

## Hospital Strikes in Durban

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Over 1,000 workers at Durban's major hospitals, King Edward VIII and Wentworth, struck on 4th February after rejecting a wage increase of R13 offered by the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA). The week long strike, the longest to date in the health sector in South Africa, crippled both hospitals and represented a major step forward in the struggle of hospital workers for trade union rights and improved wages and conditions. They were joined on the first day by R H Khan hospital workers who staged a 3 hour work stoppage. Although all the workers' demands were not met - 15 workers have not been reinstated and the final wage offer was less than the original demand - to have staged a full-scale strike in the harsh repressive environment of the public sector, where strikes are illegal; and in a recessionary period to have made gains of R36-R46 per month in a sector notorious for low wages - was a remarkable achievement.

Public sector workers, including hospital workers, are excluded from the Labour Relations Act and together with domestic and farm workers are denied trade union rights. Strike action is illegal. However this has not prevented workers from building organisation and engaging in militant action. In fact public sector labour relations have changed dramatically in recent years with frequent strikes by public workers at all three state levels - central, provincial, and local. Unions have emerged especially at municipality level with a small but significant presence and militant posture. (1)

Strike action at King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals follows closely the strike by 800 Groote Schuur hospital

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\* My sincere thanks to the worker committees of King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals for their patience in answering my questions; to Magwasa Maphala of NEW for making the arrangements at short notice and to Billy Paddock for all his assistance.

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workers in Cape Town in August 1984, and the strike by Hill-brow hospital workers in Johannesburg on 11 November 1982. In each of these strikes promises were made of immediate wage increases, which were later retracted. The contrast makes the Durban hospital strikes all the more important. Firstly, the NPA negotiated directly with the workers' committee although they refused to recognise the union. Secondly the immediate R36-R46 increase was given to all hospital workers, a concession which cost the NPA over R9 million. Thirdly, mass dismissals and arrests of workers was followed by the dropping of charges and reinstatement, without loss of benefits, for all but 15 workers. These gains were made for all Natal's hospital workers from a relatively weak organisational base; only 3 hospitals out of 7 have any worker organisation. Finally this victory challenges the traditional view of public sector employees as reluctant to engage in action.

Conditions of employment

Hospitals have been a major area of female employment. "African" and "Indian" women with long years of service work at Durban's major hospitals. Turnover of staff is not very high, especially amongst older employees, with many having 10 to 30 years service. Wages are generally low and have been eroded by rising prices. Recent figures show that average wages are below R200 per month. There are three grades of unclassified workers employed at the NPA hospitals: (3)

PRE-STRIKE

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	bottom end of wage scale	top end of wage scale
Grade I	R196,75	R269,50
Grade II	R183,25	R251,25
Grade III	R143,00	R233,50

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POST-STRIKE

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Grade I	R233	R316
Grade II	R215	R292,15
Grade III	R169,75	R269,50

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Grade I is the highest category of unclassified workers and usually includes storemen, chefs and maintenance assistants. Grade II includes most messengers, porters and long service supervisory kitchen staff. Grade III includes all ward cleaners, gardeners and junior security personnel.

photo 1



While low wages remains the most burning issue, other grievances include inadequate pension provisions; abusive matrons and supervisors; harsh arbitrary discipline; continued temporary classification for workers even with long years of service; and night duty without any allowances. Work is also generally monotonous and tiring, and injuries often occur on duty. For the workers of King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals, it was an uphill battle to have their grievances addressed. "Talks" brought very little improvement. It required a week long strike to shake the hospital authorities and usher in wage improvements.

### Organisation

The Health and Allied Workers Union (HAWU), an affiliate of the National Federation of Workers (NFW), began organising in early 1983 at King Edward VIII, Wentworth and other Prov-

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incial Administration hospitals. (4) However the union's presence was minimal with only pockets of workers organised. According to Tholakele Nkombela, vice-chairperson of the workers committee at King Edward VIII hospital "only 200 workers had been organised by September 1984 out of a potential of 800, with only 120 possibly members of HAWU".

Wage grievances, working conditions and pensions had been brought to the attention of management with very little success. According to Zinti Nsele, chairperson of the King Edward VIII hospital workers committee, organisation only accelerated between September and October:

Regular meetings were held and we tried to convince all the non-classified staff that our salaries were not good enough. At this stage there was already talk of having a work stoppage or a go-slow, but this did not occur because our organisation was too fragile.

