

## BLACK TRADE UNIONS

*by Rob Davies*

The modern history of black trade unions in Rhodesia dates from the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1959, although important black unions did exist before that date. It was only then that black trade unions were given the recognition that, in theory at least, eased the task of establishing a base from which to organise.

## THE RECORD OF UNIONS

It has often been noted that the record of Unions during the fifteen years since the passing of the Act has been somewhat unimpressive. Such comments are borne out by most criteria one might use to assess the impact of trade unions. The share of black wages in the GNP has remained constant, while that of profits has increased. It may be argued that, rather than securing wage increases for members, the task of unions at this stage of their development is to build a democratic organisational base. This is true, but the record of Black trade unions on this count is hardly more impressive. Paid-up membership of unions is at approximately 50 000, out of a work force of 900 000. Most of the gains in membership were made in the early 1960's; since then the rate of enrolment has been slow. There still exist a number of unions whose very existence depends upon a single leader. The number of powerful well-established unions can be counted on one hand. It is therefore difficult to sustain the argument that the union movement has built up a strong organisational base.

## EXTERNAL CONSTRAINTS

The reasons for this unimpressive record are many, and the fault does not lie entirely with the unions. The Industrial Conciliation Act (ICA) is not designed to promote trade unionism, but rather to protect the privileges of white workers. It places a

number of difficulties in the way of black unions, both in so far as organisation and material gains are involved. Industrial Councils are biased towards maintaining the *status quo*, since voting powers are generally distributed equally between employers and trade unions. The Minister has the power to prevent any changes, even if employers and unions wish them - another conservative force. Furthermore many workers are excluded from the ICA. Farm workers and domestic workers are covered by the archaic Masters and Servants Act of 1901, thereby excluding some 475 000 workers from trade union protection. The general political climate, with the Emergency Powers Regulations and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, places further obstacles in the way of unionist activity.

#### INTERNAL WEAKNESSES

It must be recognized that some of the weaknesses of the union movement do arise from within that movement. This paper intends to examine what I consider to be a major cause of weakness within the movement, namely lack of responsibility of leaders to their rank and file membership. The existence of this problem, the fact that it *is a problem* and possible solutions will be illustrated by a case study :- the question of trade union unity and the moves made to achieve it during 1974.

#### DIVISION OVER NATIONAL CENTRE

There have always been divisions between black trade unions in Rhodesia as regards their affiliation to national centres. The existing split originated in 1962 when some leaders of the Southern Rhodesia Trades Union Congress (SRTUC) broke away to form the African Trades Union Congress (ATUC). According to one of the leaders of the break-away group, the reasons for the break were:

- \* Inefficient administration and inadequate control of funds;
- \* Too close co-operation with the Minister of Labour;
- \* Too much power vested in the central office;

- \* The powerful influence of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) over the SRTUC.

The split was reinforced by the split in the African nationalist movement in 1963, with ATUC becoming identified with ZANU and SRTUC with ZAPU. The SRTUC split again in 1964 with some leaders going into ATUC and others forming ZACU. After being banned in 1965, this latter organization became NAFU. Up to 1974 the African trade union movement in Rhodesia was divided between ATUC and NAFU, with a number of unions remaining unaffiliated to either.

#### ATTEMPTS AT UNITY

There has always been talk about unity but never much action. An abortive attempt at unity was made in 1967. In 1972 moves were made again, culminating in a fairly active year in 1974. The outcome of these moves, however, was the dissolution of NAFU and the formation of the National African Trades Union Congress (NATUC), consisting mainly of ex-NAFU affiliates and dissident ATUC affiliates. Thus the present moves, far from uniting the movement, have resulted in deeper splits and a weakening of what national centres existed previously. In order to understand the issues involved, it is necessary to examine this recent round of merger moves in greater detail.

#### THE RECENT MERGER MOVES

During the course of 1971 several calls were made for NAFU and ATUC to 'settle their differences' and form a single national centre. Although these calls were repeated intermittently nothing substantial happened until last year. On 17th March, 1974 a meeting attended by some 30 unions, affiliated to one or other of the existing centres, was held in Salisbury. The ICFTU representative, W.G. Lawrence, also attended. The meeting called upon NAFU and ATUC to dissolve themselves, and set up a 'National Interim Committee' to look after union affairs until a properly constituted national centre could be formed. The NIC constituted of 11 members, 5 (including the chairman) from ATUC and 6 from NAFU.

