while industrial training centres cater for Blacks who live in urban areas. As in the US, training is provided free of charge, but, unlike the US, monetary allowances are not paid to trainees. Moreover, the courses offered do not cover a very wide range of subjects, and frequently are duplicated in other centres.

The South African private sector is deeply involved in training its employees, and since the early 1970's, has invested increasing amounts in the training of Black employees at all levels. In-service schemes are common, and many larger companies also pay for their staff to attend courses at technical colleges and similar institutions. Moreover, groups of companies, acting together, supply the staff and equipment for urban industrial training centres, the capital costs of which are provided by the government. The latter also grants tax concessions to certain training schemes organised by private firms. Thus, as in the US, there is a strong link between the South African government and the private sector in the training field.

Yet again, the main difference between US and South Africa is the number of persons who need assistance. In general terms, nearly all South African Blacks require training to remove them from the unskilled and semi-skilled categories of employees. However, many Blacks have low incomes, and this affects their ability to undergo training. Older workers, with families to support, must remain in employment, or immediately seek new work if made unemployed, simply to feed and house themselves and their families. Even low-paid work is better than no income at all for this group. Certainly, they are not in a financial position to stop work in order to participate in a training or re-training course. Similarly, young Blacks are usually expected to seek work as soon as possible, and hence to augment the family income. Thus, new entrants to the labour force are also rarely able to afford to undergo unpaid training.

It was submitted that a new and co-ordinated approach was needed in South Africa, in order to overcome the problems
associated with training and re-training the country's manpower. In terms of the writer's proposals, the State's role would be to provide this co-ordination through the Department of Labour and the labour bureaux. They would liaise with both State welfare agencies and with private industry sub-group information centres. Specifically, it was argued that the courses offered by the existing State training institutions should be increased in number, and alternative courses initiated, in order to meet the needs, aptitudes and aspirations of a wider range of people. The actual changes would be made as a result of the profile of job-seekers, and present and future job vacancies compiled by the Department of Labour.

It was also suggested that trainees be paid an allowance by welfare agencies, so that persons not currently employed would be able to acquire basic, new or additional industrial skills, as appropriate. It should be noted, that trainees who are employed, i.e. in-service trainees, do not need an allowance as they continue to receive wages from their employers. Where an allowance is needed, it was suggested it be either the proposed minimum wage, or the unemployment benefit to which experienced workers would be entitled. Although this would provide only a subsistence income, it is submitted that it would encourage at least some unemployed youths and older workers to undergo training of a kind which would ensure job-placement afterwards.

A further important aspect of the role of the Department of Labour was to establish a new 'image'. It must be made clear, particularly to Blacks, that the objects of labour bureaux are to counsel work seekers, to advise them of training schemes where appropriate, and to match them with suitable job-vacancies. The bureaux must not be seen as the agencies concerned with the implementation of influx control measures and the political system which those measures represent, but rather as an economic agency concerned with the optimal utilisation of the country's manpower.
It was felt that the private sector's training efforts needed only minor changes, connected with the co-ordination of worker-training schemes on a national basis. It was proposed that industry sub-groups establish central information and recruiting centres, which would act as the liaison between member firms and job-applicants on the one hand, and member firms and the labour bureaux on the other. The latter will assist the Department of Labour in compiling a national profile of jobs and vacancies, while the former will help member firms in the personnel procedures connected with the process of recruitment, such as aptitude testing, selection, type of training required and future career prospects. It was felt that the actual training of employees, whether new recruits or experienced staff, should be left to the individual firms, since this would ensure both job- and firm-specific training, and would also encourage loyalty to the employer, thereby reducing labour turnover rates.

When it is recalled that the South African government and employers have insufficient resources to devote large sums to training their labour forces, the cost element becomes important. The method proposed for reducing costs was the adoption of legally enforceable post-training contracts, similar to those presently used by the Provincial Education Departments for trainee-teachers. Employees could be effectively deterred from leaving before their contract-period was completed, by requiring them to repay the full cost of the training provided in such an event. The writer felt that this would benefit employers in two ways. Training is an investment, and there can only be returns if the firm gains from the skills acquired by the trainee, in future years. Hence, if every employee trained by a firm, continues to work for that same firm for a specified period after training is completed, the firm does receive some return on its investment. Moreover, the firm also gains from lower labour turnover rates, because each firm-trained employee must remain in employment at least for the length of the training and the post-training contract period.
This system also has advantages for the employee. Both during and after training he is assured of a job, and hence a regular income. In turn, this establishes a contributions record with the proposed national insurance scheme, so that he is also assured of some income during periods of ill-health, or unemployment, and also after he reaches retirement age.

