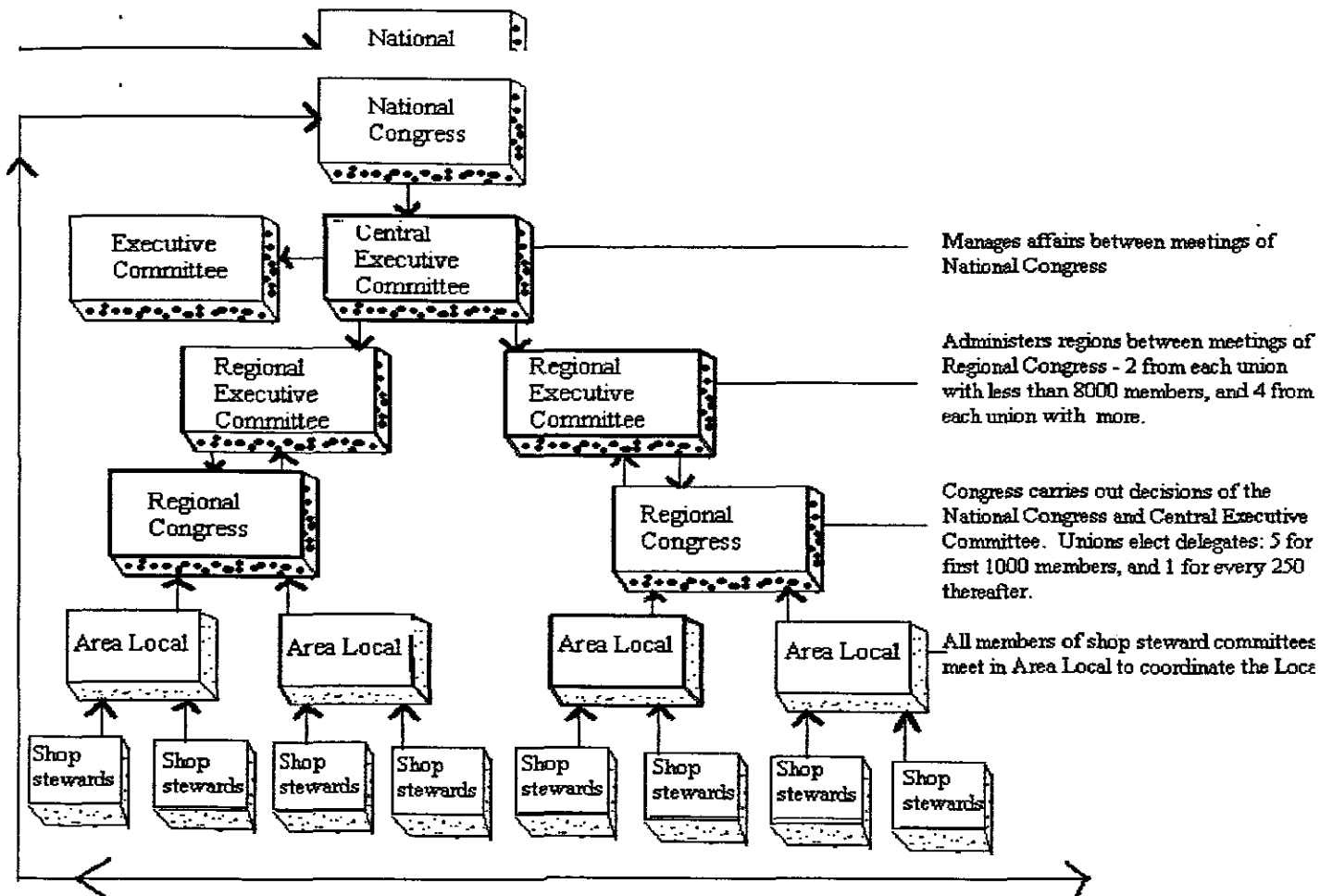


Figure 3.6 : COSATU Structure

Source : Bendix (1996,P.216)

In conclusion, it can be confirmed again that COSATU, like many other trade unions, develops from the bottom upwards. It is clear from the above-illustrated diagram that ordinary members at the shop floor have a lot of power in the sense that they are in a position to elect shop stewards who liaise with

management on their behalf. It is for this reason that many people argue, quite rightly so, that in trade unions power rests at the bottom.

In the next chapter a discussion of the NUM, which is COSATU's biggest affiliate, will be presented. The NUM's activities and policies will be explored. The next chapter will also take a closer look at the relationship of the NUM with COSATU.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS

4.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NUM

The Council of Union of South Africa (CUSA) played a significant role towards the formation of the NUM. In 1982 CUSA mandated Cyril Ramaphosa, who was its legal officer, to form a union for Black mineworkers. The reason behind the formation of a union representing Black mineworkers was that the trade unions representing White mineworkers at the time excluded Black workers. The NUM emerged in mid 1982. It is important to note that the NUM grew rapidly. At its first congress in December 1982, it claimed a membership of 14 000 miners. To highlight the rapid growth of the NUM, it should be noted that at its first national congress it had already launched four regions and eight branches.

The national office bearers elected at the NUM's first national congress were: Cyril Ramaphosa, who was elected general secretary of the NUM. With the unbanning of the ANC, Ramaphosa was released from his union duties to occupy the position of secretary general in the ANC. Ramaphosa has recently joined the private sector. Ishmael Thulo was elected treasurer of the NUM at its first national congress. Elijah Barayi was elected vice president of the NUM. It is interesting to note that when COSATU was formed in 1985, Barayi was elected as its president. James Mohlatsi was elected the first president of the NUM. It must be noted that

this is the position that Mohlatsi occupied in the NUM until his recent resignation.

It is important to note that in 1985 the NUM left the trade union federation, CUSA to join COSATU. The NUM left CUSA because it felt that the union federation dragged its feet on the important question of promoting unity with other trade union groupings in this country.

According to the working document of the NUM, this union (P.2) "... has a militant and worker participative tradition. This tradition should continue although there is now a government more sympathetic to workers". The working document of the NUM furthermore states that (P.10) "...the union has always existed side by side with other progressive organisations fighting for national liberation." It is for this reason that the NUM has in the past worked closely with political and other civic organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and many other community-based organisations. It is important to note that in line with the ideology of the NUM and the thinking of its leaders, militant workers' struggles began immediately after its formation in 1982.

The working document of the NUM (P.11) states that "In 1982 there was a wave of wildcat strikes involving about 40 000 workers on eight mines, in which ten workers died". It can safely be argued that some of these struggles benefited the NUM in the sense that it managed to sign a recognition agreement with the Chamber of Mines in 1983. It should be borne in mind that between 1984 and 1986 the mines in which the NUM

organised experienced a lot of industrial action. According to the working document of the NUM, (P.13). "These were stoppages around the deaths of workers underground, strikes for union and shaftsteward recognition, strikes demanding the abolition of the Induna system, and stoppages around assaults on black workers by white workers". This document furthermore highlights that from December 1985 to March 1986 more than 100 000 mineworkers went on strike.

It should be noted that one of the tools used by the NUM to achieve its objectives in the 1980's was the boycott. Boycotts by the NUM centred around the compound system, mine concession stores, liquor boycotts, taxi boycotts, etc. Some of these boycotts met with some measure of success in that in some instances the quality of food improved, shops were cleaner, prices more stable and shopkeepers more polite. In other cases these boycotts were met with harsh resistance from the police and the mine bosses.

What could have been the reasons that precipitated the formation of the NUM? It would appear that the deplorable working conditions that prevailed on the mines forced the Black workers to form a union that would address these problems on their behalf. According to Sached (1989, P.194) " Conditions and African workers rights on the mines had stayed much the same since African mineworkers went on strike in 1946. The 'induna system' was still widely used to deal with workers' problems. Low wages and the migrant labour system were still strictly enforced". Because of these conditions, a number of strikes broke out on

the mines. In most cases these strikes were crushed by the police acting on the requests of the mine bosses.

In some cases such action resulted in the death of the workers. Sached (1989,P.195) states that “ It was under these conditions of war that the NUM was launched by CUSA in 1982. Workers joined in large numbers. They knew they had to unite to be powerful. They also knew that NUM could give them a voice on the mines”.

Immediately after the NUM had been formed in 1982, it resolved to tackle three main issues that were perceived to be cause for great concern to the Black mineworkers. In fact, many of the NUM leaders believed that the union had been formed to tackle these issues in the first place. From the beginning, the NUM focused its attention on fighting around wages, health and safety and job reservation. Sached (1989) maintains that in 1984 about 50 000 workers came out on strike in protest against low wages. The NUM did not limit its demands to wages, but it also concentrated on the health and safety of workers on the mines. This was mainly brought about by the poor safety record of the mines in the past. Sached (1989,P.196) maintains that “ At NUM’s December conference in 1984, mineworkers targeted job reservation as the main area for the struggle in 1985”. It would appear that the struggle of the NUM in this regard was successful because the government was in 1986 forced to repeal job reservation laws. Because the NUM managed from the start to place heavy emphasis on issues that were important to the Black miners, it was in a position to boost its membership figures within a very short

space of time after its formation. This has in turn led to the NUM becoming the biggest affiliate of the giant federation, COSATU. Crush et al (1991,P.187) maintain that “ NUM’s, membership growth far outstripped that of its rivals. By late 1985, the NUM had a membership of 200 000 (100 000 paid up), one year later, the figures were 320 000 (and 180 000). In July 1984, it had only eighteen recognition agreements with the mines, by the end of 1985 it had fifty-two, and by September 1986, seventy-two. By 1987, it had organised over half of the total labour force”. Crush et al (1991) furthermore argue that over eighty percent of the NUM’s paid up membership worked on Anglo American mines. The following table depicts NUM membership by mining group:

NUM Members				
	Total Workers	No	%	% Distribution of NUM Members
<u>August 1985</u>				
Anglo American	163,000	66,000	40.5	83.2
Gencor	97,000	485	0.5	0.6
Goldfields	69,500	8,270	11.9	10.4
Rand Mines	68,200	2,387	3.5	3.0
Anglovaal	26,800	2,198	8.2	2.8
<u>March 1987</u>				
Anglo American	186,699	107,175	57.4	71.3
Rand Mines	74,083	2,398	3.2	1.6
Goldfields	80,436	6,489	8.0	4.3
Gencor	91,763	26,580	29.0	17.7
JCI	24,605	7,681	31.2	5.1

Table 4.1 : Recognized NUM Membership by Mining Group

Source : Crush et al (1991,P.188)

Another important fact worth mentioning according to Crush et al (1991,P.188) is that “by early 1986, NUM had recognition agreements with every Anglo mine, and on most of those 40 to 60 percent of the black

work force were recognised union members". In view of the fact that the trade unions organising Black workers were not recognised by law in the past, surely the recognition of the NUM by the Anglo American mines was a major gain for the union. However, it should be noted that the NUM, like all other Black trade unions that had been excluded in the past, was initially reluctant to register in terms of the Act. The NUM soon realised that in order to be recognised by the mining companies it had to register in terms of the Act. This was the only 'passport' to enter into a recognition agreement with companies. The NUM finally registered in 1985. Table 4.2 below depicts recognised NUM membership in Anglo American mines.

	<u>1986</u> <u>NUM Membership</u>			<u>1988</u> <u>NUM Membership</u>		
	Work force	No	%	Work force	No	%
FS Saaiplaas	10,485	6,400	61.0	13,764	7,846	57.0
Pres Brand	17,106	10,184	59.5	18,657	13,975	74.9
Western Holdings	24,039	13,460	56.0	17,918	11,543	64.4
Pres Styn	20,962	10,314	49.2	18,819	10,905	57.9
Elandsrand	7,772	3,767	48.5	8,449	5,416	64.1
Western Deep	23,481	11,010	47.9	23,913	8,440	35.3
FS Geduld	24,694	9,934	40.2	14,902	9,217	61.9
Vaal Reefs	43,417	9,593	22.1	41,722	18,831	45.1
Total	171,956	74,662	43.4	158,144	86,173	54.5

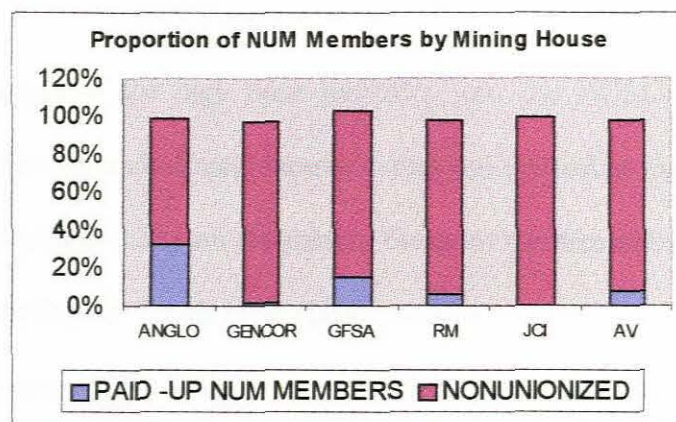
Table 4.2 : Recognized NUM Membership in Anglo American Mines

Source : Crush et al (1991,P. 189)

Whilst the NUM made considerable progress on the issue of registration with Anglo American mines, it was not so successful with other mining groups such as Gencor, Goldfields, JCI etc. These mining groups tended to adopt a hard-line attitude in their dealings with the NUM. Unfortunately, the hard-line attitude adopted by these mining companies

led to a number of I. R. problems on their mines. This also led to divisions among the mining companies as they did not have a single and uniform approach to deal with the emerging Black trade unions. It was only in the mid 1980's that the mining houses began to settle their differences in this regard. Figure 4.3 below depicts the proportion of NUM members by Mining House.

(a) August 1985



(b) July 1988

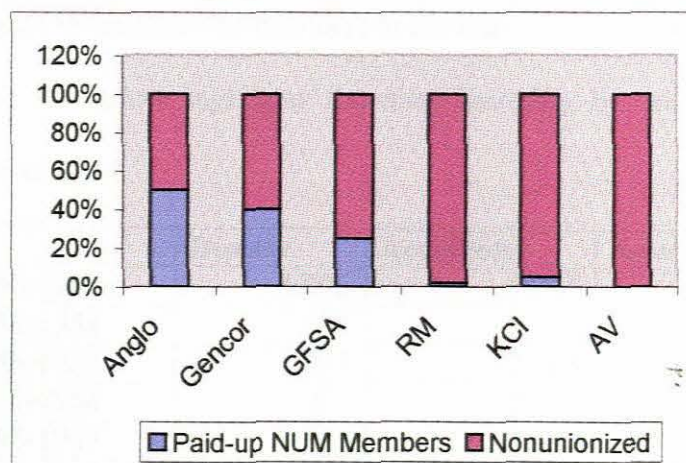


Figure 4.1 :Proportion of NUM Members by Mining House

Source :Crush et al (1991, P.191)

It has already been stated that the NUM did not only tackle the problem of low wages with the mining houses, but it also focused its attention on health and safety – related issues. Crush et al (1991,P.192) maintain that

“Safety in the workplace became a major rallying point for workers and enhanced the appeal of the union. Despite long – standing emphasis on safety by both the Chamber of Mines and the individual companies, accident death-rates remained high. Although estimates vary, it appears that by 1984 at least 20 000 workers, most of them black, had died in mine accidents since World War II. In 1983, 604 members died and in 1985, 539”.

Because of the high mine mortality rate, the NUM, as has been stated earlier on, took drastic measures that were aimed at forcing the employers to improve safety on the mines. Some of the measures taken by the NUM according to Crush et al (1991) was to request the mine management to recognise shaft safety stewards. The union also demanded the right to refuse to work in unsafe conditions and the right to participate in accident investigations. Over the past years the NUM has acquired the services of lawyers to represent its members in accident investigations.

Table 4.4 below highlights the mine mortality by cause of death from 1945 to 1984.

	Disease	Accidents	Assaults	Total
1945-1949	4.093	2.326	308	6.727
1950-1954	2.873	2.576	463	5.912
1955-1959	3.307	2.783	670	6.760
1960-1964	2.921	2.773	923	6.617
1965-1969	2.804	2.655	792	6.251
1970-1974	2.973	2.429	800	6.202
1975-1979	2.566	2.530	1.406	6.502
1980-1984	2.481	2.718	1.498	6.697
Total	24.018	20.790	6.860	51.668

Table 4.3 : Mine Mortality by cause of death, 1945-1984
Source : Crush et al (1991,P.194)

Lastly, it is important to look at the role of the NUM as a union that organises migrant workers. Crush et al (1991,P.195) maintains that "... over 97 percent of the mine workforce (and most of NUM members) are still migrant workers, oscillating periodically between the mines and distant rural reserves". In the beginning it appeared as if it was going to be extremely difficult for the NUM to organise migrant workers because they were perceived to be an unstable workforce, that would temporarily work on the mines and thereafter return to their rural reserves or to their countries of origin. However, it has been established that because of the hardships such as unemployment in their countries of origin, the migrant workers tend to pursue long-term careers on the mines. In turn, this has made the task of organising these workers much easier to the NUM. Considering the vast numbers of these workers, it can safely be argued that this is where the strength of the NUM lies. The following table depicts recognised NUM membership by geographical area, on Anglo American mines in 1988.

	Members	Non-members	Total	% Unionized	% of Ttl Members
Foreign					
Lesotho	31.021	18.180	49.201	63.0	33.8
Mozambique	3.541	6.704	10.245	34.6	3.9
Botswana	2.028	2.352	4.380	46.3	2.2
Swaziland	1.467	3.381	4.848	30.3	1.6
Malawi	133	601	734	18.1	0.1
Total Foreign	38.190	31.218	69.408	55.0	41.6
S. African					
Transkei	26.038	18.848	44.886	58.0	28.4
OFS	9.760	10.627	20.387	47.9	10.6
Ciskei	2.265	2.120	4.385	51.7	2.5
Cape Province	2.261	1.897	4.158	54.4	2.5
Qwaqwa	1.658	2.072	3.730	44.5	1.8
Bophuthatswana	3.051	3.504	6.555	46.5	3.3
KwaZulu	2.563	4.807	7.370	34.8	2.8
KwaNdebele	2.407	1.750	4.157	57.9	2.6
Transvaal	1.716	3.332	5.048	34.0	1.9
Lebowa	948	1.159	2.107	45.0	1.0
Natal	281	463	744	37.8	0.3
Gazankulu	246	796	1.042	23.6	0.3
Venda	235	237	472	49.8	0.3
KaNgwane	109	219	328	33.2	0.1
Total S. African	53.538	51.831	105.369	50.8	58.4
Total	91.728	83.049	174.417	52.6	100.0

Table 4.4 :Recognised NUM membership by geographical area.

Source : Crush et al (1991,P.196)

The next section is going to explore the structure of the NUM as a union.

4.2 AIMS AND POLICIES OF THE NUM

4.2.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NUM

Clause three of the constitution of the NUM stipulates that the aims and objectives of the union shall be:

4.2.1.1 "To recruit and unite into a single labour organisation all workers employed in the mining and energy industries in order to enhance their economic and social welfare". It is clear from this statement that the NUM believes in what is commonly known as industrial unionism. As such, it perceives its primary task as that of organising workers who are employed in the mining and energy sectors.

4.2.1.2 " To improve the wages, salaries, terms and conditions of employment of members through collective bargaining and other lawful means". It has been observed over the years that the improvement of wages and conditions of employment of its members has received top priority of the NUM. To improve the wages and salaries of its members, the NUM has over the past few years staged a living wage campaign. This was regarded by many people as an attempt by the union to address the problem of low wages which affected its members country wide.

4.2.1.3 " To protect the job security of members, to advance their employment prospects and generally to do all such lawful things that will serve the interest of members in their individual and collective capacities." The NUM has in the past demanded that it should be consulted by the employers before any form of retrenchment could be implemented. In fact, the NUM has insisted that retrenchment should only be used as a last resort. It would appear that with the coming into effect of the new Labour

Relations Act of 1995, the NUM and other trade unions were placed in a better position to engage the employers in meaningful discussions on important issues such as retrenchments which could affect its members. This is so because the Labour Relations Act of 1995 places emphasis on consultation and co-operation between the employers and the unions on all important issues that are of particular interest to the parties.

4.2.1.4 "To promote the political, social and economic interest as well as the material welfare of prospective, current and former members of the union, and workers and labour organisations (including the union) generally". It would appear that in order to achieve this aim, the NUM through its affiliation with COSATU, has formed an alliance with political organisations such as the ANC and SACP. This was regarded by many people as an attempt by the union to address problems of a political nature on behalf of its members.

It is interesting to note that attempts to achieve this objective have generated considerable debate within and outside the union. Concerns have been raised by some people that too much involvement of the trade union movement in broad political issues will prevent the union from achieving its other important objective, namely, that of improving the wages and economic well-being of its members. The trade union leaders have in the past denied this and have argued that there is a need for the union movement to get involved in political issues because such issues affect their members. It will be interesting to see how the trade union leaders are going to respond to questions relating to this issue when a questionnaire is administered to them.

4.2.1.5 "To establish contacts and relationships with other trade unions, trade union federations and labour organisations nationally and internationally for the benefit of members". To achieve this objective the NUM has through COSATU, engaged other trade union federations such as NACTU in serious discussions concerning the important issue of unity amongst the various trade union groupings organising workers in this country. Unfortunately, the trade unions have achieved limited success in this regard. It would appear that the ideological differences are preventing the trade unions from achieving this objective. One of the major stumbling blocks on the issue of unity between COSATU and NACTU is that the latter does not believe in forming alliances with political organisations. It believes that the trade union movement should become independent.

On the other hand, COSATU has formed an alliance with the ANC and the SACP. In view of the criticism that has been levelled against the ANC-led government concerning its alliance with COSATU and the SACP, it remains to be seen how long this alliance is going to last. It would appear that the NUM, for its part, looks at the issue of the trade union unity very seriously. It will be recalled that one of the reasons that led to the NUM breaking ties with its parent body, CUSA, was the latter's perceived reluctance to pursue the issue of trade union unity seriously.

4.2.1.6 "To foster unity and co-operation amongst all workers in the mining and energy industries and other industries." It would appear that the NUM has achieved some success in this regard. It has been successful in

merging with trade unions organising workers in the energy industries e.g. Eskom. Baskin (1994,P.16) states that the “NUM has also gained a few thousand members as a result of a merger with an electricity union which was active at Eskom”. It is important to note that such mergers have enabled the NUM to grow despite the recession that has taken place in the mining industry in the past few years. Baskin (1994,P.14) furthermore maintains that “ An indication, that recession does not always lead to membership decline emerges when one looks at the mining industry. The NUM has managed to increase its membership dramatically, despite a major employment drop in the industry. It is now stronger, at least numerically, than it was before the 1987 strike, and is by far the dominant union in the mining and energy industries”. The following chart depicts NUM’s, membership growth since 1983.