## RESPONSE OF THE NAFU

NAFU responded to the call of the NIC and dissolved itself at its AGM in August. It has been suggested that NAFU's willingness to answer the NIC's call was because of its weakened state: by 1974 NAFU had only one large union affiliated, the Tailors and Garment Workers Union, whose secretary, Robert Gwavava, was also president of NAFU. All other affiliated unions were small and either unregistered under the Industrial Conciliation Act, or had been deregistered. Indeed, even the TGWU had been deregistered for the first 5 months of 1974, on the grounds that it was 'unrepresentative'.

## RESPONSE OF ATUC

In stark contrast to the response of NAFU, the ATUC refused to dissolve, but the 'unity' call of the NIC caused a great deal of dissension among its leaders. Three of the ATUC's national executive, the General Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Treasurer were also serving on the NIC. To make matters worse, these three all came from the Railways Associated Workers' Union (RAWU), the ATUC's strongest affiliate and historically Rhodesia's most developed black Union. Matters were left undecided until the AGM of ATUC, held in September. RAWU did not attend on the grounds that it was not prepared, and asked the ATUC president, P.F. Sithole, to postpone the AGM. This Sithole refused to do on the grounds that he was not empowered by the constitution to override a decision made by the General Council. At the AGM calls were made from the floor for RAWU's expulsion. Sithole managed to avoid such a move. He argued that, firstly, RAWU was an affiliate in good standing, and secondly, that the action of individual members of a union were no cause for expelling that union. However, a motion was passed calling for action against those individuals who co-operated with the NIC.

In line with this motion, a meeting of the General Council of ATUC was held in October, at which the three members concerned were removed from the executive.

of the ATUC. Those removed reacted by claiming that the action of the General Council was unconstitutional and, rather contradictorally, that it amounted to the expulsion of RAWU from the ATUC. Sithole was quick to point out that this interpretation was patently mistaken. The books of the ATUC in the hands of those removed were handed by them to a lawyer, effectively tying the ATUC's hands financially. As at the time of writing (Jan. 1975) this position has not been resolved ; however, RAWU apparently continues to pay its ATUC affiliation dues.

#### THE FORMATION OF NATUC

Early in 1974 a third grouping of unions, the Salisbury 'Get-together Unions', was formed to act as a pressure group for unity. The group consisted of unaffiliated unions, lead by the Salisbury Municipal Workers' Union. They held a series of meetings designed to find out the position of the various involved parties so that the unaffiliated unions could play a part in forming a new unified centre. After a number of exploratory meetings with the ATUC and the NIC, a meeting was called for November 17. It was hoped that either a new, unified centre would be formed, or a new centre would be set up in opposition to the ATUC. In the event the latter was the outcome, and a new centre, the National African Trades Union Congress, was formed.

While it is still too early to judge properly, there can be no doubt that the formation of the NATUC has weakened the ATUC. It is not clear just who is affiliated to the NATUC. No constitution has yet been drawn up, and to date only two unions have paid any affiliation fees. According to reports, NATUC has drawn about six unions away from ATUC. Except for RAWU (whose position is in any case not clear) the unions involved are of little consequence, being for the most part small, inactive and unrepresentative. Still affiliated to ATUC are the United Textile Workers, Motor Trade Workers and Clothing Industry Workers (three strong registered unions) plus several unregistered unions. It is claimed by NATUC that the following registered

unions have moved to them from ATUC : Brickmaking and Clay Product Workers, Railway Associated Workers, Asbestos Cement Workers, Catering and Hotel Workers, and Commercial and Allied Workers. However, the position as regards both RAWU and C&AWU is not clear. RAWU has not formally disaffiliated itself from ATUC, and apparently continues to pay affiliation dues. The C&AWU has been in disarray for some time, with what would appear to be three separate groups claiming to be the true union. One faction, probably the strongest, broke away from the C&AWU to form the Commercial Workers' Union; this now has about 2 000 paid-up members in the Salisbury Region and is seeking registration: it is an ATUC affiliate.

