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WORKER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 1973 - 1993

Salim Vally

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

Johannesburg 1994

PREFACE

With the rise of the independent trade union movement since 1973, immense importance has been attached to worker education. The growth of the union movement created the space and provided the resources for workers to assert an independent cultural practice in which worker education plays a pivotal role.

Intense debate has raged within the union movement over the content of this education, the way it is to be provided, who the recipients should be and whether it fulfils its perceived aim. There exists general consensus though that worker education has been integral to the development of the labour movement. Yet, there is no comprehensive study of worker education in South Africa. Such a study is even more necessary today as attempts are made to address the historical deficiencies in the South African education system. This report therefore is a small contribution toward understanding worker education and the importance of its role not only for the labour movement but for society at large.

In my ten years as a worker educator, first for the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA) and then later for the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU), the need for a critical assessment of worker education was always present. Perhaps the scant literature on worker education has to do with the exigencies of trade union work where the art of `fire fighting' becomes a daily pre-occupation and unfortunately intellectual reflection, often a luxury. Without having left the union movement in 1993 and without a grant from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), for which I am thankful, this report would not have been completed. I am certain that most worker educators given the same opportunity could write a better appraisal of worker education. My close involvement in the union movement, and my interest in worker education, means that the access I have had to sources necessary for this study has been greatly enhanced. As an actor in the events and activities I analyse, I have tried at all times to be a critical observer. I am aware however that I have also used my own experience in writing this thesis. I hope this provides for a richer text than might otherwise have been the case.

Besides the FES, I would also like to thank the following people: All the workers and fellow educators in the labour movement, whose `lived experiences' taught me more than books ever could; Dr. Linda Chisholm my supervisor, for her enduring patience, trust, encouragement and constructive criticism; Grant Chan for typing the report and Dr Neville Alexander to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude for giving invaluable advice throughout my years as an educator, providing much needed intellectual support and inspiring me with his unshakeable faith in the future and in humankind despite my own predilection towards Rosa Luxemburg's sentiment `pessimism of the intellect, but optimism of the will'.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

SALIM VALLY

(Name of Candidate)

24th day of JUNE, 1994

For Hanif, Mfanafuthi, Nadia and Natasha.

PREFACE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABE - Adult Basic Education
ANC - African National Congress
AZACTU - Azanian Congress of Trade Unions
AZANYU - Azanian National Youth Unity
AZAPO - Azanian Peoples Orginisation
BAMCWU - Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union
BCAE - Basic Course in Adult Education
BCAWU - Black Construction and Allied Workers Union
BEDCOM - Branch Education Committee
BPC - Black People's Convention
BWP - Black Workers' Project
CAEP - Centre for Adult Education Programmes
CAL - Cape Action League
CALS - Centre for Applied Legal Services
CAJ - Civic Association of Johannesburg
CBDP - Community Based Development Project
CCAWUSA - Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
CCOBTU - Co-ordinating Committee of Black Trade Unions
CEC - Central Executive Committee
CNETU - Council of Non-European Trade Unions
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAS - Congress of South African Students
CPSA - Communist Party of South Africa
CRIC - Community Resource and Information Centre
CTMWU - Cape Town Municipal Workers Union
CUSA - Council of Unions of South Africa
CWIU - Chemical Workers Industrial Union
EAWU - Engineering and Allied Workers' Union
EPU - Education Policy Unit
FBWU - Food Beverage Workers' Union
FOSATU - Federation of South African Trade Unions
GAWU - General and Allied Workers' Union
GFWBF - General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund
GWU - General Workers' Union
HAP - Human Awareness Programme
IAS - Industrial Aid Society
ICFTU - International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

ICU - Industrial and Commercial Union
IIE - Institute of Industrial Education
IIR - Institute of Industrial Relations
ILO - International Labour Organisation
ILRIG - International Labour Research and Information Group
IMF - International Monetary Fund
LDCWU - Laundry and Drycleaners Workers' Union
LEDCOM - Local Education Committee
LRAB - Labour Relations Amendment Bill
LRS - Labour Research Service
MAWU - Metal and Allied Workers' Union
MESHAWU - Municipal, Education, State, Health and Allied Workers' Union
NACTU - National Council of Trade Unions
NALEDI - National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NEDCOM - National Education Committee
NEPI - National Education Policy Institute
NLC - National Literacy Co-operative
NUCW - National Union of Clothing Workers
NUTW - National Union of Textile Workers
NUM - National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA - National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
NUSAS - National Union of South African Students
NUPSW - National Union of Public Service Workers
OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAC - Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
PEL - Paid Education Leave
POTWA - Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association
PPAWU - Paper, Printing and Allied Workers' Union
PRP - Participatory Research Project
SAAWU - South African Allied Workers' Union
SACABE - South African Committee for Adult Basic Education
SACCAWU - South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union
SACHED - South African Council for Higher Education
SACP - South African Communist Party
SACTU - South African Congress of Trade Unions
SACTWU - South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union
SACWU - South African Chemical Workers' Union
SALDRU - South African Labour Development and Research Unit

SASO - South African Students' Organisation
SATLC - South African Trades and Labour Council
SATS - South African Transport Services
SDT - Staff Development and Training
SFAWU - Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union
SWOP - Sociology of Work Project
TAWU - Transport and Allied Workers' Union
TGWU - Transport and General Workers' Union
TUACC - Trade Union Action Co-ordinating Committee
TUCSA - Trade Union Council of South Africa
TURP - Trade Union Research Project
UARWU - United Auto and Rubber Workers' Union
UDF - United Democratic Front
URDEP - Urban and Rural Development and Education Project
UTP - Urban Training Project
WAP - Workers' Advice Project
WEP - Workers' Education Project
WIL - Workers' International League
WOSA - Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action
WPGWU - Western Province General Workers' Union
WPWAB - Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau
YCW - Young Christian Workers

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

The South African state has historically not only denied but actively undermined the acquisition of meaningful education by black workers. It is estimated that fifteen million adults - more than a third of the population - are effectively illiterate (1). Less than one percent of the education budget in 1993 was spent on education for adults (2).

> Worker education, arising out of the praxis to transform society thus has a vital responsibility. Worker education together with other alternative projects are essential building blocks of the future. They constitute, together with other cultural, economic and political structures being thrown up in the liberation struggle, the realm of civil society as against the state. As such they are the partial guarantors of a democratic socialist future. (3)

Worker education as distinct from other forms of adult education must be a critical element in any discourse around alternatives to the present education system. Those who are presently formulating a future education policy for South Africa should bear this paradox in mind: the working people bear the burden of the social costs of the present educational system and yet they and their children benefit least from it.

In order to redress this apartheid legacy, it is clearly inadequate to hold on to the traditional view that sees education as a process which concerns only the young and manifests itself only in formal institutions. Encouragingly, recent policy proposals on the future education system integrates adult education into the national system of education(4). Education is conceived as a lifelong system offering the possibility of recurrent education at different points of the individual's lifespan.

Despite this intention and prior to any real implementation, significant divisions exist among those formulating a national policy on education. For some the current budgetary expenditure on education (given international experience) should not be expanded. Savings can be made internal to the budget by unifying the educational system

and reallocating expenditure from tertiary to primary, and secondary levels, and from white to black education. Although the state will intervene in providing guidelines for adult education as well as recognise accreditation under a regulatory state framework, the provision and implementation of adult education is left to a large extent in the hands of the private sector(5). For others, expanded state provision and budgetary support is essential.

The private sector will certainly prioritise vocational and occupational training only if it is tied closely to the labour demands of capital. If we accept that education as a cultural and ideological institution is inextricably linked to the political and economic structure of society, then capital and the state are likely to reduce adult education into largely reproducing the present status quo instead of allowing it to become a force for social change. In this sense the role of adult education will be to contribute to the processes of capitalist accumulation and its political role will be to assist the legitimation of the existing distribution of power.

Adult education and specifically education for the working class - employed and unemployed - is clearly a site of contestation. It cannot on its own however be a lasting panacea for the problems faced by workers. Worker education in its method, control and content, however relevant and successful, has a dialectical relationship with the broader society. To accept this is not to deny the vital importance and necessity of worker educational intervention now. Yet for it to be truly effective in the long term it must be woven into a range of comprehensive radical social policies.

The central argument of this essay is that worker education can significantly ameliorate the educational deprivations of those who have suffered the most from the legacy of Apartheid-Capitalism. It can also become one of the building blocks of a new, relevant and socially useful education system. Most importantly though, worker education will only succeed in its aims if formations such as trade unions and community organisations ideally responsible for conceptualising, implementing and controlling educational interventions are **independent** and **democratically controlled**. For formations involved in worker education these are indispensable conditions if

they are to be responsive to the immediate needs of their members, and also to develop forms of educational praxis which will engender new values, technical skills, intellectual capabilities and social practices necessary for societal transformation. This argument is informed by both the history of and recent developments in the independent trade union movement.

Political shifts brought about by the reform process in South Africa have influenced not only the context in which unions and community organisations operate but also their internal regimes and the strategic orientation of their leadership. Some labour analysts have captured this new development in the phrase: from "Resistance to Reconstruction"(6). According to one view, these changes have brought to the fore organisational contradictions which challenge the traditions of militancy and democratic participation(7).

From 1973 into the late eighties, unions in South Africa stood out because of their ability to be accountable to their membership. The latter played an active role in the campaigns and decision-making process of the unions. Political militancy as well as successes in redressing the day to day grievances of the membership characterised the union movement. Education intervention was geared toward mass collective involvement in recruiting membership, producing militancy and laying the basis for building strong democratic organisations by providing the skills necessary for this.

The local shop-steward councils were the `melting pot' for ideas and actions that later developed into national campaigns. The local was a "vibrant centre for worker education and activity" and could not be ignored in the formulation of national union policy(8).

Today, according to some, the local shop-steward councils have become passive recipients of national directives(9), reduced to mere briefing sessions(10), routine(11) and dominated by rigid proceduralism(12). As a result, it is felt that the level of understanding and participation by workers in unions has declined. Also, employed officials who previously joined the union out of personal commitment and sacrifice, and who largely came from the rank and file, now allegedly increasingly see a

stint in the union movement as a springboard into more lucrative areas.

Added to these developments is the more sophisticated relationship employed by capital towards unions. Coercion is only used as the last resort. Employers today prefer to co-opt officials and shop-stewards and embark on limited worker participation schemes in solving areas of dispute.(13)

Clearly, these changes in the orientation of the union movement are likely to impact on the control of education structures, the priorities around the content of education programmes and the groups targeted for education.This report, in tracing the development of worker education in South Africa, will concern itself with these changes in the workers' movement so vital for the success or failure of worker education.

The first section of this study will examine worker education universally and present some central guiding principles and objectives of worker education which provide the founding assumptions of the study. The second section outlines the lineages as well as the contemporary terrain of worker education in South Africa. The history of worker education will be contextualised and periodised using the following format: 1. Pre - 1973 to the formation of FOSATU and CUSA, 2. Education in FOSATU and CUSA, 3. Present worker education primarily education in COSATU, NACTU and their affiliates. A chapter will be devoted to service organisations, non-governmental organisations and initiatives from formal tertiary institutions. Lastly, South African worker education will be critically evaluated, based on the principles established in the first section. The current practices and debates within the labour movement around independence, accountability and participation of the rank and file clearly impacts on the overall strategic direction of trade unions and community organisations.

Policies around the content, control, methodology and funding of worker education will therefore have to be examined in the context of such debates, practices and strategies.

For the first few chapters of this report I have relied on secondary sources. From chapter five, particularly the late nineteen eighties onward, this report draws on personal knowledge and involvement as well as primary sources such as minutes of meetings, workshops and conferences; unpublished union documents and interviews.

The wealth of material and experience of worker education in South Africa, particularly in contemporary times, bringing with it existing, new, and varied developments necessitates the documentation and critical analysis of this rich practice. This is what this report sets out to do: trace, record and [illegible] the main developments in the recent period as a contribution to our overall knowledge and understanding of the union movement and the transformative uses to which education has been put and could be put in the future.

CHAPTER 2 - AN OVERVIEW OF WORKER EDUCATION

Over the years and in different contexts, the experiments in and views on worker education linked to the struggle for transformation have left South Africa with a rich body of thought and practice. This will briefly be reviewed alongside the literature on worker education in South Africa in order to demonstrate the political and philosophical roots and sources of inspiration of the movement for worker education in South Africa. Thereafter, a definition of worker education will be advanced; different ways of viewing the purpose of worker education will be explored and the links between different conceptions of worker education and different philosophies of education will be examined. This chapter will then make explicit the guiding assumptions of the study as a whole.

Ideas about worker education from the earliest days of trade unions and political activity by workers in the 1860s have been drawn on. The first meeting of the London based International Working Men's Association in 1864, for instance, acknowledged the idea of worker education. They produced for their launch a commemorative watchcasing engraved with the demand for the `three eights': "We require 8 hours for work, 8 hours for our own instruction and 8 hours for repose". (1)

An analysis of historical experience such as polytechnical education for adults in the USSR in the 1920's(2), Rosa Luxemburg's involvement in night schools for workers in Germany (3), Simone Veil's Worker College in France in 1928 (4) as well as Antonio Gramsci's understanding of the formation and role of `organic' intellectuals, conscious human agency, ideology and cultural hegemony (5)all provide important lessons for the contemporary study of worker education. Amilcar Cabral's conversations with Paulo Friere on the problems around creating a relevant pedagogy are also useful (6). The early experiments in education in Mozambique, the 1980 National Literacy Crusade in Nicaragua and the integration of work and study in Cuba and China (7) provide valuable insights particularly about the practical problems involved in the implementation of worker education.

Struggle directly related to creating more space and resources for worker education such as the Italian work-

ers' demand in 1968 for 150 hours paid education leave and many other attempts by the labour movement internationally inform proponents of adult education in South Africa of possibilities (8). Most importantly for South Africa, there is now the experience of two decades of worker education. This education has clearly been integral to the growth and development of the present union movement.

Literature Survey of Worker Education in South Africa

Despite the wide body of literature on trade unions in South Africa there has been a dearth of academic work specifically on worker education. Amongst the relevant literature, Adrienne Bird's "The Adult Night School Movement for Blacks on the Witwatersrand 1920 - 1980" (9)must be included. Her thesis traces the development of black adult night schools on the Witwatersrand from the early part of the century and illustrates the relationship between educational needs and programmes and wider political and ideological considerations. Bird examines the adult night school movement initiated by radical groups in the twenties and thirties, liberal initiatives in response to this in the forties and the effect of state repression on the movement in the fifties and sixties. Bird's thesis ends with an analysis of literacy movements in the seventies primarily initiated by Black Consciousness organisations as well as the role of state and industry sponsored literacy programmes.

An honours dissertation by Lisa Seftel titled `Worker Education in the Seventies'(10)is useful in providing empirical information about formal trade union education programmes, but limited. It lacks a theoretical perspective and is not comprehensive in two important senses : it deals only with two trade unions and ignores important extensions of trade union educational programmes. These are the worker press, plays, musical groups,worker poetry and choirs, vibrant and essential components of educational programmes at the time.

In 1984, an issue of the *South African Labour Bulletin* (11)to commemorate the tenth year of its publication finally acknowledged the importance of worker education. Articles contained in this issue include a survey of union education programmes, worker plays, poetry and lit-

erature and an interview with the Federation of South African Trade Unions' (FOSATU) education officer. In all articles, issues and problems of concern to worker education are tentatively dealt with. The brevity of their analysis and the focus on specific aspects of worker education prevents a comprehensive picture.

One aspect of adult basic education - literacy- has been given considerable attention. In the mid to late eighties a series of surveys, papers and books related to literacy appeared. (12) This reflected in part the formation in the eighties of numerous progressive non-governmental organisations involved in literacy.

Contributors to books such as *Apartheid and Education* edited by Peter Kallaway(13), *Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles* edited by Elaine Unterhalter et al(14), and Neville Alexander's *Education and the National Liberation Struggle in South Africa* (15) are all valuable in discerning the links between education and the struggle for social transformation.

A most useful research paper published by the Education Policy Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in 1992 and undertaken by Reneé Roux is entitled `Learning from Other Trade Unions: Policy Alternatives for Trade Union Education'(16). It is based on research conducted on the education structures and programmes of seven countries. Starting from a feasibility study to consider the viability of university - linked worker education in South Africa, the report draws on the experience of foreign trade unions in dealing with various issues currently confronting working-class education in South Africa. These issues include internal democracy in unions, education, training worker leadership, the structure and content of worker education and funding for worker education.

Among the many books on adult and worker education written outside South Africa, P.G.H. Hopkins' *Workers' education : an international perspective* (1985) is the most significant. It is the only international survey of contemporary worker education. Hopkins attempts to give a universal account of workers' education by emphasising those aspects of past events, comtemporary provision and possible future trends which he feels are important.

Hopkins poses a series of questions which underlie workers' education. The different answers given to these questions by various actors are then analysed. The questions form the basis of the book. Part one, for instance, deals with the question : `Why workers' education?'. This section discusses the motives for and the objectives of those who provide and undertake workers' education. Part two addresses the question : `What should be provided and for whom?'. In answering this question, Hopkins draws on his twenty seven year experience as an educator of adults in countries as diverse as Britain, Ghana, Scandinavia, Jamaica, West Germany, India amongst others.

Part two examines the various skills that are provided through workers' education as well as the specific needs of different categories of workers. Part three of Hopkins' book discusses the question : `Who provides workers' education?'. After looking at the four major providers of worker education, namely, workers' movements, non-governmental bodies such as public educational institutions as well as employers, the government and finally `umbrella' organisations such as the ILO, Hopkins concludes that although support for worker education by goverments and educational bodies is important, final control of their education should rest with workers themselves and their organisations.

The penultimate section titled : `How is workers' education provided?' deals with the administrative aspects of workers' education which includes financial arrangements; institutional structures; curricula and evaluation techniques. The methods and techniques as well as the various aids for effective workers' education are also explored. The final chapter examines the future prospects and possible trends in workers' education world wide.

In order to examine the worker education movement more closely, we need a working definition of worker education and an understanding of the different purposes of worker education.

Toward a definition of worker education

Some have defined worker education as that sector of

adult education which caters for adults in their capacity as workers and especially as members of workers' organisations (17). This definition is useful as it avoids the temptation to conflate `worker education' with `education provided by trade unions'. Although trade union education forms a major section of workers' education it is by no means the whole of it.

A broader understanding of worker education has and can also be advanced. In this understanding, worker education is not only systematic education programmes nor even the extension of this through the worker press, plays, video and songs. It is essential to include as education the day-to-day struggles of workers - the grievances, disputes, strikes and how they are handled as well as the introduction of new work methods and technologies at the work place. In short, the realities of life, struggle and employment, which Marx called the harsh but hardening school of labour(18) are equally to be understood as educative. It is in this area that vital experiential learning takes place. The strike and workplace occupations are here perhaps the most important learning moments.(19)

In addition, the experience of building and controlling organisations collectively as well as making independent decisions has been considered to have enormous educational value, particularly in increasing the level of self-confidence amongst workers.

It is therefore difficult to delineate the boundaries of worker education. There must be included both, the `Schools of Labour' and `Labour schools'. The latter refers to those spaces which workers themselves, their leaders or sympathetic pedagogues open up for reflection. This takes many forms such as seminars and workshops conducted by the union education departments, worker newspapers as well as educational forums provided for workers by agencies and institutions outside workers' own organisations. These are the primary concerns of this study, although the strength of `Schools of Labour'is also recognised.

The General Purpose of Worker Education

Different conceptions of the nature and purpose of worker education exist in relation to `labour schools'. Starting from a concern with `labour schools', the I.L.O.and others have provided a more detailed taxonomy of worker education.(20) Worker education is divided into four major components. The first is basic general skills. This includes functional literacy and basic numeracy as well as skills that will compensate for deficiencies and will provide knowledge and confidence about the sources of information to enable continued self- directed study. `Role skills' are also needed to improve the effectiveness of workers' organisations. This category ranges from courses for shop stewards which deal with grievance procedures and how to fight disciplinary measures taken by employers to technical skills for administrative staff. Specialised knowledge for union officials such as labour law and teaching methods for union educators can be included in this category. The third and fourth category deal with socio-economic and political studies and vocational, technical and scientific studies. The I.L.O. defines socio-economic and political studies as "the general problems of man (sic) in society"(21)

These categories are not the exclusive preserve of worker education and can be incorporated by those involved in adult basic education. The African National Congress (ANC) for instance, in its policy framework for education,(22)includes the following categories as part of its general core curriculum for adult basic education: literacy and numeracy, social and development studies and science and technology. If we accept that the classifications provided by the I.L.O. are not watertight compartments and can overlap, then all worker education programmes will have at least elements from some or all of these categories proffered by the I.L.O.

The difference between the I.L.O. and other proponents of worker education arises when we consider the general purpose of worker education. For the I.L.O., the general purpose is to enable "workers to become better trade unionists and citizens".(23) Others like Roux insist that "looking at the stage of struggle in South Africa and at the experience of other countries, it seems important not to shy away from clearly asserting that as organisations

with socialist principles, unions will provide education progammes which are based on, and advance, socialist principles." (24)

Antonio Gramsci, a theoretician and leader of the Italian workers movement before the fascist takeover, argued that the institutions of the workers' movement should form an educational context which "should effect a radical transformation of the workers' mentality and should make the masses better equipped to exercise power".(25) At the same time Gramsci placed enormous emphasis on the need for literacy and cognitive skills as well as technical education for workers.

This perspective has also informed a number of educational interventions in South Africa. An extract from the 1985 handbook on education produced by the Johannesburg branch of CCAWUSA reflects this:

> The primary objective of the Education Department is to equip members at all levels of our union with knowledge to strengthen their hand in struggles with the bosses and the state. We believe in Education for liberation. The long term aim of all our programmes will be geared to:
>
> 1. Politicise, organise and mobilise our members so that they play the leading role in the transformation of our society into an economic, social and political system controlled by workers to satisfy the needs and interests of those presently oppressed and exploited.
>
> 2. Develop the practice and understanding of democracy which will allow for maximum participation and decision making power for workers now and in the future socialist society we wish to build.
>
> 3. Develop the human potential of all our people to the fullest, to create and transform skills and abilities so that they are accessible and useful to our people. (26)

This theme is also prevalent in S.A. trade unions today. For the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPWAWU) working class education is the bringing to-

gether of the experiences and lessons of previous working class struggles. These previous struggles include factory and community-based struggles, nationally and internationally. The purpose of working class education is twofold: first it is to strengthen existing struggles and second, it is to build working class cadre that can lead the struggle for socialism:

> If working class education is the lessons of previous struggles, then it becomes clear that education is inseparable from struggle. Our education programme must therefore be informed by the current struggles the working class is fighting. These struggles include those in the factory, community and the broader political struggle.
>
> Equally, it means that every single act of working class struggle contains within it an aspect of education, of drawing lessons and conclusions for future struggles. It is this last point that is most often neglected in terms of how we work in the organisations of the working class generally, including in PPWAWU (27)

As shown above, the purpose of worker education within 'labour schools' can thus be conceived both in a narrow and a broader sense. The broader understanding characterising worker education in certain sectors of the independent trade union movement were highlighted here.

Philosophy of Worker Education

The aims, content, control, methodological approach and evaluation of education are largely determined by the underlying philosophy of education. It is useful to distinguish between three different approaches to education which have a relationship to the understanding of worker education. The conventional approach seeks to conform to the dominant ideology and status quo, the second approach is aimed at reforming the system and the last, the liberating approach has as its objective the transformation of society. Worker education should clearly be located firmly within the last approach if it is to fulfil the stated objectives of the labour movement. This perspective will now briefly be elaborated on.

David Werner, a medical doctor with many years of experience in community health education in Mexico and South America, and author of *Helping Health Workers Learn* has developed an extremely useful chart to summarise the three approaches. (28)



THREE APPROACHES TO EDUCATION

This chart gives a summary of 3 approaches to teaching. It may help instructors to evaluate their own teaching approach. But we do not recommend that this analysis be given to health workers. Analyzing stories and role plays will work better. So pass by this chart if you want.

	CONVENTIONAL	PROGRESSIVE	LIBERATING
Function	to *CONFORM*	to *REFORM*	to *TRANSFORM*
Aim	Resist change. Keep social order stable.	Change people to meet society's needs.	Change society to meet people's needs.
Strategy	Teach people to accept and 'fit in' to the social situation without changing its unjust aspects.	Work for certain improvements without changing the unjust aspects of society.	Actively oppose social injustice, inequality, and corruption. Work for basic change.
Intention toward people	*CONTROL* them—especially poor working people—farm and city. 	*PACIFY* or *CALM* them—especially those whose hardships drive them to protest or revolt. 	*FREE* them from oppression, exploitation, and corruption. 
General approach	*AUTHORITARIAN* (rigid top-down control)	*PATERNALISTIC* (kindly top-down control)	*HUMANITARIAN* and *DEMOCRATIC* (control by the people)
Effect on people and the community	*OPPRESSIVE*—rigid central authority allows little or no participation by students and community.	*DECEPTIVE*—pretends to be supportive, but resists real change.	*SUPPORTIVE*—helps people find ways to gain more control over their health and their lives.
How students (and people generally) are viewed	Basically passive. Empty containers to be filled with standard knowledge.  Can and must be tamed.	Basically irresponsible. Must be cared for. Need to be watched closely.  Able to participate in specific activities when spoon fed.	Basically active. Able to take charge and become self-reliant.  Responsible when treated with respect and as equals.
What the students feel about the teacher	*FEAR*—Teacher is an absolute, all-knowing boss who stands apart from and above the students.	*GRATITUDE*—Teacher is a friendly, parent-like authority who knows what is best for the students.	*TRUST*—Teacher is a 'facilitator' who helps everyone look for answers together.
Who decides what should be learned	The Ministry of Education (or Health) in the capital.	The Ministry, but with some local decisions.	The students and instructors together with the community.
Teaching method	• Teacher lectures. • Students ask few questions. • Often boring. 	• Teacher educates and entertains students. • Dialogue and group discussions, but the teacher decides which are the 'right' answers.	• Open-ended dialogue, in which many answers come from people's experience. • Everyone educates each other.
Main way of learning	*PASSIVE*—students receive knowledge. Memorization of facts.	More or less active. Memorization still basic.	*ACTIVE*—everyone contributes. Learning through doing and discussing.

Following this model, a number of methodological and pedagogical principles can be established if worker education "empowers members to challenge and change their material conditions and if worker education has a role to play in changing present social relations".(29)

a) A dialectical approach to learning is necessary. This entails beginning with the real experience of workers, developing a theory around it and using this to propose strategies. Participative learning through appropriate teaching methods and techniques is needed to convert experience into useful knowledge.

b) Ivan Illich, in his book *Deschooling Society*, started from the premise that "most learning is not the result of instruction, it is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting".(30) No mere classroom experience can substitute for a programme that builds education into the everyday reality of union experience, that makes the union itself a learning organisation.

c) Worker education must promote the ability to solve and analyse problems, think critically and independently. Teaching methods therefore need to be 'subversive' and promote the skills of crap detecting. (31)

d) Worker educational programmes must not be static, they must be innovative, creative and subject to continuous evaluation and change.

e) The educators involved in worker education must themselves be educated through further training, evaluation by workers and the sharing of ideas with fellow educators.

f) Educational programmes must not be manipulated to promote one side of an internal union difference or a political difference within the labour movement. The function of educational facilitators should be to present all the different perspectives within the labour movement in order for participants to make their own assessment.

g) Union educational programmes must provide linkages between courses so that clear progression occurs. Recurrent education, that is, education as a right for life must be established as a principle.

h) Language generally reflects the relations of power in society, but it can also challenge these relations. Hence the importance in worker education to firstly oppose sexist and racist vocabulary and secondly to promote in the educational setting the use of the language(s) participants are most comfortable with.

i) An integrated approach to worker education is important (one that mixes technical skills, political and general education).(32)

j) Worker education must be related and integrated into the organisational activities, structures and campaigns of the union or community organisation. Worker education must purposefully establish clear overall links between education, organisation and action.

k) Worker education must promote and strengthen internal democracy by promoting values such as open debate and participatory democracy. This is vital since bureaucratisation is a constant problem. Skills need to be spread so that decisions are not imposed from above by expert committees or leadership. All members of the union staff need to be educated.

l) The independence of education in unions and other worker organisations must be safeguarded from the state, employers, political parties and funders.(33)

m) Dependence on outside funding should be kept to a minimum and unions should move in the direction of self sufficiency.

n) Worker education must encourage workers to act not only within their own unions and civics but in society as a whole. These actions must pivot around an anti-racist, anti-sexist and an anti-capitalist ethos.

o) Workers' education is class based. It must reinforce working class identity and confidence. It must counter the dominant anti-worker ideology and promote class consciousness.

There are a number of objective factors which militate against the fulfilment of these principles in practice. These factors are linked to both the general and specific

conditions under which worker educational projects develop. For instance, inadequate financial resources can severely curtail the capacity of unions to efficiently and thoroughly follow through educational programmes.