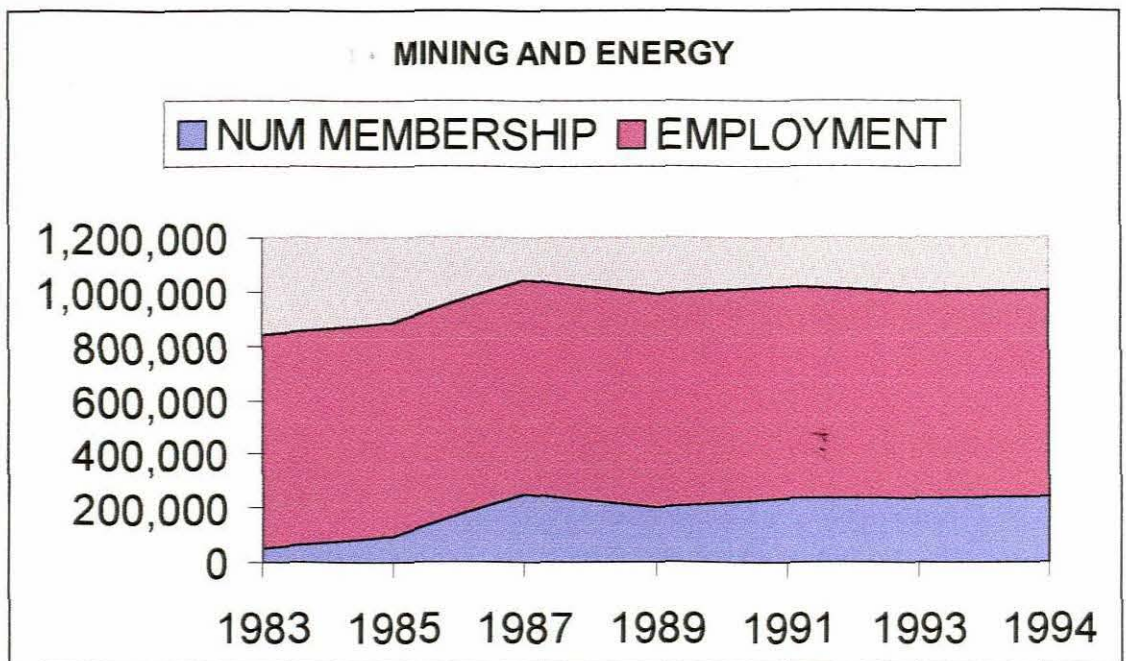


Figure 4.2 : NUM’s membership growth since 1983
Source : Baskin (1994,P.16)

4.2.1.7 "To do all such other lawful things as are in the interest of the Union and its members and which are consistent with the aims and objectives and any other matter specifically provided for in the constitution." It is difficult at this stage to tell whether the union has been successful in achieving this objective, considering some of the unlawful activities which some of its members might have engaged in during strikes, marches, sit-in's and other forms of industrial action which the NUM has undertaken to achieve some of its major objectives. The policies of the NUM will be explored in the next section.

The following diagram depicts the total membership growth of the NUM as reported in its congress in 1997.

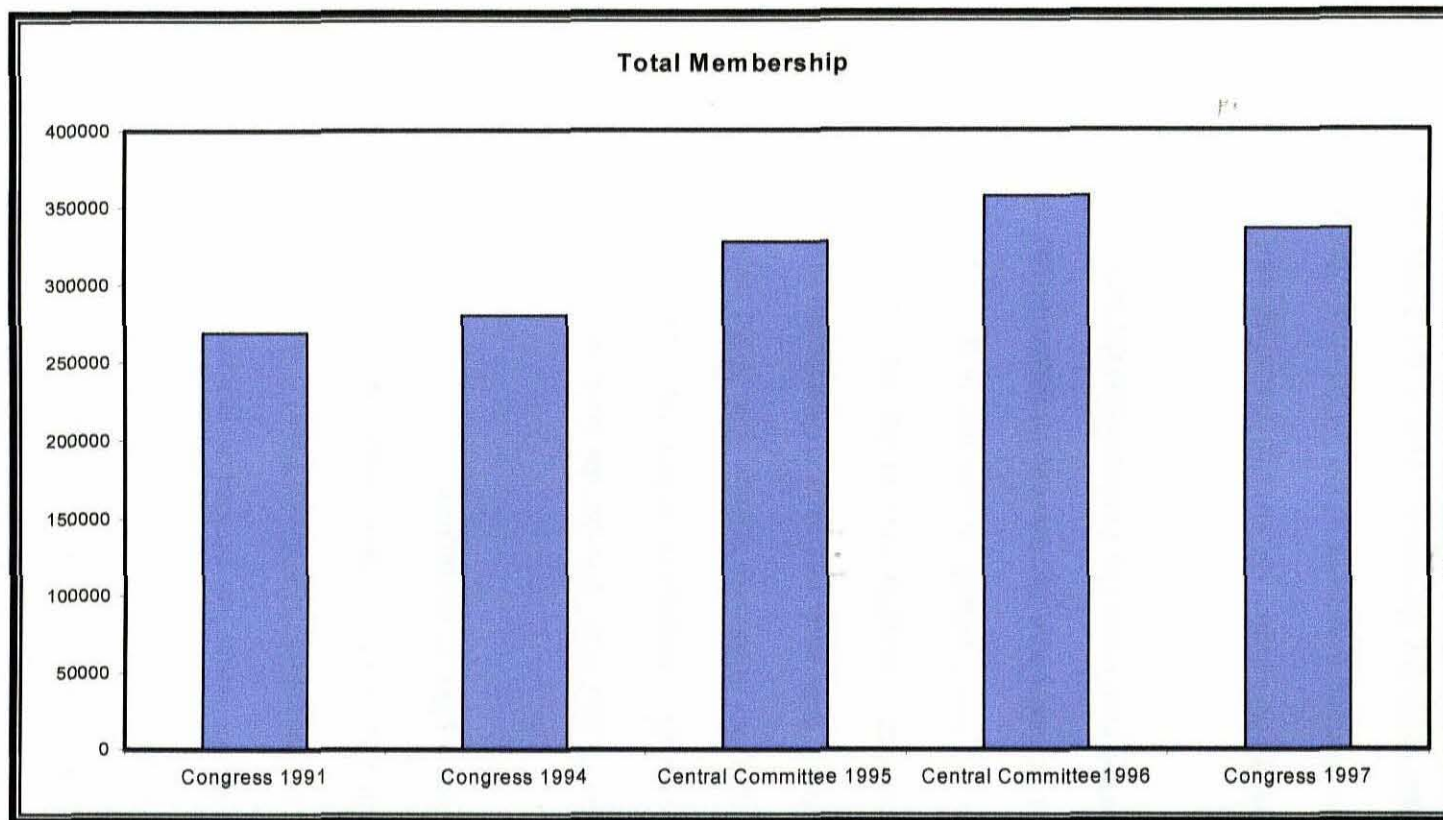


Figure 4.7 : Total Membership growth

Source : NUM's National Congress (1997)

4.2.2 POLICIES OF THE NUM

According to the working document of the NUM, the following are the policies of the union:-

4.2.2.1 The NUM's policy on mine closures and retrenchments.

In this document the NUM states that because of the large number of workers that have been retrenched in the past due to the fall in the price of gold, the union has decided to put pressure on the government to pass a new law called "The Social Plan". According to the NUM, this new law will give workers rights when the company plans to retrench them or when it plans to restructure.

The "Social Plan" stresses the need for companies to engage the NUM in meaningful discussions before they can make changes that will affect employees in the workplace. The NUM hopes to negotiate "Social Plan Funds" with each company. Companies will be expected to contribute money on a monthly basis to this fund to finance a "Social Plan" if there are any retrenchments or closures in the future. Unfortunately, not much can be said about the success or failure of this policy as it is still new. It has not been passed by Parliament as the new law.

4.2.2.2 The NUM's policy on worker education and training.

The working document of the NUM states that education and training is a major focus for the union, because the NUM has thousands of members who are illiterate. It is for this reason that the NUM is demanding Adult Basic Education (ABET) for its members up to standard seven. The NUM argues that sixty-two percent of the mineworkers are functionally

illiterate with less than five years schooling. The NUM has launched a major campaign to put Adult Basic Education (ABET) on the collective bargaining agenda. The emphasis of this policy is that the employers should provide opportunities to the workers to acquire basic education and upgrade their skills. It would appear that the NUM is beginning to achieve some measure of success in this regard considering the large amounts of money that companies are allocating for the training and development of workers.

4.2.2.3 The NUM's housing policy.

The working document of the NUM states that the union has, since 1987, fought for the dismantling of the single sex hostel accommodation system, which formed part of the migrant labour system of control. According to this document, (P.48), "The NUM housing policy states that workers must get a decent living wage in order to pay for decent housing. But until workers earn a decent living wage the union is calling for employers to provide a housing allowance to workers to cover rental or bond repayments on a house". The housing policy of the union states that workers must take part in all decisions around housing. In fact, the housing policy of the NUM states that joint worker/ management housing forums must decide on all issues concerning the running of hostels.

4.2.2.4 The NUM's political policy.

This policy states that the NUM supports a non-racial, non-sexist society based on democratic principles. It must be noted that this is in line with the policies and principles of COSATU. The political policy of the NUM

furthermore states that the union believes in working towards a socialist society where the control and needs of the working class are primary. In line with this policy, the NUM believes that it should co-operate with other progressive organisations and forces in the society to defend and advance the interests of the working class.

The political policy of the NUM furthermore states that it is currently part of the COSATU tri-partite alliance with the SACP and the ANC. At its congress in 1994, the NUM agreed to continue to be part of the tri-partite alliance in order to make sure that the government keeps the interest of the workers at heart. The NUM also decided to give full support to the organisation of a conference of the left to be convened by the SACP and COSATU. It was decided that this conference should have a socialist bias. At its last congress, the NUM decided also that its members in the different regions must play a leading role in making sure that the ANC and SACP remain mass-based organisations.

It would appear from the above-mentioned resolutions taken at its congress in 1994, that the NUM through its affiliation with COSATU is still committed to the tri-partite alliance with the ANC and SACP. It would also appear that the NUM still regards itself as having an important role to play in the broad socio-political issues affecting this country. This will be discussed in detail when an analysis is made in Chapter 6 of the responses of the NUM leaders and members to the questionnaire that will be administered to them. In the next section, a discussion will be

presented of the structure of the NUM as a union.

4.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NUM

According to clause six of the constitution of the NUM, this trade union should have the following structures:

4.3.1 National Congress

4.3.2 Central Committee

4.3.3 National Executive Committee.

4.3.4 Regional Committee.

4.3.5 Branch Committee.

4.3.6 Shaft Committee.

In the following section the above mentioned structures will be explored in detail:

4.3.1 NATIONAL CONGRESS

The National Congress is the supreme governing body of the NUM which consists of delegates elected by each region. In other words, the National Congress is the highest decision-making body in the NUM. The constitution of the NUM states that the National Congress should be convened triennially (i.e. every 3 years), provided that the National Executive Committee may decide to convene the National Congress for a particular calendar year within a six-month period after three years.

Clause seven of the constitution of the NUM furthermore states that resolutions from regions should be sent to the general secretary and should reach his or her office not later than twenty-one days prior to the National Congress. According to clause seven of the constitution of the NUM, the following shall be the main functions of the National Congress:-

- 4.3.1.1 “ The nomination and election by ballot of members of the National Executive Committee, with the exception of the regional chairperson, the regional representatives and the chairperson of the national education and national health and safety sub-committees who are ex-officio members of the National Executive Committee”.
- 4.3.1.2 “The consideration of reports from the president, the general secretary and the treasurer, and other special reports”.
- 4.3.1.3 “The assessment of the Union’s progress”.
- 4.3.1.4 “The formulation of the union policy”.
- 4.3.1.5 “The amendments to the constitution.”

It is important to note that the president of the NUM or, in his absence, the vice president or, in the latter’s absence, a person appointed by the National Executive Committee, shall preside over the proceedings at the National Congress. It should be noted that in terms of the constitution of the NUM, a special congress can be convened by the president of the union whenever the Central Committee requisitions one. A special committee can also be convened whenever two regional committees or five branch committees or 25 000 members requisition one in writing.

4.3.2 CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Clause eight of the constitution of the NUM states that the Central Committee should consist of the members of the National Executive Committee and all regional committees. The main function of the Central Committee is to consider and decide upon policy issues of major importance in between the National Congress. It is worth mentioning that a meeting of the Central Committee shall be held annually, but may be convened by the president of the NUM whenever the National Executive Committee requisitions one or whenever two regional committees requisition one such meeting.

4.3.3 NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Because the National Congress is convened every three years, the running of the NUM between Congresses is carried out by the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee carries out and implements decisions made by the National Congress. In terms of clause nine of the constitution of the NUM, the National Executive Committee should consist of the following people:

4.3.3.1 President

4.3.3.2 Vice – President

4.3.3.3 General Secretary

4.3.3.4 Assistant General Secretary

4.3.3.5 Treasurer

4.3.3.6 Chairman of each regional committee.

4.3.3.7 One regional representative from each regional committee.

4.3.3.8 Chairman of National education sub-committee.

4.3.3.9 Chairman of national health and safety sub-committee.

It should be noted that the constitution stipulates that the National Executive Committee should hold office until the next National Executive Committee at the National Congress. Members of the National Executive Committee are eligible for re-election on the termination of their periods of office. Many popular leaders of the NUM such as the former president of the union have been re-elected to their positions for a long period of time.

According to clause nine of the constitution of the NUM, the main functions of the National Executive Committee are the following:-

4.3.3.10 “To execute union policies as determined by the National Congress and the Central Committee”.

4.3.3.11 “To carry out the day to day running of the union”

4.3.3.12 “To decide what employment posts should be created, maintained or terminated for the effective running of the union”.

4.3.3.13 “To engage, determine employment terms and conditions of, and discharge any employee of the union.”

4.3.3.14 “To open, operate and close banking accounts on behalf of the union, and generally to control the funds and finances of the union”.

4.3.3.15 “To borrow or raise monies and funds”

- 4.3.3.16 "To invest, expend or otherwise employ monies and funds in a manner consistent with the union's aims and objectives, and towards this end also to take decisions on the retention of the services of specialists, the establishment of distinct legal entities and the allocation of monies to any such legal entities provided that any, such legal entities established by the union which receives union monies shall be audited annually by a public accountant, and such audit shall be presented to the National Executive Committee and shall be available for inspection by any member".
- 4.3.3.17 "To allocate float amounts and other funds to the respective regions".
- 4.3.3.18 "To institute on behalf of or defend legal proceedings against the union and all its members provided that in urgent circumstances the general secretary or assistant general secretary may institute or defend such proceedings".
- 4.3.3.19 "To take all appropriate steps in connection with the formation, operation and termination of funds, schemes and trusts which serve the interest of the union or its members."
- 4.3.3.20 "To appoint an acting general secretary, acting president or treasurer should any of these persons be unable to carry out their functions, in special circumstances a person who is not a member of the National Executive Committee may be appointed to these positions".
- 4.3.3.21 "To make, amend and repeal by-laws, not inconsistent with this constitution, to regulate union affairs, including but not

limited to matters such as election procedures, union discipline and the imposition of fines and special levies provided that a fine shall not exceed one hundred rand in the case of a first offence and two hundred rand in respect of any subsequent offences”.

- 4.3.3.22 “To do such lawful things as in the opinion of the National Executive Committee appears to be in the interests of the union and its members and which are not inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution”.

4.3.4 REGIONAL COMMITTEE

Clause ten of the constitution stipulates that the NUM shall be composed of a number of geographical regions, the boundaries of which shall be determined from time to time by the National Executive Committee. The NUM has at present ten regions. The name of the region on which this project is based is the “Zululand district” of the Natal region. The “Zululand district” has seven branches. A discussion of the structure of the branches will follow in the next section.

It is important to note that when there are two or more branches in one area, then the NUM can form a regional structure. It should also be noted that in terms of the constitution of the NUM, a regional conference shall be convened by the various regional committees biennially, prior to the National Congress. This arrangement is intended to allow regional structures to pass resolutions that will be

forwarded to the National Congress, which is convened triennially. Each branch in a particular region is entitled to send fifty delegates with voting rights, who shall be members in good standing of the union, to a regional conference.

Clause ten of the constitution of the NUM stipulates that a regional committee shall consist of the following people:

4.3.4.1 Chairman

4.3.4.2 Vice-Chairman

4.3.4.3 Regional Secretary

4.3.4.4 Vice Regional Secretary

4.3.4.5 Regional Treasurer

4.3.4.6 Chairman of each branch committee

4.3.4.7 Secretary of each branch committee

4.3.4.8 Chairman of regional education sub-committee

4.3.4.9 Chairman of regional health and safety sub-committee.

It must be noted that in line with the constitution of the NUM, each regional conference should formulate policies and programmes, not inconsistent with those of the National Congress, the Central Committee and the National Executive Committee for its particular region. The regional committee should meet at least once every month.

According to clause ten of the constitution of the NUM, the functions of a Regional Committee shall be:

4.3.4.10 "To organise regional conferences"

- 4.3.4.11 "To recruit members in a particular region and to promote their interest generally".
- 4.3.4.12 "To organise regional events in regard to trade union education and training."
- 4.3.4.13 "To supervise the affairs of branch committees, regional education sub-committee, regional health and safety sub-committee and all other ad-hoc committees."
- 4.3.4.14 "To ensure that proper communication takes place between branches, regions and head office".
- 4.3.4.15 "To open, operate and close banking accounts in the name of the region subject to the approval, direction and ultimate control of the National Executive Committee."
- 4.3.4.16 "To acquire, either by purchase, lease or otherwise, any movable or immovable property on behalf of the particular region of the union within a particular regional area, and to sell, let, mortgage or otherwise deal with or dispose of any movable or immovable property belonging to the union, provided that no immovable property shall be acquired or sold, nor shall it be mortgaged, let or leased for a period longer than five years, unless such a transaction had been endorsed by a resolution of the National Executive Committee".
- 4.3.4.17 "To do all such lawful things as in the opinion of the Regional Committee, appear to be in the interest of the union and which are not in conflict with the decisions and policy of the National Congress, Central Committee and National Executive

Committee nor inconsistent with the provision of this constitution or it's by-laws".

In a nutshell, it can be seen from the above-mentioned points that Regional Committees deal with regional union matters and that they help link up branches together. The region links branch structures up with national structures and the national head office in Johannesburg, and makes sure that there is good communication between them.

4.3.5 BRANCH COMMITTEE

Clause eleven of the constitution of the NUM stipulates that "A branch of the union shall be established at any mine or other undertaking, enterprise, service or operation in the mining and energy industries provided there is a minimum of 100 members at such a mine or other establishment." In other words, if a workplace has one hundred or more members then a branch is set up. A Branch Committee is elected every two years at a branch conference. A Regional Committee with jurisdiction in a particular area is empowered to supervise the conduct of branch affairs.

In terms of the constitution, the Branch Committee cannot "resolve to do anything which is inconsistent with the decision or policy of the National Congress, Central Committee, National Executive Committee or Regional Executive Committee or with the provisions

of the constitution and its by-laws” Branch Committees shall meet at least once every two weeks. In terms of the constitution, branch general meetings should be held at least once every month and an annual general meeting should be held on a yearly basis to elect a branch committee. The “ Zululand district of the Natal region is made up of seven branches These branches organise at Impala (Eskom), Empangeni Depot (Eskom), Mtubatuba (Eskom), R.B.M, Eshowe Transmission (Eskom), Mandini (Eskom) and Melmoth (Eskom).

In terms of clause eleven of the constitution of the NUM, the following are the functions of the branch committee:

- 4.3.5.1 “To manage the affairs of the union at the mine or other establishment”.
- 4.3.5.2 “To ensure that proper communication takes place between shaft committees, branch committees and the regional committees”.
- 4.3.5.3 “To deal with labour disputes at the mine or other establishment level”.
- 4.3.5.10 “To deal with members’ grievances so as to protect their job security,
- 4.3.5.11 “A branch committee shall be empowered to do all lawful things in order to carry out its functions”.

4.3.6 SHAFT COMMITTEE

According to clause twelve of the constitution of the NUM, a shaft/plant committee can be elected at every mine shaft or plant where the union has a minimum of fifty members. This implies that in a typical company or organisation a shaft / plant committee can be elected in a department or section of the company provided that there is a minimum of fifty union members employed in that department or section.

This is a very important structure of the union in the sense that it maintains regular contact with members on the shop floor. For any trade union to be successful, organisation at this level should be effective. NUM members in good standing in each shaft or section are empowered, to elect by ballot from amongst themselves shaft stewards who are going to represent them in that particular shaft or unit. Such shaft stewards are, in terms of the constitution, entitled to hold office until the next elections of the following year. It is the duty of the Branch Committee to supervise the election of the shaft stewards.

In terms of clause twelve of the constitution of the NUM, the functions of the shaft committees are:

4.3.6.1 "To conduct the affairs of the union in relation to members at shaft / plant level".

4.3.6.2 “To receive and attend to complaints affecting members concerning their employment, and where necessary to report such complaints to the Branch Committee”.

4.3.6.3 “To report any contravention of statute or improper employment practice to the Branch Committee”. For the shaft stewards to be able to carry out this function effectively, they should have a basic understanding of the labour laws of this country. In view of the fact that some union members lack the necessary expertise in this regard, the NUM has in the past embarked upon a vigorous training program designed to equip its members with skills. However, it would appear that there is still a long way to go before the union can resolve this problem.

The constitution of the NUM stipulates that a shaft / plant committee should consist of not less than five shaft stewards representing the various work sections, units or departments in which the union has members at that particular shaft or plant.

4.3.7 DUTIES OF THE OFFICE BEARERS AND OFFICIALS

Clause fourteen of the constitution of the NUM stipulates that:-

4.3.7.1 It is the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the National Congress, the Central Committee and the National Executive Committee. It is also the function of the president

of the NUM to ensure the observance of the constitution of the union. In a nutshell, the president should lead and provide direction to the union.

4.3.7.2 The vice-president is entitled to exercise the power and perform the duties of the president in the latter's absence. It is also the function of the vice-president to assist the president in the discharge of his or her duties.

4.3.7.3 The general secretary is expected to attend all National Congresses, Central Committee and National Executive Committee meetings, and he or she is responsible for the taking of proper minutes in these meetings. The constitution of the NUM (P.20) states that the general secretary "should conduct all the head office correspondence of the union, issue official receipts for all monies received, submit financial reports to the National Congress and perform such other duties as are imposed by the constitution, National Congress, the Central Committee, the National Executive Committee and by the law".

In addition to this, the general secretary should ensure that there is a proper register of the members which is professionally maintained and that proper books of accounts, which are audited annually are kept. It is also the duty of the general secretary to ensure that all legal requirements and controls in respect of the financial matters are adhered to.

Lastly, the general secretary is responsible for the supervision of the employees of the union.

4.3.7.4 The assistant general secretary is expected to execute the functions of the general secretary in the latter's absence. He or she is also expected to assist the general secretary in carrying out his or her duties.