The situation vis-a-vis the unregistered unions is even more difficult to determine. A number of such unions were members of NAFU and could be expected to join NATUC. The Rhodesian United Food and Allied Workers' Union has moved from ATUC to NATUC, but it is a strange union, being itself a Federation of several unions formed in order to secure money from its International Trade Secretariat, and now split over the manner in which that money should be distributed. In all NATUC claims to have 15 unregistered unions affiliated, but most of these are small. The situation therefore seems to be that ATUC has been weakened by the formation of NATUC, but more in terms of loss of affiliates than in terms of the membership of those affiliates. Thus ATUC probably still represents more workers than NATUC, although the latter has more affiliates.

#### REASONS FOR THE SPLIT

Having outlined the events leading to the present situation, it is now relevant to consider why the split exists and continues. As was mentioned earlier the origins of the split lie in the early 1960's, and with the split in nationalist politics. But this should hardly be the reason today why it appears to be impossible to obtain unity. We must look at the existing situation to find out what the present obstacles are.

As might be expected, there are many factors combining to prevent unification. Firstly, it is

plausible to suggest that there are political and ideological differences between the two existing centres. Secondly, it is also possible that personality clashes are important. Finally, the whole style of black trade union leadership in Rhodesia could itself present an obstacle. Each of these factors will now be considered.

#### IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

All trade unions in every capitalist country are confronted by the problem of determining the degree to which they should actively co-operate with the State. For black trade unions in Rhodesia this problem is compounded by the racial dimensions of class antagonisms. A basis for an ideological split therefore exists in the Industrial Conciliation Act, since unions must decide whether or not to register under the Act. When the Act was first introduced there was strong resistance to registration, but this died away, and by 1974 some 17 black unions were registered, including all the most viable ones. There is no evidence to suggest that the two centres differ in their attitudes towards registration, since both have registered and unregistered unions as affiliates.

However, some of the statements by the president of the ATUC, P.F. Sithole, concerning the unity moves, might be interpreted as expressing an elitist philosophy. He has consistently said that the ATUC is prepared to discuss unity but only with *bona fide* unions, and often criticised the unions in NATUC as being weak and non-existent unions. In view of NATUC's apparent willingness to allow any type of union to affiliate, it may appear that there is some sort of ideological difference, with ATUC adopting an elitist approach, keeping the established unions apart from those yet to be established. Were this true the ATUC would justly be subject to the charge that it is simply an instrument for the protection of a labour aristocracy. However, the charge does not appear to be true. ATUC's criteria for a *bona fide* union is that its leaders must represent the workers in the industry in which it operates; this can generally be judged from the size of the unions membership.

A union which is not registered under the ICA is unlikely to be representative, although the ATUC does recognise the difficulties that some unions face in trying to obtain registration. However, a union such as the Engineering and Metal Workers' Union, which has been deregistered, has clearly suffered from falling membership. A union which has been registered has clearly at some stage overcome the obstacles which employers place in the way of recruitment. Its deregistration is therefore likely to be due either to the indolence of the leaders or to their failure to satisfactorily represent their members. The President of the EMWU is General Secretary of NATUC. Thus there do not appear to be any ideological differences between ATUC and NATUC as regards their attitudes towards affiliates. If anything, it would seem that the ATUC is more insistent than the NATUC that its affiliates are genuine trade unions.

#### THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL AID AND DEPENDENCE

There is, however, a substantial difference between the two federations on the question of international aid. Indeed, some observers believe that the present split is caused either *over* the question of aid or *by* the operation of aid agencies in Rhodesia, particularly the ICFTU.

The ICFTU has been active in Rhodesia since the early 1960's. It is the major international trade union body operating in Rhodesia; the World Federation of Trade Unions is a proscribed organisation, and the World Congress of Labour's operations are still on a very small scale. The ICFTU's function has been primarily to finance unions and to arrange educational courses both within Rhodesia and externally. The amount of aid given is unknown. The local ICFTU representative, W.G. Lawrence, has been in Rhodesia since 1964; he also represents the various International Trade Secretariats.

Since Sithole became president in 1967 the ATUC has consistently criticised the *method* in which ICFTU gives fund. This method has consisted in the main of



supporting individual unions and, more particularly, individuals within the unions. For example, the assistance given to the Agricultural and Plantation Workers' Union was given in the form of paying the general secretary, P.J. Mpofu. When he was detained in 1973 the assistance ended because there was no contact with other officials in the union.