The issue that was to consolidate organisation at King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals was the boycott of the Christmas party. The party was an annual event for the non-classified staff; an occasion to display the harmonious relations between management and the workers. On 15 December 1984, on the initiative of King Edward workers, all hospitals were invited to send delegates to a meeting to discuss the wage question as well as the impending party, and possible action by workers. At the meeting attended by Clarewood, Wentworth, Addington, R H Khan and King Edward VIII representatives, the decision was taken to boycott the party. Nsele explains:

It would have been immature of us to celebrate "their" Christmas party while our children, the people we are working for, are hungry at home. Also, the authorities had promised an increase but nothing was done about fulfilling the promise...We were invited to a party while our lot has not improved.

At this stage there were suggestions for a work stoppage in December, but the majority of the representatives felt this was premature. Exactly how it was to be co-ordinated, how long it should last and what demands to make, remained unclear. Instead, worker action was postponed till January. HAWU officials also began to preach caution, insisting that the majority of the hospitals had to be organised. Magwasa Maphala, a HAWU and NEW official, explained:

It was pointed out to workers that they should reject the liaison committees at hospitals such as Addington and Clarewood, and consolidate where they have organised. It required also that all the hospitals be informed of any action. Workers agreed with our suggestion.

At the same meeting the living wage demand of R700 per month as a minimum for all non-classified staff, was raised. (5) On 17th December workers at King Edward VIII hospital held a report back meeting where the workers committee explained the outcome of Saturday's discussions with other hospital representatives. Nsele:

They were jubilant when I brought them the news of the boycott and that other hospitals would join us.

I went to all other hospitals and assisted them to elect workers committees. All we said was Amandla!...Power is ours!...and all the workers understood.

photo 2



The boycott of the party was 100% at most of the hospitals. "We sent back their food, we did not want it", said one worker. The workers displayed a unity and discipline throughout the day which reinforced confidence about the organisation and leadership. For the workers and union officials what was

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most strange was that the "authorities" never even investigated why the workers boycotted the party.

The organising and campaigning was done by the workers themselves. The most striking feature of the action was that despite little experience of unionisation and given the hostile labour environment of the public sector, the hospital workers demonstrated considerable initiative and creativity in their struggle. This does not negate the very supportive role played by the union officials who have, since then, continued their recruiting efforts. For them too, public sector organising was new and the action of workers required rapid adjustment.

The success of the boycott increased worker confidence and was the spur to inter-hospital organisational consolidation, through the development of a Branch Committee of the union on which all hospitals had representatives. Although the committee was formally linked to the union its constituency went far beyond HAWU's small membership at the time.

After the boycott, another meeting was held by the hospital representatives where it was resolved that if there was no wage increase a strike would take place. The demand was now raised for a R100 increase across the board for all non-classified staff. (6) Between mid-December and January organisation at various hospitals - particularly King Edward VIII, Wentworth and R H Khan - was intensified. Dates for worker action were continually switched, indicating some anxiety on the part of the hospital workers. The hospital management at King Edward VIII hospital was well aware that workers were dissatisfied and apparently heard that action was pending.

#### 4th February: the strike begins

On February 1, the medical superintendents at King Edward VIII, Wentworth and Addington hospitals informed their unclassified staff that the Natal Provincial Administration had decided on an increase of R13 per month (one notch on their salary scale) from the beginning of February. Workers, were not satisfied. (7) On February 2, three hospitals - King Edward, Wentworth and R H Khan - met at the Ecumenical Centre in Durban and resolved that on February 4 they would stop work until the Director of Hospital Services of the NPA met

with the workers representatives. The demand was raised for R700 per month or a R100 across the board increase. "We decided that the day had arrived. We had to take action. The time was right. We could not wait any longer", said one worker, who had been 17 years at King Edward.

photo 3



The duration of the strike, the involvement of workers, and administration responses differed between hospitals, reflecting the uneven state of workers' organisation. It was at King Edward where most of the activity was concentrated and where organisation was strongest. Workers arrived as usual, well before 7 a.m., donned their working clothes, (the familiar pink tunics and white aprons with a white hood for the women and khaki or blue outfits for the men), and went to their usual posts. But they refused to work. All non-classified staff: domestic workers, porters, junior security workers, workshop and ward messengers stood at their posts but refused to carry out any instructions. Doctors, nurses and the clerical staff (all classified) did not strike. (8) "The nurses and doctors were shocked. They wanted to know what was happening," said one worker.