From a national viewpoint, the overall skill-level of the labour force will rise, while the cost of acquiring skills will be partly borne by employees. It is submitted that this will probably help to inculcate a responsible attitude amongst the work force towards both training and employment.

The effect of these proposals concerning training programmes on South African firms' personnel policies, will probably be minor. The majority of employers already operate training schemes at various levels, and will almost certainly continue to invest even more resources in this field, subject only to the vicissitudes of market conditions and the general state of the economy. They will benefit, to some extent, from the co-ordinated approach to manpower utilisation envisaged by the proposed new duties for the Department of Labour. They may also find their overall training costs somewhat reduced by the adoption of post-training contracts. In general, however, the main changes envisaged will affect the State rather than the private sector.

It should be noted that these proposals bear little relationship to the system operating in the US, apart from the proposed co-ordinating role of the South African Department of Labour, and the suggestion that State training institutions offer a wider variety of courses to meet the needs of different groups of trainees. The main reasons for adapting the existing South African system, rather than adopting a modified version of the US system, are the shortage of resources available for investing in training schemes, the far greater number of 'disadvantaged' persons needing to acquire skills, and the fact that
South African employers have already indicated clearly that they prefer to manage their own affairs with a minimal amount of State 'interference'. It should be recalled that it was the US government which initiated most of the training and job-placement programmes for 'less equal' members of the US labour force. By contrast, it was the South African private sector which started affirmative-action-type programmes for South African Blacks. It is not only cheaper, but also more rational, to build on an established pattern of behaviour, rather than to introduce a completely new system, particularly when the ultimate objective is the same, and recognised as right for the future development and growth of each economy.

4.5 The Influence of Codes of Employment Practices on Personnel Policies

US experience has proved that making racially discriminating employment practices illegal does not solve the underlying problem of how to raise the skill-level of all the working-age population. In an attempt to find a solution, US government agencies and many private firms adopted affirmative action programmes, which deliberately created work and training opportunities for disadvantaged members of minority groups, often at the expense of other sections of the US labour force. These special assistance programmes for 'less equal' persons have had some considerable success in opening up more and better work opportunities for target groups, and hence have helped to raise their skill-levels, employability and incomes. However, the courts have now established that these measures are illegal, since they involve the practising of discrimination, albeit of the reverse kind.

It would appear that US society is now prepared to allow special treatment for people who have suffered from discrimination in the past, provided that such actions do not have the effect of preventing the 'best' applicant from being appointed to any job and/or training vacancy. It can be stated that the US has laws which prohibit
any form of discrimination in the employment field, and these laws are actively supported by various reform groups, as well as the majority of employers, who have proved their willingness and ability to provide practical help for those members of the labour force who, for historical reasons, are less equal than others.

The situation in South Africa is somewhat different. While some Acts relating to labour legislation contain clauses stating that discrimination may not be practised on the grounds of race or colour, there is no general body of laws which ensures that discrimination cannot be practised under any circumstances. Indeed, certain laws specifically enforce separate treatment for Blacks and Whites. For example, influx control regulations prevent freedom of geographic and job mobility for Black workers; freedom of association for White workers is allowed by the Industrial Conciliation Act, while Black workers' ability to associate is limited by the Blacks Labour Relations Regulation Act; many training institutions are only allowed to admit students of a specified racial group, except in special circumstances requiring Ministerial approval; and s 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act allows for specified jobs to be performed by persons from one racial group only. (The 'job reservation' clause).

