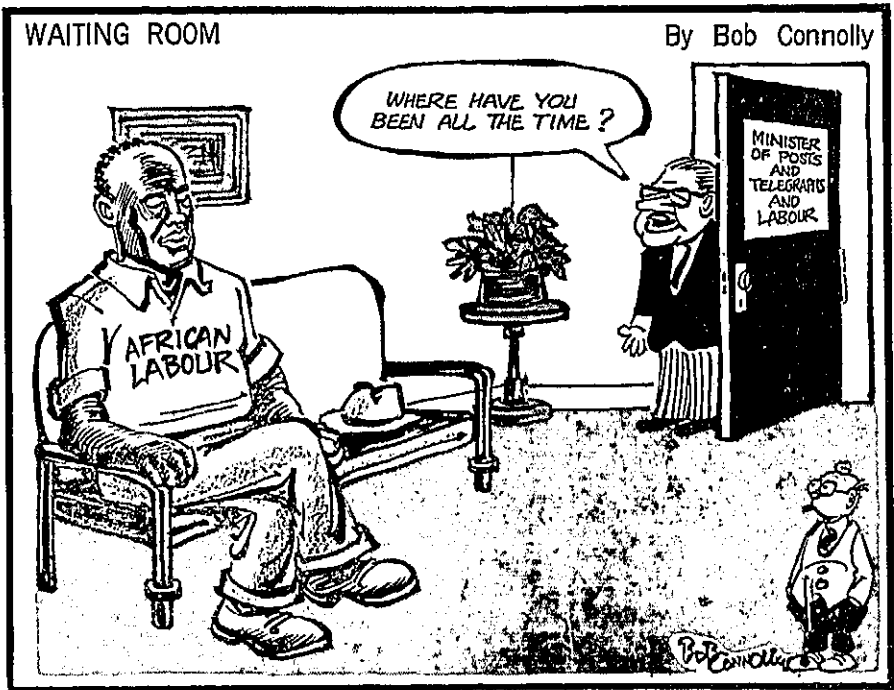


REPORT

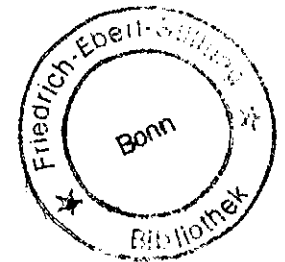
of the IMF Delegation on their visit to South Africa

March 11 27, 1972

A93-3103



REPORT
of the IMF Delegation on their visit to South Africa
March 11 - 27, 1972



INTERNATIONAL METALWORKERS' FEDERATION
54 bis, route des Acacias, Geneva, Switzerland

A93-3103

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The delegation visited South Africa from March 12 to 27, 1972, as guests of the IMF affiliate, the Confederation of Metal & Building Unions (CMBU). This organization wrote to the General Secretary in January 1971, in reference to a statement made in the Central Committee, that the trade unions in other countries were probably insufficiently aware of the conditions and problems facing the South African unions. They therefore thought that the IMF should send an official delegation to study the situation on the spot and to give the South African unions the benefit of their experience.

The responsible IMF bodies considered the invitation, and accepted it.

The following took part in the delegation: USA, through Barbara Barnouin, United Steelworkers of America; Holland, Jan Zorgdrager, Industriebond N.V.V.; the Federal Republic of Germany, Fritz Opel, IG Metall; and the IMF Secretariat, Werner Thönnessen, Assistant General Secretary. Thor Andreassen of Norway had to withdraw at the last moment, owing to illness.

To prepare them for their visit, members of the delegation received extensive documentation. In addition, there was a general discussion of the programme in Geneva on March 11.

This was the third official IMF delegation to the Republic of South Africa. The first was in 1962, from January 21 to February 3, and was composed of Bob Carron, of Great Britain, and Alfred Dannenberg, former Assistant General Secretary. Colleague Bannon of the UAW, USA, was refused an entry visa by the South African Government, without any reason being given. The second visit was made by Alfred Dannenberg alone, in November 1966. On each occasion, a report was prepared and circulated to all IMF affiliates.

The delegation considered that its chief mission was to collect information on the attitude of the unions to apartheid, both in general and in the working environment in particular; to investigate the general, economic, social and legal situation of workers, especially in the multinational corporations; to examine the state of trade union policy; and, finally, to formulate proposals and recommendations for IMF's policy and attitude with regard to South Africa, in particular in relation to aid programmes for the South African metal unions.

PROGRAMME

Departure from Geneva, March 11, 1972
Arrival in Johannesburg, March 12

March 13 ○ Meeting with members of Executive Committee of the *Confederation of Metal and Building Unions*. Followed by meeting with representatives of the Institute of Race Relations, an organization which is working for peaceful development and racial equality; meeting with representatives of the Christian Institute, which follows roughly the same line and may be classed as "moderate opposition"; with representatives of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, a supposedly scientifically oriented organization, which is concerned with the ideological justification of the apartheid policy and with ethnological research; with representatives of the *South African Foundation*, an employers' association for the improvement of understanding of South Africa abroad; with representatives of the English-language newspapers (*Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Times, The Star, Financial Mail, Sunday Express*). In the evening, meeting with the IMF affiliate, the *Radio, Television, Electronics and Allied Workers' Union*.

March 14 ○ Visit to Datsun plant in Roslyn, near Pretoria. Then, visit to state-owned Iscor steelworks. In the afternoon, meeting with representatives of Afrikaans-language newspapers (*Vaderland, Die Transvaaler, Rapport*). In the evening, meeting with the consuls of the delegates' countries.

March 15 ○ Visit to Siemens in Pretoria. In the afternoon, visit to Standard Telephone and Cables in Boksburg, a subsidiary of ITT. In the evening, official cocktail party with trade union representatives.

March 16 ○ Visit to industrial firms in towns of Vereeniging and Vanderbijl Park, among them the machinery plant Vecor, Stewarts & Lloyds, Massey Ferguson. Midday meal with personnel officers of various firms. Talks with representatives of the Engineering Workers' Union and of the Urban Training Project.

March 17, 18 and 19 ○ Trip to Kruger National Park, overnight stop there and return to Johannesburg.

March 20 ○ Departure for Capetown. Talk with the Secretary of State to the Ministry of Labour, Mr Geyser, with the representatives of the opposition United Party, visit to the British Motor Corporation plant in Blackheath, Capetown. Talk with colleague Heger, representative of the union responsible for this plant, the *Western Province Motor Assembly Workers' Union*. In the evening, cocktail party with local representatives of the CMBU and other trade unions.

March 21 ○ To Port Elizabeth. Visit to Burfield Roberowen company, the General Motors plant and the Ford plant. In the evening, meeting with members of the CMBU and delegates of the *Motor Assembly Workers' Union*. Followed by discussion with South African spiritual leaders.

March 22 ○ Visit to Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage; departure for East London, visit to Daimler Benz plant there.

March 23 ○ Flight to Durban, visit to Tongaat sugar plantation, in the evening cocktail party with local union representatives.

March 24 ○ Fritz Opel and Jan Zorgdrager visit the Bantu vocational training centre at Umlazi, a Bantu settlement, the Solton Technical College and the central sugar warehouse in Durban; Barbara Barnouin and Werner Thönnessen fly to Johannesburg to visit the clothing workers' union.

March 25 ○ In Durban, visit to firm of Gilbert Harner, Shipbuilder, tour of the Indian Market, meeting with representatives of the Natal employers' association. Conversation with Chief Buthelezi in the house of the US Consul-General in Durban.

March 26 ○ Flight back to Johannesburg from Durban. Preparation of the delegation's press release. In the evening, closing discussion in the house of the General Secretary of the TUGSA, J.A. Grobbelaar.

March 27 ○ Visit to African township of Soweto, near Johannesburg. Talk with the City Council, press conference, return flight to Geneva.

Apart from unimportant changes in the programme, the following important items on the programme were dropped without any explanation: talk with Chief Matanzima, visit to Chrysler plant (allegedly due to confusion in arrangement) and Firestone plant, evening meal with a prominent Bantu personality in Soweto, midday meal in the house of the American Labour Attaché, Mr McHale, closing talk with the TUGSA Executive.

The Republic of South Africa extends over 1.2 million square kilometres. According to the census of 1970, it has 21.5 million inhabitants, who, under the racial laws, fall into four groups: 3.7 million whites, 2 million Coloureds (persons of mixed blood), 620 000 Asians and 15 million Africans.

In contradiction of the apartheid doctrine of separate development, some 8 million Africans live in so-called *white areas*, usually close to the large towns, in what are known as Bantu townships, while in the true *home lands*, there are only 7 million Africans. Only a relatively small proportion of the population is involved in productive work or, as it is called in South Africa, economically active. The percentages are 1.5 million whites, 700 000 Coloureds, 161 000 Asians and 5 million Africans.

According to scientific estimates, 7.5 per cent of whites work in agriculture, 9.8 per cent in the mines, 22.9 per cent in secondary branches of the economy and 34.8 per cent in the tertiary sector.

Of the Coloureds, 8.8 per cent work in agriculture, 0.9 per cent in the mines, 15.5 per cent in the manufacturing branches of the economy and 10.1 per cent in the tertiary sector.

Only 0.6 per cent of Asians work in agriculture, 5 per cent in manufacturing industry, and 2.7 per cent in the tertiary sector.

The Africans are the largest proportion in agriculture, with 83 per cent of all the employees. But they also make up 89.3 per cent of those working in the mines, 56.6 per cent of workers in manufacturing industry and 52.4 per cent of those in service industries.

Apart from the fact that the Africans made up more than half the employees in all branches of the economy in 1970, about 562 000 other Africans from the countries bordering on South Africa, especially Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia, were employed in South Africa, 400 000 of them in the mines.

