

**SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL TRAINING
DISCOURSE AND POLICY FROM 1977 TO 1982**

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**

**UCT LIBRARIES
C000019439X**



ANGELA JOAN SCHAFFER

November 1985

The University of Cape Town has been given the right to reproduce this thesis in whole or in part. Copyright is held by the author.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful to my supervisor, Tony Morphet, whose empathy, generosity and wisdom ensured that I saw this project through to its conclusion. Without his scholarly support there would have been no text.

My friends and co-workers at the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies at UCT helped and encouraged me with their interest and concern. I thank them. I want to thank Professor Clive Millar especially for the manner in which he ensured that I had ample uninterrupted time in which to work on this project.

I had valuable discussions about the research process with the following people : Carohn Cornell, Ian Macun, Lesley Miles, Penelope Rivett-Carnac, Ronnie Simons, Terry Volbrecht, Shirley Walters and Wendy Woodward. I am grateful for their support and ideas.

Alfred Schaffer patiently proofread the draft and gently encouraged me to write English wherever possible.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Human Sciences Research Council.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the South African industrial training discourse and policy between 1977 and 1982. The period begins with the appointment of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions of Inquiry, both of which contributed materially to the restructuring of official discourse and policy affecting black industrial workers. The study ends after the first year of implementation of the Manpower Training Act of 1981. A method of ideological critique is developed and applied to the language and assumptions of the industrial training discourse and policy in order to show how the dominant industrial training ideas were formulated and given public exposure by significant reformist groups within the state and the capitalist class during a period of general ideological, economic and political change and contestation. The historical context is traced in order to situate the emergence of the reformulated and increasingly coherent dominant industrial training discourse. Prominent themes in this discourse such as the 'skills shortage crisis' are examined and related to developments in the South African social formation and economy. The agents and themes of the counter discourses in the industrial training arena are also identified and discussed. Finally, attention is given to the educational meanings which are subsumed within the industrial training formulations and it is shown how general adult education concerns are largely discarded

in favour of considerations of capital accumulation in industrial training policy and rhetoric. It is argued that industrial training policy reflects the dual state strategy of incorporation of the relatively privileged sectors of the black population into a deracialized core economy in the metropolitan centres of South Africa and control of the numerically dominant poor Africans. The industrial training legislation and official guidelines for practice stress rigidly planned closed courses for worker-learners with the emphasis falling on positive attitudes towards the free enterprise system, specific and limited 'on-the-line' skills and worker-management harmony. The content of training courses is monitored through the system of training course registration and rewards for approved courses and methods are offered in the form of generous tax incentives.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY

Because the meaning of a text cannot be divorced from its language and form, I wish to make some brief comments about the form and language of this study.

1. It is customary for academic work of this nature to be written as if there were no single authorial voice. I have complied with this custom by avoiding the first person singular, but wish to stress that this work does not represent the voice of some reified academe nor an impersonal expert wisdom. The responsibility for the text is mine alone.

2. In dealing with aspects of the South African social formation, the text contains many offensive racist labels. The guiding principle in using racist terms has been to reflect as closely as possible the historical reality of the legislation and the views of the social actors under discussion. In my own analyses I have attempted to stress more valid categories such as "trainees" or "workers" using qualifying adjectives when a distinction has been relevant. The reader will, therefore, come across "black trainees" or "white workers" in the analysis and explanation.

3. Related to this is the sexism of most of the literature on training. This is a deeply embedded and largely unconscious form of discrimination in most of the sources from which I have drawn. Terms such as "manpower" and the sole use of masculine pronouns occur so frequently in the sources from which I quote that I have chosen not to draw the reader's attention to them each time they appear. The resulting tedium and irritation might prove counter-productive. In my own discussion I have attempted to use plural pronouns when possible and when a singular has been unavoidable I have used the feminine and masculine alternately.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
ABSTRACT	i
NOTE ON LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY	iii
CONTENTS	v
CHAPTER ONE : THE RESEARCH PROJECT	1
1. INTRODUCTION	2
2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS	4
3. THE RESEARCH PROCESS	9
4. CONCLUSION	20
CHAPTER TWO : THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	21
1. INTRODUCTION	22
2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	23
3. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMEWORK	63
4. CONCLUSION	92
CHAPTER THREE : INDUSTRIAL TRAINING DISCOURSE AND POLICY	94
1. INTRODUCTION	95
2. TRAINING TALK	96
3. TRAINING LEGISLATION AND POLICY	186
4. THE ABSENT VOICES	212
5. CONCLUSION	215
CHAPTER FOUR : INDUSTRIAL TRAINING AS EDUCATION	231
1. INTRODUCTION	232
2. THE TRAINING ASSUMPTIONS	233
3. THE EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE	259
4. TWO ALTERNATIVES	267
5. CONCLUSION	275

CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSIONS	277
1. INTRODUCTION	278
2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	280
3. IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION	287
4. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	289
5. GENERAL CONCLUSION	291
 APPENDICES	 292
1. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	293
2. A LAST WORD	294
 REFERENCES	 297

CHAPTER ONETHE RESEARCH PROJECT

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	2
2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS	4
2.1 The Ideological Questions	4
2.2 The Educational Questions	8
3. THE RESEARCH PROCESS	9
3.1 The Period Under Study	9
3.2 The Rationale	12
3.3 The Data	15
3.4 The Methodology	17
4. CONCLUSION	20

CHAPTER ONETHE RESEARCH PROJECT1. INTRODUCTION

Anyone practising as an educator in South Africa after 1977 confronts industrial training as a recurring theme in official educational discourse.⁽¹⁾ In this discourse industrial training is presented as a 'good thing' which, if there were more of it, would help to solve the country's labour needs and at the same time would satisfy at least some of the specific needs of both the trainees and their employers. This presents the educator with two kinds of problems. The first is an ideological problem and raises questions about how and why training developed as a prominent subtheme in educational and business discourses when it did. It also requires understanding the forms that the training discourse has taken and the degree to which the rhetoric is reflected in the policy developments. These ideological problems are explored more fully under Section 2.1 of this chapter.

(1) 'Discourse' is used in this project in a general sense to indicate relatively coherent sets of messages about a particular topic or group of topics.

The second type of problem raised by the industrial training 'drive' is a more practical educational problem. It raises questions about the educational assumptions and theories which are put to use inside the formulation of industrial training practice. It requires understanding the implications of industrial training for the trainees as learners and for the trainers as educators. These problems are examined in more detail in Section 2.2 below.

The third section of this chapter describes the research processes used in attempting to answer some of the questions raised in the second section. It gives an overview of the project as a whole and explains what sources were used for the 'data' and how and why these were selected. This is followed by a brief summation in Section 4.

2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS

2.1 The Ideological Questions

We need to look beyond the rhetoric to the relationships between educational proposals and economic contexts in which they occur. We can come to an adequate grasp of policies only if we are able to demythologise (or 'deideologise') their language and assumptions, if we are able to uncover the various interests that lie behind specific reformist initiatives, and if we are able to grasp the contradictions and conflicts which they are intended to deflect.(2)

As Kallaway indicates, in order to understand how an important national educational undertaking, in this case industrial training, is formulated and accepted by significant groups of people across the social formation, it is necessary to "deideologise" the rhetoric and the policy developments which are part of such an undertaking. This requires asking questions about agency, context and form of presentation. The types of questions raised by each of these considerations are outlined briefly as follows:

(a) Agency. Questions about agency help to establish who (intellectuals, political leaders, public figures, etc.) participated in formulating

(2) KALLAWAY (1984:5)

the industrial training discourse and who was active in promoting it. Most of the messages and ideas presented in public discourses have long histories and have been present in certain forms of expert and common-sense knowledge for years. What is of particular interest is how such ideas are combined and reformulated by 'opinion makers' to create specific recognisable themes. Related to this, is the need to identify those agents who have opposed the themes being presented in the dominant training discourse. Information about the ideological and policy 'craftspeople',⁽³⁾ enables us to answer questions as to which social groups' interests are represented in the training undertaking and which group interests are countered or ignored.

Such questions provide information which enriches our understanding of why, for example, an apparently vital professional interest group such as formal educational practitioners and theorists, appear to have been generally silent about industrial training developments until the

(3) This term is borrowed from BOZZOLI (1981:11).

appointment and the report of the de Lange Commission⁽⁴⁾ in the early 1980s.

(b) The Historical Context. Training has featured more prominently in business discourses where it is related to labour development and industrial relations, than in the general educational discourse. In order to understand the reasons for this, questions about the political and economic context between 1977 and 1982 need to be asked. It is also necessary to establish the links between industrial training developments and developments in formal, particularly black, education after the 1976 Soweto uprisings which established formal education as a site of intense political and ideological contest.

Industrial training occupies the terrain where educational and labour concerns overlap. Thus, both that which has come to be known as the 'educational crisis'⁽⁵⁾ and the developments in

(4) The Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into the Provision of Education in the R.S.A. was established in the middle of 1980 and reported in mid 1981.

(5) BUCKLAND (1983), CHISHOLM (1983), J. DAVIES (1984) and KALLAWAY (1984) all give valuable insights into the nature and development of the 'educational crisis'.

labour relations and the production process, during the period under study, form vital aspects of the context for making sense of training developments. These and other significant changes in the material context provide a valuable grounding for understanding the stated and hidden aims in the training campaign and the restructuring of the training discourse and legislation.

(c) The Form and Terms. A critical understanding of the industrial training discourse and policy also involves asking adequate questions about the terms in which industrial training is presented. Related to this is the need to establish which audiences the discourse is addressing by identifying the public communications media which have featured it most prominently. Furthermore, an examination of the form and terms of the training discourse provides insights into how it has been linked to other recurring themes in the dominant discourses of the period and how changes in the formulation of training messages have come about.

The methods used in trying to answer these questions in the research project are dealt with under Section 3 below.

2.2 The Educational Questions

The educational questions raised by the industrial training policy developments involve examining the assumptions embedded in the industrial training practices. They require a close examination of the conception of 'skill' as it is presented in the training discourse and an exploration of what it means to be categorized as 'unskilled' and/or 'in need of skills training'. In addition, the aims of industrial skills training require critical examination in relation to the general aims of adult education.

Practice related questions also need to be asked about how training policy came to be designed primarily by non-educators and what the nature of their assumptions and expertise is. Fullager points out that two common management perceptions of workers are: that which regards "labour as a natural resource to be developed and exploited like any other resource" and that which supports the view that labour efficiency can be achieved by breaking operations into elemental steps and

"controlling behaviour by specifying standard practices" for each step.⁽⁶⁾ These perceptions have important consequences for the worker-trainee as well as for the educator-trainer.

Related to this is the need to establish what type of education or training trade unions or other worker bodies require for their membership and how these requirements compare with the types of practice being promoted in the dominant industrial training discourse.

The way in which these and related questions are dealt with is explained in the general research methodology outlined below.

3. THE RESEARCH PROCESS

3.1 The Period Under Study

This project sets out to analyse industrial training discourse and policy between 1977 and 1982. The period begins with the appointment of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions of Inquiry

(6) In 'Organizational Behaviour in South Africa : An historical overview' in BARLING (ed) (1983).

into industrial relations legislation⁽⁷⁾ and the legislation affecting the movement and utilization of labour⁽⁸⁾. These complementary commissions introduced a period of restructuring of state policy and discourse relating to those sections of the African working class which were predominantly employed in industrial production and supporting services in and around the urban areas. Both the Riekert and the Wiehahn Reports (particularly Part Two of the latter) paid significant attention to industrial training and stressed the need for the rapid expansion of provision of skills training and retraining for workers employed in production.

At about the same time the general educational discourse was largely concerned with the system of Bantu Education and its dual failure.

- On the one hand it was perceived by the dominant fraction in South Africa to have failed ideologically to prepare African students for compliant political subordination and psychological acceptance of

(7) The Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation (Wiehahn).

(8) The Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilization of Manpower (Excluding the Legislation Administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines) (Riekert).

their role as passive workers in the capitalist production process. This had become apparent with the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in formal educational institutions at the beginning of the seventies and was confirmed by the Soweto uprisings and ongoing resistance in schools during 1976/77 when the Black formal education system became an important site of political and ideological contest.

- On the other hand, the entire formal education system, but Bantu Education in particular, was blamed for failing to produce school leavers of sufficient quality and in sufficient quantity to fill the technical labour requirements of commerce and industry.

The de Lange Commission of Inquiry was appointed during the educational unrest of the 1980s to address these problems. It complemented the recommendations of the two commissions mentioned above by developing the 'manpower needs' theme and by shifting the focus "towards constructing a non-formal [educational] system on an industrial base

with a clear emphasis on a skill training curriculum".⁽⁹⁾

Throughout this period there were a number of shifts in state industrial training policy. These were rationalized and combined in the important Manpower Training Act (No. 56 of 1981) which brought together the four separate training acts which fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Manpower Utilization. The study ends in 1982 after this Act, which consolidated the restructuring in training policy, had been implemented for a year.

3.2 The Rationale

The germ of this project developed during informal discussions among a group of adult educators at the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Cape Town in 1983. Interest was expressed about the manner in which industrial training calls had been repeated with increasing prominence in the 'education for economic development',⁽¹⁰⁾ literature as well as in the popular press over a period during which the

(9) MORPHET (1983:2).

(10) See, for example, HARTSHORNE (1981), PROCTOR-SIMS (ed) (1981) and SCHUTTE (1982).

historical contradictions in the South African social formation were emerging in the manifestations of political and ideological contest in the educational and industrial systems. Concern was expressed about the role of university-based adult educators who might be expected to train the trainers. It was felt that there was a need to stimulate an industrial training debate within adult education to further understanding of the training developments and practices being promoted in the public industrial training discourse with the aim of making informed decisions about possible engagements in the training arena.

During 1984 some of this group, including the author, attended a number of meetings of the Cape Town branch of the South African Society for Training and Development to gain some insight into the practical concerns of trainers in the field. It soon became apparent that the dominant conception of industrial training as a 'good thing' for all concerned was taken for granted and that general educational concerns such as the development of learners as thinking social actors empowered to make informed decisions about their own lives, were not being considered. Meetings

were devoted to techniques for improving trainer efficiency in dividing tasks into manageable modules and in testing trainee competence in set tasks at the completion of each module. The work of the American Society of Training and Development and in particular their Competency Model⁽¹¹⁾ in which trainers work on a system of "inputs" (listed "knowledges, skills and abilities"), "tasks" and "outputs" (the measurable achievements of the trainees against the predetermined training objectives), proved to be the model towards which local trainers were striving. This instrumental approach to worker training confirmed our belief that educationists should examine the industrial training field more closely.

After a general and wide ranging literature search the design of this project began to take shape towards the end of 1984. This is described in the following two sections.

(11) See the articles by McLAGAN and BEDRICK: 'Models for Excellence' and McCULLOUGH and McLAGAN: 'Keeping the Competency Study Alive' in the Training and Development Journal, June 1983.

3.3 The Data

Four major types of literature were surveyed as sources of data:

- (a) The international literature on ideology and ideological analysis was read to develop a method of ideological critique for analysing the training discourse. After an initial survey of the field, it was decided to concentrate specifically on the debates about ideology within a broadly Marxian perspective as these sources proved to offer the most satisfactory tools for answering the types of questions formulated in Section 2.1 of this chapter.

- (b) The literature on the South African political, economic and educational developments during the nineteen seventies and early eighties was surveyed to provide the context for answering the questions set out in Section 2.2 above. Particular attention was paid to sources which dealt with the restructuring of policy and discourse in the areas of labour development and control.

- (c) In order to trace the policy developments in industrial training, primary documents such as the reports of state commissions of inquiry, government white papers, the annual reports and other publications of the Department of Manpower were examined.
- (d) Finally, mass audience-based materials such as newspapers, business and labour journals, company reports and speeches were surveyed because, as Bozzoli says, these publications "systematically set out month by month, or sometimes week by week, the successive, accumulating problems and ideologies of each 'audience'".⁽¹²⁾ An attempt was made to survey at least one key source for each of the groups which figure prominently in the industrial training arena. For example, the Financial Mail, Optima and the reports of the Urban Foundation as well as the chairmen's addresses of the large corporations were examined for the concerns and opinions of corporate, mainly liberal English-speaking capital. Volkshandel was surveyed as a representative mouthpiece of Afrikaner capital both large and smaller. The South

(12) BOZZOLI (1981:14).

African Labour Bulletin was treated as representative of the concerns of the independent trade unions. The evidence of the representatives of the predominantly white worker organizations to the state commissions of inquiry was examined to include the interests of that section of the working class in the data.

In addition, the Sunday Times was surveyed as a widely read general audience resource and South African Pressclips and the files from which the compiler, Barry Streek, selects the articles were perused for additional materials.

Specialist publications such as the South African Journal of Labour Relations and the South African Journal of Business Management were surveyed to gain insight into the major concerns of the dominant group of intellectuals in the field.

3.4 The Methodology

This section provides a brief overview of the methods employed in the treatment and analysis of the data.

The research process begins with the literature on ideology and theory in general. A method for criticising ideological discourses and processes is developed and presented in Chapter Two, Section 2. Thereafter the other key theoretical tools used in the investigation are set out and defined in Section 3 of Chapter Two. The final section of that chapter presents an historical overview of the socio-political context for the analysis. This is drawn from the literature described under (b) of Section 3.3 above.

Chapter Three deals with the data on the industrial training discourse and policy drawn from the sources mentioned in (c) and (d) of Section 3.3 above. Firstly, the training data is analysed according to the ideological critique and against the context developed in the previous chapter. Attention is paid to the particular calls of certain fractions of capital, the state and labour and these are compared and contrasted. In the second part of the chapter, the development of coherence in the training policy is traced historically from 1977 to 1982. The final section of this chapter identifies those interest groups which had little say in the dominant

training discourse. The whole of Chapter Three is, therefore, concerned with the problems raised under Section 2.1 above.

Chapter Four examines the educational problems raised in training practice. It explores and analyses the assumptions and theories put to use inside the formulation of training (Section 2) and the educational implications of this (Section 3). In Section 4, two alternatives to the dominant training model are examined briefly to give a worker perspective to contrast with the predominantly managerial perspective embedded in most industrial training practice.

Chapter Five completes the project by giving a summary of the conclusions to the research problems and by exploring the implications of the findings for adult education and for further research in the field.

4. CONCLUSION

This Chapter introduces the research problems and gives an outline of the limits of the study, the rationale for undertaking the project in the first place and an overview of the sources and methodology used in the chapters which follow. It is shown that the aim of the study is to further our understanding of how a major educational undertaking is restructured and presented in the formulation of policy and public discourse. The object of study is industrial training and the primary methods used are ideological and contextual analysis.

CHAPTER TWOTHE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	22
2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	23
2.1 The Concept of Ideology	24
2.2 A Critique of Ideology	49
2.3 Other Analytical Concepts	52
(a) The State	53
(b) Classes	56
(c) Capital	59
(d) Labour	61
3. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMEWORK	63
4. CONCLUSION	92

CHAPTER TWOTHE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Theorists ... follow and use many more and different rules (procedural and constitutive) than those they can articulate as 'their' theory. Theory is only a limited set of the rules of analysis used. There remain other, inarticulate rules of consequence : the theoretical silence, the theoretical other : the tacit background.

Theory, then, is articulate analysis, is analysis that knows and can say what it is doing.

(GOULDNER 1980 : 310)

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the two frameworks which are used to analyse the industrial training discourse and policy between 1977 and 1982. The first framework is theoretical and aims to articulate the rules and assumptions used in processing the information presented in the training 'data'. The second framework is historical and material. It uses many of the concepts defined in the first framework, but its main purpose is to provide the concrete context (the socio-economic background) for the analysis which follows in Chapter 3.

2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ideally the theoretical choices and assumptions which form the point of view of an investigation emerge during the course of that investigation. In this instance, however, many of the concepts used in the analysis are encoded with various and often competing meanings. To present them 'innocently' or to attempt to locate them within a particular paradigm via brief footnotes would be an exercise in obfuscation. For example, terms such as 'the state' and 'capital' are part of everyday taken-for-granted language and when used uncritically represent the dominant point of view. At the same time, these terms signify other encoded meanings derived from complex theoretical debates within the social sciences. To allude, in passing, to some strand of such a debate would be to rely on received theoretical meaning without examining the implications for the development of the analysis at hand. It would seem that much of South African writing in the social sciences which falls within a Marxian paradigm suffers from this weakness. The result is a limited circuit of theoretically interwoven works which is both difficult for the reader to penetrate and which confines the development of new theoretical insights in this country.

It would be presumptuous and false to suggest that any solution to this problem can be, or is, attempted here. What is attempted in this section, however, is to set out the theoretical assumptions and concepts which form the analysis in such a way that the reader may know how and why they are being used.

2.1 The Concept of Ideology

The concept of ideology suffers from diverse usage in both everyday and academic language. It is used in a neutral, or generally positive or a perjorative sense. Its neutral usage derives from a liberal conception of the term which is described by Bernstein as

... any set of moral, social or political beliefs and attitudes that informs and shapes an individual's interpretation of the world and his behaviour ... It suggests - and many think that this is entailed by the concept of ideology - that all 'belief-systems' ultimately have the same epistemological status, that all are equally justifiable.(1)

In this conception, one ideology is as good (or as bad) as another. One might, therefore, as well refer to beliefs, world views or systems of ideas.

(1) BERNSTEIN (1976 : 107).

A generally positive conception of ideology tends to rest on the manner in which ideologies are able to unite social groups in a common cause. This 'social cement' emphasis sometimes conflates the notion of 'dominant ideology' (the ideologies of the ruling group) with Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony'.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾⁽⁴⁾ However, hegemony is a much broader concept. While both ideology and hegemony unite social actors through gaining their conscious consent as opposed to through coercion, not all hegemonic practices need be ideological nor need all ideological practices be hegemonic.

As Therborn points out, hegemony as developed by Gramsci is primarily a political concept that involves more than ideological supremacy. It refers to all aspects of leadership exercised by a class or alliance in the establishment and

-
- (2) "Hegemony developed as a Marxist concept in the Russian labour movement of the late nineteenth century, where it referred to the strategic role of working class leadership of allied classes in the bourgeois revolution against the feudal Tsarist state." THERBORN (1980b : 157)
- (3) In 'Politics and Ideology : Gramsci' in CCCS (1977), Hall, Lumley and McLennan raise this problem. They conclude that for Gramsci hegemony includes the ideological, but cannot be reduced to it. pp 48/9 and fn 18.
- (4) Cherry seems to do this in 'A Feather in the Cap? The South African Cape Corps, Ruling Class Ideology and Community Opposition' In COOPER and KAPLAN (eds) (1983) pp 102/4.

maintenance of its rule.⁽⁵⁾ This may include non-ideological practices such as the granting of real economic and political concessions to a particular group or faction to gain their alliance in the hegemonic bloc. Mouffe describes the hegemonic instance as the fusion of all elements "into a 'collective will' which now becomes the new protagonist of political action".⁽⁶⁾

The lack of specificity of a generally positive conception of ideology is, therefore, the weakness that makes it difficult to distinguish between ideological supremacy and hegemony. It does not pay sufficient attention to the particular function of ideology. It does not emphasise how ideologies, as opposed to other social processes, operate in gaining the consent of social actors for an idea or cause.

The perjorative usage of ideology is the vaguest of all. Ideology in this sense is used to denote deliberate lies, propaganda or any publicly stated view which differs seriously from one's own. This conception is too general to be of any analytic use.

(5) Op cit p 158.

(6) MOUFFE (1979 : 84).

The critical conception of ideology which is central to the critique which follows in the next section, stresses the particular functions of ideological social practices. This conception of ideology rests upon the Marxian premise of 'material contradiction' (also referred to as social contradiction). The term 'contradiction' is used to indicate the unequal outcomes for different groups, strata or persons which result from a particular choice of social action.⁽⁷⁾ Larrain reminds us that, just as social contradictions are historical, so too are ideologies.⁽⁸⁾ Ideologies are, therefore, ongoing social processes.

What then is a negative critical conception of ideology (hereafter referred to simply as ideology)? In the words of the CCCS collective:

Ideas are properly called ideological when they can be shown to conceal or to resolve in an idealistic or imaginary way the problematic character of social life. In the process of presenting a particular social order as harmonious, natural or in need of rescue from subversion or decay, ideological accounts also serve to secure the

(7) This definition is a distillation of a detailed discussion of social contradictions by GOULDNER (1980 : 173).

(8) LARRAIN (1979 : 36).

position of dominant social groups. Ideology is necessarily, in this view, a critical concept with a particular and limited scope of application.(9)

While the above quotation provides one of the clearest definitions of ideology for the purpose of a satisfactory critique, it hints in the phrase "to secure the position of dominant social groups" at the footnote that follows this quotation.(10) In this note the authors seem to accept a more limited interpretation. They quote Larrain(11) as saying:

For ideology to be present, the two conditions Marx laid down should be satisfied : the objective concealment of contradictions, and the interests of the dominant class. (emphasis added)

It is evident, by the mere fact of its dominance, that most ideologies serve the interests of the dominant class qua class. However, it is feasible through the working of 'contradiction' for some ideologies to work against the interests of important sections within the dominant class.

(9) CCCS (1981 : 28).

(10) Ibid, fn 51 in CCCS (1981) quotes from a discussion with Jorge Larrain, author of The Concept of Ideology (1979).

(11) ibid.

Two familiar examples of such ideologies are racism and sexism. Furthermore, not all contradictions are class contradictions although they may be expressed in different ideological forms in different classes and groups. Here one might think of certain religious ideologies which take the form of supporting the status quo in some classes and groups and a liberatory form among others. This class-related argument will be expanded upon in dealing with Althusser's theory of ideology.

For the purpose of a working critique of ideology then, the following modified definition is preferred : An ideology is any attempt by a person or persons to hide, deny or artificially resolve a social contradiction at the level of ideas. This view of ideological practice has a sense of false conflict resolution or concealment embedded in it. This explains why ideology is indispensable in legitimating any exploitative social relations.

Because ideology is not pure invention of the consciousness, it cannot be overthrown by mental criticism.⁽¹²⁾ The only way an ideology can be

(12) See LARRAIN (1979 : 36) for a discussion of this based on Marx's writings.

Before examining Althusser's theory of ideology in general (a distinction he stresses) a few comments need to be made about his brief discussion concerning particular ideologies. He claims, and the view of ideology being developed here supports him in this, that the study of particular ideologies depends on the history of particular social formations. But, the assertion that particular ideologies "whatever their form (religious, ethical, legal, political) always express class positions"⁽¹⁵⁾ (original emphasis), returns us to the problem mentioned above. This class reductionism which insists that all relations of exploitation are 'in the last instance' class relations and, therefore, all ideologies are, at root, class ideologies has led to some contortions in, for example, marxist feminism, attempting to collapse an analysis of patriarchy into a class analysis. Without doubt, gender relations have certain important historic foundations in economic relations, but they are inscribed in social practices which have their own historical specificity which are not reducible to class. This argument can be applied to other ideologies based on culture, language or race. For example, an appeal to all Afrikaners to resist

(15) ALTHUSSER (1984 : 33).

integration with other language groups, would presumably gain support from some members of the boards of SANLAM and REMBRANDT as well as from some workers on the railways. Of course, the forms this support takes would quite likely differ in certain respects. These might be related to the different class experiences of the responding Afrikaners.