4.3.7.5 It is the responsibility of the national treasurer to assist the general secretary in the keeping of proper books of accounts. In order to carry out this responsibility effectively, he or she is empowered to inspect records relating to the finances, books and accounts of the NUM.

4.3.7.6 The constitution of the NUM stipulates that the various union officials, who are appointed by the National Executive Committee, are responsible for the growth, organisation and consolidation of the NUM's membership. The officials are also expected to attend Shaft, Branch, Regional Committee, Central Committee meetings as well as the National Congress. These officials do not have the right to vote at such forums.

4.3.8 FINANCES OF THE NUM

Clause seventeen of the constitution states that the funds of the NUM, which are derived from various sources including union dues, should be applied strictly for the furtherance of the union's aims and objectives. It is the responsibility of the National Executive Committee to control all the NUM's finances. It is the

policy of the NUM that the funds received by the general secretary or any other person on behalf of the union should be deposited to the union's national or regional banking account within five days of receipt. Lastly, the constitution of the NUM (P.22) stipulates that "All cheques in respect of a national account, shall be co-signed by any two of the following persons, the president, vice-president, treasurer, general secretary or assistant general secretary. All cheques in respect of a regional account shall be co-signed by any two of the following persons:- the regional chairman, vice chairman, secretary or treasurer". The NUM is currently deducting one percent of the members' salaries or wages as union dues.

4.3.9 THE NUM's RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The NUM is a founder member of the Southern African Miners Federation (SAMF). Other countries which are founder members of this organisation are Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. The SAMF was launched in 1985. Basically, the SAMF is a federation of mine, quarry and energy workers. It has about 330 000 members. The SAMF holds its congress every three years.

The executive committee of the SAMF meets three times a year to co-ordinate its activities and carry out congress mandates. The office bearers of the SAMF come from different Southern African

countries. The outgoing president of the NUM, James Motlatsi, is also the SAMF president.

According to the working document of the NUM, (P.65) the SAMF aims to:

4.3.9.1 “Share information and solve common workplace problems through communicating with mineworkers in other Southern African countries”.

4.3.9.2 “Encourage and assist with solidarity action for the struggles of all mineworkers in Southern Africa.”

4.3.9.3 “Assist with the formation and strengthening of trade union activities in all Southern African countries”.

4.3.9.4 “Mobilise around monopolies that own mining interests in many Southern African countries and demand that they improve the work conditions and wages of mineworkers”.

4.3.9.5 “Mobilise around health and safety issues”. The SAMF has set up a pilot health and safety project in Zimbabwe. The project aims to fight for better work conditions and better compensation for injured workers.

4.3.9.6 “Educate union leadership”. Seminars on health and safety, collective bargaining and union finances have been held with the help of the Miner’s International Federation (MIF), which will be discussed shortly. In a nutshell, the SAMF assists with the

formation and strengthening of mine workers' trade unions in the Southern African countries.

4.3.9.7 Many trade unions in South Africa are affiliated to a federation of international trade unions called International Trade Secretariats (ITS). Trade unions in the same industries world-wide come together in International Trade Secretariats. The NUM is affiliated to the mine and energy workers, ITS, which is called the Miner's International Federation (MIF). The MIF is meant for workers who are employed in the mines, quarries, and energy industries.

The MIF has in the past raised money for the NUM's legal costs, shaft steward manuals, training of shaft and safety stewards in negotiating agreements, collecting information and monitoring safety. Many NUM members have studied abroad, using MIF grants. The NUM has a good relationship with the MIF and the International Mineworkers' Organisation (IMO). The IMO is a mineworker's international organisation that was set up in 1984 when British and Australian unions left the MIF to join pro-Communist unions. The NUM stayed with the MIF but the IMO has always in the past given support to the South African unions.

4.3.10 LEGAL STATUS OF THE NUM

Clause four of the Constitution of the NUM states that the union is a body corporate with perpetual succession capable of entering into contractual and other relations and of suing and being sued in

its own name. Basically, this implies that the NUM can institute legal action against third parties using its name and not that of its members. The NUM can hold property apart from its members. The constitution furthermore stipulates that the liability of members are limited to the amount of their subscriptions outstanding or other monies due to the union at any time.

4.3.11 A BRIEF EVALUATION OF SOME OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES FACING THE NUM

The NUM grew rapidly from its inception. Many observers attribute this to the good and effective organisational skills of its leaders. According to Sached (1989) the NUM began with ten organisers in 1982. At the end of June 1983 the union claimed 20 000 members, and by the end of 1984, the NUM claimed 110 000 members. Considering the fact that the majority of the NUM members are migrant workers who stay on the hostels, and who are extremely difficult to organise, the NUM must be credited for having made this achievement within a short space of time after its inception. Friedman (1987,P.382) attribute the success of the NUM in this regard to "the fact that it started life with ten full time organisers, but the quality of its officials rather than their quantity was decisive. Most were recruited from TEBA or elsewhere in junior mine management... Unlike organisers recruited from the shop floor, NUM's have formal education, they have made NUM perhaps the

best run emerging union. Nor is there any evidence that they have been less committed to worker rights than other unions' officials".

It should be noted that the NUM made this achievement despite the recession that has affected the mining industry in this country during the past few years. In support of this, Baskin (1994) argues that the NUM managed to increase its membership, despite the recession which affected the mining industry in the past few years. He argues furthermore that the growth of the NUM has been achieved through focused organisational campaigns. Baskin (1994,P.14) concludes that "Membership losses in various gold and coal mines have also been partly balanced by recruitment in new mines, especially in the platinum industry".

The NUM has in the past taken the issue of safety very seriously. From the start, the NUM demonstrated that it was going to engage the employers in serious discussions so that its members could work in a safe environment. Friedman (1987,P.370) argues that "By tackling safety, NUM was going to the very root of the mining power imbalance, it was asking the industry to place African workers health above production".

After the Hlobane disaster, which claimed the lives of many of its members, the NUM identified the issue of safety on the mines as its chief priority. Friedman (1987) maintains that the NUM lawyers in conjunction with the international safety experts, sent in by overseas

unions, played a major role in the two week Hlobane hearing. It would appear that based on the costs of the accidents to the mines, the pressure from the unions and the safety laws passed by the government, the mine bosses have no option, but to address the issue of safety on their mines as a matter of urgency.

The NUM has to a certain extent managed to improve the working conditions and the wages and salaries of their members. Friedman (1987,P.374) argues that "At its December, 1984, conference, NUM decided that job reservation would be its key target in 1985, it later accompanied its pay demands with a demand for the immediate scrapping of all jobs bars". The Mine and Works Act stipulated that only "scheduled persons" could be issued with blasting certificates. This law prevented all Black people from becoming "scheduled persons". It was against this background that the NUM, at its December conference in 1984, decided to target job reservation as its main area of focus in 1985. Because of pressure from a number of quarters, particularly pressure from Black unions, the Government had no option but to scrap all job reservation laws in 1986.

Lastly, the NUM should also be credited for having achieved unity among the various trade unions representing Black workers in the mining and energy industries. In fact, it would appear that this is where the strength of the NUM lies. It would appear that the ability of the NUM to maintain this unity is going to be a major challenge that is going to face the union in the future, especially if the changes

that are currently taking place in the social and political arenas of this country are considered.

It would appear that the decision by COSATU, to which the NUM is affiliated, to remain a member of the alliance with the ANC and the SACP is going to be a major challenge that both the union and its federation have to tackle in the near future. Some analysts have noted in the past that it is not all members of the NUM and COSATU that are in favour of maintaining an alliance with political organisations such as the ANC and the SACP. Such an alliance, the analyst note, is going to be a source of tension within the labour movement. It is often argued that some unionists, are concerned that because of the alliance with these political organisations, the trade union movement is going to lose its independence. However, it must be noted that both COSATU and the NUM leaders have publicly denied rumours that there are tensions within the alliance. In fact, the union leaders have stated that the union movement is still going to remain a member of the alliance.

Clarification of this and other issues will hopefully be obtained when a questionnaire is presented to the union leaders and members in an attempt to get their views on these important issues. In the next chapter, the research method which has been used in this project will be discussed.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHOD

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five describes the method used in collecting the data. In this chapter the researcher describes, inter alia, the questionnaire used in the project, the respondents to which the questionnaires were administered, selection of the respondents, administration of the questionnaires and a brief discussion of the problems encountered during the data collection process.

5.2 Method of Data Collection

To collect the data from the respondents the researcher used both the mail and self-administered questionnaires. Questionnaires were personally administered by the researcher to those respondents living in the Zululand district of the Natal region. The completed questionnaires were collected by the researcher from the respondents at an agreed date and time. Self-administered questionnaires were used to collect the data from the respondents stationed at Eskom-Empangeni, Empangeni Depot and Richards Bay Minerals.

Mailed questionnaires were used to collect the data from respondents who are stationed in six other branches of the Natal region. These branches can be

classified as falling outside the Zululand district of the Natal region. These branches are: Slater coal - Ingagane, Klipwaal - Pongola, Eskom - Drakensberg, Drake and Skull - Durban, Idwala Carbonate - Port Shepstone and Eskom -Ingagane

The researcher decided to collect data by means of a questionnaire because this research project required a reasonably large number of respondents, which would have been costly and time consuming if individual interviews had been used. The researcher opted for the questionnaire as opposed to interviews because he is of the opinion that interview data tend to be qualitative and thus are less amenable to statistical analysis.

However, it should be noted that questionnaires, especially mailed questionnaires, have two major disadvantages. In most cases the response rate tend to be low when mailed questionnaires are used. Secondly, it is impossible to correct errors once the questionnaire has been mailed out to the respondents. In order, to minimise some of the effects of using mailed questionnaires, the researcher used self-administered questionnaires for the respondents stationed in the Zululand district of the Natal region. This exercise had the desired effect of increasing the response rate.

5.3 Sampling Procedure

For the purposes of this study, the population was defined as the full-time office bearers of the NUM in the Natal region and all the shop stewards and

other employee representatives in the nine branches of the Natal region. It must be borne in mind that the researcher's main objective was to collect the data from the respondents stationed in the three branches of the Zululand district of the Natal region. However, in order to acquire a view point that is representative of the NUM in the Natal region, six other branches from various parts of the Natal region, stretching from Port Shepstone to Ingagane (Newcastle) were included.

A list of all the shop stewards and elected representatives of employees was obtained from the leadership of the NUM. The chairperson of the NUM in the Natal region, Mr. E. Mthethwa, played a significant role in this regard. From the list obtained from the NUM leadership, purposive sampling was used to obtain the required number of respondents. Neuman (1997,P.206) states that "Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases or it selects cases with a specific purpose in mind." He argues furthermore that purposive sampling is used in exploratory or field research. This being an exploratory study, as was mentioned in chapter one, the researcher decided to use purposive sampling. From the list obtained from the NUM leadership, the researcher selected respondents who are literate i. e respondents who understands and can read English.

In order to ensure that meaningful statistical analyses could be obtained on the data, the researcher decided to obtain twenty five respondents from each of the three branches based in the Zululand district of the Natal region and ten

respondents from each of the six branches based in the various parts of the Natal region, stretching from Port shepstone to Newcastle. In all, a sample of 135 respondents was obtained from the nine branches. However, the researcher decided to make an additional five respondents on each of the nine branches so as to make allowance for those respondents who could not return the questionnaires for various reasons, thus making allowance for non-response.

5.4 Constructing Questionnaires

It is important to note that before constructing the questionnaire, the researcher had to keep in mind the objectives of the study and the respondents' level of education and skill. An attempt was made by the researcher to avoid using double - barreled questions. The researcher used simple language which could be understood by the respondents. Questions that were perceived to be ambiguous were left out of the questionnaire. The researcher tried to keep the majority of the questions short.

The questions asked by the researcher in the questionnaire were close - ended in nature. In this case the questions included in the questionnaire ask a question and provide the respondents fixed responses from which to choose. e.g. "Is the NUM doing a very good, good, fair, or poor job, in your opinion?" In this case the respondents selected one of the specific responses provided by the researcher. This method provided the respondent with an easy way of answering the question, as he or she had to make a cross in one of the boxes

provided. It should be mentioned however, that the main disadvantage of using close -ended questions is that this technique can lead to guessing. This method can also frustrate educated respondents, as it does not provide them with the opportunity to explain their responses.

— The researcher took into consideration the order in which the questions were to be presented in the questionnaire. Those questions that were perceived to be easy to attempt were placed at the beginning of the questionnaire. This was done in order to ease the tension and to make the respondents feel comfortable with the questionnaire. Sensitive questions and those that were perceived to be difficult were placed at the middle of the questionnaire. Demographic questions which dealt with age and length of service were placed towards the end of the questionnaire. Questions that required the respondents to give their views on the NUM were placed at the end of the questionnaire.

5.5 Pretesting

Prior to the questionnaire being administered to the respondents, the researcher administered it to a few individuals at provincial, branch and shop-floor level. A total of thirteen NUM shop stewards and officials took part in the pretesting exercise. Some respondents who took part in the pretesting expressed concern that the use of the words "Capitalism" and "Socialism" might confuse respondents who have a low level of education. It is for this reason that these terms were discarded from the final questionnaire. In their place definitions were given. The other shop stewards who took part in the pretesting exercise expressed satisfaction with all the questions. A problem of

one illiterate shop steward based in the Zululand district of the Natal region was brought to the attention of the researcher. It became necessary to translate the questionnaire into Zulu for the benefit of this individual.

5.6 The Design of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is divided into the following five sections:

5.6.1 NUM and Politics

This section looks at the role of the NUM, in particular, and the Black trade union movement, in general, in the politics of this country. This section also explores the tripartite alliance i.e. the ANC / SACP / COSATU alliance. It tries to establish if, in the opinion of the respondents, the existence of the alliance is still valid.

5.6.2 NUM and the Economy

In this section all the questions which are economical in nature are tabled. e.g.

" What is the ideal economic system for South Africa?"

5.6.3 NUM (Trade Unions) and The Government

This section looks at the role which the Government should play as one of the three major actors in the labour relations scenario in this country.

5.6.4 Demographic Data

In this section the age of the respondents and their membership of the NUM, is tabled. This section would allow the researcher to analyse each question by demographic breakdown.

5.6.5 Opinions and Comments

This section affords the respondents the opportunity to express their views and comments about a variety of issues concerning the NUM. e.g. questions pertaining to the achievements and challenges facing the NUM. The questionnaire which was finally handed out to the respondents is included in appendix one.

5.7 Gathering the Data

The researcher hand delivered the questionnaires to those respondents based in the Zululand district of the Natal region. He explained the purpose of the research and the questionnaire to the respondents prior to handing out the questionnaire. He furthermore explained the voluntary nature of participation in the questionnaire. A summary of the discussion which the researcher had with the respondents prior to handing out the questionnaire is included in appendix two. The researcher explained in detail the nature of and the reason for the questions pertaining to demographic data in order to clear suspicions that attempts would be made to identity respondents.

An agreement was reached between the researcher and the respondents living in the Zululand district of the Natal region that they would return the completed questionnaires to the full-time shop steward. The researcher had obtained the approval of the full-time shop steward prior to handing out the questionnaires to the respondents. Whilst the researcher was handing out the questionnaires to the respondents in the Zululand district of the Natal region, one respondent expressed concern that the research project was carried out on behalf of management. To allay the respondent's fears and suspicions in this regard, the chairperson of the NUM in the Natal region also completed the questionnaire himself and issued out a memo on the letterheads of the union expressing his satisfaction with the research project.

It should be mentioned though, that apart from one hostile respondent based in the Zululand district of the Natal region, who refused to complete the questionnaire arguing that the researcher was conducting the project on behalf of management, no major problems were experienced by the researcher from other respondents. Two questionnaires completed by respondents in the Zululand district of the Natal region had to be destroyed as the sections that required the respondents to state the major achievements of the NUM and the challenges facing the union, which appear at the back of the questionnaire, had apparently been written by the same person because the handwriting used and the comments made were exactly the same.

Out of the total of seventy five questionnaires handed out to respondents in the Zululand district of the Natal region, the researcher collected a total of sixty

two completed questionnaires. The researcher attributed the following factors to the high response rate and the success of the data-collecting process in the Zululand district of the Natal region:

- ◆ The discussions held by the researcher with both the NUM leadership and the respondents prior to handing out the questionnaire.
- ◆ The researcher was on first name terms with the chairperson of the NUM in the Natal region and some of the senior shop stewards. The existence of a trusting relationship between the researcher and the NUM leadership reduced the level of suspicion which some respondents might have had about the research project.
- ◆ The fact that the questionnaires were hand delivered by the researcher to the respondents and the completed questionnaires collected from the full-time shop steward at an agreed date and time.
- ◆ The pretesting of the questionnaire by way of conducting a pilot study prior to the handing out of the final questionnaires to the respondents. In this manner problems that were identified by the respondents in the pilot study were addressed timeously.

In order to collect the data from the respondents based outside the Zululand district of the Natal region, the researcher used mailed questionnaires. It should be borne in mind that apart from collecting the data from the three

branches of the NUM based in the Zululand district of the Natal region, the researcher had targeted six other branches from various parts of the Natal region, stretching from Port Shepstone to Newcastle.

It was brought to the attention of the researcher that the Natal region of the NUM was going to hold a meeting at the headquarters of the Natal region of the NUM in Newcastle on Saturday, 20 November 1999. After getting permission from the chairperson of the NUM in the Natal region, the researcher used that opportunity and requested the chairperson to distribute the questionnaires to the respondents from the following six branches from the various parts of the Natal region: Slaton Coal - Ingagane, Klipwaal - Pongola, Eskom - Drakensberg, Drake and Skull - Durban, Eskom- Ingagane and Idwala Carbonate - Port Shepstone..

Questionnaires had been put by the researcher in self- addressed envelopes which had the required postage stamps affixed to them. All that the respondents had to do was to complete the questionnaires, put them in the envelopes provided and post them to the researcher.

The researcher requested the respondents at the end of the questionnaire to return the completed questionnaires at a specified date. This request was also made to the respondents by the chairperson of the NUM. Ten questionnaires were handed out to each of the six targeted branches from the various parts of the Natal region.

Of the sixty questionnaires handed out to the respondents in Newcastle, forty-three completed questionnaires were received by the researcher in the post. In total, out of 135 questionnaires sent to the respondents, 105 were returned. It must be noted that out of the 105 completed questionnaires returned to the researcher, 100 were usable. The researcher attributed the high response rate to the following factors:

- ◆ The earnest appeal made by the chairperson of NUM in the Natal region, to the delegates who attended the meeting in Newcastle, to complete the questionnaires and post them to the researcher before the specified date.
- ◆ The fact that the researcher stated on the questionnaire that the research was for academic purposes. This had the desired effect of convincing the respondents that the questionnaires were part and parcel of an anonymous research project which would have no effects on the respondents' jobs.

5.8 CODING AND ANALYSING THE DATA

5.8.1 DATA CODING

In this section the researcher coded each question numerically from zero through to five as follows:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| - Strongly agree | : | 1 |
| - Tend to agree | : | 2 |
| - Neither agree nor disagree | : | 3 |

- Tend to disagree : 4
- Strongly disagree : 5
- No response : 0

Questions one to twenty one on the questionnaire were coded using the above mentioned method. Questions twenty-two to twenty five were coded in a similar manner using enough codes to represent the data in the desired intervals. Different coding was used to questions twenty-six, twenty seven and twenty eight which required the respondents to give their comments and opinions about the NUM. After this exercise had been completed, the researcher entered the coded data into Lotus 123 spreadsheets.

5.8.2 Data Analysis

It was difficult to analyse the data manually as it was large. Computer analysis of data was done by applying Lotus 123, which was used for data input. The means and standard deviations were calculated to assist in the analysis of data. A table showing the calculation of means and standard deviations appears on appendix three.

The next chapter, which presents the results of this project, will shed some light on how the data was analysed.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the author will attempt to present the analysis of the data gathered from one hundred usable questionnaires which were completed by the members of the NUM who are based in selected branches of the Natal region. To facilitate the presentation of the information, this chapter has been divided into the following sections:

- (1) An analysis of the research findings by each question.
- (2) The demographic profile of the respondents.
- (3) Achievements of and challenges facing the NUM. When these issues are discussed the relationship between certain variables will also be shown.

6.2 An analysis of the research findings by each question

Before an analysis of the findings can be embarked upon, it is important to present a table depicting the descriptive statistics of the first twenty one questions in the questionnaire. This table is important as it will indicate the mean and standard deviation of these questions. Once this has been achieved, it will facilitate the further analysis of individual responses.

Table 6. 1 Descriptive Statistics

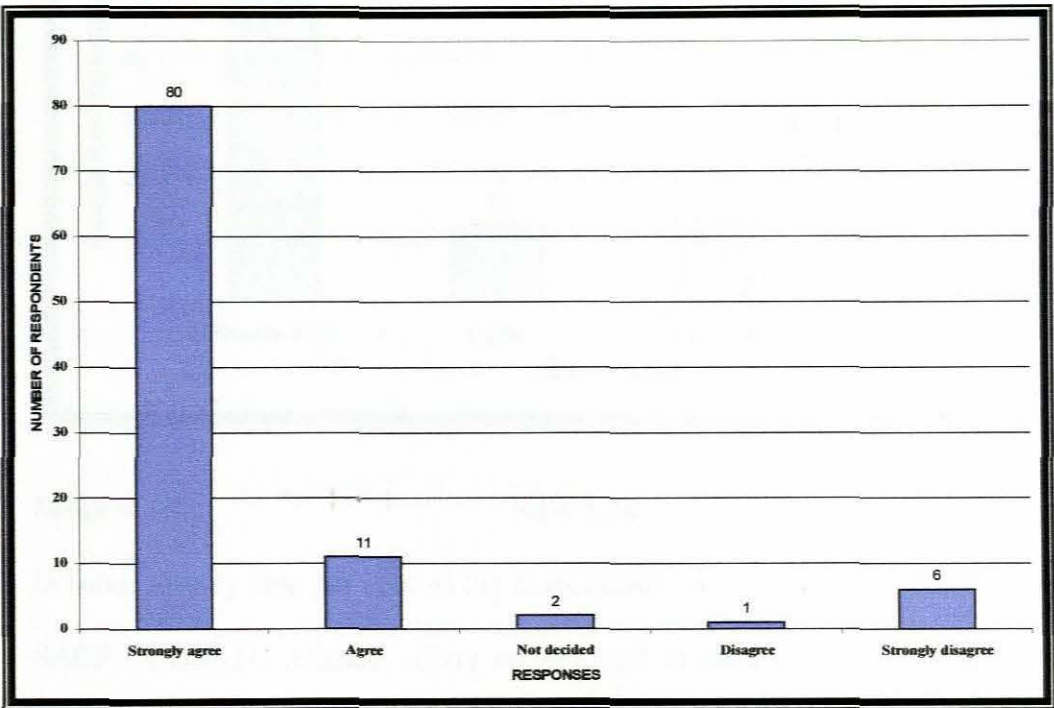
Statement	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	100	1.00	5.00	1.4200	1.0365
2	100	1.00	5.00	1.6900	1.1608
3	100	1.00	5.00	2.6400	1.4179
4	100	1.00	5.00	2.1400	1.1103
5	100	1.00	5.00	1.5000	.9045
6	100	1.00	5.00	2.1300	1.2844
7	100	1.00	5.00	1.4900	.9999
8	100	1.00	5.00	1.2100	.6243
9	100	1.00	5.00	2.5400	1.3440
10	100	1.00	5.00	2.7400	1.4186
11	100	1.00	5.00	2.7200	1.4219
12	100	1.00	5.00	4.1400	1.3106
13	100	1.00	4.00	1.3600	.6594
14	100	1.00	5.00	2.4700	1.2428
15	100	1.00	5.00	3.6200	1.4549
16	100	1.00	5.00	3.5500	1.4311
17	100	1.00	5.00	2.0100	1.1503
18	100	1.00	4.00	1.8800	1.0568
19	100	1.00	5.00	1.8200	1.0287
20	100	1.00	5.00	1.8700	1.1251
21	100	1.00	5.00	1.9100	1.2152
Valid N	100				

From the above table it will be noticed that if the mean is between one and two, the respondents were positive about a particular issue. In other words, a mean score which ranges from one to two implies that the respondents strongly agreed or tended to agree with a particular statement which was posed to them in the questionnaire. A mean score which ranges from 2.8 to 3.2 implies that the respondents were undecided about a particular issue. A mean

score which is between 3.2 and 5 implies that the respondents were negative about a particular statement. In this case respondents would tend to disagree or strongly disagree with a particular statement.

