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**Building Organisation Among South Africa's Textile & Clothing
Workers: The National Union of Textile Workers and its Successor
Unions, 1973 – 2003**

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WHAT IS A TRADE UNION?

A trade union is ...

- a permanent democratic organisation of workers ...
- to protect ...
- improve the conditions of their work ...
- through collective bargaining ...
- to better the conditions of their lives ...
- to provide a means of expression for workers views on the problems of society.

But mainly, it is an organisation that build the power of workers.

SACTWU 2003 Shop Stewards' Diary

SECTION 1

MPHIL PROPOSAL

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Chapter 1 : Introduction 1973 to 2003

Worldwide significant debates are occurring on how trade unions should adapt to the new circumstances that the world finds itself in. Issues that union movements are confronting – which mainly stem from changed economic conditions – include :

- fewer people joining unions
- less security of employment
- demands for greater workforce flexibility
- a growing importance of the informal sector and a rise in the number of atypical workers
- an employer class that is reluctant to accept unions as representatives of employees
- greater (employer and state) pressures on traditional collective bargaining arrangements
- political elites that rely on worker votes to assume power, yet who pursue a range of social and economic policies, and legislative agendas that are intrinsically hostile to the working class constituencies that vote them into power.

The outcomes of the debates to address the aforementioned issues, and the policies and strategies put in place to drive new trade union agendas will be critical for determining the futures of workplace organisations that represent workers in their firms and in society at large.

What generally has been forgotten is that these union rethinks are not unique. Unions since their formation have continually had to adapt to changing circumstances. South African trade unions have not been unaffected by these rethinks and retooling processes. South African unions adapted to new circumstances after the 1922 Rand Rebellion, and have adapted to the myriad of racially discriminatory laws and repression that flowed from the election victory of the National Party (NP) in 1948.

What this proposed dissertation will attempt to do is to track the organisational development of those unions that have organised South Africa's textile and clothing workers since 1973. The fundamental question that it will try to address is how did it happen, that within a very short period of time, that there emerged a dominant textile and clothing workers' trade union (which represents almost 70 percent of the country's weekly paid textile and clothing; and more than 98 percent of all organised textile and clothing workers) in the face of enormous challenges. The challenges this dominant union (and its predecessors faced) includes :

- a hostile apartheid state that focused its repressive apparatus on the newer unions that organised African workers;
- a post-apartheid African National Congress (ANC) government which has both been friendly and hostile towards union movement
- an employer class that was initially hostile to the new union that organised clothing and textile workers and which responded by seeking favour from the apartheid government of the day and with the established trade unions of the time
- a multitude of competing unions who at various times competed for favours with the state and with employers
- tough economic conditions that saw employment levels in the both the textile and clothing industries decline significantly and a rise in the number of informal sector workers, atypical workers and disguised employment relationships

The dissertation will try to assess why, and then how the unions that organised textile and clothing workers from 1973 onwards adapted to the aforementioned (and other) challenges and try to assess how they – using the a range of tactics and strategies – built ‘organisation’¹.

This Chapter will outline the general theoretical approach of the dissertation. It will focus on the theoretical debates about union organisation, and the internal and external processes by which trade unions develop policy and strategies in order to progress their agenda in a changing economic, political and social environment. It will deal at a theoretical level with some of the following issues :

- a background of organisational theory
- trade union structure
- union decision making (dealing with the roles of elected leadership; the roles of trade union officials; the roles of shop stewards; the role of rank and file membership; etc)
- gender and race matters.

¹ ‘Organisation’ is not going to be defined narrowly, i.e. how a union managed to recruit new members; how many members a union had at any one time, how many offices did a union have spread throughout the country, etc. A much broader definition of ‘organisation’ is envisaged, i.e. how was a union able to build power of its members so that they could achieve a range of workplace and societal objectives.

Chapter 2 : The Organisation of Textile & Clothing Workers Until 1973

The main purpose of this Chapter will be to provide a context for those themes that will be explored in later Chapters of the dissertation². It is envisaged that three themes will be addressed.

Part 1 : The Development of South Africa's Textile & Clothing Industries

It will be necessary to provide a fairly in depth overview of the development of the South African economy. This overview will mainly focus on the development of the domestic manufacturing industry – the textile and clothing industries in particular. The period covered would be from the late 19th century until the 1970s. Themes that will be explored include :

- industrial policy : the initial stages of the growth of the textile and clothing industries will be described. Thereafter the various state driven industrial policy interventions will be covered (e.g. It is envisaged that the development of the manufacturing economy will be analysed according to a number of periods – for example until the end of the First World War; from then until 1948; from there until the 1970s. Themes focussed on would include : policies of inward industrialisation / import substitution; decentralisation policies; the proactive role of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC); the effect of WW II on the development of the textile and clothing industries; the interdependence of the industries;)
- trade policy : differing trade policy regimes; trade flows; the importance of exports vis a vis the importance of the domestic market
- specific aspects of the textile and clothing industries : number of clothing and textile workers (vis a vis the numbers (race + gender) of total economically active population); important manufacturing groups – local and multinational; types of products produced; modernity of technology; supportative institutions; lobby groups; etc.

Part 2 : The Development of South Africa's System of Industrial Relations

An overview will be given on the development of South Africa's system of industrial relations / collective bargaining. It is anticipated, in order to simplify analysis, that South Africa's industrial/labour relations systems will be broken up into broadly defined periods, most probably the period from :

- the end of the Anglo-Boer war until immediately after the Rand Rebellion
- about 1924 until the victory of the National Party in 1948
- 1948 until 1973.

Themes that will be explored would include :

- legislative systems that regulated : collective bargaining; the role and functioning of trade unions and employer organisations; all forms of industrial action
- the viewpoints of unions, employers and the state on the efficacy of the models in place at the time.