However, it is also true that some of these laws have little practical influence on employment procedures. For instance, job reservation orders are few in number, affect only a small percentage of the labour force, and many exemptions are granted. Similarly, laws prescribing separate toilets, canteens and other facilities for different racial groups, are often ignored by employers, employees and government inspectors. This might lead observers to the conclusion that discriminatory labour laws are ineffectual in work places, but it should be remembered that they can be invoked whenever considered necessary, and further, that firms who turn a blind eye to certain practices are, in fact, acting in contravention of the laws of the country. Moreover, the other laws quoted above, which provide for separate treatment for Black and
White employees, are enforced.

It is clear that South African employers, who wish to introduce non-discriminatory practices in all spheres of employment, do not generally have the support of the law, as US employers do. Nevertheless, lack of legal assistance has not prevented a number of South African firms from adopting non-discriminatory personnel policies. The reasons for this movement to create more job-opportunities and training vacancies for Black workers are not unlike those found in the US. Social reform groups, such as the South African Institute of Race Relations, have been calling for equality of treatment and opportunities for all South African citizens for some 50 years. More recently, and especially in the late 1960's and early 1970's, several companies recognised the economic logic of fully utilising all the country's manpower resources, and reducing the shortage of skilled labour by training indigenous Black workers, rather than 'importing' trained immigrants who had to be paid high wages to compensate for the upheavals involved. These domestic pressures are similar to those found in the US in the 1950's and 1960's. However, since the early 1970's, South African employers, and particularly subsidiaries of multi-national companies, have also been subject to pressure from foreign organisations, demanding the adoption of equal treatment for all employees. Moreover, the demands included not only in-company non-discriminatory 'laws', but also actions designed to raise the skill-level and job-status of Black employees. These latter can be likened to the US affirmative action programmes.

It has been pointed out that many of the personnel procedures advocated by both domestic and foreign Codes of Employment Practices have already been adopted by a number of firms, including locally-owned companies, as well as those with head offices in Europe and the US. Thus, it is not unusual to find staff facilities in work places desegregated; annual and sick leave, medical aid, pension and financial assistance schemes applicable to all employees on the basis of status or seniority, rather than
race; and wage scales calculated on job-evaluation
techniques, regardless of whether the employees at each
level are Black or White. These aspects of the Codes
have, in general, presented few difficulties to employers.
Indeed, where remuneration and fringe benefits are
calculated on status alone, administrative procedures have
probably been simplified.

Two aspects of the Codes necessarily place firms in an
uneasy relationship with the country's laws. The demand
to encourage the establishment and recognition of Black
trade unions, and to include them in collective bargaining
proceedings, means that management would be making
agreements with Black workers' organisations which are not
legally recognised as registered negotiating bodies.
Although there are no laws to prevent this process taking
place, the unregistered status of Black trade unions means
that any agreement reached would have no legal standing,
and the commitments would be purely voluntary on both
sides. Moreover, the Blacks Labour Relations Regulation
Act implies that employers' negotiations with registered
Black works and liaison committees, should be held
separately from negotiations with White trade unions in
Industrial Councils. In practice, some companies conduct
joint negotiations with all groups of worker-representatives,
whether Black or White, registered or unregistered, at the
same time and place. (It should be noted that probably the
only parties likely to object to this arrangement are
certain White trade unionists who have indicated that they
wish to see the status quo maintained.) Certainly this
is time-saving, and it also has the advantage of enabling
each interested party to hear the views of all other
parties. Until such time as the present laws relating to
employee-employer negotiations are changed (and it is
widely anticipated that the Wiehahn Commission will
recommend such changes), this informal meeting procedure
will probably be maintained, and adopted by other firms,
even though only part of the proceedings are legal in a
strict sense.
The other aspect of the Codes which creates legal problems for firms is the employment of migrant labourers. The private sector is not in a position to ignore influx control regulations and rules, yet the mining companies and other employers of non-urban Blacks offer migrant workers inducements to return for repeated contract periods. In this way, employers attempt to establish a 'permanent' labour force, although the procedure is certainly not in accordance with the intention of the law, which implies that workers should return to their areas of origin on completion of a contract, and seek a new one through the local labour bureaux. Again, until the law is changed, firms employing non-local Blacks are forced to adopt unnecessarily cumbersome recruitment procedures. Moreover, the pass laws make the employment of all Black workers time-consuming and administratively more difficult than the employment of Whites.