At this stage the researcher will attempt to analyse the findings of the first twenty one questions in the questionnaire.

Figure 6.1: The NUM should play a role in politics



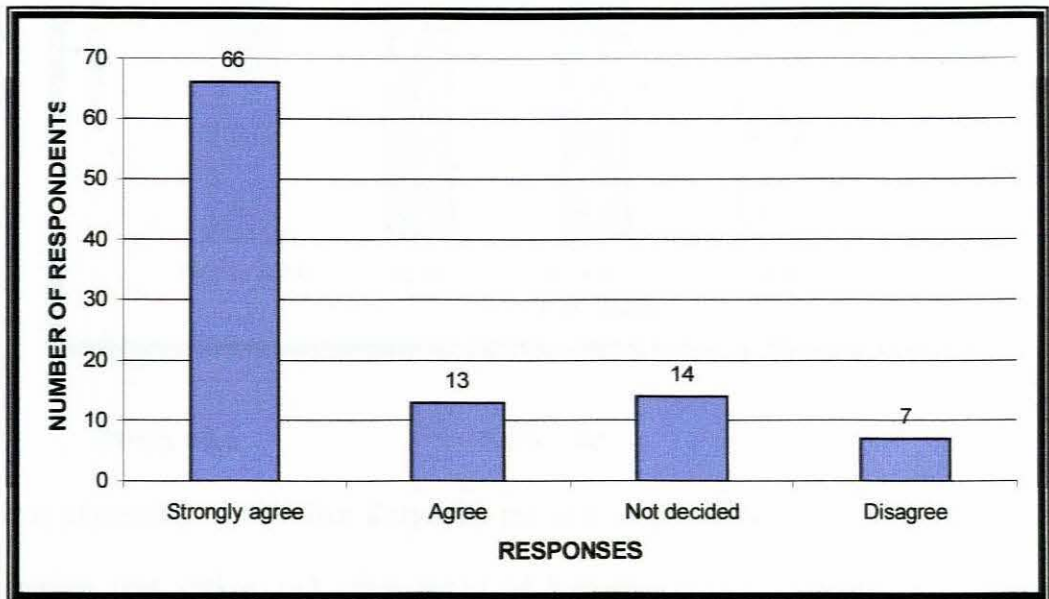
Mean = 1.4

Sd = 1.03

It would appear from figure 6.1 that eighty per cent of the respondents firmly believed that the NUM should play an active role in the politics of this country. In all, ninety one per cent of the respondents supported the involvement of the NUM in the politics of this country. Only seven per cent of the respondents were opposed to the involvement of the NUM in the

politics of this country. Two per cent of the respondents were undecided in this regard. It is obvious that the majority of the NUM members believed that their union should not only confine itself to the workplace but that it should also actively participate in the politics of South Africa.

Figure 6.2: There is a need for the ANC/ SACP/ COSATU alliance

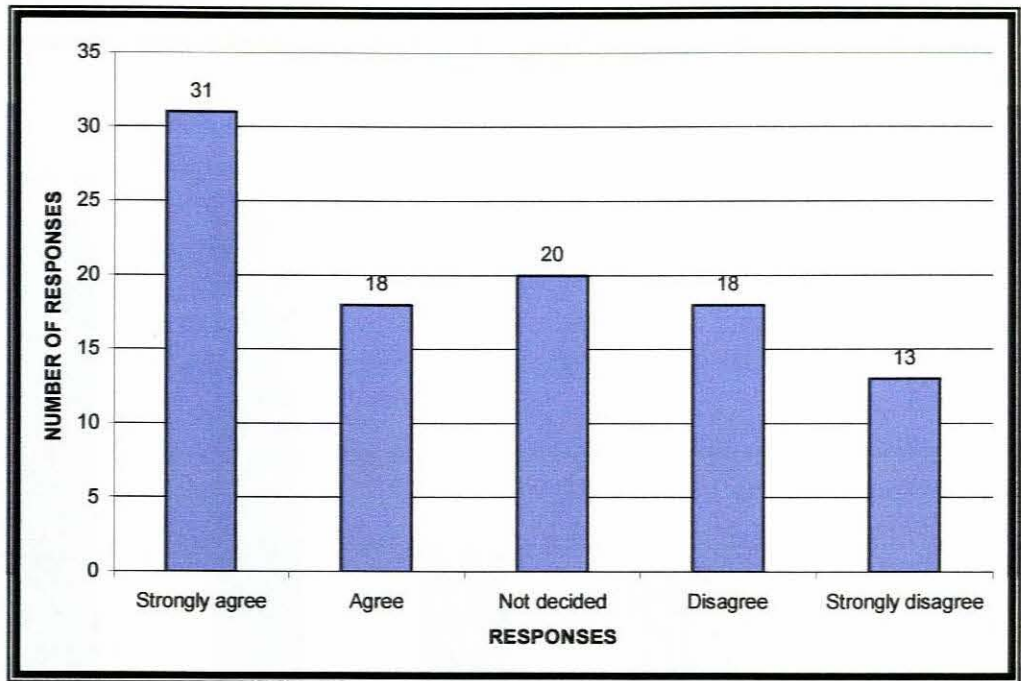


Mean = 1.7

Sd = 1.16

In total, seventy nine per cent of the respondents were in favour of the ANC / SACP / COSATU alliance. Sixty six per cent of these respondents strongly believed that the alliance should be maintained. Fourteen per cent of the respondents were undecided. Only seven per cent of the respondents were opposed to the alliance. In a nutshell, the majority of the NUM members believed that COSATU should maintain its alliance with the ANC and SACP.

Figure 6.3 : Strikes are detrimental to economic growth

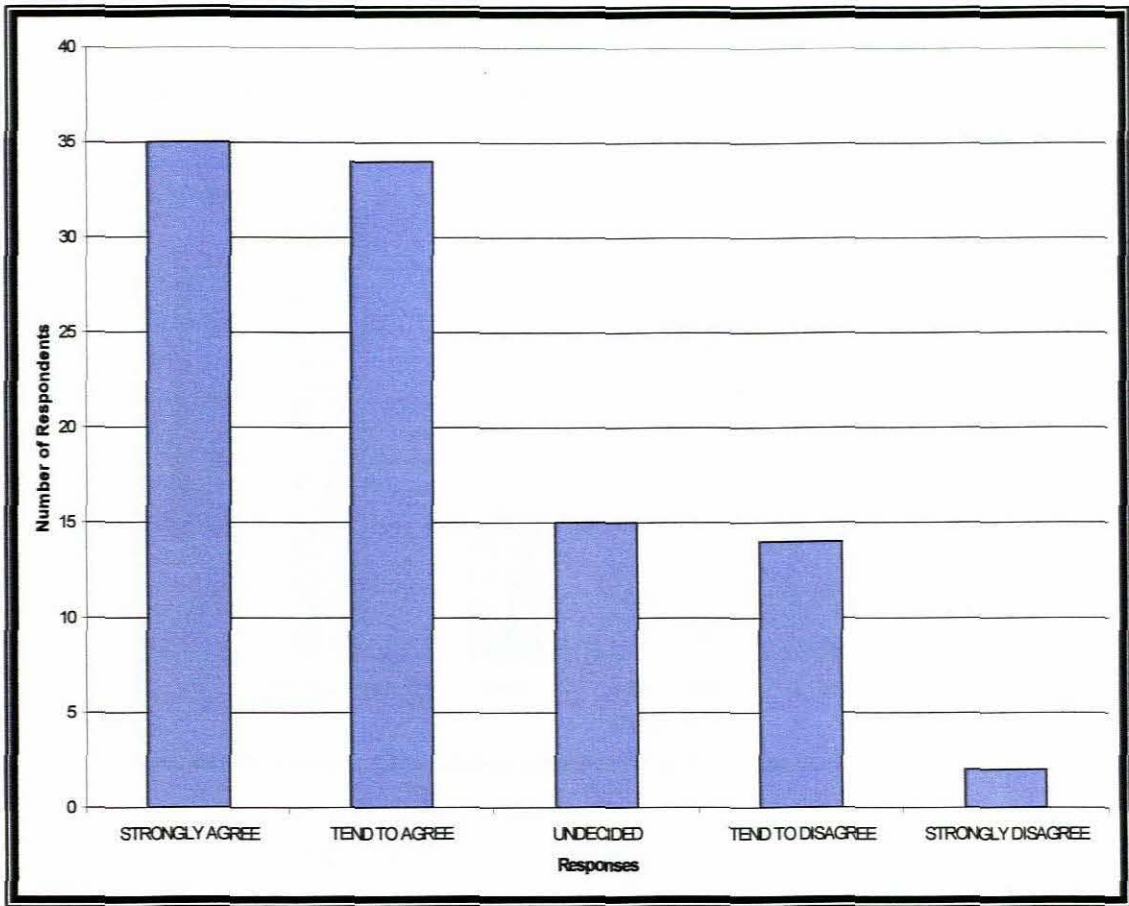


Mean =2.6

Sd = 1.42

It is interesting to note that forty nine per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that strikes and other forms of industrial action are detrimental to economic growth. However, it is important to note that twenty per cent of the respondents could not make up their minds as to whether strikes are detrimental to economic growth or not. This figure is significantly high at twenty per cent. Thirty one per cent of the respondents did not believe that strikes are detrimental to economic growth. It is worth mentioning that fifty per cent of the respondents could not come out openly and declare that strikes are detrimental to economic growth.

Figure 6.4: The Government is sympathetic towards Black unions

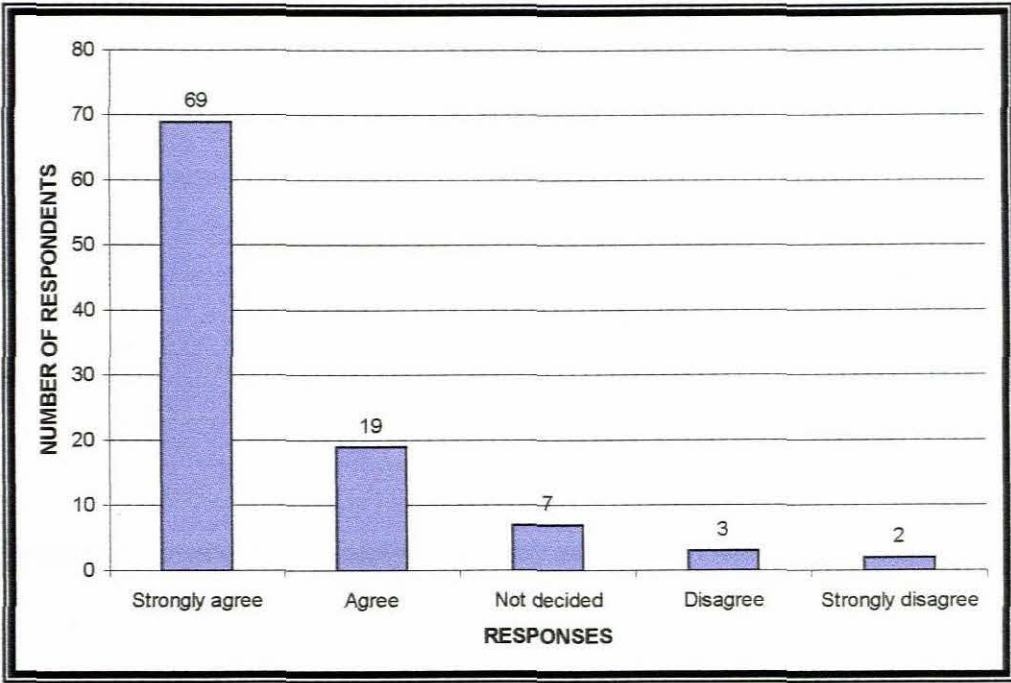


Mean = 2.1

Sd = 1.11

Sixty nine per cent of the respondents believed that the Government is sympathetic towards the needs and aspirations of Black trade unions. Fifteen per cent of the respondents were undecided as to whether the Government is sympathetic towards the needs of the Black trade unions or not. Sixteen per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the Government is not sympathetic towards the needs and aspirations of the Black trade union movement. In conclusion, the majority of the respondents believed that the ANC –led Government is sympathetic towards the Black trade union movement in general.

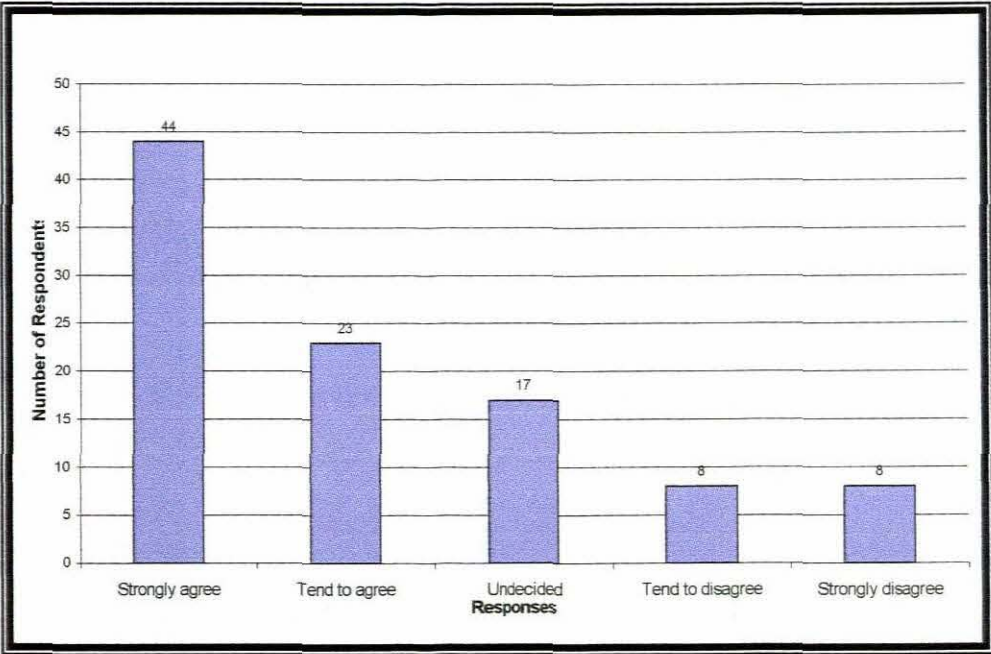
Figure 6.5: Union federations should affiliate with international organisations



Mean = 1.5 Sd = 0.90

Eighty eight per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that trade union federations should affiliate with international organisations. Sixty nine per cent of the respondents in this category firmly believed that union federations should affiliate with international organisations around the world in order to achieve their objectives effectively. Seven per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Only five per cent of the respondents were opposed to the union federations affiliating with international organisations. Of this figure, two per cent were strongly opposed to union federations affiliating with international organisations. It is clear from figure 6.2.6 that the majority of the respondents supported the affiliation of their federations with international organisations.

Figure 6.6: Union violence should be condemned

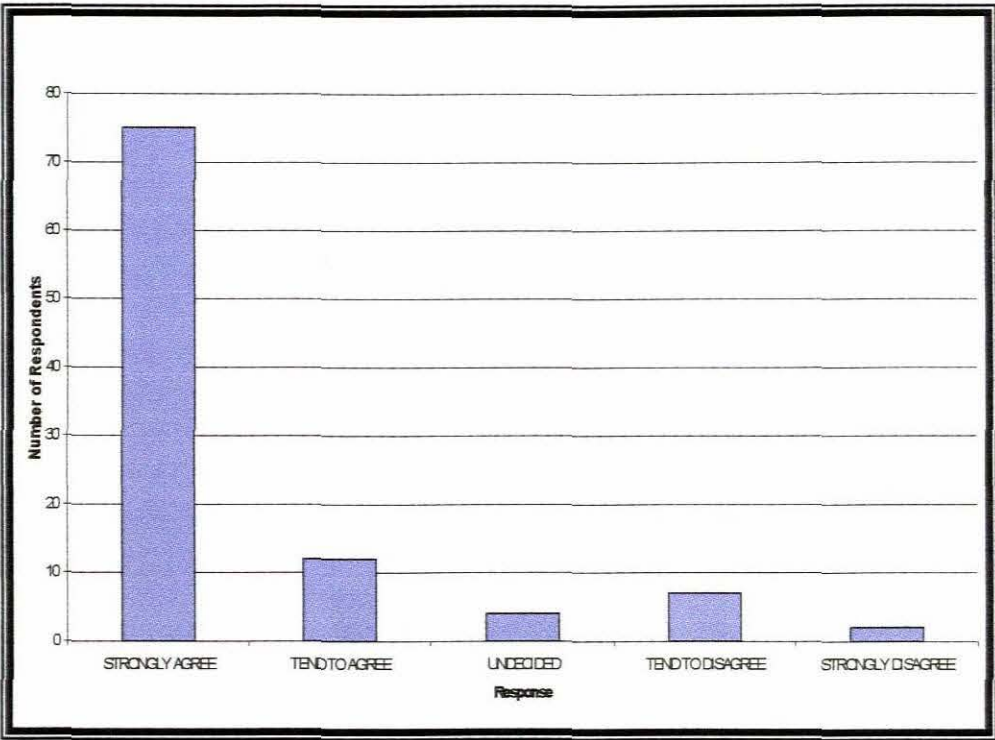


Mean = 2.1

Sd = 1.28

Sixty seven per cent of the respondents rejected violence as a means of achieving trade union goals. Forty four per cent of the respondents in this category strongly agreed that violence as a means of achieving trade union goals should be rejected at all costs. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Sixteen per cent of the respondents agreed that violence can be used as a means of achieving trade union goals. Eight per cent of the respondents in this group, strongly agreed with the use of violence as a means of achieving trade union goals. It is important to note that the majority of the respondents rejected violence as a means of achieving union goals.

Figure 6.7: Black trade unions should unite

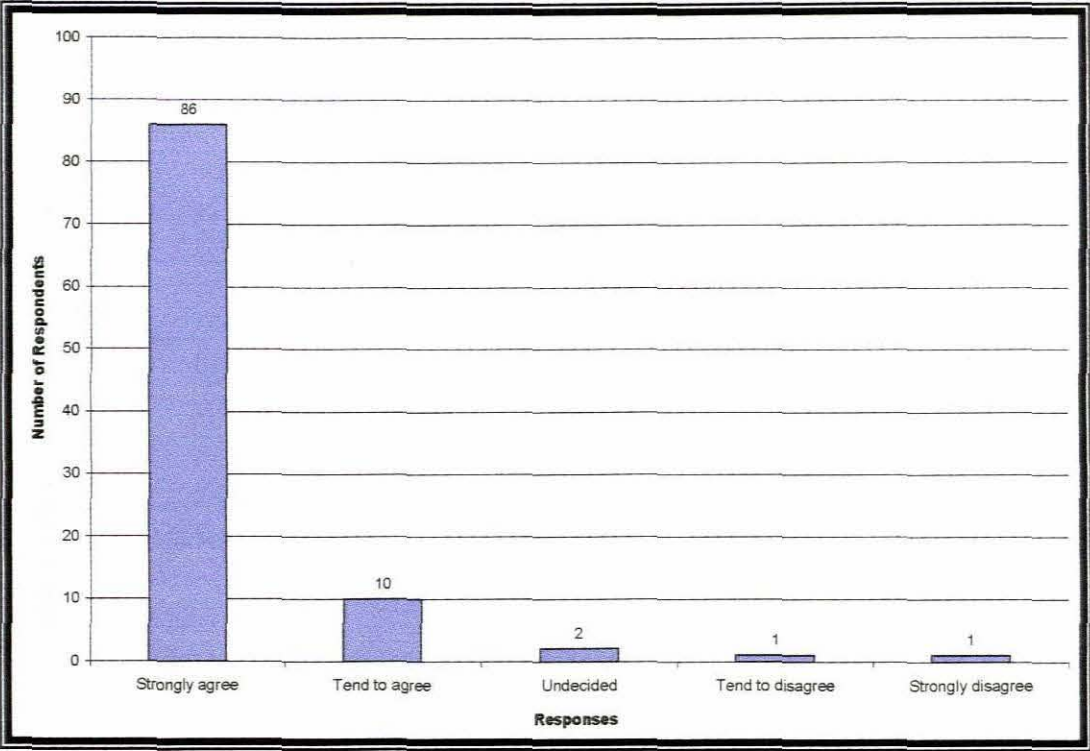


Mean = 1.5

Sd = 0.99

Eighty seven per cent of the respondents supported Black trade union unity. Of this figure, seventy five per cent of the respondents strongly believed that trade unions should unite and speak with one voice. Four per cent of the respondent were undecided on the question of trade union unity. Nine per cent of the respondents did not believe in trade union unity, with two per cent strongly opposed to this idea. The vast majority of the respondents believed that Black trade unions should unite and speak with one voice.