² This will not be a short chapter – it will cover issues in a fair degree of detail. It is envisaged that this Chapter will cover a period from about 80 years – from 1890 onwards.

Part 3 : The Organisation of Textile & Clothing Workers

The manner in which textile and clothing workers organised against their bosses and the state will then be examined. The period covered would be from the late 19th century until the 1970s. Themes that will be explored will include :

- textile and clothing worker (non-organised) struggles – against employers; against and for the state
- unionised textile and clothing worker struggles – against employers; against and for the state
- unions (and their union federations) that organised textile and clothing workers
- unionisation : numbers of workers unionised vis a vis the economically active population; numbers of textile and clothing workers unionised
- union uses of the industrial relations system (Industrial Conciliation Act; the Wage Act; etc)
- remuneration levels of textile and clothing workers; pay levels of these workers relative to the pay levels of other workers; other working conditions (e.g. hours of work, annual / sick / compassionate leave; retirement / medical funds; shop steward rights; etc)
- debates within unions, debates between unions; co-operation
- political unionism : the position of black workers within unions (particularly within textile and clothing unions); the positions of the various union federations, namely the:
 - Industrial & Commercial Workers' Union (ICU)
 - South African Trade Union Congress (SATUC)
 - South African Trades & Labour Council (SATLC)
 - South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)
 - Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)
 - South African Confederation of Labour (SACOL)
 - Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU)

Chapter 3 : The Organisation of South African Textile & Clothing Workers After 1973

This will constitute the heart of the dissertation.

Part 1 : 1973 Strikes & Their Immediate Consequences

- spontaneous industrial action : what occurred, why it occurred; what were the immediate consequences of the 1973 Durban strike wave (focussing mainly on the strike actions of textile workers). Attention will be also paid to the position of textile workers located elsewhere in the country – what happened outside of the greater Durban area (in the rest of Natal; as well as in the metropolitan areas of Johannesburg; Cape Town; Port Elizabeth
- in the context of the industrial action which involved textile workers, the activities of clothing workers will be examined
- the responses to the 1973 strikes by the established trade unions (and their federations) that organised textile and clothing workers will be examined
- the activities / roles / functioning of the :
 - various university based Wages' Commissions
 - Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau (WPWAB)
 - Urban Training Project (UTP)
 - Industrial Aid Society (IAS)
 - Institute for Industrial Education (IIE)
 - Trade Union Advisory Co-ordinating Committee (TUACC)
 - Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions (CCBTU)
- the immediate response of the apartheid state
- the relationship between Inkatha and the new unions (Barney Dladla)
- the immediate responses of domestic textile and clothing employers
- the formation of the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) – when, who, why, debates, support, etc.

Part 2 : Setting-Down Roots : 1974 to 1987

A. Organising Strategies

How did the NUTW develop organisation – where did it succeed, where did it fail, where did it miss opportunities to develop organisation. How did the other trade unions who organised textile and clothing workers countered the organisational drive of the NUTW.

- *Using the Formal Industrial Relations System to Build Organisation*
 - Before 1973 the apartheid state imposed severe restrictions on the abilities of trade unions representing mainly African workers to organise and represent workers. In the wake of the 1973 strikes the state passed a slew of laws that impacted on the industrial relations environment – the changes to the labour relations system continued until the early 1980s. The existing laws and the amendments presented the newer unions – the NUTW included with a range of strategic choices. By using the system would there be advantages to build a union and a movement. The NUTW opted to use the statutory system of labour relations. An analysis will be made of how its use of the formal system contributed to it developing organisation.
- *Using Collective Bargaining to Build Organisation*

- Plant-level strategies : Issues that will be covered will include the strategy and tactics underpinning : the use of wage and recognition struggles; the use of worker dismissal(s); the use of strikes; the targeting of multi-national firms operating in South Africa. Research will be conducted on individual firms, as well as on the larger, conglomerate, textile manufacturers that were targeted (e.g. Frame and Romatex).
 - Industry-wide strategies : The NUTW’s approach to the various centralised bargaining structures that dominated the textile and clothing industries will be analysed. Research will focus on : its attempts to gain access to the various textile and clothing industrial councils that operated at the time; its approaches to closed-shop arrangements that effectively excluded them from gaining access to councils; its strategies for organising workers who fell under the scope of councils; the strategic agenda of the union once it gained access to these councils; etc.
- *Using Campaigns to Build Organisation*
- In order to aid organisation the NUTW initiated and participated in a number of campaigns. One of the most important of these was the “brown lung” campaign that was rolled-out in a number of textile factories. The efficacy of this campaign, and other campaigns (e.g. concerning workers’ retirement funds), will be documented and evaluated.
- *Relationships With Other Unions*
- The organising activities of the NUTW did not take place in an environment devoid of other domestic trade unions. A myriad of other trade unions – some with roots going back to the 1920s – competed with the NUTW for membership; for access to collective bargaining institutions; and, for favour with employers and the government of the day. This section will trace how these trade unions co-operated with the NUTW; and how these unions vociferously countered the efforts of the NUTW. Notwithstanding the massive opposition to the NUTW from the mid-1980s onwards a series of union mergers took place – which eventually saw in 1987 – the creation of two large single textile and garment trade unions, i.e. the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA) and the Garment and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (GAWU – SA). This section will trace the merger processes and the challenges that it presented to the leaderships of ACTWUSA and GAWU – SA.
 - The NUTW played an instrumental role in founding the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU); and its successor the Congress of South African Trade unions. Analysis will be made of the contributions of the NUTW to the formation of both of these federations and the roles that it played once they were established. This analysis will try understand what value / disadvantages these affiliations had for the NUTW. Research will also focus on the affiliations of the NUTW’s rivals to other union federations – the Trade Unions Council of South Africa (TUICSA) in particular.
 - International solidarity played an important part in building organisation within the NUTW and some of the other trade unions that operated at the time. The linkages that the NUTW developed with unions operating elsewhere in the world, and the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF) played a part in assisting the NUTW to develop organisation. This section shall assess the value that these linkages played in developing

organisation. This analysis will also look at the manner in which the other unions operating in the textile and clothing sectors interacted with internationally based trade unions.