In his theory of ideology in general, Althusser's first premise is that "ideology has no history".⁽¹⁶⁾ Anderson⁽¹⁷⁾ explains this by pointing out that Althusser is indebted to psychoanalysis⁽¹⁸⁾ for some of his ideas and formulations and what is meant is that like the unconscious, ideology is always present in society. In Althusserian terms, it is "an omni-historical reality" in that its structure and function are "present in the same form throughout what we call history".⁽¹⁹⁾

Althusser's two preliminary theses concerning ideology are:

(16) ibid.

(17) ANDERSON (1979 : 84).

(18) Lacan in particular.

(19) ALTHUSSER (1984 : 35).

1. "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence."(20) and
2. "Ideology has a material existence", (21) it "always exists in an apparatus, and its practice or practices."(22)

There is considerable debate about the first thesis. The interpretation which corresponds to the conception of ideology being presented here is that which explains "imaginary relationship" as that masked vision or false consciousness which an ideology induces in its subjects about a historical material contradiction.

The second thesis corresponds with the earlier discussion which dismissed the notion of ideology as "pure invention of consciousness". Ideologies in this sense are ongoing processes which form part of an individual's daily relations in social institutions ("apparatuses") from the family to the courts. Althusser's categorization of these apparatuses will be discussed below.

(20) ibid, p 36.

(21) ibid, p 39.

(22) ibid, p 40.

The main Althusserian thesis is central to our critique in 2.2. It is:

Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects.(23)

In other words, ideologies 'hail' or 'call' individuals as conscious and rational agents with the power to act. A very simple example would be, "All young patriots should join the army." The moment described by Althusser as "ideological recognition"⁽²⁴⁾ takes place when the individual thinks, "Yes, I'm a young patriot, I must join up." In this way ideologies recruit individuals once they accept that they qualify as the subjects of an interpellation and are qualified to act in support of it. The other side of this qualification process is disqualification. An ideological call will also exclude those who do not qualify as its subjects. In this case the old or unpatriotic. The process of ideological subjection (qualification) is, therefore, a dual process. It both empowers individuals (as subjects able to act) and it defines or limits the possible courses of action they should take (it

(23) ALTHUSSER (1984 : 44).

(24) ibid, p 46.

subjects them to the course communicated by the message in the interpellation).

Therborn⁽²⁵⁾ elaborates upon this process of ideological interpellation by isolating the three fundamental messages contained in most ideological calls. These messages can be explicit or implied in a given discourse or practice. They are:

(a) the report - a statement about what exists or does not exist at a given time or place.

(b) the moral - what is good/bad, just/unjust, beautiful/ugly under the circumstances.

and

(c) the mobilizing element - what is possible/impossible, should/shouldn't be done under the circumstances.

In a familiar interpellation, the statement of only one of the above elements will result in the others being recognised by implication.

(25) THERBORN (1980a : 15-30).

The following is an illustration of how Therborn's expanded theory of interpellation can be applied to a fragment of a real discourse:

... there is a new appreciation on the part of commerce and industry of the gravity and urgency of our situation, not only so far as the maintenance of the free enterprise system is concerned, but in regard to the survival of all we hold dear.... I cannot see any thinking businessman declining to participate in S A's future through the UF. His dividend will be the emergence of a Black middle class and greater stability in our urban societies.(26)

The subjects of this call are those who consider themselves to be, or to be allied to, "thinking businessmen". The report contains familiar and evocative references to the threat of survival of the "free enterprise system" and "all we hold dear". The moral is concerned with an "appreciation" of the "gravity" and "urgency" of the situation in which capitalism and its implied moral superiority may be losing some of its popular appeal and the need to rectify this as a moral crusade. The mobilizing call is to support the Urban Foundation and by implication save ("participate in") "the future". This example

(26) Mr Justice Steyn, executive director of the Urban Foundation in an interview with the FINANCIAL MAIL, 11.3.1977.

includes another familiar theme by linking the idea of a "Black middle class" with "urban stability". Like many ideological statements, this example stresses a future orientation. It also contains another type of message common to most ideologies in its reference to reward ("dividend"). Another ideological statement could have emphasized a sanction, the most usual being the threat of excommunication from the unity of hailed subjects.

A limitation of Althusser's theory of ideology for the development of a critique of South African ideological discourses at a time of social contest and reform, is its one dimensional presentation of control from above. A sense of ideological contest and struggle is lost because Althusser neglects any mention of oppositional or counter ideologies in his emphasis on the reproduction of the relations of capitalist production. No mention is made in his theory of interpellations which mobilize social groups to contest their material, political and ideological domination.

For Althusser, social actors are interpellated by ruling class ideology through the practices of the

Ideological State Apparatuses (I.S.A.s).⁽²⁷⁾
 Like Gramsci, Althusser makes no distinction between the State and civil society because he regards the distinction between a private and a public domain as being an ideological function of bourgeois law which places the State "which is the State of the ruling class, 'above the law'".⁽²⁸⁾
 What counts for him is that all social institutions from the family⁽²⁹⁾ to the judiciary function to reproduce the dominance of the ruling class. Therefore, all social institutions are regarded as State Apparatuses.

Ruling class domination is maintained through a combination of coercion and consensus. Social institutions which function mainly by coercion (examples are the army and the police) are labelled the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) and those which operate mainly to produce consent (examples are the education system, the communications media and cultural institutions) are labelled the Ideological State Apparatuses. Because "no class (or faction or alliance - A.S.)

(27) ALTHUSSER (1984 : 16).

(28) Ibid, p 18.

(29) He does recognize that institutions such as the family have other important functions as well. See fn 8, p 17 in (ALTHUSSER : 1984).

can hold state power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses" these may be not only the stake, but also the site of class struggle".⁽³⁰⁾ However, this is as far as Althusser goes in alluding to the possibility of social institutions such as schools becoming sites of counter ideological struggle. He goes on to say:

I ask the pardon of those teachers who, in dreadful conditions, attempt to turn the few weapons they can find in the history and learning they 'teach' against the ideology, the system, and the practices in which they are trapped. They are a kind of hero. But they are rare and how many (the majority) do not even begin to suspect the 'work' the system (which is bigger than they are and crushes them) forces them to do, or worse, put all their heart and ingenuity into performing it with the most advanced awareness (the famous new methods!). So little do they suspect it that their own devotion contributes to the maintenance and nourishment of this ideological representation of the School, which makes the School today as 'natural', indispensable - useful and even beneficial for our contemporaries as the Church was ... for our ancestors a few centuries ago.⁽³¹⁾

(30) Ibid, p 21

(31) ALTHUSSER (1984 : 31).

This reveals a view of social actors (teachers and especially pupils) as largely passive 'receivers' of ideology. If one accepts this view, it becomes difficult to explain why Bantu Education failed, in many instances, to subject black pupils to the ruling ideology with the result that many black schools have become leading sites of counter ideological struggles in spite of being part of 'the system'.

Therborn reveals a more complex view of human agency. He gives a number of examples of the forms that acquiescence to the dominant ideologies may take among dominated groups.⁽³²⁾ No one of these responses will be typical for all ideological interpellations as every subject is called by a myriad of different (and often competing) ideological calls at any one time. An individual response will depend upon the individual's personal history (experience) as a 'sex-ed', 'culture-d', 'class-ed' and 'value-d' subject. Part of this individual ideologically constructed identity is a result of what Rude describes as "mother's milk ideology".⁽³³⁾ By this he means the traditional ideological messages

(32) THERBORN (1980a : 86-99).

(33) RUDE (1980 : 28).

embedded in a people's folk customs and oral traditions which are passed down from one generation to the next. These will influence the manner in which an individual will respond to other less 'organic' ideological messages.

Therborn recognizes that ideological messages carry the possibility of contradictory interpretation of their report of a situation and therefore a tendency for counter mobilization by persons or groups who reject the way in which they define the given situation. However, his examples do illustrate how and why thinking and experienced subjects among the dominated groups or classes in society acquiesce to many of the ideologies of their dominators. The six modes of acquiescence he describes are:

- i) "Accommodation" - The messages of the dominant group are supported either because the target subjects regard other aspects of their lives as being more important or because they perceive opportunities offered by the ideological messages more clearly than the oppressive and exploitative features.
- ii) "Inevitability" - A call is supported because the subjects are ignorant of any alternative.

- iii) "Representativeness" - The interpellators (speakers) of the messages or call are perceived as being like the target subjects in certain significant respects (language, race, etc.) or as understanding their needs.
- iv) "Deference" - The interpellators are perceived as being superior to the subjects of the call.
- v) "Fear" - The subjects fear that there are worse, usually unknown, alternatives to those being offered in the call.
- vi) "Resignation" - The subjects sense that they have no alternatives in the given situation.

While Therborn is referring to modes of response to ruling ideologies in the above, these modes can be applied to all ideologies under our definition of social contradictions.

An important aspect of ideological practices and interpellations which emerges in the above examples, is the question of "author-ization".⁽³⁴⁾ "Authorization" refers to the interpellators or speakers or agents of an ideological message or practice. In some ideologies, and this would

(34) This term is used and described by THERBORN (1980a : 77-83).

appear to be important in oppositional ideologies, it is essential that the speakers establish their right to speak to and be given a hearing by, the target subjects. However, in many ideologies, and this applies more readily to dominant ideologies, the speaking voice is absent in an objective-seeming discourse which focuses on the object of the ideological message (hitherto referred to as the 'target subjects' and hereafter referred to as the 'interpellees' or 'audience'). This absence of an identifiable 'speaking subject' or 'subjects' has the effect of hiding the interests behind the ideological messages and therefore a call or discourse appears to be in the interests of a 'common good'. Gouldner highlights this problem and describes ideology as "speech that does not recognize or make problematic its own grounds".⁽³⁵⁾

Of particular concern for the analysis which follows in Chapter 3, is to understand the processes of ideological struggle and change at a time of rapid social change or crisis.

The ideologies of the ruling group (the dominant ideologies) are never monolithic, totally

(35) GOULDNER (1977 : 45).

pervasive nor static. they are, as are all ideologies, in process. The dominant ideologies change to maintain pace with or prepare the ground for, changes in the conditions of production and reproduction of the relations of power and exploitation. They are also engaged in an ongoing struggle with emergent or traditional oppositional and alternative ideologies. These may be produced by factions within the ruling bloc or may arise from the ranks of the dominated classes.

When a dominant group in the state loses control of vital ISA's⁽³⁶⁾ and has to rely on repression and coercion for the maintenance of power, it loses its legitimacy as the state and is open to threat from counter ideologies using populist interpellations (the "people" versus the state).

The ideological craftspeople (usually the intellectuals) of the dominant bloc respond to the threat presented by oppositional ideologies by a variety of means. They most often strive to create a coherent discourse which conceals its political class character and is presented as the

(36) Ideological State Apparatuses. See the discussion of Althusser's theory of ideology above.

"general interest" representing the "citizens' enlightened consciousness".⁽³⁷⁾ This can be achieved by altering the prevailing view of who is "qualified" to speak and therefore who is worth listening to. A common example of this process is to label the agents of an oppositional ideology as "extremists" or even more effectively, as "insane".

Other common means by which the dominant bloc counters the threat of ideological opposition are:

- * By incorporating elements or symbols from an opposing ideology within its own discourse, thereby appearing to represent the interests of the social groups who are the interpellées of the opposing ideology.
- * By systematically denying the grounds of the opposing ideology.
- * By undermining the credibility of the opposing ideology through the selection of 'data' or 'evidence' against it, or

(37) For a discussion of the manner in which bourgeois political ideology presents itself as a body of practical rules representing the citizens enlightened consciousness, see pp 111-112 in the essay on Poulantzas entitled "Misrecognising Ideology : Ideology in Political Power and Social Classes" by Clarke, Connell and McDonough in CCCS (1977).

* By preventing oppositional ideologies from reaching a mass audience through the manipulation and control of the communications media.

All of these methods apply to some degree to the ideological struggles which have taken place in South Africa since 1976. However, an analysis offered by Ernesto Laclau seems most suggestive in explaining why the South African dominant discourse has undergone such extensive restructuring in recent years. He claims that in periods of relative political and economic stability the social formation tends to reproduce its relations "naturally" and to neutralise its contradictions through absorption by the dominant bloc. During such periods the dominant ideological discourse tends to rest on more or less implicit mechanisms for its unity.⁽³⁸⁾ This seems to apply to the period of economic boom and reasonable political stability in South Africa during the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s.

(38) See p 103 in Ernesto Laclau's essay entitled 'Facism and Ideology' in LACLAU (1977).

During the 1970s, a number of political and economic factors which will be described in section two of this chapter, contributed to the production of what Laclau describes as:

A crisis of confidence in the 'natural' or automatic reproduction of the system [which] is translated into an exacerbation of all the ideological contradictions and into a dissolution of the unity of the dominant ideological discourse. As the function of all ideology is to constitute individuals as subjects, this ideological crisis is necessarily translated into an 'identity crisis' of the social agents ...(39)

A crisis such as this requires a process of general ideological mobilization by the dominant bloc if it is to reassert its ideological hegemony or by an emergent alliance if they are to gain ideological hegemony. The process of ideological mobilization is described by Therborn. It involves:

(39) Ibid.

... setting a common agenda for a mass of people by summing up the dominant aspect or aspects of the crisis, identifying the crucial target, the essence of evil, and defining what is possible and how it is to be achieved ... [It] involves the fusion and condensation of several ideological discourses ... For example, class ideologies are fused with national or religious ideologies.(40)

Because an ideological crisis is experienced as an 'identity crisis' by social agents, successful ideological mobilization hinges on the capacity of the restructured or new ideological discourses to link with the existential dimensions of human subjectivity.

Before proceeding with the method of ideological criticism proposed below, it should be emphasized that ideologies are seldom the result of conscious conspiracies on the part of the ideological agents. They are developed and changed over time in a process of adaption and struggle and are related to the concrete changes and struggles taking place in the social formation. Only the crudest forms of propaganda can be said to be the result of conscious conspiracies on the part of

(40) THERBORN (1980a : 115).

the ideological craftspeople and their interest groups.

2.2 A Critique of Ideology

The preceding discussion of the concept and functions of ideology provides the theoretical base for a method of critique of existing ideological discourses and practices - in this instance, the discourses and practices associated with industrial training.

Because ideology functions to distort the historical material conditions of social life through selection and exclusion of specific aspects of reality, the aim of the critique is to restore the complexity to the ideological discourses being analysed. This involves bringing into focus the contradictions and interests which have been systematically silenced or concealed in the process of ideological development and struggle.

The following steps are proposed as a means of restoring this complexity to the South African training discourse and practices between 1977 and 1982:

1. Isolating the ideological themes in the training discourse (establishing the 'common agenda'). This involves:
 - (a) Identifying the recurrent interpellations and grouping these in themes.
 - (b) Identifying who the agents or producers of each theme are and locating them in the social formation to establish their class and/or group interests.
 - (c) Identifying the target audience for each theme and their class/group affiliations to determine how their interests are likely to be affected.
 - (d) Examining the ideological themes to establish how they define reality (their reports) and the related moral and mobilizing elements.
 - (e) Identifying any implied rewards or sanctions in each theme.

2. Using the socio-economic framework developed in section two of this chapter as the context for:

- (a) Explaining the restructuring of the ideological messages or the emergence of new messages.
 - (b) Highlighting the social contradictions which the discourse aims to conceal or artificially resolve.
 - (c) Revealing the degree of distortion and the degree of reflection between the material and the ideological spheres.
3. Mapping the degree of unity and contest within the training discourse:
- (a) Identifying any counter elements which the discourse aims to absorb or deny.
 - (b) Identifying any oppositional ideologies outside of the main training discourse and locating these in the social formation by identifying their producers and supporters.
 - (c) Establishing the extent to which the oppositional ideologies threaten the dominant ideological agents and their constituencies.
 - (d) Identifying any significant social groups who are excluded from the common agenda of the training discourse.

4. Finally, examining the most common forms in which the training discourse is presented (language, practices, etc.) because the ideological contents will be bonded to these forms of presentation.

The steps enumerated above as a method of ideological criticism, are presented in an artificially schematic manner. These investigative 'rules' or 'principles' are applied to the training discourse, but obviously not every ideological theme will 'answer' every 'investigative question'. The steps are offered, rather, as a logical guideline to the procedure followed. No attempt is made to analyse the real discourses as if they were the stuff of rigidly controlled laboratory experimentation.

2.3 Other Analytical Concepts

Four other analytical concepts which recur throughout this study are each discussed very briefly in this section. No attempt is made to locate these concepts in the current debates surrounding their meaning and usage, nor are these concepts defined in a theoretically rigorous

manner. Such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this study and would require many pages of complex political-economic theory. What is intended, then, is a brief discussion of what is meant by each concept in fairly general terms so that the reader may understand how and why they are applied in the analysis.

(a) The State

The conception of the state adopted here is one which allows for an examination of the South African state as a unique historical amalgamation of interests located in a set of administrative and repressive institutions many of which have important ideological functions as well (the education system, for example). The bureaucracy and certain strata of intellectuals whose work is generated primarily for the formation of state policy, are included in this view of the state. While it is recognized that all of civil society is subjected to regulation and control by the state, the conception of the state preferred in this study is narrower than that of Gramsci and Althusser and does not include civil society.

This view of the South African racial state rejects the revisionist definition of the state⁽⁴¹⁾ as the 'administrative arm of capital' with the main function of regulating policies to serve the particular labour requirements of capital. It is accepted that an important aspect of the work of any capitalist state is to ensure the conditions of capital accumulation, as the state is dependent upon revenue accrued from profits for the reproduction and expansion of its own institutions as well as for providing goods and services not produced by capital. However, it is evident from an empirical examination of South African state policy in the last two decades, that not all state decisions benefitted capital and some went directly against the expressed interests of powerful fractions within the capitalist class. This will be demonstrated in the analysis of the training policy 'data'.

Certain followers of Poulantzas regard the state as a material concentration of the class relations

(41) Wilmot James gives a more detailed exposition of this revisionist view in his 'State and Race : Revisionism, Inquiry and Bureaucracies' in JAMES (ed) (1984), Volume 2.

in a given social formation.⁽⁴²⁾ This view does not pay sufficient attention to the manner in which state interests evolve independently of the class interests in which they have their historical roots. A specific state, such as that of South Africa, develops a character of its own which is also a reflection of the struggles between its own agents, for example, between its executive stratum in the cabinet and the lower ranks in the entrenched bureaucracy as well as between political representatives with opposing class, language or other interests. At the same time the state's interests vis a vis other states change according to political and economic struggles in the world system.

In short, the view of the state adopted here supports Greenberg in his assertion that it is an "increasingly autonomous agency representing the interests of the dominant (racial) sector as a whole",⁽⁴³⁾ but not always in a consistent and coherent manner. Its forms and policies can be explained in class terms, but to concentrate exclusively upon these economic forces would be to

(42) Laclau discusses the Poulantzian theory of the state in 'Facism and Ideology' in LACLAU (1977 : 81-42). See THERBORN (1980b : 26-30) as well.

(43) GREENBERG (1980 : 309).

exclude other important historical developments in the struggle for and the maintenance of state power.

(b) Classes

The conception of class adopted here corresponds with the fairly simple definition provided by Posel in 'Rethinking the 'Race Class Debate''.⁽⁴⁴⁾ She says that ...

[Class] refers simply to a series of relations of production which constitute the role and position of individual members. Membership of the working class, for example, is defined according to the common lack of either ownership or control of the means of production and the necessity to sell labour-power in exchange for a wage ... [This] illustrates the objective economic constraints on the possibilities for [members] acquiring and accumulating capital, individual effort and determination notwithstanding. (Original emphasis).⁽⁴⁵⁾

In South Africa, class relations have been constituted in part along racial lines because access to ownership and control of the means of

(44) The full title of Posel's essay is 'Rethinking the Race Class Debate' in South African Historiography'. It is published in Social Dynamics 9(1) 1983.

(45) Ibid, p 61.

production has itself been a racial issue. As Cherry points out,

... in the South African social formation ... people are interpellated firstly in racial terms, and conflict in society is perceived more generally as between the 'oppressed' and the Apartheid state.(46)

This explains unique anomalies such as the omission of the white working class from the category of the (politically) oppressed.

It should be apparent from the discussion of ideology in the previous section that, in this study, class reductionism is regarded as an overly simple (and therefore ideological) and restricting approach to the analysis of society. The general category of 'class' and the two fundamentally opposing classes, the capitalist class or bourgeoisie and the working class or proletariat, are useful basic tools in any analysis because of the centrality⁽⁴⁷⁾ of the economic in human life.

(46) Cherry 'A Feather in the Cap?' in COOPER and KAPLAN (eds) (1983) p 105.

(47) Every attempt has been made to avoid the Marxian architectural metaphor of 'base-superstructure' because it is felt that while it is only a metaphor, it lends itself to overly systemic and neat analysis which under emphasises the complexity of the 'interwoven' nature of society.

Each of these fundamental classes will be referred to briefly below. However, the third class in common usage, the petit-bourgeoisie is not given much attention as an analytical tool in this study. It is accepted that this class is pulled between the working class on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other. Sometimes individuals of this class will align themselves with the interests of the workers and sometimes with those of the bourgeoisie depending on how they perceive their own interests. The analytical terms used more frequently in this study in place of the petit-bourgeoisie are the narrower categories of 'intellectuals', 'middle-managers' and the 'bureaucracy'. It is contended that while these groups do not own the means of production, indeed they are not all directly involved in the primary production process, they do have a reasonable measure of control over their own work.

Not all social structures are based on production. Therefore, class struggle becomes enmeshed in other social struggles and is not always reducible to simple contradictions between capital and labour. This leads us to the last two terms which require some clarification.

(c) Capital

When the term 'capital' is used in the analysis it is referring to that class of individuals which, according to the definition of class given above, owns and controls the means of production. At the crudest level of explanation, capitalists exploit labour through the extraction of surplus labour (hours of productive work over and above that for which the labourer receives a wage) which is transformed into surplus value and converted into more capital. The logic of capital accumulation is therefore "the reproduction of capitalist social relations on an ever-expanding scale through the conversion of surplus value into new and variable capital".⁽⁴⁸⁾ Capitalists are the people who are not direct producers, but live off the production of others. Their class interests are directly related to maintaining and expanding the conditions (political, ideological and economic) which are conducive to the accumulation process. Two simple examples of impediments to the accumulation of capital are: a militant and well organized labour force or an unstable political climate which negatively affects the commodity markets.

(48) WRIGHT (1979 : 113)

What is important for the analysis of capitalist interpellations, is that capital is not homogeneous. Even at a stage of fairly advanced capitalist development as in the metropolitan centres of South Africa, there are still divisions among primary, manufacturing ('machinofacturing'), finance and small competitive commercial capitals. The needs of these fractions are not identical and therefore the demands they make upon the state may be conflicting. Furthermore, the development of Afrikaner and English capital⁽⁴⁹⁾ in this country has been fairly distinct although in recent years the increase in monopolization has done much to remove the traditional language-based economic groupings within the capitalist class.

Savage gives a clear picture of the extent of the concentration of capital in South Africa in the following passage:

All available evidence points to a mounting concentration of economic resources, a more concentrated pattern of ownership of these resources, and a growing centralization of economic decision making in fewer hands ...

(49) O'MEARA (1983) gives a clear exposition of the development of Afrikaner capital and its relationship with established English capital based largely on mining.

However it is measured, South African economic life is being dominated by fewer firms, fewer significant owners and fewer decision makers.(50)

The terms 'big capital' or corporate capital are used to refer to the individuals who are described by Savage as the "significant owners" and "decision makers". At other times broad distinctions are made between different fractions of capital, but it is primarily with this group that the analysis is concerned.

(d) Labour

Just as the capitalist class cannot be regarded as homogeneous, nor can the working class. An obvious division is that based on racial lines with historical job reservations, influx control, racially separated and unequal education and training systems, and separate labour legislation all combining to ensure the relatively privileged position of the white working class,⁽⁵¹⁾ and the intermediary position of the Indian and Coloured working class compared with the Africans.

(50) SAVAGE (1985 : 36)

(51) A relatively privileged fraction of the working class is sometimes referred to as a 'labour aristocracy'.

Influx control and state policy regarding the 'independent homelands' and 'national states' has created divisions within the numerically dominant African working class. Workers with urban residential rights have been divided from migrant labourers who are regarded by law as 'temporary sojourners' in the urban areas in which they work. This latter category of workers forms the least privileged (most oppressed) fraction within the industrial production process.

The structural position of the working class was described in the quotation from Posel in the discussion of classes. This study focuses almost exclusively upon those fractions of the working class which are directly involved in industrial production. It is in the industrial sector that the training calls have been the loudest and the independent labour unions have managed to make the most impact during the period under consideration. The general term 'labour' is, then, most often used to describe workers in industry. When the term is being used differently this is pointed out in the text.

3. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section an historical survey of the socio-economic developments in South Africa during the nineteen seventies and early eighties is presented. This provides the contextual background for the critique of the training policy and discourse. This overview presents only some aspects of the complex developments which were taking place in the economic, political and ideological spheres. The largely descriptive presentation attempts to highlight those occurrences which had a direct bearing on the training arena. Much has been written about the so-called 'crisis' in the South African social formation during the nineteen seventies⁽¹⁾ and a comprehensive survey of this period would, itself, require a full length study.

The decade, 1962 to 1972, was notable for its relatively stable political climate after the state repression of the late fifties. This decade was characterized by accelerated economic growth. The South African economy attracted large investments of foreign capital, technology and skills particularly to

(1) See, for example, BUCKLAND (1983) and CHISHOLM (1983) on the 'education crisis', SAUL & GELB (1981) on the 'organic crisis', STADLER (1984) on the 'crisis of state legitimacy' and HARTWIG & SHARP in KALLAWAY (ed) (1984) on the 'crisis of capital accumulation'.

the manufacturing sector which was expanding rapidly. The state encouraged mechanization in the production processes to enhance the international competitiveness of locally produced goods which had only limited markets within the country and neighbouring states⁽²⁾. The restructuring of the production process resulted in shortages of skilled, and semi-skilled labour on the one hand, because job reservation had reserved most skilled and supervisory positions for the numerically limited white working class who were traditionally Nationalist party supporters. On the other hand, it led to a rise in structural unemployment among the black, largely unskilled, working class. In 1972 the Reynders Commission of Inquiry recommended the floating of the colour bar in an attempt to alleviate the worst skill shortages.