At 8.45 a.m. the medical superintendent, Dr Morfopolous ass-

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embled workers and wanted to know what was going on. "He asked us why we don't go back to work because we received R13 increase", said Tholakele. "The workers shouted back at him that they wanted to see the Director of Hospital Services and that they had nothing to say to him. They also said they wanted a R100 increase", she added.

The demand to see the Director of Hospital Services was important since the local medical superintendent, has limited powers concerning employment conditions. It was a clear identification by workers of where "power resides" and where decisions are actually made. General conditions of employment are determined by the NPA in collaboration with the Commission for Administration - the state organ which co-ordinates and regulates employment practices nationally in the central and provincial state apparatuses. (9) By demanding to see the Director of Hospital Services, King Edward VIII's hospital workers were shifting the terrain of their struggle from a local, internal dispute, to a terrain which would affect all hospital workers. This is important because any decision made by the Director would automatically affect all hospital workers whether they participated in the strike or not.

#### State response

The Director of Hospital Services, Dr Vorster, arrived at 12 o'clock to address workers. His presence indicated how seriously the NPA took the work stoppages. However he failed to diffuse the situation. His handling of the stoppage, in the initial stages, was extremely arrogant. One worker explained the sequence of events:

Someone arrived who called himself the Director. He said his name was Dr Vorster. We did not know who the Director was or how he looked. Anyway he asked what we wanted. We said we wanted more money. He said: "What do you know about money? Why do you want more money? Where do you think it comes from?" We told him that food is going up, that all prices at supermarkets are rising. We said that we cannot live on the little money we receive. The negotiations with him were very negative and in vain. He simply said workers should only decide when they are going back to work because he does not want to keep people who are not working in the hospital. He also said he is not running a supermarket but hospitals and therefore



does not care how much we are expected to pay at the supermarkets. He was reluctant to listen to our grievances. He then left us in a huff and went to Wentworth Hospital to repeat his story!

By 2.30 p.m. the hospital was in chaos. Only essential operations were handled and all other services, including the intake of patients, were curtailed. Nursing staff, especially the trainee nurses, and maintenance staff began doing the work of the striking workers. The physiotherapy department had taken over the kitchen and were peeling potatoes and cooking food. (10)

photo 4



Although workers had elected a committee, they were extremely suspicious of the hospital management, fearing reprisals, and insisted that negotiations take place with the mass of workers. By 4 p.m., chief medical superintendent, Morfopolous admitted a hopeless situation had developed. "We have lost all contact and negotiations have proved fruitless. I am disgusted that the workers are prepared to strike in a hospital situation", he told news reporters. (11) He threatened workers with dismissal if they did not return to work. This announcement was to be a prominent feature of the strike - almost

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ritually recited for 4 days - but proved useless in the face of a united, disciplined and confident workforce. Throughout the day the workers were in control of the situation, although at stages uncertainty prevailed as to how long they should stay out.

At this stage management hoped "the strike will last one day, as this would be tolerable". (12) The week-long strike by a fully determined workforce was to be a major shock.

### Support action

On the first day of the strike HAWU approached sympathetic doctors at King Edward VIII hospital for support. The doctors, mainly members of the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) (13), together with the medical students of the Natal Medical School were to be the major allies of the workers during the strike. A spokesperson for NAMDA explained: When we were approached for assistance and advice by the union we stressed that we were prepared to give assistance and support as far as possible, but that the workers should control the strike. We would pressurise the authorities to negotiate with the union.

While NAMDA did apply pressure, and assisted the workers, its role was limited, reflecting the professional nature of the organisation, its small base and its somewhat contradictory interests to those of the workers. It seems that whilst support was forthcoming, the ethical issues of patient care remained paramount. (14) The pressure applied by the organisation was limited to petitions, issuing press statements and holding meetings which denounced Morfopolous's handling of the dispute. Medical students were, on the other hand, more militant and held marches.