B. Other Factors which Impacted Upon Organisation

Politics

How the politics of the day shaped the NUTW – how it contributed to assisting its organisational strategies and how it negatively impacted upon them.

- the apartheid state
 - in the 1970s : Repression : NUTW leaders (both workers and officials) were detained without trial, were banned; spied-upon; and harassed in other ways. It is surmised that there was significant co-operation between employers and the state's security forces. The impact of this repression will be documented and assessed. How the NUTW managed to maintain organisational coherence – in this period – will be evaluated.
 - in the 1980s : Repression : Repression against the nascent independent labour movement (including the NUTW) continued throughout the 1980s. NUTW support for and the consequences of the Aggett work stay-away (one of the first political gestures at a workplace for decades) will be assessed; as will the effects of the imposition of successive regional / national states' of emergencies. The anti-union positions of the leadership of some of South Africa self-governing and "independent" Bantustans ((the Ciskei, Boputhatswana and KwaZulu) and their impacts upon the NUTW will be documented and assessed. Particular consideration will be given to how the NUTW attempted to deal with Chief Buthelezi's an increasingly hostile Inkatha party (which formed the United Worker's Union of South Africa (UWUSA) in May 1986 as a riposte to the growing power of the emerging trade unions).

- the extra-parliamentary opposition
The NUTW's relationship with various elements of South Africa's extra-parliamentary opposition created for it both organisational opportunities and challenges. The relationships that it developed with the following formations of the Congress Movement will be documented and commented upon, the :

- African National Congress (ANC),
- South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)
- South African Communist party (SACP)
- United Democratic Front (UDF).

Themes that will be explored will include : important ideological debates concerning : workerism, populism, wopulism (a combination of both WORKerism and POPulism) and the national democratic revolution; viewpoints on the global anti-apartheid sanctions campaigns;

The Congress movement's attempt to destroy the NUTW by facilitating the formation of the Textile & Allied Workers Union (TAWU) in 1986 (TAWU was a breakaway from the NUTW). The UDF also made a foray into unionism with the establishment (in 1984) of the Clothing Worker's Union (CLOWU) in the Western Cape.

Economic Performance

While trying to deepen organisation the NUTW had to contend with the fact that the South African economy went through two fairly sustained and severe economic recessions : from 1974 to 1978; and from 1982 to 1985.

These severity and the effects of these recessions will be described in general. Specific attention will then be focused upon the economic performance of the textile and clothing industries over the entire period. How these recessions impacted upon the NUTW's ability to organise textile and clothing workers will be documented and analysed. It is assumed that in the light of the fact that both industries went through these recessions that the NUTW was less able to improve worker wages and working conditions – which may have negatively impacted upon its ability to negotiate improvements to worker wages and working conditions.

With all the above sections description and analysis will attempt to detail, among other issues, the :

- programmes of the NUTW (and of its rivals) to develop its worker (shop steward) leadership
- NUTW's initiatives to spread beyond its Natal home base to other provinces
- level of sophistication of the NUTW (compared with that of its rivals) with regards its finances (e.g. membership dues; union employee wages; etc); with its media campaigns (its newspapers and press relationships); with regards the benefits that it offered its membership (e.g. funeral, educational, etc).

Part 3 : A Period of Consolidation : 1988 to 1994

A. Merging Different Union Traditions³

Merger 1 :

Towards the end of 1987 the first consolidation of rival unions that operated in the textile and clothing industries occurred. There were two mergers :

- November 1987 : between the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW); the Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU) and the National Union of Garment Workers of South Africa (NUGW – SA) which formed the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers’ Union (ACTWUSA)
- December 1987 : between the Garment Workers’ Union – Western Province (GWU – WP); the Garment Workers’ Industrial Union – Natal (GWIU – N) and the Clothing Workers’ Union (CLOWU) which formed the Garment & Allied Workers’ Union of South Africa (GAWU – SA)

Research will document the challenges that the pre-merger processes threw-up; why there was not a single merger of all six unions (as this was on the cards); and, the challenges that the unions faced in the immediate post-merger period. The challenges that will be commented upon include the problems associated merging unions with completely different “traditions” with regards issues such as : “worker control”; collective bargaining; and politics.

Merger 2 :

In September 1989 the two unions that resulted from the aforementioned mergers merged to form a super-union (with about 199 000 members) for textile and clothing workers – the South(ern) African Clothing and Textile Workers’ Union (SACTWU). (The much smaller South African Textile and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU), which worked closely with GAWU – SA, was integrated into SACTWU at this time.

The research will document and explain the processes that led-up to this merge; the challenges that the pre-merger processes threw-up; and, the challenges that the unions faced in the immediate post-merger period. The challenges that will be commented upon include the problems associated merging unions with completely different “traditions” with regards issues such as : “worker control”; collective bargaining; politics and the issue of “race.

Two of these issues, namely politics and collective bargaining, will be commented upon in greater detail in later sections of the dissertation.

³ See Annexure 1.

B. Collective Bargaining and Organising Strategies⁴

The mergers of the unions presented the new unions with massive organisational opportunities – especially in the collective bargaining arena.