Some of the Codes also state that firms should increase their expenditure on training Black workers, should make every effort to place them in higher status positions, and should concentrate on job-creation schemes for Blacks. The similarity of these demands with affirmative action programmes in the US, is obvious. However, it is unlikely that reverse discrimination will arise from their implementation in South Africa. This is mainly because the general standards of education and skill of the typical White worker are quite considerably higher than those of the typical Black worker. Thus, job-creation schemes intended for low-skilled Blacks will not reduce job-opportunities for Whites. Indeed, the Codes advocate the adoption of labour-intensive methods in new establishments, such that more vacancies will be open to low-skilled Blacks, but Whites will not be affected.

Similarly, South African firms are unlikely to increase their investment in training facilities solely for the benefit of Blacks, and to the exclusion of Whites. The need for more and better trained staff at all levels will ensure that training funds are invested where they are most likely to bring the greatest returns. It is, in
fact, a certainty that firms will spend more on training Black, rather than White, workers, but this is partly because the former comprise a larger proportion of the total labour force, and partly because the greatest need is to raise the general skill level of Black workers. Since most Whites are skilled or semi-skilled, it is inevitable that the major thrust of firms' training efforts will be directed towards Blacks.

There is a possibility that adherence to the Codes will result in vacancies in higher status level posts being filled by Blacks rather than Whites. However, the US experience of misallocation of resources resulting from reverse discrimination, provides South African employers with a useful lesson. As a result, it is probable that reverse discrimination in filling higher status level vacancies will only occur occasionally. For example, subsidiaries of US and EEC companies may deliberately employ Blacks in high-level positions for political reasons. However, in general, if both Black and White applicants are equally well qualified for any vacancy, the appointment of one rather than the other, will not have adverse economic effects.

Many South African firms have already adopted the various provisions of the Codes of Employment Practices, with no ill-effects on their competitive position in the market, nor on internal relationships between employees of different racial groups. While foreign pressure groups have had some influence on changing personnel policies, domestic social and political groups have a longer history of activity and, hence, their influence has probably been greater. Certainly, by the early 1970's, firms in the private sector were becoming increasingly aware of the need for action along the lines now formalised in the Codes. Indications are that the movement for equality of opportunity in the employment sphere will continue to gather momentum amongst employers. In common with US firms, they have already had some considerable success. The main problem for South African companies is that they
cannot rely on the support of the law when they take
decisions and actions designed to remove discrimination
against Blacks. By continuing to exert pressure in
economic matters, and especially in employment procedures,
it is hoped the State will, eventually, provide the legal
backing necessary for complete success.

4.6 The Outlook for South African Personnel Policies

There is no doubt that the South African private sector has
firmly committed itself to investing heavily in the man-
power resources of the country. Much has already been
achieved, but there is widespread recognition and
acknowledgement that continued efforts will be needed in
the future. The business world needs social and
political 'tranquility', so that it may operate success-
fully and devote its energies to the future growth,
development and prosperity of the economy, to the benefit
of the entire population. Unfortunately, repressive
political measures, particularly those affecting Blacks,
have resulted in strikes and civil unrest, while pressures
from some governmental and White trade unionist sources
have effectively kept the wages and family income levels
of most Blacks at a lower level than that of most Whites.
In order to 'compensate' for these adverse political and
social actions and omissions, and to encourage the
development of the peaceful economic atmosphere which it
needs, the South African private sector is now concentrating
resources on active non-discriminatory personnel policies.

Firms are not only attempting to remove discrimination in
the fields of remuneration, training facilities, fringe
benefits and trade union rights, but are also concerned
with the quality of their employees' lives outside of the
working environment. Since the majority of such
practices are costly, employers can only make advances as
resources permit. Nevertheless, they have made their
ultimate objectives clear, and regularly make progress
reports.