Also, employers will be hostile toward any educational programme which advances and instills clear class positions. They will therefore limit time-off facilities for workers. Quite often organisational imperatives such as day to day union problems, dismissals, retrenchments, strikes and campaigns are cited as urgent issues which prevent consistent education (the image of unionist as fire-fighter is always evoked). These issues, although real, are surmountable. This has been shown by struggles in other countries as well as our own experience. (The penultimate chapter deals with specific recommendations to overcome these problems.)

Of greater concern is that while both progressive trade union federations, unaffiliated unions and service organisations involved in worker education will subscribe to and embrace most, if not all the principles enunciated above, it is questionable whether this theory is transformed into practice.

> Trade unions all over the world have had, and still have, noble aims regarding their education programmes, but it is interesting to see how differently these aims are applied. Unions may have many wonderful sounding resolutions, but it is their concrete plans, strategies and programmes and how these are applied in practice that spell out what their resolutions really mean. (34)

Chapter 3 - A Brief look at the History of Unionism and Worker Education in South Africa up to 1973

While systematic and widespread worker education coherently manifested itself from 1973, this chapter aims to provide a thumbnail sketch of the history of worker education to show that worker education in SA, however tenuous, has a tradition stretching back to the formation of the first union for black workers in 1919. It will rely mainly on secondary sources. Factors internal to worker organisation over the years also affected the growth and the demise of worker education in these periods.

1919 - 1930 Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU)

The first black trade union in SA was formed in 1919 by dock workers in Cape Town. It was called the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). The ICU was a general union and by the mid-twenties established branches in all the provinces of South Africa. In 1927 it claimed to have a membership of 100,000 workers (1). For many analysts the ICU was more of a social movement than a trade union (2). One reason for this was that there were no industries large enough to sustain a trade union with the exception of mining and railways. The ICU was not allowed access to the mines and the state did not recognise a black union in the railways. As a result the ICU received most of its support in rural areas or in townships but not at the point of industrial production.

Together with these objective constraints and state repression, the internal problems of the ICU led to numerous splits and expulsions resulting in the decline of the ICU in the late twenties. ICU had no clear structures ensuring worker control. This meant that officials had an inordinate amount of power in making policy decisions. Corruption was also rife in the ICU and many officials were accused of'dipping into union funds'(3). Ideological conflicts were also prominent amongst the leadership. In 1926,Communist Party members were expelled (4). The expulsion of Communist Party members robbed the ICU of a number of people centrally involved in education activities. Fanny Klennerman, a trade unionist in the twenties, in an interview with Webster (5) about her own involvement in the ICU's schools, gives us an idea of the

scale of this activity by recalling that she had to hire three buses to take an ICU group for an educational excursion.

The first reference to night schools appears in Edward Roux's *Time Longer than Rope* when he wrote of the organisational activities of Bunting and Jones in 1919 (6),

> "Jones started night classes for Africans, teaching them to read and write on their slates - `Workers of the world unite: You have nothing to lose but your chains'."(7)

In 1924 W.T.Thibedi, described at that stage by Bird (8) as a veteran communist, was placed in charge of establishing night schools for black workers by the Communist Party. These were not ICU schools, although a reading of the material concerned with this period, while not explictly stating so, confirms the probability of considerable overlap between the Communist Party's night school and the educational activity of the ICU.

These schools taught literacy, numeracy, meeting procedure, history, and held political discussions. The schools boasted no more than one hundred regular participants in Johannesburg and were short lived for various reasons. Besides the state repression, dilapidated, noisy venues and restrictions on movement as a result of the pass laws, internal political differences also took their toll. In the late twenties and early thirties a number of members were expelled from the Communist Party for `deviations' (9). These members included Bunting one of the prime movers of the school and Thibedi. Roux also centrally involved in the schools became disillusioned after the expulsions, he left Johannesburg and later the Communist Party. These purges eroded grass roots support for the night schools, and only one school of forty students survived up to 1946.

Despite these problems, the night schools trained many who were later to become leaders in the liberation movement and in trade unions. One such example was Moses Kotane, who b ame the general secretary of the ANC up until his death. He owed his political initiation to the night schools (10). Another example is Gana Makabeni, who

became the general secretary of the strong Clothing Workers' Union in 1928 and in the forties President of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. According to Bird the general aim of the night schools was to "train leaders and allow as many as possible to understand the structure that oppressed them...Education for the radicals had to be part of an active struggle. The internal and external events which eventually weakened the movements should not eclipse their achievements".(11)

1930 - 1954 S.A. Trades and Labour Council (SATLC)

Between the early thirties and the late forties the S.A. Trades and Labour Council was the largest federation of unions in S.A. It was formed in 1930 through a merger between the non-racial Cape Federation of Labour Unions (CFLU) and the mainly white S.A. Trade Union Council (SATUC). In 1947 this federation had ninety-four unions affiliated to it with a combined membership of 130,888 (12). By 1952 a sizable number of white workers belonging to craft unions broke away from SATLC as the federation took a position condemning the Suppression of Communism Act and actively tried to mobilise support for those banned under the Act (13). Later the SATLC was also divided between those who wanted a policy of strict non-racialism and others who wanted black unions to run parallel to white unions. It was faced with a dilemma. The powerful white craft unions who left wanted to establish an alliance with the SATLC but only if it maintained the racial policy of parallel unions. The executive of the SATLC in 1954 opted for parallel unions and joined with the craft unions in forming the S.A. Trade Union Council (SATUC) later to become the Trade Union Council of S.A. (TUCSA). Almost all the black trade unions in SATUC opposed these proposals and later joined the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).(14)

There is no evidence of much systematic education in the SATLC. In 1944 though, a Workers' Charter drawn up by the SATLC undoubtedly had an educative influence on thousands of workers.(15) The charter was a major advance in formulating the economic and political demands of the working class. The call for a Workers' Charter emerged at the 1943 conference of the SATLC.

Six sub-committees were established to deal with labour

laws, agriculture, housing and town planning, national health services, education and how to finance services.

A special conference of the SATLC was called on 21st November 1944 to discuss the charter and it was approved. An extract from the preamble of the Charter reads:

> The people of South Africa are not prepared to go back to the conditions of the pre-war world, nor will they accept the uncertain and unplanned anarchy of production and distribution visualised by the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. The organised workers in the trade union movement know full well that the only solution to our problems lies in South Africa adopting Socialism as our form of government, which will bring emancipation to the working people from exploitation and oppression and will place the common people in control of South Africa. This must be the aim of the trade union movement. But we cannot sit back with folded arms to await the 'Socialist Dawn', nor does it mean that we cannot in the course of our struggle win great improvements for the workers of South Africa, despite the resistance which is being and will be exercised by the capitalist forces to maintain their privileged position. That is why we put forward our Workers' Charter embodying fundamental demands the trade union movement believes can be brought to fruition for a post-war South Africa, where security of employment, freedom from want and poverty, with a happy and prosperous life, can be attained for all our people irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.(16)

1940 - 1954 The Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU)

In November 1941 twenty-five black unions with a membership of 37,000 formed CNETU.(17) The CNETU grew rapidly. By 1945 CNETU claimed to have 119 affiliated unions representing a membership of 158,000.(18) This phenomenal growth was a consequence of the world war, because there existed a demand for black labour to keep production going.

The war also resulted in divisions within the CNETU. The

Progressive Group of Trade Unions (PTU) was formed as a radical caucus in the CNETU.

There were divisions in CNETU over South Africa's participation in the Second World War. The leadership of the CNETU, many of whom were members of the ANC and the CPSA, supported the government's war effort.(19) They called on workers to avoid strikes. The PTU and the Workers' International League (a Trotskyist political organisation) argued that the war "was a way in which capitalists could make bigger profits by investing in arms and machinery. The group said that the war was an imperialist war and could not be defended on any grounds".(20) These differences erupted during the milling workers' strike of 1944. The PTU and the WIL supported this strike. The CNETU leadership was accused of undermining the strike.(21) In 1946 the PTU leadership led a breakaway of twenty-two unions from CNETU to form the Council of African Trade Unions (CATU). This was after two leaders of the PTU, Koza and Phoffu, were expelled from the CNETU.(22)

As in the previous decade, there is insignificant evidence of educational programmes in CNETU. There is evidence though of a night school established by Max Gordon who worked closely with Dan Koza of the PTU in the African Commercial Workers' Union. Max Gordon, a Trotskyist, was interned for a year, from 1940 to 1941, because of his anti-war beliefs. The Workers' International League's association with the PTU is described by Hirson:

> ...WIL organisers spent a large part of their time on trade union work, providing speakers, printing facilities and transport for union officials. Working under conditions at the edge of legality the members of WIL spoke at workers' rallies,helped in the organisation of workers,and attended the conferences of the African trade union movement. They helped elaborate policies calling for the recognition of the unions outside the crippling Industrial Conciliation Act (which stopped strike action during a lengthy cooling off period), and urged a minimum wage policy of three pounds a week. In this they clashed with the Stalinists, who controlled some of the unions and urged their members not to strike, wanted recognition under the IC Act, and would

not countenance a demand for three pounds a week, despite evidence that this was at the edge of subsistence. In all this Koza played an outstanding role. He was the spokesman of the PTU, put their case at the conference of trade unions, and maintained an anti-war position at meetings.(23)

1954 - 1960 S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)

SACTU was formed in 1954 by existing CNETU unions and fourteen unions who left SATLC. By 1961, fifty one unions representing 53,000 workers were affiliated to SACTU (24).

SACTU became a member of the Congress Alliance in the same year it was formed. The Congress Alliance included the African National Congress (ANC), the S.A. Indian Congress (SAIC), the S.A. Congress of Democrats (SACOD) and the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation (SACPO). SACTU was the only organisation in the alliance with a non-racial constitution

SACTU's membership in the Congress Alliance meant that its members were largely educated through the various campaigns of the Alliance. These campaigns included petitions, protests, boycotts and the popularisation of the Freedom Charter. SACTU played a central organising role in these campaigns. The multi-class nature of this Alliance influenced these campaigns and resulted in different and sometimes contradictory aims. For example, the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) produced a document in the fifties which read in part, "Our union must become a means to a new outlook; a way of fighting poverty, disease and drunkenness, of spreading knowledge and enlightenment and so strengthening the class in its struggle for justice and decency."(25) Yet, the campaigns of the Alliance in practice did not always `strengthen the class'. One example of the contradictions in the Alliance will suffice: At a conference organised by SACTU in February 1958, it was decided to call a general strike for one week (the leadership later changed this to three days) around two slogans: `One pound a day' and the `Nationalists must go'. Chief Albert Luthuli warned that "Congress was not an organisation for workers only. It also had members who were businessmen and professionals...."(26)

In the weeks leading up to the strike, the emphasis on the different demands changed. The slogan calling for the defeat of the nationalist government was elevated at the expense of the pound-a-day demand. The stay-away itself was partially successful. Ten percent of workers in the Witwatersrand stayed away from work. In Port Elizabeth approximately fifty percent of workers stayed away and in Durban thirty percent. Oliver Tambo from the Witwatersrand ANC National Working Committee called the strike off after the first day (27). SACTU was not consulted about this decision. Nevertheless, in certain areas like Sophiatown, workers stayed away for the full three days. Dan Tloome, a unionist at the time, said that the stress on the demand `the nationalists must go' led to a great deal of confusion. "Many people thought that this meant the ANC was in favour of the United Party coming to power."(28)

This episode which brings to the fore issues related to the independence and democratic control of worker organisations and its effect on worker education, prefigures the debate in COSATU over similar issues and will be fully explored in the later chapters.

The post-SACTU period has been generally seen as a period of decline in terms of worker organisation and action and also worker education. This lull remained until the early seventies, which marked a new cycle in black working class struggle. For more explicitly educational programmes to emerge one had to wait for the green shoots of militancy and resurgence of worker struggles in this period. The increasing inflation, the broadening of the differential between black and white wages, the influence of liberation struggles in neighbouring countries and possibly the fading memory of the government repression of the 1960's contributed to the dramatic change in the pattern of workers' struggle and wo rs' education from the previous decade.

CHAPTER 2 - THE RISE OF THE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE NINETEEN SEVENTIES AND WORKER EDUCATIONAL FORMATIONS

The seventies were formative years for intensive worker education programmes in South Africa. Worker militancy in these years encouraged the formation of a range of organisations committed to worker education. This worker militancy was a consequence of many factors. The control of workers in the sixties through repression and division secured conditions for the rapid accumulation of capital. This together with increased monopolisation resulted in the economy growing dramatically. Economic growth, together with the inspiration derived from the liberation struggles in neighbouring countries, renewed political activity through Black Consciousness. The increased poverty of the majority pushed workers to challenge the state and capital.

The first signal of the emergent movement were strikes in 1972 and 1973. Between the 13 December 1971 and the 20th January 1972, approximately 20 000 Namibian contract workers brought the mining industry to a halt.(1) The strike, which was a direct attack on the migrant contract labour system, was broken by force. The South African Defence Force was sent in and this resulted in the mass arrest of strikers. Six workers were killed.

The peak of strike activity was reached in 1973 when an estimated 100 000 workers participated in a series of short but widespread industrial strikes, mainly in the Natal region around the slogan-cum-lament `Ufilumuneti, Ufe Usadikiza!' (The person is dead but his spirit is alive). In the first three months, 61 000 workers were involved in 160 strikes.(2) The success of the strikes was probably due to the unity of the workers and the numbers involved.

Durban's industrial working class is concentrated in large factories which are in close proximity to each other. This closeness facilitated the rapid spread of action from one factory to another. Consequent to this strike wave, workers' wages increased throughout South Africa by twenty percent.(3) The success of the strike instilled a new sense of confidence and consciousness. The most important effect of the strike was the resurgence of

radical trade unionism among black workers which gave impetus to worker education programmes.

The first organisations to emerge prefiguring the new union movement were benefit societies which collected subscriptions and catered for funeral insurances and other economic benefits for workers. The benefit societies also set up advisory boards to assist workers and at times offered legal facilities.

A range of educational projects were initiated throughout the country. They included the Urban Training Project (UTP) formed in 1971 based in Johannesburg; it later set up branches in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Vereeniging, Pretoria and Klerksdorp. The Institute for Industrial Education (IIE) set up in Durban in 1973 and the Industrial Aid Society (IAS) formed at the end of 1973 in Johannesburg. In addition, the Western Province Advice Bureau and its associated Workers' Advice Project was formed. The Young Christian Workers (YCW) although active in the UTP were also involved independently amongst workers. SASO and BPC activists, many of whom were influenced by the writings of Paulo Freire, were keenly involved in non-formal education, setting up the Black Workers Project in 1973. Freire is a popular Brazilian educator who pioneered teaching methods for the development of critical social awareness through literacy programmes. While these initiatives were independent of management, others like the Institute for Industrial Relations (IIR) (formed by Bobby Godsell and Alex Boraine of Anglo-American in 1976) sought to shape the attitudes of worker representatives in a direction suitable for employers.(4)

A closer examination of the UTP and the IIE is necessary as these educational projects were instrumental or closely involved in the formation of the Council of Unions of S.A. (CUSA) and the Federation of S.A. Trade Unions (FOSATU) the forerunners of the National of Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and the Congress of S.A. Trade Unions (COSATU). UTP is particularly important as it served the educational needs of CUSA, unaffiliated unions such as CCAWUSA and the Food and Canning Workers as well as some FOSATU affiliates. In addition UTP serviced NACTU up to 1990. An examination of UTP and IIE will demonstrate how these education organisations and their worker education pro-

grammes were integral to the formation of the independent trade union movement and how the union movement in turn impacted on these education organisations. This will be done by looking at the evolving methodology, content and control of the education programmes of UTP and IIE.

Urban Training Project(UTP)

Introduction

The formation of UTP arose after TUCSA which had changed its constitution in 1969 effectively excluded black trade unions.(5) The administrative assistant of TUCSA's African Advisory Committee, Eric Tyacke, together with activists from the YWC and the leadership of the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, were the initiators of the project. Tyacke, the key founder member and first director of UTP, seems to have been influenced by the progressive Christian activism of the YCW.(6) From the outset UTP became involved in court cases defending the rights of workers. For the first time court cases relating to the rights of workers received publicity in the commercial press. Together with support work for striking workers and education around the rights of workers, these court cases significantly enhanced the prestige of UTP amongst unorganised workers.

In the first few years, UTP developed a perspective on worker education and how it should relate to emerging unions. UTP foresaw a close relationship between education and organisation. Their aims were "to educate workers on how their lives and needs as people can be met, for example, through establishing sound workers organisations and independent trade unions with leaders elected by the members".(7)

By 1973, UTP had initiated the formation of eleven trade unions. Together, these unions formed the 'Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions'(CCOBTU).(8) They were the:

- S.A. Chemical Workers Union (SACWU)
- Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers Union (LDCWU)
- Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPAWU)
- Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA)
- Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union (SFAWU)
- Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)

- United Auto and Rubber Workers Union (UARWU)
- Glass and Allied Workers Union (GAWU)
- Engineering and Allied Workers Union (EAWU)
- Transport and Allied Workers Union (TAWU)
- National Union of Clothing Workers (NUCW)

The growth of UTP can be deduced by the annual attendance of workers of its courses and seminars. In 1975 the attendance stood at 987. By 1985 it was recorded that twenty four unions with a combined membership approaching 200 000 workers used UTP's services.(9) Throughout its existence, but particularly in the heady period between 1984 - 1986, UTP personnel faced harassment from the state with a number of educators detained at various intervals.

Methodology

One of the first projects of the UTP was to publish a Workers' Calendar. These calendars were written in isiZulu, seSotho and English. Between ten to twenty thousand copies were distributed in the first few years. The calendars contained a minimum amount of text and relied on illustrations. Although they were calendars they were used more as an organisational and educational tool (the actual calendar, that is, dates, covered less than a tenth of the page). According to Tyacke, "We decided on a calendar because it would not be kept in people's pockets but put in their homes, so that when visitors came it could be a discussion point."(10) The calendars were first distributed through churches and later through unions distributed at factories.

Each edition of the calendar would focus on issues which directly concerned workers that year, so that it became part of the organising programme of the unions. The first edition, for example, was devoted to the few laws protecting workers and the measly benefits for workers. In 1973, to coincide and assist the tentative efforts made to form unions, UTP published an edition which focused on collective action at the work place. The 1974 edition pointed out the differences between management's liaison committees and trade unions. The response to the 1974 edition was according to UTP's 1975 annual report "the best so far and resulted in numbers of workers coming to the Project for assistance not only with problems but

with organisational requirements".(11) The themes of the later calendars revolved around the functions and duties of unions and their members. Trade union members would use the calendars for discussion purposes years after they were printed. In fact today, some sixteen years after the last calendar was produced, certain union officials consciously continue to display these by now rather soiled calendars. Recognition enough for the role they played!

The initial courses run by UTP consisted of five sessions. Each session lasted for two hours. This together with residential seminars formed the core of UTP's programme. These programmes in the initial years were not fixed or structured but adapted to the particular needs of participants. Discussion groups, simulation games and role plays formed a vital part of the seminars. Role plays were found to be essential because of the lack of self-confidence amongst workers. After the Wiehahn Commission reported in 1978 and the subsequent phenomenal growth in union membership in the early eighties and therefore union education, residential courses over a period of two to four days became the norm. Courses were conducted in languages preferred by workers.

According to its Prospectus the "UTP in its educational activities observes the following generally accepted Worker/Adult Education Principles:

- the education to be <u>active</u> and not passive
- the education to actively use the <u>experiences</u> of course participants to highlight significances of events affecting them
- the education to be based on the <u>needs</u> of those receiving it thus respecting their self determination
- the education to <u>equip</u> those receiving it to help themselves".(12)

These principles were manifested through a method used by the YCW and adopted by UTP. The YCW called it the `See, Judge and Act' method. (Appendix B and C) This was similar to the Freirian `Conscientisation' approach which stressed solidarity of labour and aimed at concrete change to the reality of the lives of working people through action.

Content

The content of UTP courses evolved according to the issues of the day for unions. For instance, the first few years after UTP was formed, workers were introduced to the idea of trade unions, its role, aims and differences with liason committees. This was deemed necessary to assist worker activists in propagating the need for worker controlled unions instead o management appointed liason committees. Once unions were established, the focus shifted to the internal functioning of unions, such as the role of shop stewards, democratic decision making, constitutions, structures, union meetings and subscriptions. In the late 1970's and early 1980's when unions grew rapidly, emphasis was put on recognition agreements and collective bargaining. This included handling grievances, fighting disciplinary action and understanding Industrial Council agreements and Wage Determinations.

Courses for officials were also developed. The contents included labour law, labour history and formulating organising drives. The flavour of the content of these courses is captured by a participant in the Labour History section of the Organisers Course.

> In our group discussions, it was emphasised that history is not just the product of so-called `great men' but is rather the creation of `common' people who labour in the factories, under the earth and in the kitchens of their employers. It was also argued that labour history should be actively used by unionists in their attempts to build the worker consciousness and worker pride of all wage earners. Furthermore, the lessons of labour history should be used as guidance in the work of organisational planning.(13)

By the mid-1980's, UTP offered fourteen standardised courses which had an average duration of three days per course.(14)

These were:

1. Two courses on basic trade unionism.
2. Shop-steward training.
3. Preparations for Collective Bargaining.
4. Implementation of Collective Bargaining Agreements.

5. Preparations for Negotiations.
6. Negotiation skills.
7. The constitution, structure and role of unions.
8. The role of National Executive Committees.
9. The Industrial Council.
10. Organisers course for members and shop-stewards.
11. Full time organisers course.
12. Occupational health.
13. Union Educators.

Control

Up to 1976 UTP staff members would simultaneously occupy executive positions in several unions.(15) In 1974, for example, the director of UTP was also the Johannesburg branch secretary of the Laundry and Dry Cleaning union. All three organisers were secretaries of the Sweet Food, Chemical and Paper unions. UTP adopted a policy in 1976 to change this. UTP staff were employed by the unions they held positions in and resigned from UTP. An executive committee of UTP was then elected by unions using UTP's services.

Although evaluation of seminars by participants was considered important it was often excluded because of the pressures of time.(16) When they did occur, they initially took the form of verbal questioning of the participants by the facilitator. Participants were prompted to answer questions around the course content and its usefulness. There was general agreement in UTP that this method was unsatisfactory. In the late 1970's a more rigorous written questionnaire was developed. This had to be filled in individually by workers after every course.

Funding

Throughout its existence UTP relied largely on foreign funders such as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and church organisations particularly from Germany, without taxing unions or participants. By 1990 debates around funding and independence came to a head.(17) UTP at this point had expanded its activities nationally. While most of its work was devoted to the servicing of NACTU unions, a number of other unions from COSATU and unaffiliated unions also used its services. Heated debates ensued concerning UTP's func-

tioning as an independent entity. Some in UTP and NACTU wanted UTP to become the education department of NACTU. The issue was not resolved and UTP collapsed after the ICFTU withdrew its funding. Some UTP staff joined the education wings of NACTU and its affiliates while others went on to form the Workers' Education Project (WEP).

UTP was formed at a juncture in South African history when black workers, despite state repression, saw the urgency for forming strong worker controlled organisation. UTP was well placed to articulate this need and lay the basis for worker education in South Africa. In this it succeeded. The methodology, content and [illegible] of U.T.P.'s education programme, orientated [illegible] to worker control, assisted changes in U.T.P. itself as well as the formation of democratic and accountable trade unions. The weakness of UTP lay in its dependence on foreign donors for funding its education programmes. This resulted in UTP's downfall in 1990 after two decades of its existence. Funding then is a crucial issue for worker education and will be looked at closely later in this report (See chapter seven - Some Practical Recommedations).

Institute for Industrial Education (I.I.E.)

The Natal strikes of 1973 accelerated the formation of a number of unions. An umbrella body, the Trade Union Action Co-ordinating Committee (TUACC) brought together the following unions: Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) and the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). In 1973 their combined membership was 9870.(18) In Natal the formation of the IIE coincided with TUACC. The express purpose of the IIE, launched by intellectuals from the University of Natal, was to provide black workers who came out of the 1973 'moment' with education.(19) TUACC unions in the Witwatersrand co-operated with the Industrial Aid Society (IAS).

There were no formal relations between UTP and IIE. But some TUACC unions did seek assistance from the UTP in the Witwatersrand. It seems that TUACC unions relied on support from university based intellectuals. IAS for instance was formed by NUSAS from the University of the Witwatersrand.

The objectives of the IIE were: 1.) to establish a correspondence course for a Diploma in Industrial Relations, 2.) a regular newsletter (which later developed into the *South African Labour Bulletin*) and 3.) to organise Spring schools, develop a research institute and a publishing capacity.

From the outset there were tensions and conflicts in the relationship between the IIE and TUACC.(20) These tensions revolved around the control of the Institute as well as the methodology and content of the education programmes provided.

Officials in the TUACC felt that the educational focus and content of the IIE should conform more closely to the organisational needs of the unions. Johnny Copelyn, at that time an official in TUACC, in an interview said of the IIE:

> We felt it should be oriented exclusively towards the specific educational needs of the actual organisations we had and that the correspondence technique was pretty much irrelevant; that what was needed was to develop BEC (Branch Executive Committee) programmes, shop steward programmes, organiser programmes and to work on a different level.(21)

TUACC insisted on a course to train union organisers. Part of this training included a course on South African Labour History. The course included sections on bureaucratisation and the potential for oligarchies to develop in trade unions. Despite convincing the IIE to develop a course for organisers, the section on bureaucratisation created controversy. The "TUACC intellectuals felt that it subsequently exacerbated tensions in unions as discontented groups used the concepts and arguments of the course to argue that TUACC had become oligarchic".(22)

The role of intellectuals in workers' organisations specifically involved in workers' education is significant.

Marx and Engels wrote:

> It is an inevitable phenomenon, rooted in the

> course of development, that people from what hitherto has been the ruling class should also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. ...But here two points should be noted.
>
> First, in order to be of use to the proletariat movement these people must bring real educative elements into it ...
>
> Secondly, if people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois prejudices with them but should whole-heartedly adopt the proletarian outlook.(23)

The debate occurred primarily between the intellectuals in the IIE and the intellectuals in TUACC. There is no evidence that workers actively took part in them. Nevertheless, these debates are important to understand as they put the spotlight on the role of intellectuals in worker struggles and the relationship between outside educational agencies and trade unions.(24)

Content

Initially, the central thrust of the IIE activity was based on the correspondence course.(25) Students were sent workbooks which had information on the different issues and questions. Students would complete the questions and send them to the IIE. IIE staff would mark the answers, comment and return them to the students.

Sixteen work books written in isiZulu and English were compiled.

The course included topics like `Worker in the Factory' This particular topic covered issues such as the different types of ownership, understanding profits, financial reports, wages and prices. The workbook `Worker in Soci-

ety' discussed issues such as classes, class interests, the government, political parties, democracy and how societies change. Other workbooks dealt with the worker in the union and the history of workers' organisations. Every Saturday, seminars were held on these issues to assist students with the correspondence course. In 1974, 139 students enrolled for the course and approximately thirty-five graduated. In 1975, ninety-two students enrolled, fifty-nine of them were TUACC members of whom twenty-three were shop-stewards.(26)

In March 1976, six of the workbooks were published by the Institute.(27) These were:

1. Worker in the factory
2. Worker in the union
3. Worker in society
4. A History of worker organisations
5. The negotiation handbook
6. The legal handbook.

Based on the contents of the workbooks it is clear that the writers were concerned with radical social change. Workers'struggles were seen as a class struggle and trade unions were perceived as the most suitable vehicles through which to mobilise the working class.

Control

The IIE was controlled by a Council which included the staff of the Institute, the executive committees of TUACC unions, the Kwa Zulu government, the UTP and an Academic Advisory Panel comprised of academics active in the IIE. These included people like Lawrence Schlemmer and others who were to provide `academic respectability'.(28)

Effective control though, was vested in the hands of a Working Committee made up of eight individuals, two of whom were from the unions. The executive members of the TUACC were dissatisfied with this arrangement and they proposed that the IIE become a sub-committee of the TUACC.

(Interestingly, this occurred fifteen years before the similar debate over the autonomy of UTP from NACTU took place). The TUACC unions' proposal was not accepted but the union's representation on the Working Committee was increased to four. The correspondence course was also down-graded in favour of linking education more firmly to the organisational needs of the union. Tensions continued to exist until early in 1976 when the IIE effectively became a sub-committee of the TUACC. This signalled a victory for those arguing for union control of the IIE.