Hartwig and Sharp⁽³⁾ point out that as a peripheral capitalist economy, South Africa was particularly vulnerable to the world accumulation crisis of 1973 and the local economy plunged into recession. This, combined with the sharp rise in inflation accompanying the international oil crisis, exacerbated black unemployment. The mass strike actions by ± 100 000

(2) HARTWIG & SHARP (ibid) pp 313-319.

(3) Ibid, p 316.

workers⁽⁴⁾ in and around Durban were the result of a number of cumulative pressures on the African workers. These included high prices and low African wages and the severe restrictions on labour mobility as a result of the contract system which aimed to limit the number of Africans in the urban areas and to return the unemployed to the Bantustans. Furthermore, the Portuguese coup resulted in upheavals in colonial Mocambique and Angola which led to popular struggles in these territories.

Black labour unrest continued sporadically throughout 1974 and 1975 despite the illegality of strikes. Other forms of Black political organization such as the Black Consciousness Movement, which was concentrated mainly in certain secondary and tertiary educational institutions, also began to make their presence felt. The state responded with harsh repression in the form of widespread bannings and the arrest of a number of trade unionists.

The Naude Commission of Inquiry into the Training and Retraining of Whites, Coloureds and Asians was appointed in 1975 to make recommendations concerning the shortages of qualified artisans, a category of work

(4) Webster in '10 Years of the SALB : 1874 to 1984' in the South African Labour Bulletin 9(8) July 1984.

still closed to Africans. Naude's recommendations resulted in the establishment of three new adult artisan training centres, one in the Western Cape for Coloured apprentices, one in Durban for Indian apprentices and another in the PWV area of the Transvaal for White apprentices⁽⁵⁾.

In 1976 the Conference of the International Labour Organization condemned the South African industrial relations system and called for world action to force the South African state to implement meaningful changes⁽⁶⁾. Further international attention was focussed on South Africa as a result of the uprisings which began in Soweto in June. The central role played by students in these uprisings underlined the lack of legitimacy of Bantu Education in the eyes of those for whom it was designed. Incidents of black resistance spread and the stay-at-homes in Cape Town marked a rapprochement among Coloured and African members of the working class. There was also a rise in the number of incursions into the country by the African National Congress guerilla fighters.

(5) HSRC/NTB Investigation into the Training of Artisans in the RSA (1984) p 18.

(6) See Jubber's 'Contemporary Crises and Change in South Africa's Industrial Relations System' in JUBBER (ed) (1979) p 131.

Once again, the state response to the unrest was harsh and many of its opponents were killed and injured. The repressive legislation was also revised with the 1976 Terrorism Act redefining "terrorism" to include activities with vague political connections and not necessarily linked to violence. The Internal Security Act replaced the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act and made "any activity endangering the security of the state" culpable.

The unstable political climate and the international condemnation of the state's response, led to an exodus of foreign investment and of technically skilled workers. For the first time since the 1930s, the country recorded a negative economic growth rate. In October 1976, Hymie Wolffe, the president of Assocom told the Financial Mail:

Organised commerce has been deeply concerned at the turn of events, both internal and external, and the impact these have had on the South African economy ... The danger as we see it, is that these developments will acquire a momentum of their own, and make solutions more difficult as time goes by. In addition to the loss of lives, the destruction of property, and the loss of mutual trust and goodwill, the situation poses a threat to productivity through absences from work.(7)

(7) Financial Mail, 22 October 1976.

Greenberg points out that Assocom stood alone when it called on the state to restructure the racial order.⁽⁸⁾ The Prime Minister responded with a "thinly veiled warning to Assocom ... to keep its nose out of politics".⁽⁹⁾ The Financial Mail editorial sums up the mood of the more liberal fractions of capital:

... The fact is the economy is in a downward spiral, unemployment is mounting dangerously, inflation continues apace, the balance of payments is sick and, in terms of gold and foreign exchange reserves, the country is broke.

But that's only half the story. And not the more alarming half either ... the policies this government seems stubbornly determined to pursue ... are fast alienating the Blacks to the point where there is a real possibility that violence may become endemic.⁽¹⁰⁾

An article in the same issue reflects the approach to the state by more conservative capitalists represented by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI). After an interview with its Director, Dr Hennie Reynders⁽¹¹⁾, the Financial Mail concludes:

(8) GREENBERG (1980 : 106).

(9) Financial Mail editorial, 22 October 1976.

(10) ibid.

(11) Reynders was subsequently to play a prominent role in the new labour dispensation as the state-appointed Chairman of the National Manpower Commission.

[It] has long been the FCI's particular style - dialogue and consultation with government in preference to public comment and criticism.(12)

In November 1976, two of the most prominent leaders of corporate capital in the country, Harry Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert, took the initiative in helping to establish the Urban Foundation. This, in the words of its first Executive Director, Mr Jan Steyn, reflected

... a new appreciation on the part of commerce and industry of the gravity and urgency of our situation, not only so far as the maintenance of the free enterprise system is concerned, but in regard to the survival of all we hold dear.... I cannot see any thinking businessman declining to participate in S A's future through the UF. His dividend will be the emergence of a Black middle class and greater stability in our urban societies.(13)

By mid-1977 there had been renewed outbreaks of unrest yet the Government White Paper on the Erica Theron Report rejected 31 recommendations affecting the life and dignity of the Coloured people. The Minister of Labour did, however, make provision for the removal of a number of job reservations and there was an apparent shift in labour relations practice towards scientific management.

(12) Financial Mail, 22 October 1976.

(13) Financial Mail, 11 March 1977.

A.D. Wassenaar, the head of SANLAM - the most powerful Afrikaner corporation, published a book entitled, Assault on Private Enterprise : The Freeway to Communism in which he criticized the state for interference in the private sector and called for a free market economic policy. This open attack on state policy by an Afrikaner leader caused a considerable stir in capitalist and state circles and Dr Wassenaar quickly assured the public that his views were not representative of those of the SANLAM⁽¹⁴⁾ board. However, new alignments in the dominant class were emerging.

In March, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, introduced his concept of 'Total War' adopted from Mao Tse-tung. In Malan's words:

It implies that every activity of a state must be seen and understood as a function of total war ... In our particular situation it has long become clear that our strategy for survival can only be a total strategy... The strategic process is continuous. A considerable degree of co-operation and co-ordination with the private sector has already been achieved and this is expanding at an increasing rate. As far as the SADF is concerned this is high on the priority list ... The leadership of the assault against us has long since passed into the hands of the Kremlin ...

(14) See Appendix 1 for abbreviations.

For whites, moderate blacks and 'unco-operative' [in the eyes of those opposing the state - AS] tribal leaders, the issue at stake is survival.(15)

Thus 'total strategy' was introduced and made official in the publication of the Defence White Paper.

The state's post-riot answer to the aspirations of black people was the new Community Council Bill.(16) This was a half-hearted compromise with black and white groups who had been calling for reform particularly in the interests of the urban black communities. Black townships were still not provided with full municipal status and there were limitations on the finances made available to the councils established by this Bill.

Ad hoc attempts to reconstruct state policy and to balance reform initiatives with control were given impetus with the appointment of the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into labour utilization and influx control(17) and the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation. However, a pattern of apparent reform initiatives followed by harsh repression was

(15) Sunday Times interview, 13 March 1977.

(16) Sunday Times 22 May 1977.

(17) Called, The Commission of Inquiry into legislation affecting the Utilization of Manpower (Excluding the Legislation Administered by the Department of Labour and Mines).

materializing. In September the Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko, was arrested and died in detention. The Soweto Committee of Ten was arrested and nineteen organizations were banned as was The World and its editor, Percy Qoboza.

There were indications of changes in attitude among various sectors of capital. In June 1977, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (A H I), the largest representative body of Afrikaner capitalist interests ranging from small competitive firms to large corporation members, made history. It invited Mr Sam Motsuenyane, President of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), as the first black guest to its congress.⁽¹⁸⁾

Assocom continued to call for tangible political reforms and movement "away from race discrimination"⁽¹⁹⁾ and at the end of the year the Urban Foundation published its code of conduct which, together with that of the E.E.C. and Sullivan codes⁽²⁰⁾ for South African subsidiaries of multi-national

(18) Volkshandel, June 1977.

(19) Report on Assocom Congress in the Financial Mail, 14 October 1977.

(20) The E.E.C. code applied to European companies and Sullivan to those with headquarters in the United States.

companies, was intended to bring about reform in industrial relations with the emphasis on improved training, the removal of 'employment apartheid' in industry and commerce and a "merit basis in the promotion and remuneration of all employees".⁽²¹⁾

Senator Owen Horwood, the Minister of Finance, announced in May 1978 that the government had embarked on a programme aimed at the evolutionary transformation of South Africa with merit being the sole determination of worth.⁽²²⁾ A further eighteen statutory job reservations were abolished with five remaining.

The Department of Bantu Education was replaced by the Department of Education and Training but, apart from the name, few substantial changes were made in its policies although there was a new emphasis on the need for technical training for black scholars. Adam quotes the Minister of the Interior to illustrate the state's changing attitude to the black proletariat:

(21) The Urban Foundation : Annual Report 1977/78, p 5.

(22) Jubber in 'Contemporary Crisis and Change...' p 138 in JUBBER (ed) (1979).

In these days we have to relate labour to security. A Black labour force which is well trained and cared for is not only a smaller security risk but could become a good ally if domestic conditions become more difficult.(23)

The 'Information Scandal' broke in April of 1978 and was to have ongoing repercussions among the Nationalist political leadership. In September, Prime Minister Vorster resigned and was succeeded by P.W. Botha, the more 'verlig' Minister of Defence. This change made new links between the Nationalist reformists, the military and liberal capitalists a possibility. Botha became the Financial Mail's 'Man of the Year'.

In spite of the gold boom and an economic upswing during the second half of the year, the rate of unemployment continued to rise.(24)

At the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Professor Philip Fourie introduced the key resolution by calling on businessmen to raise their voices on political and social issues.(25) Adam

(23) From Rapport, 2 July 1978, quoted in Adam's 'Interests Behind Afrikaner Power' in Social Dynamics 4(2) 1978, p 96.

(24) Keenan in 'The Recession and Its Effects on the African Working Class' in S.A.R.S. (1984) p 138.

(25) Financial Mail, 19 May, 1978.

describes the realignment among capitalist fractions as follows:

The trend clearly moves towards a convergence within a broader white meritocracy. The mergers and joint ventures of Afrikaner and English capital have greatly increased in the seventies. Afrikaner capital, first accumulated in the banking and insurance businesses, was forced to diversify by sheer weight of funds. This has led to many partnerships. The Financial Mail sums up the blurring of the traditional English/Jewish/Afrikaans business cleavage: "Never before has it been more difficult to stamp a tribal tag on to a rand note" (August 25, 1978 : 685).(26)

Changes were also taking place in "the party-legislative-bureaucratic structures"⁽²⁷⁾ with the disbandment of the Senate in favour of the President's Council, the expansion of the Prime Minister's office and the reformulation of the Human Sciences Research Council.

The Riekert Commission reported to the government in August 1978. The report recommended refinements in the techniques of labour control by removing some of the cruder forms of racial discrimination to allow for more opportunities in housing, training and movement for Africans with urban residential rights at the

(26) From ADAM op cit, p 97.

(27) For a full discussion of this process see STADLER (1984). The quoted phrase is his.

expense of African workers without Section 10 (residential) rights. In effect, 'grand apartheid', the strategy of incorporating a limited number of relatively privileged urban African dwellers into the ranks of the more privileged classes and the de-racialisation of the core economy in urban industrial areas, was being given more definite form. The aim was for greater economic stability and presenting a better face to the world. Black Sash's Sheena Duncan remarked:

Isolating a privileged group of blacks in the urban areas is going to take place at the expense of a vast number of people in the homelands, whose only safety net up to now has been the inefficiency of the influx control system which has enabled them to survive by getting jobs, albeit illegally, in the informal sector in the urban areas.

Now this venue [sic] will be closed to them, and starvation appears to be the inevitable result.(28)

The implications of the Riekert Report for training will be dealt with under the training policy section of Chapter Three.

In April 1979 the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) was established by non-racial (predominantly African) industrial unions to promote independent working class organization. It emphasized

(28) Financial Mail, 11 May 1979, p 475.

shop floor organization and a shop steward structure. By 1982 FOSATU membership had grown to 105 690,⁽²⁹⁾ more than double its original membership.

Worker militancy in 1979 continued in the form of work stoppages and in some areas was linked with broader community grievances. Community support was expressed in consumer boycotts with the Fattis and Monis and bus boycotts gaining wide support. A strike at the Ford plant near Port Elizabeth was directly linked with the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization. This form of working class action in which broader political issues were expressed through industrial action, and community and student groups supported trade union struggles, was a feature of the 1980 classroom boycotts and red meat boycott. Deprived of effective political power, the members of the black working class were learning to exploit their structural power in the production process and as consumers.

During 1979 the rhetoric of reform became a familiar feature in state pronouncements. The Prime Minister warned the nation that the choice was "adapt or die" while Minister Koornhof told the Washington Press Club that "Apartheid is dead", and General Magnus Malan

(29) Rob and Lynne Lambert : 'State Reform and Working Class Resistance, 1982' in SARS (1983) p 219.

announced that "Bullets kill bodies not beliefs". The need to win more black support for the free enterprise system in the face of growing black working class resistance had become a central theme in both state and capital public announcements. The editor of the Sunday Times business supplement, Stephen Mulholland, describes a visit by business leaders to Fort Hare University as follows:

... The approach adopted was to try to persuade these young blacks, among them were probably future leaders of this country, that their interests and those of their people would best be served by the system of free enterprise rather than that of collectivism, socialism or communism.

In order to try to achieve success in this aim with at least some of them, it was necessary right at the outset to draw the distinction between what passes for free enterprise in South Africa under National Party rule and what is true free enterprise. It is easy to understand that blacks in this country will be anti-capitalist.(30)

Part 1 of the Wiehahn Report was published in May, 1979. Its main recommendations complemented the Riekert Report in its attempt to de-racialize the industrial relations system. It recommended trade union rights for African workers and the phasing out of job reservations, with stricter control of trade union activities and industrial training through official registration procedures. These recommendations and

(30) Editorial, Business Times, 8 April 1979.

the role of the National Manpower Commission which was established by the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (No 94 of 1979) will be examined under the section on training policy in Chapter Three.

In November, 1979 the Prime Minister called a meeting with 250 of South Africa's business leaders to explain his policy of "a constellation of states in southern Africa". He hoped to "win business commitment to his strategies to secure internal stability and economic growth in the face of what he perceives as the onslaught of Marxism, and the settled - if concerned - hostility of the Western powers to apartheid, petty or grand".⁽³¹⁾ The apparent success of this confidential meeting helped to cement the developing alliance between the reformist elements in the state and powerful fractions of capital. According to the Financial Mail,

... a number of "Oppenheimer-watchers" ... maintain the Anglo boss is acquiescing to Botha's strategy in the firm belief that the Prime Minister will seek compensatory support from the ranks of English business when the National Party finally sheds its right wing.

And they argue that this will give them more clout than any political party outside the government, without necessitating an overt alignment with the Nationalists.⁽³²⁾

(31) Financial Mail, 16 November 1979.

(32) Financial Mail, 30 November 1979.

Shortly after the "Carlton summit" as the meeting was dubbed, the Minister of Manpower announced that the government intended allocating R50 million to the training of black workers. This fulfilled one of the more persistent demands being made of the state by business leaders.

In 1980 Robert Mugabe, a socialist, became the leader of the newly independent Zimbabwe. This brought the anti-capitalist threat even closer to home for the South African bourgeoisie and state. It also represented a tangible source of encouragement to South African liberation organizations and a refuge for some of those operating from beyond the country's borders.

The unrest and boycotts in black educational institutions once again focussed attention on the education system and exposed the limitations in the minor reforms brought about by the 1979 Education and Training Act. The more active role of the Coloured students in the classroom boycotts placed the entire system of apartheid education at the centre of the 'education crisis'. The state responded by establishing the de Lange Commission of Inquiry into

the whole educational sphere.⁽³³⁾ The Commission reported in June 1981. It "articulated a new meritocratic, 'non-racial', technicist educational ideology" and recommended a system of "formal (academic) education running parallel and 'interfacing' with a non-formal (vocational) education structure"⁽³⁴⁾ with an emphasis on the manpower needs of the country. The government responded by reaffirming its policy of Christian National Education and separate education for each 'population group' under separate authorities. This caused the Financial Mail to headline its report on Minister Viljoen's reaction to the recommendations, "Back to square one".⁽³⁵⁾

The unpredictable nature of the state's reform programme was reflected in the way in which the Johannesburg municipal strike in July 1980 was crushed. Despite much rhetoric about a new labour dispensation following the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, the strike was crushed by 'endorsing' 1 200 contract workers out of the area and charging the leaders with sabotage.

(33) The full title of the de Lange Commission is : The Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into the Provision of Education in the RSA.

(34) Chisholm : 'Redefining Skills : Black education in South Africa in the 1980s in Comparative Education 19(3) 1983, p 358.

(35) Financial Mail, 16 October 1981.

In September 1980, a second major black labour federation was formed. The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) had an initial combined membership of about 30 000 workers in seven unions.⁽³⁶⁾ By the end of 1983 it had twelve affiliates with more than 160 000 members. While its policy was not racist, CUSA emphasized the need for black leadership and the education of black communities.⁽³⁷⁾

A rise in the price of gold in 1980 led to a brief boom in the South African economy in 1980/81 and once again the shortage of skilled workers became a prominent theme in business journals.

The state established the Small Business Development Corporation to provide the initial finance for black entrepreneurs. This step was encouraged by Dr Anton Rupert. The editor of Volkshandel lauded this initiative under the banner headline, "Kleinsake, Kapitalisme en Socialisme". Two extracts reflect the views of this mouthpiece of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut:

(36) NCUBE (1985 : 130).

(37) Ibid.

Die R100 miljoen Kleinsake Finansierings - en Ontwikkelingskorporasie gedagte wat op inisiatief van Dr Anton Rupert geloods en reeds op pad is na R150 miljoen kapitaal, is 'n belangrike werktuig om kapitalisme te versterk teen die aanslag van sosialisme ...

... Die swartman moet ook iets besit waarvoor hy hard gewerk het, om te help keer dat die arm kommuniste en werklose die rykdom van die werker en ondernemer wil nasionaliseer en roof.(38)

In 1981 the National Party won its ninth successive general election. The plan presented by the leadership for the development of the country stressed regional economic development around specific 'growth points' in the established industrial areas and the border areas which would draw upon the cheap labour pool in the 'homelands'. This was proposed by the Prime Minister in his second summit meeting with leading capitalists at the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town. His presentation was entitled "A Regional Development Strategy for South Africa".

The Manpower 2000 campaign launched by Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilization, in 1980 continued to promote vocational guidance and training and to support a variety of public and private initiatives in in-service training through regional committees. In 1981 The Manpower Training Act (No 56 of 1981) was passed to

(38) Volkshandel, February 1981, p 11.

consolidate the four training acts being administered by the Department of Manpower Utilization viz the Artisans Training Act of 1951, the In-Service Training for Black Employees Act of 1976, the In-Service Training Act of 1979 and the Apprentices Act of 1944. In terms of this Act the National Training Board was established to oversee all registered training schemes and to administer applications for tax deductions and financial assistance to all recognized training bodies. The Minister of Finance announced an increase in the provision for training in the manpower vote from R29 million to R51 million. Special provision is made in the guidelines of the National Training Board for stricter control of all industrial-relations training.

During 1981/2 the, increasingly familiar, themes in state and private sector discourse concerning black advancement via training for a stable black middle class with a stake in the free enterprise system continued to receive considerable media coverage.

Mr Gavin Relly, then Deputy Chairman of Anglo American, told the South African Club in London:

... Since Mr Botha became Prime Minister he appears to have turned his back on the almost socialistic dedication to centralization that has been a leitmotiv of Afrikaner philosophy for so long ... Business is being called upon to get on with its own affairs, particularly in relation to training and

development of its labour and staff. In return, the government has loosened many race-related inhibitions on training not least in the artisan sphere and at the technikon level. There are now at least in theory, no ideological restrictions; though the civil service, one suspects, still cocoons itself in happy memory of Dr Verwoerd.(39)

The anti-reform traditionalist group within the National Party alluded to in Relly's speech, had been finding the liberal economic policy of the Afrikaner-English capital alliance more and more difficult to accept. In February 1982, twenty-three Members of Parliament left the Nationalist caucus. Among them were Dr Treurnicht and Dr Hartzenberg who was responsible for African education. Eventually a group of seventeen 'rebels' formed the Conservative Party at a meeting attended by 10 000 supporters. Since the mid-seventies the Nationalists had lost a third of their support among white voters.(40) The majority of those leaving the party were from the rural areas and the urban working class suburbs. Charney comments that the class division had overridden the traditional language divide.(41)

(39) Address delivered on 8 October, 1981 and printed as a supplement to Optima.

(40) Charney : 'Restructuring White Politics : The Transformations of the National Party' in SARS (1983) p 142.

(41) Ibid.

The rather bland assumption on the part of certain fractions of capital and the state that a black middle class would support their interests is tempered by warnings such as that from Dr Motlana reported in the Financial Mail:

Success ... is shunned by blacks, and a veiled accusation of "Uncle Tom" is levelled against those who live up to corporate expectations of competition and hard work. The attack on achievement, and its related middle-class lifestyle, is aggravated by calls from Pretoria to create a "black middle class" as a stabilising force.(42)

The Sunday Tribune reports on the debate about the "New Breed of Blacks" among black people in an article written at the end of 1982:

An intense debate is raging in the black community over the emergence of a "new breed of blacks" - those who are moving into managerial and supervisory positions, discarding the conventional roles of "hewers and drawers"... [The] controversy centres on the attitude of the new executives - the black middle-class as they are called - to the mass who are still involved in the struggle for liberation ...

The situation has not been helped by the eagerness of big capital and political leaders to drive home the message - creation of a black middle-class - from every available platform. A contented black middle-class must be created or encouraged to grow, it has been argued, so that black people can have a stake in the country, something to fight for, something to defend.

(42) Financial Mail, 5 December 1980.

The irony of the debate is that the target group is trying hard to disown or dissociate itself from this mantle. In four weeks of trying the Sunday Tribune could not find anyone happy to be referred to as a member of a black middle-class in Durban ...(43)

A different view is that of Mr Motsuenyane, President of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc). He said that government policy was against the creation of a black middle class because laws have been formulated to stop blacks from becoming real partners in the economy as permanent citizens of South Africa.(44)

One cannot draw any firm conclusions about the attitude of black people in general to advanced capitalism (or for that matter, to socialism) from the reports cited above. Few people are averse to accepting opportunities for improving their economic and social positions and those of their families. However, it is unlikely that many individuals think about such opportunities in purely class terms. What the above examples do show, is that by the end of 1982 "black advancement" was firmly entrenched as a central theme in the dominant South African discourse and that

(43) Sunday Tribune, 5 September 1982.

(44) Reported in the Evening Post, 11 July 1981.

different interest groups took up this theme to present their own views and ideological concerns.

It is, therefore, inadvisable to take any of the rhetorical quotations used in this section at face value. They do, however, provide an impressionistic representation of some of the major themes in the public discourses of this period and give valuable clues to the complexity of the class struggles and realignments which were developing at the time.

Finally, 1982 was notable for the extent of monopolization that had been reached in South African industry. The top hundred companies accounted for 45% of the total market capitalisation value and twenty of these for 61% of that total.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Innes shows that the implications of this process of rapid monopolization⁽⁴⁶⁾ for the working class are an increased rate of inflation and a rise in the numbers of unemployed as a result of mechanization and rationalization. This has a dual effect on the workers' struggle for better conditions. On the one hand there is increased pressure for workers to cooperate with management because the alternative is

(45) Innes : 'Monopoly Capitalism in South Africa' in SARS (1983) p 178.

(46) Ibid pp 179-181.

joining the reserve army of labour waiting for jobs. On the other hand, workers tend to be concentrated in increasing numbers on a single shop floor. This facilitates worker unity and organization on a mass scale in production itself.

The number of strikes by workers belonging to the emergent trade unions reached a zenith in 1982. There were 394 recorded strikes involving 141 571 workers and a loss of 365 337 'man-days' compared with 69 strikes involving 4 4551 workers and a loss of 3 473 'man days' in 1971.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In spite of the new industrial relations policy which attempted to underplay the role of the state, the state responded by detaining 23 union officials and by disrupting gatherings of striking workers. The death in detention of the Food and Canning Workers' Union official, Dr Agett, provoked the largest nation-wide workers' protest in South Africa since 1970. Workers from different federations and unions throughout the country downed tools for half an hours' mourning and a symbolic show of strength.

The Chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Professor Swart, condemned the harsh action by the state against the unions claiming that it was negating

(47) NCUBE (1985 : 142).

the position of his Commission on trade union organization. (48)

Writing in the Anglo-American publication, Optima, Schlemmer and Welsh point to some of the anomalies in state policy which were to give rise to increasing resistance by the working class at the level of production:

The fact that no political rights have accompanied the limited extension of collective bargaining rights makes it virtually certain the blacks will attempt to use their unions for political as well as economic purposes, however much the government may try to stop them from doing so. South Africa's chronic shortage of skilled workers and the government's acceptance of the need to abolish occupational colour bars and provide increased training facilities for blacks means that powerful bargaining resources are being placed in black hands. The skilled or semi-skilled worker is not an easily replaceable 'labour unit', nor is he likely to become politically more quiescent as he climbs the occupational ladder. Survey evidence from 1981 and before shows a close correlation between support for more radical organizations and higher occupational status, a finding that casts considerable doubt on the belief entertained in some circles that upward occupational mobility would, by giving black people 'a stake in the system', diminish whatever militant proclivities they might have entertained. It also undermines the government's apparent strategy of attempting to co-opt permanently urbanised

(48) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 6(3) 1982.

blacks into the existing structure of South Africa by giving them greater economic rights and other concessions, though not effective political rights.(49)

This attempt by the state to separate political from economic rights for the African working class was to provoke stronger resistance after the announcement of the new constitutional proposals.

The economic downturn during 1982 cost thousands of people their jobs. Official figures, which tend to ignore those who are unable or unwilling to register as unemployed and those who are under-employed, show that at least 100 000 fewer people had jobs between February and October of 1982.⁽⁵⁰⁾ This trend has continued to date.

(49) Schlemmer and Welsh : 'South Africa's constitutional and economic prospects' in Optima 30(4) 1982 pp 230-7.

(50) Argus, 19 February 1983.