Many firms are fully aware of the importance of paying
wages which are related to job-content. The use of job-evaluation techniques, whether simple or sophisticated, is becoming more widespread, with the object of establishing wage scales indicative of job-content, and in no way connected with the race or colour of the employees performing the work. Thus, the Tongaat Group is already using the Paterson Job Evaluation System, in order "to remove the differentials in emoluments to Black, Indian, Coloured and White" employees.1) Similarly, the Barlow Rand Group of companies states in its own corporate Code of Employment Practice, that "performance, the demands of the job and experience will be the main criteria for determining salaries and wages."2) Almost all companies have adopted a wage policy which does not discriminate on the grounds of race or colour, or have indicated their intention of so doing as soon as possible. For example, South African Breweries have stated that they are "rapidly moving towards the universal introduction of unified wages and salary scales",3) the Anglo American Corporation's aim is "the elimination of race as a factor in determining wages",4) and the Barlow Rand Group Code specifies that "employees will be remunerated on a non-discriminatory basis."5) It must be recognised that statements such as the above sound vague, and certainly leave much room for manoeuvrability. It is true that some companies are more specific: South African Breweries is committed to paying minimum wages which are equal to "a living wage";6) the

4) Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Limited, Chairman's Statement 1978; p.4
wage levels of the US owned Otis Elevator Company "consistently exceed the Supplementary Living Level";\(^7\) and the Barlow Rand Group pays wages which are "competitive in relation to 'going rates' (and) provide a reasonable living standard".\(^8\) However, none of these statements bear any relation to the very specific EEC Code's demand for minimum wages equal to the HSL-plus-50-per-cent, and nor are they likely to do so. South African employers, in common with firms in other countries, can only act as market conditions and/or the law allow. Hence, although their commitments to improving the wage levels of Black workers are not tied to a specific figure, there is no doubt that their intentions are to remove discrimination in pay scales, and the latter is a more important policy objective than specifying the actual level of minimum wages.

It has been explained in an earlier section, that the South African private sector is deeply involved in training the labour force. The general consensus of opinion amongst 'good' employers is that the potential of Black employees is not being fully utilised. As Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation point out, "the long-term need to make better use of our black labour force remains permanent".\(^9\) It is no longer considered that some jobs are beyond the capabilities of all Blacks, and therefore, only Whites can be employed to do them. However, differences in cultural and educational backgrounds do make it necessary, in some cases, to provide training courses which are solely intended for Black employees. Such courses include literacy lessons and basic industrial skills, so that the employees will be capable of successfully undergoing job-specific training at a

\(^7\) Otis Annual Report 1978, Chairman's Statement; p.8
\(^8\) Barlow Rand Group Code; Op.Cit.
\(^9\) Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation Limited Annual Report 1978, Chairman's Review, August 4 1978; p.11
later stage, alongside other employees of different racial groups. The emphasis, however, is on more training facilities for Black staff "so that they are able to take their rightful places in more meaningful jobs."\(^{10}\) For example, the Otis Elevator Company has its own centre in Johannesburg which not only trains new employees, but also offers refresher courses for older employees, as well as training for advanced level positions.\(^{11}\) The various Codes' requests that Blacks should be trained for technical, managerial and supervisory positions has been well received by many companies.\(^{12}\) Otis points out that the future progress of the country depends on augmenting the supply of skilled labour.\(^{12}\) To this end, Calan runs a management skills course for employees of all races,\(^{13}\) while Barclays Bank has an "accelerated training scheme ... designed to cater for the development of officials of all race groups, many of whom will be called upon to serve in managerial positions."\(^{14}\) Similarly, Irvin and Johnson run courses in industrial relations, management and sales techniques.\(^{15}\)

Many other larger companies run training courses for their staff, and all of them are open equally to members of different racial groups. Smaller employers provide a certain amount of on-the-job training, but also use the industrial training centres established in their areas when their own resources are insufficient for their total training needs. Unfortunately, the Government has specified that these centres are for Blacks only, hence

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\(^{10}\) See Calan Limited Annual Report 1978, Chairman's Statement; p.4

\(^{11}\) Otis Report; Op.Cit.

\(^{12}\) Ibid.

\(^{13}\) Calan Report; Op.Cit.

\(^{14}\) Financial Statements of Barclays National Bank Limited for Year ended 30 September 1978, Directors' Report; p.30

\(^{15}\) Irvin and Johnson Limited Annual Report 1978, Chairman's Statement; p.4
firms using them cannot adopt a policy of non-discrimination in training schemes. Nevertheless, paying for Black employees to attend training courses is becoming an increasingly widespread practice, resulting in firms having a more skilled Black staff, and enabling the latter to apply for vacancies at higher level positions on equal terms with staff from other racial groups.