Methodology

One of the debatable practices of the IIE was the issuing of certificates once students went through all the workbooks in the correspondence course. Once again acquiring legitimacy was the cause cited for such a practice . The `Chancellor' of the IIE, Gatsha Buthelezi, was the person who awarded the certificates.(30)

Many advocates of workers' education have taken strong positions on certification or `credentialization'. Hopkins argues that workers' education through its approach and methodology can help restore sanity to an education system which has become obsessed with `credentialization' and resultant individual income differentials. Individual academic advancement encouraged by certification should not be the goal of worker education according to Hopkins. Rather, he insists it should be the sort of education advocated by the hero of Thomas Hardy's novel *Return of the Native* :

> Yeobright loved his kind. He had a conviction that the want of most men was knowledge of a sort that brings wisdom rather than affluence. He wished to raise the class at the expense of individuals rather than individuals at the expense of the class.(31)

Ronald Dore, in an aptly titled book *The Diploma Disease*, writes of formal education "Unfortunately schooling cannot be automatically equated with education. Much of it

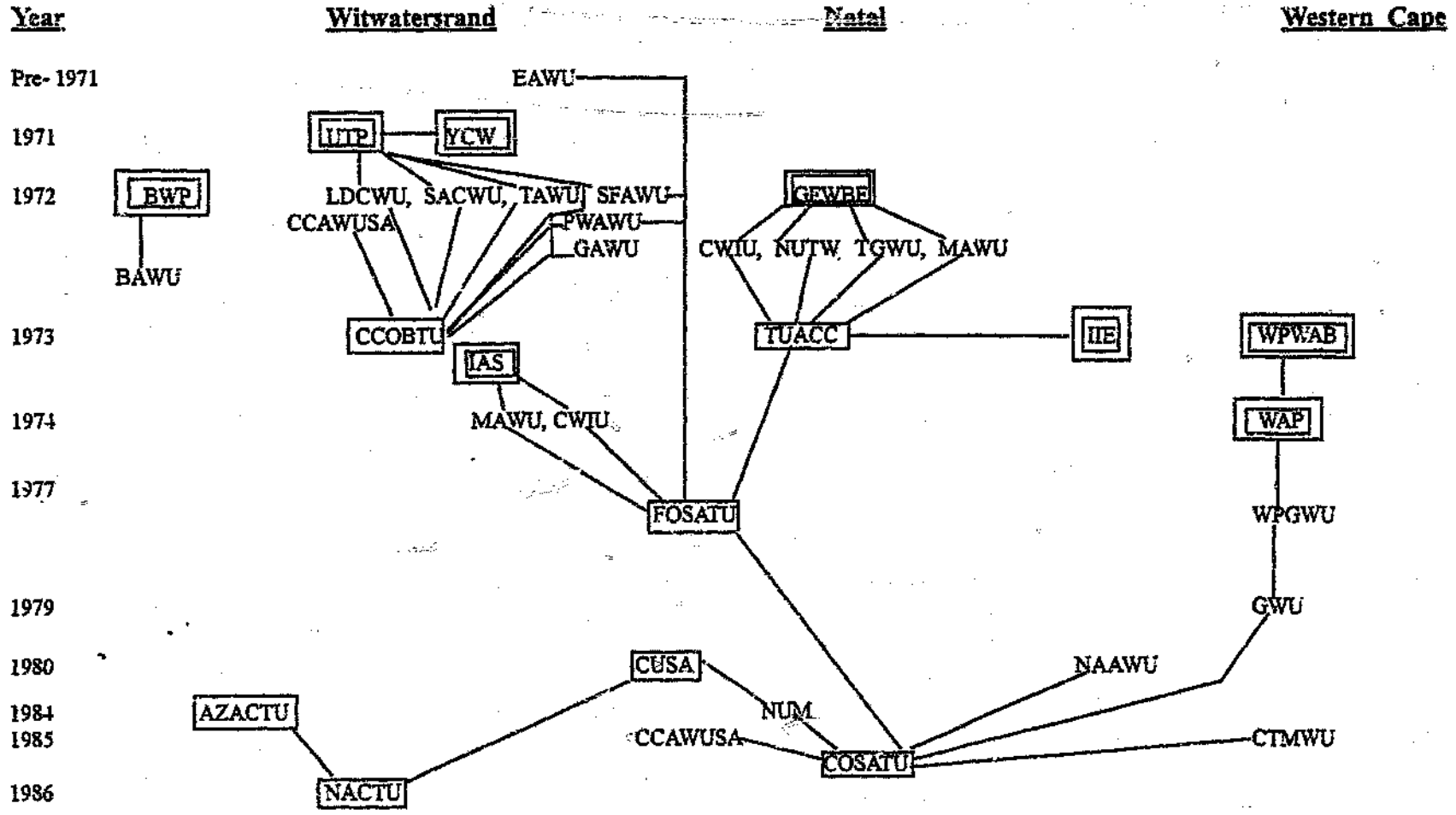
is qualifications earning, and more and more of it is becoming so...Qualifications earning is ritualistic, tedious, suffused with anxiety and boredom, destructive of curiosity and imagination: in short, anti-educational." (32) The point is made that at the time when this disease has been diagnosed in formal education, it is a mistake that it should spread to sectors hitherto immune.

As TUACC entered into talks to form a federation with other unions in 1977, it was clear that the IIE would stop having a separate institutional existence. When FOSATU was formed in 1979, the remaining seminars conducted by the IIE were absorbed by the FOSATU education committee.

The IIE's role in worker education has to be related to the form of methodology of worker education and the IIE's relationship with the union organisation. These issues determined the effectiveness of worker education and whether or not it strengthened union organisation at various stages of the IIE's development. The search for the most suitable form of worker education and its relationship to worker organisation received added importance in the eighties with the growth of university extension programmes and non-governmental organisations geared toward providing educational services to trade unions and community organisations.

The following chart shows the links between educational organisations and the formation of the independent trade union movement.

EDUCATIONAL FORMATIONS * AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT



* BWP - Black Workers' Project
UTP - Urban Training Project
YCW - Young Christian Workers
WAP - Workers' Advice Project
IAS - Industrial Aid Society
GFWBF - General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund
IIE - Institute of Industrial Education
WPWAB - Western Province Advice Bureau

CHAPTER 5 - FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (FOSATU)

The formation of FOSATU four years after the wave of worker strikes in 1973 and one year after the uprising in 1976 was a significant event in South African labour history. Despite harassment by the state (numerous leaders of the union movement were banned and detained) the strong shop floor organisation of the new unions forced the state to realise that they could not crush the unions by force alone. Between 1978 and 1981 legislation was enacted allowing unions greater freedom. In this way the state attempted to control unions. It did not succeed.

FOSATU was launched in April 1979 by twelve unions from TUACC, three from CCOBTU, four unions from the Eastern Cape and one from the Western Cape. At its launch FOSATU had 45,000 members.(1)

The constitution and policies of FOSATU embraced the principles of non-racialism, the fight for democracy at the work place, the building of shop-floor organisation and moves toward trade union unity and industrial unionism. The independence of trade unions from the employers, state and political parties was stressed. Initially the main strategy was to use shop-floor strength to fight for recognition of trade unions on their own terms. The employers wanted unions to participate in industrial councils, whereas unions fought for the right of plant-level bargaining. At the launch of FOSATU, three unions were registered with the Department of Manpower and nine were not registered. The issue of registration sparked off a lively debate.(2) Finally, all FOSATU unions registered, largely to obtain recognition rights from the employers. By 1984 FOSATU had eight affiliates (a number of unions merged to form industrial unions) with a membership of 120,000 workers.(3)

In the early 1980's, FOSATU concentrated on building a strong shop-floor organisation based on democratic worker participation. Broader community issues were neglected although this changed in 1984. At FOSATU's 1982 congress, Joe Foster, secretary of the federation, called for a workers party. This speech, drawn up by a leadership collective in FOSATU, confirmed that FOSATU was looking for an alternative to traditional forms of political

organisation. FOSATU's thinking constituted an open but unstated challenge to the ANC, SACP and SACTU. According to Joe Foster:

> Workers need their own organisation to counter the growing power of capital and to further protect their own interests in the wider society. However, it is only workers who can build this organisation, and in doing this they have to be clear on what they are doing... This organisation is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will in the end have no option but to turn against their worker supporters.(4)

A series of articles in the FOSATU newspaper *FOSATU News* on the birth of the Workers' Party of Brazil and Solidarity in Poland, helped to popularise the idea of struggling for a similar development in South Africa.

"FOSATU's task," proclaimed Foster, "will be to create an identity, confidence and political presence for workers' organisation."(5) In response to the speech, the ANC, SACTU and the SACP harshly attacked FOSATU. The *African Communist*, SACP's journal, accused FOSATU leaders of being divisive. It warned: "Dare FOSATU ignore the confusion and division it will sow if it sets up a new workers movement in competition with or alongside the still living Communist Party."(6) Despite Foster's view that "conditions are favourable for this task (forming a Workers' Party), and its necessity is absolute", the Workers' Party was not formed.(7)

Coinciding with the birth of FOSATU, three new prominent features of trade unionism, all having considerable import for workers' education emerged. The first innovation was the development of plays, poetry and choirs as

worker education. Trade union newspapers also began to appear. The second development was the ability of unions (having won the space and possessing the resources) to begin holding national seminars/workshops which brought workers together from all parts of the country. The third vital feature in this period was the emergence of Shop-steward Councils or Locals which brought together worker representatives from different companies in a particular geographic locality.

Worker Plays and Choirs as Education

The Junction Avenue Theatre Company (a left, University of the Witwatersrand based group) responded to calls for support during the disputes in the foundries of the East Rand in the early seventies. They were among the first groups to assist in the production of worker plays in the late seventies.(8) As a result of this collaboration, dismissed MAWU members produced a play called `Ilanga Lizophumela' (The Sun Rises for Workers) presented to workers in different unions and communities supporting the striking workers in 1979. The play looked at the history and causes of the dispute. It relied on active audience participation - "the play in fact had different endings depending in suggestions from the audience, songs played an important role in constituting the framework of the play on the one hand and creating a common sense of solidarity on the other hand". (9)

Other worker plays were produced in Johannesburg in the late seventies and early eighties. `Dikhitsheng' (In the Kitchen) was workshopped. It dealt with the exploited and oppressed situation of domestic workers who lived in the backyards of white Johannesburg. `Security' dealt with the plight of security guards. In 1980, striking Rely Precision Tools workers used their play to obtain community support. Cusa also produced a play called `Ziyajika' (The Turning Point).(10)

Worker plays came into their own with the production of the Dunlop play by MAWU members from the Dunlop plant in Natal.(11) The play depicted the changes to a worker's consciousness from his entering employment through the turmoil created by the 1973 strikes to the recognition agreement won by MAWU. The play focused on worker-management relationships transformed through struggle. The po-

sition of Dunlop workers was related to the struggle of the greater union movement.

This play was seen by thousands of workers and influenced scores of other plays. A description of the premiere of the play in April '83 at the annual general meeting of MAWU in Durban is instructive:

> The audience of four hundred clearly did not know what to expect of the announced PLAY and tensions were high. The play's opening song resounded in the corridors outside long before the players actually entered and squeezed their way through the extreme congestion, and by the time they had found their way onto the stage the audience was joining into the chorus of the song. Some confused and agitated spectators even followed the cast onto the stage and gave a brief impromptu song-and-dance performance. Throughout the performance audience participation was lively, interruptions frequent and consequently a number of improvised responses were incorporated..... the `impimpi' who was booed and hissed at, played up to the occasion by threatening not only the player-workers but the workers in the audience as well, the `manager' excelled in his role and requested to do so by the audience, repeated part of his speech routine for their amusement.(12)

The educative role of other cultural forms such as choirs also needs some mention. In the early eighties, choirs formed by workers from companies such as Pretoria [illegible]n Plastics, Frame, Simba Quix, Kelloggs and Braitex [illegible]e popular. Khosi Maseko from the Braitex choir, explaining the wide repertoire of her choir, had this to say:

> We sing international songs like `Solidarity for ever', `Ballad of Joe Hill' and `The working folk of this country rise again'.....We also compose our own songs, sometimes using old tunes. We sing mostly in English and Zulu and we have just composed a Sotho song. We have prepared new songs for the FOSATU Education Workshop. One is a greeting song where we sing: `Even if I die I will still remember FOSATU'. Another song is about GST (General Sales Tax) and income tax. The choir sees the recent exemptions as proof of the power

of unions. Also we wrote songs about workers unity.(13)

From 1982, FOSATU held national `Education Workshops'. The direction of these workshops changed in 1983 in that a greater cultural dimension was introduced. Courses and lectures were combined with cultural events. In 1984, the two-week workshop culminated in an `Open Day' which was a festival of plays, choirs, dance groups, story telling, childrens' events and videos.

Control/Structures/Methodology

Up to 1982, education in FOSATU was largely carried out within affiliated unions and in regions. Unlike UTP and the IIE, education was firmly linked to the structures of the unions. National courses coincided with the establishment of structures where educational priorities were set. Each region had a regional education committee (Redcom) which had representation in a national education committee (Nedcom) and the central committee. National programmes were emphasised in order to bring regional leaderships together and to develop a national organisational perspective.

Perhaps as a result of conflict with the IIE in the early seventies, education was integrated into the actual and concrete struggles of members. Flowing from the debates in the seventies, there was also suspicion of service organisations. The Education Secretary of FOSATU is quoted as saying: "We are less enthusiastic about courses conducted outside our actual working environment under the auspices of a service organisation."(14) FOSATU also rejected joint labour-management courses.

FOSATU was well aware of the damaging aspects of the formal education system. The method of education in FOSATU sought to "break through all the bad habits and bad teaching methods inculcated by our education system where any critical faculty is stamped out, where learning is a matter of repetition or rote and where the quality of teaching is poor".(15)

The target group of FOSATU's education programme was limited to shop-stewards and organisers. For the rank-and-file, FOSATU relied on plant level report-backs by

shop-stewards of the programmes they attended, to the general membership. Other forms of education for the members was through the newspaper *FOSATU News* (which by 1984 had a circulation of 50,000 copies produced every five weeks) and cultural activities.(16) By 1983 four to five hundred shop-stewards in each region passed through an education programme each year. (17)

The shop-stewards councils played an important educative role in that different struggles could be discussed, issues analysed, lessons learnt and the union and officials controlled by workers themselves. The councils relied on report backs and mandates, thereby encouraging worker democracy from below and the development of worker leadership. The first council was formed by shop-stewards in the Germiston area of the East Rand in April 1981. (18) At this point the FOSATU constitution made no provision for shop-stewards councils. Nevertheless, the initiative spread from the East Rand to all areas in which FOSATU had a presence. In April 1982, FOSATU formally amended its constitution to include shop-stewards councils as part of the structures of the federation. These councils became the foundations not only for FOSATU affiliates but for most other industrial unions.

Content

By the early eighties most of the affiliates of FOSATU had signed recognition agreements with major companies. There was therefore a need to develop a worker leadership that could effectively take up issues on their own. In line with the need to create an effective worker leadership, issues around grievance handling, fighting disciplinary action, wage negotiations, labour law and the internal workings of the union was prioritised. Political education was also developed. National courses included the labour studies course, basic organiser training, a political course and labour law.

The labour studies course started in 1981 and was held every year until the dissolution of FOSATU. The course was influenced by and reflected the issues of the day for trade unions. For example, the two week labour course held in April 1985 dealt with the following issues. The robot revolution and technological change, job evaluation and work processes, women and work with emphasis on

maternity agreements, the NUM strike, state repression, a panel debate on housing provision and videos on unions in other countries and the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.(19)

It is not possible to look at all the courses in a detailed way. The `Basic Follow-Up Course' will be discussed though, as it was the bridge between the basic courses and the more advanced ones.(20)

The duration of the course was spread over ten weeks. A two hour session was held weekly. The course took place after hours at the union offices. Attendance rarely exceeded twenty shop-stewards per course. The course was divided into ten sections with each section lasting for approximately two hours. The sections consisted of an introduction, labour history, FOSATU history, FOSATU policy, the constitution and structure of FOSATU and a final revision and evaluation section.

The introductory meeting discussed the purpose and outlined the contents of the course. The method of teaching was also discussed. This included the use of charts, videos and study notes.

The labour history section consisted of four units. The first unit dealt with the development of capitalism in South Africa. It discussed the earliest form of capital accumulation; the different sectors (farming, mining and manufacture); where capital was concentrated and where capital came from.

Unit two addressed the forging of the working class. It focused on land dispossession, conquest and taxation; divisions that ensued around `race', gender, migrancy and skill; forms of labour control such as pass laws, indentured indian labour; the growth and size of the working class in different sectors and the possibilities of organisation.

The third unit debated the history of resistance by labour and the development of trade unions. The development of the ICU, CNETU and SACTU was examined. Discussion obtained around the following points: the formation of each federation, the limitations and strengths of these and why they collapsed; differences with FOSATU and

relations with political organisations.

The last unit dealt with production. Here, participants were asked to relate to each other how work and workers are divided in their factory. Discussion then looked at how management used racial, skill and male/female dichotomies to divide workers. The role of technology in creating divisions was also addressed.

The FOSATU history section was divided into two units. The first dealt with the formation of FOSATU. It included sections on the reason some unions joined FOSATU and others did not. It also addressed the differences between FOSATU, SAAWU and CUSA. The second unit in this section dealt with the policies of FOSATU. Participants were given a questionnaire which tested the knowledge of workers on FOSATU's aims, objectives and policies. Other questions revolved around the need for a trade union federation, the differences in policies between FOSATU, CUSA, TUCSA and SAAWU and the lessons that needed to be learnt from the mistakes of earlier trade union federations such as SACTU, ICU and CNETU.

The fourth section looked at the FOSATU Constitution, particularly the following aspects; How the different sections of the constitution lays the basis for the policy of worker control by creating various structures; How problems and crises in the union are to be solved using the procedures in the constitution; How the structures contribute to worker control and democracy; The legal jargon of the constitution was explained and a handout explained difficult expressions.

The last section dealt with the structures of the affiliates and the federation itself.

Worker education in the FOSATU years brought a new vitality into the labour movement. It unleashed considerable creativity, encouraged debate between differing political outlooks, grounded education in the structures of the union and linked the struggles of workers from different

geographic areas in South Africa as well as different industries. Workers in South Africa were also exposed to workers' struggles internationally. The most significant contribution was the development of a large layer of worker leadership most of whom had very little if any formal education training. This layer later played a crucial role in strengthening COSATU and in some cases continues to play a prominent role in workers struggles outside the union movement.

CHAPTER 6 - CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) 1985 - 1993

The South African state in the eighties faced simultaneously an economic and a political crisis. Economically, South Africa was in the throes of a severe recession. It was faced with a fiscal crisis, balance of payment problems, the depletion of its foreign exchange reserves, the low value of the rand, inflation and unemployment.

The years 1984-85 were also considered by some to be a period of insurrection. It was in these years that new forms of struggle by workers and students came to the fore. Factory occupations, alternate education and street/ defence committees made their embryonic appearances.

In 1984 there were 469 strikes, mobilising 181,942 workers. (1) On the 30th of October 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed with a membership of over half a million. After four years of attempts at unity between different federations, CUSA and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) remained outside COSATU and later combined to form the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

During the four years of unity talks, significant debates took place which still have resonance today. These debates revolved around the role of trade unions in the liberation struggle. At the base of these debates are fundamental questions such as democracy, specific representation of trade unions in political fronts, alliances and most importantly the independence of worker organisations.

In the townships as well, struggles continued unabated. Between 1984 and 1986, thousands of students boycotted school in protest against 'gutter' education. The Tricameral Parliament was effectively undermined through resistance. Out of the 34 municipal councils elected in December 1983, only three were still functioning by the end of 1985. Two hundred local councillors were forced to resign. (2) The regime made its opponents pay a high price for challenging its rule. : the first state of emergency was declared, nearly 1 200 people were killed, many were maimed, and nearly 25 000 people were arrested during 1985 alone. (3)

The struggle in these years, while heroic, was wracked with internal contradictions, an absence of long-term perspectives, and also plagued with sectarianism which on occasion gave rise to vicious internecine conflict. Many of these factors created an opening for agent provocateurs and the police who channelled the discontent into physical struggles among the oppressed.

Antonio Gramsci, describing Italy before the fascist takeover, could well have been referring to South Africa when he wrote: "The old order is dying, but the new refuses to be born, in this great interregnum a whole series of morbid symptoms arise...." (4) The application of the 'necklace' method of execution came to symbolise the apocalyptic situation into which South Africa was plunged. Although this was meted out to collaborators, it was often used against those where mere suspicion or circumstantial evidence was present. More ominously, it was also used against ideological opponents in the liberation movement.

The promulgation of the second state of emergency in June 1986 saw the trade union movement become one of the prime targets of the state. The fear of the regime that their actions would trigger a general strike by the unions did not materialise. It was largely the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA) which came out on strike. What existed in CCAWUSA was a rank and file confidence and organisation which allowed it to build a strike wave on the initiative of workers. The union continued to function and fight despite many officials and leaders being arrested or going into hiding. COSATU's slowness in supporting CCAWUSA's actions was disappointing. Its indecisiveness in building on this militancy appeared to allow the state and employers to control the situation.

The demoralisation in the second half of 1986 was again broken by CCAWUSA. This came in the form of the strike by 11,000 O.K. Bazaars workers over a period of 10 weeks. On the heels of the O.K. strike came massive strikes by the South African Transport Services (SATS) workers, postal, municipal, SASOL and mine workers. Not all these strikes were successful but they opened up space for tremendous militancy throughout 1987.

The O.K. strike, for instance, mobilised thousands of people over and above the actual number of strikers in various types of support activities. The strike was also important for three main reasons. Firstly, it gave the labour movement renewed confidence. After the declaration of the second state of emergency, the strike was the first organised action sustained against, albeit indirectly, the biggest company in South Africa - Anglo American Corporation.

The strike ended in a tangible victory for O.K. Bazaars workers. This was despite the hostility and repression of the state. Almost 1000 workers were detained for various periods during the strike. Secondly, the strike showed the possibility of unity in action, non-sectarianism and a united front strategy. Political groups such as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the United Democratic Front (UDF), Cape Action League (CAL), the Azanian National Youth Unity (AZANYU), Action Youth, Congress of S.A. Students (COSAS), together with both the then CUSA-AZACTU and COSATU federations, supported this struggle under the banner of the striking workers.(6) Thirdly, the strike exposed the pretensions of the liberal bourgeoisie. Both Anglo and Premier Milling have a large stake in O.K. Bazaars. The managing directors of both these companies regularly attacked apartheid. Both these men held talks with the ANC in Lusaka prior to the O.K. strike. During the strike, some of the placards workers carried on the picket lines read: `Anti-Apartheid bosses are not our friends'.(7)

In 1987, the campaigns for a living wage and the mobilisations against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill (LRAB) overlapped. Unfortunately, the conflicts between unions in COSATU and the rivalry between NACTU and COSATU largely put paid to the effective co-ordination of these campaigns nationally. These campaigns were revitalised in June 1988. COSATU and NACTU jointly mounted the biggest three-day stayaway in South African history. Three million workers came out in support of the call.

Worker education programmes in the unions in this period pivoted around the struggle for a living wage and against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill. COSATU widely distributed a `Living Wage Campaign Newsletter' which explicitly linked the struggle for a living wage to the

struggle against capitalism and for a worker controlled society. Hereafter, COSATU education took on a more focused direction. It also became more complex.

Cosatu Education 1985-1987

Two key decisions set the tone for education in COSATU. These were a resolution on education unanimously adopted at the inaugural congress of COSATU in December 1985 and a Central Executive Committee (CEC) decision on the structure of COSATU education.(8) The text of the resolution and a diagrammatic representation of the structure follows. It is presented in full, in order to convey the flavour of worker educational concerns.

Education

This federation noting:

1. That the present education system in South Africa is designed to maintain the working class in ideological bondage.
2. That the present education system is designed to continue and reinforce the values, ideas and practices of the ruling classes.
3. That the present education system is aimed at fostering divisions and anti-democratic values within the working class.
4. That education is vital in the liberation struggle of the working class.
5. That education must serve the interests of the vast majority of the people of the country.

Therefore resolves:

1. To establish a national, regional and local education programme for the federation to:

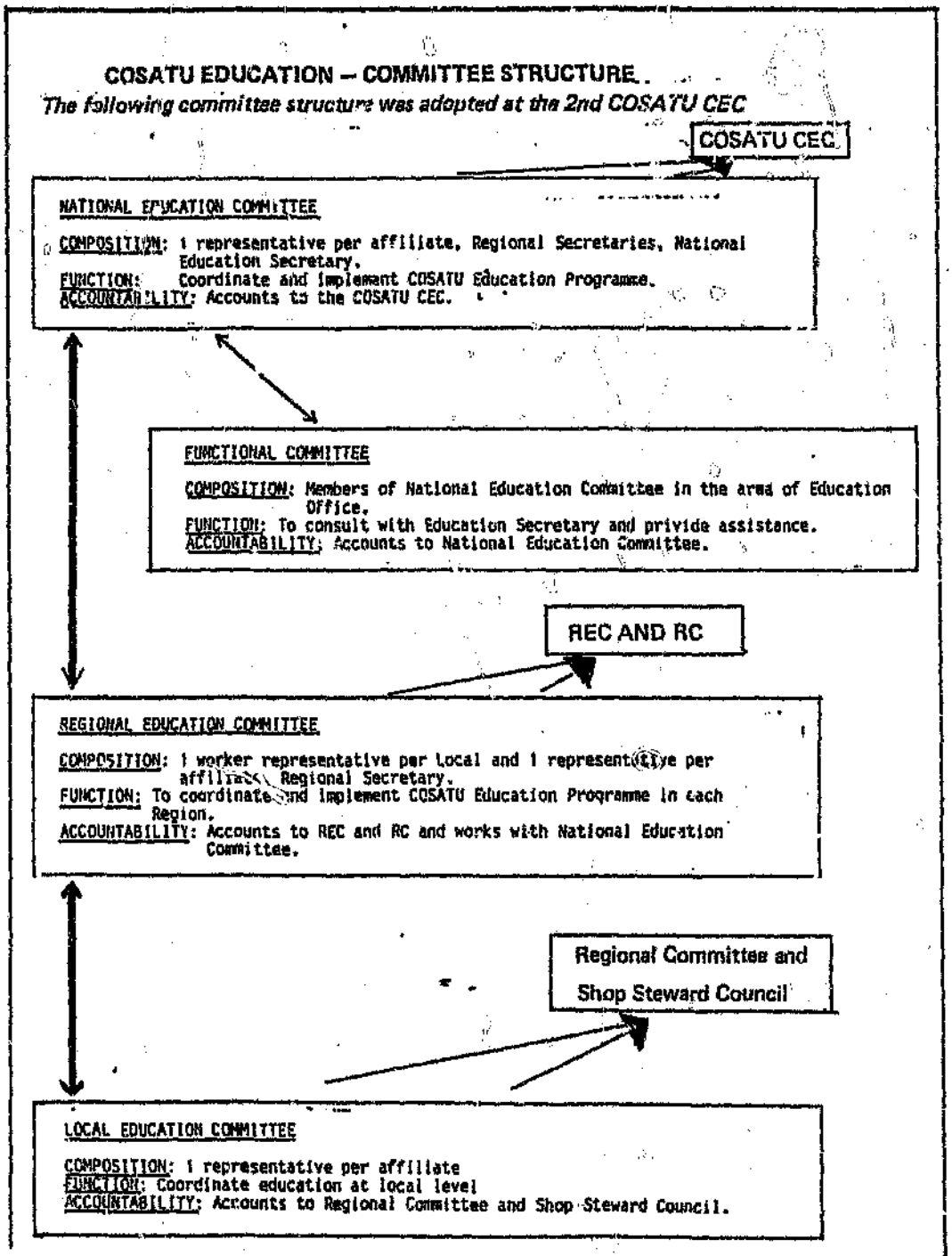
   a) ensure that this education programme politicises, mobilises and organises the working class so that they play the leading role in the liberation of our society and its transformation into an economic, social and political system that will serve the needs of those who are now oppressed and exploited.

   b) develop an understanding and capacity to wage our

struggle by democratic means that will allow maximum participation, decision making power for workers both now and in the future society we wish to build.

c) develop the human potential to the fullest and to create and transform skills and abilities so that they are accessible to the oppressed and exploited.

d) develop the understanding among the working class that their struggle forms part of the world struggle against oppression and exploitation.



For the two years after the formation of COSATU the Education Unit concentrated on forming and consolidating structures at a local and regional level as well as producing resources. A few national courses were also held. Three broad aims of the programme were set out: (9)

1. To decentralise education by building up regional and local structures.
2. To complement affiliate education by COSATU policy issues and broader economic and political matters. Organiser and shop-steward education was to be left to the affiliates, with COSATU assisting affiliates in this if they requested it.
3. To build up resources that could be used at a regional, local and affiliate level.

Structures

The chart on the previous page reveals the following structure: a National Education Committee (NEDCOM) with one representative from each affiliate, Regional Education Committees (REDCOM) with one representative from each affiliate in the region plus one worker representative from each local and finally Local Education Committees (LEDCOM) with one worker representative from each affiliate in the local.

The National Education Department was staffed by an appointed education secretary and an administrator. The education department was based in Durban and used the resources of the COSATU Printing Unit, although it also received a small allocation from the COSATU head office.

In a critical appraisal of the functioning of the education structures over the years 1986-87, the education secretary at the First Education Conference mentioned a range of problems around the structures at all levels. (10) These suggested a significant change from the strengths of the earlier period.

The national education structure(NEDCOM) was poorly and inconsistently attended. Representatives came without mandates and experienced worker leaders did not attend. The link between the NEDCOM and other national committees such as the Executive Committee (EXCO) and the CEC was through an official - the education secretary.