For the first time there existed a single union that was able to represent almost 80 to 90 percent of South Africa’s textile and clothing workers. For the first time there existed a union – whose leadership – was effectively in charge of the collective bargaining for most of the country’s textile and clothing workers.

An analysis will be conducted on how the new union managed its bargaining; and how this contributed towards building organisation. Analysis will be devoted to the campaign of the labour movement for a national minimum wage. ACTWUSA then SACTWU opposed the setting of national minimum wages – in the face of strong opposition from the other COSATU affiliates. In addition analysis will be devoted to the recruitment campaigns of SACTWU that were focussed at recruiting clothing and textile workers located in the country’s non-metropolitan areas such as Babelegi, Mogwase, Botshableo, Dimbaza, and Newcastle.

C. Engagement with the Apartheid State and the Congress Movement⁵

SACTWU was born with a range of political faces. GAWU – SA’s programme was pro-ANC, while ACTWUSA came with a tradition which called for unions to be politically independent – GAWU – SA wanted unions to adopt the Freedom Charter, while ACTWUSA pushed for the adoption of a “Workers’ Charter”. While the leaderships had these outlooks the position amongst rank-and-file memberships was different – the membership supporting a range of political parties.

In the late 1980s it became apparent that the apartheid edifice was crumbling. Years of rebellion in the country’s townships and successive work stayaways contributed significantly to the leadership of the National Party (NP) abdicating power. While repression continued against the union movement – its repressive forces dissipated. In one of its most “last stand” actions it sought to change the labour relations system in order to weaken the unions.

Analysis will examine :

- the approach of ACTWUSA and then SACTWU to the proposed amendments of the Labour Relations’ Act of 1987/8
- the manner in which SACTWU attempted to walk a tightrope between the ANC and Inkatha battles that ravaged the Natal midlands in the late 1980s and the early 1990s
- efforts of Trotskyite / “ultraleft” groups (mainly in the Western Cape) to undermine the leadership of the new union
- the release of the SACTWU General Secretary (John Copelyn) to parliament.

The above issues cannot be examined in isolation from the debates and the activities of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

⁴ The impact on collective bargaining will be covered here in depth. Coverage in Section “A” of this chapter will be dealt with rather superficially.

⁵ The impact on politics will be covered here in depth. Coverage in Section “A” of this chapter will be dealt with rather superficially.

D. The Winds of Globalisation

In the same period that there was this consolidation of unions in the textile and clothing industries, and a national political transition was being negotiated, the winds of globalisation started to affect the South African economy. The textile and clothing industries were in the frontline.

This section will comment upon :

- the general performance of the South African economy and that of the textile and clothing industries in particular during the period until 1994. The extent of the job losses in this early period will be commented upon
- SACTWU's initial involvement in non-collective bargaining economic issues that directly affected its membership. Topics covered will include : SACTWU's involvement in setting South Africa's World Trade Organisation (WTO) tariff bindings (agreed at Marrakech April 1994); the renegotiation of the South Africa – Zimbabwe Free Trade agreement; the development of a plan for the textile and clothing industries (first the “Hatty Plan”; and then the “Swart Panel and Task Group” reports which attempted to develop an industry plan for the textile and clothing industries)
- campaign's run by SACTWU in this period which were focussed on saving jobs in the textile and clothing industries (e.g. trying to ensure that the state bought more locally made textile and clothing products; demands that the South African Revenue Services (SARS) improved its customs administration in order to reduce smuggling; ensuring that there were improved controls on the distribution of donated clothing; etc)
- SACTWU's in the National Economic Forum (NEF).

Part 4 : Organising in the Post-Apartheid State : 1994 to 2003

A. Collective Bargaining and Organising Strategies

Collective Bargaining

In this period SACTWU made significant, but slow progress, progress in developing single national bargaining institutions for the clothing and textile industries. Each of the processes will be commented upon in detail :

- For the textile industry :
 - the campaign against the Barlow Rand which controlled the second largest textile group in the country (the Romatex group) in support of a demand for centralised bargaining
 - SACTWU's “One Industry One Bargain Campaign”
 - the initial establishment of separate centralised bargaining institutions for different sub-sectors of the textile industry
 - the establishment of a single textile industry bargaining council covering all textile workers (achieved 2003).

- For the clothing industry :
 - initial attempts to co-ordinate bargaining in five separate clothing and garment knitting bargaining councils
 - the campaign to have one bargaining council for the entire textile industry (achieved in 2002)

Organising Campaigns

In spite of being extremely well organised (relative to other trade unions in the country) in the sectors that it operated SACTWU in this period initiated a number of recruitment campaigns aimed at expanding the membership of the union. In this regard the following will be dealt with :

- its campaigns in non-metropolitan areas of the country (e.g. in Botshabelo; Kimberley; the border corridor of the Eastern Cape; in Newcastle and Isithebe in KwaZulu-Natal; and Babelegi and Mogwase in the North West province). Its use of the Wage Act (Wage Determination (WD)) and later the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) (Sectoral Determinations) to try and peg wages in these areas so as to facilitate recruitment
- its focus on some unorganised factories in the metropolitan areas
- the initial forays into organising workers informal economy workers; workers engaged in atypical work; and those workers employed in disguised employment relationships (mainly those at those companies belonging to the Confederation of South African employers (COFESA)
- a short overview will be given on SACTWU's efforts to recruit workers in the leather industry; and how it came about that SACTWU also has some retail sector workers as its members
- how SACTWU responded to other trade unions poaching its membership. The poaching efforts of the unaffiliated Oil, Chemical, General & Allied Workers Union (OCGAWU); the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) affiliated National Clothing & Textile Workers' Union (NACTWUSA); and other smaller independent trade unions

B. Dealing with Globalisation

From the mid-1990s both the textile and clothing industries started to haemorrhage jobs. SACTWU's membership was severely affected by the massive downsizing of both industries. The union identified the main causes as being : South Africa's tariff liberalisation programme; the inefficiencies of customs administration (in controlling the Duty Credit Certificate Scheme (DCCS)), its inability to stop the smuggling of textile and clothing products; the government's refusal to implement all the recommendations of the "Swart Panel and Task Group".