4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt has been made to set the historical scene (Part Three) for a closer examination of the industrial training discourse and policy. This brief description shows that the industrial training and industrial relations arenas had become important sites for the ideological and economic struggles between reformist fractions of capital and the state on the one hand, and the emergent black proletariat on the other.

The growth of monopolization in South African industry had led to a situation in which the traditional apartheid philosophy and its expression in state policy, was proving counter productive to large capital development and accumulation. Continued open access to the world capitalist system, domestic stability, growth in technologically skilled labour as well as expansion in local consumer markets were all factors which contributed to the desire of the reformist alliance in capital and the state to encourage the rapid growth of a black middle class. Furthermore, the increase in black anti-capitalist rhetoric, although often exaggerated by the agents serving in state repressive apparatuses for strategic reasons; and similarly emphasized by reformists for political purposes; had

resulted in placing the co-optation of a stable, entrepreneurial urban African middle class at the centre of the 'survival of the free enterprise system' public discourse. The examination of the industrial training aspects of this discourse in the next chapter, will make the terms of this co-optation drive clearer.

In Part Two the analytical tools and assumptions which are applied in the examination were set out. This chapter is, therefore, intended as a mental framework or grid which will enable the reader to make sense of the training data which follows. Certain important landmarks in the industrial training terrain such as the changes brought about by the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions, were treated in a cursory manner above and are explained more fully in the following chapter as part of an ongoing process of restructuring in the industrial training and industrial relations arena.

CHAPTER THREEINDUSTRIAL TRAINING DISCOURSE AND POLICY

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	95
2. TRAINING TALK	96
2.1 Capital	97
2.2 State	142
2.3 Labour	163
3. TRAINING LEGISLATION AND POLICY	186
4. THE ABSENT VOICES	212
5. CONCLUSION	215

CHAPTER THREEINDUSTRIAL TRAINING DISCOURSE AND POLICY1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter forms the empirical core of the study. The audience-based materials featuring industrial training and the policy developments related to industrial training practice are examined. The analytical frameworks of ideological criticism and contextualization set out in Chapter Two are applied to the training data of the period 1977 to 1982. In the first section, the analysis is applied to the discourse and is primarily ideological. In the next section, important changes in the legislation and key official documents are discussed and the analysis is primarily contextual. This is followed by a short section which suggests that certain group interests are not represented in the industrial training discourse and policy and offers some reasons for the absent 'voices'. Finally, some of the main themes are drawn together in the conclusion.

2. TRAINING TALK

In this section, the recurrent training calls (interpellations) of capital, the state and labour are grouped together in order to highlight the preferred ideological training themes of each social group. This reveals the common and conflicting themes for each class or fraction and makes it possible to identify when, and under what socio-political circumstances, ideological alliances were formed and when the ideological talk of each broad grouping was in conflict. By concentrating upon audience-based 'training talk' the ideological producers or 'organic intellectuals',⁽¹⁾ of the different class fractions and the state are identified and the modifications, over time, in their training calls become easier to trace.

In the previous chapter it was argued that neither social classes nor the state are homogeneous collectivities of social actors. The sheer

(1) Here the Gramscian notion of 'organic intellectual' is used simply to describe intellectuals whose work and ideas are produced in the interests of one particular class or fraction with which they identify. This contrasts with the notion of 'traditional intellectual' in that traditional intellectuals seek to detach themselves from identification with particular class interests and prefer to seem to represent a free floating critical intelligensia without commitment to a social group. An argument can be made about whether this is actually possible, but this is not the place for that. BETEILLE (1980) discusses the roles of intellectuals at some length.

repetitiveness of certain themes within the training discourse as a whole makes it easy to fall into the trap of perceiving this discourse as representing a single united voice. This perception is, itself, an ideological effect and it creates for the general audience a false sense that the dominant calls and practices have general support both within and across class divisions. In order to present a truer view of the complexities of social groupings, therefore, an attempt is made to present a reasonable range of voices for capital, the state and labour, and to include the few dissenting or critical voices among these.

Industrial training calls feature predominantly in the discourse of capital. It is with this class, then, that the analysis begins.

2.1 Capital

Dividing training 'talk' into separate themes presents a few methodological problems. The themes are usually interwoven with other social commentaries and many articles present more than one theme at once. Read together, as they originally appeared, these calls overlap, reinforce each other and have a cumulative effect. For the purpose of analysis, some themes have been

artificially separated from each other, but only when it is felt that they still make sense. Furthermore, considerations of length and interest make it impossible to present too many examples for each theme or too long a quotation from those which are used. Quotations are, therefore, liberally edited. The themes are presented in an order which is loosely based on their dates of first appearance in the discourse source materials used and the frequency of their appearance in these public materials.

(a) General exhortations for capitalists to do more training.

Among the simplest forms of training calls are those made by capitalist leaders or the capitalist 'organic intellectuals' to audiences of their own class exhorting employers to support the industrial training drive. An early example is:

... says one NPI [National Productivity Institute] executive, industry's training problems are "frightening" ... Employer reluctance to train blacks is seen by the NPI as "self-destructive". Comments John Lawrenson : "People are more interested in tax relief than the benefits workers derive from modern training systems".(2)

(2) Financial Mail, 8.4.1977.

In calls such as this, the 'moralizing' and 'report' ideological elements are vague although they leave the audience in little doubt that training is necessary and good and that the price of failing to train is high. This type of call is often linked with calls for black advancement in commerce and industry:

G. Ferguson, director of the Centre for Black Advancement, a consultancy firm specializing in black training and advancement programmes says: "For the most part management recognises the political and economic necessity for black advancement, but it hides behind government restrictions and is unwilling to do more than make a few token promotions.(3)

During 1977 the black unrest and the related withdrawal of foreign investments caused certain more progressive fractions of capital to focus on programmes to advance black employees within the business hierarchies. For many employers, however, non-discursive rewards for training, such as tax concessions, had a limited effect. In 1980 a survey by the Unisa School for Business Leadership, a group of intellectuals who feature prominently in the capitalist and state discourses, found that, in spite of substantial

(3) Financial Mail, 16.9.1977.

tax concessions, the private sector was "dragging its feet" in terms of real training.⁽⁴⁾ This issue of tax concessions is discussed under the section on the state training policy.

(b) Capitalist survival and the socialist threat.

The cumulative effects of black working class resistance and its expression in class as well as racial terms, resulted in the publications media giving considerable space to the theme of the survival of the free enterprise system against the threat of black socialism from within the country and beyond its borders. The Afrikaner fraction of capital, represented by the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, is among the loudest voices expounding this threat. The AHI's calls tend to support economic integration only, unlike the more liberal pleas for general integration of large corporate capital. Three examples of how Volkshandel presented this theme over a period of five years follow:

- i) Vandag is ekonomiese intergrasie 'n voldonge feit. Die uitdaging, met Rusland in Suider-Afrika, is 'n praktiese bedeling wat veelvolkige politieke regte afsonderlik aan alle

(4) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 4(3 & 4), September/December 1980.

etniese groepe binne gebiede en woonbuurtes bied ... 'n Bree meesterplan waarvoor Volkshandel lank reeds pleit moet nou gestalte kry met 'n duidelike toekoms-bedeling om onsekerheid uit te skakel.

Die opleiding van die Swartman in die stad is eers ernstig aangepak na vertoe deur die AHI ... Op die jongste kongres het die grootskaalse Swart werkloosheid en die gevare van onrus wat dit inhou, onder die soeklig gekom. (June, 1977)

- ii) [Quoting Prof. G.L. de Wet, Professor of Economics at the Rand Afrikaanse University]

... Dit gaan hier oor die siel van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, en die pogings deur die Regering en sakesektor om ekonomiese vryheid 'n ereplek te gee, sal vrugteloos wees as die bree bevolking nie die regte gesindheid teenoor en begrip van die (vrye ekonomiese) stelsel het nie ... Die vraag is of Suid-Afrika dit kan bekostig dat die meerderheid van sy Blanke, asook die meerderheid van sy Swart bevolking onsydig en selfs antagonisties staan teenoor die stelsel van vrye onderneming. (February, 1981)

- iii) [Quoting D.L. Potgieter, training consultant]

Mense kan se dat die meerderheid mense in Suid-Afrika ongeag ras of status, in hul diepste wese tot sosialisme geneig is. Die simptome is duidelik, van die oomblik dat ons eiers vir ontbyt eet totdat ons ons televisiestelle voor slaapyd afskakel. Is dit moontlik dat daar nog genoeg tyd is om ons socialistiese orientasie na 'n kapitalistiese houding te verander voordat dit te laat is, soos in die geval van Zimbabwe?

... Die privaatsektor moet bereid wees om homself te verdedig aangesien sy oorlewing daarvan afhang. Kapitalisme is 'n saak van lewe en dood vir die private sektor.

Die sendeling wat moet uitgaan in die leer van kapitalisme in elke organisasie moet verkondig, is the opleier. Die opleier is in 'n unieke posisie omdat sy pligte die inlig van werknemers is ... 'n Eerste prioriteit by induksieopleiding behoort dus die induiduele orienteer om 'n kapitalistiese denker te wees. Sy houding moet van anti-kapitalisties na pro-kapitalisties verander word indien ons die oorlewing van die privaat-sektor wil verseker. (February, 1983)
 (Emphasis added in i, ii and iii)

In the early example, (i), the "rooigevaar", general uncertainty and danger of unrest among the unemployed make up the report and the mobilizing rationale for action which is directed at the training of black urban dwellers. By the second example, the effects of the class struggle are already evident and the call is more clearly for inculcating more positive attitudes towards the free enterprise system. It is interesting to note that in this and the final example, the speakers are concerned about white socialist tendencies as well as black. It is apparent that by this time the class conflict within Afrikanerdom had made an impact on the Afrikaner capitalist leaders. The dramatic rhetoric in the final quotation incorporates the threats to capitalism from within the country and within the Afrikaner volk ethos (allusion to control boards

which are anathema to free marketeers and the implied general South African orientation to socialism) as well as from without (the reminder of Zimbabwe). The struggle faced by capitalism is presented both as a mission with trainers as the missionaries, and as a battle with the trainers as the soldiers of capital. These metaphors suggest that capitalism is linked to Christianity and is, by implication, a moral crusade. The expected ideological role and the group affiliation of industrial trainers is quite clear. Their task is about winning antagonistic hearts and minds to capitalism.

In a report on the Free Market Foundation, Stephen Orpen writes:

... But nothing is more fundamental than that blacks, especially the raw [sic] and unskilled, should understand that it is this [free enterprise] system, and not socialism in any of its many guises, that offers the best chance for economic advancement and stability - which bring political stability. This understanding can only come through a much more massive programme of basic business education than the FMF [Free Market Foundation] can hope to mount on its own.(5) (emphasis added)

(5) Business Times, 14.10.1979.

This view of the free enterprise system as the means of achieving economic growth and general stability is typical of the calls of all the fractions of capital. Education for an understanding and appreciation of the capitalist system is a general call in all the educational discourses of the dominant class. The contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode and relations of production are never alluded to. Socialist revolution is the threat presented in capital calls criticizing the mismatch between the human capital needs of the free enterprise economy and the present education and training system. The corporate magazine of the Barlow-Rand group quotes Professor W. Rautenbach, de Lange Commission member and chairman of the Trustees of the Technical and Vocational Education System for Namibia:

Unless action is taken soon, South Africa's skilled manpower shortage will result in runaway inflation. Exports will be priced right out of the world's markets and a generation of revolutionaries will be created due to a mismatch between the present system of education and the requirements for developing South Africa and its peoples.(6) (emphasis added)

(6) Barlows '81, September 1981.

The "skilled manpower shortage" and its effects is one of the dominant themes in the training discourse and is found in various forms. There is considerable debate about the true extent of the shortage as Meth⁽⁷⁾ points out. The concept of 'skill' in relation to this cry is examined in the next chapter. What is important here is that, whatever the extent of this much publicized shortage, the phrase "skills shortage" serves as an important ideological report. It is used as a form of symbolic shorthand to explain a wide variety of social and economic symptoms of the contradictions which are being felt in the emerging social struggles. Its related mobilizing call is inevitably for a form of instrumental educational or training practice or for a process of deskilling, which serves the interests of capital by depressing labour costs at the expense of worker job control and remuneration. The next subsection illustrates how these issues are presented in capital's discourse.

(7) In 'Class Formation : Skill Shortage and Black Advancement' in SARS (1983).

- (c) Skills shortage and capital's ways of dealing with this.

Nobody disputes that by 1980 there will be at least 300 000 vacancies in the professional, technical, managerial and administrative categories. In these no upsurge of black training has taken place.(8) (original emphasis)

The sweeping "nobody" and "no upsurge" of training could be disputed, but this brief quotation sets the tone for action and creates ideological 'space' for various types of ideological and material restructuring. The next two quotations fill out the picture of the 'skills crisis':

- (i) 'BRAIN DRAIN- 2,481 emigration deficit in 1977'. The heaviest losses have been among people who, because of their high qualifications, are the most internationally mobile. The skilled manpower problem is, according to Paul Penzhorn, executive director of the National Development and Manpower Foundation, "mind-boggling". The shortage is also pushing up salaries ...

The chief economist at the Federated Chamber of Industries, Arthur Hammond-Took, points out that there is no long-term shortage of skilled labour because of the tremendous potential for utilizing blacks. But there is still a tremendous training backlog.(9) (emphasis added)

(8) Financial Mail, "Special Report : SA 2000", 8.4.1977.

(9) Business Times, 9.7.1978.

- ii) [Professor Jan] Sadie [of Stellenbosch University] points out that in SA (excluding farmers) there are 22 unskilled or unemployed people, 16 semi-skilled and 4 technicians or highly skilled for every executive ...

Is enough being done? Nobody seems to know, as there is a dearth of accurate statistics. But Theo Poolman, the FCI legal and labour adviser, says, 'nothing leads me to believe there is enough training going on. More companies than before are training workers, but not enough to make much impression on the total problem'.

An indicator is the number of in-service training schemes registered with the government to qualify for tax incentives - only about 400. There are some 30,000 firms in the country ...(10)

It is interesting to note that in spite of the skills training rhetoric, the actual response by capital does not correspond with the grave picture painted by the ideological reports. The next selection of quotations shows how capital finds different solutions to the shortages while still talking training:

- i) [Building Industry's Federation of SA economist, Hennie van Zyl] says: ... already about 30% of our members report a skilled labour shortage ... We're trying to overcome the gap with job fragmentation - breaking a skilled trade up into several components - and training black labour for each part ...

(10) Financial Mail, 8.2.1980.

We are also asking for the removal of the remaining legislation on the training of black labour.(11)

- ii) ... One solution to the skilled labour shortage is to break down a skilled job into its elements and replace one qualified artisan by a number of semi-skilled workers. It also provides job enrichment at all levels and reduces the wage bill says Paul Dawson, manager of PE Consulting Group's training services.(12)
- iii) ... the time lag between training and effective utilisation of skilled workers is forcing industry to find immediate solutions. Importing skilled people is the first resort, but the costs of this are enormous.(13)
- iv) Expansion in 30 main commercial and industrial sectors is being bedevilled by pressures on skilled and semi-skilled labour ... The shortages are not of skilled managers (one observer puts this shortfall as low as 4%), but mainly of skilled artisans (20% - 30%). Many factors indicate a continuing crunch at this level.

Parrott (Manpower Transvaal and Cape chairman) notes the following:

- * Ruthless poaching of staff is seen as easier than training.
- * Personnel are not only changing employers in search of higher wages (at the same, or lower, level of productivity), but are switching comparatively freely from industry to commerce; and

(11) Business Times, 20.1.1980.

(12) Financial Mail, 14.3.1980.

(13) Financial Mail, 8.8.1980.

- * The current boom means that supervisors are unwilling to allow staff to be taken off the job for training.(14)
(emphasis added in (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv).)

Under the boom conditions brought about by the rise in the gold price, the skills shortage became more serious for those industries wishing to take advantage of favourable economic conditions for expansion. The examples quoted reveal that, while the necessity for training is not overlooked, capitalists tend to respond by seeking immediate concrete solutions and that their rhetorical commitment to long-term 'social responsibility' is shortlived in the race for capital accumulation. The solutions found are:

- * deskillling or job fragmentation (i and ii) which has the advantages for the employers of lowering the wage bill and limiting the job orientation training to short, simple courses. The claim that this procedure produces job enrichment has been fiercely contested by organized labour in all advanced capitalist societies because it shrinks the tasks over which the workers have some

(14) Financial Mail, 17.10.1980.

control; in which they are required to make some decisions; and from which they cannot be simply and cheaply removed and replaced; to tedious repetitive tasks under the supervision of a skilled overseer who makes the decisions and has control. Fragmented labour tasks are easily filled from the surplus labour pool and reduce worker power in the production process.

- * The importation of skilled (usually European) workers has long been a strategy employed by local capitalists, in spite of the high numbers of unemployed workers in this country (example (iii)). This is an expensive business, yet is often preferred to instituting long-term training programmes. Much is written about African workers' cultural and language problems in adjusting to the western capitalist industrial process, yet little is said about the cultural and language problems of foreign workers who are often placed in supervisory positions over local black labour.

- * Staff poaching and shopping around by skilled workers is frowned upon in (iv), yet these are established free market principles and the tendency for capitalists to treat the labour market as they would any other market is usually supported in the capitalist economic discourses. It appears that what is considered healthy business practice for capital is frowned upon when employed by labour.

- * The final point in (iv), the reluctance of many supervisors to allow workers time off the production line for training, is a problem raised by trainers time and again. Supervisors are management representatives responsible for ensuring certain rates of productivity. They are caught in a double bind between personnel departments which are concerned with staff development and training, and production departments which prescribe the production unit targets for each line. Predictably, when in doubt, most experienced supervisors plumb for production and profits as this will secure their own positions in the company.

In Chapter Four it will be argued that the actual extent of the proclaimed 'skills shortage' is difficult to establish and that many claims about the nature and extent of the shortage have proved to be exaggerated. Nevertheless, by quoting statistics based on opinion surveys and managers' projections of a mythical 'ideal' situation, press and journal reports reinforce common and, perhaps, ill founded, fears about the 'skills shortage problem'. The information which follows was presented in a report in the South African Journal of Labour Relations which drew attention to the concern among business people about skilled labour shortages. The data was extracted from the Barclays Bank Survey of Business Opinion for the financial year ending March 1981. While this information reveals the extent of respondents feelings about the labour situation, there was no attempt to validate these feelings in any way. Furthermore, these survey results were presented out of context with no reference to the questions asked or the general survey methodology. Such quasi-scientific reports escape critical scrutiny and can be used to support almost any general claim.

- 44% of respondents - skilled labour in short supply.
- 55% of respondents - skilled labour in very short supply.
- 85% of respondents - anticipate no significant improvement in the skilled labour situation in the year ahead.
- 49% of respondents - semi-skilled labour also in short supply, and
- 42% of respondents - the semi-skilled category of labour readily available.(15)

However well founded, there is general agreement that the shortage of artisans, an area of work closed to African employees by the South African racial labour policies until 1980, is, and will continue to be, the most serious labour problem faced by industry. The Building Industry Federation of South Africa (BIFSA) estimated in 1981 that the industry had a shortage of more than 3 000 skilled artisans.⁽¹⁶⁾ The solution, according to the AHI's Mr J.D. Kritzinger, is to redesign the artisan training system. He suggests, "(Dit moet) verrang word met 'n modulere stelsel sonder om die regte en erkenning van bestaande vakmanne to benadeel".⁽¹⁷⁾ In November 1982, the National Training Board requested the

(15) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 5(1), March 1981, p 64. (This is an edited version of the data quoted.)

(16) Ibid.

(17) Volkshandel, January 1981.

Human Sciences Research Council to conduct an investigation into apprenticeship and artisan training as part of the Council's on-going research programme in education. It is interesting to note the reactions of the different fractions of capital to state moves such as this in the labour and training arena.

(d) Responses to state policy and restructuring in the field of labour.

The large corporate, traditionally English-speaking, fraction of capital had, since the early seventies, been publicly expounding the view that racism is 'irrational' and acts as a brake on the logical growth of the free enterprise system. Mr. M. O'Dowd, Director of the Anglo American - De Beer's Chairman's Fund and an influential organic intellectual of corporate capital, advanced a stages-of-economic-growth thesis in which he attempted to forecast the probable major political changes in South Africa, based on the stages of modernization of the capitalist economy. He argued that, once faced with a choice between

racism and economic prosperity, the ruling (white) class would opt for prosperity.(18)

The 'ideological report' that free enterprise and apartheid don't go, is prominent in the discourse of corporate capital in the period under study. A typical example is contained in Oppenheimer's plea to international bankers in Mexico City for continued foreign investment:

The only hope is to work towards a broad-based South Africanism in which tribal interests, black and white would be merged. One major factor which works strongly in this direction of unity is the growth of a powerful modern free-enterprise economy.

Apartheid works in the opposite direction. The only economic situation which is compatible with apartheid is one of stagnation in which development of the modern sector of the economy is limited to a level at which the majority of skilled work can be handled by whites ... Let us be quite clear that in South Africa poverty and apartheid belong together ... apartheid really only becomes plausible when a shortage of investment capital makes it impossible to provide jobs in the advanced sector for those who wish to enter it.(19) (emphasis added)

(18) See SCHNEIER (1983) and FISCHER, SCHLEMMER and WEBSTER (1978) for a discussion of O'Dowd's thesis.

(19) Reported in the Financial Mail, November 1978.

This type of analysis of South African society ignores the functional role of apartheid legislation in the development of extractive and primary industries through the provision and control of a cheap labour force. This aspect of capitalist development has been well documented by analysts such as Wolpe, Legassick and Johnstone.⁽²⁰⁾ One of the primary concerns of corporate capital, which has usually proved to be adaptable and able to operate successfully under a variety of regimes throughout the world, is social stability, and in a racially oppressive society, this requires a strong and unified state. Greenberg (1980) comes to this conclusion in his comparative study of racial states in Israel, Alabama and South Africa. It is useful to bear this in mind when examining corporate capital's reactions to the state's formative efforts (and sometimes inconsistent retractions) in training and labour-related policy development.

Two of the most important steps in the restructuring of state labour policy were the appointments of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions in 1977. Together these commissions

(20) Their views are discussed in GREENBERG (1980), POSEL (1983), SCHNEIER (1983) and HARTWIG and SHARP (1984).

brought "the whole gamut of legislation affecting African workers under scrutiny".(21) The substance of this development is examined under the section which traces state training policy. Of interest here are those aspects which featured prominently in capital's discourse.

In a report on Professor Nic Wiehahn's inaugural lecture as Unisa "Professor Extraordinarius", the Financial Mail highlights the following:

Wiehahn criticised "discrimination and elements of paternalism" in SA's "dualistic" labour relations system ... He also obliquely attacked job reservation, describing it as an area in which workers were perhaps too protected ...

SA's priorities were to eliminate "dualism and discrimination", stimulate vocational and trade union training, encourage labour research and find a way of handling conflicts between worker and worker (presumably caused by the job colour bar).(22) (emphasis added)

The FM comments editorially in the same article,

All pretty heady stuff. But two questions beg to be answered : how will ideas like these go down if they are raised in the commission? How far-reaching are they anyway?

(21) Financial Mail, 19.8.1977.

(22) Financial Mail, 22.7.1977.

The Financial Mail accuses the AHI, the most influential business body in state labour policy decision making, of authoritarianism in its recommendations to the Wiehahn Commission:

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut has backed the admission of Africans to registered unions. However, the fine print in the AHI's submission is perhaps more important than its bold recommendations ... Its evidence resembles in broad outline, though often not in detail, the evidence of Unisa's Institute of Labour Relations.

The AHI rejects trade union rights for migrant Africans and suggests that their needs be satisfied by non-registered committees. This, it appears, would apply to long-term as well as short-term migrants, including commuters from bantustans to the white areas. That implies that only Africans who enjoy Section 10 rights in the urban areas will be entitled to union rights.

A second crucial difference appears to be the labour court, an idea with wide support among business and unions ... An editorial in the AHI's journal, Volkshandel, suggests that the court should arbitrate in job reservation disputes and implies that it should help to "subordinate the bargaining power of the trade unions to the national interest."

In sum, the AHI proposals come down on the side of heavily circumscribed black unions and seem to prefer the organisation of Africans under the tutelage of existing white, coloured and Asian unions. They seem to suggest that African unions should be registered, but not allowed to grow strong or independent, and that bargaining for all races should be subjected to a large measure of control from the top. It's not perhaps an

overtly racial system. But it's hardly likely to satisfy advocates of free labour relations.(23) (emphasis added)

It is interesting to note how the fraction of capital represented by the AHI and to a significant degree by Unisa's Institute of Labour Relations (Wiehahn's colleagues), does not subscribe fully to an open collective bargaining system in spite of the free enterprise rhetoric it expounds. In the section dealing with state policy, the influence of this fraction is revealed more fully. The emphasis on control and the support of the vested interests of the white, coloured and Asian 'labour aristocracy' is stronger for this fraction of capital than for the fraction for whom the Financial Mail is a representative mouthpiece. Vague, apparently neutral terms such as "the national interest" alert the reader to the hidden interests which are embedded in the ideological message of this statement.

Capital's initial response to the Wiehahn Commission's first report was unanimously positive:

(23) Financial Mail, 24.3.1978.

On the employer front, the FCI, Assocom and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut have endorsed the report unreservedly. The FCI believes the commission has "welded together a coherent approach permitting new integrity to SA's system of labour relations". The AHI calls it a "rational report" and particularly welcomes the National Manpower Commission and the industrial court. Assocom is enthusiastic and calls for speedy implementation of major points ... The Institute of Industrial Relations argues that the report gives companies "the green light" to integrate work facilities and welcomes the commission's recognition of industrial relations training.(24) (emphasis added)

The Sunday Times' Fleur de Villiers welcomed the report in a leading article under the banner headline, "The law gives way to profits".(25) Extracts from her comprehensive article reveal a common 'English' business perception of state reform initiatives:

... A government which, suspicious of untrammelled free enterprise, has always put its faith in the law rather than in the marketplace, has made up its mind to abandon the law for the profits and leave management and labour, black and white to get on with the job without legal interference.

... It's a far cry from the days when the white blue-collar worker, haunted by the memory of the depression when his place at the workbench was threatened by hundreds of equally hungry blacks,

(24) Financial Mail, 4.5.1979.

(25) Sunday Times, 6.5.1979.

demanded - and got - a protective net of discriminatory legislation from a government ever attentive to his needs and his votes.

... Multinational companies, under pressure from their stockholders, and nervous of the effect of black strikes, began to recognise and bargain with unregistered black unions. Law and custom began to drift dangerously apart and a government which had always sought maximum control over black labour aspirations found it was in danger of losing its grip.