#### DENIALS FROM LAWRENCE

It is obvious that if aid is given in this way it is a bad thing and does nothing to promote the development of *unions*. However, it is difficult to obtain evidence to support or refute ATUC's accusations that this is the way in which the ICFTU operates. Lawrence of course denies them; he claims that all monies distributed are disclosed in the union's accounts. However, although this much may be true it would not cover monies given direct to individuals. Members of ATUC claim to have been offered money by Lawrence in exchange for their support. Lawrence has reason to seek such support, for the ATUC has on a number of occasions requested the ICFTU headquarters in Brussels to send out a team to investigate his activities; such requests have always been refused, and clearly letters in support of Lawrence from trade union leaders have played a role in such rejections.

An interesting case, which typifies the situation, is that of Mr. J.J. Dube, formerly on the ATUC executive and now President of NATUC. On 19 April 1974, he, as chairman of the National Interim Committee, issued a statement supporting Sithole's claims that ICFTU finances were being abused. On 17 May 1974, he issued *another* statement accusing Sithole of trying to destroy black trade unions in Rhodesia, saying that it was 'unbelievable' that ICFTU funds were being abused. Dube has acknowledged that he went from Bulawayo to Salisbury in the intervening 27 days expressly to see Lawrence to 'tell him that he should stop giving monies to individual persons or unions anymore'. Dube's *volte face* would suggest that some pressure was brought to bear on him. Thus, although rumours abound, there does seem to be enough corroborative evidence to suggest that the ATUC's criticisms of Lawrence's methods

do have some substance.

#### NATUC'S RELATION TO THE ICFTU

The NATUC has not yet made its views on ICFTU unambiguously clear. On the one hand its publicity secretary, D. Mudzi, has attacked Sithole for the ATUC's links with the ICFTU in the past:

'If Mr. Sithole has found something wrong with ICFTU, the first thing to do is to apologise to the unions for having committed them along the lines based upon the ATUC's external policies.'

On the other, it is known that Lawrence was instrumental in forming the National Interim Committee, the forerunner of the NATUC, and that the NATUC committee includes a number of prominent supporters of Lawrence and the ICFTU. Both the unions which Lawrence acknowledges aiding in 1973 are affiliates of NATUC. Mudzi's attack on Sithole is to some extent based on a misunderstanding of Sithole's position vis-a-vis aid. It is true that ICFTU has aided ATUC affiliates in the past, including Sithole's own United Textile Workers' union. Sithole, however, argues that the need for that aid is past, and that its continuance will create dependency, undermining the black trade unions even further. Now, he argues, all assistance to the trade union movement should be channelled through a national centre, rather than given to individual unions. If the ICFTU is still prepared to give aid this should be done *under* that national centre, not simply through it. If the ICFTU does not wish to subordinate itself in this way it should withdraw, for the trade union movement would be better off without aid of the type given at present. Furthermore, Sithole is critical of the fact that aid is continued to unions even after they have shown themselves to be wasting it. This, he argues, is harmful both for the workers the union supposedly protects and for the trade union movement as a whole.

#### PARTY POLITICS

Neither of the two groupings is openly allied to nationalist parties, and it is unlikely that party

politics is an important factor in the continuing split. NATUC has been at great pains to deny that it is politically motivated. It is noteworthy, however, that both Ndabambi and Dube of the NATUC's executive are members of the ANC, and serve on its labour committee, a committee which has largely been defunct. ATUC continues to have personal links with ZANU, but these make no obvious impact on its style. It is apparent therefore that the political issues which divided the labour movement initially are no longer as important as previously.

#### THE PROBLEM OF PERSONALITY AND IDEOLOGY

It is always difficult to assess the importance of personality clashes in public organisations, and doing so carries a danger of ascribing less maturity to leaders than they in fact possess. However, it is clear that personalities have come to form an obstacle in the way of any merger. This is so in two ways. Firstly, there has developed a degree of personal animosity between Lawrence and Sithole that has assumed some importance as a factor preventing unity.

#### THE CASE AGAINST LAWRENCE

Sithole will have nothing to do with any move associated with Lawrence, on the grounds that he, and the ICFTU, are deliberately weakening the black labour movement in Rhodesia. This is a serious charge, and may seem to be implausible because it is difficult to see why Lawrence should do this. However, there are a number of possible reasons. Lawrence was sent to Rhodesia initially in order to patch up the rift in the movement. This he has failed to do. In order to show that his time has not been wasted it is necessary for him to come up with something soon; he can only get a merger if Sithole's is out of the way, because of Sithole's attitude towards international aid. Sithole can only be removed if his support is removed - and this is to a large extent what the formation of the NATUC has attempted to do.