Research and analysis will focus on :

- quantifying the extent of the job losses and the impacts on industry; and critically examining the reasons for the job losses put forward by SACTWU for the job losses
- examining SACTWU's responses to the crisis in the industry. This report will look at the independent actions of SACTWU; but also its actions which were effected by SACTWU in other fora, e.g. via the National Economic Forum (NEF); the National (NEF), the National Economic Development & Labour Council (NEDLAC); the Millennium Labour Council (MLC); the Presidential Working Group (PWG).
- SACTWU's initial campaigns through 1994 to July 2000 : against the domestic customs administration; trying to prevent the importation of second hand clothes / worn coats; trying to persuade government to stop its tariff liberalisation programme; involving itself in the trade talks of the South African government; focussing on retailers who imported much of their textiles and clothing; trying to persuade government and the private sector to purchase only locally produced clothing and textiles; supporting Southern African Customs' Union's (SACU) textile and clothing unions;
- SACTWU's later campaigns August 2000 to December 2003 : "Project Jobs" included the following activities : the Textile and Clothing Sector Summit (TCSS); decisions to organise atypical and informal sector clothing producers; campaigns to increase the purchases of locally made textiles and clothing (government and private sector procurement (e.g. Sun International; the state tender system; the Proudly South Africa (PSA) campaign; the independent Electoral Commission (IEC); the United Cricket Board (UCB)); further campaigns against customs and trade agreements;

C. Engaging with the Post Apartheid State

Throughout this period SACTWU and its leadership interacted on a regular basis with the officials of the post-apartheid state. Research and analysis will focus on these interactions. Issues that will be covered will include

- economics, and trade and industrial policy (see above)
- changes to the labour legislation (see above).

Analysis will also focus on how the transition to democracy impacted upon the membership of SACTWU. In this context analysis will focus on what effect the transition had on SACTWU :

- being able to recruit more members
- being able to mobilise its members in support of union campaigns (at a political and workplace levels).

An analysis will be devoted to seeing what effect the above had upon developing and strengthening organisation.

E. International Solidarity

While SACTWU's founding unions interacted with other unions elsewhere in the world throughout the 1970s, the 1980s and the early 1990s they did so mainly as the recipients of solidarity support. From the mid-1990s onwards SACTWU offered significant solidarity support to unions in Africa.

Research and analysis in this section will cover : to who this support was offered (mainly SADC unions and Nigeria); and the level of the support and what the effects these solidarity programmes had on building organisation in SACTWU.

The above analysis will deal with how the union developed a greater degree of sophistication. The roles of the following will be commented upon in order to assess how organisation was being developed.

- the sophistication of the union head office
- the union's education department
- the union's media department
- the union's research department
- the union's benefit structure
- its endeavours to intervene in the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) crisis
- role played by the SACTWU Investment Company

Chapter 4 : Overview & Analysis

The main focus of this Chapter will be to evaluate the manner in which the various textile and clothing unions managed to deepen organisation. It will offer a critical analysis based upon the research detailed in Chapter 3 parts 2, 3 and 4 in the context of some of the theoretical issues raised in Chapter 1.

SECTION 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Interviews

It is anticipated that much of the research will be obtained from interviews – especially with regards Chapter 3. An ambitious programme of interviews (as many as 142) is planned. Interviewees will be selected from the ranks of former and current :

- union officials; textile and clothing workers (currently 98 people identified)
- textile and clothing employers (currently 29 people identified)
- government bureaucrats (8 people identified)
- policy advisors / academics / lawyers (7 identified)

It is anticipated that some individuals will have to be interviewed more than once in order to cross reference and follow-up on information gathered from other interviews and sources. Annexure “3” details the names of those people that will be interviewed.

2. Primary Sources

There are a range of primary source documents that will be consulted. In this regard it is anticipated that the following (and this list is not exhaustive) will be consulted :

2.1. The Records of Trade Unions⁶

Types of material that will be consulted includes : the meeting minutes of the union constitutional structures; union correspondence; union financial records; other reports of the union. The records of the following unions will be accessed :

- National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW)⁷
- Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers’ Union (ACTWUSA)⁸
- Southern African Clothing & Textile Workers’ Union (SACTWU)
- Garment Workers Union of South Africa (GWUSA)
- South African Trades & Labour Council (SATLC)⁹
- South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)
- Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU)¹⁰
- Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)¹¹
- Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)¹²

⁶ It is hoped that the candidate will be able to access the recent records of COSATU and SACTWU after permission has been obtained from the current leadership of these organisations.

⁷ Papers from 1973 until about 1990 located at University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive.

⁸ Papers from 1987 until 1989 located at University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive.

⁹ Papers from 1939 until 1954 located at University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive. Part of FOSATU collection.

¹⁰ Papers from 1939 until 1986 located at University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive.

¹¹ Papers from 1915 until 1986 located at University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive.

¹² Limited number of COSATU’s historical papers are at the University of the Witwatersrand’s Cullen archive. Most COSATU material remains in COSATU House.