... The decision to speed up growth was based on the growing nightmare of black unemployment and political unrest ... Without growth political instability was assured, with growth and its concomitant dependence on black skills, apartheid at the workplace and at the bargaining table would have to go ...

As it is it will take years ... to train South Africa's black workers in sufficient numbers to meet the demand for skills.(26) (emphasis added)

The initial responses to the Wiehahn report were somewhat muted after the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill. Natal Chamber of Industry's Roland Freakes, said, "The exclusion of migrant workers and 'frontier commuters' is causing particular concern" and pointed out that Africans from only two small Durban townships would be entitled to unions.(27) This view was echoed by other chambers which were also unhappy

(26) Ibid.

(27) Financial Mail, 1.6.1979.

about the veto right of all parties to an industrial council which could lead to a different form of job reservation. The FCI's labour committee noted that "while some blacks in an establishment would be employees (in terms of the Act) others would not" and suggested relaxing the bar on multi-racial trade unions. (28)

The ideological uses to which the Wiehahn report was being put - different messages for different audiences - is revealed in an article in the Financial Mail entitled "All things to all men":

... the Nats are painting a picture of the 'new labour deal' somewhat different from that which Professor Nic Wiehahn tried to paint on his recent overseas tour.

For example, voters are told that black unions are allowed to register because "it would be more dangerous not to do it. ... It is sensible to subject them to registration so that they can work under the same strict controls as other unions".

The ad [in Die Transvaler] stresses that there are not enough whites to do SA's skilled work - hence the scrapping of statutory job reservation. But the white worker is still protected from being "supplanted" by blacks, through the equal pay for equal work principle "as well as by other measures in the new Act". ...

Indeed, the white worker has nothing to fear, because "the government has a much

(28) Financial Mail, 22.6.1979.

better law to protect workers than job reservation" ... And why all this change anyway? We need economic growth, partly because "without growth we cannot have a strong army". Those who attack the "new deal" are, therefore, "political splinter groups and negative people who think the white worker is not intelligent enough to hold his own against the challenge of progress".(29) (emphasis added)

The emphasis on control and growth for national security in the ideological report and the interpellations to the audience in racial and folk terms is very different from the 'just', reformist free-enterprise emphasis in the ideological reports presented to the international community. These international versions prompted a spokesperson of the Chase Manhattan Bank to say that he hoped the Report would draw some of the fire the bank had to suffer from United States critics, particularly about trade unions.(30)

Despite the concerns expressed by some leading capitalists about the 'grand apartheid' effects of the Act based on the first Wiehahn Report (no union rights for migrants and commuters - the majority of African workers), the reaction of business thinkers to the Riekert Report and White

(29) Financial Mail, 24.8.1979.

(30) South African Labour Bulletin, 5(2) August 1979, p 96.

Paper was generally positive. At a conference at Unisa's School of Business Leadership attended by capital and state thinkers such as Professor P. van der Merwe of Pretoria University, Dr R. Lee of the Urban Foundation, Dr J. Lange of Unisa and Professor S.P. Cilliers of Stellenbosch University, the two men mentioned last were the only white speakers to make reference to the influx control measures in Riekert's Report. Even this was to make minor observations.⁽³¹⁾ It would appear that the general mood of capitalists towards the end of 1979 was that the state was fulfilling the reform expectations of big business in the direction of 'purer' free enterprise.

Mr A.M. Rosholt's annual statement as Chairman of Barlow Rand, reflects the tightening alliance that was emerging between corporate capital and the state:

... The Government has embarked upon a new and welcome policy of making more use of the private sector in its attempts to develop the economy ... It has also in recent months drawn upon the expertise of leaders of the business world by appointing them to the boards of certain Government corporations, to the committee which is currently involved in an exercise to streamline the public service and more recently to

(31) See the Financial Mail, 12.10.1979, for a full page report on this conference.

another committee which will advise on economic planning. We are very much in agreement with this concept of Government and private enterprise working together wherever possible for the benefit of the country and we were happy to accede to the Prime Minister's request a few months ago that one of our executive directors be seconded to the Department of Defence for three years.(32) (emphasis added)

Part Two of the Wiehahn Report dealt more directly with labour training considerations. Some examples of different fractions of capital's responses to state policy changes as a result of these recommendations follow:

- i) Mr Anton Lombard, labour adviser to the AHI:

...Uit die Kommissie se verslag is dit egter duidelik dat Suid-Afrika se opleidingsreelings nie doeltreffend was vir die voorsiening van die korrekte kwantiteit en kwaliteit arbeid op die regte tydstip en op die regte plek nie...

Die Kommissie wys daarop dat Deel 1 van sy verslag sowel as die Riekert-verslag geweldige verwagtings onder Nie-Blanke werkers geskep het en dat daar nie aan die verwagtings van hierdie werkers voldoen sal kan word nie tensy hulle opgelei en heropgelei word om meer produktiewe werk te kan doen nie ...

In 'n groot mate strook die Verslag met die standpunte wat die AHI voor die Kommissie ingeneem het. Ons hoop dat daar nie langer met hierdie belangrike saak gesloer sal word nie omdat die

(32) Barlow Rand Chairman's Statement, 14 November 1979.

uurglas vinnig besig is om leeg to loop.(33) (emphasis added)

- ii) Mike Rosholt, Chairman of Barlow Rand:
 ... The basic problem is that of creating an adequate base for training ... Pretoria cannot afford to trifle over which training schemes are tax deductible, and which are not - yet it takes a restricted view over what in fact constitutes training. Literacy and numeracy courses per se do not qualify.

Education of the workers is becoming a strong demand of the black trade unions. If blacks are to be persuaded that free enterprise is not merely an extension of a discriminatory system, commerce, industry and government must give to education the same urgent attention, financially and in all other ways as is given to defence. Otherwise free enterprise itself will not survive.(34)
 (emphasis added)

- iii) The National Development and Management Foundation's major criticisms of the Manpower Training Bill are:

- * New powers contained in the bill give officials powers with no apparent checks and balances.
- * The minister's powers to shift costs of administration and training of apprentices wholly to the private sector.
- * Training advisers would have the right to inspect property or possessions of those directly linked to a training scheme.
- * The "vagueness" of the bill. The bill did not cater for modern needs of technical training.(35)

(33) Volkshandel, July 1980.

(34) Financial Mail, 12.6.1981.

(35) South African Journal of Labour Relations 5(1), March 1981.

Generally speaking, the Wiehahn training recommendations and subsequent legislation have been well received by capital. Where there is dissent, it is usually from commercial training organizations which object to the red tape and stringency of the regulations related to registering courses for tax deductions, or from large undertakings which have embarked on planned training programmes and object to the powers of control given to training advisers who often have less experience in the field than their company trainers.

Worker demands and expectations are mentioned in quotations (i) and (ii) and the message of urgency is strong in both. This is a reflection of the post 1979 response of independent labour to the restructuring proposed by Wiehahn and Riekert. Trade unions were adopting a more militant approach to management and the state and during 1980 unrest had once again erupted in a number of centres. Big business was becoming increasingly aware of the need to negotiate with representative labour bodies in the interests of stabilized production and in the hope of "selling" capitalism to the growing numbers of alienated and hostile black youth.

These concerns link with the theme of industrial relations in the training discourse.

(e) Industrial Relations

In October 1977, the Financial Mail noted:

If the state of industrial relations in SA was really as marvellous as some would have us think, the Urban Foundation would not be busy trying to draw up its own code of conduct; nor would so many businessmen be worried that blacks are beginning to reject the capitalist system.

The establishment of the National Manpower Commission in 1979 instituted the country's new official industrial relations system. The NMC chairman, Hennie Reynders, rejected suggestions that the Commission was a sign of greater state control in labour relations.⁽³⁶⁾ (He had left the position of executive director of the FCI to take up the new state post.)

In October 1980, Volkswagen South Africa announced their sponsorship of the first academic chair in Industrial Relations. Professor Roux van der Merwe, the first appointee, told Volkshandel,

(36) Financial Mail, 21.9.1979.

... as Suid-Afrikaners behoort ons in staat te wees om nuwe spel to hanteer, mits ons voorbereid is en erken dat die spel polities van aard sal wees, en dat ons te doen het met 'n magstryd wat nie vanself sal verdwyn nie.(37) (emphasis added)

The chairman of a large construction company, LTA, Mr P. Jacobsen, reflects the views of an increasing number of large employers when he states:

Talking sense to black unions will be the basis for progress and stability in the future. Here one agreement for the whole construction industry would make good sense. It is for this reason that training at all levels in the industry arm in arm with the new labour and union freedom is most important.(38)

Anglo American Executive Director, Dennis Etheredge, in his role as chairman of the Manpower Foundation set out the foundation's objectives as:

- * helping in the co-ordination and extension of training activities,
- * co-ordination and stimulation of private sector manpower activities with particular reference to the skills shortage,
- * ensuring that public sector policies and activities meet the needs of the private

(37) Volkshandel, October 1980.

(38) South African Journal of Labour Relations 5(2) June 1981, p 81.

sector and to this end working to mutual benefit with state departments, the National Manpower Commission and the proposed National Training Board.
 * working towards peaceful relationships between management and labour.(39)
 (emphasis added)

This list neatly sums up most of the major labour concerns of capital. The growth in voluntary business groups interested in industrial and labour relations training in the early nineteen eighties was mirrored by the number of consultancies which sprang up to exploit the concern among company managements to gain some expertise in collective bargaining. This is reflected in an editorial comment in the Financial Mail, "IR training has become a growth industry and there seems to be no shortage of "experts" willing (for a fee) to help management and their employees adjust to the new dispensation".(40)

(f) Making up for inadequate schooling

Trainers and management frequently express the need for industrial training for black workers as a 'compensatory' undertaking. They regard their task as especially onerous because of the failure

(39) Financial Mail, 21.8.1981.

(40) Financial Mail, 18.9.1981.

of the formal education system to inculcate the attitudes, skills and understandings required for work in the modern industrial and business sectors. Hoechst trainer, Saul Ozynski, expresses this need for induction training into the business world as "mass crash business education" because "black workers work daily in a system they don't understand".⁽⁴¹⁾ The training director of Rank Xerox claims that he was running basic training programmes for all black workers, including graduates, to "teach them white attitudes towards competitiveness and cash".⁽⁴²⁾ (emphasis added)

Volkshandel stresses the need for all forms of training as follows:

'n Belangrike beperker van ekonomiese groei en dus een van die grootste probleme in Suid-Afrika is 'n vaardigheidstekort in die bestuurs-en-geskoolde kategorie. Hierdie kernprobleem kan opgelos word deur:

- * Die opleiding, ontwikkeling en beter benutting van die leiersgroep.
- * Die verbreding van die geskoolde werksmag deur beter opleiding en benutting van arbeid.
- * Die vergroting van die halfgeskoolde werksmag deur die opleiding van ongeskoolde werkers.

(41) Financial Mail, 8.7.1977

(42) Business Times, 23.3.1980.

Opleiding speel dus 'n sentrale rol in die hantering van een van Suid-Afrika se belangrikste probleme.(43) (emphasis added)

Writing in Optima, Dr Ken Hartshorne states:

... non-formal strategies of recuperative action are especially badly needed in the working environment to continue the unfinished business of the school ... [I]mportant as state involvement and encouragement are, the major thrust must still come from the business community; in which, despite considerable discussion and action in upgrading workers' skills in supervisor training, for example, it cannot be said that enough is being done ... Statistics published by the Department of Education and training show that for 1979 only 349 in-house training schemes, involving fewer than 8 000 trainees, had qualified for tax concessions. This, of course, by no means reflects the total training situation; but it does indicate that a grave national need has met with a less than adequate response.(44) (emphasis added)

These sentiments echo those of Standard Bank MD, Conrad Strauss, in the keynote address to the seventy-sixth Assocom Congress:

... the skilled-labour shortage represents a bottle-neck which cannot be immediately overcome and remains a long-term challenge. Part of the problem is surely the system of differentiated education by which black children leave school inadequately equipped - both

(43) Volkshandel, July 1980.

(44) Optima 30(1) July 1981, p 27.

psychologically and technically - to cope with the demands of a modern economy ... [S]ome of the blame for the lack of industrial training of workers must be allocated to the private sector which does not realize that education and training is a long-term investment and not properly the subject of belated reactions to resource scarcities.(45)

A schematic summary of some of the aspects of capital's training discourse facilitates a reading of the ideological elements at work within this discourse:

- A. The agents and producers of the themes.
- i. Editorial writers and reporters, as well as contributors to Volkshandel, the Sunday Times and particularly its supplement, the Business Times, the Financial Mail and Optima.
 - ii. Leading members of capital organizations such as the AHI, FCI, Assocom, and like industry federations such as the Building Industry Federation of South Africa (BIFSA) as well as Nafcoc in the early eighties.
 - iii. Prominent members of large multi-national corporations such as Anglo-American and Barlow Rand as well as international banks

(45) Financial Mail, 24.10.1980.

such as Chase Manhattan and the Standard Bank.

- iv. Intellectuals and business 'experts' in capitalist research, consultancy and service organizations such as the National Productivity Institute, the Centre for Black Advancement, the Urban Foundation, the Free Market Foundation and the Manpower Foundation.
- v. Academics attached to business schools, institutes for labour relations, labour research units and other free-enterprise 'think tanks' in South African universities.

B. The target audiences.

- i. Groups of capitalists belonging to the same fraction.
- ii. Groups of capitalists belonging to other fractions.
- iii. Share holders and the general public with an interest in business.
- iv. The organic intellectuals of the state.
- v. State policy makers.
- vi. In some instances, such as the articles in Optima, and certain speeches and company

reports, the international capitalist community.

C. Recurring definitions of the situation as it affects training (the reports of social reality).

- i. Uncertainty, threatened mass action by the unemployed, political instability, urgency.
- ii. Anti-capitalist attitudes among the racially oppressed workers, the unemployed and the youth; the socialist and Russian inspired communist threats.
- iii. Rising black expectations and independent trade union demands, industrial conflict and international labour action.
- iv. Economic stagnation, inflation and uncompetitive exports because of skills shortages and low productivity rates.
- v. Inadequately schooled workers unable to 'slot into' the free enterprise system because of cultural, attitudinal, intellectual and technical underpreparation.
- vi. Capitalism tainted by apartheid because of state separatist policies.
- vii. State interference and control in the markets including the labour market.

viii. White worker obstructionism in the labour market.

D. Moral messages, rationales for mobilization:

- i. The survival of Western, Christian, free enterprise values and peace.
- ii. Freedom and prosperity in a stable society through economic growth.

E. Related rewards and sanctions.

- i. Economic prosperity, political stability, happiness, national security, individual security, etc.
- ii. Socialism, chaos, economic stagnation, violent revolution, international isolation and unspecified horrors and fears.

F. The degree of ideological unity and contest among capitalists.

The degree of unity in the capitalist discourse is generally high, especially towards the end of the period under study. However, the following differences between fractions do occur:

- i. The ideological agents of large corporate capital, the commercial and finance sectors represented by organizations such as Assocom as well as the South African subsidiaries of multi-national corporations tend to call for a totally free market state policy; to deplore all racial and ethnic legislation as being counter-productive to economic growth; to stress the need for more state expenditure and facilitative legislation in a unitary system of education and training and to stress the need for capital to encourage black advancement and extensive job-related training of a fairly broad kind. The calls of this fraction are frequently directed at the state, of which they are usually critical, but with which there is expressed willingness to co-operate for mutual benefits. The calls are also directed at the more conservative or short-term orientated sectors of capital which, it is felt, could do more to promote and engage in training and other 'social responsibility' undertakings.
- ii. Industrial bodies such as the FCI and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation

of South Africa (SEIFSA) occupy a middle ground within capital. Their calls are also for the restructuring of state policy, but they are more muted in open criticism of the state. Their criticism is directed more at the slow and inefficient state bureaucratic structures and the white workers' organizations which demand state protectionist legislation. Many of this fraction's calls are also directed at members of their own groups. This fraction's discourse shows signs of moving towards the discourse of the more liberal corporate fraction, but its agents tend to work in closer alliance with the state in committee and on special projects.

iii. The traditionally Afrikaner fraction of capital represented by the AHI and supported by certain groups of academics at Afrikaner universities such as the University of Pretoria, the Rand Afrikaanse University and the Universities of South Africa and Stellenbosch, has been less openly critical of state apartheid legislation. This fraction tends to limit its calls for state reform to the economic arena although, towards the end of the period under study,

many statements about the interdependence of the economic and the political spheres have crept into its discourse. Its calls are directed primarily at the members of its own fraction who are encouraged to adopt a stronger competitive free market approach and to modify their traditional cultural and ethnic exclusivity. Nationalist calls with the emphasis on patriotism and loyalty feature prominently in its discourse as do allusions to Christian values and national security. Of all the fractions, this group is most concerned with a white working class and petit bourgeois audience and includes reassurances to these groups about the protection of their interests. The authoritarian control emphasis, in the themes relating to industrial relations and African worker mobility, for example, is most evident in the discourse of this group. It would seem that there has been a shift in Afrikaner capitalist thinking from traditional apartheid to 'grand apartheid', but that political integration is still fiercely resisted. The alliance between capital and the state is strongest for this group and its members sit on most state advisory bodies and

have ready access to the National Party leadership. The extent of their influence on the formulation of state policy is analysed in section three of this chapter.

- iv. There are few black capitalists beyond small entrepreneurs in South Africa. Coloured and Asian capitalists have tended to keep a low public profile while in recent years African business-people have expressed their views through Nafcoc. The office bearers of Nafcoc and especially the president, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, are invited to most big business conferences where they present the 'black view' of South African free enterprise. To date, these statements have tended to call for the removal of all legislative restrictions on African people on the grounds that these hamper black advancement and prevent the development of black vested interest in the capitalist system.

G. Some contradictions which are concealed or distorted in the Capitalist discourse.

- i. Certain, but not all, fractions tend to underplay the historic contradictions embedded in the apartheid legislation and the

related controls on specific categories of labour.

- ii. The conflict of interests between the classes inherent in the capitalist mode of production is denied in the discourse as a whole and particularly in the themes relating to industrial relations and worker-management harmony.
- iii. The contradictions related to the modernization process and the structural unemployment which results from capital intensification are glossed over in the 'skills shortage' rhetoric.
- iv. The contradictions which emerge from 'deskilling' are denied or ignored in the general industrial rhetoric.

These and the other ideological elements contained in the industrial training discourse are explored and analysed in the conclusion to this chapter. By then the discourses of the state and labour as well as the developments in training policy will have been traced and a more comprehensive ideological picture will have emerged. The next section gives some illustrations of the state 'training talk'.

2.2 State

The state training discourse is bound up with the state policy developments. . . . However, for methodological reasons, state 'talk', which prepares the ground for or justifies policy changes, has been artificially divorced from the actual policy documentation. . . . There is an inevitable overlap between what is presented here and what is discussed in section three which deals with the policy itself. . . . The material used here is from the more general public business journals and speeches whereas in section three, the focus is on state publications.

(a) Calls to other sectors to pull their weight.

The most common state training theme is that which claims that other sectors, and capitalists in particular, are not investing sufficient funds and energies in industrial training for workers. Some typical examples taken from the range of such calls throughout the period under study follow:

1977: The Chairman of the Co-ordinating Council for In-Service Training, Marius Krige (also chief industrial trainer for the Department of Bantu Education), says:

"Employers are still apathetic about training their African workers ... in-service training centres apply for a levy [imposed on employers] as a last resort. If they are able to attract sufficient funds from the private sector, no levy is needed"(46) (emphasis added)

The training levy debate continues for a few years. In 1980, the Business Times reports:

Finance Minister Owen Horwood's passing mention of manpower bottlenecks will not be left to gather dust until the Budget. Talks with Manpower Minister Fanie Botha and 'other interested parties' look like ending in a few financial shocks including a payroll levy - for companies disinterested in training.

Apart from a few pacemakers, the general business attitude towards budgeting for education and training is described as 'apathetic'. When it comes to upgrading staff in general - and employing more blacks in particular - the overall strategy can best be described as negligent.(47) (emphasis added)

(46) Financial Mail, 16.9.1977.

(47) Business Times, 30.3.1980.

These views are echoed by the Manpower Commission's deputy chairman, Dr. Piet van der Merwe:

A few enlightened and forward-looking companies spend money training while the free-loaders spend nothing and rely on poaching skilled men ... A lot of people don't do anything when faced with a shortage except squeal.(48) (emphasis added)

In announcing cabinet approval for the launching of Manpower 2000, a campaign to encourage skills training for workers, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, stressed the need for the continued training and retraining of the labour force in order to activate productivity and promote labour peace in South Africa. He stated that it "was the duty of the state to give people a school education, but afterwards the responsibility to train them as workers should be that of industrialists".(49) Mr Berry, Training Manager of the NMC expressed another training concern of the state when he accused "many companies of training for trainings sake, with batches of

(48) Ibid.

(49) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 4(2) June 1980, pp 87/8.

Blacks put through courses only to discover that they are part of a cosmetic package".(50)

As guest speaker at the introduction of an MBA in Manpower and Labour Relations at the Stellenbosch University Business School, Minister Fanie Botha told the academic audience:

Aan die kant van die Staat word baie gedoen om opleiding in the algemeen, en opleiding in arbeidsbetrekkinge in die besonder, te bevorder. Dit is daarom te bejammer dat daar nog werkgewers en werknemersorganisasies is wat nie erns maak met opleiding nie, en wat verkies om opgeleide werkers af te rokkel van instansies wat wel opleiding doen. Sulke werkgewers dien nie hul eie belang, nog die belang van Suid-Afrika in die volle sin van die woord nie.

Wat nog jammerder is, is dat daar ook sekere werkgewers is wat meer belang stel om vir eie gewin voordeel te trek uit die aansporings wat die Staat verskaf om as doelgerigte en doeltreffende opleiding te verskaf. Dit is 'n optrede wat nie geduld of goedgepraat kan word nie, omdat dit op die misbruik van Staatsfondse neerkom.(51) (Emphasis added)

These themes of skilled worker poaching and the abuse of state training incentive funds recur frequently in talks by NMC officials. A local official admitted in a private interview that many

(50) Ibid.

(51) Volkshandel, March 1982.

local firms were exploiting the gaps in the tax incentives legislation to reward middle management and sales teams with gatherings in luxury hotels under the guise of short training courses. Some private 'training consultants' were co-operating by producing a few light-hearted talks for a fee. However, the state's campaign to encourage training could not be said to have failed completely. The Financial Mail reported:

The Manpower Department spokesman says his department fought a long battle to persuade commerce and industry to train. "In the boom many companies said they couldn't spare the time or the people. In the downturn we fear they will say they can't afford it ... [yet] ... government has been inundated with applications for approval of training schemes planned to benefit from incentives. Most get approved".

"There is an awareness of the problem and there has been a great increase in the volume of training being done. Whether the training content is appropriate or whether the momentum will be maintained is far from clear at this stage."

Last year some 330 000 people went through in-service courses run by companies or the eight government-financed Group Training Centres [at Krugersdorp, Vereeniging, Benoni, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Pine Town and Potchefstroom].(52)

(52) Financial Mail, 29.10.1982.

Despite state expressions of disappointment in capital's response to the training shortage, the large parastatal companies, such as Iscor, are anxious not to upset the white workers' unions by training black workers to fill their skilled labour shortages. After an interview with the Personnel Manager of Iscor, Mr Prinsloo, the Financial Mail reported in 1980:

In the long term, the only solution is seen as the full-scale training of black artisans to alleviate the shortage which is prevalent mainly among electricians, fitters and turners. It is here that white workers' unions come to the fore. "They don't want to meet us on this score", says Prinsloo ...

Prinsloo says that if barriers to job advancement and training were removed, "Iskor has the facilities to start training tomorrow." Iskor's policy on training blacks is to consult with whites first. When Indian apprentices were admitted to the Newcastle works, anyone objecting to assisting in their training could transfer to another section.(53) (emphasis added)

(b) Skills shortages and unemployment

The contradiction between capital intensification and mechanization which creates shortages of limited numbers of technically skilled workers and increases the size of the reserve pool of

(53) Financial Mail, 11.4.1980.

unemployed workers was referred to in section 2.1 on capital's training calls. It is interesting to see how members of the National Manpower Commission deal with this problem in their discourse:

(i) Dr Reynders, director:

Obviously we believe that local training for all races must be stepped up. But this is a long-term solution. In the short-term we need immigrants to meet specific shortages. For each skilled immigrant we import, we create three to five jobs for local people.(54) (emphasis added)

(ii) Dr N. Alberts, deputy-director:

Suider-Afrika en veral die Republiek van Suid-Afrika verkeertans in 'n posisie waar hy gelyktydig met 'n mannekragtekort en 'n oorskoot van potensiele werkers te kampe het. Een van die hoofoorsake van hierdie anomalie is die feit dat 'n groot persentasie van die potensiele werknemers nie oor genoegsame opleiding beskik om die behoefte aan te vul nie. Hierdie toestand kortweik ekonomiese ontwikkeling en dra by tot relatief lae produktiwiteit. Hierbenewens is die werklose en die onopgeleide persoon meer vatbaar vir ongunstige invloede ten opsigte van arbeidsverhoudinge. Gebrekkige opleiding kan dus 'n indirekte rol speel by die stigting van nywerheidsnorus en stakings ...

... Dit sal die taak van die NOR [NTB] wees om tekortkominge op die opleidingsterrein te identifiseer

(54) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 4(2) June 1980, p 86.

en op te tree ten einde hierdie
leemtes te probeer uitskakel of
minstens die negatiewe effek
daarvan te verminder.(55)
 (emphasis added)

In the first example, the controversial importation of skilled workers is justified on the basis of job creation. One wonders why the accelerated training of local people wouldn't have the same effect. In the second quotation, Dr Alberts presents the manpower shortage and the high rate of unemployment as if they are coincidences which just happen and have no roots in historical social contradictions. Two familiar capital fears linked to a lack of training are raised in his references to low productivity and restricted economic growth. However, it is his concern with labour unrest by the untrained and unemployed which comes through most strongly. His ideological call for training suggests that this will reduce the likelihood of industrial action by workers. The logic of this theme depends entirely on the type of training the speaker has in mind. If it is limited to purely technical concerns, it is unlikely to reduce the workers' interest in bargaining for better conditions and for adequate remuneration.

(55) Volkshandel, April 1982.

This leads to the state themes of control of the training process and the need for industrial relations training.

(c) Control of training content and industrial relations training calls.

The primary reason for the state desiring to register all industrial training courses is that this facilitates the control of course content. On the one hand, this enables the officials to weed out courses which are used for cosmetic or tax rebate reasons only. On the other hand, it means that the state is able to prohibit courses which do not serve state political and ideological requirements. For example, the Rand Daily Mail is quoted as saying:

Government labour advisers are concerned about foreign influence on labour education training offered by some unions, and suggest the government treat labour education training in the same way as technical training. This would presumably mean government financial assistance, but the training scheme would have to be approved by the government and registered with the authorities.(56) (original emphasis)

(56) Quoted by the South African Journal of Labour Relations, 4(2) June 1980, pp 88/9.