For many years the labour market has been characterized by a keen labour shortage and the almost complete absence of unemployment. But this is true only outside the *Bantu home lands*, where chronic unemployment is the rule. The number of Bantus wholly or partially unemployed is estimated at 1.2 million.

Thus, although there is full employment in the industrialized parts of South Africa, the average earnings of an African worker are below subsistence level.

Since 1946, the South African economy has developed at a rapid rate. The national product has risen in this period from 2 200 million dollars to 16 000 million dollars. This process has been accompanied by strong inflationary pressure and frequent balance-of-payments crisis. Growth is encouraged by steadily increasing interference, which is also dictated by political reasoning. It is intended to give the country economic autonomy, since there is no possibility of integration in the economic affairs of the other African states, on account of the South African policy of racial separatism.

The political isolation of South Africa, therefore, has led, not to a weakening but to strengthening of its economy. The investment policy of the South African Government has led to the growth of a complete infrastructure and has made financially possible the execution of numerous large-scale projects. The state controls large parts of the farm cooperatives, it subsidizes improvements in agriculture, and is whole or part owner of the transport system, forests, the phosphate industry, and the main power sources of the country. A national development corporation, founded in 1940, makes state capital available, under certain conditions.

In the development of the various sectors of the economy, large state-owned companies have played an important role. First among these is the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), its subsidiary, the United Steel Company of South Africa (USCO), the mechanical engineering firm VECOR, the mining company AMCOR, the petroleum and oil company SASOL, the electricity supply firm ESCOM, etc.

The share of agriculture in the national product has dropped from 13 per cent in 1940 to 10 per cent in 1970. On the other hand, the share of industrial production has risen from 16 per cent after the war to 20 per cent at the beginning of the 70s.

An important place in the economy is still held by the mining industry, although its share of the national gross product is dropping. South Africa is still the world's greatest producer of gold, diamonds, platinum, antimony, and is among the largest producers of chromium, vanadium, uranium, manganese and asbestos. The coal and iron reserves of the country appear to be inexhaustible.

The changes in the economic structure are reflected in the changes in job structure. While in 1960 only about 644 000 people were employed in the manufacturing industry, the number had increased to 1.1 million by 1970. The number of metalworkers rose from 186 000 to 369 000 in the same period.

Since the discovery of rich mineral deposits during the last century, the flow of foreign capital to South Africa has never ceased. The total value of foreign investments in South Africa exceeds 7 000 million dollars.

More than half the foreign capital comes from Great Britain, more than 10 per cent from the USA, and between 3 and 5 per cent from France, Germany and Switzerland. Numerous international firms operate in the country, especially in the sectors where high profits can be gained as a result of rapid industrial development.

The biggest branches of industry with foreign investments are the mines and the manufacturing industry, to a lesser extent in financial and commercial enterprises.

The proportion of foreign investment in the manufacturing industry is 31 per cent. In the metal industry, foreign investment has been chiefly concentrated on the car industry and in electrical and electronic firms.

South Africa's metal industry today employs about 400 000 workers, some 69 000 of them in the raw materials industry, 128 000 making metal products, 41 000 in electrical installations, 58 000 in mechanical engineering (without electrical engineering) and 71 000 in transport equipment.

The metal industry is highly diversified. The iron and steel industry, transport installations and, to a smaller extent, engineering hold an important position, while shipbuilding, aviation and even the processing of raw materials are on a more limited scale.

Although the present Government majority of the Nationalist Party holds about three-quarters of the seats in Parliament, the opposition, the United Party, has high hopes of winning the next election. These hopes are based on discussions all over the country on the tenability or otherwise of the apartheid policy, especially in the economy.

In the discussion with the two Members of Parliament Steyn and Jacobs, leaders of the opposition United Party, two principal items of Opposition policy as compared with that of the Government were emphasized. The United Party wants to establish a multi-racial state on federal principles. A vital condition for establishing such a state is the improvement of the standard of living, in particular the closing of the gaps in income between the various economic groups. The Party is against the severe official restrictions which stand in the way of equal rights of access to different occupations and jobs. It is against the concept known as "parallel development", and advocates economic integration.

The transition from the present system to a more liberal one would be made in three phases.

1st phase: The most flagrant injustices, such as registration of the population and reservation of jobs, would be abolished. The town-dwelling Bantu population would be accepted as a permanent part of the population in the whole of South Africa, and not merely as inhabitants of the "home lands". In the first phase, laws such as the Immorality Act would not be repealed, but would not be applied. The trade unions would be organized as complete units and not as racially separate groups.

2nd phase: In a second phase, machinery for consultation of all racial groups with their own bodies of representatives would be introduced. Voting rights would be guaranteed for everyone. Elections, however, would be held under separate laws, for each racial group. In the National Parliament, nevertheless, the various racial groups would be represented only by whites. In the opinion of the United Party, it is essential for South Africa to maintain the leading position of the whites. It would be catastrophic if white business acumen and white technological know-how, etc. were made available to all.

3rd phase: The third phase would consist in working out and implementing a federal constitution for South Africa.

The trade unions and, to a greater extent, the employers declare that they are in favour of jettisoning any regulations which hinder the best possible deployment of labour for the purpose of economic development. Particularly among foreign firms in South Africa, much fun is made publicly of the racist ideology of the Nationalist Party. The general opinion in these circles is that the country has enough difficulties, and that it is madness to complicate the situation further by an ideology of apartheid. But the employers do not go so far as to allow the Africans the right to organize trade unions. One of them told us: "In a country in which the rule of 'One man, one vote' cannot apply in parliamentary elections, for obvious reasons, it is impossible, for the same reasons, to begin by granting black Africans the right to join trade unions". Even those sections of the economy which reject some aspects of the apartheid policy, for profit-oriented motives, are not prepared to draw the consequences, in the sphere of civil rights, from the above-mentioned proportions of the different population groups. And, in the last analysis, they are whites who fear for their privileges.

Despite this, a significant part of the apartheid policy, namely, the restriction of non-white workers to the lower-grade, badly paid jobs, is being steadily undermined.

Discussion on this development, brought about by economic forces, is general and public, though within the trade unions it is cautious. It is difficult to judge whether this is because of possible racial prejudice among the white members or whether it also reflects the attitude of trade union leaders. Nevertheless, the unions are preparing for the situation where more and more non-white workers will penetrate into areas hitherto reserved for whites.

This is presented in the labour press, not as an ill, but as a prerequisite for further social advance by the whites and continued economic growth.

With a few exceptions, however, the trade unions are not making strenuous efforts to draw attention to the material needs of the Africans and to agitate for their right to join unions. The unions are obviously relying on the development of the economy and consider that they need take no action. "Everything comes to him who waits" was how one trade union leader summed up this attitude.

The Government cannot afford this "wait and see" attitude, though to do otherwise is involving it in tremendous difficulties in relation to its own apartheid policy. In the branches of the economy for which it is directly responsible, for example, the postal services and the railways, it is having to open up more and more jobs, formerly reserved for whites, to non-white workers, and it is doing so, albeit slowly.

The parliamentary opposition greeted the statements of the Ministers for Posts and for the Railways with strong approval, and the Minister for Economic Planning has asked industrial employers in the country to follow this example.

Nobody can blink the fact that the 3.7 million whites in the country simply cannot provide enough skilled labour for the South African economy.

The way in which hitherto reserved jobs are being made open is, of course, typical of conditions in South Africa. For example, on the railways, a white mason is allowed to train two non-white workers and to work with them; the non-white workers, naturally, even if they do the same work as the white worker, receive wages that are only a fraction of those earned by the white mason. All kinds of tricks, rules or evasions are found to decide that the work is not the same work and therefore the pay is not the same.

In contradiction to its declared aim of treating the employment of Africans in white urban areas as solely a temporary measure, and working for their return to the Bantu home lands, the government has, of recent months, allowed even more Africans to move to the cities. The main reason for this is to permit busy plants to go over from single-shift to double-shift working, or from double-shift to continuous working.

These concessions are regarded as a surrender by the Government to the constant pressure by industrial firms for removal of the restrictions on non-white labour. This was stated, for example, by Harry Oppenheimer, President of the Anglo-American Corporation, one of the biggest companies in South Africa: "A country which denies to 80 per cent of its workers the opportunity to obtain the best jobs of which they are capable cannot hope to make the progress it ought to, or to maintain its position in a competitive world economy". Oppenheimer keenly opposed the attitude that South Africa had to make economic sacrifices in order to continue the peaceful and separate development of the races. In his opinion, there can be no progress and no peaceful development if the country's economic development is slowed down.

The same sentiments were voiced by the President of one of South Africa's leading railways workers' unions, Liebenberg. He pointed out that the many millions of black workers living in the urban areas of the country were well aware of the gulf between their work and pay and the high wages earned by whites. He attributed these gaps in pay to the absence of even the most elementary provisions for representation of the Africans' interests. The whites ought not to allow things to slide. The pay differences should be reduced, if only on humanitarian grounds and in the cause of better race relations. Liebenberg stated that, outside the Iron Curtain countries, he knew of no other country apart from South Africa in which industrial peace was preserved simply by denying workers the fundamental rights of negotiations, communication and the representation of their interests.

Yet such public declarations are rare, even among the trade unionists, and the IMF delegation felt that the majority rely on an automatic evolution of the economy which will bring about a solution of the race problem. There is as yet no awareness of the independent responsibility of the trade unions in this sphere, if only for reasons of self-interest.

There is no doubt that, in view of the precarious position and the unfavourable situation of the African workers, the trade unions have a duty to represent their interests by all possible means, within the legal limits. However, the delegation did not get the impression that this was being done everywhere, or with the necessary vigour.