- National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)¹³

2.2. The Records of Industrial / Bargaining Councils¹⁴

The records of the various industrial / bargaining councils will be invaluable. Records that will be consulted will include : the minutes of various constitutional and other structures of the councils; the wage and other agreements of each council. The following councils records will be consulted :

- clothing / garment knitting councils : W Cape; E Cape; KwaZulu-Natal; Transvaal / Northern Areas; N Cape & Free State; and the recently created National Bargaining Council for the Clothing Manufacturing Industry (NBC-CMI)
- textile councils : NICTEX; Cotton; Worsted; Carpet; Manufactured Fibres; Fabric Knitting.

2.3. The Records of Employers

It is anticipated that the records of various individual employers, and of employer / manufacturers' associations (industry specific, provincial and national) will contain valuable information. It is believed that much material pertaining to the period until the late 1980s may be more easily accessible¹⁵. There may be problems in consulting material after 1990. It is understood that the Frame Group of companies has an extensive archive of material – much of it relating to its industrial relations practices and policies. It is hoped that these records can be accessed¹⁶.

2.4. The Records of Government

The records of government will be invaluable. In this regard it is hoped that permission can be obtained to consult various records kept by the Department of Labour (DoL) / Department of Manpower (DoM). It is anticipated that the records of the old Wage Board (which set Wage Determinations); and those records kept by those sections of government that processed bargaining council agreements can be accessed. An attempt will be made to access material that would have been in the possession of the former Security Branch (from 1973 until 1994)¹⁷. Efforts will also be made to access the records of Truth & Reconciliation Commission (TRC) – especially those relating to the amnesty applications of those who tried to assassinate SACTWU's first President (Amon Ntuli) and second General Secretary (John Copelyn).

3. **Newspapers and Magazines**

¹³ These records may be more difficult to access due to the fact that the candidate works for a trade union affiliated to COSATU.

¹⁴ Many of these records are still located with the bargaining councils. The MPhil candidate will have to request permission to access these records.

¹⁵ It may be difficult to access the records of many of these organisations due to the fact that the candidate is a working trade unionist.

¹⁶ A previous Chief Executive Officer of the Frame Group (Mervyn King) at one stage said that he would allow the candidate to access this material. A further approach will be made to the Frame group management in order to see if their archive can be consulted.

¹⁷ It is anticipated that accessing this material will be very difficult – but a serious attempt shall be made.

There are a range of newspapers, magazines and periodicals that will be consulted. It is anticipated that these will provide invaluable data. It is pre-supposed that many of these will be consulted in order to provide precise dates on events described by persons interviewed. It is believed that copies of the Financial Mail, The Rand Daily Mail, and The Daily News, will be especially valuable.

4. Secondary Sources

There are range of publications and academic journals that will be consulted. This list will be developed as the proposed research program progresses.

SECTION 3

ABBREVIATIONS

ACTWUSA	Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers' Union
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BAWU	Black Allied Workers' Union
BC	bargaining council
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BTT	Board on Tariffs & Trade
CCBTU	Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions
CCMA	Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CLOFED	Clothing Federation of South Africa
CLOTRADE	new name for Clothing Federation of South Africa
CLOTEX	Clothing Export Council
CLOWU	Clothing Workers' Union
CNETU	Council of Non-European Trade Unions
COFESA	Confederation of South African Employers
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa
CWIU	Chemical Workers Industrial Union
DCCS	Duty Credit Certificate Scheme
DG	Director General
DG-s	deputy general secretary
DoL	Department of Labour
DoM	Department of Manpower
DTI	Department of Trade & Industry
DTWU	Democratic Textile Workers' Union
EPCMA	Eastern Province Clothing Manufacturers' Association
FOSATU	Federation of Trade Unions of South Africa
GAWU – SA	Garment & Allied Workers' Union of South Africa
GS	general secretary
GWIU – N	Garment Workers' Industrial Union – Natal
GWU – WP	Garment Workers' Union – Western Province
HR	human resources
IAS	Industrial Aid Society
IC	industrial council
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IIE	Institute for Industrial Education
ITGLWF	International Textile, Garment & Leather Workers' Federation
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MLC	Millennium Labour Council
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NACTWUSA	National Clothing & Textile Workers' Union of South Africa
NBC-CMI	National Bargaining Council for the Clothing Manufacturing Industry

NCMA	Natal Clothing Manufacturers' Association
NEDLAC	National Economic Development & Labour Council
NEF	National Economic Forum
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NICTEX	National Industrial Council for the Textile Industry
NP	National Party
NPI	National Productivity Institute
NUGW – SA	National Union of Garment Workers of South Africa
NULAW	National Union of Leather & Allied Workers (was formerly NULW)
NUMSA	National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers
OCGAWU	Oil Chemical General & Allied Workers' Union
PSA	Proudly South Africa
PWG	Presidential Working Group
SAAWU	South African Allied Workers' Union
SACOL	South African Confederation of Labour
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SACU	Southern African Customs' Union
SACTWU	Southern African Clothing & Textile Workers' Union
SAFTGLWU	South African Federation of Textile, Garment & Leather Worker Unions
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SATAWU	South African Textile Workers' Union
SATLC	South African Trades & Labour Council
SATUC	South African Trade Union Congress
SD	sectoral determination
SEWU	Self Employed Women's Union
TAWU	Textile & Allied Workers' Union
TCMA	Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association
TCSS	Textile & Clothing Sector Summit
TEXTFED	Textile Federation of South Africa
TRC	Truth & Reconciliation Commission
TUACC	Trade Union Advisory Co-ordinating Committee
TUCSA	Trade Union Council of South Africa
TWIU	Textile Workers Industrial Union
TWU (Tvl)	Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal)
UCB	United Cricket Board
UDF	United Democratic Front
UTP	Urban Training Project
UWUSA	United Workers' Union of South Africa
VP	vice president
WB	wage board
WD	wage determination
WPWAB	Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WW II	World War II