The crisis in the education structure of COSATU was revealed in an analysis of five NEDCOM meetings between May 1986 and February 1987. From the thirty affiliates of COSATU, three affiliates never attended NEDCOM meetings. Eight affiliates attended one meeting and seventeen affiliates were represented by officials only. Of these seventeen affiliates only three were represented by officials who were education officers.(11)

Regional structures were only established late in 1986. In 1987, these structures were still weak and the Redcoms were largely ineffective in co-ordinating regional education.

The education secretary also complained that a discussion paper entitled `The way forward', prepared by the COSATU CEC in August 1986, and which was to be used as a basis for education, was not properly discussed in all regions. Furthermore, courses were held after the scheduled dates and attendance was usually poor.

The COSATU Education Conference in 1987 sought to remedy the situation by calling for the strengthening of education in affiliates, consolidating COSATU education structures and electing worker office bearers to oversee national education. It was also resolved to hold national education conferences every two years. The chairperson of the NEDCOM was made an ex-officio member of the NEC.

Content and Methodology

Education courses received attention only late in 1986. Those that were held in 1987 covered three areas. These were a basic course, a course in political economy and policy seminars. The Basic course was finalised by educators from the different regions in February 1987. The bulk of the course was comprised of issues around collective bargaining and the structure/constitution of COSATU. All ten regions of COSATU held the course with the exception of Natal.(12) Participants were shop-stewards seconded by affiliates.

A booklet compiled by the National Education Department on South African political economy and titled `South Africa in Crisis' was produced in 1987.(13) The production of the booklet was prompted by an April 1986 CEC

decision to encourage active discussion on the economy. Issues raised in the booklet were meant to be the basis for seminars. The topics in the booklet are: an introduction to the South African economy, its size and major features; the development of the gold mines and the migrant labour system; the link between Apartheid and Capitalism, and the nature of its crisis; solutions proposed to tackle the crisis by the state and capital on the one hand and organisations of the oppressed and exploited on the other. Although planning seminars by the Education secretary together with the NUM education secretary were held in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State, there were no follow-up seminars.(14) State repression which included the military siege of the COSATU head office, the raiding of COSATU offices throughout the country and the banning of rallies, were cited as the reason for the failure of seminars to take place.

Policy Seminars

The CEC circulated a discussion document titled 'The way forward', and a Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) resolution in August 1986 to affiliates of COSATU. The education unit was asked to plan seminars around these documents. At this point, serious political tensions existed within and between the different affiliates of COSATU.(15) This, together with state repression, effectively paralysed many structures.

One of the aims of the discussion document was to create a "code of conduct around which our organisation and political practice should revolve".(16) It sought to resolve political differences between and within affiliates. Other issues in the document related to building and consolidating organisation at plant, local, regional and national level. Planning campaigns such as the living wage, the right to work/job security and organising the unemployed were prioritised.

The MAWU resolution reflected concern around issues such as independence, accountability and the strengthening of campaigns and structures. It reads in part: "to carry out our task of moving to socialism, COSATU affiliates must be prepared to look critically at the direction and practices of our organisation. We must always be prepared to analyse and constructively criticize our organisation".(17)

The resolution resolved that all affiliates should discuss the following points:

A. In line with COSATU's policy resolution, how can we maintain the federation's independence and the leadership of the working class...
B. How can we make sure that all members of COSATU unions fully and democratically discuss all national campaigns to make sure that they are effective.
C. How can we make sure that all the major decisions of COSATU have been fully and democratically discussed by all the workers at the shop floor.
D. How can we build the national, regional and local structures in COSATU to be strong, fully democratic and properly controlled by workers.
E. How can we make sure that there is complete freedom of speech inside COSATU at all times, so that we can critically and openly discuss each step on the road to socialism.

Policy seminars, using these questions as a guide, were held in the Western Cape, Highveld, Northern Natal and Northern Transvaal. The majority of regions did not hold seminars. Nevertheless, some affiliates, particularly MAWU, CCAWUSA (Appendix D and E) and CWIU thoroughly workshopped the documents usually in SIYALALA LA (all night) seminars. (18)

Political tensions continued in 1987 because the issues raised in both documents were not resolved. After fierce political debate at COSATU's Second Congress in 1987, the Freedom Charter as a guiding document was adopted amidst accusations of 'undemocratic behaviour'. The underlying political divisions in COSATU led to the split in CCAWUSA which lasted until November 1989 when SACCAWU was formed. One group wanted to adopt a socialist programme of action while the other insisted on adopting the Freedom Charter. (19) The COSATU leadership strongly supported the latter faction.

Although the differences crystallised around these two documents, it was part of a broader debate in the union movement between the supporters and opponents of a broad

alliance with the ANC and its sympathisers through the United Democratic Front(UDF). There also existed opposing views on class alliances and working class leadership and on the future state of economy. Of particular importance to worker education though was the way in which this debate was carried out or, more aptly, not carried out. Many workers and officials felt there was a lack of tolerance of differing political views and decisions were made undemocratically.

An indication of the prevailing atmosphere is contained in a resolution passed by the MAWU Johannesburg shop steward local and sent to COSATU. The resolution raised objections on the way the Johannesburg COSATU operated:

> We are being mocked whenever we put our views. COSATU structures are being ignored or overlooked. Some comrades would like to force undemocratic decisions down our throats. We bring mandates from our workforce, and decisions from our local but these are not discussed. Instead we would be snubbed.(20)

The resolution argued that workers have socialist ideas and preference must be given to worker controlled shop steward councils. The second COSATU congress in 1987 did not help matters when keynote speakers attacked socialist organisations and individuals by name.(21)

Resources

A number of resource materials were developed by the end of 1987. The following factors were taken into account in developing the material:

1. most education would not be based on written material but on seminar type learning.
2. written material would mainly be used by educators in preparing seminars and courses.
3. in view of the size and spread of COSATU, different problems would emerge in different areas.(22)

Resource material was therefore designed to be used as flexibly as possible.

The main resources produced in this period were a policy file and other publications including `June 16th and the Working Class', `The Crisis and Education Speeches' by COSATU office, `The Way Forward - Speeches at Union Congresses' and `Political Economy, South Africa in crisis'.(23) The policy file encompassed:

a) a resource file with a range of material to assist in seminars. This included a list of relevant newspapers, books, videos and resource organisations.

b) notes on political organisations: This was produced as a series of booklets on the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement, Inkatha, the National Forum, Non-European Unity Movement, Pan-Africanist Congress, SACP, SACTU, UDF, Women and political organisation and Workers' Charters in South Africa.

<u>Culture</u>

The 1987 Education Conference spent a large amount of time discussing the newly formed cultural unit and its activities. According to M. Hlatswayo, the COSATU Cultural Co-ordinator and ex-Dunlop worker, "Culture in COSATU must be seen as a vehicle to sustain and popularise working class politics so that it ultimately becomes the politics of the majority."(24)

Proposals were made to link cultural units to the local, regional and national structures of COSATU. Cultural work which started in the FOSATU era clearly continued. The second COSATU congress in July 1987 saw scores of poets, plays, videos and art exhibitions being displayed before the delegates. COSATU published an anthology of poetry called *Black Mamba Rising* based on the writings of worker poets Alfred Temba Qabula, M. S'Dumo Hlatswayo and Nise Malange.(25) Two plays, one called `The Long March', produced by dismissed workers from the British multinational BTR Sarmcol plant in Howick, Natal and the General Motors play produced by retrenched workers in Port Elizabeth obtained wide currency in this period.

Contrasted with the period up to the mid eighties, educational priorities for unions has clearly shifted. In the early seventies emphasis was placed on recruitment and the building of organisation based on democratic participation. Education was delivered during lunch times through mass meetings, after hours or during weekends. Educational priorities in the late seventies and early eighties shifted toward emphasis on skills such as negotiating, meeting skills and handling grievances in order to sustain organisation. This was coupled with political education around the role of unions in the liberation struggle.

The late eighties saw a trend toward more specialised and modular education programmes as opposed to mass education. This trend gained impetus in the early nineties with target groups more sharply defined and co-operation with educational institutions and organisations outside the union movement. This became necessary as the labour movement was forced to address a series of complex issues in a short space of time.

One of the education secretaries in this period recalled the "practically impossible task" of responding to requests made by affiliates and developing COSATU's own national courses simultaneously.(26) The intention was to develop specialised national courses on policy, leadership, finances, gender, co-ops, health and safety and technology. These courses were meant to complement the affiliates' own programmes around basic trade union issues. There was a constant "tug of war" between developing COSATU courses and assisting affiliates develop their own coherent programmes. Additionally, the two full-time education department staff members spent a large part of their time in rural areas conducting courses on basic unionism. This was the period when many bantustans were undergoing changes. The new atmosphere saw thousands of public servants flocking to COSATU affiliates. Many plans for the national education programme had to be put on the back-burner to respond to this situation. By 1989 most affiliates had appointed national education officers.

The Second Education Conference - 1989

This conference attempted to address the lack of education for the rank and file members of COSATU. The conference resolved, inter alia, to explore the establishment of "worker/night schools" in all existing COSATU shop-steward councils and encourage the formation of worker study circles in "townships, mine compounds, hostels, farms and workplaces". (30)

Apart from some study circles among NUM members, the resolution on the night schools was not implemented.* As a result of this failure and generally not being able to meet the needs and expectations of affiliates and members, the regional and national education secretaries called for the restructuring of the education programme. After assessing the problems, a number of deductions were made:

1. Educators were overburdened with work. Be sides the agreed upon education programmes, other activities arising out of the decisions of the constitutional structures were passed to the education departments.

2. There was no consistent or focused central ised programme.

3. The result and effect of educational work could not be measured. "Educational activities do not have a qualitative effect on structures, participation and confidence of workers. As a result there are no visible achievements". (31)

Other problems mentioned were an absence of national coherence to regional programmes, the lack of source material, the inability to develop worker educators, weak constitutional structures and the absence of administrative back-up for regional educators.

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* The night schools were meant to be conducted in all forty-five COSATU locals. They were to meet once a week for one hour. Besides the problems around the endemic violence, and transport problems (COSATU locals are in industrial areas/cities and not in the townships), a number of other factors were not taken into account. Most COSATU locals do not meet regularly and even if they do, like the well-placed Johannesburg local, they constitute a fraction of the potential. The reasons for this situation and the problems in locals should have been looked into first.

This wide ranging evaluation of the COSATU education programme led to the development of a Centralised Education Programme (CEP). This entailed the development and standardisation of local, regional and national programmes. Structures that would develop these programmes were identified and a time-frame was set. Part of the programme included workshops on a Workers' Charter and on developing a future economic policy.

By the close of the decade, COSATU's membership was approaching the million mark. This brought with it increased pressure on COSATU by both the membership and the staff for increased education and training. The lack of coherence in COSATU's educational activities required a focused and systematic programme. Such a programme was decided upon at the Third Education Conference in October 1991.

The Workers' Charter Campaign, in part to heal the divisions caused by the fractious political disputes of the past few years in COSATU, but more importantly to put forward concrete worker demands, gained added impetus once the formal negotiations between the government and the ANC began. For the same reason and particularly after the ANC and the Nationalist Party signed the Groote Schuur minute, touted as the `basis for understanding' for a negotiated settlement, COSATU was hard pressed to influence its alliance partners by placing clear worker demands on them. This context had consequences for worker education in COSATU. A series of workshops and conferences were held in the early nineties in an attempt to clarify and inform COSATU's membership on the new developments and requirements of COSATU.

The Workers' Charter Campaign

The third COSATU National Congress in July 1989 adopted a resolution on the Workers' Charter. This flowed from the earlier political debates where a number of affiliates felt the Freedom Charter was limited in expressing working class demands. NUMSA for example coupled their adoption of the Freedom Charter with a need for a Workers Charter. This Charter was meant to be a "product of thorough debates, discussions and consultations involving the entire masses of our country".(32) The process was to culminate in the drafting of a Workers' Charter

which was to be adopted at a national congress to be called the 'Workers' Charter Congress' and to be attended by COSATU, NACTU and unaffiliated unions.

The Workers' Charter Campaign was further discussed at the Second Education Conference in October 1987. Flowing out of this conference a joint CEC/NEDCOM workshop was held to plan the campaign. The objectives and the running of the campaign were stated as follows:(33)

1) to develop a charter of demands that will become a fighting document for the rights of workers now and in a post-apartheid South Africa
2) to strengthen the unity of the working class by
   (a) uniting workers in different federations and non-affiliated unions
   (b) uniting black and white workers.
   (c) organising the unorganised.
   (d) uniting rural and urban workers.
3) to raise the political consciousness of workers and
4) to create a platform for political discussion at all levels of the organisation.

The campaign was meant to run intensively over a short period and conducted on a non-sectarian basis, with a programme of sustained action and discussion.

A questionnaire was widely circulated and workshops were held in locals, affiliates and regions. In August 1990, a Workers' Charter Day was held. Factory meetings to discuss the demands to be contained in the Workers' Charter were convened. Some affiliates organised activities such as human chains to popularise the campaign. The COSATU Workers' Charter Conference held in November 1990 collated the demands into a draft Workers' Charter (Appendix F). This was further discussed at a Campaign Conference in March 1991 and finally adopted at the fourth COSATU National Congress on the 24-27th July 1991. To date, the Workers' Summit with NACTU and other formations which was meant to finalise the Workers' Charter has not been held. The financial cost of the Workers' Charter Campaign amounted to R223,505.(34)

Economy Workshop - November 1990

This workshop was attended by National Office Bearers and General Secretaries of all COSATU affiliates and followed smaller workshops on the economy held from 1988. The purpose of these workshops was to develop COSATU's position on how the economy of a future South Africa should look. The National Education Secretary, Khetsi Lehoko, in opening the workshop, commented that:

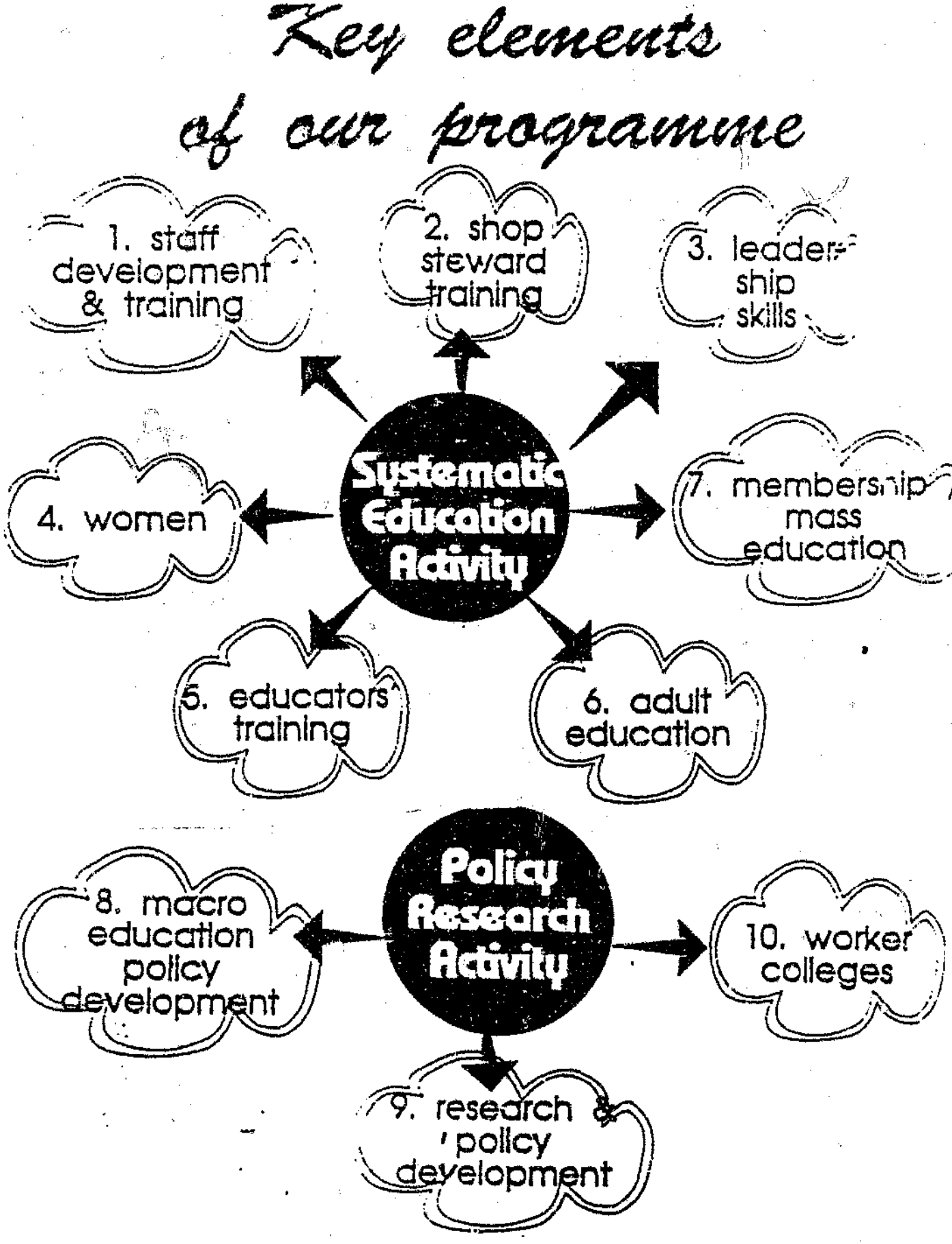
> The process has had its limitations in that discussion has largely been at a national level, without the mass participation of members. The same limitations have been present within the ANC. Sooner or later we will be called upon to declare COSATU's economic policy. We need to be guided in our formulation of such a policy by the needs and aspirations of our members. We need to link our policy formulations to the struggles on the ground. The economy at the end of the day is determined by power. It is not determined by research and debate alone. It is therefore incumbent on the labour movement and the liberation movement to mobilise toward that power.(35)

The workshop heard papers on the economic growth path, economic models in Hungary, Yugoslavia and West Germany and the economic policy of the ANC. A debate on nationalisation between NUM the ANC and WOSA (Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action) was held (Appendix G).

The Third Education Conference 18-20th October 1991

Following the fourth COSATU National Congress in July 1991, decisions at the Education Conference focused on overhauling education and training in COSATU by embarking on a three year progamme. The programme sought to coordinate and synchronise the education in affiliates with that of the federation. It stressed the importance for education to be run on a modular basis and for it to be efficient, professional and increasingly self-financing. A 'mission statement' was adopted. This expressed the aim to "develop leadership and organisational skills, promote analytical and critical thinking, empower membership to challenge and change their material conditions and support the organisational objectives of the federa-

tion".(36) The key elements of this programme can be diagrammatically shown in the following way:(37)



By the end of 1993 most of the COSATU Education Department's time and resources were taken up by two elements in its programme. These were Staff Development and Training and Adult Basic Education.

Staff Development and Training (SDT)

With the growth of the membership of COSATU and therefore an increase in the number of staff members, it became necessary for COSATU to assist affiliates in developing skilled personnel. A staff development and training sub-committee was initiated by the NEDCOM in 1989. It was initially involved in meetings and workshops aimed at investigating the needs and the conditions under which COSATU staff worked. From this process there emerged an urgent need expressed by workers and staff members in administrative, negotiating, organising and legal skills for the training of staff in the COSATU affiliates. Only a few affiliates had developed programmes.

The functions of the SDT sub-committee evolved through a process of interaction with the affiliates. These were listed as: (38)

1. giving direction in developing the SDT programme
2. designing the curriculum for national schools for staff members
3. developing modules in collaboration with outside agencies
4. evaluating the programme on an on-going basis.

The efforts of the SDT group resulted in training for a large percentage of the staff in the affiliates of COSATU over a few years. This can be surmised from the list below: (39)

1.	National Summer School	Jan-Feb `91	172
2.	National Winter School	July `91	120
3.	Natal Winter School	July `91	125
4.	National Summer School	Jan-Feb `92	125
5.	Regional Winter School	Jun-July '92	222
6.	National Summer School	Feb `93	102
		Total Participants	866

The National Schools in 1991 were organised and hosted by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) based at the University of the Witwatersrand. The funding for the schools came in large part from the Canadian Labour Congress.(40) The 1992 National Summer School was a joint venture between C\ TU and CALS and was aimed at providing COSATU with the management skills required in such a venture. The 1993 Summer School represented a milestone since it was organised by COSATU itself. It targeted those organisers who had completed basic training in previous national and regional schools.

Each course in the schools contained core modules around the Basic Organisers Course and the Intermediate Course. The Basic Course examined the history of the South African economy; organising and legal skills. The Intermediate Course also dealt with the economy at a more advanced level but included negotiation skills.

The 1993 Summer School had as its focus an Intermediate Organisers Course. It was comprised of the following modules:

A. History of the S.A. Political Economy
1. The global economy and its impact on S.A.
2. Case studies of workers' struggles
3. Current debates
4. COSATU's international, political and economic policies.

B. Negotiation Skills
1. Experiences in negotiating
2. Why negotiate?
3. Different levels of bargaining
4. Negotiating dynamics
5. Tactics and strategies
6. Negotiating process skills

C. Legal Skills
1. Introduction to law and important labour statutes
2. Trade union rights
3. Individual dismissals
4. Retrenchments
5. Industrial Action and Law

One of the spin-offs from the National and Regional Schools was the process of joint curriculum development between COSATU educators and the staff of service and non-governmental organisations. This process culminated in a National Curriculum Development Workshop held in May 1993. The objectives of the workshop revolved around: (41)

1. evaluating existing courses offered by NGO's to the trade union movement
2. scrutinising tenders for training courses submitted to COSATU in order to select proposals
3. using the process of joint curriculum development to develop pools of trade union trainers for the various courses to be offered.

The table below identifies the modules submitted for development by service organisations: (42)

Educators Training	CBDP, HAP & SACHED
Legal Skills	CALS
Foundation Course for Shop Stewards	COSATU AFFILIATES
Negotiations and Collective Bargaining	COSATU, IMSSA, LRS & TURP
Political Economy	TURP & ILRIG
Organisational Management Skills	CBDP & HAP
Gender Studies	COSATU
Health Safety and the Environment	HSSO's

Adult Basic Education (ABE)

In 1991 COSATU formed the Participatory Research Project (PRP). The aim of the PRP was to provide workers and organisers from the affiliates with skills and knowledge to lead the development of policy proposals on training and adult education. The direct involvement of workers in doing the research was a conscious departure from previous research work which relied on academic 'experts'. A shop-steward explains the process:

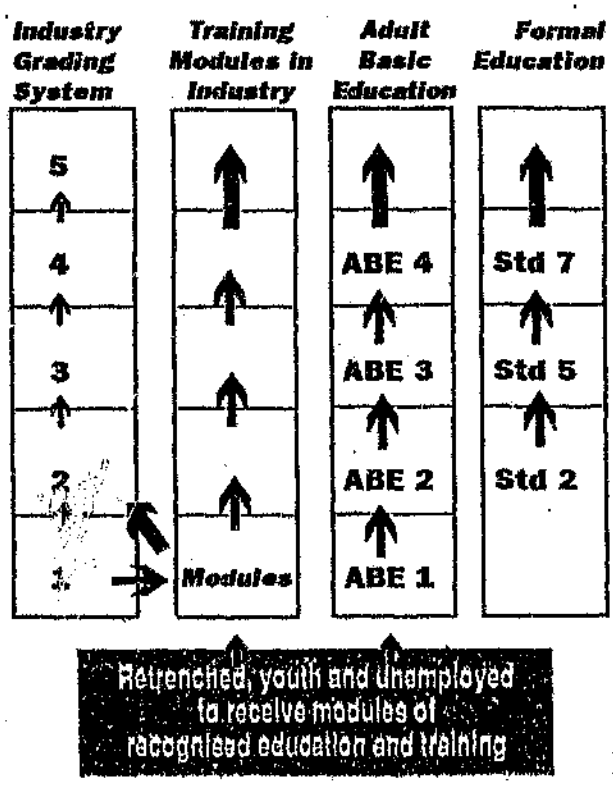
> Time-off was negotiated with various companies to allow worker delegates from each affiliate to deepen their understanding of education and training issues. First, everyone was familiarised with the issues. Then each did research in his or her own company and sector about the extent of the skills problem. We travelled overseas to visit sister unions and look at the strategies they used to improve the education and training systems there. Now various policy options are being researched by the delegates. This will help us formulate a clear proposal on a new education and training system. Affiliate workshops are in the pipeline. These will draw more shop-stewards into debating some of the PRP finding.(43)

The researchers on the PRP looked at nine principles which are to inform ABE programmes:(44)

(1) A single national system of ABE with clear national standards for each level of ABE. Each level should indicate the skills and general knowledge to be covered. Under this system workers are to be certificated by a state national qualification structure.

(2) ABE courses must provide a general basic education; this should include subjects like economics, history, geography, science, politics, maths and English. This is essential as "it is not possible to develop training programmes to upgrade the skills of workers without addressing the inadequate platform of basic education because most workers will not have had the necessary background to take full advantage of training programmes".(45)

(3) The restructured education and training systems should ensure life-long education for workers. ABE programmes must be guided by clear career paths for workers. This is possible within an integrated education and training system through articulation between ABE industrial training and the formal schooling system. Job creation projects must include ABE so that participants gain qualifications which will assist them in subsequent education or employment endeavours. The vision of an articulated system of education is expressed in the following diagram: (46)



(4) Workers must have the right to paid time off for education and training.

(5) The knowledge and skills that workers already have must be recognised.

(6) Trade unions and civics must be involved in the planning and implementation of ABE programmes.

(7) The employers and the state must provide the re-

sources for ABE programmes.

(8) ABE classes must be open to the unemployment.

(9) There must be a nationally recognised system of training and payment for ABE educators.

These principles were taken to and agreed upon by the ABE conference held in Johannesburg from the 12th to the 14th November 1993. The conference was attended by COSATU, NACTU, Civic Organisations, all progressive political organisations (ANC, PAC, AZAPO, WOSA), women's organisations, literacy and education formations.

The conference agreed to establish a co-ordinating structure called the 'S A. Committee for Adult Basic Education - SACABE'. It was emphasise that employers, state structures and commercial providers of education will not be included. Rather, ABE would become an independent social movement with grassroots plan of action.

The formation of S ificant since the principles informing adul ucation first articulated by worker educators th ipatory Research Project prevailed on the delegates fro various organisations at the conference. The exclusion of the state and the employers for fear of sacrificing the class interests and the independence is also significant.(47)

<u>Education in the Affiliates of COSATU</u>

The bulk of the education for shop-stewards and rank and file members of COSATU is left to the affiliates. Amongst the affiliates provision of education is very uneven. According to a national COSATU educator only half of the fourteen affiliates have structured education programmes. (48) Of these only CWIU and NUMSA claim to have the capacity to ensure that all the shop-stewards in their union undergo training every year. An ex-NUM national educator mentions for example that of the 15-20,000 shaft stewards a mere six-hundred to nine-hundred have undergone a shaft steward basic course in 1993.(49) It must be noted that all the COSATU affiliates which have signed recognition agreements with employers are allowed three to six days paid education leave per year for their shop-stewards. Almost all the unions surveyed do not have an

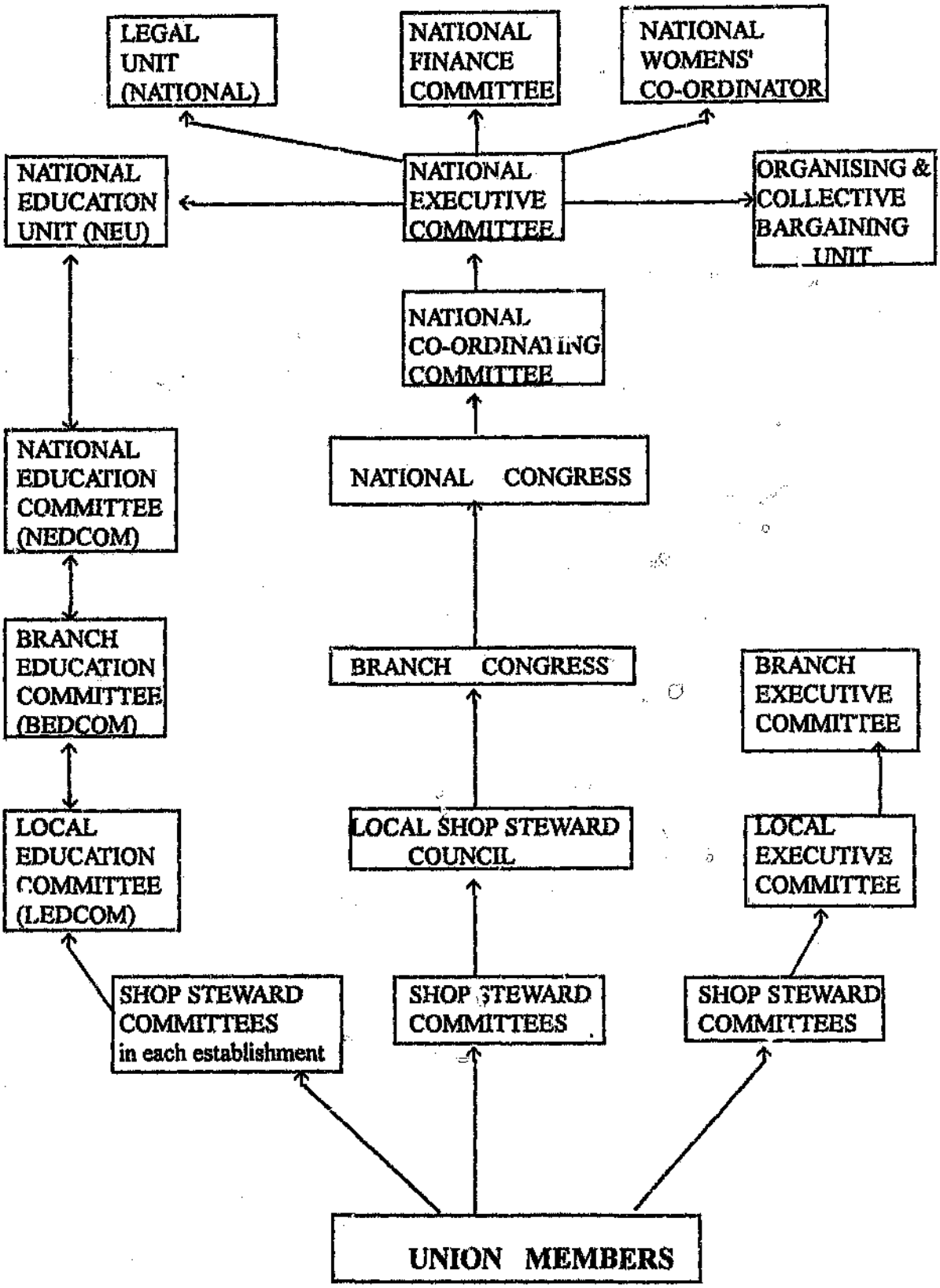
educational programme specifically aimed at union members who are not shop-stewards. Most unions rely on shop-stewards reporting back to their constituencies after seminars, on union newspapers and on mass campaigns, in order to reach their members.