Although the unions officially advocate the rate for the job, i.e., equal pay for equal work, they connive, in practice, at wage discrimination against the non-white workers.

The recruiting of Coloured workers, permitted by law, is carried out only to a very inadequate extent by the official trade unions, while African workers are not organized at all. The honourable exceptions are principally the clothing workers, the leather workers and the tobacco workers. These branches of industry also started far earlier than others to employ non-white workers.

As we heard from the black President of the National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa, Lucy Mvubelo, she has been able to recruit 15 000 African women under the aegis of the official union of clothing workers. This means that the African organization has more members than the official union, which has 13 000 members.

During wage negotiations, there is effective collaboration between the two organizations, and in the representation of workers in the Industrial Council for the clothing industry all available means are used and benefits gained are extended to all the workers, without regard to racial origin. This example shows that even under the difficult conditions, factual or legal, in South Africa, it is possible to create genuine union representation for the vast mass of workers, the black workers. Although this example is well known to the affiliated unions of the CMBU, they do not admit it, far less copy it. On the contrary: the President of the clothing workers' union, Anna Scheepers, has been the target of fierce hostility because of her courageous action for non-white workers.

In a discussion which the delegation had with the members of the CMBU Executive, it was said that in fact the unions had been asking for the right to organize and all other trade union rights for the Africans since 1926, and that they had recently spoken in favour of allowing African trade unions. However, their actual behaviour towards the existing Coloured unions and the small African unions in the metal industry do not give evidence of much interest in the organization of non-white workers.

During the discussion, one of the things said was that it was easy to create African unions, but difficult to keep them alive. The Africans are interested principally in discussion of their political problems. When they found that these could not be discussed in union meetings, they ceased to attend. Another colleague wondered whether Africans would join the unions even if entitled to do so: their interests were already represented through the system of Industrial Councils. Others raised the question of the practical difficulties of trade union work among the Bantu, such as the diverse tribal origins and different languages. It was admitted, however, sometimes openly, that white members were prejudiced against non-whites. Many trade unions would publicly opt for racial discrimination. But this was not true of the CMBU affiliates.

It was mentioned, in addition, that trade union work for African non-members entailed considerable financial burdens for the "white" unions. The fact that the organization of unorganized workers has always had to be paid for from the membership dues of organized workers seems to have escaped the notice of the South African unions.

The Secretary of State to the Labour Ministry stated, in answer to the

question why Africans were denied the right to have trade unions, that Bantu unions were not illegal, they were unrecognized. The Africans had not yet reached the level of maturity necessary for them to comply with the requirements of the law. When asked to name the criteria for this maturity, the Secretary of State made no reply.

He refused, moreover to accept for examination a list presented by the IMF delegation containing the names of trade union officials who are in prison or banned. This list was later sent by the TUCSA General Secretary, Colleague Grobbelaar, to the Minister of Justice, who promised to answer.

The fact is that the vast majority of workers in South Africa, the African workers themselves, are deprived of any effective representation of their interests through trade unions. The only trade union organization with a relatively high proportion of African members, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is being driven out of existence by the brutal misuse of the law for suppressing Communism, as formerly was the ICFTU affiliate, the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa.

While a considerable number of the South African unions clearly back the racist policy and accept only white members, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has repeatedly striven to withstand pressure, not only from the official policy but also from its own racist-minded unions, and to act in the interest of Africans. This led, in 1968, to great internal tension, which resulted in the disaffiliation of 14 member unions and a loss of a fifth of the membership, 35 736 out of 178 645.

Under the effects of this bloodletting, the TUCSA decided, in 1969, to drop its African unions. Since then the trade union movement has been open only to white, Coloured and Asian workers, while the so-called Bantus, who form the majority of the labour force, are excluded. But this had led to a rapid decline in trade union influence. According to many South Africans, the privileged whites are less and less interested in being represented by the unions, while the growing numbers of black workers in industry are unable to organize. This means that the registered unions are representative of a steadily dwindling proportion of workers. The realization of this fact caused the TUCSA to hold, in the same year in which it excluded African unions, a special Congress aimed at formulating proposals to make it feasible for the officially registered unions to represent unorganized workers also, when working conditions were being fixed, and to broaden the rights of the bodies responsible for Bantu workers. The conference found that the exploitation of one section of workers was against the interests of all workers, and that the only guarantee against this was equal pay for equal work, that is, the principle of the rate for the job, as opposed to job reservation.

At least 49 South African trade unions have since then negotiated for higher wages and better working conditions, to include the unorganized African workers. Although the compromise formula has re-established the internal unity of the TUCSA, it has not succeeded in removing the dilemma facing the whole trade union movement in South Africa: either to accept the growing importance of the Africans in all spheres of working life, with all the consequences entailed, or to suffer a continuing decay of the unions.

The TUCSA General Secretary, Grobbelaar, said on the subject: "It is

unrealistic to think that workers in any industrial society will renounce their right to have a say in their own destiny. It is a myth that any group of unrecognized workers will remain docile and peaceable, especially as they learn new skills and gain a better understanding of the relationships. It would be unnatural, and no social order has hitherto succeeded in maintaining such a state of affairs for very long. The South African authorities and the electorate must admit the validity of this argument before long, otherwise the results for the future are going to be terrible. There is still time to make the needed changes, but it must happen soon."

A similar opinion was expressed to the IMF delegation by the General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Union, Tom Murray. He was in favour of unions not divided according to race, even if this meant that white members would be in the minority. His union has greatly increased its efforts to organize Coloureds and have appointed some of them to their managing bodies as "observers".

The population of South Africa is officially divided into four groups. At the top are the whites, more than 3.7 million. They are made up of those who call themselves Afrikaaners, usually of Dutch origin, and of people of British origin. The Japanese have recently been added to this group, having been granted the title of "honorary whites".

The second group, which numbers about 2 million, are the Coloureds, who are of mixed blood. Officially, they are considered as a mixture of native Africans and Hottentots. In fact, they are of mixed European, African and Asian origin.

The third group is that of the Asians, numbering about 600 000. Most of them are Indians, the others being Chinese and Malays. Originally, this group of the population was brought to South Africa by the British in the middle of the last century, to work in the sugar industry.

The fourth and, in social status, lowest group, though the largest numerically, is that of the Bantus, as the whites call them, of whom there are between 16 and 20 million.

The Institute of Race Relations (IRR) and the Christian Institute, with which the delegation was able to have talks, decried some of the peculiarities of the living and working conditions of the African workers. According to them, some 80 per cent of workers in South Africa are non-whites, most of them being unskilled. The income structure has a descending curve, starting with the whites and moving downwards through the Coloureds and the Asians to the black workers. The difference in pay between whites and non-whites has widened so alarmingly in recent years that even the Minister of Home Affairs, Gardener, publicly requested an increase in the minimum wages.

The Institute of Race Relations has estimated that, for an African worker with five people in his family living in Soweto, the African township on the outskirts of Johannesburg, the minimum subsistence pay is 69 Rands per month. This is less than the sum stated by some Africans living in Soweto, who considered the minimum to be 115 R per month. However, the actual average earnings of a worker in Soweto with 5 people in his family are about 50 R per month. The previously mentioned minimum figures for monthly pay are based on the assumption that the head of the family earns 75 per cent of the income and that the wife or the children of working age earn the rest.

The chief characteristic of African workers, according to official statements, is that they are migratory. Men and women move to the industrial or urban areas as single individuals. Their family base is in the home lands. It is only in the home lands that Africans are entitled to be permanent residents. So, of the estimated 700 000 people living in Soweto, the native township outside Johannesburg, nobody is entitled to reside there permanently unless he fulfils certain very strict and difficult conditions. Therefore, each person living in Soweto is allotted a home

land, with which he is supposed to feel linked, and to which he can be deported at any time by order of the authorities. In addition to the general principles of their racial policy, the South African authorities provide, as an explanation of this situation, that there would otherwise be no way of controlling the influx of African workers and families to the big cities. They also refer to the housing problems associated with the concentration of Africans on the periphery of large cities. In consequence, the Africans' freedom of movement has been severely restricted. There is no possibility of freely changing jobs from one urban area or industrial zone to another.

If an African quits his job, he must return to his home land within 72 hours. For this reason, the Institute for Race Relations is pressing for a new law which will radically alter this situation by replacing the home land concept by the idea of a regional labour market within which workers can move about freely.

Another significant feature of South African racial policy is the establishment of "border areas", on the edge of the Bantu home lands, where new industries are set up. Investments in these areas are given special encouragement by means of tax concessions, investment incentives and similar inducements. The avowed purpose of these border areas is to provide jobs for Bantus living in the home lands, without their having to move to white areas. Economically, the policy is justified by the need for decentralizing industrial development.

In addition to encouraging the border areas, the Government claims to be industrializing the home lands themselves. Research by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, which basks in Government approval, has shown that investments in the home lands had a higher multiplication effect on economic growth than investments in the border areas. According to most of the people we spoke to, however, the idea of the border areas, as well as that of industrializing the home lands, are doomed to failure.

The showpiece of South African development policy for the home lands, the region known as the Transkei, for example, has a population of about 2 million, most of whom are women, children, and men unfit for work. They have been placed there so that the men, who work in the white areas or border areas, transfer the greater part of their income home.

Apart from these earnings, the home lands have no other resources except a minimally developed agriculture. Most of the Government programmes for the development of the Bantu home lands deal with the encouragement of light industry, trade, hand crafts and so on. Direct capital investment in the home lands is forbidden to whites. Investors must use one of the agencies set up by the Government.

Critics of Government policy regard the industrialization in the border areas as an additional means of exploiting the African workers, by preventing them from seeking better-paid jobs in the industrialized zones near the large cities. In fact, investment in the border areas is encouraged by mentioning that cheaper labour is available there.