Figure 6.8: Trade unions should play a role in the education of their members



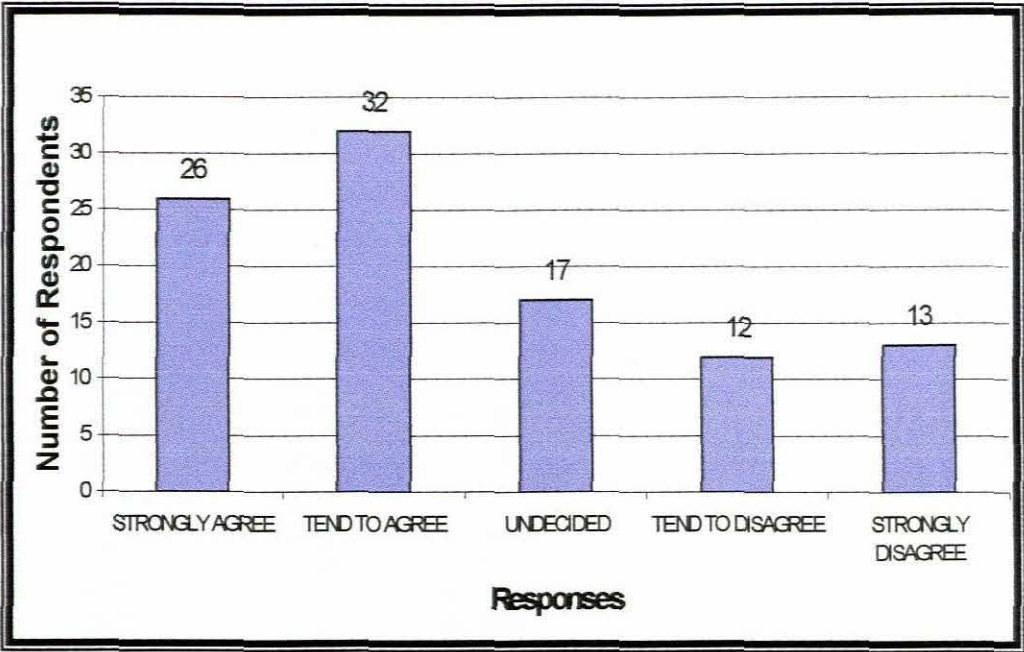
Mean = 1.2

Sd = 0.62

Ninety six per cent of the respondents believed that the trade unions should play an active role in the education and training of their members. Eighty six per cent of the respondents strongly agreed with this statement. Two per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Two per cent of the respondents did not believe that trade unions should be actively involved in the education and training of their members. Only one per cent of the respondents were strongly opposed to this idea. In conclusion, it can be seen from figure 6.8 that the overwhelming majority of the respondents believed that the NUM should play an active role in the education of their members.

Figure 6.9: Whites should occupy leadership positions in Black trade

unions

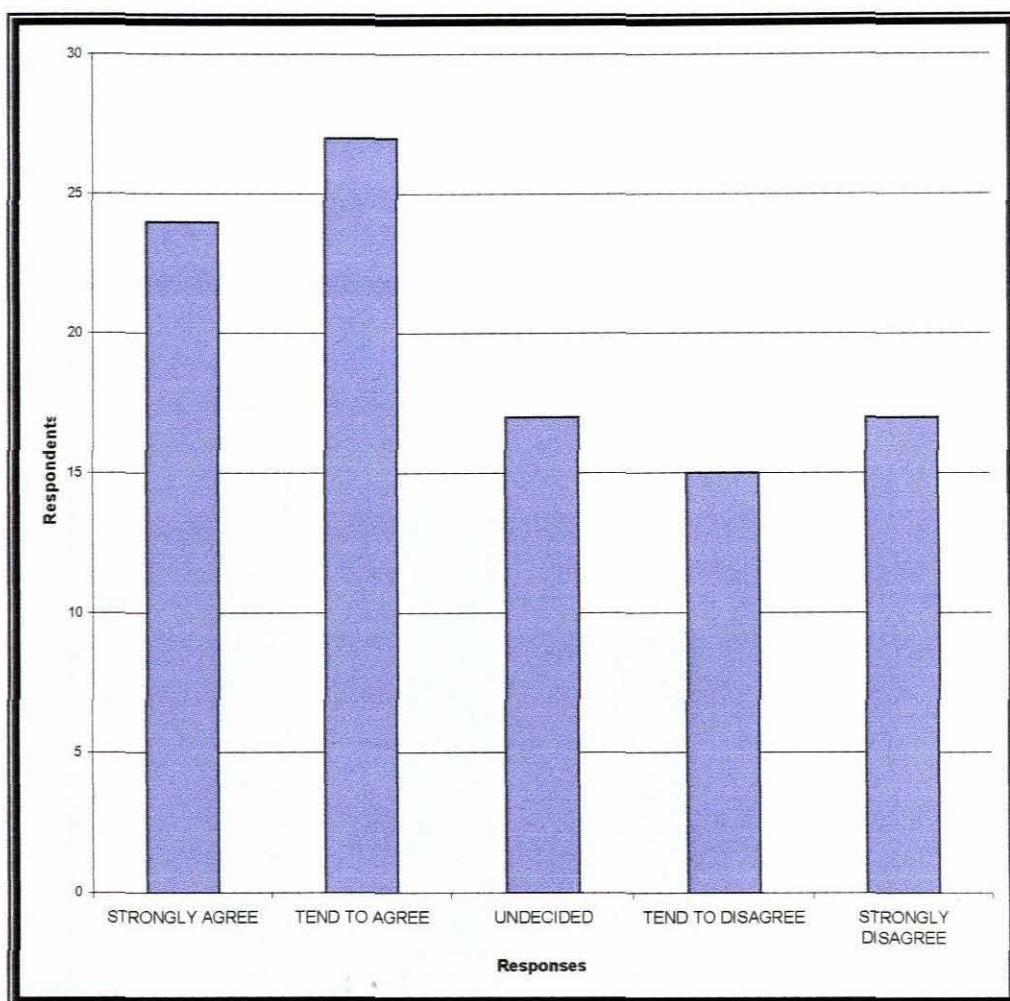


Mean = 2.5

Sd = 1.34

In total, fifty eight per cent of the respondents agreed with the idea of Whites occupying leadership positions in Black trade unions. Twenty six per cent of the respondents strongly agreed with this statement. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Twenty five per cent of the respondents were opposed to the idea of Whites occupying leadership positions in Black trade unions. Thirteen per cent of the respondents were strongly opposed to this idea. It would appear that more than half of the respondents believed that Whites should be allowed to occupy leadership positions in Black trade unions.

Figure 6.10: The police have a role to play in Industrial Relations



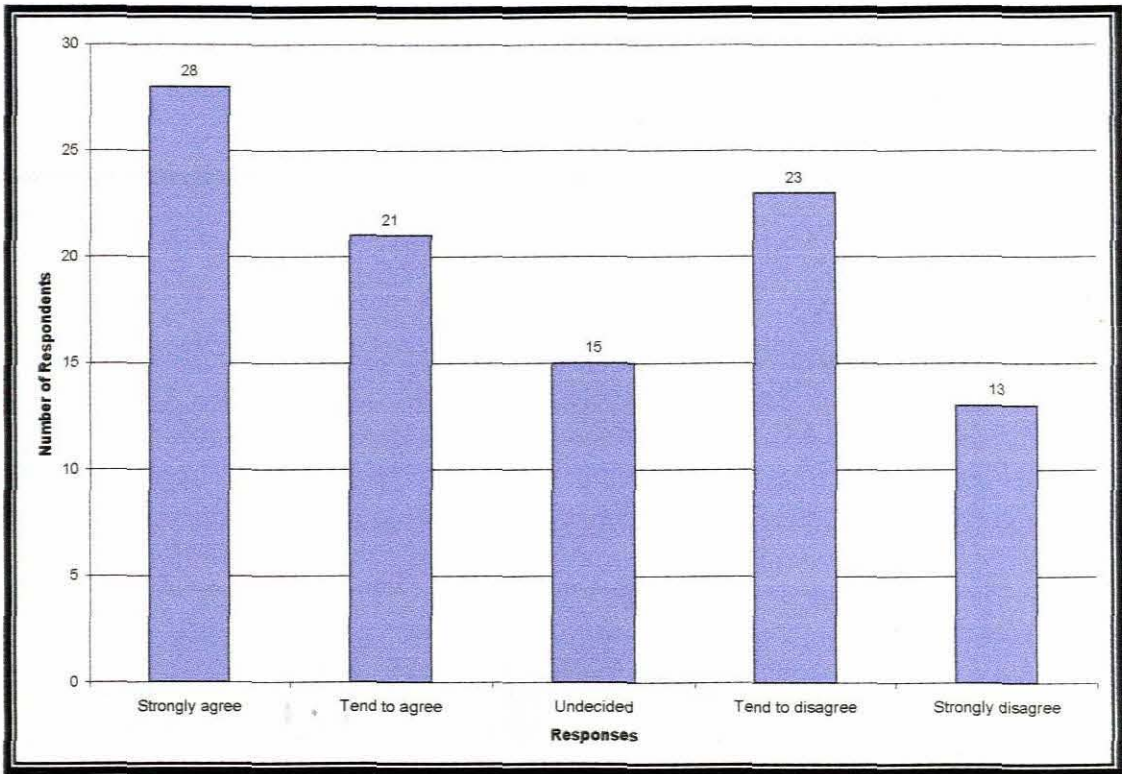
Mean = 2.7

Sd = 1.42

Fifty one per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the police and other law-enforcement agencies have a role to play in I.R. Twenty four per cent of the respondents strongly supported this view. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on the role of the law-enforcement agencies in I. R. Thirty two per cent of the respondents did not believe that the police and other law-enforcement agencies have a role to play in I. R. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were strongly opposed to the idea of involving the

police in I. R. It would appear from figure 6.10 that there was no clear cut approval by the respondents for the police involvement in I.R.

Figure 6. 11 : Female employees are well represented in the NUM structures

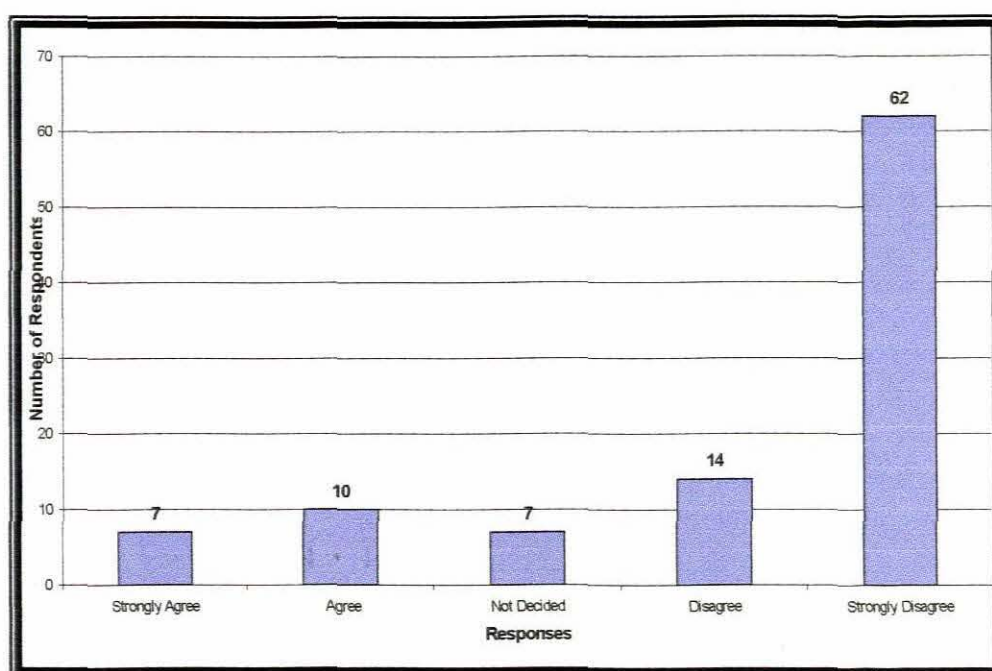


Mean = 2.7 sd = 1.42

Forty nine percent of the respondents believed that female employees are very well represented in all the structures of the NUM. Twenty eight per cent of the respondents strongly supported this view. Fifteen per cent of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement. In other words, fifteen per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Thirty six per cent of the respondents believed that the female employees are not very well represented in all the structures of the NUM. Thirteen per cent of the

respondents strongly believed that female employees are not well represented in all the structures of the NUM. In Summary, it can be seen that the respondents were not entirely convinced that female employees are well represented in all the structures of the NUM.

Figure 6. 12: Employees do not need to join unions as the ANC is in power



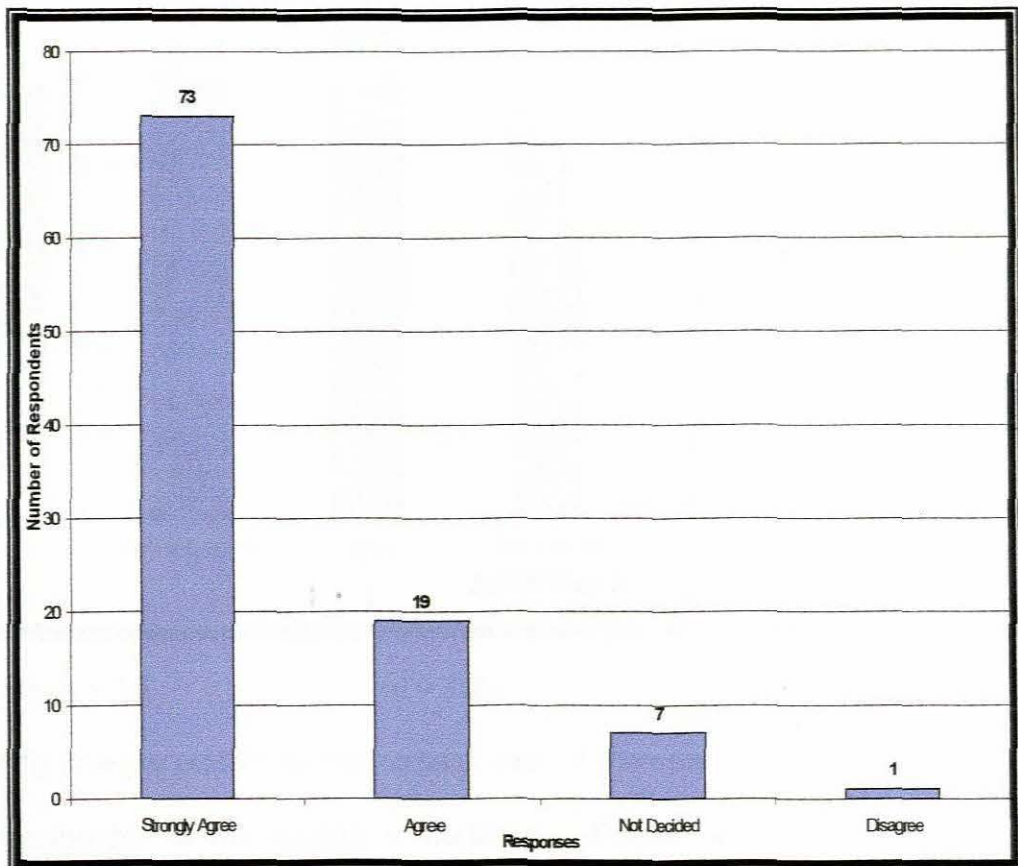
Mean = 4.1

Sd = 1.31

Only seventeen per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that employees do not have to join trade unions as the ANC is in power. Seven per cent of this group strongly agreed with this view. Another seven per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Seventy six per cent of the respondents disagreed with the view that employees need not join trade unions as the ANC is in power. Of this figure, sixty two per cent of the respondents strongly believed that employees should join trade unions even though the

ANC is in power. In other words, sixty two per cent of the respondents strongly rejected the idea that employees do not have to join trade unions because the ANC is in power. . In conclusion, it can be seen from figure 6.12 that the majority of the respondents believed that the employees should join trade unions even though the ANC is in power.

Figure 6 .13 : Trade unions must participate in affirmative action programmes



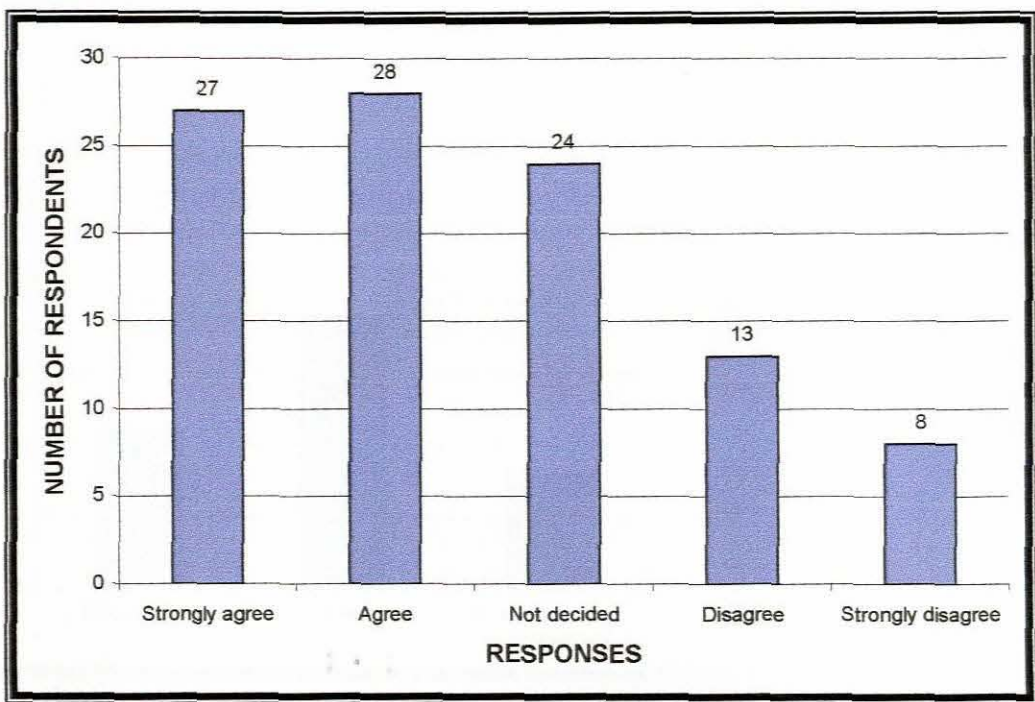
Mean 1.4

Sd = 0.66

Ninety two per cent of the respondents believed that trade unions should participate in affirmative action programmes. A massive seventy three per cent of the respondents strongly believed that trade unions should play a significant role in drafting and implementing affirmative action programmes. Seven per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Only one per

cent of the respondents believed that trade unions should not take part in affirmative action programmes. No respondent strongly disagreed with the participation of trade unions in affirmative action programmes. In conclusion, the overwhelming majority of the respondents believed that trade unions should play an active role in affirmative action programmes.

Figure 6.14: Trade union membership in South Africa is declining



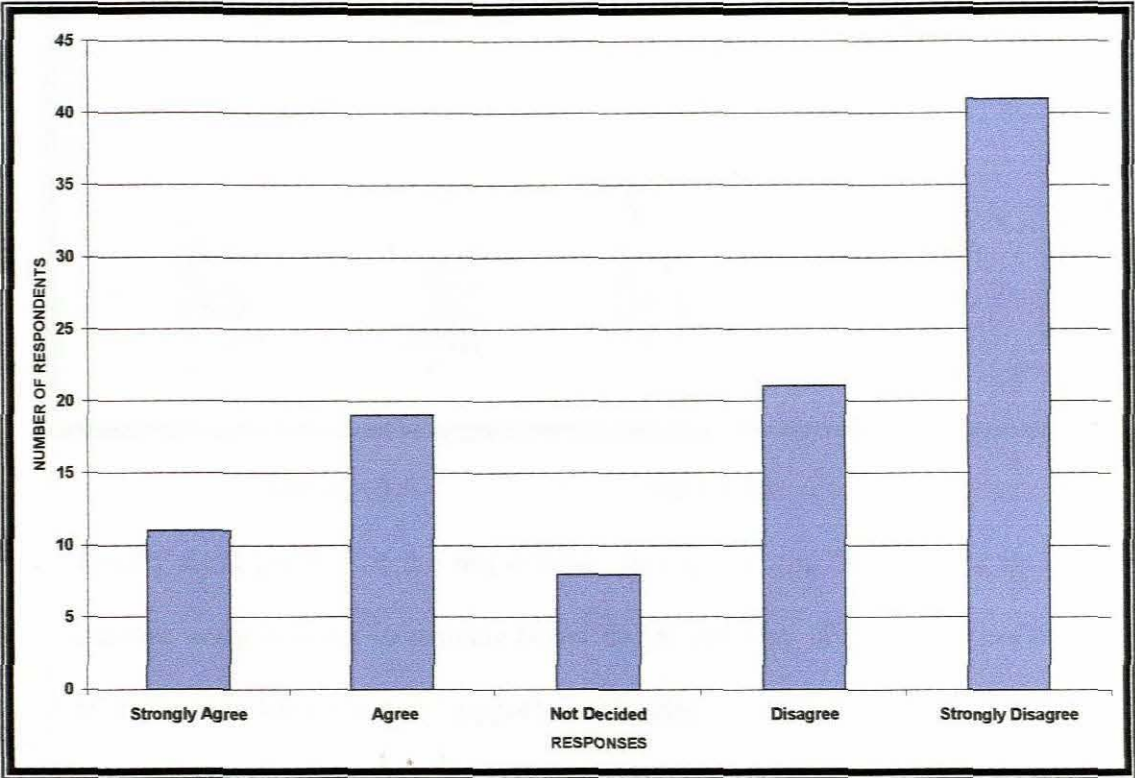
Mean = 2.5

sd = 1.24

Fifty five per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the trade union membership in the country is declining. Twenty seven per cent of the respondents strongly supported this view. Twenty four per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Twenty one per cent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that trade union membership in South Africa is declining. Eight per cent of the respondents strongly opposed the idea that trade union membership in South Africa is declining. More than

half of the respondents believed that trade union membership in this country is declining.

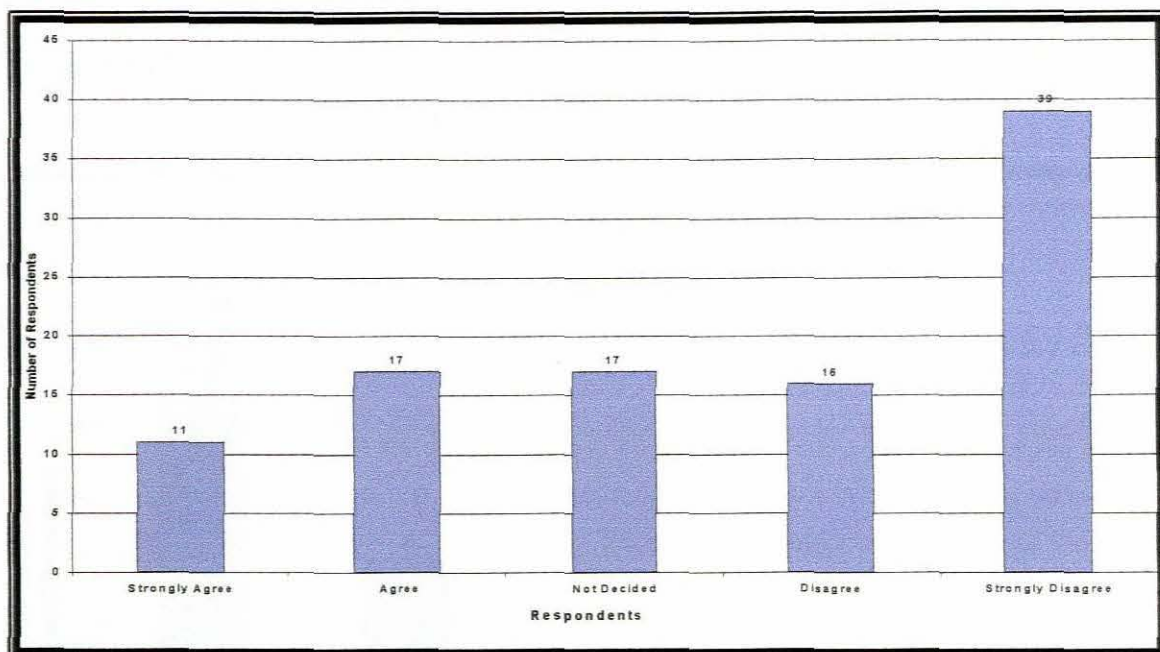
Figure 6.15: The Government should privatise parastatals to stimulate economic growth



Mean = 3.6 Sd = 1.45

Thirty per cent of the respondents agreed that the Government should privatise the parastatals in order to stimulate economic growth. Eight per cent of the respondents were undecided on the issue of privatization. Sixty two per cent of the respondents were opposed to the privatization of the parastatals such as Eskom, SAA, TRANSNET, etc. Of this figure, forty one per cent of the respondents were strongly opposed to the privatization of the parastatals. In conclusion, it can be seen from figure 6.15 that the majority of the respondents rejected the privatisation of parastatals.