In these ways, South African firms are meeting the requirements of the Codes of Employment Practices with respect to providing more and better training facilities for Blacks at all levels. Except where the law prevents it, the courses serve all employees, and firms have adopted a general policy of non-discrimination in the training field.

The Codes' demands for non-discriminatory personnel policies also cover fringe benefits; a term which includes a wide range of practices. Where employees are directly concerned, many South African firms have incorporated non-White staff into existing schemes. Pension funds, medical aid schemes, annual and sick leave provisions, and redundancy schemes are the most notable examples where employers now offer exactly the same treatment to members of all races, although, naturally, they vary with the status of the staff. It should be noted in these respects, that not only individual companies, such as South African Breweries, Calan, Barlow Rand and Barclays, have adopted such non-discriminatory fringe benefit schemes, but the industrial council agreement for the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, concluded in July 1978, now also allows Black employees to be brought into the industry's sick pay fund, and the non-contributory pension fund for Blacks has been converted to a contributory scheme.16) The fact that discrimination has been removed in two spheres by an industrial council is important because it is indicative that some White trade unionists are also prepared to accept racially-integrated practices.

Such fringe benefits as rest rooms and subsidized canteens are normally included with the overall effort to desegregate the workplace. In respect of factory layouts and working arrangements, race has not been a factor for consideration for some years. However, multi-racial canteens and toilets can only be introduced slowly, partly because firms may not have the necessary space or resources, but more important, because it is not traditional for Blacks and Whites to share these facilities, hence a change in attitudes is required. Nevertheless, Hoechst and Barclays, for example, have canteens which are open equally to all members of staff, while the Barlow Rand Group Code intends that "work areas and other facilities will be fully integrated, subject to legal constraints and social attitudes." The latter statements indicate that the introduction of non-discriminatory fringe benefits may be hindered by factors beyond the control of employers, but that these are not preventing them from attempting to remove racial discrimination even in sensitive, personal areas.

The two fringe benefits which create most difficulties for South African companies are the provision of housing and educational assistance for all members of staff. With respect to housing, loans have always been available to Whites providing they were in sufficiently senior positions. However, laws regulating the areas in which Blacks may live permanently, made it almost impossible for firms to offer the same assistance to them. With the introduction, in April 1979, of 99 year leasehold rights for Blacks in urban areas, employers will now be in a better position to adopt a non-discriminatory policy concerning housing loans. Barclays reports that "housing loans are available to all race groups on the same terms"; Afrox has "established a special housing loan scheme to

enable lower income employees to purchase homes";\textsuperscript{19}) and the Barlow Rand Group will "assist employees ... to acquire or improve homes".\textsuperscript{20}) Unfortunately, there is a shortage of housing for Blacks in White urban areas, and the government has been blamed for this. Thus, the Chairman of Barlow Rand pointed out, in his Annual Report for 1978, that "the programme for the building of houses for the urban black population which was announced more than a year ago is only now beginning to get under way."\textsuperscript{21)}

The mining companies, which provide privately-owned hostel accommodation for their migrant labourers, are perhaps in a better position to act in this field. They are also attempting to increase the employment of non-migrant workers by, inter alia, providing accommodation for families, as well as single men. For example, the Anglo American Corporation reports that it is "providing more of (its) senior workers ... with family accommodation in mine villages or nearby townships. Indeed major housing programmes are in hand for all the Group's gold mines, and good progress is being made."\textsuperscript{22)} Similarly, West Driefontein Gold Mining Company, a member of the Gold Fields Group, reports that "good progress is being made in the up-grading of rooms in the existing hostels (and) four of the five new hostel blocks ... have been completed."\textsuperscript{23)}

It is apparent that the larger and more profitable companies are genuinely interested in improved living conditions.