### The strikes at Wentworth and R H Khan

The workers at Wentworth Hospital started organising amongst themselves in October 1984 but experienced enormous difficulty. After some months they elected a workers committee of 4 from the kitchen, steps maintenance and gardens and were able to muster the majority of workers behind the committee. They developed close relations with the workers committees at King Edward VIII and R H Khan hospitals and also used the

Christmas party to mobilise workers and consolidate their organisation. Addington and Clarewood hospitals were initially involved but organisation was not so developed as elsewhere.

The Wentworth hospital workers had been party to the decision to strike and the majority came out as planned on 4th February. Workers at Wentworth also insisted on speaking to the Director of Hospital Services. He arrived after 10 o'clock and repeated the performance he had given for King Edward workers. His return to work ultimatum was ignored and workers pressed on with their demand for R700 per month or R100 across the board. "Money is our problem. We earn very little. And talking seems to do very little. Action, only united action makes the bosses sit up", said Bhekumunto Makhanye, chairperson of the workers committee.

photo 5



The organisation at R H Khan was reasonably good but management was able to intimidate workers to return to their posts. Their stoppage, involving over 200 workers, lasted until 10 a.m. Medical Superintendent, Dr Naidoo, admitted that a stoppage took place: "Among the domestic workers this morning there was a problem but I explained that they would have to

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face the consequences of their actions so they went back to work." (15) R H Khan was the weak link in the chain, and it was broken with hardline measures and threats.

On the whole, the day was successful, given the fragile organisational structures. For both the workers and the union it was to prove an important test which would point out, albeit generally, the possibilities for successful worker action in the health sector. The day-long strike at 2 hospitals and the 3 hour stoppage at another was an important landmark in the struggle of hospital workers.

### 5th February: the struggle continues

The next day the workers committee at King Edward met Dr Morfopolous and the wage issue was again discussed. Promises were made to increase workers wages in line with those of Department of Health employees which the hospital committee thought were higher than the NPA rates. There was clearly unease on the issue and many rejected, out of hand, any increase which was not related to their original proposal of R100 across the board or R700 per month.

The first sign of doctor and student support was at a lunch-time meeting called by NMDA. Attended by approximately 250 doctors and students, the meeting was later flooded by workers interested in the proceedings. (16) A resolution was adopted urging Morfopolous and the NPA to negotiate with the workers committee and emphasising that workers demands were just. Although a decision was taken not to scab this did not prevent strike-breaking. Matrons were ordering trainee nurses and other paramedical personnel to do scab work. These developments divided the medical staff; between those who were clearly sympathetic to the workers' struggle and those who thought a strike was not the way to have workers' grievances redressed. On the whole, however, the pressure applied by sympathetic doctors did not significantly alter the balance of power.

At Wentworth Hospital events proceeded very much along the same lines, with some uncertainty about exactly where the strike was leading. Makhanye, chairperson of the workers committee explained: "ripples of division among workers began to develop and the pleading by the medical superintend-

ent to return to work did cause panic". As the strike continued it became increasingly urgent to find a resolution to the dispute without losing sight of the original demands.

6th February

On day three of the strike Morfopolous reported that Department of Health employees received less wages than the NPA hospital workers. In the light of this the NPA offered to increase wages by a further notch on top of the already announced increase of R13. (17) This final offer of R36-46 per month, depending on grade, was rejected by workers. (18)

photo 6



By this stage of the strike the hospital services were barely functioning. Cleaning and other chores continue to be done by nurses and other paramedical personnel. One worker explained their attitude towards scabbing: "We really had hard feelings about nurses doing our work. They were breaking our struggle. The classified staff [ie. doctors, clerks and nurses] were sympathetic but did not support us fully. We were angry." Another worker added bitterly: "The patients supported us. They knew our demands were just. When we raised our fists and shouted slogans they shouted with us, al-

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though it was detrimental to them...But we don't understand why the nurses did our jobs. They broke our power."

The sentiments of the workers were understandable and reflected conflicting interests between the "professional" staff and general workers. They risked a lot to take on the NPA and saw their efforts undermined by fellow hospital employees. Whilst they also appreciated the ethical dimension of health worker struggles, they had little option if they were to improve their appalling conditions of employment. Trade union organisation is not recognised and no organised dispute procedure exists for the resolution of conflict between state employees and the departments. The channels of communication which do exist are heavily in favour of the state. Workers have no recourse to the Industrial Court and there is no concept of an unfair labour practice in the state's personnel code.