**Figure 6.16: The Government should increase taxes to provide better
social services**

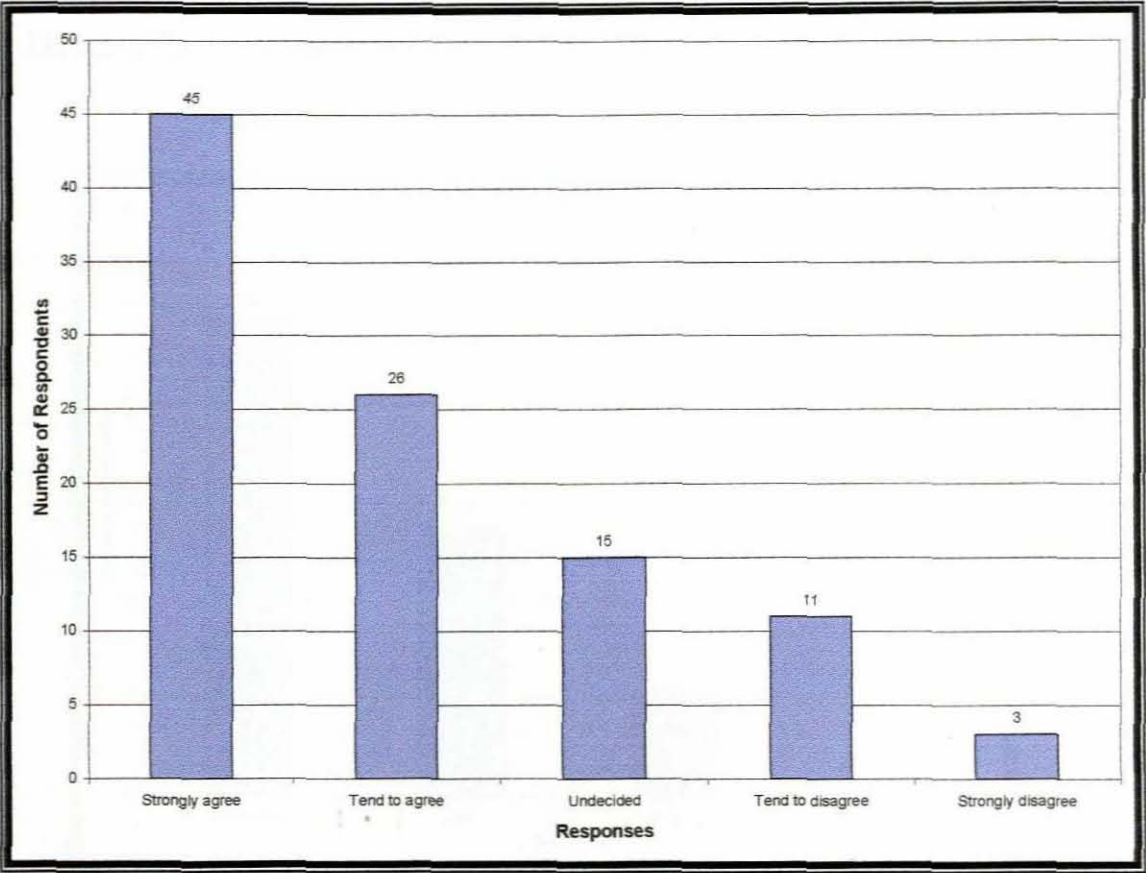


Mean = 3.6

Sd = 1.43

Twenty eight percent of the respondents agreed that the Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services. Only eleven per cent of the respondents strongly supported this idea. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Fifty five per cent of the respondents did not agree that the Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services. Thirty nine per cent of the respondents were strongly opposed to this idea. In a nutshell, the majority of the respondents did not believe that the Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services.

Figure 6.17 : There is effective communication within the NUM

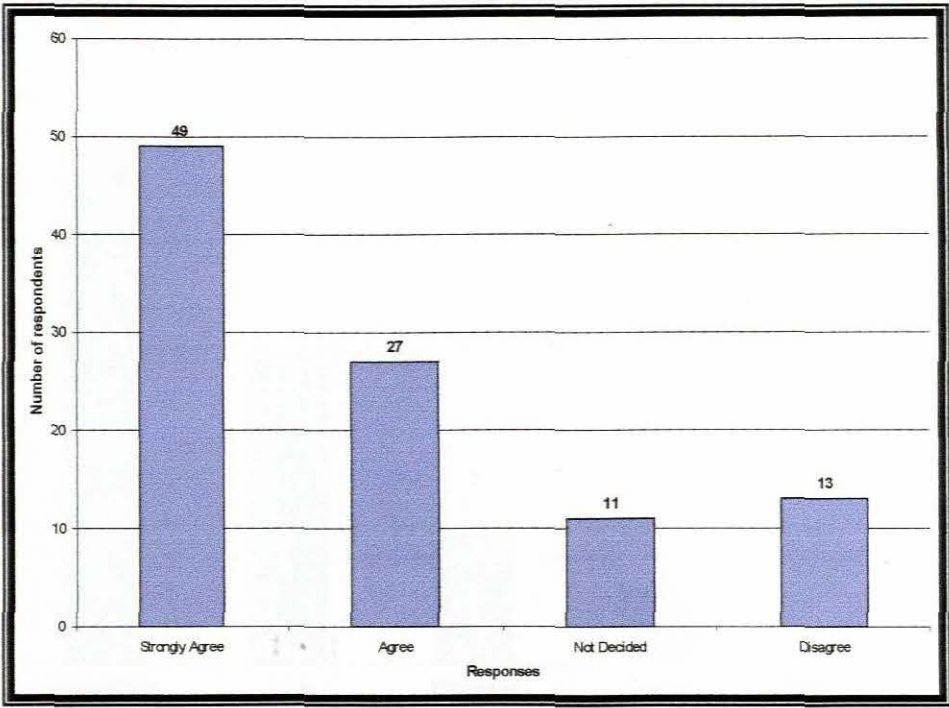


Mean = 2.0 sd = 1.15

Seventy one per cent of the respondents believed that there is effective communication between their branches and other structures of the NUM. Forty five per cent of the respondents strongly believed that there is effective communication within the various structures of the NUM. Fifteen per cent of the respondents were undecided on the issue of communication within the NUM. Fourteen per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that there is no effective communication within NUM. Three per cent of the respondents strongly believed

that there is no effective communication within the NUM. In summary, the majority of the respondents believed that there is effective communication within the NUM.

Figure 6.18: NUM is equipped to deal with future challenges and threats



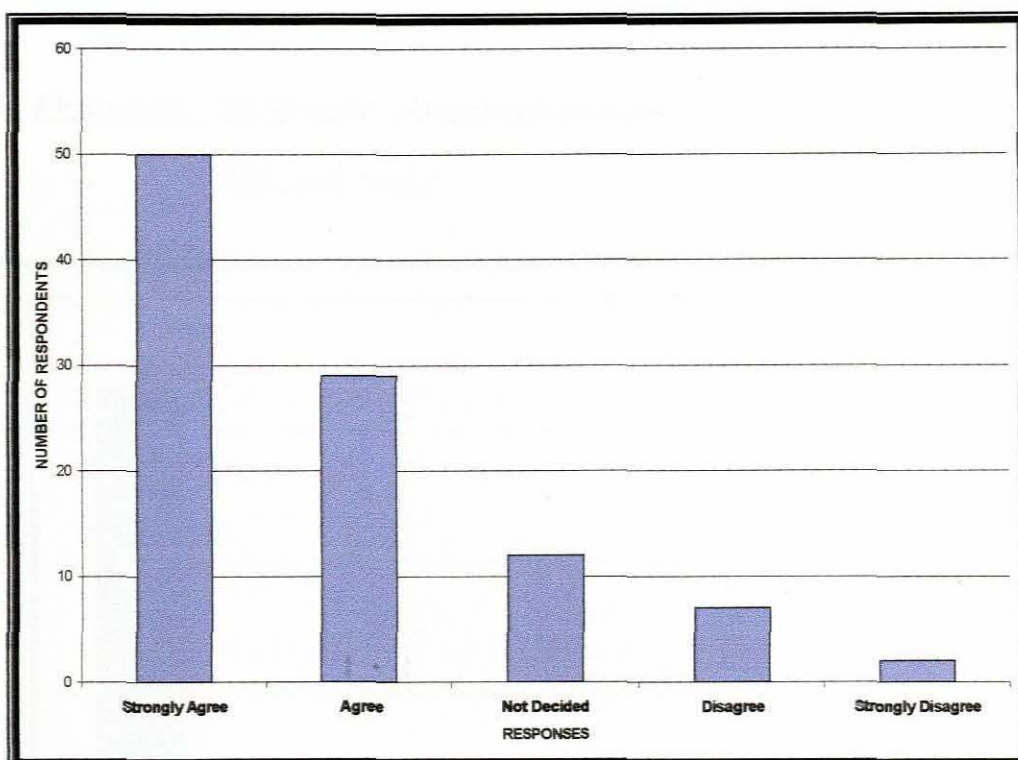
Mean = 1.9

Sd = 1.06

Seventy six per cent of the respondents believed that the NUM officials and shop stewards are fully equipped to deal with the challenges and threats which may face the union in future. Of this figure, forty nine per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that the NUM leadership is fully prepared to face the future. Eleven per cent of the respondents were undecided. Thirteen per cent of the respondents did not believe that the NUM leaders are fully equipped to deal with the challenges and threats which may face the union in future. It is clear from

figure 6.18 that the majority of the respondents believed that the NUM leaders are fully prepared to deal with future challenges and threats.

Figure 6.19: NUM leaders consult with members before they take decisions



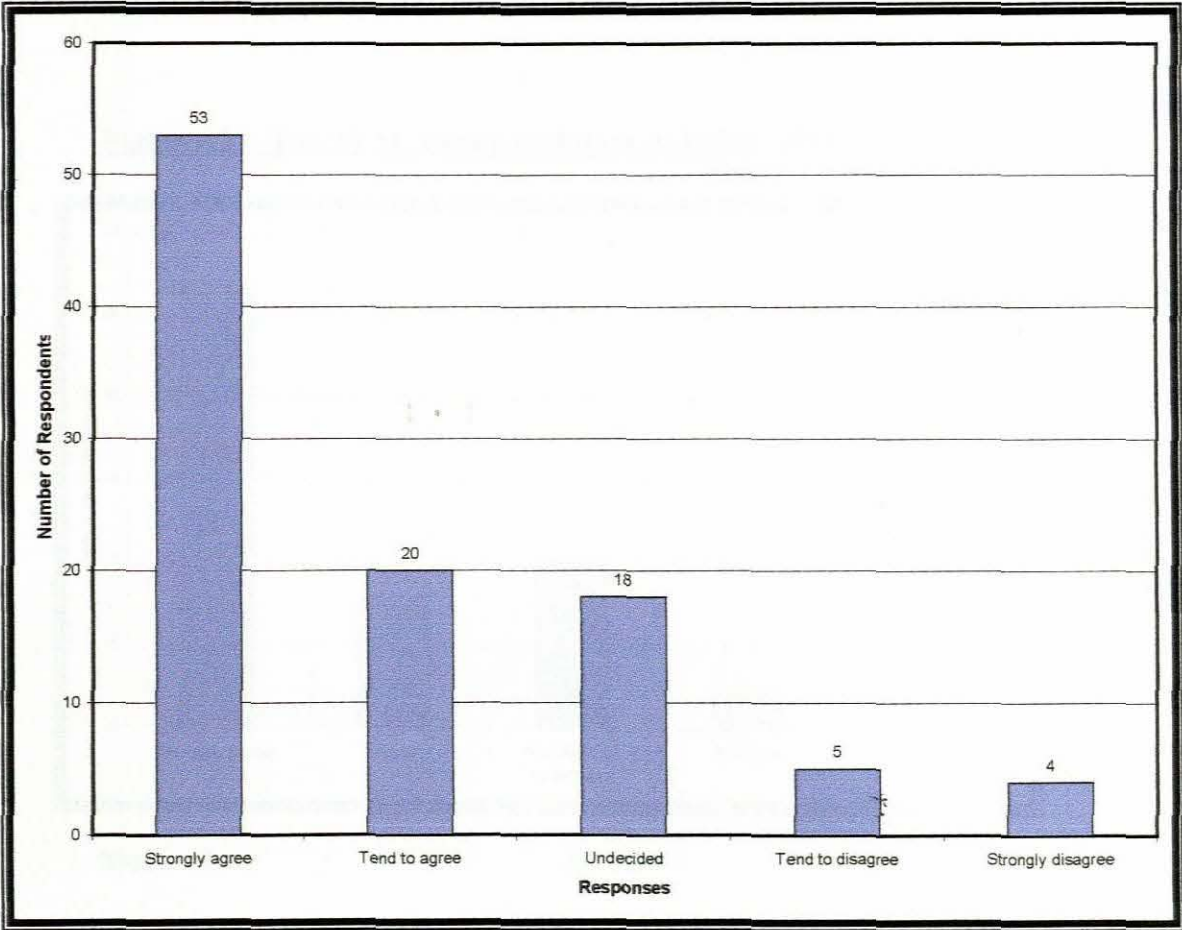
Mean = 1.8

Sd = 1.03

Seventy nine per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the NUM leadership consults with the general membership on the ground before it takes important decisions. Fifty per cent of the respondents strongly believed that the leadership of the NUM consults members on the ground before it takes important decisions. Twelve per cent of the respondents were undecided on the question of consultation. Nine per cent of the respondents believed that the leadership of the NUM does not consult the ordinary members on the ground before it takes

important decisions. Only two per cent of the respondents strongly believed that the leadership of the NUM does not consult members at all before it takes important decisions. In summary, the majority of the respondents believed that NUM leaders consult with members on the ground before they take the important decisions

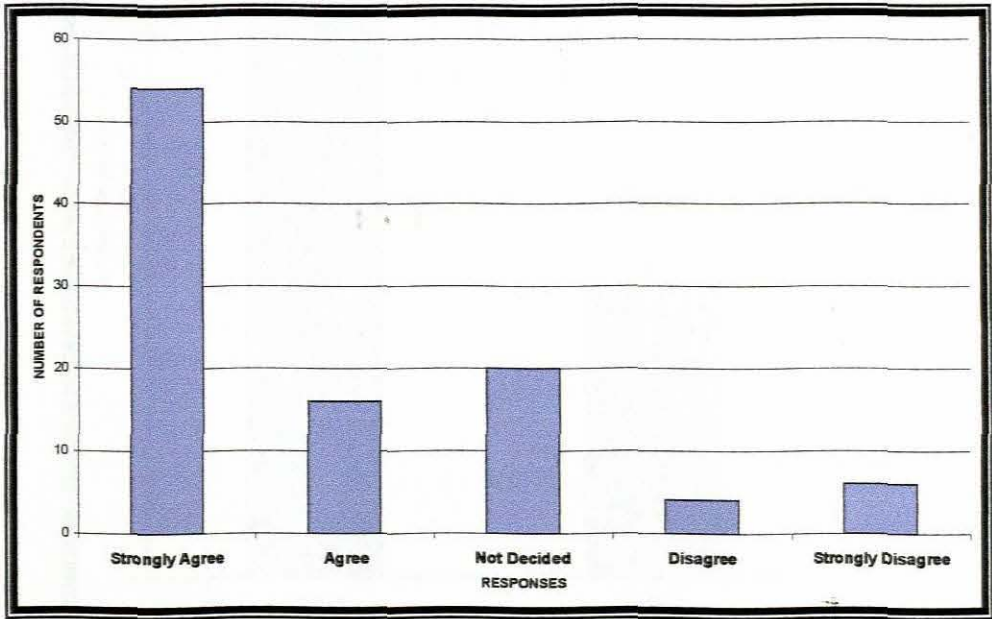
**Figure 6.20: NUM leaders should occupy leadership positions in the
ANC and SACP**



Mean = 1.9 sd = 1.13

Seventy three per cent of the respondents were in favour of the NUM leaders occupying senior positions in other organisations such as the ANC and SACP. Fifty three per cent of the respondents in this category strongly supported this idea. Eighteen per cent of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Nine per cent of the respondents believed that it is not proper for the NUM leaders to occupy positions in other organisations such as the ANC and the SACP. Four per cent of the respondents in this category strongly rejected this idea. In a nutshell, the majority of the respondents had no problem with the leaders of the NUM occupying leadership position in the ANC and SACP.

Figure 6.21: The NUM should maintain its independence



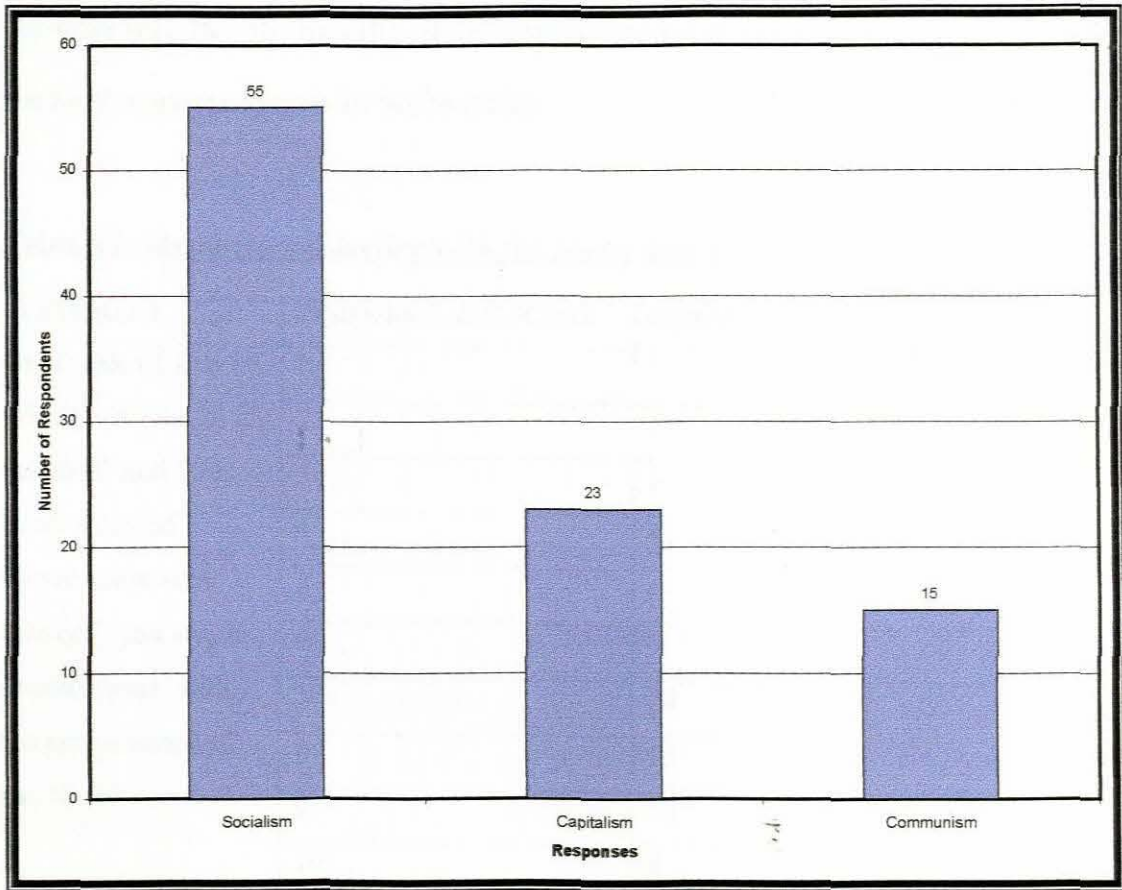
Mean =1.9

Sd 1.21

Seventy per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the NUM should maintain its independence. Fifty four per cent of the respondents in this category firmly believed that the NUM should maintain its independence. Twenty per cent

of the respondents were undecided on this issue. Ten per cent of the respondents rejected the idea of the NUM maintaining its independence. Six per cent of the respondents in this category strongly rejected the notion that the NUM should maintain its independence. In conclusion, the majority of the respondents believed that even though COSATU is in alliance with the ANC and the SACP, the NUM should still maintain its independence.

Figure : 6.22: The ideal economic system for South Africa



It is important to note that seven per cent of the respondents did not comment on the economic system which they thought is ideal for South Africa. Fifty five per

cent of the respondents believed that the ideal economic system for South Africa is the one in which the state owns and runs the wealth of the country. This economic system is usually referred to as socialism. Twenty three per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the ideal economic system for South Africa is the one that will enable individuals or companies to own resources. This economic system is called capitalism or the free market enterprise. Fifteen per cent of the respondents believed that the state should own all industry and land. This economic system is usually referred to as communism. It can be seen from the table 6.22 that the majority of the respondents believed that that socialism is the ideal economic system for South Africa.

Table 6.2: Members satisfaction with the performance of the NUM

STATEMENT	PERFORMANCE SCORE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
On a scale of 1 to 10, Where 1 is "not at all satisfied" and 10 is "very satisfied" Please score how satisfied you are, in overall terms with the performance of the NUM	1	2	2,4
	2	2	2,4
	3	3	3,6
	4	4	4,8
	5	6	7,0
	6	7	8,3
	7	24	28,6
	8	15	17,9
	9	13	15,5
	10	8	9,5
TOTAL		84	100

Mean = 8.4

Sd = 7.04

It is important to note that sixteen per cent of the respondents did not indicate their level of satisfaction with the performance of the NUM. 2.4 per cent of the respondents were not at all satisfied with the performance of the NUM. In all, 13.2 per cent of the respondents were not satisfied with the performance of the NUM. 9.5 per cent of the respondents were very much satisfied with the performance of the NUM. It would appear that respondents who scored above five in their evaluation of the NUM in the above table were satisfied with the performance of the NUM. In this manner 79.8 per cent of the respondents were satisfied with the performance of the NUM.