And, in response to employer complaints about the delay in the registration of industrial training schemes, the Director of Manpower Utilization, Mr Mike van Noordwyk, admitted there had been delays ...

But employers are also at fault. In many cases course material submitted is inadequate; does not comply with the department's requirements for registration and has to be sent back for revision.(57)

In February 1981, the Minister of Manpower Utilization appealed to all universities and educational institutions to introduce training courses in labour relations.⁽⁵⁸⁾ This was after a period of widespread strike action by the predominantly black independent unions. This concern with encouraging managements to undergo industrial relations training was often repeated by state officials in the Department of Manpower. A report on the National Training Board states:

(57) Financial Mail, 17.10.1980.

(58) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 5(1), March 1981, p 64.

... Now, in an attempt to stabilize South African labour relations and promote productivity, the NMC has recommended that the National Training Board (NTB) launch a programme to encourage and promote training in labour relations as a matter of urgency.(59)
(emphasis added)

In a private conversation, an NTB official expressed the concern that the trade unions had developed sophisticated bargaining and negotiating skills through union education projects and that managements were falling behind in this respect.

Finally, the public statements made by the chairmen of the three main commissions concerned with industrial education, round off the main themes in the state discourse.

(d) Statements by Riekert, Wiehahn and de Lange about their contributions to state policy.

The Riekert Report had an impact on the industrial training arena insofar as it recommended that more training of black workers should take place and that African workers should be divided according to their urban residential rights. At the same time, these rights were to be linked to the

(59) Financial Mail, 22.11.1982.

availability of jobs and housing. Riekert told a meeting at the Business School of the University of the Witwatersrand:

This will be more acceptable [than the existing influx control system] since control will be concentrated on a far smaller number of strategic points i.e. on employers and owners of premises ... [the general demand for reference books] which causes so much bitterness among blacks, will not take place in public as at present, but in the secluded office of the employer's personnel manager. We must get the thing off the streets ... Administration board inspectors will, instead, go to the personnel manager and ask to see his pay-sheets to check that everyone there, irrespective of race, has been registered ... unlawful occupation can be stopped because the unlawful people will not now be able to work ... they will be unable to pay rent ...

... all workers should be channelled through labour bureaux for security reasons.(60) (emphasis added)

A number of ideological 'red herrings' are used to gloss over the inhumanity of the new-look influx controls. Riekert implies that "unlawful" Africans are bitter about pass laws because they are humiliated "in the streets" and that ejection or arrest are "more acceptable" from the "employers' or owners' premises". The apparent deracialisation of the law ("irrespective of race") is practically meaningless as it applies

(60) Financial Mail, 22.6.1979.

only to black people and predominantly to Africans. Finally, the claim that sifting by the labour bureaux is necessary for "security reasons" is a callous form of ideological justification. It has wide implications, but one obvious one is that a mass of discontented unemployed people pegged within the homelands removes the danger of unrest from the white urban areas because in these areas all Africans will have jobs.

The Wiehahn Commission Reports were intended to complement the Riekert Report in formulating a 'new dispensation' for the African working class. Professor Wiehahn, chairman of the commission which was given the task of restructuring the conditions affecting black workers at the point of production, embarked on a mission of selling this new dispensation at home and abroad. He remains a popular public media figure and is frequently presented in the capitalist press as a voice of 'verligte rationality'. Typical of the euphoric reception he received after the publication of Part One of his commission's report, was a Sunday Times description of him as the "labour surgeon who cut out the heart of apartheid". The article went on to laud his personal progression from labourer on the railways, through the ranks of the

Broederbond to influential adviser to the Minister of Labour and Unisa professor.(61)

The professor's comments on the investigations of his and the Riekert Commission make interesting ideological reading reflecting, as they do, the views of an important Afrikaner organic intellectual in the service of the state. Wiehahn's report of the reasons for restructuring the legislation affecting the movement and working conditions of blacks is:

... both commissions were particularly struck by the extensive, complicated and ... fragmented laws, regulations, rules ... on manpower matters ... which not only gave the labour market a strong institutional character but also gave rise to many kinds of market failures e.g. race and colour discrimination, labour shortages on one hand and surpluses on the other, unrelated wage levels, restrictions on economic growth in certain regions and sections as well as many negative subconsequences such as strained relations between population groups etc.. Perhaps more dangerous was the fact that the black community was developing an antagonism not only to the Non-blacks but also towards the basic institutions of our society such as for example the free market system, the industrial council structure and many others. It became also abundantly clear that the black unregistrable trade union movement which had been receiving increasing moral and material support from the international trade union movement, was fast developing into a very strong power outside the

(61) Sunday Times, 6.5.1979.

statutory structure of the Industrial Conciliation Act and was rapidly deblooding that system exposing it to the danger of becoming much less effective.(62) (emphasis added)

This extract neatly summarizes the main ideological reports in the state and capital's discourse in justifying and mobilizing support for the restructuring of state policy. It is worth listing the main themes briefly because they will be examined more fully in the conclusion to this chapter:

- * race and colour discrimination as a market failure.
- * labour shortages coupled with labour surpluses.
- * unrelated wage levels.
- * restricted economic growth.
- * friction between "population groups".
- * black antagonism to white people.
- * black antagonism to the free market system and the social institutions of control such as industrial councils.

(62) From 'The Impact of Recent Developments in the field of Labour and the influence of the State on Manpower Management' in the South African Journal of Labour Relations, 5(2), June 1981, p 53.

- * foreign labour support for the black independent unions.
- * independent union power beyond the system of state production-related controls.

Given this report of the situation vis a vis the mobility and utilization of manpower (Riekert) and the industrial relations, training and work opportunities affecting labour (Wiehahn), Professor Wiehahn outlines the rationale for the recommendations of both commissions:

... both commissions have the same basic philosophies or fundamental principles as their premises namely, the safeguarding or preservation of the free market system as a basic economic ideology for the country; the improved functioning of the free labour market mechanisms; greater freedom in the labour market for the individual with regard to his choice of work, his association with a trade union and its members; maximum and optimal utilisation of manpower; minimum state intervention in the labour market and in the relationship between employer and employee; equal opportunity in the labour market; maximum training in skills and industrial relations, and, finally, the decentralisation of decision-making or downward delegation of government.(63) (emphasis added)

(63) Ibid, p 53.

Wiehahn goes on to describe the role of the state since 1979. He explains that prior to then the state's role in the labour arena had been "paternalistic", "prescriptive" and "over-regulatory". He claims that these criticisms no longer apply:

... Gone are the days when the state, perhaps unintentionally, assumed the role of management and workers to prevent and settle disputes, to police, to penalise, to punish, to protect and to reprimand. Those were the days of negativism which no longer belong in a society which is industrialising as rapidly as we do [sic]. The new philosophy will be a joining of forces in a spirit of partnership and co-operation between the state, management and trade unions (or workers), each having nothing more to do than his rightful and appropriate duty in the regulation of industrial relations.(64)
(emphasis added)

This emphasis on the rhetoric of co-operation and partnership conveniently ignores the competing interests of the different classes and the control mechanisms built into the policy recommendations themselves.

One of the roles Wiehahn still attributes to the state is "to actively assist in the education and training of management and workers to improve

(64) Ibid, p 55.

skills, techniques and the knowledge of such people".⁽⁶⁵⁾ He includes industrial relations education and training as an important area for state influence. The full ideological implications of his rhetoric become apparent on an examination of labour's responses and counter-discourse and the actual changes in state policy.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The third important commission to contribute to the restructuring of state policy and discourse is the de Lange Inquiry into educational provision. Many of the de Lange recommendations are outside the scope of this study. However, a few brief quotations from Professor de Lange reveal the degree to which his views correspond with those expressed by Riekert and Wiehahn. Like Wiehahn, de Lange is an Afrikaner academic, a professor at the Rand Afrikaans University, with close links with some of the more 'verlig' leaders in the state.

The de Lange Commission reported in 1981 when the rhetoric of reform was becoming an important part of everyday talk in a country which had witnessed

(65) Ibid, p 56.

(66) See section 2.3 (c) below.

the student-worker unrest of 1980 and which had already been subjected to the restructuring rhetoric of 'Total Strategy' and the Riekert and Wiehahn proposals. In an interview with Carolyn Dempster, de Lange expressed the following views:

... in the long-term the most important is the restructuring of the provision of education so that it is relevant to the learning needs of our society and the manpower needs of our society ... You can have a system of provision of education which is accepted by everybody but which is irrelevant to the real learning needs of that particular society ...

Verwoerd tried to bend reality to fit his ideology, and now Botha is moving away from ideology and trying to accommodate reality. He has accepted that the manpower needs of this country are far beyond the capabilities of the Whites, so at all levels we will have to bring in the other population groups. And this is a tremendous force of change. I do not think that people really recognise that here is a willingness to perceive the realities of the situation.(67) (emphasis added)

In the quotation, de Lange stresses the need to match the educational provision with the manpower needs of the country. This is a theme which is repeated throughout his commission's report. It is necessary to speculate about what he means when he claims that a system which is "acceptable to

(67) Dempster, C: 'The spirit of de Lange' in Energos, 8, 1983, pp 43 and 46.

everybody" may be "irrelevant to the real learning needs" of that society. This is not clarified in the rest of the interview. What is "society" if it is not a sum of all its people? This mystification hints at a reading of "state" or "dominant class" for "society". The familiar 'verligte' assertion that, under Botha, the state is moving away from a Verwoerdian preoccupation with ideology towards "reality" is part of the attempt among reformist fractions in the state to promote an image of rationality in policy making in contrast with the emotional (and, therefore, in this view, "ideological") commitment to racism of the state under previous Nationalist leaders.

The ideological agents quoted in this section have been drawn from the intellectuals directly engaged in formulating state policy and senior officials responsible for carrying out this policy as regards training. This presents a false sense of unity, which, while a reasonably accurate representation of state training discourse, is not necessarily an accurate portrayal of state unity. The reason for the unity of the discourse is that only certain, usually the most senior, officials are empowered to make public statements about state policy.

Furthermore, dissenters among those who do contribute to public discourse, are unlikely to undermine their positions by being openly critical of the ideas of the dominant fraction. Greenberg helps to balance the impression of a politically and ideologically cohesive state created in the discourse:

Where officials stand ... depends very much on their role in the bureaucracy and their connection to elements outside the state.(68)

While lip-service is paid to the themes of free market principles, deracialisation and minimal state control in all markets, Greenberg's research shows the other side of the coin. His interviews reveal that the preoccupation of most state bureaucrats is with increasing rather than reducing state controls, particularly in the labour market. He quotes a Chief Commissioner in the Northern Transvaal:

(68) From Greenberg, S: 'Ideological struggles within the South African State', a paper delivered at the Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination at the University of the Western Cape, October 1984, p 19.

(If the labour bureaux were abolished), how would you regulate the employee? You would throw the whole labour market open to whomever wanted to work wherever. What are you going to have then? It would be chaotic.(69)

and a Transvaal labour bureau official:

If you do away with the labour bureau, abolish influx control, everybody will be running in the street, even the Europeans ... We'd have crowding again ... The employer, he wants the outside people; he's not so fussy ... You would frustrate the local people and you will get riots.(70)

A full ideological analysis of the state training discourse which examines the agents, audiences, as well as the emergence and dissolution of the main themes in relation to the underlying contradictions, is presented after Section Three, which deals with the policy and the forms in which it is presented.

2.3 Labour

In this section, some of the representatives of organized labour's calls concerned with industrial training and related labour policy are considered.

(69) Ibid, p 22.

(70) Ibid, p 26.

The South African working class is relatively undeveloped as a unified political and economic force and, although trade union membership is growing, the numbers of people involved in worker organizations are still fairly low. In 1984 it was estimated that the total union membership (registered and unregistered) amounted to 1 200 000, which represents about 12% of the total work-force.(71)

Those elements of the working class which are organized are concentrated in the industrial, commercial and administrative sectors and are divided into fractions along historically determined political and racial lines. For the purposes of considering the ideological themes of labour, the bodies representing the industrial workers are divided into three broad groupings:

- * The racially exclusive white unions such as the Mine Workers' Union. These unions are primarily concerned with protecting the privileged position of their membership by fighting to retain discriminatory legislation

(71) Webster, E : 'New Force on the Shop Floor' in SARS (1984), p 80.

in industrial relations such as job colour bars : This is the politically reactionary fraction of labour and members tend to support far right political groups such as the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

* The conservative parallel unions, most of which are affiliated to the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) : This grouping had been multiracial until the sixties when the leadership submitted to government pressure to expel its black members. With the re-emergence of African unionisation in the seventies, TUCSA began to readmit African unions as 'parallel' organizations. In most cases, the general-secretaries of the older, 'parent' unions installed themselves at the head of the African bodies and retained discretionary and negotiating powers for all members. Parallel unions have tended to be bureaucratic in organization and paternalistic in their approach to black members, particularly Africans who represent the majority of the semiskilled and unskilled ranks. Friedman dubs these unions the "White Man's Black Unions" and suggests that

their decision to readmit Africans was motivated by the desire to control the emerging African worker organization impetus.⁽⁷²⁾ These unions have a reputation for working closely with management and a critic claimed that "They organize management, not workers".⁽⁷³⁾

* The independent non-racial unions : This broad grouping of 'progressive' unions emerged after the African worker struggles of 1973. These unions are non-racial, although their membership is mainly African, and in their early days the majority of the union officials were drawn from the ranks of white intellectuals with a commitment to trade-unionism. The organizational emphasis of all these unions is on democratic shop-floor participation, but they differ in their approaches to broader political struggles. The first and largest grouping was established with the creation of the Federation of South African Unions (FOSATU) in 1979. This federation emphasises

(72) Friedman, S : 'Political Implications of Industrial Unrest in South Africa' in HINDSON (ed) (1983), p 130.

(73) Ibid.

industrially based organization as opposed to craft or general workers' unions and is cautious about involvement in working class politics outside of the process of production. The other major alliance is the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA),⁽⁷⁴⁾ established in 1980. Although non-racial in its philosophy and constitution, CUSA has a Black Consciousness rooted commitment to the development of the black working class through independent learning and struggle. There are also a number of non-affiliated unions which fall within this grouping. These include the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) and the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). The latter emerged from a split with the Black Consciousness Black Allied Workers' Union in 1978 and is particularly strong in the Eastern Cape and Border region, where its young African leadership is active in most broader community struggles. Its approach is vehemently populist and worker participation

(74) See NCUBE (1985) p 130 for a resume of CUSA's rapid development.

in democratic decision making is emphasized. (75)

The general training discourse, as reflected in the commercial press, gives little space and attention to the views of labour. This is an indication of the extent to which capitalist hegemony is established in this country. It also reflects the fact that trade unionism and worker organization is relatively undeveloped compared with most advanced industrial societies. Furthermore, worker education and training is not yet a priority issue for labour organizations, which are still struggling to establish fundamental rights of association, recognition and bargaining in the place of production. This last point applies especially to the emergent independent unions. For this reason, some of the calls attributed to this fraction of labour are made by intellectuals and academics from the liberal universities who support the independent unions and undertake research and theoretical work in their interest. Their work is presented in publications such as the South African Labour Bulletin and the papers and reports of academic

(75) See Maree, J : 'SAAWU in the East London Area : 1979-1981' in the South African Labour Bulletin, 7(4 and 5) February 1982.

units such as the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) at the University of Cape Town.

The main labour training calls are divided into three broad themes. These are grouped together under the headings : (a) Labour responses to the initiatives of capital and the state to deal with the skills shortage, (b) The responses of conservative labour to the appointment and recommendations of Wiehahn, and (c) The responses of independent labour to the appointment and recommendations of Wiehahn.

(a) Labour responses to the initiatives of capital and the state to deal with the skills shortage:

A resistance to de-skilling is one theme in which most of the fractions of labour are united. (Nevertheless, the far-right union representatives still resist attempts to float the job colour bar.) In 1979 the usually conservative general secretary of the South African Electrical Workers' Association explained:

... compelling reasons of an economic and political nature have made it imperative for us to reject the colour bar. But, most important, the elimination of the colour bar will give us better protection. By allowing workers of all races to become artisans we are countering the employers' pressure for semi-skilled workers - for the fragmentation of our trade and the cheapening of labour. High standards of training for workers of all races, equal pay, equal fringe benefits and equal privileges - these are the principles which underlie our resolutions.(76) (emphasis added)

The fear expressed by the established white unions that employers will use cheaper black labour to replace skilled white, coloured and Asian workers is illustrated by I. van der Walt of the Boiler Makers' Society:

... The only way we can guarantee the survival of our members is to organize the African workers who are moving into the higher skilled jobs ... The recognition of black trade union rights would stop the super-exploitation of black workers and put an end to undercutting of white and coloured workers by cheaper and unorganized black workers.(77) (emphasis added)

(76) South African Labour Bulletin, 2(4), p 47.

(77) Quoted by de Clercq in 'The Organized Labour Movement and State Registration ...', in the South African Labour Bulletin, 5(6 and 7) March 1980.

In 1980 FOSATU condemned the government decision to encourage the immigration of white skilled workers into South Africa as "a short-term racially loaded policy".⁽⁷⁸⁾ Mr Nicholson, general secretary of the Confederation of Metal and Building Industries, agreed and said, "Any shortage crisis must be placed at the foot of employers who have used the excuse of the recent years of recession not to engage apprentices and maintain conditions".⁽⁷⁹⁾ His organization's response to deskilling had been given to the press a few months earlier:

We will resist this with every means at our disposal. This fragmentation of jobs is exploitation of labour in its most blatant form. It lowers standards of work and prevents people achieving their full potential by confining them to a narrow aspect of the job. It's just a way to get artisans' work done for less than half the price.⁽⁸⁰⁾
(emphasis added)

Tommy Neethling, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and Wiehahn Commission member, adopted a more overtly racist approach in his concern to protect the white labour aristocracy. Just prior to the

(78) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 4(2) June 1980, p 86.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Financial Mail, 14.3.1980.

publication of the Wiehahn report, he told the Financial Mail:

... that he is worried that Africans with skilled training could be used in the 'white' areas to undercut white artisans ... [And] the fact that artisan-type training is being stepped up by Rousseau's department [Education and Training].

[He wants] ... the Department of Labour to be the arbiter not only of where black artisans can be used but also how and where they are trained. The registered unions, with their close links with the Department of Labour, would then be in a position to influence the pace of African artisan training.(81)

In its first few years of organization after 1973, the independent labour movement had had little to say about the problems of deskilling. It represented unskilled and semi-skilled workers who faced the more immediate threat of unemployment. However, in its reaction to the Wiehahn Commission's recommendations the South African Labour Bulletin editorial team stated:

The Commission's interpretation of the shortages reported in the Manpower Survey(82) is misleading : the Survey in fact shows that the really serious shortages are not in "metal, electrical, motor and building industries" but in

(81) Financial Mail, 9.2.1979.

(82) Manpower Survey No. 12 - Sector Groups, Department of Labour, 1977.

the categories of "government and provincial administration" and SAR & H. It is in fact probable that the movement of blacks into semi-skilled and skilled jobs creates a process of 'deskilling' of artisan work. Job dilution and fragmentation have probably already eroded the skill content in many 'skilled' jobs in South African manufacturing. The whole question of shortages of skilled labour barriers to black 'advancement' should be examined in this context.(83) (emphasis added)

This quotation implies that white worker fears of 'deskilling' have a solid basis, but that de facto job fragmentation was already at an advanced stage. Furthermore, it shows that there are different interpretations of the skills shortage statistics and that claims using these need to be carefully examined.

While none of the labour fractions dispute the calls for black worker training, the earlier quotation from the right wing union representative, Mr Neethling, reveals differences about the racial segregation of such training. The independent unions are non-racial in their approach and oppose a dualistic labour dispensation. The parallel unions side with these unions on this issue despite their own

(83) 'Critique of Wiehahn and the 1979 Amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act', South African Labour Bulletin 5(2), August 1979, pp 70/1.

separatism. Agents of parallel unions are also the most outspoken in their support of a concerted black training drive. For example, Ms Lucy Mvubelo, secretary of the National Union of Clothing workers said:

Training facilities are now being made available, but the tendency is still black centres, coloured centres and Asiatic centres. Training must be centralized and must be combined. If we are to work together let us get to know each other at the training centres. Let us develop common standards, common interests and concepts.(84)

And in response to the increase in the 1981 Manpower Budget, Arthur Grobbelaar, general secretary of TUCSA said that the increase in funds for training was the one heartening aspect in an "uninspired" budget.(85)

(b) The responses of conservative labour to the appointment and recommendations of Wiehahn:

In March 1979, the far right Mine Workers' Union called an all-out strike as an intended show of strength and warning to the Government in

(84) Evening Post (S.A. Pressclips : date obscured).

(85) Financial Mail, 14.8.1981.

anticipation of the Wiehahn recommendations.⁽⁸⁶⁾
 However, the response to the strike call was poor.

The conservative union representatives on the Wiehahn Commission, Grobbelaar and Neethling, and especially the latter, expressed a number of reservations in the recommendations of the first report. Among these were:

- * A call for safeguards and control in the training of African artisans to prevent a "flood of African artisans in the white areas seeking employment" and a consequent reduction in wages and working conditions.⁽⁸⁷⁾
- * The granting of a statutory right to veto the admission of new parties to the existing apprenticeship committees.⁽⁸⁸⁾
- * That only public centres established in terms of the Black Employees' In-Service Training Act of 1976 or similar institutions should be

(86) de Clercq : 'The Organized Labour Movement and State Registration : Unity or Fragmentation?' in the South African Labour Bulletin, 5(6 and 7), March 1980, p 38.

(87) Government Printer : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation Part 1, RP47/1979, para. 5.25.1.

(88) Ibid, para. 5.25.2.

used for the training of African apprentices.(89)

However, it was Commissioner Nieuwoudt, the president of the arch conservative South African Confederation of Labour, who was a constant dissenter. Some characteristic examples of his views are:

- * That statutory provisions for work reservation should not be repealed because [they] are merely the maintenance of a traditional work pattern which emerged on the basis of living standards, background, constitutional development and work area of different groups.(90)
- * African unions are more likely than existing unions to make unreasonable demands. Stricter control over unions will be necessary and this will harm the rights of existing unions and the economy in general.
- * Africans are citizens of self-governing states where they exercise political rights - the governments of such states should therefore be involved with the regulation of

(89) Ibid, para 5.33.

(90) Ibid, para 3.

labour relations and should determine the extent of trade union participation inside these states.

His recommendations were:

- * African workers should be prohibited from joining any union in South Africa, registered or unregistered.
- * The status quo as regards union registration should be maintained.
- * Steps should be taken to ensure the optimal use of available white, 'coloured' and Asian labour in South Africa.
- * The interests of African workers should be taken care of in interstate agreements.
- * The government should expand its decentralisation programme to provide jobs for Africans in or near "their own states". (91)

In effect his calls are for the maintenance of the status quo as regards legislation affecting African workers and more controls and provisions

(91) Extracted from Cornell, J. and Kooy, A. : 'The Wiehahn Commission : A Summary' in the South African Labour Bulletin, 5(2) August, 1979, pp 49-52.

to reverse de facto African organisation outside the homelands.

TUCSA general secretary, Grobbelaar - told the Financial Mail that co-operation with management is the crux of industrial relations. "... I hope the TUCSA unions are co-operating with management. This falls within the ambit of partnership in industry."⁽⁹²⁾ It is not surprising that the independent unions regard TUCSA affiliates as "tame" unions.

While the conservative fractions of labour expressed concern about controlling the admission of African unions to the industrial relations arena in order to protect their vested interests, an excess of control was the central objection of the independent unions to the Wiehahn recommendations.

(c) The responses of independent labour to the appointment and recommendations of Wiehahn.

The following is a brief summary of the recommendations made by the South African Labour Bulletin to the Wiehahn Commission:

(92) Financial Mail, 16.11.1979.

... we recommend that the dualistic system of industrial relations should be abolished by scrapping the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act and by extending the same trade union rights to African workers that other workers enjoy ... We recommend that no trade union that is not open to all races should be registered and that in-plant bargaining should be the outcome of negotiations between the trade unions and the companies concerned ... The right to strike needs to be extended and peaceful picketing should be legitimised in order to make strikes effective. Our criterion for trade union recognition is that the unions should be independent of control from the state and management and that they should be democratic...(93)

In the light of the above calls for an 'open' labour relations situation with the two parties directly involved in the process of production, management and labour, being able to negotiate their own settlements; the Bulletin's response to Wiehahn and the Industrial Conciliation Act amendments was critical. Only some aspects of the lengthy critique are highlighted:

(93) South African Labour Bulletin, 1(5), September 1978, pp 8/9.

- * [There was objection to] the extension of control over unregistered unions in a system designed for sale abroad ... (94)
- * In spite of expressed commitment to minimal state control of employer-worker relations, the Wiehahn Commission's recommendations in practice involve exactly the reverse. (95)
- * In considering registration and deregistration [of unions], the Industrial Registrar, in consultation with the NMC will take into account a 'wide spectrum of considerations', including 'the prevailing circumstances in the particular industry ... and the implications for the country as a whole in social, economic and political aspects'. This allows wide discretionary powers. (96)
- * The system of provisional registration ... [and] the establishment of financial inspectors in the Department of Labour 'with a view to guarding against irregular and

(94) 'Critique of Wiehahn and the 1979 Amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act', SALB, 5(2) August, 1979, p 53.

(95) Ibid, p 58.

(96) Ibid, p 61.

undesirable practices' enhance the controls over unions seeking registration. (97)

* The strong restrictions on industrial relations training ... are expressly aimed at unregistered unions and training institutions. The Committee considers that these organizations use material 'of uncertain origin and questionable ideological motivation'. (98)

Because the independent unions interpreted the recommendations for the registration of their organizations as an attempt to control and limit most aspects of their operations, a registration/anti-registration debate resulted. At a meeting of unregistered unions in November 1979, The Western Province General Workers' Union led the anti-registration response calling for unions to hold out until some changes in the dispensation had been made. FOSATU officials, however, feared the underestimation of the dangers of refusing to register. (99)

(97) Ibid, p 62.

(98) Ibid, pp 63/64.

(99) Financial Mail, 2.11.1979.

The independent unions won concessions for the registration of non-racial unions albeit at the discretion of the Minister, and for the inclusion of migrant workers and commuters as union members. However, they remained critical of the new dispensation and the Manpower Training Bill and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill of 1981 were met with a chorus of protest. CUSA attacked the labour relations draft bill for "seeking stringent controls on worker bodies while removing the few existing but necessary controls on employers".⁽¹⁾

FOSATU noted:

- * Progressive elements in the Bill are outweighed by new elements of control over unions;
- * Draconian official powers to de-register and wind-up unions have received wide publicity, but other elements are equally authoritarian;
- * Controls on registered unions will be applied to unregistered unions, which will receive no benefits in return; [and]

(1) The Star, 6.5.1981.