The educational programmes in COSATU affiliates rely on seminars. These are typically divided into basic and intermediate courses. In some affiliates provision is made for officials training, as well as specialised courses on health and safety, technology, gender issues and political economy. The basic and intermediate courses usually cover the following topics:

1. What are trade unions, and their functions
2. The union constitution and structures
3. COSATU, its structures and functions
4. Role and duties of shop-stewards
5. How to run union meetings
6. Note taking and wr[illegible]g reports
7. Handling members problems
8. Grievance and disciplinary procedures
9. Preparing for collective bargaining
10. Labour Law
11. Politics, Economy and trade unions

Despite a few notable exceptions most unions are wholly dependent on their international trade union secretariats to fund their educational programmes (see section on funding).

The following diagrammatical representation of SACCAWU's union structure shows how education structures are accommodated. Most of COSATU's affiliates have generally a similar structure.



The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and Worker Education 1986 - 1993

Formed after a merger between CUSA and AZACTU in October 1986, NACTU is the second biggest black trade union federation with 200 000 members. Relative to COSATU, NACTU does not have well developed education programmes. Up to 1991 NACTU relied on the UTP to implement its education programmes. Four of NACTU affiliates have developed strong programmes. These unions are MESHAWU, SACWU, BCAWU and MEWUSA.

The national education structure of NACTU is comprised of a co-ordinator, a deputy co-ordinator and four national co-ordinators. This structure, based at the head office, meets weekly and reports to an Educator's Forum which meets once a month. The Forum is made up of educators from the affiliates, meets once a month and assists in policy formulation and the implementation of policy programmes. In addition NACTU convenes annually an Education Conference which draws up a national education programme for the year.

In 1992 NACTU undertook an arrangement with UNISA's Dean of Economic Sciences, Professor Ockers, to train the NACTU staff and shop stewards. The course offered by UNISA deals with economics, the principles of finance, communication stategies, collective bargaining, labour and commercial law. The course lasts for a year and includes a week-long study school and half-yearly examinations. According to the general secretary of NACTU, Cunningham Ngcukana, seventy percent of the first intake of fourty-nine students were workers. While Ngcukana felt strongly that worker education must "instill class consciousness and develop class activists",(50) the UNISA course initiated for management is geared towards producing the opposite result. Undeterred by this contradiction, Ngcukana felt that the UNISA course could be offset by the development of a course which will provide "the tools for class analysis".(51) The UNISA course, according to Ngcukana, is important as it provides workers and officials with a "basic understanding of the workings of the market economy".(52)

The alignment of COSATU with the Congress Movement in the mid eighties impacted on the methodology and content of worker education. Before the mid to late eighties different political views were tolerated and encouraged. Later however this ferment of ideas, felt particularly strongly within `labour schools' had to be pulled into line. The leadership of the union movement, having decided to support a particular political current, were pushed consciously or unconsciously to deliver the membership to that current.

Decisions had to be made rapidly, and therefore dissent suppressed and structures overlooked. This is clearly evident when reading behind the motivation of the MAWU resolution in August 1986 and the CCAWUSA response to the COSATU discussion document `The Way Forward' in September 1986. (Appendixes D and E) This trend has not stopped despite the strong criticism by the COSATU NEDCOM of the COSATU leadership in early 1993. (Appendix M)

The consequences are plain to see. A number of conclusions of education processes leading to the Draft Workers' Charter and the economic discussions as sketched in this chapter have not been implemented by the leadership.

There has been no Workers' Charter conferences. The Workers' Charter remains a draft and many of its demands are not found in the new constitution. The same is true of the conclusions of the economic workshops.

A report of an open discussion at COSATU's own NALEDI in early 1994 offered this solution :(53)

> Solutions to problems such as communications within unions over bureaucratisation, information glut and lack of transparency were discussed with a wide variety of views being expressed.

Socialists argued that the reason why there is no longer worker control inside unions is because there has been a strategic retreat away from socialism on the part of unions. They see problems related to worker control as being political and not organisational. The move away from mass action, and `the struggle' towards forums and order are seen as weakening working class control over the unions.

One interesting idea expressed was the deliberate fostering of minority political positions inside unions in order to move away from the period when one political culture was dominant and monolithic. It was believed by some that such an `affirmative action programme' would help make unions more politically vital with increasing levels of debate. The result of different political platforms is that you could have left groups/individuals with different views, agendas and programmes of action competing for positions on clear `tickets'.

It was felt by some that the new era will see more deals between union leadership and business leaders which would most likely undermine the interest of the workers. In this context it was believed that mass action and worker militancy underlines worker control and worker leadership.

More positively, COSATU's three year programme, particularly the staff development and training component through the Winter and Summer Schools, the Participatory Research Project, and the Adult Education components were successful in that a number of staff members were skilled and clear proposals around adult basic education were developed and widely accepted by workers themselves.

Another major weakness of worker education in S.A. is the neglect of the rank and file membership. This situation has enormous negative consequences for democracy in worker organisations. Rank and file education could be an effective antidote to counter the increasing trend toward the bureaucratisation of the workers' movement and the disinterest and even suspicion of the rank and file toward their unions and civics. All union educators interviewed in both COSATU and NACTU have acknowledged that the lack of a strategy to integrate the rank and file membership in education programmes is a serious problem.

For many years the assumption in the union movement has been that shop-stewards would 'transfer' the knowledge and skills gained at seminars and other educational events to rank and file members. Without any mechanisms established to ensure the transfer of skills through report backs and in-plant workshops led by shop-stewards one can only hope for some vague process of practical osmosis or a natural filtering down of information to the rank and file. Most unions also rely on their newspapers and on occasional rallies to reach their members. This is clearly not enough and a comprehensive strategy is required to deal with this inadequacy.

Discussion around the following areas could assist in providing solutions:

A) Study Circles

Study circles made up of small groups of workers who meet regularly could significantly increase rank and file education. The advantages of study circles are many:

1. It is an inexpensive form of education to be done collectively, and if properly motivated and organised could reach most rank and file members.

2. The methodology of study circles could facilitate self-confidence, independent thinking, a sense of solidarity and collective values.

3. Issues to be studied emanate from the conditions and circumstances determining the daily lives of the participants. Therefore the content of the education respects the needs of the participants, making the knowledge workers acquire important insofar as it proves to be a practicable instrument for the im provement and enrichmont of everyday lives. Study circles could be adapted to study any situation deemed to be important by the membership.

4. It is a way of generating interest amongst the rank and file about their workplace, their organisations, as well as about the wider society. New layers of worker leadership could be thrown up through this method.

5. As there is a limited need for central intervention and because study circles are based on the shop floor, the level of union democracy is enhanced by empowering workers at the local level.

Apart from groups established by the broad liberation movement when they were underground and the efforts of the Young Christian Workers (see section on UTP), worker organisations in South Africa have very little experience with study circles. The National Union of Mineworkers set out in the mid eighties to establish study circles in the hostels. Superficially the hostels seemed to be an ideal setting, participants being in a sense a 'captive audience'. The NUM produced study circle manuals and trained a number of study circle co-ordinators. The manuals included topics such as what is a trade union, the union constitution, educating through study circles, qualities of study circle leaders, education methods, education materials, planning a session and a sample lesson. According to a NUM official who was the national educator between 1987-89 the study circles which spread to a number of hostels collapsed after the mass dismissals following the 1987 mineworkers strike.(54)

Members of the CWIU employed at Consol on the Witwatersrand also formed study circles in April 1992.(55) These work-

ers used as their source material *Learning Nation*, an educational supplement to the then New Nation newspaper. Topics included the situation in Eastern Europe/Soviet Union, fighting retrenchment, collective bargaining, constituent assembly, political theory and organising skills. Participants met every lunch hour in 'Zozos' converted into learning centres on the factory premises. Two groups of fifteen and ten members existed. The Witwatersrand educational official of CWIU met with the groups on a three monthly basis to receive and discuss progress reports.(56) According to this official the groups stopped meeting from the middle of 1993 for a variety of reasons. These included the fact that some of the co-ordinators went on artisan training courses for long periods of time, management's hostility as a result of a wage dispute, the absence of time off during working hours to hold the study circle and the fact that the concept has not been driven by the union but left to the initiative of individual officials.

Despite these short-lived experiences the potential to form and expand study circles exist. For instance, in April 1991, the *Learning Nation* supplement encouraged its readers to form study circles. Within two months sixty such groups were formed. Buoyed by these results, a letter to unions by the *Learning Nation* co-ordinator concluded by saying, "Perhaps we can dream about study circles like those set up in Sweden where during 1989-90 100, 122 study circles with 835,398 participants were set up."(57)

In Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden, study circles have been firmly entrenched.(58) By law any group of between four and twenty workers can take paid leave for two to three hours per week to study any subject over a minimum of four weeks. In addition to the paid education leave, study circles are entitled to money for administrative and other costs incurred by the study circle leader. The state subsidises study circles but do not manage or control them. That is done by mass organisations such as unions, education associations and co-operative movements. According to a study the Swedish study circles function in the following way:

> In each factory there is an educational organiser who has the same rights as shop-stewards.

> S/he stimulates interest in education amongst union members and keeps them informed about all available opportunities. S/he liaises between, for example, a study group in the factory and the local ABF (Swedish Workers' Education Association) office. The local ABF has access to state money, provides materials (written jointly by the ABF and the LO (Swedish Trade Union Federation) and gives guidance to study groups. The educational organiser works with an education investigator, who acts as the 'ears and eyes' of the education organiser. Both receive training from their trade union and the ABF. In addition, each study circle elects a leader who liaises with the other educators, and s/he also receives training as an educator. (59)

The Swedish example shows the effectiveness of this form of workers education for the rank and file membership. For South African trade unions and other mass organisations the right to form study circles and for them to be subsidised must be part of the struggle for paid educational leave.

B) Transfer of knowledge

The assessment of the effectiveness of union educational programmes and the monitoring of the transfer of knowledge, information and skills to rank and file members has often been mentioned by union educators as areas of neglect. One of the ways to overcome this problem is to integrate the report backs by shop-stewards to their constituencies as an essential part of education programmes. The practice of the BCAE in providing 'fieldworkers' to assist this process is useful. Unions need to pressurise management to allow report backs to take place. Unions also need to develop a systematic method of monitoring the progress in taking up grievances, fighting disciplinary action, collective bargaining and contributions to union structures of those who have undergone training.

C) Cultural forms of education

Commenting on the role of culture in the early days of American trade unionism, Hanson wrote:

> Labour has history, ideals, heroes; Labour has world-wide organisation; Labour has music, drama, legends, prophets, symbolism, labour songs, labour plays, labour movies, labour novels..... serve to create an atmosphere of mutual enjoyment, mutual sorrow and suffering, competition and co-operation - the emotional, intellectual and historical stuff of which any vital movement is made.(60)

To this list of attributes we could add that cultural forms of education are the ideal medium to capture the imagination, release the creativity and encourage the active involvement of the members of worker organisations.

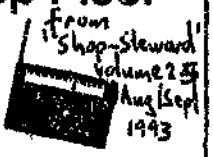
Despite a lively start in the seventies and eighties (catalogued earlier in this report) this form of education has largely disappeared. Whilst at the beginning of the nineties the Cultural Unit of COSATU could proudly point to 250 cultural groups under its banner the situation today is very different.(61) The failure to continue, encourage and promote cultural expression has partially to do with the dissolution of the Cultural Unit in 1991 as a result of financial constraints. A former cultural activist now a union educator at SACWU lays the blame on the commercialisation and co-option of culture by big business, citing the role of companies like Shell and SAB as well as the influence of television.(62)

While these factors have contributed to the decline, equal blame should be apportioned to the union and civic movement, particularly their education departments. It is imperative for worker organisations to recognise the utility of culture for their education programmes, particularly if the membership is to be reached. Resources need to be set aside to redevelop this form of education and to tap and assist the immense talent that exists amongst the rank and file. The views of the FOSATU National Education Officer in 1984 remain apt, "...the cultural dimension has come into it because in FOSATU's eyes education is class-based: it is designed to reinforce a sense of working class identity, to reinforce a sense of working class confidence and counter the kind of anti-worker propaganda that prevails in general educa-

tion and the media."(63)

The electronic media, both radio and television, are obviously ideal mediums to reach a mass audience. COSATU has been allocated R9,5 million by the Italian government and Italian trade union federations to develop projects around radio and television, making the possibility of an ambitious intervention very real.(64) In a deal between COSATU and the SABC in 1992, COSATU bought air time on radio to broadcast a weekly labour programme called `On the Shop floor'. The slots last for an hour and are broadcast in nine languages on regional stations. One hopes that the buying of air time by the labour movement is a temporary phenomenon. It needs to be pointed out that there exists on S.A.B.C. radio and television programmes time devoted to issues around business without employers being asked to pay. With the resources available to COSATU, attention must be given to small-scale community radios aimed at local communities and industrial areas. Workers also need to be encouraged to actively participate in and produce programmes preventing radio listeners from becoming passive consumers.

"On the Shop Floor" Broadcast Schedule



Station	Time slot	Day
1. Radio Setswana		
	18:00 – 18:15	Wednesday
2. Radio Swazi		
	18:00 – 18:15	Wednesday
3. Radio Ndebele		
	18:00 – 18:15	Wednesday
4. Radio Tsonga		
	19:00 – 19:15	Wednesday
5. Radio Lebowa		
	20:15 – 20:30	Wednesday
6. Radio Venda		
	19:00 – 19:15	Wednesday
7. Radio Zulu		
	18:00 – 19:00	Wednesday
8. Radio Sesotho		
	18:00 – 18:15	Wednesday
9. Radio Xhosa		
	19:10 – 19:40	Thursday
"Workers on Wednesday"		
1. Radio Goodhope		
	10:30 – 10:45	Wednesday

A number of other areas can be explored. For instance the Johannesburg local of Saccawu in 1992, together with the Film Resources Unit (a library of progressive videos) embarked on Video/Film evenings open to all members and their families. Besides watching the video, the audience would hold a discussion led by a worker educator who researched the topic. (Appendixes I, J, K and L) Another example was the circulation of `Book Boxes' or a mini-library to locals and factories. This initiative introduced by the Community Resource and Information Centre (CRIC) in early 1991 would supply labour magazines, progressive novels, African literature, books on political economy and union skills on a loan basis. It proved to be successful for a while but collapsed due to problems internal to CRIC. (65) Unions need to perhaps in conjunction with progressive librarians explore this area.

D) Induction course for members

An attempt was made by the Witwatersrand branch of CCAWUSA and later for a short while by SACCAWU to ensure that their rank and file membership understood their rights as workers, the structure and constitution of their union, some organisational skills and rudimentary understanding of some political and economic concepts. This course was run by worker educators elected by the local shop-steward council. The worker educators on a rotational basis met with groups of between twenty to fifty workers every Saturday and Sunday afternoon at the union offices.

The course was run in two sessions of two to three hours each. The first session began with a discussion around the immediate problems workers faced. The union's history, its scope and structures were then briefly looked at. Followed by a discussion around three principles of trade unionism. The principles - unity, democracy and independence were examined in such a manner as to allow maximum participation. For instance, the worker educator would probe workers on instances of disunity and the meaning of democracy (with emphasis on accountability) at the workplace, in the union and in the broader society. The importance of the independence of trade unions from the state, the employers and political parties normally elicited a lively response given CCAWUSA and SACCAWU's

own history. The structure of the union with the assistance of flip charts and a summary of the constitution were discussed particularly around worker control of the union and the way in which decisions are made.

The next section focused on basic laws and agreements which laid down conditions of employment, such as wages, hours of work, maternity rights and health and safety. Finally the importance of increasing workers' strength through organising strategies at the shopfloor was discussed with specific reference to the plant/company the participants belonged to.

The first session would then end after workers were given guidelines on how to elect their representatives or interim shop-stewards.

The second session was limited to the interim shop-stewards. It focused on the duties of the shop-steward - how to take up workers' grievances, fighting disciplinary action, collective bargaining and organising skills such as running democratic union meetings. Once the union attained recognition these shop-stewards were then asked to attend a three-day residential basic training course.

Experience has shown that this systematic method of training with emphasis placed on reaching the rank and file members ensures that all members take an active interest in the union thus increasing the level of democracy.

Other opportunities to reach rank and file members exist, such as a regular programme of store/factory visits during lunch breaks by educators, as well as a standard programme of education during strikes.

One of the major issues that emerged in worker education over the nineteen eighties/nineties was the question of Paid Education Leave. This is worth recording as another major outcome of previous worker education struggles in South Africa.

With recognition agreements, paid shop-steward training leave was one of the first demands of the unions in the seventies. Today most recognition agreements between established unions and employers have a standard provision

guaranteeing three to six days paid leave for shop-stewards. If we consider the educational imbalances and the backlog wrought by apartheid-capitalism then three to six days is paltry considering the tasks at hand. Also, more often than not paid education leave is used by shop-stewards to attend the constitutional structures to which they have been elected. This reduces the already limited time available for training. Education leave presently is also limited to shop-stewards, thus ignoring the rank and file.

Paid Education Leave (P.E.L.) and Funding

Paid education leave is the sine qua non for a thorough-going education programme for workers. The educational imbalances will never be corrected if workers are forced to study in their spare time. It has to be during working hours without loss of pay.

Acknowledging this, some unions (primarily the CWIU) since 1992 have demanded twenty days paid educational leave as well as consent by employers to allow individual members to participate in extensive courses of up to six months (Appendix H). SACTWU has demanded thirty days. While these unions have taken the lead in putting forward these demands none of the companies in their industry responded positively. It is clear that only through a concerted and massive campaign involving all unions will management accede to this demand. While COSATU's Campaign Conference, held in March 1993, agreed to the campaign for paid education leave, this will most likely take the form of raising it in the tripartite forums such as the National Education and Training Forum and the National Economic Forum.(66) More troubling is the proposal at the Campaigns Conference to demand a `realistic' number of days for paid education without specifying what realistic is.(67) One of the advantages of involving workers on the ground around such a campaign would be to put the spotlight on education so that workers themselves could frame the demand more precisely by determining the number of days required, the content of the courses and how it is to be run. Any future legislation from above around paid education leave without a massive campaign led by unions will inevitably lead to the demands being watered down.

Worker education, like vocational training, must be seen as productive because it improves the level of individual and collective education, and therefore benefits society as a whole. Employers must be forced to see paid educational leave as an integral part of the cost of production. Furthermore, replacing workers on study leave is also one way of providing employment and spreading skills. Paid education leave has received international recognition many years ago. Convention 140, adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) states "each member shall formulate and apply a policy designed to promote the granting of paid educational leave"(68), this is to cover (a) training at any level; (b) general, social and civic education; and (c) trade union education.

The compelling example of the Italian workers who in the early seventies won 150 hours paid education leave (extended since to 250 hours) not only for organised workers, but also for the unemployed, holds important lessons for us.(69) The demand for paid education leave arose in a context where only a few workers had access to a very basic level of schooling. The educational system was geared to meet the needs of the middle classes. The content and methods used in the schools was conservative and did not provide the skills workers needed. This class based, hierarchical and inadequate education system in Italy was one of the major problems confronting workers. To improve their job opportunities, and so the material conditions of their lives, many workers attended night schools in an attempt to gain qualifications. This competition over qualifications was a great source of disunity. The demand for time off to study was both a challenge to the prevailing education system and a collective response to move away from individual solutions to the problems. It was a demand that workers get paid equal wages instead of differentially based on qualifications as well as a way to have some control over the organisation of work. In April 1973 the engineering union was the first union to win the demand for paid leave of 150 hours, thus the name of the programme as the 150 hour courses.

The demand for 150 hours paid leave arose out of a militant political context spearheaded by radical workers who built a workers movement outside the traditional union movement. Most traditional unions at that time

"guaranteed industrial peace for the sake of national reconstruction".(70) After a while the demand for 150 hours was incorporated as part of the official demands of the trade union movement. The point though is that the campaign captured the imagination of the rank and file which gave it life and energy. The shape and direction of the campaign and later the form and structure of the courses were decided upon by workers.

Significantly, the unions rejected the notion that vocational training be counted within the specified hours. They argued that this would be in the interests of employers more than the workers. Through the educational programmes, unions hoped that as a class workers would begin to assert some control over the organisation of work. Yet it has been pointed out that

> ...the context within which skills (through the educational programmes) were collectively being developed made it difficult for them to be used for the benefit of the working class. The skills were being developed in a capitalist system where improved skills leading to increased productivity would benefit the capitalists. It was difficult for the skills to have a social use, and a social value in a society geared to making a capitalist profit.(71)

Nevertheless, even if the social use of skills could not be completely achieved the struggle to create a context and a society where they could be used was part of the educational process.

For us in South Africa, paid education leave requires detailed scrutiny and discussion. The following are mere general recommendations in the belief that recurrent education is every citizen's birthright:

1. Paid educational leave should be financed by the employers with the assistance of the state in providing the infrastructure such as venues and transport. A public fund must be established to provide financial and other resources.

2. Paid educational leave must not be agreed upon for only vocational training.

3. There should be separate provisions for shop-stewards to attend constitutional structures.

4. There must be general entitlement, that is paid educational leave must include both shop-stewards and general workers.

5. State or employer approval of training programmes should not be a condition for granting paid leave.

6. Workers who take part in courses should do so without loss of any earnings including bonus, overtime and all other benefits which they would normally earn.

7. Certain categories of workers such as the unemployed, women and rural workers should be given more assist ance financially, and longer periods of time off.

8. Workers' organisations must have the sole responsibility in planning and implementing programmes.

Paid education leave as set out in this section might for some seem like a pipe dream, yet as an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) committee, studying `Alteration between work and education' pointed out:

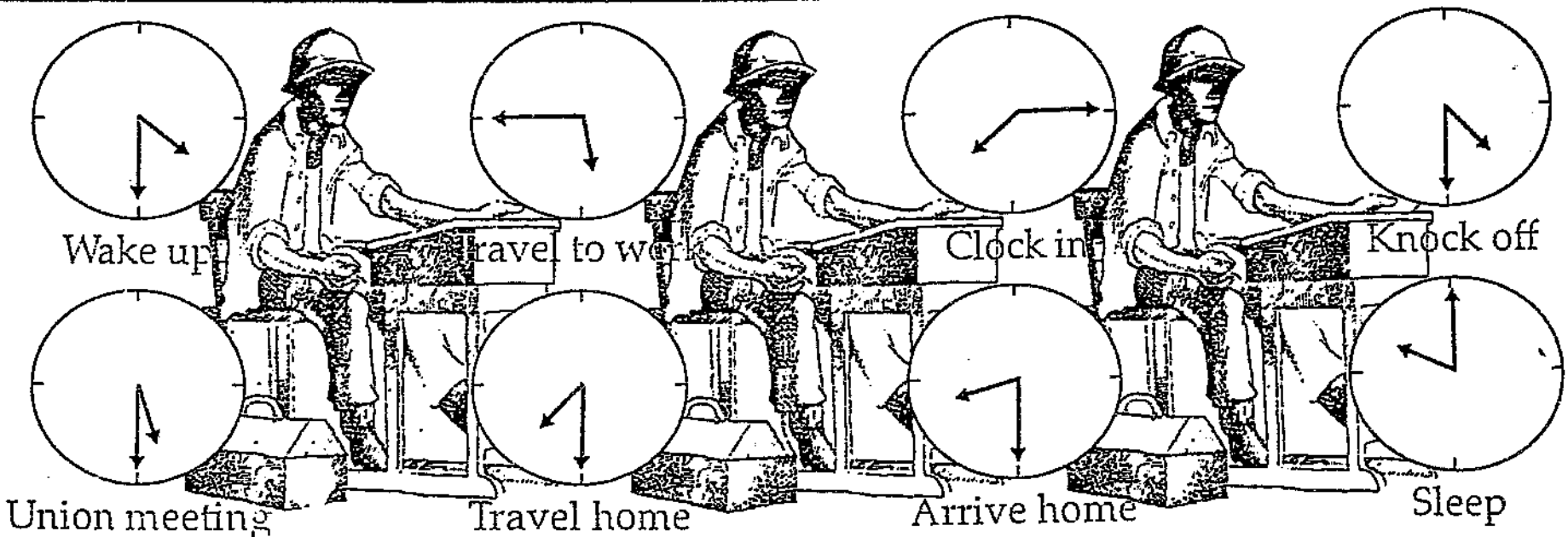
> The suggestion of universal paid holidays were greeted with disbelief when it was first mooted - not only impossible, but also unnecessary. Few could now question the right of the worker to a measure of fully paid vacation, or the fact that it is necessary for her or his health and hence, in the last analysis, for the community's economic and social well being. In the same way, the opportunity for each member of the population to maintain or improve her/his intellectual development and social awareness may come to be recognised as an essential, not luxury.(72)

While paid education leave will go a long way to cover costs it will take some time and much struggle before it is implemented as envisaged. In the meantime although the need for self-sufficiency is rhetorically generally accepted, almost all unions with a few rare exceptions, depend on foreign funding for their education programmes.

This funding, usually by international trade secretariats, is in decline and many unions have been given notice that come the Government of National Unity, financial support will be less extensive than it previously was. The question is not whether to accept foreign funding or not, but rather how to use outside funding in order to become self-sufficient as soon as possible.

Various options do exist for unions. Some unions internationally and the CWIU in S.A. have set aside a fixed percentage of their members' subscriptions for education. In addition an education levy is occasionally introduced. One of the major costs involved in worker education besides lost wages is accommodation, food and use of venues. An unfortunate trend by unions in South Africa to use expensive hotel facilities has developed. This has depleted the financial reserves of unions. It will be useful to explore the possibilities to build union-owned facilities. Union and civic resources could then be used to generate income and support from the movement's own facilities. Already the first ever trade union owned residential college has been built by the NUM in December 1993. For smaller unions encouraging universities and technicons to open their residences and venues during term breaks at no costs or nominal costs is a viable practical option.

When do workers have time to learn?



CWIU DEMANDS

20 days paid education leave for all shop stewards

CHAPTER 8 - UNIVERSITY EXTENSION PROJECTS, SERVICE ORGANISATIONS AND WORKER COLLEGES.

Throughout the eighties numerous trade union-linked `extension' projects and service organisations were formed to assist the trade union movement. The `extension' projects are based on university campuses and are usually linked to the Sociology or the Adult Education Departments.

In an appraisal of these projects, Linda Cooper of the Community Adult Education Programme based at UCT, points to some benefits for the union movement and universities as well as some of the limitations of these projects.(1) The projects made available to the unions resources held by the university such as equipment, venues and skilled people. They attempted to service all levels of the union movement; officials, shop-stewards and rank and file members. Most importantly, the projects developed a principle of working in an accountable way toward the unions. Through this interaction with unions, the universities' knowledge and understanding of unions was sharpened. The extension projects developed methodologies of popular education which fed back into their university teaching and research. Some universities began to recognise the extension work as a legitimate and necessary part of academic work.

On the whole though, the extension projects were always on the margins of the universities' main activities and power centres, and had little impact. The projects had to by and large raise their own funds, thus providing `free' additions to the universities research funds. Nevertheless, the universities used these projects as evidence of their `social' commitment when they sought overseas funding.