6.3 The demographic profile of the respondents

The following information pertaining to the demographic characteristics of the respondents was collected by the researcher: age of the respondents and the number of years in which they had been members of the NUM. The researcher decided not to include the educational qualifications of the respondents as it was discovered during the pilot study that the majority of the respondents preferred not to reveal this information.

Table 6.3: The age of the respondents

AGE OF RESPONDENTS	CODE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
Under 25	1	3	3	3
25 –34	2	57	57	60
35 –44	3	32	32	92
45 - 54	4	8	8	100
TOTAL		100	100	

It is clear from the above table that three per cent of the respondents were under twenty five years of age. Fifty seven per cent of the respondents were between twenty five and thirty four years of age. In other words the majority of the respondents fell in this age group. Thirty two per cent of the respondents were between thirty-five and forty four years. Only eight per cent of the respondents were between forty-five and fifty four years.

Table 6.4: Members' length of service in the NUM

Number of Years in the NUM	Frequency	Percentage
2-4	18	20
5-9	39	43
10-14	30	33
15-19	4	4
TOTAL	91	100

Nine respondents did not respond to this question. Twenty per cent of the respondents had been members of the NUM for a period ranging from two to four years. Forty three per cent of the respondents had been members of the NUM for a period ranging from five to nine years. The majority of the respondents fell in this category. Thirty three per cent of the respondents had been members of the NUM for a period ranging from ten to fourteen years. Only four per cent of the respondents had been members of the NUM for a period ranging from fifteen to nineteen years.

6.4 The achievements of the NUM and its challenges

Table 6.5: The Achievements of the NUM

Achievements of the NUM	Number	%
Pay and good benefits for members	37	37
Training and development of employees	19	19
Attainment of employee rights	17	17
Improved health and safe working conditions	15	15
Union participation in the formulation of labour legislation	7	7
Affirmative action	5	5
Better working conditions for the members	5	5
Affiliation with international organisations	3	3
Attainment of trade union rights	2	2
Deployment of union leaders	1	1
Promotion and advancement opportunities for members	1	1
Redressing of the imbalances of the past	1	1
Contribution towards economic growth in S. A.	1	1

It is important to note from table 6.5 that some respondents listed more than one achievement of the NUM. Thirty seven per cent of the respondents felt that the major achievement of the NUM to date is the attainment of good benefits in the workplace by the union on behalf of its members. Nineteen per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the NUM has done well towards pushing for the training and development of the employees. The attainment of the employee rights, safe working conditions and the participation of the NUM, through COSATU, in the formulation of labour legislation were cited by the respondents as some of the major achievements of the NUM to date.

Table 6.6: Major challenges facing the NUM

Challenges facing the NUM	Number	%
Retrenchments and Company closures	29	29
Education and training of members	12	12
HIV / AIDS awareness	9	9
Membership decline	7	7
Living wage campaign	5	5
Privatisation	4	4
Affirmative action	3	3
Unity within the NUM	2	2
Employee rights	2	2
Welfare of members	2	2
Improved safety standards at work	2	2
Better working conditions	2	2
Hostility from the media	1	1
Discrimination at work	1	1
Representation of females in NUM Structures	1	1

It is important to note from table 6.6 that some respondents listed more than one challenge facing the NUM. The majority of the respondents cited retrenchments and company closures as the most important challenge facing the NUM. Twenty nine per cent of the respondents expressed concern in this regard. The education and training of members, HIV / AIDS awareness, decline in NUM membership and the campaign for a living wage were some of the issues that were mentioned by the respondents as the major challenges facing the NUM nowadays.

Table 6.7: General comments

Comments	Number	%
NUM should put more emphasis on education and training of members.	8	8
NUM should promote economic growth	5	5
NUM should fight against the retrenchment of employees	2	2
COSATU should maintain its independents within the alliance.	2	2
NUM should reject violence as a means of achieving its goals	1	1
There are ineffective parliamentarians representing labour	1	1
There should be good governance in South Africa	1	1
The government should ensure that companies comply with labour legislation	1	1
The NUM should fight for better working conditions for members	1	1
Female employees should be represented in all the structures of the NUM	1	1

It should be noted from table 6.7 above that some respondents listed more than one comment and others did not give any comment at all. It would appear from the above mentioned table that the majority of the respondents remarked that the NUM should put more emphasis on the education and training of its members. Other respondents felt that the NUM should promote economic growth, fight against the retrenchment of employees and that it should, through COSATU, maintain its independence within the ANC / SACP / COSATU Alliance.

Table 6.8: The relationship between the age of the respondents and the ideal economic system.

AGE	IDEAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM				TOTAL
	N/A	Socialism	Capitalism	Communism	
Below 25	0	2	0	1	3
25-34	6	38	10	8	57
35 – 44	1	15	12	4	32
45- 54	0	5	1	2	8
TOTAL	7	55	23	15	100

It is clear from table 6.8 that seven percent of the respondents in all age groups did not indicate their preference of the ideal economic system. However, it is important to note that the majority of the respondents in all age groups indicated that socialism is the ideal economic system for this country. Thirty three per cent of the respondents who were between twenty five and thirty four years of age felt that socialism is the ideal economic system for South Africa. It is interesting to note that only fifteen per cent of the respondents in all age groups indicated that communism is the ideal economic system for this country.

Table 6.9: The relationship between the age of the respondents and the role of the NUM in the politics of S. A.

Role of NUM in politics	Age of Respondents				TOTAL
	Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Strongly agree	3	48	23	6	80
Tend to agree	0	5	5	1	11
Neither agree / disagree	0	1	1	0	2
Tend to disagree	0	0	1	0	1
Strongly disagree	0	3	2	1	6
TOTAL	3	57	32	8	100

According to table 6.9 forty eight per cent of the respondents who were between twenty five and thirty four years of age strongly supported the active involvement of the NUM in the politics of this country. Twenty three per cent of the respondents who were between thirty five and forty four years of age strongly agreed with the involvement of the NUM in the politics of this country. It is interesting to note that only six per cent of the respondents who were between forty five and fifty four years of age strongly supported the involvement of the NUM in the politics of South Africa

Table 6.10: The relationship between the age of respondents and their views on privatisation

The Government should privatise parastatals in order to stimulate economic growth	Age of Respondents				TOTAL
	Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Strongly agree	1	4	5	1	11
Tend to agree	0	10	7	2	19
Neither agree / disagree	0	7	1	0	8
Tend to disagree	1	8	9	3	21
Strongly disagree	1	28	10	2	41
TOTAL	3	57	32	8	100

Table 6.10 above indicates that the majority of the respondents in all age groups disagreed with the government's intention to privatise parastatals such as ESKOM, S.A.A, TRANSNET, etc in order to stimulate economic growth. Sixty two per cent of the respondents in all age groups rejected the privatisation of the parastatals.

Forty one per cent of the respondents in all age groups strongly rejected the privatisation of the parastatals. Thirty six per cent of the respondents whose age ranged from twenty five to thirty four disagreed with the privatisation of the parastatals. It is interesting to note that only five per cent of the respondents whose age ranged from forty five to fifty four disagreed with the privatisation of the parastatals.

Table 6.11: The relationship between the age of respondents and their views on strikes

Strikes are detrimental to economic growth	Age of Respondents				TOTAL
	Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Strongly agree	2	16	11	2	31
Tend to agree	0	8	7	3	18
Neither agree / disagree	0	15	4	1	20
Tend to disagree	0	9	8	1	18
Strongly disagree	1	9	2	1	13
TOTAL	3	57	32	8	100

It is interesting to note from table 6.11 that forty nine per cent of the respondents in all age groups agreed that strikes and other forms of industrial action are detrimental to economic growth. Twenty per cent of the respondents in all age groups did not make up their minds as to whether strikes are detrimental to economic growth or not. Only thirty one per cent of the respondents in all age group felt that strikes and other forms of industrial action are not detrimental to economic growth.

Table 6.12: The relationship between the age of the respondents and their views on violence as a means of achieving trade union goals.

Violence as means of achieving trade union goals should be condemned	Age of Respondents				TOTAL
	Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Strongly agree	0	25	15	4	44
Tend to agree	2	14	5	2	23
Neither agree / disagree	1	10	4	2	17
Tend to disagree	0	3	5	0	8
Strongly disagree	0	5	3	0	8
TOTAL	3	57	32	8	100

According to table 6.12, sixty seven per cent of the respondents in all age groups rejected violence as a means of achieving trade union goals. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on the use of violence as a means of achieving union goals. Only sixteen per cent of the respondents in all age groups accepted violence as a means of achieving trade unions goals.

The age of the respondents who accepted violence as a means of achieving trade union goals ranged from twenty five to forty four. It is important to note that not a single respondent in the forty five to fifty four age group accepted violence as a means of achieving trade union goals.

Table 6.13: The relationship between the age of the respondents and their views on the occupation of leadership position by Whites in trade unions

Whites should be allowed to occupy leadership position in Black trade unions	Age of Respondents				TOTAL
	Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Strongly agree	0	17	6	3	26
Tend to agree	2	15	13	2	32
Neither agree / disagree	0	8	8	1	17
Tend to disagree	1	9	1	1	12
Strongly disagree	0	8	4	1	13
TOTAL	3	57	32	8	100

Table 6.13 indicates that fifty eight per cent of the respondents in all age groups were in favour of Whites occupying leadership positions in Black trade unions. Fifty one per cent of the respondents' age in this category ranged from twenty five to forty four. Seventeen per cent of the respondents were undecided on the question of Whites occupying leadership positions in Black trade unions. Only twenty five per cent of the respondents in all age groups rejected the occupation of leadership positions in Black trade unions by whites.

In chapter seven, which is the last chapter in this project, the results presented in this chapter will be summarised and interpreted. An attempt will also be made to explore the future role, if any, of COSATU in the politics of this country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt will be made to interpret the research findings which were presented in chapter six. This chapter is important in the sense that it provides the basis on which predictions about the future of Black trade unionism in this country can be made. Chapter seven is divided into the following sections:

- 7.2 Discussion of the research findings
- 7.3 Discussion of possible future scenarios.
- 7.4 Recommendations.
- 7.5 Concluding comments.

7.2 Discussion of the research findings

Ninety one per cent of the members of the NUM who took part in the research project want the union to be actively involved in the politics of this country. According to these people, the NUM should not only confine itself to the workplace, but it should look beyond the workplace and tackle broad sociopolitical issues which affect their members. The majority of the NUM members strongly believe that apart from tackling problems which emanate directly from the workplace, the union is duty bound to address issues such as

rent, taxi violence, crime, unemployment, political instability etc. The NUM members argue that at the end of the day such events affect them even though they occur outside the workplace.

It will be recalled from chapter one that in the 1980's many Black trade union leaders argued that as long as the political organisations were banned and their leaders were in jail, trade unions representing Black workers would continue to play a role in the politics of this country. The impression was created then that once the majority rule and free political activity were attained in this country, Black trade unions would focus their attention on bread and butter issues which affect their members at the workplace. When analysing the responses of the NUM members on this issue, it is clear that the NUM in particular, and COSATU in general, will continue to play an active role in the politics of this country.

Bendix (1996) is of the opinion that trade unions cannot on their own transform society. She believes that the task of transforming society should be left to those organisations that were especially formed for that purpose. This author cautions that the revolutionary objectives of trade unions may lead to their demise in that their goals may prove extremely difficult to achieve. Having said that, Bendix (1996) states however, that trade unions do have a role to play in the socio-political issues which affect them.

Bendix (1996, P.174) maintains that "Yet trade union members still have a stake in the social and political systems which dominate their lives, and trade unions necessarily have to represent the interests of their members in these spheres. Thus to say that trade unions should not be 'political' would be unrealistic. Trade unions constitute a very potent political force, and most trade unions do engage in political action of some kind or another." She concludes that the degree of politicisation of trade unions will to a great extent be influenced by the type of system in which they operate.

It would appear that in South Africa for as long as there are perceptions of inequity in our society in the opinion of Black trade union leaders, unions will continue to play an active role in the politics of this country, regardless of the political party which is in power. This is true considering the fact that the NUM, as an affiliate of COSATU, is supposed to be having a sympathetic attitude towards the ANC- led Government. In order to survive in this period of globalization and rapid technological changes, which can lead to job losses, the NUM in particular, and the Black trade unions in general, will have to strike the right balance between addressing issues of a broad socio-political nature and bread and butter issues which affect their members directly in the workplace. Failure to do so may result in serious problems for the trade union movement.

Seventy nine per cent of the NUM members who took part in the research project believe that there is a need for the continued existence of the ANC / SACP /

COSATU alliance. Before an analysis of the tripartite alliance – as the ANC / SACP / COSATU alliance is usually referred to – is carried out, it is important to ascertain why COSATU decided to become a member of the alliance in the first place.

It will be recalled that when COSATU was launched in Durban on 30 November 1985, it made no bones about the fact that it was going to focus its attention towards addressing broad socio-political issues which affect the majority of the people living in this country. For example, the organisation called for the unbanning of political parties, the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of the then South African Defence Force members from the townships, etc. Realising that it could not bring about the desired political changes on its own, COSATU decided to work hand in hand with the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the ANC in exile to achieve this purpose. Cedras (1999,P.2) states that “Prior to the elections of 1994, it was a strategic necessity to ensure the dismantling of apartheid and to build a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. This was the main objective and interest of the alliance. The alliance, however, was looser and COSATU always jealously guarded its independence”

It would appear that there were no serious tensions or problems within the tripartite alliance prior to the first democratic general elections which were held in April 1994. Cedras (1999) argues that COSATU could easily maintain its independence within the alliance prior to the 1994 elections because the previous

undemocratic Government was often hostile to the workers. This author argues furthermore that it was easy for COSATU to maintain its independence whilst the ANC did not have power to make policies. However, this changed drastically when the ANC – led Government assumed power in April 1994.

Analysts have indicated that there are serious tensions within the alliance. However, such allegations have been strongly rejected by the alliance. Cedras (1999) maintains that the fact that COSATU is a partner in governing South Africa has serious implications for the giant federation of trade unions. Firstly, COSATU leaders cannot distance themselves from decisions taken and implemented by the Government as the federation has MP's who are representing it in the ANC- led Government. Obviously, this is bound to create tensions within the alliance, especially if the Government enacts policies which are not in line with the ideology of COSATU. A good example of this state of affairs is the macro economic strategy, GEAR, which was adopted and implemented by the Government. COSATU leaders are strongly opposed to GEAR as they believe that it is biased in favour of the capitalists rather than beneficial to the man on the street.

It would appear that COSATU leaders are frustrated with the alliance as they are aware that even though they might criticise the policies of the ANC – led Government, they have to take responsibility for such policies as they are part of the Government. The fact that some leaders of COSATU also occupy leadership

positions in the ANC and SACP could also compromise the independence of the trade union movement. Cedras (1999) believes that such political parties could influence the direction of COSATU and could also affect the integrity of the federation.

Another problem which arises from COSATU's alliance with the ANC and the SACP is the fact that COSATU, as the biggest federation in the country, draws its members from across the political spectrum. Some COSATU members are not necessarily ANC supporters. In the Western Cape, for example, COSATU has members who support the NNP. In KwaZulu- Natal COSATU could also have members who support the IFP. Obviously, such people do not get any joy from the federation's alliance with the ANC and SACP.

It would appear that the co-option of key leaders of COSATU into Government structures has had a crippling effect upon the federation. Leaders such as Mbhazima Shilowa, Jay Naidoo and many others were co-opted into Government structures. Cedras (1999,P.4) states that " It seems that COSATU has become a springboard for a career into politics. Co-option of key labour leaders is therefore ensuring the ANC's strategy of an impotent COSATU, making it easier to 'steamroller' unpopular (with workers) labour legislation"

Having explored some of the problems which COSATU experiences in the alliance, one would be tempted to advise the federation to withdraw from the

tripartite alliance. However, it is debatable if such a move would benefit COSATU in the long run. It would appear that COSATU leaders who have taken up senior positions in the Government should be utilised by the federation as they are in a position to influence the Government's policy - making. In this manner, the relationship which COSATU has with the ANC as the ruling party can be seen to be beneficial to the trade union movement. Cedras (1999,P.4) states that COSATU "should continue with the Alliance Accord but withdraw as a member of government. This commitment must be a loose agreement, coupled with a vigorous defense of the federation's political independence. Partners must fearlessly but constructively criticise each other."

It would appear that the issue of trade union independence is crucial for the survival of the union movement in this country. This is so because the lack of trade union independence could lead to the weakening of federations such as COSATU in that they might end up being co-opted by the Government. Professor M Anstey, director of the Labour Relations Unit at the University of Port Elizabeth, is of the opinion that COSATU should maintain its independence within the alliance as this would augur well for democracy in this country. He expressed concern though at the number of experienced COSATU leaders who have left the union movement to join the Government.³ He argued that the departure of such leaders could weaken the union movement.

Patel (1994) believes that trade union independence is the key to the success of COSATU and other trade unions in this country. Patel (1994,P.25) states that "Firstly, trade unions will need to secure their independence from government and political parties. When government was undemocratic, and often hostile to workers, this was easy. A government which enjoys legitimacy among workers, and one where the governing party historically had strong links with the union movement, makes the issue of independence more complex, but still as critical as previously. To maintain independence, will require choices in a series of specific cases, sometimes on small issues, rather than one, single big choice. It requires too a leadership with courage, for the assertion of independence is infinitely easier than the practice of independence"

It would appear that for the tripartite alliance to function smoothly, the alliance partners i.e. the ANC, SACP and COSATU, should try to address the tension created by the Government's adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR). Whilst the majority of the economists and business leaders have welcomed GEAR as a strategy that will ultimately lead to economic growth in this country, COSATU and SACP leaders are of the opinion that GEAR will lead to job losses and poverty. COSATU and SACP leaders believe that instead of adopting GEAR, the Government should pursue its programme for transformation, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It is interesting though, that President Mbeki has made it clear that the Government will pursue the GEAR strategy as it believes that it is the best macro-

economic strategy for this country. Obviously, such issues need to be addressed by the alliance partners if the alliance is to remain intact.

It is interesting to note that almost fifty per cent of the NUM members who took part in this project believe that strikes and other forms of industrial action are detrimental to economic growth. However, the NUM members believe that strikes and various forms of industrial action are a necessary evil in the sense that workers have to embark on these activities in order to compel the Government and the employers to accede to their demands. It would appear that in the current economic climate in this country, where many people are losing their jobs, especially in the mining industry, the majority of strikes and industrial action are triggered by retrenchments and the restructuring of the workplace which is perceived by employees as a threat to their job security.

It is important to note that many economists and employers have expressed concern at the unbelievably high number of mandays lost through various forms of industrial action. Economists have argued that such activities by the unions are detrimental to economic growth as they discourage potential investors from investing in this country. Economists have argued furthermore that such actions will in turn lead to further job losses which the unions attempt to avoid. However, as it has been stated earlier on, it is highly unlikely that the trade unions will abandon the strike action and other forms of industrial action as these are the tools that the unions have successfully used over the years to get certain

concessions from the employers. It can only be hoped that all the stakeholders will conduct themselves in a responsible manner in order to stimulate economic growth in this country thereby preventing further job losses.

The majority of the NUM members believe that the ANC- led Government is sympathetic towards the needs and aspirations of the Black trade unions in particular, and other trade unions in general. Obviously, a look at all the labour legislation and amendments that were passed by the new Government since it came into power in 1994 bears testimony to this. A good example of this is the labour Relations Act No. 66 of 1995 with its particular emphasis on consultation between the employers and the employees on various issues that affect them. Such legislation is aimed at creating a mechanism that provides for a speedy resolution of disputes between the parties. This promotes industrial peace which will ultimately lead to stability and economic growth. The Government has also established important structures such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) which serves to accommodate the views of labour, business and Government before labour legislation is passed. This augurs well for stability and economic growth in this country as it creates a climate that is conducive for investment.

The overwhelming majority of NUM members believe that their federation, COSATU, should affiliate with international organisations around the world in order to achieve its objectives effectively. It would appear that the NUM

members are mindful of the fact that the international organisations and the international community in general played a significant role during the apartheid era towards assisting the Black trade unions and political organisations to dismantle apartheid in this country. The international community donated funds to the then emerging Black trade union movement in this country and also helped with the training of the union leaders. NUM members believe that the co-operation which was established with the international community many years ago should be maintained. It is the belief of this author that such co-operation and interdependence will help advance the cause of the trade union movement in South Africa.

It is heartening to note that the majority of the NUM members who participated in this research project reject violence as a means of achieving trade union goals. This augurs well for peace and stability in our industries. However, incidents of violence have been reported, especially where union members belonging to different trade unions operating within the same organisation, hold different views on whether members should embark on industrial action or not. In isolated cases some people have lost their lives. Such violent behaviour is not only considered barbaric but it is also uncalled for in the new South Africa, where freedom of association is enshrined in the constitution. Obviously, the training of their members in this regard will remain a major challenge facing trade unions.

The vast majority of NUM members believe that Black trade unions in this country should unite and speak with one voice. To achieve this purpose, Black trade union federations should settle their ideological differences. Is it possible to achieve this? COSATU and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) have failed to achieve this objective. The ideological differences between the two federations are a major stumbling block. NACTU leaders have expressed concern at the alliance which COSATU has with the ANC and the SACP. This is understandable considering the fact that one of NACTU'S guiding principles is non-affiliation to political parties or organisations. It is clear that for as long as COSATU is in alliance with the ANC and the SACP, no merger can take place between the two federations. This is unfortunate as a strong united union movement stands a better chance of successfully representing the interest of the workforce.

Over ninety per cent of the NUM members who took part in this project are of the opinion that trade unions should play an active role in the education and training of their members. They argue that there is still a large number of people in this country who are illiterate. It is extremely difficult for such people to get employment. South African companies need an educated and sophisticated workforce in order to successfully compete with their counterparts in the international arena. Roux (1999,P.54) states that "The problem is aggravated by the fact that it is extremely difficult in a technologically driven world to teach

people skills if they lack a solid educational background. At the very least they need to be able to read and write with a comfortable degree of fluency.”

All the stakeholders in this country, trade unions included, should play an active role in the education and training of the workers and people living in South Africa. For economic growth to take place, which will eventually generate employment, the workforce should possess basic technological skills. Roux (1999,P.56) stresses this point when he states that “Education and training are important because even high economic growth will not guarantee job creation if the labour force is not suitably equipped in terms of skills and expertise.” It is clear that education and training are the keys to South Africa’s growth and development.

The majority of the NUM members who participated in this research project accept the occupation of leadership positions by Whites in the trade union movement. This is in line with the principle of non-racialism advocated by COSATU, to which the NUM is affiliated. This also augurs well for a non-racial South Africa. In this regard COSATU-affiliated unions differ from those affiliated to NACTU, which strongly advocate the occupation of leadership positions by Blacks in the union movement. Most Africanists who happen to be on the extreme left of the political spectrum tend to embrace these principles.