* The Bill makes no progress towards establishing an effective collective bargaining system.(2)

Coupled with these protests was a call on the state to desist from using its repressive forces against the independent trade unions.

Mr Sam Kikine, general secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union, released a document produced jointly by the Departments of Manpower Utilization, Co-Operation and Development and the Security Police outlining a strategy to "break the power of SAAWU and the unregistered unions".(3) In addition, 280 unionists were detained or banned, FOSATU was barred from raising funds and offices and meetings were raided.(4) The unions accused the Department of Labour of "condoning" police action against them because the controls built into the new labour dispensation had failed and even the employers [FCI and Barlow Rand are

(2) Rand Daily Mail, 4.5.1981.

(3) The Star, 10.6.1981.

(4) Rand Daily Mail, 17.12.1981.

notable examples - A.S.] were beginning to bargain outside of official controls.(5)

As far as the training aspects of the legislation are concerned, the South African Journal of Labour Relations reported:

Several black trade unionists have expressed misgivings over Section 31 of the Manpower Training Bill which restricts the private training of unionists to trade unions, union federations, employer bodies, industrial councils, and educational institutions which are registered. Private training centres would be registered "... on such conditions as the registrar may deem fit to impose".(6) (original emphasis)

The labour calls reveal two counter discourses emerging in opposition to the dominant training and labour relations discourse of the state and certain fractions of capital. The ideological agents of the far right counter the dominant calls on the grounds that white South Africans, and the white working class in particular, will lose their privileged position if the African working class is not controlled and restricted to the homelands. Their ideological reports and predictions centre on the threats of "swamping" by blacks, cheapening

(5) Rand Daily Mail, 24.2.1982.

(6) South African Journal of Labour Relations, 5(1) March 1981, p 66.

of labour as well as cultural and economic survival. At the other end of the labour spectrum, the independent unions call for labour freedom and a reduction in all controls so that the working class may use their structural power in the negotiating process with capital. This fraction seeks a removal of all ethnic, geographical and cultural proscriptions on the movement, organization and training of labour. In the case of the unaffiliated independent unions such as SAAWU, these calls are linked to popular democratic calls which include all the elements of the working class. Generally speaking, the conservative parallel unions support the main ideological themes in the state discourse.

The next section outlines the main developments in state training policy between 1977 and 1982. After this outline, it is possible to draw together the threads in the training ideological discourse and to analyse the most important changes and conflicts which have taken place in its development.

3. TRAINING LEGISLATION AND POLICY

Apart from the sporadic effort by Sir George Grey, very little was done [in technical and vocational education and training for black people] for nearly three-quarters of a century. The indifference was due largely to the prevailing attitude that skilled trades were the preserve of the Whites while the non-Whites (and especially the Bantu) were relegated to unskilled labour.(7)

It was in 1973, as a result of the problems of national economic growth and the shortages of skilled manpower that the Government through the Department of Bantu Education, started to explore ways and means by which industries in the White areas would be assisted financially in training their Bantu workers to become literate as well as skilled. This programme would also include a link-up with the Bantu schools in metropolitan areas 'so as to enable school leavers to find their feet more quickly in an industrial society'.(8)

These two quotations from Malherbe sum up the situation as far as black industrial training, with the exception of limited apprenticeship training for some Coloured and Asian artisans, until the mid-seventies is concerned.

In 1976, after much pressure from employers, the state passed the Black Employees' In-Service Training Act. This act fell under the Department of Education and Training and made provision for the promotion and

(7) MALHERBE (1977) p 188.

(8) Ibid, p 197.

regulation of the training of African employees in industry through state financed and controlled centres and through private centres and schemes which were passed by the Department. In addition, the DET instituted ad hoc industrial schools in the decentralized industrial 'border areas'. Industrialists who chose to run their own training schemes could apply to the DET for registration of these schemes, provided their workers were in certain "permissible job categories". Once passed, tax concessions were granted to cover most training costs. Tax deductions rose as high as 100% for schemes in approved economic development areas. By the end of 1978, 328 such schemes had been approved.⁽⁹⁾

However, until the restructuring of state labour policy began in earnest after the 1979 Wiehahn and Riekert Reports, most training policy developments took the form of ad hoc amendments to a number of existing acts. Industrial training was based on racial categories with white workers receiving most training in skilled trades, Coloured and Asian workers in predominantly semi-skilled categories of work and African workers receiving some short 'adaptation' courses in certain industries, but their training was restricted as far as

(9) Department of Manpower Utilisation : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part 2, RP38/1980, p 26, para. 2.76 to 2.95.

was possible to the 'homeland areas' where few adequate facilities existed. Training centres and technological institutions were also racially segregated. Some exceptions to the homeland training policy for Africans were introduced as a result of the van Zyl Committee of Inquiry into In-Service Industrial Training of Black Persons in White Areas and in 1976 eight 'pre-in-service' industrial training centres were erected in Soweto(2), Sebokeng, Imbali, Lamontville, New Brighton, Mamelodi and Katlehong. A Further seven were planned for completion by the end of the decade.

The first real indication of a change in state policy as far as the industrial training dispensation was concerned, was when the government accepted Riekert's proposal that the eight industrial training centres for Africans in "white" industrial areas be opened ("utilized on a broader basis") to all races in such a way "as not to give rise to friction".⁽¹⁰⁾ Riekert also proposed that the training of African workers be taken over by the Department of Labour and that a new "employment and training act" provide in-service training for workers of all races on the same basis. The first part of this recommendation was accepted by Government, but it was qualified by "the observation

(10) See White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilization of Manpower, WPT-1979, XIV (h) p 13.

that employment and industrial training need not necessarily be regulated by one and the same Act" as long as "the Act or Acts regulating these functions should not differentiate between population groups". (11)

Two other recommendations with important implications for the reformulation of training policy were accepted with the qualification that the recommendations of Wiehahn, Part 2, were to be considered before implementing them. They were:

* The responsibility for the in-service training of workers should be placed primarily on the shoulders of employers, and tax and other concessions, etc., for the promotion of such training be regarded only as temporary measures ... (12)

* The provisions ... to the effect that no person may provide training for the employees of any other person except in an approved private training centre, should be incorporated in the proposed ... Act, and the definition of training

(11) Ibid, p 13, col. 2.

(12) Ibid, p 13, col. 1.

should be extended to include training in labour relations (trade union training).(13)

These recommendations should be seen against the background of the "general points of departure" summarized in paragraph 6.5 of the Report. These include:

... the simplification of legislation and administrative procedures, the elimination of unjustifiable discrimination between various population groups, the maintenance of internal security and industrial peace, the retention and development of the free market system with a view to achieving more efficient utilization of all the available resources, including labour. (emphasis added)

The Government response in the White Paper is:

Indeed, these are objectives to which the Government has repeatedly committed itself.(14)

Yet a little further in the same section, is the qualification which is reflected in the Government's rejection of the proposal to provide training for all races under one dispensation:

(13) Ibid, p 13, col. 2.

(14) Ibid, p 1, Col. 1, para. 3.

While the Government therefore subscribes to the principle that certain government functions should, as far as practicable, be dealt with collectively for all the population groups outside the Black states, it wants to emphasise that there are other government functions that relate to specific communities or residential areas and should therefore preferably be handled separately for the various population groups.(15)

This type of hazy reasoning is a precursor of the "separate but equal" response to de Lange and the "own affairs" policy in the constitutional revisions.

The In-Service Training Act, Act 95 of 1979, was subsequently passed as the counterpart for white, coloured and Asian employees, to the Black Employees In-Service Training Act of 1976. This made provision for training schemes for non-African workers on a similar basis and provided for tax incentives for approved schemes. It also provided for the establishment of a Council for In-Service Training by the Minister of Labour to act as an advisory body to him and to research any matters connected with training. Furthermore, it enabled the Minister to appoint a Registrar and an Assistant Registrar of training schemes. They were to be responsible for setting the criteria for acceptance of such schemes and

(15) Ibid, p 1, Col. 2, para. 6.

would appoint inspectors to monitor all schemes and centres.

Riekert's reformulation of influx control and the consequent division of the African working class into urban 'insiders' and commuting 'outsiders' has been referred to in previous sections. As it does not relate directly to training, it will not be repeated here.

The first part of the Wiehahn Commission's report on Labour Legislation was published, ironically, the day after May Day. Unlike the Riekert Commission which consisted only of the chairman, Riekert, there was an attempt to represent the various interest groups in the labour arena in the composition of the Wiehahn Commission. This consensus type inquiry was repeated with the appointment of the de Lange Commission in 1980. An examination of the members of the Wiehahn Commission is revealing:

- * The chairman, Professor Nic Wiehahn, adviser to the Minister of Labour and a former academic;
- * Professor P.J. van der Merwe, a conservative academic from the University of Pretoria;
- * Mr Ben Mokoatle, an academic from UNISA and the only African member;

- * Dr Errol Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa;
- * Mr Chris du Toit, Anglo American industrial relations adviser and chairman of Saccola⁽¹⁶⁾;
- * Mr Naas Steenkamp, General Mining industrial relations advisor and Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut labour committee member;
- * Mr Dick Sutton, group personnel manager of SA Breweries and member of Assocom's labour committee;
- * Mr Attie Nieuwoudt, president, SA Confederation of Labour;
- * Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, general secretary, TUCSA;
- * Mr Wallie Grobler, general secretary, Railway Artisan Staff Association;
- * Mr Tom Neethling, general secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union;
- * Mr Gopie Munsook, TUCSA-affiliated trade unionist and SA Indian Council member; and
- * Mr Chris Botes, former trade unionist

What emerges from a superficial examination of this list is that there are no women members; the trade unionists are from the conservative fraction of labour; the bias is definitely white Afrikaner; none of the

(16) South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs.

academics are from liberal universities and the representatives of capital are from the large corporate fraction. Already it would seem that the Commission would aim to produce a report which would satisfy the state - corporate capital reformist alliance with built-in considerations to satisfy the white labour aristocracy. The dual reform and control strategy which was to emerge is already implied by locating the main agents involved in the drafting of the reports.

As was shown in the section on the labour discourse, the first report dealt primarily with the admission of African workers to the industrial relations arena. Some brief references are made to this report before concentrating on the second report which was published in February 1980 and which was devoted to training.

In Chapter 1 of the first report, the rationale for the proposals is presented. This includes:

- * Unregistered trade unions get aid from political and labour organizations abroad. (17)
- * It is necessary to promote the free market and ensure loyalty to the free enterprise system and the country. (18)
- * Standards of training require improving and peace and harmony should be maintained between employers and employees. (19)
- * It is recommended that a National Co-ordinating and Advisory Body be established with training and retraining as one of its responsibilities, (20) and
- * A National Manpower Commission be established by the Minister with representatives of the state, employers and employees appointed to it. (21)
- * Chapter III argues that de facto recognition of African unions exists and arguments against this are outdated. However, these unions operate outside of statutory controls and need to be

(17) Department of Manpower Utilization : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part 1. RP47/1979, para. 1.10. Note: These points are summaries not direct quotations.

(18) Ibid, para. 1.19.1. - 1.19.4.

(19) Ibid, para. 1.19.5. - 1.19.7.

(20) Ibid, Chapter II, para. 2.19. - 2.32.

(21) Ibid, para. 2.45.1. - 2.45.5.

brought within the authority structures of the industrial relations legislation.(22)

* The removal of work reservations is recommended with the proviso that the vested interests of certain workers are protected.(23)

* Chapter V deals with the questions of apprenticeship and industrial relations training. In the preamble about apprenticeship training it is claimed that the restrictions on black apprentices are not based on racial criteria in the Act, but are attributable to work reservation, resistance from some white unions, and the average formal educational standards of black workers as well as the policy of indenturing Africans in their 'own' areas.(24)

(This 'doublespeak' is part of the 'deracialization' strategy used throughout the report. Strange convolutions are embarked upon to avoid using racist criteria in the findings and recommendations of the majority of the commissioners.)

(22) Ibid, para. 3.35.1. - 3.35.5.

(23) Ibid, para. 3.133. - 3.159.4.

(24) Ibid, para. 5.5. - 5.10.

- * The recommendations include opening apprenticeship to all with committee safeguards being built in for the various trade committees. (25)
- * In the section on industrial training, it is claimed that non-registered organizations rely on the help of outside sources and use material of "uncertain origin and questionable ideological motivation" and where "training material is of a nature unlikely to promote peaceful industrial relations, there is usually a link with finance obtained from sources inimical to South Africa". (26)
- * The recommendations in this regard include the formulation of broad state guidelines for such training, ongoing research, expansion of adult basic education programmes and the registration and control of industrial relations trainer organizations and courses. (27)

The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill provided for the establishment of the National Manpower Commission and an Industrial Court by the end of 1979, but it rejected some of the Wiehahn Report's reform recommendations. It initially accepted only African

(25) Ibid, para 5.32. - 5.32.1.3.

(26) Ibid, para. 5.58. - 5.65.

(27) Ibid, para. 5.79.1. - 5.79.3.

workers with permanent residence in 'white' South Africa as members of the collective bargaining system. However, the subsequent outcry from fractions of capital caused this to be amended to include commuters and local migrants. The Bill also rejected racially integrated unions with some room being allowed for Ministerial discretion. The recommendations concerning African apprentices and industrial relations training were accepted. An industrial registrar was provided for and a system of provisional registration for unions seeking admission to the system was introduced. This gave the registrar considerable power as conditions for provisional registration and the period allowed, were to be at his discretion. Unions which chose not to register were not outlawed, but they were prohibited from having union dues deducted by an employer. Once again it would seem that state policy had been swayed by the more conservative elements in the white working class.

The second Wiehahn report picked up the restructuring of training policy begun by the first report and Riekert. In the words of the report it "had to find an answer [to] whether the traditional and more recent training arrangements in South Africa are effective from the point of view of supplying a sufficient quantity of labour of the right quality at the right

time and in the right place to meet the growing needs of the South African economy".⁽²⁸⁾ This involved reviewing the following legislation:

The Apprenticeship Act (Act 37 of 1944);
 The Training of Artisans Act (Act 38 of 1951);
 The Black Building Workers Act (Act 27 of 1951);
 The Industrial Conciliation Act (Act 28 of 1956);
 The In-Service Training Act (Act 95 of 1979); and
 The Black Employees In-Service Training Act (Act 86 of 1976).⁽²⁹⁾

In addition, attention was given to industrial relations training.

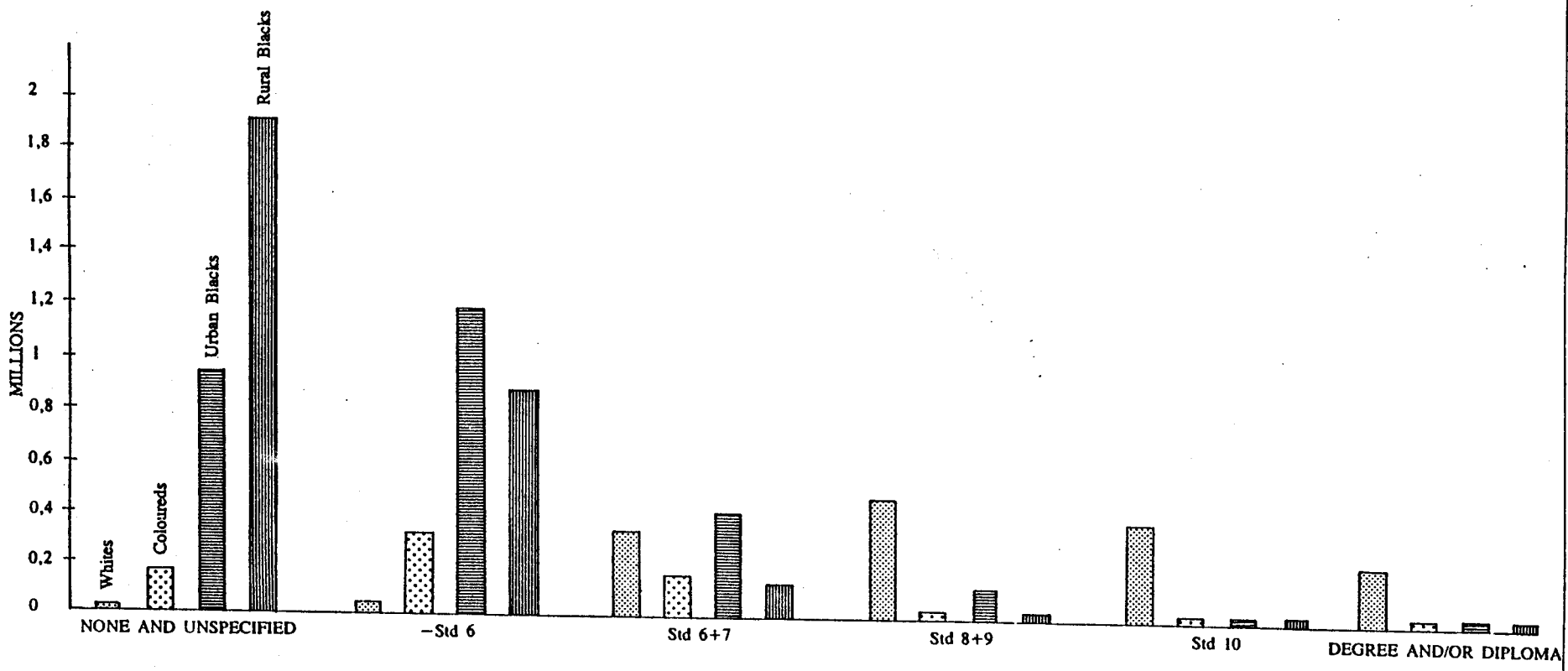
The report refers to the low formal education level of the majority of the South African labour force (see figure 1.1, on the next page) and attributes the low productivity levels and the high cost of training for employers to this.⁽³⁰⁾ It states that South Africa "is confronted with two major manpower problems, namely a shortage of skilled labour in the modern sector of the economy and a surplus of unskilled manpower in both

(28) Department of Manpower Utilisation : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part 2, RP38/1980, p 3, col. 2, para. 1.10.

(29) RP38/1980, p 3, col. 2, para. 1.10.

(30) Ibid, p 4, col. 2, para. 1.15.

FIGURE 1.1 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION, 1970 (*)



(*) Department of Manpower Utilization : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part 2, RP38/1980, p 5.

the modern and traditional sectors of the economy".(31)

While it is indisputable that this is largely true, the statistics quoted and the way in which they are interpreted to make this point are, apart from those shown on the previous page, dubious. This point is made in section 2.3 (c) and will not be pursued here. A further reason given for the need for training is that Part 1 of the Wiehahn, as well as the Riekert Report "have created enormous expectations among Non-White workers in particular".(32)

Some of the most important recommendations in the Report and the state response as reflected in the White Paper follow:

* "It is essential that apprenticeship training be open to all population groups ..."(33)

The state response was:

Members of all population groups can ... be indentured as apprentices in any part of South Africa and work as artisans subject to the availability of work and housing.(34)

(31) Ibid, p 6, col. 2, para. 1.23.

(32) Ibid, p 13, col. 2, para. 1.30.

(33) Ibid, p 33, col. 2, para. 3.21.13.

(34) White Paper, p 5, para. 3.10.

- * The [Black Building Workers] Act is discriminatory by nature since it provides for -
 - i) the training of Blacks only;
 - ii) a prohibition on ... skilled work by Blacks in urban areas;
 - iii) the performance of skilled work by Whites in Black residential areas only in a supervisory capacity.(35)

The recommendation that this act be repealed was accepted in the White Paper.

- * The Commission recommends that the National Manpower Commission give top priority to the ongoing identification of training efforts and needs ..., and
- * ... the Standing Technical Committee on Labour Legislation prepare the consolidated legislation with the least possible delay ..., and
- * ... the [N.M.C.] give consideration to means of encouraging the adoption of the levy system of promoting and financing industrial training as well as industrial relations training, and
- * the ... National Apprenticeship Board be broadened to enable the board to serve as a National Training Board ...(36)

All these recommendations were accepted by the state as were the requests that the proposed National Training Board co-ordinate, encourage and control all forms of training including industrial relations training because "a large proportion of service organizations providing training are not registered under any Act of

(35) Op cit, p 37, col. 2, para. 3.42.2.

(36) Wiehahn, 2, p 41, col. 2, para. 3.60.

Parliament" and much training "is questionable in regard to the proficiency of the trainers".(37)

In 1980, the state launched a training awareness project known as Manpower 2000. A booklet, Manpower Imperatives set out its goals which included the rationalization and promotion of vocational guidance and training; the stimulation of productivity; retraining and in-service training; the creation of employment opportunities to "eliminate friction"; the promotion of peaceful working conditions; and the building of confidence in the future of the country.

On 1 November 1981, the restructuring in industrial and labour relations training was consolidated by the Manpower Training Act. This formalized the establishment of the National Training Board in place of the National Apprenticeship Board, the Co-ordinating Council for In-Service Training of Black Employees and the Council for In-Service Training. It also inaugurated a new system of training incentives enabling companies to save 84c in every rand spent on approved training and nearly 95c in the rand if such training takes place in an economic development area.

(37) Wiehahn, 2, p 44, cols. 1 & 2, para. 4.10.5-6.

One of the first undertakings of the National Manpower Commission was the establishment of an investigation into 'high-level manpower'. The HLM report was published in 1980 and the White Paper followed in 1981. The recommendations received much publicity and were widely quoted by the de Lange Work Committee Report on Demography, Education and Manpower. Muller shows how the Report on High Level Manpower develops the notion of a "'leadership group', a central tenet of liberal reformism which holds that entrepreneurs are essential for the growth and creation of jobs".⁽³⁸⁾ He also draws attention to the promotion of the idea of a "'New Man' whose qualities must include 'characteristics other than mere knowledge, skill and qualification'" and compares this with what de Lange later called "a basic ideological orientation",⁽³⁹⁾ presumably to capitalism.

Of particular concern to departments of adult education, is the frequent reference to the role of universities in undertaking special programmes to train and retrain individuals "who have the potential to be raised to higher levels by means of education and training, or who experience problems in functioning

(38) Muller, J. : 'Much Ado : "Manpower Crisis" and the de Lange Report', in JAMES (ed) (1984) p 8.

(39) Ibid.

effectively in a competitive situation".⁽⁴⁰⁾ It is suggested that these programmes are presented "in consultation with organized commerce and industry" and that special "short and sandwich courses be designed".⁽⁴¹⁾

Despite all the 'skilled' and 'high level' shortage talk, however, Muller shows that the HLM Report decided that "the growth of HLM was satisfactory since its annual increment of 4.5% between 1975 and 1979 was higher than 2.3%, the average annual workforce growth rate".⁽⁴²⁾ The claims of shortages came from the Department of Manpower surveys which are based on employer projections of hypothetical personnel appointments. It is a dubious basis for estimating the extent of real shortages. This shows how the "labour shortage" crisis talk can be grossly exaggerated and distorted through the frequent repetition of opinions and hunches about such shortages until it forms part of conventional wisdom concerning the labour situation.

(40) White Paper on the Report of the National Manpower Commission on High Level Manpower in South Africa, W.P.J/81, p 5, para. 9.2.2.2.

(41) Ibid, p 8, para. 9.2.3.3.

(42) Op cit, p 7.

In 1981, the National Manpower Commission launched a second inquiry. This time in-service training was the research field. The Report⁽⁴³⁾ was only published in 1984. The bulk of the Report is taken up by the data produced from survey questionnaires sent to a wide range of employers throughout the country. The tone of the entire document is quasi-scientific. An examination of the samples used and the treatment of the data reveals many instances of poorly grounded generalization. However, of interest here are two brief quotations from the section on the "Terms of Reference". These are examples of how the National Manpower Commission officials approach training in general and the type of language used in state training documents:

In service training [is] any activity aimed at the systematic development of the attitude, knowledge and/or skill required by an individual to perform a given task or job efficiently, so that "on-the-job" and "off-the-job" training and retraining are covered ...⁽⁴⁴⁾ (original emphasis)

(43) Department of Manpower, National Manpower Commission: In-Service Training in the Republic of South Africa, Report 2/1984.

(44) Ibid, p 3, para 1.1.2.

The reference to "attitude" with "knowledge and/or skill" is a recurring characteristic in the NMC and NTB public documents. The technicism so familiar to students of the de Lange report is prevalent here too:

The national training system was further described as receiving an input of trainees from the environment following a process of selection and as sending an output of trained people back into the environment following a process of instruction.(45) (emphasis added)

In this type of discourse learners ('human resources') are conceived of in much the same way as any industrial raw material which is processed on the line.

In 1981 the Report of the HSRC Commission of Inquiry into the Provision of Education in the R.S.A. (the de Lange Report) was published. While the report concentrated upon the formal education system, it made a number of references to a 'parallel' system of non-formal education which, in the view of the Commission, would be substantially concerned with 'out of school training for work'. As in the earlier state reports quoted, industrial (non-formal) training was treated as a panacea for both the manpower needs of the country and for many of the attitudinal (ideological and political) as well as basic academic shortcomings of Bantu Education. The work of Buckland and

(45) Ibid, p 4, para. 1.2.1.

Chisholm,⁽⁴⁶⁾ among others, deconstructs the 'expert' technicist rhetoric of the report which owes much in its references to 'manpower needs' and 'skills shortages' to the policy documents referred to above.

The Report of the National Manpower Commission for 1982⁽⁴⁷⁾ reiterates many of the main themes contained in the training policy documents from 1977 to 1982, but the presentation of some of these themes is more subtle and sophisticated. This is particularly true of references to industrial relations training. It would seem that the 1980/81 unrest and the disappointment expressed by most fractions of capital at the slow pace of reform as well as at the harsh actions of the state repressive apparatus, had had an impact on the state policy writers.

Some examples of the more refined state policy rhetoric as presented in the report are:

The underlying structures in the field of manpower are based on the principle of tripartite action, that is to say a role for the state, for employees and for employers ... The basic idea is to bring about the greatest possible measure of self-government in the private sector and to bring about vertical and horizontal decentralisation of decision-making to those levels where decisions should by rights be taken and where

(46) See BUCKLAND (1983) and CHISHOLM (1983).

(47) Department of Manpower : RP45 - 1983.

responsibility for executing decisions and dealing with the consequences ultimately lies - all with the view to maintaining order and stability in the labour market and maintaining and promoting labour peace.(48) (original emphasis)

This tortuous quotation shows how the state "free enterprise and control" talk has undergone some reformulation at least in terminology, if not in content. The theme of "decentralization of decision making" has, in recent years, become a core theme in the state restructuring of apartheid legislation.