Any proposals around worker education which depend on universities to serve the interests of the worker class must understand that "the university is a very conservative and elite institution. In very fundamental and deep seated ways, the universities are geared to serving the interests of capital, of whites and of men".(2) For universities to become appropriate institutions for furthering workers' interests it will mean that unions and civics "will need to fight to transform the whole system of power, control and decision making within the univer-

sities, and the whole way in which they are structured and function".(3)

Beside the extension projects and service organisations, over the past few years important trade union linked education activities have arisen which merely use the university as a site. These are the worker colleges and schools. This chapter will examine these colleges. The space limitations of this report prevents a comprehensive look at all the various extension projects, service organisations and non-governmental which play a role in worker education. Amongst the important organisations not included are SALDRU, ILRIG, URDEP, LRS and the CAEP in the Western Cape, TURP and the Culture and Working Life Project in Natal, HAP, SWOP, the CBDP and URDEP in Johannesburg.

Workers' College - Western Cape

A number of trade unionists having seen the need for such a college approached Mike Coetzee an official of the CWIU to take the initiative with their support. Under the coordination of Coetzee the college was established in 1991.It is located at the University of the Western Cape. The justification for forming such a college is contained in the preamble of its constitution. It states that larger numbers of workers are seeking to deepen their understanding of working class struggle and the role of trade unions in transforming society and that no education institution exists in the country with the specific objective of promoting worker education. The college therefore commits itself to:

1. provide education to workers and to worker leaders that empower them

2. develop educational practices that sustain the participatory and critical learning processes

3. promote the values of open debate, democracy and non-discrimination on the basis of 'race', sex, religion or political affiliation

4. promote and maintain free, democratic, independent trade unionism for all workers in

S.A.

5. promote competent and efficient trade union organisation.(4)

Students at the college are drawn from both COSATU and NACTU unions as well as unaffiliated unions. The students predominantly come from the Western Cape although the college has accepted some from the Eastern Cape.

The college targets union leadership normally senior shop-stewards and offic ials. Selectors seem to be sensitive in keeping a gender balance in courses and also ensuring that there is no urban/ ural bias. A balance in terms of official/worker, male/female and the urban/rural composition of the students is attempted. Selection of students is norm ly based on the following criteria:

1. Applicants should have served at least two years as a shop-steward or official

2. They should have a commitment to the labour movement and to returning to it

3. They should have already undergone basic training or have had equivalent experience with their union

4. There should by union ratification of their applica tion.

Structure

The highest decision making body of the college is the Council. It is composed of representatives of all participating unions on the basis of the following membership in the Western Cape: (5)

500 -	10,000 members:	2 delegates
10,000 -	20,000 members:	4 delegates
	20,000+ members:	6 delegates

Fifty percent of each delegation must be workers.

The Council in turn elects eleven of its members on to a Board of Trustees. The Trustees also includes the co-ordinator of the college and three ex-officio members nominated by the university.

Content

The course is run in two three-month fulltime non-residential block sessions. There are approximately twenty-five students on each course (selected out of forty to sixty applicants). The course is comprised of four modules. These are:

1. Organisational Management and Leadership Development

2. Trade Unions in South Africa's Political Economy: A History

3. The Theory and Practice of Trade Unions Internationally

4. Trade Union Studies, Labour Law and Collective Bargaining. (6)

A look at the module on Political Economy will give us a sense of the syllabus. This module has three central aims. The first is to explain and locate the economic crisis in South Africa. This is done by exploring the development of capitalism in relation to the history of trade union struggle in S.A. The second aim is to develop the theoretical and conceptual understanding of workers. The following questions are explored: What is political economy? What is economic crisis? What is exploitation? Where do profits come from? What is Capital? What is value, exchange value and surplus value? What is patriachy and who does it affect? Exploitation between men and women? The aim is to look at the present as history, to identify the major economic and political indicators, situate the role of women in the economy as well as the problems and possibilities for fundamentally changing the economic system.

The module on international trade unionism covers topics like international funding agencies, IMF/World Bank, the collapse of Eastern European `socialism', the `New World Order' and new methods of work organisation practised in Japan and America.

Methodology

Besides conventional style lectures most modules combine group work, excursions to different institutions such as industrial courts, union activities, debates, research projects and music. This depends very much on the co-ordinators.(7)

Attempts are made to draw most tutors from trade unions but in practice the majority of tutors come from service organisations and university departments.

Students who complete the course are awarded certificates during the UWC graduation ceremonies.

Students fill in an evaluation form after each lecture. The module co-ordinator receives these forms and at the end of the block together with students writes up an overall evaluation. This is then fed to the Board of Trustees evaluation session.

Besides learning actual skills the college has assisted in boosting the confidence of workers. This sentiment is reiterated by most workers who have attended the college. Rachel Visser, a former student and SACTWU branch chair, said because of her experience at the college: "I learned to love myself and accept myself as is. In the COSATU Education Conference I stood up and gave an input. Everyone thought I was an official and could not believe that this was worker leadership."(8) CWTU Western Cape Vice-Chairperson had this to say: "I am now taking up challenges and dealing with different issues with courage and motivation."(9)

Funding

The college depends on foreign funding which amounts to R200,000 a year largely from foreign church donors.(10) Unions' financial contributions to the college is negligible. The university does not make any financial contribution toward the college. By far the largest expense for the college is money paid to workers who lost their wages as a result of attending the college. This consumes eighty five percent of the college's budget.(11)

Workers' College - Natal

The college was formally launched in July 1991. It was originally housed at the Centre for Sociological Studies at the University of Natal (12), but has since been relocated at the SACTWU premises. The motivation for such a college and its structure is the same as the Workers' College in the Western Cape. The services offered by this college though are different from its counterpart in the Western Cape. The college offers Diploma courses, short courses, a forum to discuss topical labour issues and a resource bank. The services are available to COSATU, NACTU and unaffiliated unions.

The Diploma Courses

The three diploma courses offered are on Labour Studies, Social Studies and Women's Studies. The course modules include communication and administration skills, negotiation and organising skills, South African labour history, labour law, industrial health and safety, theories of trade unions, South African political economy, workers' struggle in Africa and media skills.

Candidates are nominated by unions who arrange time-off and pay for the students. Students attend lectures one day a week (usually in Fridays) for the duration of a year.

Short Courses

The duration of these courses range from one to three days and covers such areas as: collective bargaining, arbitration, mediation, managing media, strikes and management of finance. The college also offers basic shop-steward education courses, appropriate to the needs of each union.

Methodology

For students on the diploma course assessment takes the form of writing essays, examinations and collaboration on a research project. Examples of essays written include the problems of organising farm workers and state/trade union relations in African states. Examination papers revolve around workers' struggles in Africa, communica-

tion and administration skills, theories of trade unions, South African labour history, labour law and political economy. The research project explores a different theme every year. In 1992 the theme was 'The making of the South African Working Class'.(13) Each student was asked to research and produce a family history. The aim of this was to highlight the different ways in which a working class was forged in this country. To assist the students a workshop on Natal/Kwa Zulu regional history and research methodology was held together with regular meetings with the co-ordinator of the project. Students then deliver their written research project as well as deliver oral presentations on their findings. According to the director of the project, the work produced is "very exciting and some of it is of publishable standard".(14)

Successful students are awarded a diploma accredited by Ruskin College, University of Oxford in England. The motivation for approaching an outside institution is found in the Workers' College prospectus: "The uniqueness of this project is not accommodated in the South African educational system. To reach and maintain a high standard it was decided that an external educational institution be approached to endorse our diplomas. To this end Oxford based Ruskin College has offered to monitor and accredit our students."(15)

After eighteen months into the project an evaluation process was undertaken with the participation of unions, students, tutors and trustees. The following issues surfaced:(16)

1. Trade unions must be briefed more thoroughly and timeously with regard to selection criteria

2. The 'mix' as regards the trade union affiliation of students needs to be sensitively considered

3. Student evaluation and assessment needs to be creatively reconsidered in the light of the educational experience and social background of the students

4. There is a paucity of appropriate study and course material in terms of content, ideology and educational level

5. As a result of educators being part-time, they worked in isolation of each other

6. Some students' attendance was erratic because of workplace difficulties

7. There was an absence of time for study and revision and a lack of library and other resources.

Funding

The College operates on funding largely from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and church organisations. Participating trade u[illegible] also contribute. The Trustees though acknowledge t[illegible] College must move in the direction of self-sufficiency. Toward this end discussions have been held with participating unions on affiliation fees and subsidisation of student costs. One of the ideas expressed was to encourage unions to establish scholarships to award bursaries to students.

Civic Education Project - Civic Association of Jhb (CAJ) and Khanya College

While worker education in South Africa is largely confined to initiatives by trade unions and for trade union membership, a few programmes which specifically target civic activists in working class communities do exist. As stated in the section `Towards a definition of worker education' trade union education while forming a major component of workers' education is by no means the whole of it. The Civic Education Project is an example of worker education outside trade unions. The Civic Education Project was a joint venture between CAJ and Khanya College, with assistance from a service organisation, PLANACT. Civics which took part in the project were: Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO), Soweto Civic Association (SCA), Westbury Residents' Action Committee (WRAC), Riverlea Civic Association (RCA), Ennerdale and Surrounding Areas Civic Association (ESCA), Kliptown and Eldorado Park Civic Association (KEKIDCA) and ACTSTOP. The overall aim of the course was to enhance the capacity of the civics to serve the needs of their constituencies.

Content

The course combined `hard skills' with technical and political issues. The five areas the training covered

were: (17)

1. Organisational/Political Focus:
   This area contributed to an overall political analysis by looking at the position and role of civics in the past, present and future. Other issues covered revolved around making civics more organisationally effective and learning from international experiences.

2. Specialised 'Hard Skills'
   This module covered financial management, office systems, report writing and computer skills.

3. Technical Issues
   These revolved around an understanding of housing, services, land, local government and the Metropolitan Chamber.

4. Leadership Skills
   Skills were developed in running meetings, understanding power relations, resolving conflict, strategic planning and communication.

The fifth broad area dealt with negotiations.

Structure

Ultimate organisational responsibility rested with the Khanya College Training Co-ordinator. This entailed finding venues, assessing resources, liaising with trainers and providing course material. A joint course supervisory structure consisting of the Khanya Training Co-ordinator and the CAJ Course Training Co-ordinator was established.

Methodology

The course included both intensive training blocks and one day workshops. There were four, six day residential blocks as well as one-day workshops held once a week and on every alternate Saturday over a period of five months. (18) The attempt was to combine the educational advantages of intensive training with a schedule that allowed civic members scope for maintaining their activity in their organisations.

A wide range of participatory methods were used on the course such as presentation of case studies by participants, role plays, simulations, debates and talks by outside 'experts'. To ensure uniformity of the methodology a workshop was conducted with the trainers before the course began.

Funding

Funding was received from OXFAM (R102,687) and from Interfund (R59,820).(19) The bulk of the budget was spent on the use of facilities and accommodation; this amounted to R92,703. The expenses of the CAJ co-ordinator were the second highest expense amounting to R24,000.(20)

Evaluation

This was accomplished using the following means:(21)

- Immediate written assessment by participants of each workshop or each training session through a brief questionnaire covering the content, methodology and views on the facilitator

- A programme of civic visits by facilitators to assess progress of participants

- Self-evaluation by participants of their progress

- Evaluation by the respective civics of their members involved in the course.

This process resulted in a number of strengths and weaknesses being identified. The strengths were that the planning process ensured maximum relevancy so that the participants' stated needs were met. What started off being an amorphous group of individuals coming from different civics later became a dynamic forum for inter-civic exchanges. Valuable course material and programmes were developed for the civic movement to use in ongoing education.

The weaknesses (22) included a lack of monitoring of participants' progress in their actual Civics. A substantial number of participants were neither executive members nor full time organisers in their respective

civics. As a result most civic structures were not able to integrate them into day to day activities. This reduced the course's optimal effectiveness. It is also an indictment of the civic movement that more than trade unions it relies on a few individuals in leadership structures instead of the membership in ongoing programmes. The course was not able to fully integrate the "civic struggles, the classroom and support services".(23) The course therefore had the danger of becoming an academic exercise instead of being rooted in the actual struggles and issues being faced. A further weakness has been the perceived lack of contact between the participants and CAJ. According to the evaluation, "Unfortunately, it would appear that the CAJ co-ordinator has not been relaying ideas to the appropriate structures in CAJ or has not been reporting back to Course participants in a methodical and systematic way on the responses of these structures. In addition, because of the lack of access of most course participants to their own affiliate structures, these ideas are not being considered and tested by most civics at local level."(24)

These are substantial weaknesses yet they should be seen in the context of a civic movement which remains structurally feeble relying on intellectuals outside the civic structures.

The course has highlighted the problems that need to be overcome and the possibilities and potential for a wide ranging education programme for civic members

Workers' School - Wits University

According to Trevor Ngwane, (25) presently the co-ordinator of the TGWU education department, the School had its precedents in 1988 in the inauspicious setting of the Sociology staff tearoom at the university. Trevor Ngwane, who at that time was a tutor in the industrial sociology department, and M.N.Mothibeli an ex-NUM organiser and research assistant at the Sociology of Work Programme (SWOP), started the school unwittingly by showing videos of international workers' struggles. Very quickly twenty to thirty workers from the university began attending during their lunch breaks every Tuesday.

The videos had to be translated as they were shown. This cumbersome process together with workers discussing their own problems, meant that the focus of the meetings changed.

The tutors began to address the problems faced by workers around literacy and numeracy. This was done in an integrated way. For instance, a mathematics lesson on percentages was held using workers' own experiences of their wage increases based on percentages. A history lesson on the creation of the working class, migrant labour and apartheid-capitalism used the family histories of workers to explain the process and concepts.

Within a few months 150 workers began to crowd the tearoom. The different levels of literacy in the class posed problems. Some workers were barely literate while others needed help with their matric syllabi. Workers decided to approach their union NEHAWU as well as the university administration for assistance with a bigger venue and other resources. The political strife in COSATU discussed in chapter six spilled over onto campus. The Congress aligned student group Azasco and the Nehawu leadership discouraged support for the initiative.(26) Trevor Ngwane recalls that workers approached the COSATU Education Committee and the Johannesburg Local of COSATU to intervene. Members of Nehawu also sent a delegation to the Nehawu offices. Despite this, suspicion toward the initiative continued, and resulted in two Nehawu shop-stewards stepping down as shop-stewards in protest against their union's stance.

The university administration did not co-operate fully. A venue called `The Wedge' was given to the workers. It was clear that this was to be a temporary arrangement as the building housing the school was to close down to make way for a highway. In the interim, one of the initiators of the school, Trevor Ngwane, was dismissed from his post. According to Ngwane, the methodology he employed in teaching which emphasised assignments, group discussions and open book tests was not approved by the department and this led to his dismissal. Workers involved in the school initiative then `employed' Ngwane to co-ordinate activities at the school. This was done on a voluntary basis although workers paid for his travel costs.

A workers' committee was formed to decide on the subjects to be taught as well as to interview students at the university who were willing to teach. Besides literacy and numeracy, classes were held around the theme `Skills for Democracy'. This entailed issues such as account-

ability, the role of leadership and meeting procedure. Later, subjects such as computer literacy and drawing were also introduced. Many workers wanted to complete their matric. After a two year struggle the school registered many workers with the GCE for their "O" levels. The exam fees as well as the costs of materials which were sent from England rendered this venture unfeasible, although eight workers did pass.

Registering with the DET also proved problematic as DET wanted adults to write their exams in May or June and not at the end of the year like other students. The high exam fees was also an obstacle. During the course of 1991 the Workers' School spearheaded marches to the DET offices.

During this period many students at DET schools were not allowed to continue their schooling. Hundreds of these students, many of whom were the children of the workers at the university, appealed to the workers' school for assistance. They were allowed to join the Workers' School for a year. Lack of resources meant that programmes arranged by the Workers' School for the two hundred students had to end.

Despite appeals by the Workers' School to the university administration, including marches on campus, financial support for the School is minimal. Presently, the university gives a grant of R5000 a year to the school. Funding was also a bone of contention between the Workers' School and the National Literacy Co-operative (NLC) which the Workers' School joined in 1992.(27)

The Workers' School wanted the NLC to adopt a policy on funding. There was a perception that funders were not giving money to initiatives like the Workers' School. It was also felt that the bulk of funding paid for the salaries of the staff of service organisations instead of grassroots projects. Another issue raised in the NLC by the Workers' School was the demand to have a special enquiry counter at banks to assist workers who were not literate. This intervention was partially successful.

The Workers' School today caters for two hundred workers; half of whom work at the university and the remainder at the Braamfontein depot of the railways which is close to the school.

Workers' Education Project - (W.E.P.)

After the disbandment of UTP, a number of UTP staff decided to form WEP in July 1991 in Johannesburg. WEP is guided by the same objectives which UTP attempted to achieve. These are to:

i) develop and help sustain an awareness, consciousness and pride in all workers as members of the working class and in the community

ii) enlighten all workers, through education and organisation, about their rights as members of the working class both to discover their dignity as human beings and to relate together for their growth and benefit

iii) engender a spirit of self-help, emancipation, self-determination and human dignity amongst workers

iv) promote the acceptance of and struggle for internationally accepted trade union principles and to advocate worker solidarity.(28)

The WEP staff is comprised of six members. These are the General Secretary, Education Co-ordinator, Administration Co-ordinator, Research Resource Co-ordinator, Receptionist/Typist and the Bookkeeper. The WEP has an executive committee made up of one of the founders of UTP - Loet Douwes Dekker and Tony Cornell. In addition invitations were extended to the CBDP, POTWA and SACCAWU to serve on the committee.

During 1992 WEP and the Cape Town Union Library jointly attempted to bring together trade union federations, workers' colleges and other related organisations in order to form a national workers' education association.(29) As a result of this endeavour a steering committee was established in order to work towards a seminar concentrating on international models of workers' education, review of workers' educational activities in South Africa and future co-ordination of workers' education in South Africa. COSATU accepted responsibility to promote these objectives while the International Federation of Workers' Education Associations (IFWEA) pledged financial support. COSATU to date has not concretised this initiative.

From its inception in July 1991 to December 1992, WEP conducted seventy-two educational events for thirty-three organisations with a total attendance of 1234 participants.(30) Participants were largely shop-stewards from COSATU, NACTU and unaffiliated unions.

Content

The courses offered by WEP are the same as those that were offered by UTP (see section on the content of UTP courses). WEP, though, is guided by the demands of the participants. This means that some of the standard courses have to be adapted and new ones introduced. The following courses in order of popularity were held in 1992:(31)

TOPIC	FREQUENCY OF COURSES
Grievance and disciplinary procedures	17
The Shop-stewards: Duties and rights	16
Preparations for wage negotiations	11
Collective bargaining and Negotiations skills	08
Meetings and Meeting procedure	05
Trade union basics	04
Affirmative Action	02
Job Evaluation	01
Union democracy and structures	01
Workmen's Compensation Act	01
Dispute Settlement Procedures	01
Introduction to Research	01

Methodology and Evaluation

WEP in its educational activities observes the following principles: Education needs to be active and not passive, the experiences of course participants must be used and the needs of participants respected.(32)

In line with these principles, WEP courses and seminars are dominated by discussion groups, case studies, video showings, role plays and led discussions.

A standard questionnaire is filled in by all participants after each activity. The following questions appear: (i) What did you think of the verbal presentation? (ii) What did you think of the visual presentation? (iii) Did the presentation give enough information theoretically and

practically? (iv) Did you acquire new skills?. All the questions were answered in the affirmative by the vast majority of participants. Some participants felt that there should be greater reliance on the mother tongue.

It was clear to the education co-ordinator that this system of evaluation was not adequate.(33) For this reason WEP also conducts a random opinion survey of the unions of the participants. In 1992 BAMCWU, FBWU and T&GWU amongst others were approached. According to Petros Masase, chairperson of the shop-stewards committee at Corobrick, members of whom belong to BAMCWU, it was found that the ability to shape demands for a wage increase was greatly enhanced.(34) Roddy Teu, the National Treasurer of FBWU, when asked to what extent had WEP courses assisted the union in developing shop-stewards replied:

> Excellently, shop-stewards who have been through WEP courses have always been preferred by members of the union. This is chiefly because such shop-stewards, with the skills they assimilated from the courses, are capable to deliver goods and excell to the delight of members. Such shop-stewards have seldom escaped re-election into their positions in the higher hierarchies of the union.(35)

Funding

The WEP receives almost 90% of their funding from overseas.(36) Funders include the German Church organisation - Misereor and the Dutch trade union movement - C.N.V. Participating unions are asked to pay R5 per participant per day for every course and R2 per participant for the cost of materials. These costs are applicable where unions themselves pay for their own transport as well as accomodation and meals. In circumstances where WEP pays for accomodation and meals participatory unions are asked to pay 25% of the costs.

Basic Course for Adult Educators (BCAE) - SACHED Trust

The BCAE course started in 1992. This course - an initiative of the S.A. Council of Higher Education (SACHED), grew out of the civic and trade union educators' training

component of the previous LACOM (Labour and Community Education) project in SACHED which ended in 1991. It was felt that the Lacom project's work in civics and unions over many years formed a significant body of experience and should become accessible to a greater number of organisations and activists.

The course is a departure from `one-off' workshops and is aimed at designing and delivering coherent courses for adult educators in mass organisations located at grassroot level. According to a BCAE staff member, the objective is to create competency in:(37)

1. Explaining the importance of adult education in national development.
2. Identifying and defining training needs using a systematic approach to develop an education programme.
3. Preparing and presenting a learning session efficiently and effectively using appropriate methods.
4. Using appropriate education programme evaluation methods.
5. Co-ordinating and administering an education programme.

Methodology and Evaluation

A third of the course, that is a period of almost four weeks, is delivered through what the BCAE refers to as `face to face' methods. This is accomplished in the form of seminars and workshops to consolidate existing skills and knowledge of the trainees as well as to introduce new skills. It also serves to broaden the trainees' understanding of Adult Education. Between the `face to face' learning blocks, trainees are given `practicals' to consolidate what they have learnt. For example, a trainee will be asked to facilitate a workshop in her/his organisation. These `practicals' normally last for eight weeks, although it could be shortened or lengthened depending on the particular organisation.

Two methods of assessment are used. There are regular written assignment assessments after every component of the module, as well as five projects or practical teaching sessions which form part of the continuous assessment.

Content

The curriculum of the BCAE is divided into three blocks.The first block begins with teaching organisational skills such as writing reports and minutes, meeting procedure, time management, writing proposal and drawing up budgets. The course then discusses planning and co-ordinating educational events.Different methodological approaches to education are examined and evaluation skills and techniques are assessed. The first block ends with field work were the participant has to put into practice all that was learnt.

The second block begins with a review of the field work and goes on to examine strategic approaches to adult learning within organisations and communities. Material development also features in this section. The third section involves evaluation of the course.

Other organisations formed in the eighties, offering services to workers, are too numerous to catalogue in this report. There is a clear case for convergence between many of these organisations and the labour movement. Issues confronting the labour movement are increasingly becoming complex and varied, stretching the reserves of unions and requiring a broader knowledge base.

While collaboration is necessary there should be clear preconditions. The unions' membership must be involved in the content, focus and control of the programmes; collective educational development of all workers rather than only individual progression must be encou- -ed; finally the institutions particularly universiti -eeking such collaboration must themselves be transformed:(38)

> In such a collaboration, the involvement of academic institutions must not be a welfare activity for the oppressed and exploited but a process of interaction leading to valuable learning experience, a means of making education relevant to the needs of society and oriented towards a solution of the existing problems. There must be an organic link between non-academic and university curricula.

CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION

For many, the new problems faced by unions are not merely administrative and technical and cannot be solved through these methods. Rob Rees(1), for instance, argues that the lack of worker participation in the policy making structures of COSATU is a consequence of the political direction of the trade union leadership. For him "our leadership is too intent on deepening its relationship with the bosses and finding compromises with them".(2) Rees argues that the solution to counter the decline in worker participation lies on "challenging the current politics of class compromise".(3) He says: "If we could spend as much time and resources in building solidarity and working class unity as we spend in meetings with big bosses (and their government), we would strengthen consciousness and lay the basis for turning defeats into victories."(4)

Allan Horwitz (5) in his article `Supping with SACCOLA' argues that the energy and optimism that accompanied COSATU's birth is being moderated. Besides the issues Rees raised, Horwitz also adds the growth of a bureaucracy which has weakened democratic control in unions:

> This process (the bureaucratisation of the union movement) is now beginning to develop.* As the revolutionary aspect of our struggle gives way to working with and accommodating the bosses, so national worker office-bearers, organisers and national negotiating teams (at company and sectoral levels) learn a new language and new values - those of the dominant ruling class..... In many unions the secretariat is becoming more and more hierarchical..... The consciousness of collective work is giving way to the authority of the `director'.(6)

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* Besides the increase in the differentials of officials' salaries, the different job grades and even a proposal to introduce merit increases, I was privy to witness at a union head office a symbolic but also ridiculously sublime spectacle of a member of the union's secretariat who in all earnestness was wheeling about different categories of chairs corresponding to the positions of officials;the most comfortable went to the heads of the different departments and the least comfortable needless to say was given to administrators who need comfortable chairs the most! The said member of the secretariat had just attended a course at the Wits Business School on organisational management.

It is not fortuitous that the National Education Committee (NEDCOM) of COSATU in 1993 focused their discussions on the problems of democracy in COSATU. The NEDCOM elected a committee from various affiliates as well as the COSATU national education officer to examine the problem. The committee highlighted the reasons for the lack of effective mandating. (Appendix M)

The recommendations made were:

> To insist that paid time-off is an essential precondition for negotiations; to revive and revitalise Campaign structures at affiliate and federation level; to restructure negotiations - it was felt that the proliferation of joint forums with employers and the state has drained the union movement of resources and personnel. Rather the committee motivated for the streamlining of negotiations to encompass a set of key demands which workers can relate to.

It was also argued that decision making rights were being ceded to individuals and therefore an open debate on the understanding of democracy needed to occur. More emphasis was to be placed on mass action to achieve demands such as a moratorium on retrenchments, a living wage and paid education leave. Finally the committee called on COSATU to encourage workers on the factory floor to investigate the production process by providing the necessary resources and training instead of relying on experts.

Having considered these critiques it is necessary now to ascertain whether unions themselves are appropriate vehicles to carry through a comprehensive programme of worker education.

Michels (7) in his classical study *Political Parties* develops a thesis which states that although trade unions originate in a struggle against authority and undemocratic practice, they are prone as other organisations are to an `iron law of oligarchy'. For Michels, according to Hyman's (8) interpretation, it is impossible for unions to operate on the basis of `direct democracy' as collective bargaining requires an organisation led by full-time officials with specialised knowledge.

The necessity for bureaucratic leadership relates exponentially to the size of the union. Officials, even if elected, remain in office in perpetuity. Michels argues that, "When the leaders are not persons of means and when they have no other source of income, they hold firmly to their positions for economic reasons, coming to regard the functions they exercise as theirs by inalienable right."(9)

Only officials acquire significant skills; at the very least they become difficult to replace. Ordinary members too are to be blamed for this situation as they tend to accept that officials have a `customary right' to lead and often indulge in hero-worship. These factors together with the inadequate information, experience, confidence and mass apathy amongst rank and file members conspires to reinforce oligarchic control. For Michels the material conditions of trade union leaders makes them `lose all true sense of solidarity with the class from which they have sprung'.(10) This includes socialist commitment:

> What interest for them has now the dogma of the social revolution? Their own social revolution has already been affected. At bottom all the thoughts of these leaders are concentrated upon the single hope that there shall long continue to exist a proletariat to choose them as its delegates and to provide them with a livelihood.(11)

Approval from the `significant others' (that is management, media, trade union bureaucracy) and despite the nominal political objectives of the union is an added enticement to be moderate and express `reasonable' and `realistic' opinions.

In the celebrated words of C.Wright Mills (12), the union official is a `manager of discontent' mediating between workers and employers. The union official regulates what otherwise might be disruptive both within the industrial routine and within the union which s/he seeks to maintain.

This state of affairs it must be stressed is not a result of any personal characteristics of officials but rather their objective function - understanding that they work

within the constraints set by a capitalist economy and a capitalist state. Antonio Gramsci (13) over half a century ago succinctly grasped this fact by acknowledging that while the winning of concessions from the employers as a result of 'industrial legality' is important and does improve the working class's material living conditions, it is still a compromise and must be seen in a temporary, tactical light. Yet Gramsci argued "The union bureaucrat conceives industrial legality as a permanent state of affairs. He too often defends it from the same viewpoint as the proprietor....He does not perceive the worker's act of rebellion against capitalist discipline as a rebellion; he perceives only the physical act, which may in itself and for itself be trivial."(14)

Increasingly unions in South Africa conduct their struggle and are bureaucratically organised in ways which lend credence to the arguments of Michels, Mills and Gramsci. Not long ago, in the seventies and eighties, most union officials joined the labour movement out of political commitment to working class struggle. This subjective consciousness in many instances overrode the objective function of union officials. Also, most gains made by unions in the past two decades was a result of challenging rather than by abiding the rules of 'industrial legality'.