Workers started mounting pressure to meet the Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) in charge of the NPA hospital services. This was agreed and arranged for the next day.

At Wentworth hospital support began to dwindle although the core of the strikers remained loyal to the end. There was no supportive action as at King Edward where medical students were active.

7th February

When workers arrived at King Edward on the fourth day they were met by police armed with guns, batons, dogs and teargas. (19) It was a clear sign that Morfopolous and the NPA had lost control of the situation and strong arm tactics were to be used to crush the strike. With the South African Police Reaction Unit to back him, Morfopolous repeated his return to work ultimatum for the last time. At approximately 9.15 a.m. he addressed the workers through a loudhailer [photo 1]:

This is a sad day for me and you. I requested yesterday at our last meeting that you return to work or dismiss yourselves this morning. This hospital is disturbed right now by the intimidation of staff and the disruption of services which you are causing and my interest is to protect my staff and patients.

His administrative assistants then start handing out termination notices which workers refuse to accept. They sit or stand passively as the notices are thrown at them. [photo 2] After Morfopolous completes his speech, the riot police move closer. Warrant officer Haupt, also speaking through the loudhailer, orders workers to leave the hospital premises or face arrest. Workers shout their disapproval. A few workers call for calm [photo 3] and they all move closer to the tree to discuss the situation. [photo 4] One worker suggests they all go back to work. Another gets up to say: "the struggle must continue", that workers cannot go back now. The mass of workers shout their approval...Amandla! Amandla!...and raise their fists...The mood is once again militant.

photo 7



At 10.15 a.m. the police announce that their time to return to work has lapsed. [photo 5] Workers respond with chants of "Amandla!" [photo 6] One worker is arrested, then another. [photo 7] The police with batons in hand start surrounding the workers as the trucks arrive at the entrance. The workers respond with songs, and chant as they are ordered into the vehicles. [photo 8]

261 men and 281 women were arrested and taken to Umbilo

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Police Station where they were given an option of paying a R20 admission of guilt fine for trespassing or appearing in the Durban Magistrate's Court. The workers left behind at King Edwards decided to march down to the police station to join their fellow workers. They spent virtually the whole day there, but no-one paid the admission of guilt fine. Workers were then charged and released and informed that they should collect their wages from the offices of the Port Natal Administration Board.

At Wentworth Hospital the workers decided to go back to work at 12 p.m. after hearing of the arrests of their comrades at King Edward VIII. They conditionally accepted the proposal offered by the NPA. This retreat by the workers committee was probably a wise tactic as more workers were becoming despondent as no immediate response was forthcoming to their demands. In this way the workers committee ensured the cooperation and support of those on strike till the end with minimal damage to their structures.

### Students demonstrate

After the workers were arrested mass meetings were called by sympathetic staff and medical students to denounce Dr Morfopolous' handling of the strike. (21) He was accused of being directly responsible for the arrest of workers and calls were made for his dismissal. Instead, students were banned from King Edward VIII hospital, a measure, Morfopolous thought, that would undermine student support for the workers. His accusation that students were "intimidating" workers remained unproved. The MEC of the NPA, Dr Clarke, Director of Hospital Services, Dr Vorster, and the Dean of the Medical School, Dr Kallichuran, came out in support of Morfopolous. (22)