## HIS INCORPORATION

One can also point out that, although Lawrence may initially have been opposed to the Rhodesian Front regime, he has in the ten years he has been in Rhodesia, become incorporated into the system. He has acquired two houses in elite white suburbs (he appears to live in both, thus avoiding the charge that he is a rentier); he is a regular attendant at the Borrowdale race course, going to the predominantly 'white stands'; he voluntarily submits detailed records of his work to the Ministry of Labour; his courses are run through Ranche House College, an adult educational centre catering mainly for whites and run without effective black participation. Finally, in the context of Rhodesia, it is pertinent to wonder why, if he has been performing his job of promoting a strong black labour movement satisfactorily, the Rhodesian Front regime has allowed him to remain uninhibited in Rhodesia for over ten years.

## ICFTU AND RHODESIA

Strange as it may seem, the ICFTU also has reasons not to undermine the RF regime too much. The ICFTU's much larger rival, the WFTU, is a proscribed organisation in Rhodesia. This situation would be unlikely to continue under a Zimbabwean government, and the ICFTU would probably lose support if it had to compete openly with WFTU. The ICFTU therefore does have an interest in maintaining *some* of the RF's present policies.

Apart from these charges, Sithole would point out that even if Lawrence is not *deliberately* undermining the black trade unions, his *methods* are having this effect. The aim of all aid should be to make itself redundant; given the ICFTU's role in the cold war, the aim of its aid has been to increase its world support.

Sithole's reasons for criticising Lawrence are therefore well worked out in his mind.

## THE CASE AGAINST SITHOLE

Again, however, it is possible to make the charge

that Sithole wishes to maintain his power, and therefore wants to avoid the situation where weak unions, supported by Lawrence, would have a majority representation in his centre. This charge is probably correct in essence, and might well be accepted by Sithole. He has often stated that he is prepared to stand down if necessary, but that he is not prepared to jeopardize those unions which have been successful by allowing them to be placed under the control of leaders who have to rely on Lawrence for their positions.

Lawrence's objections to Sithole seem to be more strongly based on personal attitudes. The only explanation is that Sithole is a threat to Lawrence's job, since he would at least like to reduce the importance of the ICFTU in Rhodesia, if not remove it altogether. Lawrence would probably deny that he is personally antagonistic towards Sithole; however, he has privately attacked him, has suggested that Sithole is receiving kickbacks from employers for avoiding industrial unrest, and in a recent article in the 'Free Labour World' on his work in Rhodesia, avoided any reference to Sithole's contribution and played down the relative importance of the United Textile Workers' Union, the second largest union in Rhodesia and probably the most democratic and active. (Sithole's answer to Lawrence's charges, that he was receiving kickbacks, was to make all documents, records and accounts open to Lawrence if the ATUC could have free access to all Lawrence's records. Lawrence refused.)

There has, therefore, been an element of personality clash preventing unity. It might seem strange that the other unionists involved do not simply ignore the two people involved; however, the clash has extended itself to those union leaders who support one or other of the sides; there have recently been signs of such clashes between Sithole and those members of NATUC who were removed from the ATUC executive.

#### PERSONAL AMBITIONS

Personalities are an important factor from another point of view, and this ties in with what will be

dealt with in the final section of the paper. It would appear that a number of the individuals who have switched their unions from ATUC to NATUC have done so because of the limited opportunities available to them for advancement with the ATUC. Mudzi, the Publicity Secretary of NATUC, was earlier involved in the so-called Salisbury Regional Council of the ATUC, formed in 1970. This group had been at odds with the Bulawayo based headquarters of ATUC for some time. At the 1973 AGM of the ATUC members of the group walked out after they were refused voting rights since their unions had not paid affiliation dues. Previously they had spearheaded a move to oust Sithole as president of ATUC. The regional council was in fact not sanctioned by the ATUC congress and in October, 1973, on ATUC orders, it dissolved itself. However, Mudzi promptly set up and headed the Salisbury Trade Union Liason Committee. Nothing was then heard of Mudzi until he appeared on the executive of the NATUC. It is possible that the break away of some of the unions from ATUC was due to the personal ambitions of the leaders of those unions.