1. The Industrial Conciliation Act

The principal law dealing with relations between employers and workers in South Africa is the Industrial Conciliation Act. This defines the term worker from the racial standpoint. Although the Africans represent about 80 per cent of the labour force, they are not regarded as workers under the law. The Government considers that African workers do not fall within the limits of legislation for trade unions and wage negotiations. The consequences of this division in the labour force are shown in the legal status of the trade unions. The law differentiates between registered and non-registered unions. White and Coloured unions may register, but not African unions, which thus have no legal status.

The Act sets up a system of regional Industrial Councils, governing the operation of employers' associations and trade unions and the negotiations between them. Agreements reached in accordance with the Act have legally binding effect and must be observed by members of both parties. The agreements can also be declared generally binding. For example, if such an agreement is signed in a particular branch of industry or a specific company, African workers employed in the branch or firm covered by the agreement and not belonging to a union are included in the terms of the agreement. On the other hand, social benefits are not bound to be paid to all workers included in such an agreement. A good example of usual practice is the agreement signed in September 1970 for the iron, steel, engineering and metalworking industries. It established 13 wage groups, of which the five lowest covered work normally done by non-white workers. Many of the social benefits granted to the better-paid jobs, e.g., sickness pay and retirement pensions, do not apply to the five lowest wage groups. Moreover, since this agreement, the better-paid workers have received increases of 10 to 15 cents per hour, while the poorly paid workers were given only 1 or 2 cents per hour more. According to the South African Institute for Race Relations, there were in 1970 more than 159 agreements between Industrial Councils, covering more than 800 000 workers. Of these, 486 000 were Africans. Yet the African workers have absolutely no opportunity to participate in negotiating the conditions of agreements which are applied to them.

The Industrial Conciliation Act also lays down that in mixed trade unions, i.e., those which have both white and Coloured members, the Executive must consist exclusively of white members.

2. The Wage Act

In branches of industry or areas in which the Industrial Conciliation Act does not apply, i.e., where there are no registered trade unions, or where unions and employers' associations have not set up an Industrial Council, the Wage Act is applied. Under this law, the Government may undertake research on pay and working conditions and establish pay levels. In 1970 this was done 75 times. The law does not apply to farm and domestic workers or to employees of official bodies.

3. The Native Labour Act

This Act set up the Central Bantu Labour Board, whose mandate is the safeguarding of African workers' rights. Representatives of this body take part in the negotiations of the Industrial Councils and make recommendations with regard to the treatment of African workers. They do the same in industries in which the Wage Act is applied. However, they are never allowed to take a direct part in wage negotiations.

The Act makes strikes by African workers illegal. If there is a dispute it is resolved by the local labour authorities or, if that is impossible, it is submitted to the wage bodies. The Native Labour Act also provides that industrial or commercial firms with more than 20 African workers shall have workers' committees, which may discuss working conditions, safety measures and the like with the employers. But they have absolutely no influence on the fixing of wages and social benefits in the company. So fewer and fewer of these committees are being set up. In 1971 there were only 27 in all, though the number of registered factories was 50 000.

4. The Urban Areas Conciliation Act

This Act is used by the local authorities to stem the flow of Africans to urban areas. It permits them to force Africans to take jobs for which the authorities consider they are suitable. Any African who refuses a job recommended in this way can be declared unwilling to work or an undesirable. This means that he loses his temporary right to stay in the area and can be deported. In practice this means that Africans may stay in white areas only if and while they serve the purposes of the whites.

5. The Apprenticeship Act

This Act prescribes the registration of apprentices and lays down detailed conditions for their training and their conduct at work. It contains no restrictions as to race. However, in reality, the Africans cannot become apprentices within the meaning of the Act, as they do not belong to registered unions. There are no legal restrictions on the training of Coloureds and Asians; yet the white trade unions have repeatedly opposed the training of apprentices from these groups. They are able to do this because, under the Act, each firm has an apprentices' committee, which has to give its consent to the training of apprentices and in which only the registered unions are represented.

6. Job Reservation

The apprentice problem is closely bound up with that of job reservation. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act there are at present 24 explicitly defined categories of jobs for whites. In a few cases, job reservation also serves to protect Coloureds from competition by Asians and Africans. According to Labour Ministry data, only 3 per cent of the present labour force is affected by job reservation. The relaxation of job reservation, however, is done on condition that jobs for which the reservation has been lifted will again be reserved for whites as soon as there is any economic recession. But in practice, job reservation introduced as a result of tacit or explicit agreements between unions and employers is a more potent factor. While the employers appear to be willing, because of the dearth of skilled workers, to relax job reservation, the trade unions are trying to maintain it. The reason given is that it prevents pressure on the wages of non-white workers. Another indirect form of job reservation is the prohibition on employing white workers under the supervision of non-whites.

7. Other labour laws

Other important laws relating to working conditions are the Workmen's Compensation Act, which provides for payments in the event of work accidents or occupational diseases; the Shop and Offices Act; and the Factories, Machinery and Building Act. The two last-named lay down minimum standards for working conditions, vacations, engagement and dismissal of workers, hygiene and safety precautions, etc. Finally, mention should be made of the

Unemployment Compensation Act, under which African workers earning less than 10.50 R per week are excluded from receiving unemployment pay. Even for Africans who earn more, the application of the law is fraught with difficulties.

As the non-white unions assured us, Africans are often unable to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles entailed in applying for unemployment pay. This is why one of the main tasks of the few African unions which exist is to help their members to present applications for unemployment relief.

The apartheid legislation in the sphere of employment is supplemented by an abundance of other laws which deny equal rights to the non-white population and stifle all attempt at opposition.

Mixed marriages between whites and non-whites are forbidden. An act requiring registration of the population divides people into racial groups and makes it compulsory to carry a personal identity document showing the person's race. In addition to this, the Pass Laws make it obligatory for every African to carry a pass with his photograph, personal description, registration number, details of his tribal relationship, the official permit for residence in an urban area, his last tax declaration, permit to take or seek a job, his name, address, the monthly signature of his employer, and many other details. The incorrect completion of this pass is punishable by fines, imprisonment or deportation. The Immorality Act forbids sexual intercourse between whites and non-whites on penalty of imprisonment.

A special penal law provides for offenders to be flogged in certain cases, with or without a prison sentence. A Native Relocation Act makes it possible to remove Africans from areas declared white by the Government, and to settle them in native reserves. If Africans are suspected of political agitation, they may be banned from urban areas. Opposition organizations may be declared illegal. Trials for high treason are instituted against the African independence movements. The Suppression of Communism Act supplies an easy weapon against any left-wing opposition.

The secret police is ubiquitous. Some non-white trade unionists with whom the delegation was in contact were interrogated by the police while we were still in the country, and were told they would be questioned again. The delegation's visit to the African township of Soweto was first forbidden, then permitted but in a different form. The papers daily carry news of trials against those who have opposed the Government. We heard from various sources that the police use refined methods of torture in order to extract confessions.

The Trade Union Council of South Africa has about 200 000 members in 66 affiliated unions. The purely white South African Confederation of Labour is somewhat weaker. Besides there is another organization, likewise white, the Koördinerende Rat van S.A. Vakverenigens, with 72 000 members in 16 unions. The South African Federation of Trade Unions, which also organizes only whites, has 55 000 members in 10 affiliated trade unions.

Outside the metal industry the following unions or amalgamations of unions have considerable numbers of members:

	<i>members</i>
Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of South Africa	100 000
Federated Consultative Council of S.A. Railway & Harbour Staff Associations . . .	82 987
Electricity Supply Commissions Unions' Joint Committee	47 785
Garment Workers Unions Consultative Committee	42 321
Pulp and Paper Industries Joint Committee	37 567
Federation of Mining Unions	35 869
S.A. Association of Municipal Workers	28 420
S.A. Typographical Union	21 000
Artisans' Staff Association	20 000
S.A. Federation of Leather Trade Unions	18 000
S.A. Society of Bank Officials	15 650
National Union of Distributive Workers	14 500
Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Aid Society	10 000

In the metal industry are the following unions, affiliated to the IMF.

Confederation of Metal & Building Unions with 82 000 members in 9 affiliated organizations, listed below:

	<i>members</i>
Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A. (disaffiliated from TUCSA)	25 000
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers	3 000
Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers	10 000
Iron Moulders Society	3 000
Motor Industries Employees Union	17 740
S.A. Boilermakers, Iron & Steelworkers, Shipbuilders and Welders Society	15 000
S.A. Electrical Workers Association (disaffiliated from TUCSA)	15 000
Engineering Industrial Workers Union (coloured trade union)	1 000
Radio, Television, Electronics & Allied Workers Union (coloured trade union) . . .	2 500

The CMBU is a consultative and coordinating committee for cooperation as regards general trade union affairs, such as collective bargaining, representation as against companies on official industrial councils, and organizing workers. The Confederation has no plenary powers to intervene in the individual unions' work.

On account of differences of opinion about TUCSA's racial policy, two of the largest CMBU unions have disaffiliated from TUCSA. These are the S.A. Electrical Workers' Association and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but both continue to belong to the IMF, through their membership in the CMBU. Separate from the CMBU are the non-white IMF unions - the Engineering Workers' Union of South Africa and the National Union of Motor Assembly Workers of South Africa.

The most powerful union remaining outside the TUCSA, the CMBU and hence also outside the IMF is the South African Iron, Steel and Related Trades Union in Pretoria, which has organized 34 000 white workers.