Just over half of the members of the NUM are of the opinion that the police and other law-enforcement agencies have a limited role to play in I. R. in the sense that they should be involved only when life and property is threatened. These people hold the view that I. R. activities should be left to the two major parties which constitute the industrial relationship i.e. the employers represented by the employers associations and the employees represented by their trade unions. In this case the role of the state is perceived as that of providing a legal framework within which the employers and the employees may interact.

It is important to note that there is a perception among a significant percentage of the members of the NUM that female employees are not well represented in all the structures of the union. These people believe that leadership positions in the NUM, in particular, and the trade union movement, in general, are still dominated by males. This seems to be a major challenge facing the Black trade union movement in this country. In highlighting this problem, Baskin (1994, P.43) states that "Indeed, since its inception, COSATU, has only had one female regional secretary and has never had a woman as regional chair. Further evidence of the problem is that COSATU's Central Executive Committee (CEC) is attended by very few women; fewer, undoubtedly, than ever before."

Baskin (1994) argues that the principle of non-sexism, as advocated by COSATU, has done little to ensure the participation of females in trade union structures. It is clear that Black trade unions cannot afford to overlook the participation of

females in their structures if they seriously entertain ideas of boosting their membership during this era of declining union membership around the world. The potential for union growth lies in women as they are entering the labour force in big numbers nowadays.

It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of the NUM members who participated in this study believe that the employees should join trade unions even though the ANC is in power. This is surprising considering the fact that it was established in chapter six that the majority of the NUM members believe that the ANC-led Government is sympathetic towards the needs and aspirations of the Black trade unions. One would be tempted to assume that employees would not see the need to join trade unions as the ANC – led Government, which is perceived to be sympathetic to the aspirations of the Black trade unions, would pass legislation which is favourable to the working class. It would appear that the NUM members do not want to leave it to their alliance partner, the ANC, to determine their fate in the workplace. On the contrary, NUM members believe that their trade union is best suited to represent their interests at work.

The majority of the NUM members believe that trade unions should be heavily involved in discussing, drafting and implementing affirmative action programmes in the workplace. They see affirmative action as a powerful mechanism that can be used to redress the imbalances of the past. Both the employers and the trade unions have an important role to play in ensuring the success of affirmative action

programmes in the South African companies. Van der Merwe (1995, P.161) states that "Affirmative action can only be successful in an inclusive organizational culture. This is an open environment meant to accept people regardless of race, class, gender, creed, etc. In such an environment there is a shared acceptance of the value and need for the development of people." In a nutshell, all the major stakeholders in our industries should be involved in order for affirmative action programmes to be successful.

About half of the members of the NUM who took part in this project believe that in general, the trade union membership is declining in this country. However, it is important to note that according to the NUM members, such a decline in membership is not caused by the lack of interest on the part of employees to join trade unions. It is due mainly to factors beyond their control such as retrenchments and company closures. This is so considering the fact that thousands of employees working in the mining industry have lost their jobs over the past few years. Some mining companies have had to close down due to the fall in the price of gold. Many union members lost their jobs in the process. In view of this, the affiliates of COSATU have embarked on numerous campaigns designed to force the Government and the employers to address the problem of high unemployment in this country. However, some analysts have questioned some of the tactics used by the unions to address this problem as there are fears that some of these could lead to further job losses. Obviously, trade union leaders have rejected this analogy.

The majority of the NUM members are strongly opposed to the Government's initiatives to privatize parastatals such as ESKOM, S.A.A and TRANSNET. It should be borne in mind that the Government's intention to privatize the parastatals is in line with its macro-economic strategy, GEAR, which is intended to stimulate economic growth in this country. One of the Government's reasons to privatize the parastatals is to encourage foreign investment, which in turn, will promote economic growth.

Trade unions on the other hand, especially those affiliated to COSATU, are concerned that the privatization of the parastatals will lead to job losses. It is precisely for this reason that the union leaders are opposed to GEAR. COSATU and its affiliates have in the past few months embarked on stay-aways in protest against job losses and unemployment. They have threatened further stay-aways in future if the Government and the employers do not address the question of unemployment. Economists have expressed grave concern at the negative impact of these stay-aways on economic growth. It would be in the interest of the country as a whole if the ANC-led Government, its alliance partners and business organisations can find a solution to this problem as it has serious implications for the future of South Africa if it is not addressed to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

It should be noted that the majority of the NUM members do not believe that the Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services. This

is not difficult to understand considering the high level of unemployment in this country. Unions are understandably concerned that an increase in taxes will reduce the take-home pay of their members, who in many cases are the sole breadwinners in their families. Realising the importance of this issue, the Government has introduced various forms of tax reliefs for the low income groups.

It is important to note that the majority of the NUM members have favourable impressions about their union and its leaders. They have expressed a high level of satisfaction with the manner in which the NUM is run. The majority of the members are convinced that there is effective communication between the various branches and other structures of the union. It would appear that the strength of the NUM, since its inception in 1982, has always been its high level of organisation. It is not surprising that the NUM is the biggest affiliate of COSATU. The union should also be commended for appointing people of a high calibre to its leadership positions. The majority of its members believe that the NUM leaders are fully equipped to deal with challenges and threats which may face the union in future

There is a strong perception among the majority of the NUM members that their union is a democratic organisation in that its leadership consults with members on the ground before it takes important decisions. It is clear that in the NUM, like in all other trade unions, power rests at the bottom and not at the top. This is so

because members on the ground vote their leaders into office and can also remove them from office if they are not happy with their performance.

It was deemed necessary to explore the correlation between the age of the NUM members who participated in this project and their views on strikes, violence and the ideal economic system. A number of authors including Finnemore and Bendix are of the opinion that the profile of the workforce such as age, sex and length of service has a bearing on the manner in which it perceives strikes. In support of this statement, Bendix (1996,P.529) states that "The profile of a particular workforce is important in assessing the propensity to strike action. Older workers are more inclined to avoid strike action, for fear of loss of position and benefits."

It was shown in this project that a significant percentage of the young respondents reject the notion that strikes and other forms of industrial action are detrimental to economic growth. It was also established in this study that all NUM members who participated in this project reject violence as a means of achieving trade union goals regardless of their age group. By the same token, it was shown in this study that the majority of the respondents in all age groups believe that socialism is the ideal economic system for this country.

In conclusion, most of the members of the NUM believe that their leaders should be allowed to occupy leadership positions in the ANC and the SACP and that the

NUM as a union should maintain its independence. However, there is a danger that the NUM leaders who occupy demanding leadership positions in the ANC and the SACP could end up compromising their contribution in the union. Obviously, this could impact negatively on the growth of the NUM as a union. Some respected NUM leaders, such as Cyril Ramaphosa, the former secretary general of the ANC, and Kgalema Motlanthe, the current secretary general of the ANC, have in the past left the NUM to join the ANC. Obviously, the departure of the leaders of the calibre of Ramaphosa and Motlanthe was a major blow to the NUM.

7.3 A brief discussion of possible future scenarios.

Considering some of the issues addressed in section 7.2 above, it would appear that the ANC/ COSATU/ SACP alliance will remain in place for many years to come. It has been established that there are few major obstacles which the alliance partners have to overcome. The tensions created by the Government's adoption of its macro-economic strategy, GEAR, is a typical example of this. It is clear that the ANC -led Government is serious about the privatisation of state assets in order to reduce its debt burden. The Government is of the view that such a move will encourage foreign investment, which in turn, will lead to economic growth. The ultimate objective of this exercise, according to Government sources, is the alleviation of unemployment.

Ironically, the trade union's main concern about the privatisation of the state assets is the belief that in the short term this exercise could worsen the unemployment problem in South Africa. It is obvious that both the ANC-led Government and its alliance partners, COSATU and the SACP, have the same objective – the alleviation of unemployment in this country. However, the means to attain this objective is at the centre of the conflict between the ANC-led Government and its alliance partners. The parties need to engage each other in meaningful discussions in order to address these problems successfully.

It should be borne in mind that COSATU and the SACP played a pivotal role towards ensuring an ANC victory during the first democratic elections which were held in 1994, and again during the second general elections which were held in 1999. Both on these occasions COSATU leaders publicly urged their members to vote for the ANC. There is no doubt that the ANC is aware of the contribution of its alliance partners, especially COSATU, in ensuring its victory during the elections. Van Meelis (1999,P.1) states that "COSATU members still strongly support the ANC and have high hopes of what it can deliver".

It is logical to assume that the ANC will attempt to address the concerns of COSATU and the SACP as it is in their interest to do so.³ It is precisely for this reason that this author is of the opinion that despite obvious problems within the alliance, it is however, highly unlikely that it will break within the foreseeable future. This is so because the alliance does not only serve the interests of the

ANC but it also serves the interests of COSATU and the SACP as well. For example, it is to the benefit of COSATU to have an ANC – led Government in place, which is perceived to be sympathetic to the interests of the working class in general.

In the event of the tripartite alliance breaking up, which is highly unlikely in the foreseeable future, in this author's view, the indications are that a powerful political organisation with a strong bias towards the labour movement will be formed. Such an organisation will probably be called the Labour Party, similar to the Labour Party that exists in Britain. Such an organisation will play a role which is currently played by the ANC in the alliance. It is also logical to assume that in the unlikely event of the tripartite alliance breaking up, the major trade union federations in this country, especially COSATU, and NACTU, will unite. This is true because NACTU leaders have repeatedly cited COSATU's alliance with the ANC as the major stumbling block towards bringing about unity between the two federations.

Contrary to well established trends in Europe and America, where the importance of trade unions is declining, indications are that Black trade unions organising in this country are going to grow albeit at a slower pace. As it has been shown in this research project, it would appear that Black workers in general, believe that their trade unions have a role to play in the politics of this country. It would appear that COSATU's determination to tackle issues such as job creation and

unemployment serves to remind the workers and the unemployed of the relevance of the trade union movement in this country. At the beginning of 2000, COSATU leaders publicly stated that the federation would place heavy emphasis on job retention and job creation this year. They argued furthermore that COSATU is not only concerned about unemployment, but would like to play a more direct role in employment creation. Obviously, such campaigns appeal not only to the working class but also to the unemployed masses living in this country.

It would appear that organised labour is going to continue to engage in strikes and other forms of industrial action. It has been stated at the beginning of this section that the Government has serious intentions to proceed with and to accelerate the process of the privatisation of the state assets. COSATU leaders, on the other hand, have expressed serious concerns about the Government's initiatives, arguing that privatisation will lead to job losses in the short term. Adding to COSATU's problems is the number of people that have been retrenched in the mining industry. A fall in the price of gold has led to a number of people losing their jobs in that sector.

COSATU called a national stay-away in April 2000 to protest against job losses and high unemployment. The stay-away was well supported in most parts of the country. COSATU leaders have threatened to call further stay-aways in future if the Government and the employers do not address the question of unemployment in this country. It is highly unlikely that the question of unemployment in this

country will be addressed overnight as it is quite a complicated issue that needs the collective wisdom of the Government, employers and the trade unions. It is for this reason that in the view of this author, organised labour, especially COSATU and its affiliates, will continue to rely on strikes and other forms of industrial action as a means of exerting pressure on the Government and employers.

It is evident that organised labour, organised business and the Government will continue to embrace a corporatist approach in the manner in which they deal with each other in future. It will be recalled that the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) serves as a forum which enables corporatism to be successfully practised in this country. The pursuance of this strategy augurs well for good Labour Relations in this country. This is so because apart from the Government and organised business, the three major union federations- COSATU, NACTU and FEDSAL – are also represented in NEDLAC.

It is this author's view that such a spirit of co-operation amongst the major role players in the Industrial Relations arena will lead to the much desired stability in our industries. This is necessary for foreign investment and economic growth. However, it has been observed in the past few years that NEDLAC has experienced its fair share of problems. At the heart of this is the alliance between the ANC, as the ruling political party, and COSATU. The fact that COSATU leaders do meet privately with the ANC is a cause for concern to NACTU and

FEDSAL. This is not difficult to understand considering the fact that NACTU and FEDSAL have interests which differ from those of COSATU. It is for this reason that it is imperative for COSATU to maintain its independence and to define its role even though it remains within the alliance. Such a move augurs well for the prosperity of the country as it has been explained in the aforementioned paragraphs.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident that all the major stakeholders in this country particularly, the Government, business organisations and trade unions should take an active interest in education and training. This is important because the majority of the people living in this country have an unsatisfactory educational background. In a strictly economic sense this simply means that the majority of the people living in this country are not employable in an era in which manual work has become less important. Nowadays industries require people who have the appropriate skills that will enable them to cope in a technologically driven environment.

The Government must be commended for passing the Skills Development Act number 97 of 1998. Apart from developing the skills of the South African workforce, the Act attempts to improve the quality of life of the employees, their prospects of work, productivity in the workplace and the competitiveness of the employers. In this manner, the Government has provided the mechanism within

which employers and trade unions should approach the question of education and training of the workers.

Both the employers and trade unions should tackle the issue of education and training with a high degree of sensitivity and a great sense of urgency as it holds the key to economic growth and stability in this country. The tendency nowadays is to rely more on capital goods and technology and use less labour in the production of goods and services. South Africa has to follow this trend in order to compete successfully globally. An improved economic growth is important as it brings about an increase in the demand for labour by the employers. Economic growth on its own, cannot provide jobs if the employees are not equipped with the necessary skills. It is precisely for this reason that the employers and trade unions should tackle the problem of education and training seriously and then design and implement good training programmes for the workforce.

The successful resolution of the problem created by poor education and training will no doubt produce some positive spin-offs. High economic growth in an environment in which the workforce is equipped with the necessary skills, will certainly lead to job creation. High employment, on the other hand, will account for a reduced crime rate, which in turn will create a climate that is conducive for foreign investment. Ultimately, further job opportunities will be created in the country.

If economic growth and high employment, which have been referred to in the above-mentioned paragraph, are to be achieved, both the trade unions, acting on behalf of the employees, and the employer organisations, acting for the employers, should conduct their affairs in a mature manner. Both parties should act with restraint. It is high time that they re-assess their objectives. Obviously, objectives, campaigns, strategies and practices that are seen to be harmful to economic growth and employment generation should be discarded at all costs. It is of utmost importance that people who are nominated to occupy leadership positions in both employee and employer organisations should have a good grasp of the complexities of the South African situation. Such people should also have a vision not only to take their organisations but the rest of the country forward.

The conduct of the employer organisations and the trade unions will to a certain extent determine whether this country will achieve economic growth or not. It would appear that the Government has in terms of labour legislation passed, provided a good framework for both the employers and the trade unions to conduct their affairs in a manner that promotes peace and stability in the industries. The legal framework that was provided by the Government promotes consensus-seeking and joint decision-making between the employers and trade unions. It is this author's belief that the labour problems which are currently experienced by all the stakeholders in this country are not insurmountable. Such problems will be overcome if the parties can conduct themselves in the spirit of the labour legislation.

Finally, from the findings of this study, some issues which are important for managers in the South African organisations have been highlighted. These include:

- (a) The need for companies to discuss in detail their objectives on affirmative action with all categories of employees in their organisations. This move will have the desired effect of allaying the fears of the threatened groups and it will also ensure that affirmative action programmes get the required support.
- (b) The need for companies to pay particular attention to the aspirations and fears of the White, male employees. This is important as some members of this group of employees are understandably threatened by affirmative action. It is of utmost importance that management allay the fears of this group as they are the people who are supposed to mentor the affirmative action appointees. To a large extent, the success or failure of affirmative action will be determined by the contribution of this group of employees.
- (c) The need for companies to establish a good working relationship with trade unions operating in their organisations. An atmosphere of openness and trust should be established as it is the basis upon which stability in the industries can be created.
- (d) The need for companies to pay particular attention to perceptions of racial and gender discrimination held by all categories of employees in their organisations.

From this project, the author would like to highlight a few areas which may be of interest for further research. These include:

- (a) The role and activities of the Black trade union movement in South Africa. Unlike this project, which focussed on the activities of the NUM in Kwa – Zulu Natal, such a project could explore the activities of the Black trade union federations such as NACTU and COSATU in this country.
- (b) A comparative study of the activities and perceptions of the Black trade union movement and those of the White trade unions organising in the new South Africa.
- (c) A more in- depth study of the ANC/ SACP/ COSATU alliance and the implications which this may have for Black trade unions operating in this country in future.
- (d) The activities of the NUM in South Africa. The NUM plays a significant role in the Industrial Relations arena in this country as it is the biggest affiliate of COSATU. It is for this reason that its activities should be explored in detail.

7.5 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It will be recalled from chapter one that the overall objective of this study was to attempt to answer the following basic question: Was the involvement of Black trade unions in broad socio-political issues caused by the lack of avenues for political expression to Blacks living in South Africa? This study has shown that the involvement of Black trade unions in broad socio-political issues is certainly

not caused by the lack of avenues for political expression to Blacks living in this country. This is so because when the political organisations such as the PAC, ANC and the SACP were unbanned in 1990 and when the first democratic elections were held in 1994, Black trade unions, especially those affiliated to COSATU, continued to involve themselves in broad socio-political issues.

One of the main aims of this study was to find out if the Black trade unions feel that they have a role to play in the politics of this country in the post apartheid era. This study has shown that Black trade unions strongly feel that they have a role to play in the politics of this country in the post apartheid era.

This study has achieved the overall aim of this project- the investigation of the activities and perceptions of the NUM organising in the Zululand district of the Natal region during the early stages of democracy in South Africa. In fact, this study was extended to investigate the activities of the NUM in the selected branches of the entire Natal region.

This project has also shown that the NUM members believe that Black trade unions should unite and speak with one voice. It was shown that the NUM members support initiatives aimed at establishing Black trade union unity.

Finally, it was shown in this study that the NUM members believe that there is a strong need for the continued existence of the ANC/ SACP/ COSATU alliance.

However, the NUM members felt that COSATU should maintain its independence even though it is a member of the alliance.

APPENDIX 1

This appendix contains the questionnaire administered to the respondents.

THE SURVEY OF THE NUM ORGANISING IN THE ZULULAND DISTRICT OF THE NATAL REGION

The researcher is conducting a survey, which takes a look at the NUM, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M. COM degree at the University of Zululand. He would greatly appreciate it if you could take some time to complete this questionnaire. To answer the question, tick [✓] the appropriate box or give a written reply where applicable.

1. The NUM should play an active role in the politics of this country.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. There is a strong need for the continued existence of the ANC / SACP / COSATU alliance	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3. Strikes and other forms of industrial action are detrimental to economic growth and development.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

4. The ANC-led Government is sympathetic towards the needs and aspirations of the Black trade unions	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
5. Trade union federations should affiliate with international organisations	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
6. Violence as a means of achieving trade union goals should be condemned at all costs.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
7. Black trade unions should unite and speak with one voice	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
8. Trade unions should play an active role in the education and training of their members	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
9. Whites should be allowed to occupy leadership positions in Black trade unions	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. <i>The SAPS and other law-enforcement agencies have a role in I. R.</i>	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
11. <i>Female employees are very well represented in all the structures of the NUM</i>	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
12. <i>Employees do not need to join trade unions because the ANC is in power</i>	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
13. <i>Trade unions must participate in affirmative action programmes</i>	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
14. <i>Trade union membership in South Africa is declining.</i>	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

15. The Government should privatize parastatals such as ESKOM, South African Airways, Transnet etc. in order to stimulate economic growth	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
16. The Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
17. There is effective communication between your branch and other structures of the NUM.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
18. NUM shop stewards and officials are fully equipped to deal with the challenges and threats which may face the union in future.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
19. The NUM leadership consults with the membership on the ground before it takes	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

15. The Government should privatize parastatals such as ESKOM, South African Airways, Transnet etc. in order to stimulate economic growth	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
16. The Government should increase taxes in order to provide better social services	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
17. There is effective communication between your branch and other structures of the NUM.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
18. NUM shop stewards and officials are fully equipped to deal with the challenges and threats which may face the union in future.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
19. The NUM leadership consults with the membership on the ground before it takes	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

<i>important decisions.</i>					
20. NUM leaders should be allowed to occupy senior positions in other organizations such as the ANC and SACP.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
21. The NUM should maintain its independence.	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

22. The ideal economic system for South Africa is the one where

<i>The state owns and runs the wealth of the country</i>	
<i>Individuals or Companies own resources</i>	
<i>The state owns all industry and land</i>	

23. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 "is not at all satisfied" and 10 is "very satisfied," please score how satisfied you are, in overall terms with performance of the NUM.

Write in satisfaction score	
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24. Please indicate your age

Under 25	
25-34	
35 – 44	
45 – 54	
55- 64	
65-	

25. *For how many years have you been a member of the NUM?*

Less than 1 year	
2-4 years	
5 – 9 years	
10 – 14 years	
15 – 19 years	
20 years +	

26 *What are the major achievements of the NUM to date?*

27 *What are the major challenges facing the NUM?*

28 *Is there any other issue that you would like to comment on?*

Thank you for your co-operation

Appendix 2

This appendix contains a summary of the discussion which the researcher held with the respondents before the questionnaire was administered to them. The following issues were covered in the discussions:

The researcher introduced himself and explained the purpose of the project to the respondents.

The researcher gave the respondents assurance of confidentiality.

The researcher stressed that permission to administer the questionnaire had been granted by the leadership of the NUM. Proof to substantiate this claim was produced by the researcher.

The researcher explained that there were no right or wrong answers.

The researcher explained in detail the structure of the questionnaire.

The researcher appealed for honesty.

The researcher explained how the completed questionnaires were to be collected.

APPENDIX 3

This appendix contains the calculation of means and standard deviations which assisted in the analysis of data

Descriptives

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
V2	100	1.00	5.00	1.4200	1.0365
V3	100	1.00	5.00	1.6900	1.1608
V4	100	1.00	5.00	2.6400	1.4179
V5	100	1.00	5.00	2.1400	1.1103
V6	100	1.00	5.00	1.5000	.9045
V7	100	1.00	5.00	2.1300	1.2844
V8	100	1.00	5.00	1.4900	.9999
V9	100	1.00	5.00	1.2100	.6243
V10	100	1.00	5.00	2.5400	1.3440
V11	100	1.00	5.00	2.7400	1.4186
V12	100	1.00	5.00	2.7200	1.4219
V13	100	1.00	5.00	4.1400	1.3106
V14	100	1.00	4.00	1.3600	.6594
V15	100	1.00	5.00	2.4700	1.2428
V16	100	1.00	5.00	3.6200	1.4549
V17	100	1.00	5.00	3.5500	1.4311
V18	100	1.00	5.00	2.0100	1.1503
V19	100	1.00	4.00	1.8800	1.0568
V20	100	1.00	5.00	1.8200	1.0287
V21	100	1.00	5.00	1.8700	1.1251
V22	100	.00	5.00	1.9100	1.2152
Valid N (listwise)	100				

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