\textsuperscript{19}) Afrrox Annual Report and Financial Statements 1978, Chairman's Statement; p.6 (Afrrox is the registered name of African Oxygen Company Limited).
\textsuperscript{20}) Barlow Rand Group Code; Op.Cit.
\textsuperscript{21}) Barlow Rand Limited Annual Financial Statements 30th September 1978, Chairman's Statement, 14 November 1978; p.7
\textsuperscript{22}) Anglo American Corporation Report; Op.Cit.
\textsuperscript{23}) West Driefontein Gold Mining Company Limited Annual Report 1978, Technical Advisors' Report for year ended 30 June 1978; p.11
conditions for their Black employees, and where possible, they are providing active assistance. Smaller firms, through their employers' associations, are attempting to bring pressure to bear on local government authorities to improve living conditions in the local townships where most of their Black employees reside.

Providing educational assistance for dependants of Black staff is a very costly fringe benefit for employers. Nevertheless, some firms have recognised the need to act in this field too. Thus, Otis states that "the standard of education of Blacks in particular still fall far short of those in the White population," and this makes it more difficult for them to advance to senior and more skilled positions. To overcome this problem, firms are either providing funds for the building of more Black schools, or offering study grants and scholarships. Examples of the former are Highveld Steel and Vanadium, which financed the construction of a junior secondary school in the Witbank Black township, and the Barlow Rand Group, whose educational foundation has already built a technical high school for Blacks in East London, and is considering other similar projects.

Study grants and scholarships are available equally to all members of Barclays' staff, and the Bank is also prepared to provide "secondary school assistance for all children of Black staff." Similarly, the Barlow Rand Group "will provide financial assistance for the education of the dependants of employees, when it is feasible and necessary to do so." Other companies have adopted the attitude that educational funds should be administered by those who are in a position to know all the problems and to establish priorities. For example, Afrox makes

26) Barlow Rand, Chairman's Statement; Op.Cit.
donations to all South African universities and advanced technical colleges, while a number of other privately-owned organisations channel whatever resources they have available through the Urban Foundation, which is attempting, *inter alia*, to improve the educational facilities for Blacks in urban areas.

In spite of the expense involved, it is clear that many South African firms are willing to commit resources to the education of Black children, and are thereby investing in the future growth and development of the country's entire population.

Possibly the most important aspect of personnel practices is that which relates to recognition of, and negotiations with, organisations representing staff of all races. The present restricted rights of association for Black employees is a matter of primary concern to most companies operating in South Africa. Many have expressed a wish to be able to deal with multi-racial unions, or alternatively, that Black trade unions be given legal recognition, so that management can negotiate with all unions representing various groups of workers, on an equal basis and at the same time and place. The general feeling is that if Black unions can demonstrate that they represent a majority of employees, and they are so constituted that they would satisfy the requirements specified for White unions in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, they should be treated as equal partners in the bargaining process. In practice, some companies are already negotiating with Black trade unions, even though any agreement reached between them may not be made legally binding on either party. Thus, Barclays reports that "all employees are encouraged to join the banking trade unions and to take an active interest in union affairs. The Bank also engaged in collective bargaining with organisations freely chosen by the employees."  

The law, and particularly the Industrial Conciliation Act, remains the stumbling block to full recognition of Black unions. Until such time as the laws are changed, companies can only 'talk' to Black unions, rather than negotiate with them, and they can only conclude 'gentlemen's agreements'. Several of the larger firms in South Africa, including both locally and foreign owned companies, find this 'semi-legal' process unsatisfactory, and want to see Black workers included in the trade union movement.31)

Meanwhile, firms are making greater use of works and liaison committees, which were intended to be in-plant representative bodies for Black employees, established in terms of the Blacks Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act of 1973. In an attempt to give meaningful recognition to the Black representative organisations, some companies have concentrated on improving their effectiveness through providing training schemes for committee members. Barlow Rand and Calan are two of such companies. Moreover, most companies now hold regular meetings between management and liaison committees, and they are generally considered to be an important part of the consultation and negotiation procedure, with particular emphasis on plant-level matters. One of the subsidiaries of a multi-national company, Siemens Limited South Africa, has taken the committee idea one stage further by encouraging multi-racial liaison committees. In September 1978, two such committees existed at individual plants, compared with 15 representing one racial group only, while the company's Combined Liaison Committee is fully multi-racial.32)

This extension of a system which was intended for use by Black workers only, is an interesting development. In effect, it amounts to multi-racial 'trade unions' at plant