Report on Some Non-white Metalworkers' Unions

Engineering Workers' Union of South Africa

An IMF member union, founded in 1963. Members mainly Africans. Membership shown in the books 3 600, paying membership 400, represented primarily in the iron and steel industry, in mechanical and electrical engineering. Monthly union due 1 R (US\$ 1.33 in June 1972). There are two full-time union officials - the secretary and the organizing secretary. This union organizes first and foremost African workers in the environs of Johannesburg. For lack of vehicles of his own the organizing secretary must use public means of transport. The only opportunity to do union recruiting is normally in the half-hour break outside the plant. Access to the plant is forbidden. Union dues are received either through the organizing secretary or through shop stewards in the plant.

On account of the shortcomings in trade union achievements, the intimidation of black workers by the employers but also by white workers, extremely slight progress is being made with organizing. Apart from legal advice and advice in dealings with the authorities and employers, the only benefit provided by the union is burial insurance. Out of that monthly due of R 1, 25 cents is set aside for burial insurance. This union has no contacts with other South African trade unions, nor has it any possibilities for collective bargaining since, as an African workers' union, it cannot be registered. Also if the white unions negotiate on wages for Bantu workers, they do not associate with the African union.

Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union

An IMF member union. In contrast to the organization just described, this is a union of coloureds which, according to South African law, was registered in 1956 and benefits by all trade union rights. For several years this union's affairs were run

by Anna Scheepers, the female president of the Garment Workers' Union. Its monthly budget is R 700 - 800; it has a full-time organizing secretary and operates primarily in the radio and electronics industry. It claims a membership of 2 700; the weekly union due is 10 cents.

The attempt to amalgamate this union with another coloured workers' organization, which is affiliated to the Electrical Workers' Association, failed at the time. There were differences of opinion about the rules, especially about the election of the General Secretary, which could not be settled through the intervention of TUCSA General Secretary Grobbelaar either. The Electrical Workers Association, belonging to the CMBU and hence to the IMF, does not seem to have taken any particular interest in this merger.

The union hopes to score some gain from the expected conclusion of a new collective agreement, which has been in the process of unsuccessful bargaining for some time now. Here too the initiative and responsibility lie with the IMF affiliate, the Electrical Workers' Association, which does not seem to put any special emphasis on these negotiations. This union is pinning great hopes on the introduction of TV into South Africa, for which first and foremost the firm Philips is making preparations. A considerable influx of new manpower is anticipated into the production of television sets and the union hopes to be able to win many new members in this industry. Although the organization has been in existence for more than 15 years, we have not got the impression of an active, independent force, so that, in our eyes, there are substantial doubts about this union's chances for expansion.

The union showed a certain weakness by raising against the firms Siemens and Philips a number of grievances, which could not be justified separately or which, on investigation, proved untenable. After Anna Scheepers, due to overwork, retired from this union, Steven Scheepers, General Secretary of the Leather Trade Union, took charge of it. He can however devote but little time to it, so there seems to be a serious risk about development of the union.

National Union of Motor Assembly Workers of South Africa

An IMF member union. This also is a coloured workers' union which, under South African legislation, was officially registered in 1968. With about 4 000 members, the union is well represented in various centres of the South African auto industry - Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and East London. At present the organization in Cape Town is still called Western Province Motor Assembly Workers Union, but it will shortly merge with the National Union. This union is affiliated with the confederation TUCSA, which has contributed a great deal to its growth. As the union has agreed with the employers on check-off for a large section of its members, it is in a fairly favourable financial situation. Union officials whom we met give an impression of being self-confident and well trained; they are well known and highly respected in the shop, as we could see for ourselves. A sign of this union's maturity is that it has

already been engaged in controversy with a left-wing opposition which wanted to force it into a radical political stream. For this reason a group of six members was shut out. This is not a matter of restricting freedom of opinion in the organization, but of not giving the authorities any excuse for repealing the registration. Due to embezzlement by Edgar Deane, national secretary at that time, the organization became involved in a serious crisis last year. Deane moved away to Australia. Meanwhile most of the problems connected with this case seem to have been solved. Deane's successor Sauls appears to be fully capable of performing his duties.

Datsun — Nissan Automobile Works at Roslyn near Pretoria

The firm employs 4 000 workers, of whom 1 500 are whites. Building began in 1964, production started in 1966. 48 per cent of the components required to make Datsun—Nissan models are produced in this works. In addition the works is a supplier for BMW, FIAT, Peugeot and Chrysler in South Africa.

In September 1973 making engines will start. For that purpose 1 200 to 1 500 new workers will have to be engaged.

The proportion of Bantus varies in the different departments of the works. At 10 per cent it is lowest in the tool making shop, at 90 per cent it is highest in the press shop.

When the first Bantus were put on the pay-roll in 1965, they were paid between 7 and 14 cents an hour. In 1972 they received hourly wages of between 22 and 85 cents. 8 per cent of the Bantus are in the top grade. The industrialization of a Bantu, i.e. his familiarization with the process of industrial production and his training to become a reliable worker, it is claimed, lasts 7 years, and on assembly work 2 — 3 years. Interest in regular work begins only with hourly wages from 30 cents upwards. Quoted as an example of Bantus' chances for advancement at Datsun—Nissan were the computer facilities, where besides 30 whites 35 Bantus work. Training for the computer department is provided by training according to programme. In the apprentices' workshop there are 50 apprentices, Europeans only. They are paid wages of 40 cents an hour. The work is 100 per cent South African. Not a single Japanese is employed here. It is only the licences that come from Japan. The following models are made:

1600	40 — 45 units per day
1200	25 units per day
2400	20 units per day
small van	35 units per day

On the assembly line some 20 per cent of the workers are whites, engaged on supervisory and inspection activities. The Bantu workers get 30 to 48 cents an hour, with average wages of 35 — 40 cents. In the upholstery shop Bantu women also are employed, getting 25 — 30 cents an hour for that work.

A doctor is in the works. Twice a day there is a tea break of 10 minutes and a lunch break of 30 minutes. The midday meal costs 7 cents. Working hours are from 7.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

The location of the establishment, part of the so-called border industries, was laid down by government planning. The slight degree of automation is determined

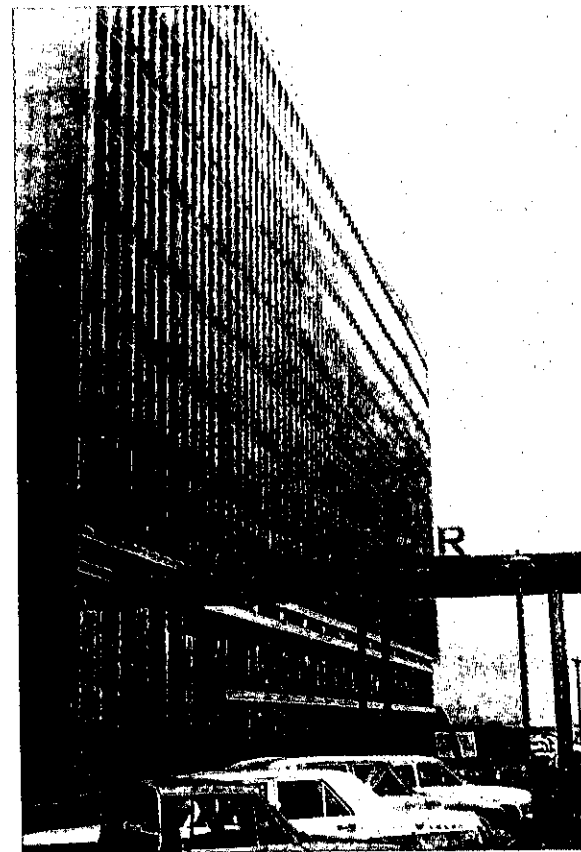
by sales. It is based on purely economic reasons — not the reason that it would be desirable to employ as much labour as possible in the vicinity of the Bantu home lands.

Anyone who wants to apply for a job at Datsun—Nissan can address himself either to the labour office or directly to the factory. Tests worked out by a government agency are applied as a condition for employment. The Bantus who are engaged have an education up to the sixth or eighth class, i.e. they have attended the primary school for 6 or 8 years. The average age of Bantu workers is 32 years. The head of personnel points out that the better educated Bantus keep the simple, uneducated workers at a distance. For example, the Bantu staff in the computer department have refused to explain the old age benefits in the plant to simple workers. So-called senior leaders perform the function of liaison officers with the Bantus.

ISCOR

Iscor is a 100 per cent state-owned heavy industry combine. The oldest parts of the works date back to 1934. At present a new steelworks is under construction at Newcastle. When building is completed, production should rise to 10 million tons. Principally sheets and plates are produced, almost exclusively for the domestic market. Iscor products supply 50 per cent of demand on the home market.

The firm has a labour force of 40 000, of whom 5 000 are non-manual workers. The ratio of white to other than white workers is about 1 : 1. The coal and ore mines, from which the



enterprise draws its supplies, are at most 200 miles away. Operations are mostly open-cast mining. The iron ore is among the best in the world.

The firm plans building a deep-water port on the west coast, for the export of manganese ores.

Siemens, Pretoria

This works was opened in July 1961, when 180 workers were employed. At the present day they are 2 200, the number having risen by 28 per cent every year. The employees consist of 700 Europeans, 800 Bantus and 700 Coloureds.

Under one roof the firm makes all articles which are produced by the various Siemens works in the German Federal Republic.

Wages are based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. There is in application a job evaluation system of the firm's own, on which agreement was reached with the unions. The minimum wage is 25 cents.

Telex machines and remote signalling equipment, railway signalling systems, transistors and resistances are manufactured.

Recently in three departments, where originally white women worked, the labour force was converted to coloured women. Afterwards the turnover of labour in that department sank from 115 to 35 per cent. For every white-collar worker there are about 7 manual workers. 70 per cent of Siemens orders come from the state postal and railway administrations.