#### DEMOCRATIZATION OR ELITISM

Finally, we come to the question of the style of leadership of black trade unions in Rhodesia. The whole debate concerning unity seems to have been conducted with little regard for the ordinary members of the unions involved. Attitudes of the leaders, both inside and outside the ATUC, indicate that unity is regarded as something to be agreed upon by them. If Sithole and Dube were now able to agree on the form of some merger, that merger would indeed take place. It appears to be regarded as unnecessary to take the issue back to the rank and file membership of the individual unions.

Nowhere is this failure better illustrated than in the actions of RAWU and the other unions which left the ATUC to join the NATUC. In no case has the decision been made by persons other than the leaders. The question of affiliation to a national centre is presumably important, and yet the members' wishes are not consulted. Indeed the RAWU AGM appears to have been carefully stage-managed so as

to avoid any discussion of the question of affiliation, despite the fact that it is known that a number of minor officials and other members are unhappy with the present situation.

This characteristic seems to permeate all trade union activities and indeed it is found in other black organizations, as for example in black political parties. But the politicians have the (partially) valid excuse that the actions of the RF regime have been designed to limit communications between the leaders and the rank-and file; it is difficult for black political leaders to consult directly with their grass-roots supporters. Such difficulties do not obtain to the same extent in the union movement. Where there is a failure to communicate the fault lies largely within the union, with either the leaders, the members, or both. Many leaders regard their offices as placing them above the workers they supposedly represent; most of the workers reciprocate this attitude.

#### THE REASONS FOR ELITISM

The reasons for this situation are many. Firstly, in a country in which few people have trade union experience, there is a premium placed on those who have it. There is therefore an unwillingness to replace experienced leaders, even when they perform badly. This is natural and it would indeed be unwise to do so lightly. However, the danger is that leaders become so well entrenched that they are able to maintain their posts even against the wishes of the members. This is compounded by the second factor, that rank-and-file members are at an educational disadvantage to their leaders. There is a tendency to hold the educated in awe, and to refuse to criticise them. Leaders can also manipulate the membership, organising affairs so that their (the leaders') wishes are carried out. The 1974 AGM of RAWU, referred to above, is possibly a case in point. Furthermore, there is always an apparent lack of leadership material to replace deposed leaders; those in power seldom set out to train people to replace them.

A third contributory factor is that in a country of low wages and high unemployment, a paid job in the

trade unions attracts not only those who wish to represent the workers, but also those who seek to better themselves. The number of people who have used Union scholarships to further their education so as to obtain white collar jobs outside the union movement is an indication of this. The aim of such leaders is simply that of maintaining their positions; they do little to promote and develop the unions. In a normal situation they would be forced to do so simply in order to keep their posts. In Rhodesia, however, this need is lessened if not removed, firstly, by the premium placed on trade union skills referred to above and, secondly, by the operation of international aid. It is therefore possible for individuals to become professional leaders, moving from one union to another and, if possible, being supported by ICFTU funds. The needs of these leaders, far from being those of representing workers, become those of maintaining their status in the eyes of the ICFTU representative. Since he depends on trade union leaders themselves for information, this is not difficult. A number of cases are notorious.

#### CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that this problem of unrepresentative and irresponsible leaders seriously weakens the union movement. Unions are concerned with maintaining worker unity in the face of exploitation. Unions which are simply shells, vehicles for the ambitions of individuals, provide no threat to the exploiters, but do threaten genuine unions. Workers who have wasted money in paying subscriptions to a useless union become wary about any trade union. The charlatans thus undermine the efforts of genuine trade unionists.

The solution to the problem must lie in a two-pronged policy of both increasing rank-and-file members participation in union affairs, and increasing the accountability of leaders to their members. The first of these prongs requires education of workers as to their role in the movement, greater decentralization of union power, with shop-floor and branch-level activities assuming more importance, and more regular meetings involving ordinary members. The second



requires mainly the removal of outside support to individual unions, thus increasing the need for leaders both to increase membership and to retain its support.

True trade union unity cannot be simply a formal, constitutional unity, decided upon by leaders; it must be an article of faith of all unionists. Only when individuals are integrated within themselves, with leaders being the servants of the workers in the industry, will it be possible for unions to truly unite to serve the whole working-class.

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