### Workers committee meets NPA

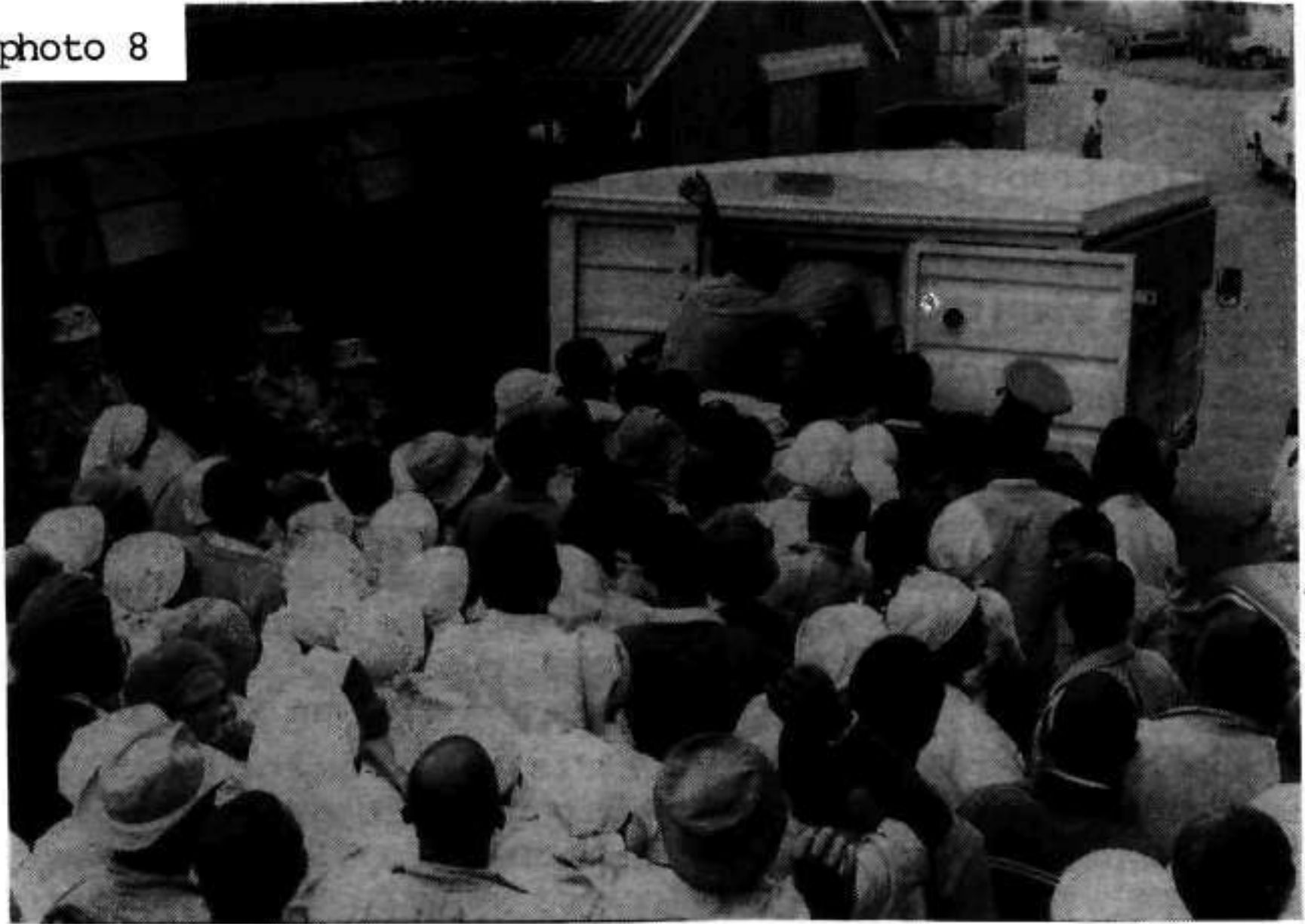
Meanwhile the workers committee were on their way to meet Dr Clarke of the NPA in Pietermaritzburg. Only in the late afternoon did they receive news of the police presence and the arrests. After protracted negotiations with the NPA a settlement was reached which included:

- \* 20% increase in salaries (effectively the R36-46 offered on the Tuesday)
- \* unconditional reinstatement of all workers



- \* all charges withdrawn against workers
- \* agreement that all workers report back to work on Monday (11.2.85). (23)

photo 8



Under the circumstances this was a necessary compromise, one which at least secures the organisational structures and retains the support of workers. On the 8th, the workers committee reported back to the general membership of King Edward VIII hospital. (24) Although some workers felt more could have been achieved, especially on wages, the majority accepted the compromise on condition that the workers committee continues negotiations with the NPA on the wage question. They reaffirmed their commitment to fight for a minimum of R700 per month for all unclassified staff. According to HAWU official, Magwasa Maphala, "the workers are confident and still expect their demand of R700 to be met." He added that the HAWU will intensify efforts to organise all Natal's hospitals to press for this demand.

#### 11th February: the return to work

Workers returned to work on Monday 11th February and were given re-employment forms to sign. (25) Although it had been

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agreed to re-instate all workers, Dr Morfopolous decided to selectively re-employ. In fact the M.E.C, Dr Clarke, informed reporters that he could not guarantee all the workers their jobs back, thus reneging on the original agreement with the workers committee. After pressure from the workers, everyone was taken back except 15 security guards. They were extensively questioned about their affiliation to HAWU and accused of disrupting hospital services and not staying at their posts.