To be in charge of Bantu labour, in the personnel department a Bantu is employed. After they have had appropriate training, also other than white workers can assume supervisory jobs.

In the firm 100 apprentices are trained. All Europeans, they obtain an electrical engineering apprenticeship.

The highest wage for non-white workers is 75 cents an hour, while the average wage for whites is R 1.40 to 2 per hour.

80 per cent of the great demand for skilled machine tool makers at Siemens is satisfied by immigrants.

The firm has a canteen, in which 70 - 90 per cent of the Bantus regularly take their meals. The prices of meals are 20 cents for Whites, 15 cents for Coloureds and 5 cents for Bantus. The workweek is 9 hours on 5 days. The firm has a sickness fund, which meets 80 per cent of the cost of medical attention and medicine. In addition, there is an old age benefit scheme of the plant's own.

Whereas the average rate in South Africa is 22.5 accidents per 1 million working hours, the rate at Siemens is only 4.

According to data from Siemens, apprenticeship training for Bantus is possible only in the Bantustans. Coloureds too are not trained as apprentices, ostensibly because a separate workshop would be necessary for them.

In the plant 4 trade unions operate - the Boilermakers; the Radio, Television, Electronics & Allied Workers Union; the Electrical Workers Association; the Amalgamated Engineering Workers' Union. It is true that the unions have a closed shop

agreement, but it does not function 100 per cent. Every new employee receives a trade union admittance card from the firm. What he does with it, is his own affair. The fact that unorganized workers cannot participate in the sickness insurance of the authoritative Industrial Council does not appear to be any particular inducement to join the union. The check-off system that has been agreed on gives the firm an exact picture of the union's strength. As is alleged, only 10 per cent of the workers are organized. There is no collective agreement for non-manual staff.

A Bantu worker in an inspector's position, i.e. a supervisory function in the plant, reports that he gets an hourly wage of 53 cents. 12 people are under his eye. He speaks good English. He is unfamiliar with any trade unions, but assumes that the whites are organized. The people subject to him earn 35 cents.

To arrive at work at the right time, he must get up at 4 o'clock in the morning, travelling 2 hours there and 2 hours back. He is unwilling to say anything about the relations between black and white people.

The Bantu occupied in the personnel department reports that new workers are engaged always on Thursday, when considerable crowds of people push up to the plant gates. No one is taken on who cannot prove that he has been working uninterruptedly for 2 years, has gone through standard 7 or 8 at school and can pass the tests set. All workers newly engaged have a 2-hour speech of introduction made to them. The Bantus employed at Siemens live in 2 municipalities, one of which is 7, the other 27 miles away from the factory. The latter came into existence through the elimination of slum quarters in Pretoria. Coloured employees live in a separate settlement 4 miles away.

Standard Telephone & Cable (ITT) in Boksburg

The firm employs 1745 workers. Of the 1037 whites among them 60 per cent are women; of the 393 Coloureds 250 are women; of the 188 Asiatics 130 are women; there are 127 Bantus, men only.

The firm dates back to 1959. The management is headed by 3 Americans. The personnel director, the American Ferreira, reports that, without any legal basis, he has set up two advisory councils, which have been in operation for 4 years. One of them consists of 15 whites, the other of 10 non-whites. An election takes place once a year. All are elected shop stewards of their groups. Each department is represented on a council. The composition of personnel has so far been fairly consistent. Meetings are held once a month during working hours.

For other than white people the minimum wage is 26 cents an hour, the maximum 89 cents. Workers are engaged on the basis of vocational aptitude tests. The firm is completely autonomous in its wage policy, not subject to any directions at all from the company's head office in the US. For wage categories A to DD there is a closed shop agreement with the unions concerned. In the enterprise there are 5 unions: 3 for whites, 2 for Coloureds - Electrical Workers' Union, Iron & Steel Workers' Union, AEU, Electrical and Allied Workers' Union, and the Radio, TV and Allied Workers' Union. All form a joint negotiating committee.

The firm provides the following fringe benefits: plant old age pension scheme, to which the worker contributes 3 per cent, the employer 5 per cent of wages, and out of which widows' and disability pensions are paid; there are company loans for building houses; there is a canteen with a choice of four different meals, priced at 15 cents for non-whites and 36 cents for whites. Besides, there is a family planning clinic. Labour turnover is 29 per cent.

The plant has no interpreters available. Almost all employees speak English or Afrikaans. Mr Ferreira considers open, free communications in the plant a vital pre-requisite for higher productivity. He reproaches the government and the trade unions with not permitting the best use to be made of available manpower.

The firm pays far more than average wages. The wage rate for skilled workers is R 1.15. The average payable in industry is R 1.56 compared with R 1.85 in the firm.

VECOR in Vereeniging

The works came into existence between 1945 and 1947. A second works was taken over from the firm Babcock in 1961. The former has 3 300 workers, 2 200 of whom are whites.

With the component unions a closed shop agreement was signed, as a result of which all skilled workers are Europeans. There are 5 unions in the plant - chiefly the purely white Iron & Steel Union, the AEU and the Boilermakers. The non-white labour has no official representation. In the staff department however there is a person responsible for Bantu employees. The Bantus come from the communities in the environs and from Transkei. For other than white workers the average wage is 24 cents an hour, while their maximum wage is 70 cents. White skilled workers earn R 1.60. Of the 3 300 employees, 600 are white-collar workers. The lowest non-manual worker's salary is 3 200 rand per year, while the highest is R 6 408.

The firm produces steel works equipment, cement works, pressure chambers and mining appliances. The proportion exported is less than 10 per cent. The state-owned Iscor works has 51 per cent interest in this firm. 260 apprentices, only Europeans, are trained. The firm employs 23 different nationalities altogether.

The main problem in recruiting labour is the lack of dwellings. The firm has 900 houses of its own for employees in the works.

A shop steward of the Iron Moulders Society in the foundry whom we could talk to told us that every union in the concern has a shop steward. With the Iron Moulders the union due amounts to 16 cents per week. They have 80 members in the plant and a closed shop agreement. That man, who has been a member of the union for 35 years, has no knowledge of racial tension.

Stewarts & Lloyds of South Africa, Vanderbijl Park

The firm, which was originally a subsidiary of the British company of the same name, is today only 11 per cent in British ownership. It produces machine tools, steel tubes, plastic tubes and foundry items. Founded in 1927, it employs 2 500 non-whites and 1 500 whites.

For the determination of wages, the firm applies a job evaluation system of its own, with 8 categories. Bantus are employed on manual work as machinists, on office work and on supervisory activities. The firm has set up a small training centre for Bantus, which is administered by Bantus. The responsible African told us that the Bantus are generally regarded as cheap labour. However the firm wants to make as much use as possible of this manpower as is permitted by the present legislation. Before any worker is taken on, there is a psychological adaptability test. One or two months after their engagement, the new employees are interviewed again. There is a social department, to which all who have any problems can refer.

The training centre deals also with those Africans who take on supervisory activities. They are instructed in leadership of men, safety questions, first aid. Apart from a safety committee of their own for Bantus, the firm does not have any representative bodies for non-white labour.

As fringe benefits the firm provides a canteen, a social fund and a health centre. The average seniority of permanent workers is 14 to 15 years. Each month 50 Africans are newly put on the pay roll. 40 per cent of the Bantus employed are so-called migrant workers, which means that they work for about a year, then go home again. The average wage is R 14 per week, the maximum wage R 60 per week.

Massey-Ferguson, Vanderbijl Park

The firm employs 700 workers, of whom 200 are whites and 500 Africans. 20 per cent of their production is exported to 40 different countries. Agricultural machines of all kinds are made.

The black African countries' boycott of South Africa is for the first time mentioned as doing damage. For other than white workers the minimum wage per hour is 25 cents, the maximum wage 45 cents per hour. As an average, the whites earn R 1.50.

British Leyland Motor Corporation at Blackheath near Pretoria

The works, erected in 1930, is subsidiary to the BLMC in the United Kingdom. The head office is in Johannesburg. The components used are still to a considerable

extent obtained from overseas. The models made are Jaguar, Rover, Triumph Apache, Mini and Landrover.

The mixture of models poses no mean problem for the works. Output per day is 60 units, together with 15 Landrovers. The vehicles are sold to licensed dealers.

On the pay-roll there are 288 white non-manual workers, 117 white production workers, and 1 770 other than white workers, of whom 14 are Bantus, while the rest are coloureds. There is no job reservation for whites, nor any kind of standard of qualifications, which only a white can attain. As a matter of fact, however, certain jobs, such as those of adjusters, are occupied only by whites.

The working conditions of coloureds are settled in a collective agreement signed with the Western Province Motor Assembly Workers Union. This provides for 7 different categories. There is no Industrial Council Agreement. Should the Western Province Motor Assembly Workers Union merge with the National Motor Assembly Workers Union, BLMC also would come under the proper Industrial Council Agreement. Check-off was agreed on with the union, but there is no absolute closed shop. According to the employers' figures, 80 - 95 per cent of the coloured workers are organized, which means that the union is highly representative. It has been established in the plant for 12 years. The union due is 20 cents per week. This union has not so far considered any labour dispute necessary; all matters of conflict could be settled by negotiation. Income and working conditions for white labour at BLMC were laid down by management.

The workweek is 44 hours. Average earnings of coloureds are about R 20 per week. Minimum hourly wages of coloureds amount to 37 cents, of Bantus to 21 cents. Union duties can be performed during working hours without loss of pay, but there are no regular meetings between trade union representatives and management unless there is a special reason.

In the canteen which offers three different meals, the food costs 15 cents for non-whites, 25 cents for whites.