The trade union bureaucracy has to face both ways. While it holds back and controls workers' struggle it is wary to push the collaboration with the state and employers too far, lest this provokes internal challenges to the leadership, or support to rival unions. The union bureaucracy therefore has to tread carefully and not alienate its base, it must preserve the union organisation which is the source of its income and social status.

Michels and other 'pessimistic views' on trade union organisation do not take into account that the bureaucracy is not homogeneous. There are significant ideological differences between union officials and at different periods union officials do feel pressure from below.

Gouldner (15) has argued that:

> When, for example, Michels spoke of the 'iron law of oligarchy', he attended solely to the ways in

> which organisational needs inhibit democratic possibilities. But the very same evidence to which he called attention could enable us to formulate the very opposite theorem - the 'iron law of democracy'. Even as Michels himself saw, if oligarchical waves repeatedly wash away the bridges of democracy, this eternal recurrence can happen only because men doggedly rebuild them after each inundation. Michels chose to dwell on only one aspect of this process, neglecting to consider this other side. There cannot be an iron law of oligarchy, however, unless there is an iron law of democracy.

Recent developments in the South African union movement though, as shown by the NEDCOM recommendations and studies by others, reveal clear obstacles to democratic control. The drift of the trade union leadership toward a social contract only exacerbates the problem and has serious implications for the independence of and democracy within unions.

While general problems with the social contract approach have been dealt with elsewhere, we need to examine its specific relation to worker education. Already some see union representation to the National Economic Forum as a way of solving the problem of education and training for workers. This approach leaves open the certainty of intervention by the state and capital over the content and control of worker education. An added danger is that unions will become too dependent on the resources of the state and capital.

The experience in Britain of the Trade Union Council (TUC) with the Labour Party and British capital in the mid-seventies holds important lessons for us. In an article on workers' education and the crisis of British trade unionism, John Field (16) writes:

> While the TUC adamantly rejected direct employer control over union education, its independence was compromised by the legislation and agreements of the mid-1970s. First, legislation allowed paid release only for certain stipulated categories; these were for the most part workplace stewards and health and safety representatives.

> Second, it was open for employers to challenge the content of courses where they felt that it was irrelevant to industrial relations (an option increasingly taken up by employers in the past five years). Third, partly for reasons of cost, almost all the expansion was taken up by fairly short courses (five to ten days), largely taught in local authority technical colleges. Fourth, the grant depended on continued government goodwill; in 1983 it was cut, and part of the rest was allotted only to courses jointly approved by employers. Finally, the TUC consciously sought to confine course content to workplace issues, encouraging tutors to rely upon centrally produced materials and not to apply any specialist knowledge of their own.

In the introduction to this report I stated that:

> Not only can worker education significantly ameliorate the educational deprivation of those who have suffered the most from the legacy of Apartheid-Capitalism, but it can also become the building blocks of a new, relevant and socially useful education system. If formations such as trade unions and community organisations are <u>independent</u> and <u>democratically controlled</u>, they will be much more responsive to the needs of their members and will possess much more legitimacy than the state. Thus they will improve the success of urgently required and socially necessary educational interventions. For this to happen the vehicles for conceptualising, implementing and controlling educational interventions must be located within civil society.

Chapter two outlined the philosophical, pedagogical and methodological basis for worker education. This was drawn from both South African and international experience in the workers' movement over many decades. Chapter three looked at the lineages of the contemporary union movement and tentatively raised the links between the independence and democratic control of worker organisations and its effect on worker education. These links were more fully explored in chapters four, five and six.

Chapter four, in looking at the formative years of worker education in the seventies, argued that educational organisations and their worker education programmes were integral to the formation of the independent trade union movement. This movement, in turn, impacted on these educational organisations. This dialectic influenced the content, control and methodology of worker education initiatives such as the UTP and the IIE.

The formation of FOSATU in 1979, discussed in chapter five, brought with it innovative features all having considerable import for worker education. The concrete realisation of the purposes and aims of worker education, as outlined in chapter two, was made increasingly possible through the features established in the early eighties.

Chapter six pointed to the contradictions involved in implementing worker education. Events outside the union movement in the eighties and nineties influenced the course of the union movement and also the content, control, and methodology of worker education. Increasingly, the purpose of worker education was compromised for short term political gain and interests.

I have tried to show that the consequences of this trend, namely bureaucratisation and the neglect of union membership, can be reversed partly through worker education. With this in mind, education for the rank and file through accountability, critical thinking, political openness, study circles, paid education leave, induction courses, and cultural forms of education was elaborated upon. Chapter seven looks at the increased possibilities of worker education through co-operation with agencies, organisations and institutions outside the union movement.

As can be seen, the emphasis on unions and civics being appropriate vehicles for worker education was tempered throughout this report by the proviso that they must be independent and democratic. The implications of a bureaucratically demoralised membership and manipulative tendencies which stifle critical and creative praxis are far reaching for worker education. Unless these problems are solved, many of the possibilities that exist for worker education in South Africa, beyond the boundaries

of trade unions, might be squandered. The conclusion of a study on worker control in unions is instructive:(17)

> Shop-stewards have hitherto been immersed in an embracing ethos of accountability, commitment and care for their fellow workers. But that care and accountability must be seen to operate from the bottom, right to the very top of the unions, or the evident sense of dissatisfaction can become disillusionment and even self-serving cynicism can set in.
>
> Workers democratic control is not only necessary for the practical political reasons of ensuring their commitment and the effective functioning of the unions. Empowering workers is seen by shop-stewards themselves as an end in itself.
>
> Out of the horrors of economic exploitation, political oppression and social degradation, South African trade unions have developed a unique (not perfect, but special) form of developing and directly empowering workers. Encouraging in workers a **capacity** for and a **conviction** about their rights to exercise control is a powerful and liberating principle and whatever the difficulties - every effort has to be exerted to defend and extend it. The debate, now, is how this is to be done.

Worker education could be the tool to accomplish this but only if it is geared towards critical thinking, the instilling of new values and new social practices as well as technical skills.

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> When labour strikes, it says to its Master,
> "I shall no longer work at your command".
> When labour organises a party of its own, it says,
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23. Webster, Eddie - assisted with education in IIE and FOSATU. Presently head of Sociology Department, University of Witwatersrand. May 12th 1993, Johannesburg.

24. Young, Gordon - LRS Director, May 14th 1993, Cape Town.

25. Schroeder, Igshaan - PPWAWU National educator. May 24th 1993, Johannesburg.

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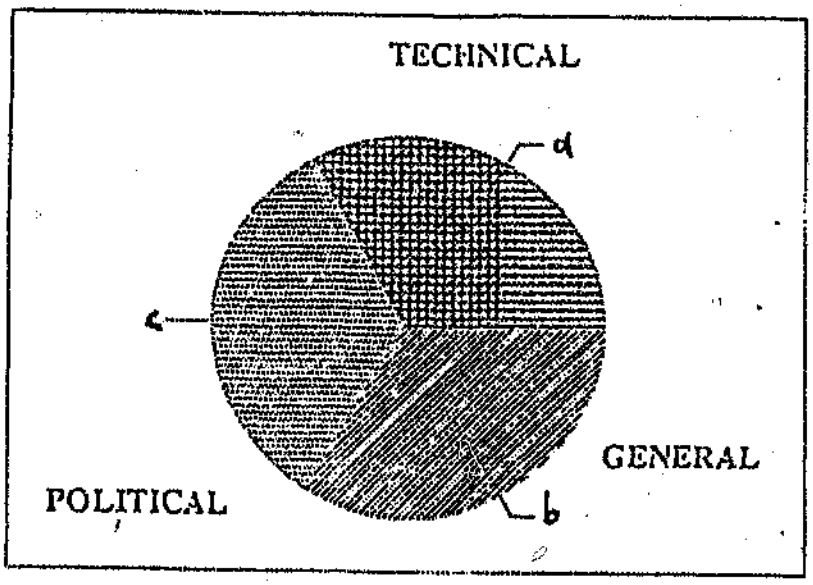
2. Journals, Magazines and Newspapers

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South African Labour Bulletin (SALB)
The Shop-Steward
Transformation
Work in Progress (WIP)

BCAE MODEL OF AN INTEGRATED EDUCATION

(a) SKILLS for running organisations, education programmes, operating and managing productive process. This involves scientific knowledge, technical skills and management expertise.



(b)

Increasing GENERAL KNOWLEDGE and thinking capabilities developing literacy and numeracy as the necessary tools for technical and politi development.
Developing capacity to read an write. Also capabilities aroun
Critical Thinking
Independent Judgement
Creativity and
Expression

(c)

Developing class consciousness i.e. understanding the society we live in today
Unmasking the dominant ideology of Capitalism
Learning how organisation can change the present society
Linking adult education with the struggle in the workplace and in the community.
Developing new practices e.g. democratic decision making, collective action, co-operation and solidarity. Developing POLITICAL awareness and attitude towards sexism, racism, class oppression and cultural imperialism.

WORKING HOURS

Pat is an apprentice hairdresser. Her working week is 53 hours. She has no lunch breaks nor tea breaks. As a result of this she is always tired when she gets home.



Frank starts work at 7.00am, and finishes at 6.00pm. He has two tea breaks. He also has half an hour lunch break.

Frank works from 7.00am to 6.00pm = 11 hours a day.
less the breaks (lunch and tea) = 1 hour
Therefore Frank works 10 hours a day.

He works five days a week. This equals 50 hours per week.

At Michael's firm, they often do overtime. They then get time off during the week instead of getting paid for the overtime.

SEE:

1. How many days do you work per week?
2. How many hours per day? And per week?
3. What breaks do you get?
4. What are your normal hours supposed to be?
5. How much overtime do you do each day? And each week? (Are you forced? - Is your overtime compulsory? How?)
6. Do you know any young workers who work on weekends doing shift work, or have irregular working hours? (Explain their situation)

JUDGE: (Can the meeting discuss some of the following)

1. How do the above situations affect us - (personally) -
   - our health?
   - our personal life?
   - our family life?
   - our social life?
2. How do these situations affect our fellow workers?
3. How do these working hours benefit the Company?
4. Why does the YCW Movement challenge us to change our situations?

ACT: (Plan action for the week)

1. What are the first steps we can take to change our situation?
2. What means can we use to help us in our action? (e.g. what pamphlets? - Can we make one? - Anything available from the Regional Office?)
3. What are we going to do with the means?
4. Who of our fellow workers can we enlist for help?

REVIEW MEETING 1

- ON WORKIG HOURS

What did I say I would do this week ?

SEE: Report back on the action since last meeting...

- Who did you contact?



- What was their response?
- What did they say?
- Were there any suggestions for action?
- Was anything further done?
- What difficulties did you experience?
- What did you do with the means?

JUDGE:

1. Why do we experience these difficulties?
2. How can we overcome the difficulties?
3. Is it important for us to carry on with our action? Why?
4. What do we want to achieve through this action?

ACT:

1. So what is our next step in the action?
2. Who else can we involve in our action.....?
   - other workers not already involved? How?
   - Trade Unions? How?
   - Shop stewards? How?
3. How can we use the means we have, to help us in our action?
4. What other means do we need?
5. Can each person say what he/she is going to do this week!

CCAWUSA'S RESPONSE TO MAWU RESOLUTION IN SEPTEMBER 1986

REPORT BACK ON DISCUSSIONS HELD BY CCAWUSA JOHANNESBURG BRANCH ON THE MAWU RESOLUTION AT A SEMINAR ON 12 - 13 SEPTEMBER 1986.

MAWU Resolution A) In line with COSATU's policy resolution, how can we maintain the federation's independence and the leadership of the working class within the national struggle.

CCAWUSA answer :

- By workers having structures wherein they can make their own decisions
- By having good education programmes to create independant thinking and to promote working class interests.
- To promote self reliance of workers.
- To actively promote worker control and socialism within the federation and the community.
- By full implementation of COSATU structures.
- By maintaining discipline.
- By non affiliation of COSATU to political organisations.

MAWU Resolution B) How can we make sure that all the members of COSATU unions fully and democratically discuss all national campaigns to make sure that they are effective? How can we do this under the conditions of the state of emergency ?

CCAWUSA answer :

- Information must be taken down to the shop floor for discussion and decision making.
- Need to discuss more effective and efficient structures.
- Delegates to locals must come with mandates and not their own ideological positions.
- Democracy must prevail at all times and a state of emergency should not result in undemocratic practises.
- Agendas and proposals must be sent out well in advance of meetings.
- Unions must form national shop steward councils.
- Communication must be carried through all the structures.
- Wherever leadership is detained it must be replaced.
- In emergencies interim structures must be formed.

MAWU Resolution C) How can we make sure that all the major decisions of COSATU have been fully and democratically discussed by all the workers at the shop floor ?

CCAWUSA answer :

- Proposals must be sent to the shop floor for debate before decisions are taken.
- Shop stewards must be fully briefed, shop stewards in turn must fully brief workers and there must be enough time allowed for this process.
- Meetings must be held regularly.
- Co-ordinating shop stewards must monitor to see wether decisions have been discussed democratically.
- All COSATU decisions must be taken through the structures.

MAWU Resolution D) How can we build the national, regional and local structures in COSATU to be strong, fully democratic and properly controlled by workers ?

CCAWUSA answer :

- The constitution must provide for democratic structures and practises and where it doesnt it must be changed e.g. CEC and REC representation is undemocratic.
- There must be proportional representation at CEC and REC.
- Delegates must work on mandates and represent their union's views.
- There must be emphasis on democracy. There must be democratic free debates and democratic elections and appointments.
- Shop stewards attending COSATU locals must come with mandates from their union locals. All local office bearer positions must be held by workers. Locals must have one or more shop stewards from each establishment.
- Must respect and keep to majority views and decision making.
- Need good educational structures at local, regional and national levels.
- The general unions must merge and there must be only one union in each industry.
- Sectarianism must be avoided. Must promote a common goal of socialism but within this must provide for and be tolerant of different viewpoints.
- Unions must have strong shop steward systems with shop steward council

MAWU resolution E) How can we make sure that there is complete freedom of speech inside COSATU at all times, so that we can critically and openly discuss each step on the road to socialism ?

CCAWUSA answer :

- Making sure free and democratic debate occurs.
- COSATU must accomodate a wide variety of political viewpoint.
- There must be proper meetings procedures.
- Workers with different viewpoints must regard each other in a comradely manner and not intimidate each other or engage in slander.
- Affiliates must accept criticism and carry out self criticism.
- Should discourage sectarianism to enable freedom of speech.

Why the action on July 14th was not well supported.

CCAWUSA answer :

- It was a top down decision.
- Structures were depleted and co-ordination was poor.
- There wasnt enough discussion at shopfloor level.
- If COSATU is to take action on its own then the right strategy is to use sit in strike action, not stay aways.
- Stay aways involve mass based action which is often enforced by the youth. Enforced action is not educating or developing workers. Workers are making a political statement at the point of production by striking.
- What is the aim of the action and what organisations are involved will determine what is the right kind of action to take. At times there will be mass based action involving community and student organisations and at times workers will needto take their own shop floor action.
- If COSATU wanted to use the stay away weapon all organisations should have been involved.
- Democracy is lacking in COSATU and proper channels of communication are not been used. Decisions can be a success if proper consulting, decision making and channels of communication are used.
- COSATU structures need to be more efficient.
- Right wing elements caused problems and a Weekly Mail report confused the situation.

CCAWUSA WITS REGION 14. 9. 1986

APPENDIX 'E'

CCAWUSA'S RESPONSE TO CEC'S DISCUSSION DOCUMENT 'THE WAY FORWARD'

ISSUES RAISED ON THE DISCUSSION PAPER 'THE WAY FORWARD' AT A SEMINAR HELD BY CCAWUSA JHB BRANCH ON 12-13 SEPT. '86

THE LOCAL SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL (PAGE 4 & 5 IN THE DISCUSSION PAPER

A. Democratic Representation and Decision Making

1. Only Shop Stewards and active union members who have been mandated by their unions should attend Cosatu Locals.

2. Officials can be present at Cosatu locals but should not make decisions, dominate discussion or hold office bearers positions.

3. Decisions must be made at the various affiliates S/S councils. Where these councils do not exist they should be encouraged. The democratic structures of the affiliates must not be ignored. Cosatu locals cannot make decisions for the unions. Thorough discussion must first occur at the S/S councils of Cosatu affiliates.

4. Cosatu locals should not by-pass the union structures by intervening directly in the factories.

5. Locals need to respect regional and national structures. The skipping of structures will be undemocratic and could cause confusion. Similarly issues raised at the top levels of Cosatu must be discussed democratically by the REC's, affiliates and locals.

B Relations with Community Organisations

Locals should elect sub-committees to participate in street and area committees. In this way they will promote democratic structures in the community. The sub-committees will work closely with community organisations. The sub-committees should not represent unions or locals. The organisational and political independence of Cosatu must be guarded.

C. Unemployed and Students

To maintain accountability, the getting of mandates and generally democracy, it was felt that non-organised workers and students should not attend Cosatu locals. However, if specific issues merit the presence of the unemployed and students these groups should be invited as observers. Students and the unemployed could also request a meeting with the local.

D. The Functions of a Local

i) To assist in disputes and campaign in the area.

iii) Serves as a political meeting point in the area.
iv) Serves as a force in uniting affiliate unions at local level.

This can be accomplished by

a) creating and maintaining links
b) facilitating co-ordination.

REGIONAL ORGANISATION (PAGE 5 & 6 IN THE DISCUSSION PAPER)

1. Locals can be present at the Regional Executive Committees (REC's) but can not have voting rights.

2. Care must be exercised to prevent conflict between Union delegates and local reps.

ORGANISE THE UNEMPLOYED (PAGE 9 & 10) IN THE DISCUSSION PAPER)

A. The Need for Support

It was strongly agreed that there is a need to assist the unemployed. Suggestions were that:

i) Cosatu should form aid and advice offices.
ii) Campaigns for a 40hr week and a ban on overtime must be encouraged.
iii) Companies must be forced to make contributions.
iv) Concessions on rent and transport must be made.
v) Unions to form support groups for their retrenched workers.
vi) Organised workers to donate through their subscriptions and priority given to retrenched or dismissed workers who once belonged to unions.
vii) Employment generating projects should be embarked upon.

B. The Question of an Unemployed Workers Union

1. The long term interests of the unemployed and of workers are the same. Although it was felt that the destruction of capitalism will benefit both groups their short term interests are different.

2. In addition it was pointed out that some conflicts have already occured. An example was given of a recent event in Tembisa where the unemployed through an organisation demanded that migrant workers be expelled from the township, the hostels vacated and their jobs given to the local unemployed.

3. It was unanimously agreed that the Unemployed Workers Union is inappropriate because,

i) It is impossible to talk of a paid up membership
ii) There will be a huge paper membership without proper and democratic structures
iii) There is no point where the unemployed can regularly gather.
iv) There could be conflict in tactics with organised workers for eg. the unemployed will have little difficulty in supporting a 6 months stayaway whereas this will be disastrous for organised workers.
v) The Unemployed Workers Union could easily outvote because of their numbers other unions.

C. The Need to Organise the Unemployed

An appropriate model would be for unemployed people to be organised by community organisations. The unemployed can provide services to the community and can be paid by the community. Examples were given of the possibility for co-ops, gardening, basic metal work, candle making, sewing etc.

D. The Cosatu Resolution Concerning the Formation of an Unemployed Workers Union

It was acknowledged that there is a Cosatu resolution on unemployed workers which calls for the formation of an unemployed workers union but this resolution was not carefully thought through. It was agreed that we attempt to amend the resolution. Comrades felt that we are in a strong position to suggest an amendment as this resolution originally came from CCAWUSA. It was pointed out that the resolution was drawn up by a very small committee and was not discussed properly!

CODE OF CONDUCT (PAGES 10 & 11 IN THE DISCUSSION PAPER)

1. Under the discussion on democratic control it was agreed that the CEC is not democratic. It was pointed out that larger unions eg. CCAWUSA with over 50 000 members are allowed a delegation of 4 while unions with a few hundred members are allowed 2 delegates. It was strongly felt that this should change.

2. A long discussion ensured concerning the final point under democratic control which revolved around compromises. After a vote it was felt that that point be excluded from the discussion paper.

3. Comrades felt that we should strive for . principled unity and unity should not be at the expense of democracy or the sacrifice of working class interests.

   Attention was brought to p.3 which calls for "unity at all costs" this should be changed to "principled unity".

GENERAL

The point that the discussion paper and Cosatu News were written without consultation with affiliates was criticised and is causing concern. It was felt that CCAWUSA should raise this matter with those responsible.

COSATU draft WORKERS' CHARTER

Draft COSATU Workers Charter

Prepared for discussion in COSATU - January 1992

Introduction

In drafting this document we were guided by the following conception of the worker's charter: that it would be a document aimed for the transition - a dynamic organisational and fighting tool. We also envisaged that it could be changed through the course of struggle.

This draft needs to be discussed by affiliates in preparation for the March CEC. This CEC should amend and/or endorse as a draft for COSATU to present to the Worker's Summit in May.

Note: A final draft would not include the present numbering (e.g. 1.1.1., 1.2. etc) and would be written better. Comrades should concentrate on commenting on the content.

1. Preamble

We the working people/ workers declare:

1.1. South African workers are exploited and oppressed. Every day we face the ravages of capitalism - poverty, low wages, unemployment, bad working and living conditions. The blame for these ills must be laid firmly at the door of the capitalists and the present government.

1.2. Together with all other democratic forces we must strive to end this system and establish a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.

1.3. Our future lies in the achievement of socialism/ a social system which is free from exploitation and oppression and where workers, who constitute the majority, play a leading role. We must be able to play a key and creative role in shaping our workplace, political and economic environments. In this way we will be able to fully develop our potential as human beings.

1.4. We can only achieve this by being well organised and united.

2. Trade union rights

2.1. All workers shall have the right to form and join trade unions and organise workers freely. They shall have the right to stop order facilities, recognition of shop stewards, access by officials to work places and access to information.

2.2. There shall be the right to bargain collectively/together on all social and economic

issues that affect workers. This shall include the right to determine the appropriate level of bargaining and the right to participate in work place decision making.

2.3. Trade unions/ worker organisations shall have the right to fair and equal access to the courts.

2.4. Workers should have control over institutions such as the training boards, labour courts, the National Manpower Commission which affect their lives. All legislation which affects trade unions shall require the consent of the majority in the trade union movement.

2.5. The right to strike

2.5.1. The right to strike is a fundamental right and workers shall have the right to strike on all socio, economic or political issues. Even a State of Emergency shall not prevent workers from striking.

2.5.2. During strikes workers shall have the right to picket, to strike funds, to call boycotts or to hold sympathy strikes. Scabs shall be outlawed.

2.5.3. There shall be no victimisation by employers or other sources as a result of strike action.

3. Role of trade unions

3.1. Trade unions shall be independent from the state, employers or political parties. They shall be democratically controlled by their own members.

3.2. Trade unions shall strive towards building in practice the principle of unity at industry, federation and international levels.

4. Working and living conditions

4.1. Living wage

4.1.1. Every worker shall have the right to a living wage which shall provide for a decent standard of living for all.

4.1.2. There shall be a right to adequate housing which shall be the state's responsibility to ensure.

4.1.3. There shall be a right to a living pension and retirement benefits, medical care, full parental rights, child care and public transport.

4.1.4. There shall be a maximum 40 hour week.

4.2. Right to leisure

There shall be a right to leisure and recreational facilities. Workers shall have

adequate rest and leisure to give us an opportunity to develop our talents and skills in areas unrelated to our specific jobs. This shall encourage the all-round development of workers. Attention shall be given to overcoming male stereotypes which stunt and prevent the all-round development of both men and women.

4.3. Right to a job

Every adult person shall have a right and duty to work. A new state shall, as a matter of priority, work to create economic conditions in which jobs are available to all.

4.4. Unemployment

There shall be a living social security/ unemployment benefit until such time as their is full employment.

4.5. Migrant, forced and child labour

4.5.1. Migrant labour shall be phased out or in cases where it is unavoidable, provision shall be made for family accommodation during any period of service exceeding three months.

4.5.2. Child labour and all forms of forced labour shall be prohibited.

4.6. Women

4.6.1. The constitution shall recognise the fundamental equality between men and women in marriage, employment and in society.

4.6.2. Marriage laws shall give women equal rights before marriage, in marriage and in the dissolution of marriage.

4.6.3. Rape, battery, abuse and harassment of women shall be outlawed.

4.6.4. Domestic work shall be shared equally.

4.6.5. It shall be the duty of the state, political parties, trade unions and all other mass and social organisations to ensure women's participation at leadership and other levels. Measures, including educational campaigns shall be embarked upon to combat all forms of male chauvinism.

4.5. Discrimination and affirmative action

4.5.1. Any form of discrimination based on race, colour, sex, creed, religion, physical disability, marital status or nationality shall be prohibited.

4.5.2. The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate racial, gender, rural/urban and other forms of discrimination and social and economic inequalities that has resulted from apartheid.

4.5.3. Special attention shall be paid to redressing the oppressive situation faced by farm and domestic workers and those trapped in the Bantustans.

4.5.4. There shall be equal pay for work of equal value.

4.6. Education and training

4.6.1. All workers shall have the right to education, training and skills upgrading. Education and training shall empower workers to control the economy. Trade unions shall play a central role in human resource development.

4.6.2. There shall be a nationally integrated education and training system. Formal education shall be free and compulsory. The state and employers shall have a responsibility to train and upgrade workers' skills. There shall be equal access to promotion, training and recruitment.

4.7. Health and safety

4.7.1. Workers shall have the right to work and live in a healthy environment. The state shall have a responsibility to implement suitable environmental policies.

4.7.2. The state shall provide accessible and safe health care. Abortion shall be legalised.

4.7.3. Provision shall be made for the rehabilitation and where necessary the provision of alternative employment for disabled workers.

5. Democratic rights

5.1. There shall be one person one vote in a unitary South Africa.

5.2. There shall be a Bill of Rights which shall includes workers' concerns as reflected in this document.

5.3. There shall be accountable government. This shall include a constitution which contains provision for a referendum to overturn unpopular laws or to ensure that certain laws get passed. There shall be a right to information from government and adequate consultation on all proposed laws that will affect workers.
(Note: this contradicts 2.4. - need to choose in final draft)

5.4. Media - radio, TV and newspapers shall be democratically controlled. They shall not be dominated and controlled by the state and big business. Mass organisations such as trade unions shall have free access to the media.

5.5. Terms of office of executive officers shall be limited. There shall be a right to recall all elected delegates.

5.6. Crucial worker rights, individual and collective rights shall not be easily changed or suspended. This shall be ensured through entrenching these clauses of the constitution.

6. Economic rights

6.1. Wealth shall be redistributed to benefit the people as a whole. The white capitalist monopoly of ownership and managerial control shall be done away with. Forms of collective ownership shall be introduced.

6.2. The state shall play a central role in the redistribution of wealth using weapons such as nationalisation. It shall use its resources and power to promote economic growth and job creation.

6.3. The economy shall work within a system of democratic planning by the state, involving workers, civics and other organs of civil society. Trade unions shall play a central role in economic planning.

6.4. There shall be active participation in the planning and running of enterprises by workers.

6.5. There shall be redistribution of land.

7. International rights

7.1. Internationally set standards shall be ratified and implemented by the state.

7.2. There shall be South African and African worker solidarity. Trade unions and worker rights shall be guaranteed throughout Southern Africa to prevent employers and governments exploiting lower labour standards in certain countries.

7.3. There shall be freedom of movement, residence and employment throughout Southern Africa.

7.4. There shall be international solidarity. South African shall pledge themselves to support struggles of workers throughout the world.

NATIONALISATION DEBATE : COSATU WORKSHOP

Speakers: Martin Nicol - NUM
Sallim Valli - WOSA
Vella Pillay - ANC

Summary of Main Points

M. Nicol - NUM

1. Nationalisation should be part of restructuring process of South African Economy.

2. Restructured economy should benefit the working masses not a tiny rich minority.

3. Restructuring of the economy should involve the redistribution of wealth. This would require:

   a) The compulsory direction of investment.
   b) New Taxation policy
   c) Work creation and welfare scheme.
   d) A redistribution of land as well as nationalisation.

4. Through this process the economy could grow i.e. growth through redistribution.

5. Nationalisation will assist in giving power to a future worker's state to restructure the economy and to improve social conditions.

4. Nationalisation programme should start off by nationalising five key companies which dominate the economy. The five are:

   Anglo American
   Gencor
   Barlows
   Remprandt
   Anglovaal

5. Control over these companies would give state control over a huge part of the economy. This would include most of the mining, manufacturing and banking industry. Nationalisation needs to go hand in hand with worker's control.

VELLA PILLAY OF ANC

1. Nationalisation may not be the way to redistribute wealth.

2. Alternative to nationalisation is control over surplus created through present capitalist relations.

3. Capital and labour together with other forces in the economy redistribute surplus through means of "Social Contract."

4. Through a "Social Contract," investment could be redirected to more social useful projects like housing, unemployment etc.

WOSA

1. Nationalisation is the first step towards controlling production.

2. Nationalisation is necessary to allow the state to plan the economy.

3. Starting point of nationalisation is to eliminate control of five big monopolies.

4. This process can only happen when state is in the hands of the working class.

5. The restructuring of economy can effectively take place once political control is won through the seizure of state power by the working class.