Since the strike there has been extensive re-organisation within the hospital. Workers re-employed were shifted to different jobs, a measure designed to disrupt the workers' organisation. Also supervision and discipline is being more harshly applied. But the 15 security guards remain confident that they will be re-instated and this remains the most pressing issue. The hospital only began functioning "normally" again on Wednesday 13 February. For the NPA it was a great relief. For the workers it is only the beginning of a long campaign, now from a more secure base and on somewhat better terrain, with more confidence and with an awareness of the strength of the opposition.

### Assessment

On the whole the strike was a success. The wage increase and the reinstatement of the staff were considerable gains in the context of stringent austerity measures in the state sector. It also demonstrated clearly that hospital workers are prepared to engage in militant action. The ethical issues were not ignored by the workers but remained subordinate to the economic needs of their struggle. Here there were certainly differences between the workers and the doctors who considered the patient health-care aspect more important. This probably accounts for the absence of a demonstrative work stoppage by sympathetic doctors. Instead it remained at the level of denouncements and petitioning; a useful pressure group. Whether more could be expected is debatable given the structural location of doctors and nurses; their professional ethos etc.

What the strike did reveal was that hospital workers want unionisation, and that it is on the non-classified manual workers that democratic independent unions will have to focus. But organisation in the public sector will be diffi-

cult. With the economic crisis public sector employees are the first to experience cutbacks, usually differentially applied in order to increase disorganisation.

Another issue on the state's agenda which is likely to gain momentum is the privatisation of hospitals and contracting out of services. Such a project is in line with current monetarist thinking and would have the effect of diffusing the potentially explosive growth of public sector unionism by attempting to depoliticise struggles at the workplace. State apparatuses - whether central, provincial or local - have increasingly become areas of struggle, especially waged by manual workers over wages and working conditions. To organise these workers into democratically controlled unions is vital to ensure that bureaucratic and state sweetheart unions do not continue to disorganise and disarm this important section of the working class.

The HAWU is a small union and intends consolidating its position in Natal's hospitals. Whether the union will successfully capitalise on the situation remains to be seen, but its profile has improved amongst workers. The gains made by the King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospital workers for all the other workers is likely to assist the union in its recruitment. But this is only the first phase of the battle. The struggle for recognition, and against the anti-worker Public Staff Code, which regulates labour relations in the hospitals (and the public sector generally) is the next stage of what will be a long struggle. The workers at King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals have shown through the strikes, by their tenacity, that they are ready to begin this "long march".

Footnotes:

- 1 Eg. South African Black Municipality and Allied Workers' Union, and Cape Town Municipal Workers Association
- 2 See M Golding, "Groote Schuur Strike", SALB 10.2, Oct-Nov 1984
- 3 Daily News 7.2.85
- 4 The National Federation of Workers (NFW) is one of the many breakaways from the old black consciousness union, Black Allied Workers Union. It was established in September 1980 as a federation of industrial unions and has 10 affiliates. For more details refer P Lundall et al,

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Directory of South African Trade Unions, SALDRU, UCT, 1984.

- 5 It is unclear why R700 was chosen. But it seems that it was a long-term objective of the workers, although some felt that it should be implemented immediately. For some it would have meant a 200% increase on their present wage. (Workers memorandum)
- 6 Workers memorandum
- 7 Ibid
- 8 NAMDA memorandum
- 9 Refer N. Golding in this edition of the SALB: "Workers in the state sector: the case of the civil administration"
- 10 NAMDA memorandum; Daily News 4.2.85
- 11 Daily News 14.2.85
- 12 Ibid
- 13 Critical Health Vol 9, May 1983, p16: the NAMDA was formed in Natal in September 1982 with the "intention of exploring the inter-action between health and economics, health and politics, and health and social organisation". The organisation's membership is exclusively open to doctors and dentists.
- 14 NAMDA memorandum
- 15 Daily News 4.2.85
- 16 NAMDA memorandum
- 17 Workers memorandum
- 18 Ibid
- 19 Ibid
- 20 Daily News 7.2.85
- 21 Mercury 9.2.85; also NAMDA memorandum
- 22 Daily News 8.2.85
- 23 Workers memorandum
- 24 Ibid
- 25 Ibid