Employees can purchase autos made by the firm at rebates of up to 20 per cent. The firm does not train any apprentices, nor has it any other vocational training facilities of its own.

Burfield Ruberowen, Port Elizabeth

This firm, existing since 1961, has produced 6 million wheels for motor vehicles in that space of time. Of the employees, 75 are Europeans, 155 coloureds and 132 Bantus. In addition, there are 44 clerical and technical workers. All the skilled workers are Europeans, while the non-Europeans are either unskilled or semi-skilled. The minimum wage is 21 cents an hour and the average wage 35 cents. An on-the-job bonus of 5 cents an hour is paid. If he arrives late, the worker loses the bonus for the whole day. Among the firm's fringe benefits is a grocery store of its

own, where the workers can make purchases on credit, with the amount deducted later from their pay.

The Bantus are employed first and foremost on heavy physical work, because they are more suited to that. They and the coloureds work together; there are no separate types of work. There is a mixture also of foremen. On his own initiative a Bantu may attend a course on quality control. If he completes the course successfully, the firm promises him an equivalent position as well as repayment of the whole fee he has invested.

In the plant there are 3 unions - the Engineering Industrial Workers Union, the Electrical Workers Union and the AEU.

General Motors, Port Elizabeth

In the top management there are 8 Americans. The personnel manager is Mr de Kok. The works was opened in 1926 as an assembly plant. Meanwhile the proportion of local components has risen to 60 per cent. The plant employs 5 000



workers, of whom 1 900 are Coloureds and 530 Bantus. General Motors pays school fees for the Bantus' children. (In South Africa attendance at school is free of cost only for the children of whites.) The minimum wage is 40 cents per hour. In every workshop there is a Bantu Council. Besides the IMF affiliate, the Motor Assembly Workers Union, the Iron & Steelworkers' Union has a large membership. The personnel manager reported that, after an agreement which took the place of the previous legal job reservation had been signed, this union had been very cooperative in making new jobs accessible to non-white workers.

When we put before Mr de Kok an announcement in the press that Mr Gerstenberg, the new president of General Motors, prior to his visit to South Africa had stated that GM would do its utmost to hasten the day of equality in South Africa, he refused to comment on this. He did not know what it meant.

The case of Kettledas

During our stay in Port Elizabeth in various quarters reference was made to the case of Kettledas. He is a coloured worker, employed with GM at Port Elizabeth who, answering an advertisement in the newspaper by the firm, applied for a particular position. While friends of Mr Kettledas believe that his application was turned down solely because he is a coloured man, in a statement signed by Antoni M. Kedzierski, training officer of the GM Personnel Department, it is claimed that the absence of certain training appliances at Port Elizabeth were responsible for the rejection of this application. It would be a good thing if the UAW were to discuss this case with GM.

Ford, Port Elizabeth

The firm, dating from 1923, has factories in 5 different places. It employs 5 700 workers, of whom 2 400 are whites. All Ford models made in Australia, Germany and Britain are produced also here. The output each day is 220 passenger cars, 30 trucks and 10 - 20 tractors.

The unionization is assessed at 45 - 65 per cent. There is no closed shop agreement, but there is one on check-off. In the works the Iron & Steelworkers' Union and the Motor Assembly Workers Union have members. The minimum wage is 40 cents per hour. All benefits are granted without any racial discrimination. But since 1967 there has been an agreement on job reservation for certain categories.

While Mr Peters, the representative of the Personnel Department, as we went round the works was very cooperative and willing to furnish information, the

conversation with Mr Ferreira, the personnel manager, was extremely disagreeable. He introduced it with the remark that he had agreed to have a talk with our group solely on condition that no matters would be dealt with which were normally a subject for discussion with the trade union concerned. Only questions of general interest could be discussed. After some exchanges and our objection that, as a trade union delegation, it was of course just trade union affairs that interested us, a limping conversation got going. Mr Ferreira refused to give any information about job reservation, the amount and distribution of the capital, labour-management relations, the independence or lack of independence in wage policy as far as arrangements in Detroit, investment policy and many other matters are concerned.

Volkswagen, Uitenhage

Building the works began in 1951, but it was only in 1971 that it was decided "to bring the works up to coping with VW Standard." To rise to the proportion of domestic components required by the government, R 25 million must be invested. The firm produces 155 cars per day. In 1971 5 000 units fewer were turned out than in 1970. Short-term marketing chances are termed gloomy. Nevertheless in view of the expected long-term expansion, major investments are considered necessary. Of the 3 664 employees 1 560 are Bantus, 520 are Coloureds. The types of vehicles manufactured are: Käfer, VW bus, VW 411, Audi 100. At VW extensive vocational training and further training are provided. In 2 years this leads to a kind of skilled worker's qualification. In the maintenance and repair field very good workers who have had this training are occupied. Apprentices' training takes place according to the same standards as in Wolfsburg. There are 84 apprenticeships for Europeans only since, as stated by the firm's representatives, the Iron & Steelworkers' Union has expressed its opposition to apprenticeships for others than whites.

VW South Africa is 63 per cent owned by the VW works, the rest being South African capital.

Minimum wages are 30 cents an hour, but are expected to rise in a short time to 40 cents. It is stressed that recently engaged workers generally remain for only 3 months in the lowest wage scale. Coloureds reach a weekly wage of R 38 at the most, Bantus of R 34. Labour turnover among white workers amounted in 1971 to 59 per cent, among the Bantus to 49.9 per cent and among the Coloureds to 83.6 per cent.

For the Motor Assembly Workers Union there are 2 shop stewards in the plant. They might be 3, as with the relevant white trade union. All internal shop problems are settled directly with the shop stewards. Regular weekly meetings take place with them. In addition there is a Bantu committee with elected representatives, who meet at two-weekly intervals.

All employees receive an annual bonus. Other fringe benefits given by the works are a works pension, medical care and a subsidy for the works kitchen.

Works council members of the German VW works have not so far been in South Africa.

Rent is deducted fortnightly from Bantus' wages. In the plant there are two unions -- the Iron & Steelworkers' Union which has organized about 45 per cent of workers under its jurisdiction, and the Motor Assembly Workers Union which has 64 per cent rate of organization. Check-off has been agreed with both unions. The Iron & Steelworkers Union has made an application for closed shop, but the firm refused that.

Ten years ago the workers employed in the plant were 70 per cent white and 30 per cent non-white. Now the proportion is reversed.

The price of meals in the canteen is 15 cents for Europeans, 5 cents for other than whites.

In the employment department two people who are not white work. Many people who note times are not white. 52 Bantus and 17 Coloureds have been trained as group leaders.

The net profits made by the works was R 2.5 million in 1970, R 1.6 million in 1971. One-fifth of the profits was paid out, four-fifths was reinvested.

In the opinion of people at the Volkswagen works, the South African auto industry cannot produce vehicles more cheaply than the European industry can.

The low rate of automation is a consequence not of cheap labour but of the short production runs.

For the employees the works edits a paper, which appears in English, Afrikaans and the Xhosa language.

Mercedes-Benz (CDA), East London

This works has been in existence since 1948. It is purely an assembly plant. The roughly 1 000 production workers consist of 700 Africans, 150 Coloureds and 150 whites.

Some 8 000 Mercedes passenger cars and 3 500 trucks are produced each year. The proportion of domestic components is at present 55 per cent. In keeping with government decree this must be increased each year by 2.5 per cent, later by 2 per cent. Figures of Mercedes people show that the light commercial vehicle market in South Africa is dominated up to 70 per cent by Japanese models. The 2.5 litre Toyota small van, most common here, is R 1 400 cheaper than any other comparable type. With passenger cars the Japanese proportion is already 17.5 per cent.

For Bantu workers the starting wage is 23 cents per hour, their highest wages are between 80 and 85 cents. Mercedes admits that this starting wage is low, but it is the highest in East London. It must be remembered that Mercedes is among the

border industries and that the Bantu manpower streaming in from Transkei is still completely untrained. Every year all wages are adjusted to the increased cost of living. The labour market in East London may not be compared with that in Port Elizabeth. The labour turnover, which was previously at 200 per cent, has now fallen to 36 -- 40 per cent.

All newly hired workers go through an introductory programme in their language, i.e. either in English, Afrikaans or Xhosa. The programme lasts for two days. Working hours spent on it are paid. After one week follows an interview, then after three weeks another interview.

Skilled workers' wages are from R 1.10 to 1.40. Mercedes does not come within the jurisdiction of an Industrial Council Agreement because, as the company management said, there is no representative union. Admittedly the Iron & Steelworkers' Union and the Motor Assembly Workers Union had members in the plant, but neither of the two unions was really representative.

We received from brothers of the Motor Assembly Workers Union a list of grievances, including 8 points, which we raised in the conversation with Mercedes management. They argued against the claim that other than white workers were not members of the plant pension fund. The non-whites were exempt from paying contributions, so it was possible that not all of them knew about their membership of the pension fund. They confirmed the reproach that starting wages were low, but they excused this on the ground of the special state of the labour market. The firm did not contest that there was no grievance procedure and no representation of the workers in the plant. They also confirmed that the check-off introduced earlier had been stopped. They quoted as reasons for that irregularities in completing the trade union formulas. The union later admitted these irregularities and explained them on account of the honorary union officials' lack of training and overwork. The firm granted that there was hardly any contact between it and the trade unions. It entrenched itself behind the legal view that the unions in the plant must first be representative in order to have a basis for bargaining. As long as that was not the case, the firm had no reason to help the trade unions.

It had stated the same standpoint already in reply to earlier grievances of the Motor Assembly Workers Union, which the IG Metall had laid before the German parent company in Stuttgart. In our conversation with the Mercedes people it became evident that they were exactly informed about the internal situation and the difficulties facing the Motor Assembly Workers Union.