ANNEXURE 1

MERGERS OF TEXTILE & CLOTHING UNIONS

Merger 1 : November 1997

National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW)

Textile Workers' Industrial Union (TWIU)

National Union of Garment Workers of South Africa (NUGW – SA)

To form :

Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers' Union (ACTWUSA)

Merger 2 : December 1987

Garment Workers' Union – Western Province (GWU – WP)

Garment Workers' Industrial Union – Natal (GWIU – N)

Clothing Workers' Union (CLOWU)

To form :

Garment & Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (GAWU – SA)

Merger 3 : September 1989

Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers' Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA)

Garment & Allied Workers' Union (GAWU – SA)

South African Textile Workers' Union (SATAWU)

To form :

South(ern) African Clothing & Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU)

ANNEXURE 2

OTHER UNIONS WHO ORGANISE / HAVE ORGANISED TEXTILE & CLOTHING WORKERS

Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) – a general workers union
Democratic Textile Workers' Union (DTWU) – Independent general workers union
National Clothing & Textile Workers' Union of S.A (NACTWUSA) – NACTU affiliate.
Oil Chemical General & Allied Workers' Union (OCGAWU) – COSATU breakaway
Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU) – organises self employed women only
South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) – a general workers' union
Textile & Allied Workers' Union (TAWU) – a split from NUTW
Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal) – CUSA affiliate
United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA) – Inkatha's aligned union federation

ANNEXURE 3

PERSONS WHO WILL BE INTERVIEWED

Unionists Working for Textile & Clothing Unions	Worker Back-ground	SACT-WU	ACTW-USA	GAWU (SA)	GAWU (WP)	GWU (Ntl)	NUTW	CLOWU	TWIU (SA)	NUGW (SA)
Ebrahim Patel	N	Y	Y				Y			
Jabu Ngcobo	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Amon Ntuli	Y	Y	Y				Y			
John Zikhali	Y	Y	Y				Y			
John Copelyn	N	Y	Y				Y			
Andre Kriel	N	Y	Y				Y			
Norman Ratshidi	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Thabo Tshabalala	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Prince Pakkies	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Mike Gwamanda	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Elias Banda	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Prof Sineke	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Chris Gina	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Freddie Magugu	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Johnny Malebo	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Goodman Rala	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Sipho Ngebetsha	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Halton Cheadle	N					Y	Y			
Solveig Piper	N						Y			
Nelson Mthombeni	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Naazema Jessa/Teladi	N	Y	Y				Y			

Unionists Working for Textile & Clothing Unions	Worker Back-ground	SACT-WU	ACTW-USA	GAWU (SA)	GAWU (WP)	GWIU (NFI)	NUTW	CLOWU	TWIU (SA)	NUGW (SA)
Phillip Nyai	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Zakes Galela	Y	Y	Y				Y			
JuneRose Nyala	Y						Y			
Nazeema Jappie	N	Y	Y				Y			
Lizzy Chetty	N	Y	Y				Y			
Tiny Mabena	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Faith Modise	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Emily Taukobong	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Rob la Grange	N	Y	Y				Y			
Yoga Naidoo	Y						Y			
Andrew Joyisa	Y						Y			
Rosina Phiri	Y	Y	Y				Y			
David Nkosi	Y						Y			
Mali Maphalala	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Lus Dindi (SAF)	Y	Y	Y				Y			
Aziza Kanameyer	Y	Y		Y	Y					
Des Samson	?	Y		Y	Y					
Howie Gabriels	N	Y		Y	Y					
Les Maasdorp	N	Y		Y	Y					
Lionel October	N	Y		Y	Y					
Bernie Bernickow	N	Y		Y	Y					
Louis Peterson	?				Y					
Wayne vd Rheede	Y	Y		Y	Y			Y		
Connie September	Y	Y		Y	Y			Y		

Unionists Working for Textile & Clothing Unions	Worker Back-ground	SACT-WU	ACTW-USA	GAWU (SA)	GAWU (WP)	GWIU (NFI)	NUTW	CLOWU	TWIU (SA)	NUGW (SA)
Johnny Issel	N							Y		
Murray Michel	N							Y		
Zubeda Jaffe	N							Y		
David Hemson	N					Y				
Harriet Bolton	N					Y				
Welcome Mzobe	?	Y		Y		Y				
Esme Nicholas	Y	Y		Y		Y				
Bubbles Baumont	Y	Y		Y		Y				
Kevin Perumal	N	Y				Y				
Pregs Govender	N	Y		Y		Y				
Ismael Muckdoon	Y	Y		Y		Y				
Margaret Rajbally	Y	Y		Y		Y				
Yunis Shaik	N	Y		Y		Y				
Bill Govender	N	Y		Y		Y				
Theo Steel	Y	Y		Y		Y				
Athol Margolis	N	Y	Y							Y
Tom Mashinini	?									Y
Sarah Chitcha	?									Y
Elizabeth Mahappy	?									Y
John Eagles	N	Y	Y						Y	
Jacob Ngakane	?	Y	Y						Y	
F????? Tiyo	?								Y	
Norman Daniels	?								Y	
Jabu Matiko	Y ex-Numsa	Y								
Sunnyboy Masingi	Y	Y								

Unionists Working for Textile & Clothing Unions	Worker Back-ground	SACT-WU	ACTW-USA	GAWU (SA)	GAWU (WP)	GWU (NH)	NUTW	CLOWU	TWIU (SA)	NUGW (SA)
Mike Murphy	N	Y	Y							
Benjamin Dreyer	Y	Y	Y							
Joyce Kgoadi	Y	Y	Y							
Bangiliswe Solo	Y		Y							
Daphne (Satawu)	?	Y		Y						
Jackie Mabebe (Satawu)	?	Y		Y						
B Melitafa (Satawu)	?	Y		Y						
Mathemba Zwane (TAWU)	Y						Y			
Comfort Ngidi (TAWU)	Y						Y			
Isaac Ndlovu (TAWU)	Y						Y			
Gilbert Phewa (TAWU)	Y	Y					Y			
Proteius (TAWU)	Y	Y					Y			
Evelyn Seloro (TWU-TVL)	Y									