SUMMARY OF DEBATE

Points of Agreement:

1. Nationalisation remains a key process in the restructuring of the economy.

2. Nationalisation of key industries is part of growth path.

3. Definite areas for nationalisation can be identified e.g. public sector enterprises,
social service sector water; electricity; transport and housing.

4. Nationalisation of five conglomerates should be more carefully looked at. This process should involve the study of control mechanism. Agree now that we definitely need strong state intervention and control of conglomerates and monopolies.

5. State should be democratic and be controlled and influenced by organs of civil society.

6. Democratic state must lay basis for increased control of the economy by the working class.

7. Democratic state to develop an economic plan to

restructure economy. We should be developing that plan now.

. Economic plan should be shaped by our present campaign's

for Centralized Bargaining, Industrial Councils

Workers Charter

Living Wage

OR FURTHER CLARITY AND DEBATE

.. How do we control the commanding heights and what should be done now.

How do we intervene in the financial markets e.g. JSE, banks etc.

3. What role will co-operative sector play.

4. What kind of fiscal policy are we looking at. Role of taxation, etc.

5. Foreign Investment, loans, capital usage, how will we control this.

5. How do we involve workers in restructuring. Worker participation and control - How?

EED FOR GREATER DETAIL IN

1. Role of democratic state.

2. Role of civil society in shaping state.

3. Specific role of trade unions as part of civil society and as independent trade unions.

4. Process of nationalisation.

5. Shaping an economic plan.

FOR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION

* Transport: State already changing transport sector.

* Housing: Intervene immediately on 2 levels (1) state plans (privatisation), (2) Campaign's by civics

* Mining Industry: a) Chamber Restructuring mining already
b) Look at mineral exploitation.

* Training: Capital privatising training

* Industry: Unions need to study their own industries as capital is restructuring e.g. Do what NUMSA has done.

ISSUES TO RAISE AS MATTER OF CONCERN

1. ANC's current positions seen as movement away from Nationalisation.

2. Both ANC and COSATU and SACP not co-ordinating an approach on Economy.

3. Individuals when presenting papers put their own position. Need to stop this practise immediately, both in ANC and COSATU.

4. COSATU members and ANC members on ground not involved in debates and discussions on economic restructuring.

8

* a transfer from State hands to various other forms of ownership of enterprises in the construction, services, food and other light industries.
* larger enterprises and heavy industry to be transferred into joint stock companies (not clear who will own these)
* foreing companies to be allowed to invest with up to 100% ownership
* a flexibile exchange rate system

A FEW CENTRAL LESSONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE ABOVE PRESENTATIONS ON HUNGARY, YUGOSLAVIA, WEST GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION.

1. STATE OWNERSHIP DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN WORKER PARTICIPATION

2. WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT CONTROL OVER THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IS BEING EXERCISED (SEE THE WEST GERMAN MODEL)

3. SOCIALIST ECONOMIC PLANNING THAT IS COMPLETELY CENTRALISED (AS WAS THE CASE IN HUNGARY) TENDS TO LEAD TO SHORTAGES AND INEFFICIENCIES IN THE ECONOMY. HOWEVER SOCIALIST ECONOMIC PLANNING IS VERY DECENTRALISED (AS IN YUGOSLAVIA) CAN RESULT IN REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN WAGES AND OTHER CONDITIONS, LEADING TO CONFLICTS.

4. THE INDEPENDENCE OF UNIONS FROM THE PARTY IS CRUCIAL IF WORKER INTERESTS ARE TO BE PROTECTED IN THE ECONOMY. THEY MUST NOT SIMPLY BE TRANSMISSION BELTS FOR DECISIONS MADE BY THE CENTRAL STATE.

COSATU ECONOMIC POLICY WORKSHOP

Johannesburg, 1-2 November 1990

Session 5: The Economic policy of the ANC

Cde Tito Mboweni, ANC Department of Economic Policy

Documentation: *Discussion Document on Economic Policy*, ANC DEP, September 1990
Workshop Package on Discussion Document on Economic Policy, DEP

Introduction - Cde Tito:

The discussion document is not based on a one-off intellectual decision. It is the result of processes that have been going on for some time. The document draws heavily on the discussions between ANC and COSATU in Harare in April 1990 and the resulting "Harare 1" document. The ANC Department of Economic Policy was urged by the leadership to prepare a document on ANC economic policy for the December Congress. This resulted in the compilation of the present document after a meeting of ANC economists in Harare in September. This "Harare 2" document is more systematic and coherent than Harare 1, but it still leaves space for discussion. All ANC branches should discuss the document in a process of finalizing a document on economic policy. They must make their views known. ANC "economic associations" are being set up in all regions and branches to dynamise discussions on the economy.

The document takes as its starting point the heritage of poverty, inequality and economic stagnation handed down to us by the Apartheid economy. It outlines the main problems of the SA economy:

* The lack of investment both in existing factories and in new areas

* The contraction in the manufacturing sector

* The characteristics of South Africa's previous "growth path" which relied on luxury production for the wealthy parts of the community, not production for basic needs.

SA needs to develop a new "growth path". We should use the meeting of basic needs as the entry-point for a new growth strategy. Housing is one critical issue. In addition there are other consumer items the poor would like to consume. We need to orient the economy to meet these needs. There was a lot of debate at the second Harare meeting: Is meeting basic needs the *only* characteristic of the growth path? The meeting agreed to take a "two leg" approach: a drive to meet basic needs and a longer term program to develop new industries, specially those which can be competitive on the world market and promote new exports.

The goals of economic policy are covered on page 5. The key elements in a national development strategy follow on pages 6 and 7.

Section 4.3 covers forms of ownership and control in the <u>mining</u> and strategic industrial sectors. It leaves open for debate the future form of ownership and control in the mining industry, but several possibilities are touched upon.

- in certain cases, the government may decide to encourage investment through joint ventures between itself and local or foreign capital

- the state should control an agency for marketing all minerals (the aim here is to ensure that South African suppliers do not compete with one another in the international market, thus forcing down prices)

- there is a suggestion that a publicly owned mining corporation might be involved in the control and ownership of mines, rather that the state having direct ownership.

Clearly, the NUM will have a lot to input into this debate.

Public utility corporations must remain in public hands, but the ANC discussion document sees an important role for the <u>private sector</u> in economic development. It acknowledges the role of the market in determining prices and directing resources - but not in a completely unregulated fashion.
The vital importance of developing human resources is raised on page 10. There needs to be a change in the whole approach and in the content of all education programmes.

Civil society is accorded an important role. Trade Union's should have a central role in all economic policy decisions.

Finally, the SA economy must be seen in the context of the global economy. The world in becoming divided into trading blocks. We must use the manufacturing sector as a base. We need to develop a close and mutually beneficial relationship with the neighbouring states.

In conclusion, the discussion document is not the final word. The DEP doesn't see itself as having to "defend" the document. It has been issued to promote discussion. Comrades must make their voice heard. So when the final document is presented to the ANC Congress in June 1991 it has benefited from feedback and discussion.

<u>Questions and Comments</u>

NUMSA: Cde Vella Pillay said yesterday that business had put pressure on the ANC on the issue of nationalisation. Could Cde Tito outline what are the pressures that the ANC is under from business?

Cde Tito: The word "nationalisation" is not mentioned in the discussion document. Why? It is a tactical point. If you are on a journey and you are faced with a head-on collision, you try and avoid it and find another route to your destination. "Nationalisation" is a word that brings images with it. We do talk of the important role of the public sector. We have been under intense pressure from companies who want to invest. They ask "Will our assets and investments be safe?". They say "We want to go to South Africa, but we can also go to Thailand or Indonesia, and we will go there rather than to SA if the ANC is not clear on nationalisation".

On the other hand, there is pressure on us from the grassroots that nationalisation must feature prominently in any future document.

It is easy for COSATU to adopt a strong position on nationalisation. The ANC, as a multiclass alliance, has to tread carefully. It needs feedback from COSATU and the grassroots through the economics associations.

We need to ask "What is the balance of forces in resolving the conflict in

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A". The pressure on the ANC was enormous before this document. But now it has come out, the ANC view has even over-shadowed the SACOB document (the economic policy document drawn up by business). Black businessmen also want to feel included. They are an important force and if they are disgruntled they can sabotage the economy.

The basic needs of the people are basic and fundamental to our position. It is not only political liberation that is needed. Economic liberation is also vital.

CCWU Cde Tito says that pressure is coming from both sides - from business and from the grassroots. He refers to a "tactical shift" away from using the word "nationalisation" in the discussion document - but this reluctance to refer to nationalisation now extends into ANC interviews, debates and addresses. The leadership is now talking a totally different language from what the masses on the ground are saying. Through the media we read reports on what the ANC is saying at business meetings and it is clear that the ANC is coming out with a line that causes discomfort amongst our own people. The so-called tactical shift in the document now means an actual shift in what leadership people are talking of publicly and even when they address ANC meetings. Debates at the local level are totally different. The situation is that the leadership moves in one direction - with business - and the people are moving the other way. This is a problem.

CTWA The so-called "new climate" in South Africa exists because of the unions, the civics, the youth and their sacrifices for the struggle - not because of business. It is not unreasonable for the masses to regard ANC statements as a sell-out position. It is clearly a watered down position that does not reflect the views of the people.

NC (PE) It is not fair to direct these comments at Cde Tito. We have to consider the balance of forces. We are faced with a government that is acting aggressively, attacking our movement, combined with a demobilised ANC and an alliance that is not working. We need to face another question: What do we need to do to change the balance

of forces so that we can amplify the COSATU and SACP voice? We strengthen the ANC's line only by strengthening organisation. Only then can we have a strong line.

Cde Tito: The document has to take a tactical position - else your whole ground gets weakened. But actually, in terms of our strategic position, this document is a very important step. Pressure fell apart when the document came out. Nationalisation is the key issue. No one is opposed to restructuring the economy, or to involving the trade unions, or to meting basic needs and so on. These goals are shared. But there are differences on tactical questions. The aim is to get discussion and debate going. The economics associations will promote an interaction between the DEP and branches. We don't want to discuss slogans (like "nationalisation"), but the actual content of economic policy. Economics education for our people is very weak. We must give the demands of the people content. So we don't put forward the slogans, but the content. ANC speakers on public platforms have not had a clear idea of what is happening. The discussion document can now act as the central source for all speeches - it creates some consensus. The DEP is bound to put forward what is in the document. It provides a systematic approach. It is a guiding document for the leadership when they talk on economic issues. The document draws directly on the COSATU/ANC workshop in Harare. The issue is also how the alliance works at the grassroots level. The economic associations must feed in the workers' views. Other forums at regional level on economic policy must draw in COSATU and the SACP.

NUM Cde Tito spoke of the ownership of <u>some</u> mines being vested in the State. Our policy is the nationalisation of all mines. The NUM is worried about the tactical approach of the document. It hopes it is not a "tactical retreat" as well.

Cde Tito: The thinking is that if, after discussion, we decide that the state should hold investments in some mines there may be some marginal mines we don't want to burden ourselves with. Do we want joint ventures between the state and the private mining houses? We must look at the options. Perhaps we decide to make strategic investments in profitable mines with better returns. There needs to be further discussion on these issues and specially with the NUM.

[illegible]2 Cde Tito says that the main criticism of the document is its failure to mention nationalisation. The problem is actually broader. Look at the language of the document. Whatever our criticisms of the media, it does reflect what the leadership actually says. It seems that business has a much greater ability to put pressure on the ANC than our own people. Business has phones, secretaries and faxes. They seem to get a better and quicker reaction from the ANC than our own structures. The ANC shows more interest in responding to business than to ANC branches. When a Johannesburg branch asks for an ANC speaker, he doesn't come. The leadership seem more interested in going to meetings with big business rather than interacting with the mass membership. There is a growing fear that the leadership does not have the capacity to respond to the people. The tactical omission of "Nationalisation" is not the only problem. The broader problem is that the <u>language</u> does not reflect a concern with the needs of the people.

Tito: We can use the loopholes in the document to build strength. The has a limited influence on the leadership. A useful exchange can come m feedback. Does the document reflect the needs of the people? That is appropriate question. Don't discuss the ANC leadership style here - it is e constructive to look at the document.

SA2 This is a tactical document that does not reflect strategic objectives directly. We are told that the document does not exclude them, but certain final objectives are thus not explicitly reflected in the document. <u>These</u> are the issues we need to discuss openly. Are we clear on what these strategic objectives are?

WU On the issue of restructuring, we need to meet basic needs and get a positive growth path. What are the low-cost commodities we should produce? How can we set out the factories to produce them? Our statements are too general. How are we going to define the role of the public sector in getting growth off the ground?

NUMSA1 Yesterday we spoke of nationalisation. We agreed that, by itself, it cannot be the whole solution. The Harare documents try to define a framework for policy and a growth path. Is it correct that we can be tactical about certain issues that are fundamental to the growth path? Nationalisation is vital in certain areas. We focus on the issue of redistribution. Will growth take place <u>through</u> redistribution. This is less clear in the second Harare document. The favoured policy of capital is "Grow now - and then redistribute later". Are we sliding towards this position? We must stick to nationalisation. It does not work to make a tactical retreat on a fundamental issue. If we retreat, people will say we are not strong and don't hold to our positions. We must say out loud that nationalisation is basic to a growth path based on redistribution. This must be stated in our framework document. It is a serious problem that the present document, even, is not being used by our leadership. Here we don't see a tactical retreat - it's confusion. It is a short-sighted view to make adjustments to our policy in the face of pressure. We must insist on the principle of nationalisation <u>within</u> a framework document on economic policy. (Leadership) comrades talk from their own views all the time. Then the press presents their views as ANC policy. And we get confusion.

ET COSATU or ANC policies cannot be prepared without going through structures. It is very bad to present the discussion document as if we have detailed answers to every possible question that could arise from it. For we then feel forced to respond to detailed questions. When we don't have, in fact, a detailed, prepared position, this means we tend to respond depending on the situation - tactically. The appropriate response is determined by the audience at that particular time. We should rather say openly: "We do not have a detailed policy, but we know there are problems (say) in the mining industry - including low wages, poor safety conditions, bad housing and a severe profit squeeze - and our policy will address these problems and the constituencies they affect." It is bad to give detailed policies without the knowledge base - for you just end up responding to specific circumstances.

APPENDIX 'H'

CWIU'S EDUCATION ADDENDUM INCORPORATING PAID EDUCATION LEAVE TO BASIC TRADE UNION RIGHTS AGREEMENT

ADDENDUM TO BASIC TRADE UNION RIGHTS AGREEMENT :

EDUCATIONAL AGREEMENT:

A. Statement of intent:

The parties accept that it is in their best interest to ensure that employees and their elected representatives are familiar with the various aspects of industrial relations, collective bargaining and economic and political developments.
That it is a basic human right of people to learn and advance their knowledge or improve their skills according to their needs and desire. The company will thereforedo everything in its power to assist with the advancement of education for employees.

B. The union and the company therfore agree as follows:

1. In order to carry out their duties , union shopstewards shall receive appropriate training as approved and designed by COSATU and /or the CWIU.

2. Shopstewards shall be entitled to undertake such training during working hours without loss of any earnings (including bonus, overtime and all other benefits) which they would normally have earned had they been at work for the days that they attend the course. Such paid training leave shall not exceed 20 days per annum per shopsteward.

3. Where a shopsteward works on a shift or rota system, payment will be granted for one full shift per day of the course(including shift allowances/bonuses).

4. The company will re-imburse expenses for the cost of lunches and transport for such courses (not exceeding R20.00 per day).

C. The above provisions shall apply to the following training:

a) Basic Shoptewards Training for new shopstewards.

b) Intermediate Shopstewards Training for shopstewards who have completed the basic course and who have served at least 6 months therafter as a shopsteward.

c) Advanced Course for shopstewards for shopstewards who have completed the basic and intermediate courses and who have served as a shopsteward for at least one year.

d) Further training courses:
Special training/Policy updating seminars for dealing with current developments on issues such as health,safety and the environment,CINPF (Provident Fund), political and economic developments.

*** All these courses a-d will not exceed 3 paid days at a time.**

D. Other Education:

1. Study - circles:
The company will allow not more than 10% of the union members to participate in study circles by releasing them for 1 hour per week during company time to deal with educational issues of their choice

2. Factory presentations/seminars
The company will allow at least 1 hour per fortnight for union members to participate in educational activities, during company time.

3. Extensive Courses (up to 6 months full-time duration)
The company will be sympathetic to requests for various forms of adult education for individual union members to participate in and will ensure all the necessary practical and material assistance where possible.

E. Education administration

1. The union agrees to give at least 2 weeks notice in writing of any educational activity as listed in C and 1 weeks notice for 1) and 2) listed in D.

   At least 3 weeks notice will be given for extensive courses

2. The company will respond in writing within 48 hours of receipt of educational requests

3. The company will ensure proper and timeous liaison with shopstewards/members regarding educational requests.

4. The union and the company will endevour to reach agreement on any problems arising from the operation of this agreement, and shall refer any differences to the normal procedures dealing with grievances and disputes.

MJ 08/92

SACCAWU
JOHANNESBURG BRANCH

Producers, Thinkers, Learners, Comrades!

What do we think -

* about the way women and men relate?
* about how people should be educated?
* about shacks, hostels and houses?
* about class struggle?

- and what do others think about such things?

The Saccawu Johannesburg Local Education Committee is organising a Workers' Film Evening once every three weeks.

We will watch films and videos made by many different people, from many different places, made at different times, and take in their point of view, their ideas, their approach to these things. And we will put forward and debate our own views and ideas.

All Saccawu members can attend. We are also inviting anybody else who is interested, including workers from other Union Locals. Bring your colleagues, parents, sisters, friends!

Program for the next three Film Evenings

1. Tuesday 26th March: SALT OF THE EARTH

Workers on a salt mine go on strike. The bosses react. Do the workers really know where their strength lies? This film was made in the 1950s, on a salt mine in Mexico, North America.

2. Tuesday 16th April: BATTLE OF CHILE

This documentary was made in 1973 in Chile, South America, during the defeat of the new socialist government. How is socialism built? What was the balance of forces which brought the bosses back?

3. Tuesday 7th May: THE SEROWE BRIGADES

The Great Debate on education in South Africa is underway. But "who educates the educators?" A lot could be learned from Serowe, a dusty little village in Botswana.

FILMS WILL START AT 5:30 pm SHARP IN THE FILING HALL, 4TH FLOOR, IB CENTRE.

APPENDIX 'J'

SACCAWU JOHANNESBURG BRANCH
WORKERS' FILM EVENING NO.1

"SALT OF THE EARTH"

Discussion - Questions to consider

1. What is more important : success in the struggle against the bosses, or authority in the home ?

2. Is it more important to support the working class or tosupport your family?

   Is it responsible for the women to take risks on the picket linewhen they have children to look after ?

3. Is it a wife's business to include herself in a mineworkers' meetings ?

4. Are South African miners weak because they live in hostels and their wives are not there ?

   Or is it better for mens' independent action that they should live in hostels ?

5. Which approach was better :

   the spontaneous action of the men, or the strategic approach of the women ?

6. Why were the strikers eventually succesful ? Would this kind of success be possible in South African conditions of struggle?

APPENDIX 'K'

SACCAWU

Johannesburg Branch

Workers Film Evening Number 2

FILM: "THE BATTLE OF CHILE"

"The political rule of the producer cannot co-exist with the perpetuation of his social slavery."

(Marx, 1871, writing after the Paris Commune)

Questions for discussion:

1. How did the socialist party come to power in Chile?

2. How did the bosses regain control?

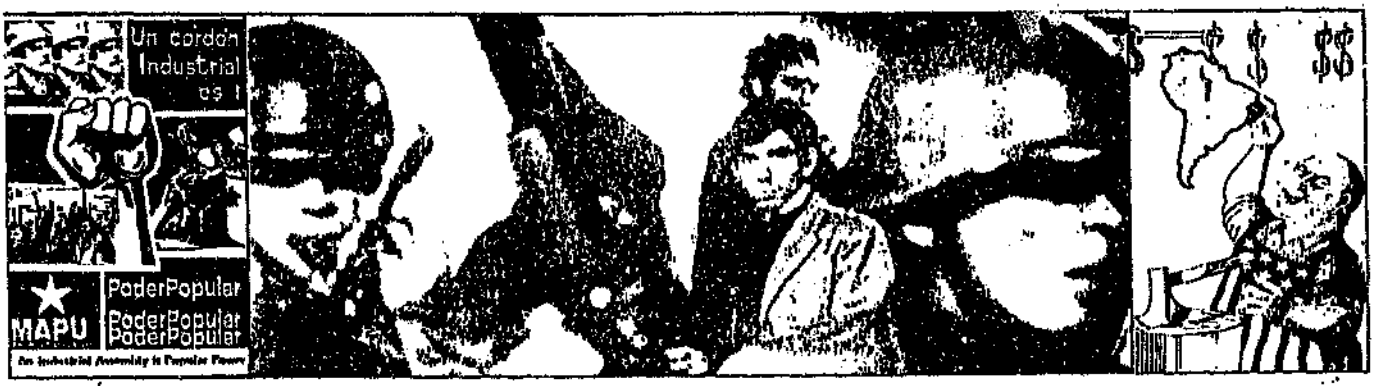
3. Was the working class in control of society during Allende's reign?

4. Can workers manage production? What special training do they need?

5. What should happen to the capitalist class in a worker controlled society?

6. Why did the USA help the Generals?

7. Is Parliament the real arena of struggle?



A Chilean worker is arrested by the military police in 1973

The dark days of Chile

In 1973, the government of Popular Unity in Chile was overthrown. The coup was led by General Pinochet, chief of the army.Chilean president Salvador Allende was murdered along with over 30 000 men, women and children. Trade unions were smashed, their leaders shot. Leaders of people's defence committees suffered the same fate. How could such a popular government defeated? *Vukani Basebenzi* examines the lessons of Chile in the light of the current situation in South Africa.

THE government of Popular Unity came to power during a strong wave of working class activity which the old rulers were unable to stop.

The new government was dominated by the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist party (CP). These forces did not win a clear majority of votes in the elections.

To gain the presidency, Salvador Allende (of the SP) had to make compromises with other parties to the right. The compromise involved guarantees that the new government would not interfere with the existing state machine.

The army would be left in the hands of the old generals.

There would be no radical programme of nationalisation of industry.

For many people the victory of Salvador Allende was an inspiration. He was the first Marxist to come to power through the road of parliament. The "peaceful road to socialism" had at last been found!

Reforms

The new government of Popular Unity (UP) received tremendous support from the majority of the population. The working masses and peasant people saw it as their government.

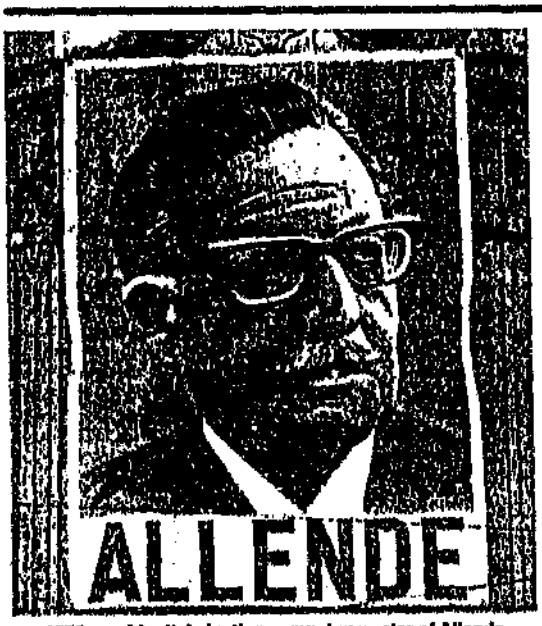
A number of important reforms were made. Political prisoners were released, a ceiling was placed on government officials' salaries. The riot police were disbanded and social services were improved. Children were given free milk daily.

The confidence of the working class was strengthened in this climate. The political leadership of the bosses was in disarray. They resorted to disrupting the economy, slowing down production and refusing to invest money.

In many cases the working people started to take things into their own hands.

There was great suspicion of the intentions of the old rulers and bosses. Workers occupied factories and forced the government to speed up nationalisation of industries threatened by the bosses actions.This created a real dilemma for the government of Popular Unity.

On the one hand they tried to pacify the bosses demands that change was happening to fast.



1970 presidential election campaign poster of Allende

On the other hand the new government needed to satisfy the hopes and aspirations which its victory had aroused amongst the people at large.

Bosses fight for control

In October 1972, the bosses started mounting a fight back against the gains made by the working class and peasants of the countryside.

The lorry owners, supported by other businessmen, factory owners, shop keepers and right wing political parties mounted a strike.

They parked their trucks and disrupted the trains. The object was to disrupt food and essential services to the people.

Workers responded by occupying factories and forming self defence committees called 'Cordones'. Cordones crossed the divide between workplace and community. Their demands were radical and clearly defined – immediate action against the bosses and right wing; immediate nationalisation of industry under worker control.

The workers had found many bosses removing parts of machinery from the factories in order to sabotage production.

Unfortunately the Popular Unity government did not fully support the Cordones. Independent action by the working masses worried them. Instead more compromises were made.

Three army generals sympathetic to the bosses were allowed into government. Laws were passed restricting the ownership of weapons. A curfew was put in place. This had the effect of disrupting the masses' ability to organise.

A 22 year old worker put the feeling of the working people very clearly. "I think comrade Allende has been very soft; he says its because he wants to avoid violence, but I think we should respond with more force, scare them to death (the bosses). They're trying to take away what we've won".

A government with generals

The Communist Party and the new government praised the patriotic dedication of the armed forces.

They argued that the army was a neutral force, strictly professional. The army generals in government could be used in the people's advantage. This was later to prove a fatal illusion.

In June 1973 a Colonel Souper led his tank regiment in a right-wing uprising against the government. Twenty two people were killed in the uprising which was defeated. The right wing had not as yet been able to consolidate the army properly.

Workers responded immediately to the call to defend the popular government of Allende. They took over factories, schools and hospitals in order to keep essential services going.

Illusion smashed

The illusion that the army was constitutional and non-political had been smashed.

This was the day when the Chilean working class might have had the will and power to take power fully.

Instead they were held back by their own leaders in the government who argued that militancy would "provoke the forces of reaction".

Allende continued to push the line "have faith in the patriotic forces" and once again declared a state of emergency.

The army made full use of this space. Factories were raided to confiscate arms held by workers. The "law of arms control" was used to carry out this task. It had been passed by the Popular Unity government the year before.

The right wing in the army smashed the radical groups that did exist in the armed forces. Worker organisations came under fire under the pretext of keeping order in the country.

Popular Unity falls

On September 11, 1973 the army under the leadership of the butcher General Pinochet, mounted a bloody coup with the military and political support of American imperialism.

Salvador Allende refused to surrender and chose to fight, but the force capable of defending him, the workers and peasants were unable to come to his aid. They had been disarmed by his own policies.

Allende was killed defending the presidential palace and the government of Popular Unity was defeated in blood.

Tragedy

This was the real tragedy. Those that had led from above had been afraid to allow a mass struggle for power from below.

They had rewarded workers who had come out in a popular uprising against the bosses in October 1972, by taking army generals into government.

They had let the police smash factory occupations and land seizures. Factories were handed back to their previous owners.

At all times they hindered or diverted moves which led in the direction of workers gaining confidence from their own actions, of workers taking power themselves.

Everything had to be ordered by the path of the constitution. A road to nowhere ending in defeat for the masses.

DISCUSSION ON THE PROCESS OF MANDATING IN COSATU

DISCUSSION ON THE PROCESS OF MANDATING IN COSATU for COSATU NEDCOM

Why has the problem of a lack of effective mandating arisen?

• The negotiations process has reduced workers to passive spectators of the action.

• This disempowerment of workers is intrinsic to the Social Contract which ties the trade unions into a joint partnership with capital in managing capitalism, because:

(i) policy is formulated at the 'peak' association level (centralised, national) with top leaders, and then given to workers;
(ii) democracy shifts from the imperative mandate to representative leadership, where the fact of being elected gives one an open mandate to operate with discretion rather than with definite directives from the constituency;
(iii) workers rely on negotiations instead of their own power;
(iv) solidarity policies are abandoned eg a living wage for all, in favour of more 'realistic' policies, eg minimum wage;
(iii) demands are tied to what capitalism can 'afford', resulting in wage restraint.

The problem of the breakdown in accountability is therefore not an administrative but a political question:

• It would take a full unit of 'accessibility' experts to simplify the mountain of documentation coming out of the negotiation process - the NEF1, the NEF2, the NEF3, the NHF, the DRCs, the Bilateral Forums, the meeting of Principals, Economic Policy, etc, etc.

• Even if it were possible to rewrite this documentation, these issues would still remain inaccessible to most members, eg Cosatu Economic Policy Document. The highly technical way in which these debates are framed is unfriendly to the average trade union.

• The detail and range of questions involved in these issues means trade unions, battling to stave off an economic onslaught, cannot find the time required for this discussion, even when these issues are highlighted and summarised.

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