For lack of representation of the labour force, the plant social department acts as a channel for communications. In the personnel department some Bantus are employed. The firm publishes a works paper which, besides texts in English and Afrikaans, contains texts in Bantu languages and pictures of non-white people on the pay-roll.

Fringe benefits provided by the firm are: an annual bonus equal to one month's wages, three weeks' vacations while the whole works is shut, a Christmas parcel, a plant sickness fund which for 13 weeks pays 50 per cent of wages and for 13 more weeks 25 per cent of wages, medical care with free consultation, free doctors' prescriptions, hospital treatment apart from dental care and a leisure time club.

There is a plant old age benefit to which beneficiaries do not have to contribute themselves in the lower wage groups. The works pension is based on seniority and income in the last five years.

For the midday meal 9, 13 or 15 cents is paid, depending on quality. The firm pays a subsidy of R 40 000 a year towards that. Every morning soup is provided free of cost.

The firm does not train any apprentices but indicates that it is in favour of establishing appropriate vocational training and further training facilities in conjunction with other firms. This is particularly necessary, it says, because the Bantus in general have not been to any school.

Mercedes-Benz South Africa is entirely owned by the United Car & Diesel Distributors. In that company in turn a South African bank has 40 per cent interest, 25 per cent belongs to the parent company Daimler-Benz, while the rest is held by shareholders of the general public.

Gilbert Hamer, Durban

This firm is the largest private metal fabricating factory in Natal. It employs 2 000 workers, of whom 700 are manual craftsmen and skilled workers, 1 250 Bantus and 40 Coloureds and Indians. The Bantus earn as an average 23 cents an hour. The firm makes steel construction and foundry products. In addition it builds and repairs ships.

In the plant there are 5 unions with a total of 400 members. □

RECOMMENDATIONS

of the delegation to the IMF and its South African affiliates

1. The delegation considers it urgently necessary to continue all efforts for the denunciation and abolition of apartheid, and recommends IMF to intensify its efforts in this direction.
2. In its final declaration to the press, the delegation has already expressed its view that the best solution to the problems of the South African worker would be the creation of large, racially integrated industrial unions. It is obvious that this goal cannot be realised in the short term, apart from which, leading trade unions in South Africa are far from striving towards this end.
3. Thus the delegation is clear on one thing, that the consequences of apartheid in trade union life and on the shop floor must be overcome step by step. The best possibility for this is offered by the example, already cited elsewhere, of the Garment Workers' Union. Under the protective umbrella of a white, or coloured workers' union, and by exploiting the material, personnel, and technical means at its disposal, a strong black workers' organization could be built up.

We consider it imperative that the IMF make clear to its affiliates its demand and expectation. These apply, above all, to South African affiliates – especially to those in the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions – that this be a programme we insist upon and expect them to carry out.

4. The delegation does not consider the founding of independent African unions practical. Such unions not only contradict the principle of working class unity as represented by the international trade union movement, but also they conform to the principle, rejected by us, of racial segregation. They also prove not to be viable in practice, and worthless for the effective representation of African workers' interests.

5. In the light of present circumstances, the delegation recommends, however, further support for the three non-white IMF affiliated metal unions, namely the Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union; the Motor Assembly Workers' Union; and the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union.
6. A further possibility of promoting the interests of African workers is seen in cooperation with the Urban Training Project, supported by private contributions mostly from the Church, which is active principally in trade union education among African workers in Johannesburg and Cape Town, seeking to educate them for independent trade union activity and solidarity action by giving elementary knowledge in the field of social and labour legislation as well as trade union practice.
7. In addition, the delegation recommends the South African trade union confederation, TUCSA, to re-establish a coordination office for the organization of non-white workers, like the one it supported until 1968. This office should aid individual affiliates of TUCSA in organising efforts among non-white workers, and intervene where the individual unions, for any reason whatsoever, do not undertake such efforts.
8. The delegation considers, even on the basis of existing laws, that the creation of works committees in large companies specially for the representation of non-white workers is both possible and necessary. Specifically, the large multinational corporations should act as a good example and permit such freely elected bodies. A corresponding initiative of the IMF towards these companies is also recommended by the delegation. The South African unions could begin a campaign for the setting up of such works committees, giving them a contractual safeguard in order to secure them from the arbitrariness of the employers.
9. The delegation recommends sending another study group to South Africa in some years time, to examine developments that have taken place in the meantime, and in particular to make sure that South African affiliates are energetically supporting IMF policy in respect to South Africa.

The delegation is convinced that even under the difficult conditions of South African racial and labour legislation, the creation of trade unions that really function for the majority of African workers is quite possible.

The delegation expects the South African unions to do justice to their obligations in this respect and that the IMF, within the limits of its means, will give the necessary support.

The delegation recalls that it was exactly 50 years ago when South Africa was on the verge of economic and political chaos through a workers' revolt.

At that time, it was the white workers who revolted when their interests were threatened. If the legal, political and economic situation of the black worker in South Africa does not improve, it will not be another 50 years before they revolt.

Geneva, 30.5. 1972

Werner Thönnessen Jan Zorgdrager Fritz Opel Barbara Barnoult



PRESS RELEASE

On the invitation of the IMF affiliated South African Confederation of Metal and Building Unions a delegation consisting of Mrs Barbara Barnoun of the United Steelworkers of America, Fritz Opel of IG Metall, the German metalworkers union, Jan Zorgdrager of the Dutch metalworkers and Werner Thönnessen, assistant general secretary of the IMF was sent to South Africa to study the situation of the workers and the trade union movement, particularly in the metal industry.

The delegation spent two weeks in South Africa. During this time its members had numerous discussions with the representatives of various groups of trade unions, the Secretary of Labour, leaders of all racial groups, and various other circles. It also visited a number of industrial sites, talked to the managers of metal firms such as Iscor, Datsun, Siemens, Standard Telephone and Cables, General Motors, Vecor, Stewarts and Lloyds, Massey Ferguson, British Motors, Ford, Volkswagen, and Daimler-Benz.

It endeavoured to obtain as far as possible, in such a short time, a clearer picture of the present state of industrial relations and the economic structure in South Africa.

As trade unionists, the delegation was concerned mainly with the situation of working men and women in this country and with the problems arising for the trade union movement from the present economic and political conditions. It gained the impression that the economic and social development of the country depended not only on increased trained and capable work force and on its possibilities of self-expression. Considering the composition of the population in South Africa this work force would largely consist of African workers. This was agreed upon by almost everybody, especially employers and trade unionists. The policy of apartheid, however, apparently impeded and partially cancelled this economic and social development, as it was directed towards discriminating against the African worker and keeping him in an inferior position, particularly as regards income, general education and professional advancement.

The delegation found that African workers in the metal industries were generally paid minimum wages of 21 to 30 cents per hour.

At the current rate of exchange this would, compared with wages in the Federal Republic of Germany, correspond with a wage level of DM 1.- to 1.40 per hour (US\$ 0.31 to \$ 0.43), for a majority of workers in industry, whereas this level was actually much higher in Germany, namely about DM 4.- (US\$ 1.24).

On the other hand, wage rates for skilled white workers, e.g. toolmakers, ranging from R 1.50 to 2.40 and more, or from DM 6.75 (US\$ 2.10) to about DM 10.80 (US\$ 3.35) per hour, did compare quite favourably with similar rates in Germany. In the opinion of the delegation this, as well as job reservations for white workers and the policy of trying to prevent the general training of African workers

for better paid jobs, put the greatest obstacles in the way of progress towards a modern, socially integrated, democratic society in South Africa.

The South African system has been severely criticized for many years by the international trade union movement and other eminent international bodies, such as the ILO and the United Nations. There is no question but that this delegation, on the basis of its experiences during this visit, could only confirm its full adherence to the principles in the policy statements issued by these bodies. The delegation would like to recall the fundamental requests to the South African government as made in the resolution of the UN Economic and Social Council, voted on May 28, 1968, namely to amend South African legislation relating to trade union rights, so as to establish a non-discriminatory system under which all persons could freely exercise their trade union rights irrespective of racial origin, to grant legal recognition to all African trade union associations, to grant formally to African workers the right to strike and repeal the provisions which make this a criminal offence, to abolish job reservations, to repeal the provisions of the Master and Servants Act and the Bantu Land Act, to abolish the Suppression of Communism Act and refrain from prosecuting African workers and trade unionists because of their union activities, to release all trade unionists who are in prison as a result of their trade union activities.

For the South African unions the most important aspect for the near future would be to find ways and means of organizing the black and coloured workers and thus more effectively helping them to improve their material situation as well as their social standing.

The delegation had come across some encouraging examples of white unions helping their African fellow workers to establish functioning trade unions, but this was not the overall picture, and it would recommend especially to the unions affiliated to the IMF to multiply their efforts in this respect. They can be sure of the full support of the International.

The general impression was that South Africa seemed to be in a stage of rapid change and break-away from traditional patterns. Even among government circles the awareness was growing that the racial ideology of the ruling party was not only rejected by world public opinion, but constituted an obstacle to the solution of the vital problems of this country. The delegation expressed the hope that the irrefutable economic facts would destroy rapidly all racial barriers. The trade unions of South Africa should play an active part in this movement to bring about the necessary social progress, and not rely on an economic automatism. Only in pursuing a trade union policy which put the greatest emphasis on the creation of union organisations comprising all workers on an industry-wide basis would, in the opinion of this delegation, the South African trade union movement be able to exert to the fullest its potential influence, as yet restricted to a minority of white and coloured workers, for the construction of a better and more just economic, social, and political order, which could only be based on the recognition of the fundamental equality of man and of human rights. □