Other Trade Unionists		
		<u>COSATU</u>
Jay Naidoo	GS	Former
Sydney Mafumadi	D-GS	Former
Sam Shilowa	GS	Former
Zwelinzima Vavi	GS	Current
Chris Dlamini	VP	ANC aligned tries to stop workerist traditions of NUTW / ACTWUSA
Jayendra Naidoo	SACCAWU NEDLAC Director	Involved in mediating peace between ANC and IFP in Natal; then first NEDLAC Director
Kessie Naidoo		NULAW CUSA regional Natal Head; former GS National Union of Leather Workers (NULAW); now runs Workers' College in Durban
Neil Kearney		ITGLWF South African union links with other unions elsewhere in the world
Duma Nkosi		CWIU Pro-ANC faction against ACTWUSA leaders
Sam Kikine		SAAWU General worker's union very active in early/mid 1980s in Durban and E Cape
Sisa Njikalane		SAAWU
Thozamile Gweta		SAAWU
Ruth Imrie		TUCSA Able to give overview of decline of TUCSA textile and clothing unions
Pirowshaw Camay		CUSA CUSA GS (able to give insights into politics separating FOSATU and CUSA)
Joe Foster		FOSATU FOSATU GS able to shed insight into politics of unions

Employers		
Paul Theron	DTI CLOFED CLOTRADE	Former DTI official working in clothing and textile section; then researcher for the Clothing Federation (CLOFED); then the CLOFED Director; then the a consultant to CLOTRADE
Jack Kipling	Manufacturer CLOTEX CLOTRADE	Manufacturer in industry; then head of Clothing Export Council (CLOTEX); then Director of CLOTRADE
Len Smart	Regional clothing association	Director Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association (NCMA)
Madeleine Loyson	Regional clothing association	Former director Eastern Province Clothing Manufacturer's Association (EPCMA); now director of Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association (TCMA)
Brian Brink	TEXFED	Director of the Textile Federation of South Africa (TEXFED)
Stanley Schlegman	TEXFED	Former director of the Textile Federation of South Africa (TEXFED)
Helena Claasens	DTI TEXFED	Former DTI Official working in clothing and textile Section; then an economist to TEXFED
Martin Viljoen	Textile Export Council	Director of the Textile Export Council
Mervyn King	Employer	Former CEO of Frame group; and former president of TEXFED
Mike Hankinson	Employer	Former CEO of Romatex group; and former president of TEXFED
Harry Pierce	Employer	Former CEO of Da Gama; and former president of TEXFED
Walter Simione	Employer	Frame CEO; and president of TEXFED
Aron Searle	Employer	CEO of Seardel group; and former president of CLOFED
Bernard Richards	Employer	Director of Seardel; and former president of CLOFED
Hassim Randree	Employer	CEO Judy's Pride; former president of CLOFED
SADEK Vahed	Employer	Former CEO of AM Moolla group; former president of CLOFED
Johann Baard	Employer	Former HR director of Seardel group
Jan-Henk Boer	Employer	Former National Productivity Institute (NPI); now MD of Allwear in Newcastle
Dennis Drysdale	Employer	Former CEO of Ninian & Lester

Employers	
Stephen Jaffe	Employer CEO of Jaff & CO
Sean Cardinal	Employer CEO of Berg River textiles; former HR at De Nim Textiles
Harry Gazendam	Romatex HR Director Romatex Group
Bert Pictor	Romatex HR Director Romatex Group; the MD of Berg River Textiles; now MD of Falke Socks
Nico Heyns	Frame Former HR director of Frame
Keith Robson	Seardel Former HR director at Frame; now HR director at Seardel (KZN)
Frans Barnard	Aranda David whiteheads HR director at Aranda and David Whiteheads
Bill Campbell	David Whiteheads Former HRD at David Whiteheads
Jay Daniel	David Whiteheads HR manager at David Whiteheads
Vicky Diver	SANS Former HR at Prilla Mills; now HR at SA Nylon Spinners

Government Bureaucrats	
Stef Naude	DTI – DG Former DTI Director General until 1994
Zav Rustomjee	DTI – DG Former DTI Director General between 1994 and about 2000
Alistair Ruiters	DTI – DG DTI Director General from about 2000
Eben Marais	DTI DTI Director responsible for clothing and textiles until about 1994
Keryn House	DTI DTI Director responsible for clothing and textiles between about 1994 and 2000
Thembeke Mlauli	DTI DTI Director responsible for clothing and textiles from 2000 onwards
Danie Jordaan	DTI / BTT DTI Chief Director responsible the Board on Tariffs and Trade; as well as an active participant in SA government trade negotiations
Alec Erwin	NUTW Official FOSATU GS DTI Minister

OTHER	
Craig Tanner	lawyer NUTW / ACTWUSA / SACTWU lawyer

Neil White	doctor	Ran health & safety programme for NUTW – brown lung campaign
Mark Colvin	doctor	Health & safety – brown lung campaign
Glen McCormack	manager	Ran Zenzeleni (co-operative of ACTWUSA / SACTWU)
Foszia Fisher	academic	Institute for Industrial Education (IIE)
Lawrence Schlemmer	academic	Institute for Industrial Education (IIE)
Loet Douws-Dekker	academic	Urban training Project (UTP)