A little further on, the report justifies the role of the state labour regulatory procedures:

It should be accepted that the labour market never operates perfectly and that the Government is expected to intervene in certain cases by, for example, performing the functions of the market itself or by making arrangements that will make the market operate more efficiently, in this way bringing the effects of the supply/demand relationships more into line with the socio-economic and political aims of the country.(49) (emphasis added)

This treatment of labour relations and employment as any commodity market ("supply" and "demand") and the failure to spell out what the "socio-economic and

(48) Department of Manpower : Report of the National Manpower Commission, 1982, RP45/1983, p 2, para. 1.4.

(49) Ibid, p 5, para. 2.4.1.

political aims" are and which class or fractions are implied by "the country" all obscure the underlying contested interests in the economic, political and ideological spheres. This obfuscatory 'official speak' abounds in this and other general policy documents. Examples from the list of manpower policy principles are:

- * The minimum measure of state intervention in essentially private affairs and the balance of power between employers and employees but with due allowance for community interests.
- * Fair labour practices.
- * Regulation consistent with all the above [there are twelve] and with servicing the public interest.⁽⁵⁰⁾ (all emphases added)

One of the principles which is unambiguous in its presentation although it has yet to be proved in practice is:

- * No discrimination on the ground [sic] of ethnic group or sex.⁽⁵¹⁾

(50) Ibid, p 3, para. 1.4.1.

(51) Ibid.

The Manpower Commission and its sub-organisations such as the National Training Board are made up of members of the state, the corporate fractions of capital, 'experts' in various fields and representatives of conservative employee bodies as well as the defence force. All senior members are appointed by the Minister and all membership is subject to his approval. Black members and women are under-represented and Afrikaans-speaking males fill all the most senior positions.

This section on state training policy is concluded with a quotation from the twenty-three member National Training Board's (one African and one female member) statement of national training policy:

All training presented in any way whatever, must have a purpose and must contribute to attaining the country's technological, economic and social objectives.(52)

The restructuring of the state policy discourse in relation to the general training discourse is dealt with in the conclusion to this chapter (Section 5) after the next brief section.

(52) Department of Manpower, NTB : Compendium of Training, October 1984, p 9, para 2.2.1.

4. ABSENT VOICES

The two interest groups whose voices are barely heard in the training discourse are the trainees and the education profession. In the case of the trainees, it could be argued that they speak through the trade union officials quoted in section two. However, the discourse of these officials was primarily concerned with industrial relations and there are large numbers of employees in the industrial sector who are not unionized. A common practice at management seminars or academic gatherings concerned with training is to invite black personnel officers to represent the views of black trainees. This naive practice is based on the racist assumption that a black spokesperson, whatever his structural position in the firm or society at large, will be able and willing to express the views of black workers however unpopular these might be with management.

In a country where there is no established tradition of independent worker education (the small worker education movement has been systematically repressed, persecuted and, in recent years, incorporated into the official system by the state),⁽⁵³⁾ it is perhaps

(53) The early worker classes and clubs run by communist intellectuals and trade unionists and the adult Night School Movement are examples of this.

unrealistic to expect the largely unschooled industrial trainees to take the initiative in making specific training demands. However, it appears that little has been done by the more powerful parties in the industrial training arena to systematically survey the wants and needs of potential and existing trainees.

The absence of professional educators, apart from those members of the de Lange Commission of Inquiry drawn from the educational sector and the respondents to the Commission's findings from this sector, is more difficult to understand. Apart from the odd isolated voice such as that of Dr Hartshorne, it would seem that South African educationalists have had, until very recently, a narrow view of education. This view appears to be limited to the parameters of the formal education sector and the history and policy affecting forms of learning which take place outside of educational institutions have generally been considered to be beyond the scope of academic educationalists. It is only in the last few years that academic departments of non-formal or adult education have been concerned with worker and industrial education and training. Most of this concern has been with practical curricular and methodological issues and not with the historical political economy of worker education and training.

An interest in the political economy of education was stimulated among academic educationalists (particularly those on the left of the South African political spectrum) by the 'education crisis' of 1980/81 and the de Lange Inquiry. This has gained further impetus with the ongoing struggles in the educational arena and is likely to percolate through to the field of industrial training. The genesis of this project is an example of an awakening concern among some non-formal educationalists to understand the socio-economic implications of industrial training.

It would seem that the reason for the leading promoters of industrial training among capitalists and the state not to involve educationalists (other than professional trainers who are usually from the ranks of business) more directly, has been that they have a narrow instrumental view of training. This is illustrated by their talk of 'inputs, process, outputs' - the language of technological production, not education. This issue is explored in Chapter Four.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the accent has been on the most prominent groups of ideological agents in the training arena and their class locations and training 'talk'. In electing to concentrate on each group in turn, the sense of the way in which an ideological alliance between the reformist strata of capital and the state developed and came to dominate the general training discourse is largely obscured. In this section, therefore, the accent is on the manner in which the dominant training discourse developed an ideological coherence and the main themes in this dominant discourse. These themes are restated here in order to conclude this chapter by highlighting some of the contradictions which 'informed' the dominant discourse which had emerged by 1982.

On pages 44 and 45 reference was made to Laclau's argument that during periods of relative social stability the dominant ideological discourse tends to rest on implicit mechanisms for its unity. However, during periods of intense social contest and change, the apparently automatic reproduction of the social formation is disrupted and the ideological unity is shattered with the result that the contradictions become apparent and social agents experience an

'identity crisis' until mobilized by a new or a reformulated dominant ideological bloc. This process of mobilization was evident in the South African training discourse by the beginning of 1980 when the messages of the most powerful fractions of the state and capital developed a noticeable unity in form and content. These messages were in Therborn's words "setting a common agenda for a mass of people by summing up the aspects of the crisis ... and defining what is possible and how it is to be achieved".⁽⁵⁴⁾

Until the early 1970s the strong South African state and the apartheid restrictions on the African working class, had proved to be largely functional for capitalist development. Labour costs were held down and the restrictions on worker organization enabled managements to act unilaterally in determining working conditions and in retrenching or replacing sections of the labour force.

However, with the growth of capital intensification and mechanization in the manufacturing sector, de facto proletarianization of black labour took place. At the same time, modernizing capitalist production processes gave rise to a shortage of technically skilled and

(54) Therborn (1980a) p 115. See page 46 of Chapter Two above.

semi-skilled operatives and by the mid-1970s the inadequacies of the state dualistic industrial training policy gave rise to capital calls for the relaxation of job and training restrictions. Industrial action by black workers as well as the political unrest in the black working class townships after 1976 and the anti-capitalist rhetoric of many of the political leaders of popular resistance, gave rise to intensified capitalist calls for the removal of statutory restrictions on the black working class and the implementation of a 'free market' labour policy. International pressure and foreign disinvestment as well as the spread of socialist regimes in Southern Africa all had a bearing on the more insistent business 'capital logic' calls.

Among the most insistent reform calls from the most powerful fractions of capital were those which advocated "black advancement" through education and training and the incorporation of sections of the black working class into an alliance with capital through a process of co-optation. Organizations such as the Urban Foundation and the Small Business Development Corporation were established by corporate capitalist leaders to promote these aims and to lobby the more reformist members of the state into granting statutory concessions which would facilitate the co-optation of at least the more privileged fractions of the black

working class and the small black middle class in the urban areas.

By 1977, the state was facing a growing crisis of legitimacy. It had lost control of an important ideological apparatus - the formal black education system, and its repressive responses to popular and worker struggles had undermined its position in the capitalist world system with the result that disinvestment and economic sanctions had become real threats. Furthermore, the change of regimes in the "frontline states" of Mocambique, Angola and Zimbabwe and the intensification of guerilla activities in Namibia and the Republic itself all contributed to the pressure on the Nationalist leadership. This was exacerbated by the internal division in the Nationalist ranks. The split in the party after the "information scandal" resulted in the reformist leadership under the premiership of P W Botha seeking a new base in capital as the traditional nationalist party support among the rural and working class Afrikaners eroded.

The strategy of 'rule by commission' was introduced with the appointment of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions of Inquiry and the process of rapprochement and consultation with business 'experts' was cemented at the capital-state meetings at the

Carlton and Good Hope centres. At both of these meetings labour problems, skills shortages and black unrest placed the issue of black economic advancement and the survival of the free enterprise system high on the agenda.

The state's commitment to Total Strategy had, by the turn of the decade, been shown to be a process of combining control of the black working class with the co-optation of a limited number of black workers into the core economy. The state discourse had, by 1981, when the National Party won yet another white election, come to resemble that of corporate capital in most respects: 'Apartheid talk' was less obvious and minor racial restrictions were removed to allow black 'insiders' freedom to advance economically in the hope that a settled urban black middle class with a vested interest in the free enterprise system, would develop and contribute to social stability.

The crisis faced by the state and the corporate sectors of capital was summed up by the developing reformist alliance as resting upon "irrational" discrimination and a lack of entrepreneurial spirit among black South Africans as a result of their cultural heritage and the spread of negative attitudes towards capitalism by "outside influences" and "agitators". Furthermore, the

"skills shortage" was blamed for the slump in economic growth and training was proffered as a solution to this problem and the threat of mounting industrial unrest. Generous tax incentives were introduced for training although these were linked to certain conditions relating to the form and content of training programmes, thus retaining a strong element of state control. Other discursive rewards linked with training in the reformulated ideological discourse were: economic prosperity and social advancement, "national security", and social stability through the growth of a black middle class. The discursive sanctions for not training were the threats of "communism" and "foreign influences" in the black working class, economic stagnation and the consequences of this, popular unrest, social disruption and chaos leading to violence and repression or revolution.

The emerging training discourse of the capital-state alliance concealed its class interests in appeals to the "general interest" or "national interest" and through the process referred to in Chapter Two as 'authorization'. This involved the incorporation of new voices among those qualified to speak. These voices were presented as politically disinterested 'experts' from the ranks of business management,

university business schools and co-opted black personnel officers or businessmen.

By 1981, therefore, a new "system of narration"⁽⁵⁵⁾ emerged in the training discourse in which the messages of the state and capital were largely complementary and a concerted effort was made to forge a new ideological unity to support the reconstruction of state policy in a manner which disarticulated and undermined the counter discourses of the opposing fractions of the working class within the country and the critical voices from abroad. This new system of ideological "narration" combines elements and themes which had been in use for a number of years. Furthermore, it would be misleading to create the impression that the 'common ideological agenda' in the training and other spheres of the dominant discourse was brought about by a conspiracy among the dominant ideological agents. The "narrative" had developed over a number of years through the repetition and the refinement of ideas of opinion makers, the influence of ideas from other capitalist societies and through the practical experiences of the policy agents of the state and capital.

(55) Laclau, E. in 'Facism and Ideology' in LACLAU (1977) p 103.

Posel describes the "new language of legitimation" of the South African state as upholding "a standard of technocratic rationality recognizable in two guises : in the call for 'realistic' and 'pragmatic' government, and in the powers assigned to 'experts' in administering 'objective' solutions to 'national' problems'".⁽⁵⁶⁾ In the previous sections the state training policy and discourse was shown to present ideological reports of the 'facts' of the local and international situation which made 'reform' necessary and part of the 'economic realities' of the time.

The following are brief analyses of some of the most prominent themes in the state-capital training 'narrative' of the early 1980s which form part of the general "language of legitimation":

(a) Training to improve productivity

This is a recurrent theme in the industrial training calls. The argument is usually that South Africa's labour productivity is lower than that of its main trading partners and wage increases have shown little apparent effect. Keenan points out that the official statistics which are usually quoted to support this

(56) Posel, D. : 'Language, Legitimation and control : The South African State After 1978' in Social Dynamics 10(1) 1984, p 2.

view ignore important monetarist factors and the influence of non-labour matters such as the severe drought.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Furthermore, the real wage increases (once inflation has been taken into account) were largely as a result of worker action in the early seventies and are mainly attributable to overtime pay.⁽⁵⁸⁾ This productivity theme ignores the historical structural situation of the South African working class and implies that 'bad attitudes' or 'laziness' which may be overcome by training, are part of the problem. This form of common-sense comparison between states and peoples is ahistorical and ignores any number of variables which have little to do with human motivation. Yet, such concerns are frequently expressed in capitalist circles. It is also a form of ideological justification for intensified labour exploitation, wage freezes, retrenchments and the high rate of inflation which hits the working class hardest.

(57) Keenan, J. : 'The Recession and its Effects on the African Working Class' in SARS (1984) pp 142/3.

(58) Ibid.

(b) Training for improved communications and labour harmony

Many calls claim that industrial training will improve communications at the factory level and result in harmony between management and workers. This view, which is examined in more detail in Chapter Four, conceives of workers as individuals in a 'foreign environment' to which they must adapt in order to become part of the firm's 'family'. It explains away the inherent conflict of interests between management and workers by attributing worker struggles to miscommunication which can be overcome by encouraging each individual worker to identify herself or himself with the goals and philosophies of management. If conflict persists then it is often attributed to the work of 'outside agitators'. The structural relations of unequal power and conflicting interests between workers and capitalists are denied in the humanistic, industrial psychology rhetoric.

- (c) Free enterprise or free market principles in the labour arena remove 'irrational distortions' and lead to economic growth and social justice.

This view derives from the capitalist growth school of thought which asserts that capitalist development is incompatible with the constraints and barriers of racial orders and that the logic of growth is distorted by costly ("irrational") duplication of facilities, control mechanisms and restrictions in the labour market which elevate wages to artificially high levels. However, despite the claims of supporters of Milton Friedman and other 'free marketeers', there is little evidence to prove that unfettered labour under capitalism leads to an equalization of income distribution.

Free enterprise 'talk' is used to counter the appeal of the socialist or communist ideals of certain fractions of the working class. It is therefore linked in the training discourse with vague promises of 'more goods or income for all' or for 'the country' and is repeated so frequently as to have assumed the status of common sense 'fact'. Like calls for 'progress' the ideological nature of these messages are sufficiently general to obscure vital questions such as "For whom?" or "At whose cost?". Keenan shows that the most

concrete cases of enhanced income equality have occurred in the sectors and plants where there has been strong union pressure. Many, although not all, supporters of these free market calls regard the actions of unions as market distortions.⁽⁵⁹⁾ At the level of total population, inequality in income distribution is increasing as is the level of absolute poverty. Keenan warns that free market ideology can be used to absolve capital and the state from certain social responsibilities with serious results for the poorest sections of the population.⁽⁶⁰⁾

However, it has been shown in the examples quoted in Sections Two and Three, that the legitimating free enterprise talk of the South African state is riddled with contradictions related to the protection of vested 'white' interests and the division and control of the African working class. In recent years the control elements have become more subtle, but they have not disappeared. Furthermore, the actions of the state repressive apparatus against organized labour have done much to belie the 'non-interference in the labour market' discourse. Many capitalists still call the police rather than bargain with striking workers.

(59) Keenan, J. : 'Wolves in sheep clothing : The Myths of Neo-Conservatism' in JAMES (ed) (1984) p 17.

(60) Ibid.

(d) The separation of the economics of production from national ('global') politics

A frequently expressed fear of capitalists is that the denial of effective political rights to the African working class will have the effect of turning the production process into a political arena in the broad sense. This contradiction between 'economic freedom' and 'political control' underlies much of the state discourse in relation to industrial relations training. The political limitations placed on trade unions and the monitoring of the use to which their funds are put, are two examples of attempts to isolate the politics of production from the broader political struggles. The rhetoric of the Department of Manpower⁽⁶¹⁾ is insistently concerned with the 'freedom of the individual' in the labour market and examples given in previous sections about the elimination of discriminations based on race, ethnicity and gender are only some of many. If one re-examines this 'economic freedom' in the light of the influx control legislation, the contradictions within the state policy as well as its legitimizing discourse are highlighted.

(61) Department of Labour until 1979 when the name was changed and the National Manpower Commission was established.

(e) Unemployment and skills shortages

Industrial training is, as has been pointed out in previous sections, offered as a solution to both these problems. Exactly how the supply of skilled and semi-skilled technical operatives who maintain the mechanized production lines which replace large numbers of workers, can contribute to employment prospects is not explained. Occasional references are made in the state discourse to labour intensive undertakings, but these are drowned out by the claims about the skills shortages. It has been shown that the extent of these shortages has been exaggerated and the skills referred to in the training talk include such factors as a 'positive attitude to competitive business and capitalist development'. The 'skills' debate will be explored in the next chapter which examines the educational meanings embedded in the training discourse.

(f) Training linked with black advancement and the growth of a stable middle class

A diffuse, yet powerful, theme in the dominant training discourse is that training can be used to promote an 'entrepreneurial spirit' among black people. It is suggested that this can be achieved by using training to change 'black attitudes' towards competitive business and the capitalist financial milieu. It is hoped that such training will result in a larger black middle class with vested interests in the capitalist free enterprise system. This is expected to promote social and political stability through incorporating the more privileged and educated strata of the black working class into the capital-state reformist alliance. At the same time, such a development would lead to considerable expansion in the more expensive domestic and commercial commodity markets with valuable spin-offs for existing industry. What is ignored by such arguments are the enormous costs to those strata of the African working class who are, and would continue to be, excluded from a permanent place in an industrialized metropolitan South Africa. This 'outsider' class would continue to be trapped in a number of impoverished puppet 'states' without the political or economic structure to alter the situation. The fragmentation of the black working class through

the incorporation of the best organized and most powerful elements would have disastrous consequences for the rural and migrant worker majority.

In this chapter the ideological nature of the training discourse is revealed by focusing on the agents of each discourse, the potential audiences of each 'call' and the underlying social contradictions which are concealed or distorted in the training messages. The development of the unity in the dominant discourse is explained and the counter themes of conservative and independent labour are illustrated. The 'expert' and technicist language of the dominant industrial training discourse is pointed out as is the vagueness or exaggeration of many of the claims made for training.

CHAPTER FOURINDUSTRIAL TRAINING AS EDUCATION

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	232
2. THE TRAINING ASSUMPTIONS	233
3. THE EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE	259
4. TWO ALTERNATIVES	267
4.1 Worker Education	267
4.2 Job Related Adult Education	273
5. CONCLUSION	275

CHAPTER FOURINDUSTRIAL TRAINING AS EDUCATION1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the assumptions and theories which are put to use inside the formulation of industrial training practice are examined from an educational perspective. This involves a critical study of the much used concept 'skill' which tends to be presented as a vaguely general category with apparently positive implications which are left unexamined. Related to this, is the need to explore what it means for a person to be classified as 'unskilled' or 'in need of skills training'. Section Two deals with this and some other human management assumptions which are embedded in the most common forms of industrial training practice.

In Section Three, an adult education perspective is applied to the trainee as learner and the trainer as educator. In this way broad educational aims and assumptions can be contrasted with the aims and assumptions examined in Section Two. This provides some insight into how training practice and policy might have been modified had it been designed by

individuals whose primary concerns were educational rather than production related.

In Section Four, two counter models of industrial education/training are described very briefly. These are drawn from the training and education discourse of officials of worker organizations and show, to some degree, the contrasting aims and approaches of training practices when the interests of the potential trainees have been taken into account in the overall design of such undertakings.

Section Five sums up the main findings of this chapter.

2. THE TRAINING ASSUMPTIONS

Industrial training practice encompasses a wide range of courses, demonstrations and simulation learning approaches. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that the observations which follow are about industrial training in general and are based on the practical methods and theories taught by the public training and development bodies in South Africa. There are many training problems which will not be dealt with below. One of the most publicized of these problems is the importation, at great cost, of audio-visual training

packages from abroad (usually the United States) and the uncritical use of these packages under very different local conditions. This is the type of problem to which the National Training Board, via its panel of inspectors, applies itself.

The following two quotations give a fairly typical picture of the dominant training orthodoxy in South Africa. The first is a brief call for measurable training by objectives from the labour adviser of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. The second is a slightly abridged presentation of the National Training Board's model for all training programmes:

(i) In die eerste plek ... opleiding moet taakgerig wees in die sin dat die oorspronklike doel van die opleiding altyd die primiere mikpunt moet wees. In die tweede plek is dit slegs moontlik om die volle waarde van taakgerigte opleiding te bepaal indien hierdie opleiding meetbaar is. Dit impliseer dat deeglike toetse voor-, gedurende- sowel as na afloop van die opleiding op die betrokke kwekeling uitgevoer moet word.⁽¹⁾ (emphasis added)

(ii) ... the following basic principles should be adhered to:

(a) Unity and coherence

... No conflict or dissonance should exist among the various facets of training and all training sections or phases should be aimed at achieving a common, overall objective ... a

(1) Volkshandel, December 1982.

continuous 'training flow' in an overall framework should be ensured.

- (b) Programmes for the development of skills, knowledge and attitudes.

The aims of such programmes should be to increase the employability and productivity of all trainees.

- (c) Scheme of work for training programmes ... should include the following:

- (i) an indication of the type of training ...;
- (ii) training needs;
- (iii) training objectives and the steps required to achieve them;
- (iv) the knowledge or skills to be imparted;
- (v) the steps to be taken to achieve the objectives; [sic : see (iii)]
- (vi) the evaluation and testing of the effectiveness with which the skills are being imparted;
- (vii) the intended follow-up measures.

- (d) Follow-up procedures for training programmes ... to allow a valid assessment to be made of how the skills are applied in practice as well as to what degree such skills are contributing to the individual's development in using those skills.

- (e) Continued testing, measurement and feedback ... before, during and after the training programme ... measurement of the conceptual proficiency level achieved in the skills being learnt.(2)
(emphasis added)

These quotations give some idea of the manner in which 'training by objectives', more recently known as

(2) Department of Manpower, National Training Board : Compendium of Training, 1984, pp 12-14.

'competency training', has become the model for most training in industry as well as in other spheres. This approach, originally promoted by the influential instruction developers, Mager and Beach,⁽³⁾ has been refined and developed by the American Society for Training and Development.⁽⁴⁾ It has been enthusiastically adopted by the South African Society for Training and Development which has imported a number of American 'experts' to help establish the model locally.

In brief, this approach emphasizes the role of the trainer as a manager of resources. The resources include the training environment and trainees' existing competencies relevant to the programme which are measured by pretesting; as well as the training materials and aids. The major responsibility of the trainer is to ensure that trainees reach a predetermined level of competence in the operation or job being taught. This is achieved by breaking an operation down into a number of tasks (behavioural objectives or competencies). These tasks are then

(3) See MAGER, R.F. and BEACH, K.M. (1967).

(4) The work of the American Society for Training and Development on the 'Competency Model' is described in McLagan and Bedrick : 'Models for Excellence' in the Training and Development Journal, June 1983 and by McCullough and McLagan : 'Keeping the Competency Study Alive' in the same issue.

arranged to form a system on the basis of criteria such as the degree of difficulty or the frequency of performance 'on the job'. Trainees then pass through the learning system in a controlled manner. The mastery of each task is established by testing before the next task in the system is tackled. Tasks are defined according to the type of competency necessary for mastery. For example, in the job analysis the trainer will decide whether a particular task requires cognitive, psychomotor or affective skills and these are taken into account in designing the training environment, programme and testing. Training is complete when the required degree of competency in all tasks has been proven to have been reached according to the measurement instruments (standardized tests, simulation observation etc.) designed for this purpose.

The assumptions underlying training owe much to industrial psychology and a fairly rudimentary form of behaviourism in particular. Learning takes place in a controlled, closed system and the behavioural objectives are predetermined. Trainees are 'processed' and submitted to 'quality controls' before being returned to the working environment. Programme design rests upon the assumption that there is one best way of doing, thinking or feeling about something. If the trainer is to retain his or her position in the

firm, the 'best way' will inevitably be one which accords with the aims and objectives of management. Jan Malherbe uses Morea's definition of training which is an apt description of most South African industrial training:

Socialization suggests that the individual changes his behaviour to conform to certain expectations - the question usually is, whose expectations? Training is socialization to meet the expectations of management.(5)
(emphasis added)

Who, then, is management? Throughout this study 'managers' or 'management' has been used in the manner defined by Bozzoli as follows:

... the definition is based on the assumption that capital and labour have interests which contradict one another, based on capital's interest in extracting surplus from workers. Where capital finds it necessary or desirable to mediate this contradiction, it appoints managers to assist it. Managers are thus initially defined as the mediators of the contradictions between capital and labour, to the ultimate benefit of capital.(6)
(emphasis added)

This definition is especially pertinent to that section of management under which training falls, viz.

-
- (5) See Malherbe : 'Improving supervisory performance : an integrated approach' in BARLING. (ed) (1983), p 266.
- (6) Bozzoli, B : 'Managerialism and the Mode of Production in South Africa' in the South African Labour Bulletin, 3(8), October 1977, p 6.

personnel management. The ideological rules, practices and assumptions which have become part of conventional wisdom about business practice in general, and which serve to disguise this fundamentally artificial conflict resolution role of management, is referred to as 'managerialism'. Managerialism, in all its forms, "is concerned with defending or hiding the authority of those in whose interest work [or training] is controlled [and with] explaining the relative position of the subordinate to influence his beliefs and his behaviour concerning the activities he is required to perform".⁽⁷⁾

Most of the assumptions underlying industrial training derive directly from managerialism. Industrial psychology has been the chief academic discipline concerned with producing the theories and tools used by personnel managers and trainers in studying individual worker differences in relation to such managerial concerns as productivity, quality of 'output', absenteeism etc.. In concentrating upon these individual differences, industrial psychology has paid little attention to the influence of social location or social class on the workers' or trainees' understandings, attitudes and value systems.

(7) ANTHONY (1977) pp 2-3.

Managerialism in South Africa has taken two main forms both of which have had an influence on the development of industrial training ideas and practices. These forms emanated originally from the United States and are broadly described as 'scientific management' and 'humanistic' or 'liberal management'. As Bozzoli points out, in this country these forms of managerialism have evolved and are still evolving, together. They are sometimes expressed by the same ideological agents at different times which is a reflection of the complexity of interests which exist within complex capitalist social formations.⁽⁸⁾

Scientific management, the management strategy and ideological practice which focuses upon work and divides it into its simplest elements in order to systematically improve the workers' performances in each of these elements with the aim of increased productivity, was synthesized and popularized by Frederick Taylor. Braverman disputes the blandly uncritical description of scientific management as the "science of work". He argues that in reality it is "intended to be the science of the management of others' work under capitalism".⁽⁹⁾ The central

(8) Bozzoli, op cit, p 41.

(9) BRAVERMAN (1974) p 90.

feature of scientific management is the emphasis on control of the labour process. Taylorism was a crude form of scientific management based on the experiments and discussions of Taylor with workers on the production line. However, even in its more refined current versions, the principles of scientific management remain essentially the same and have had a profound effect on the capitalist production process and the systems of training developed to train workers for different positions in this process. The training policy statements cited in Chapter Three abound with terms and assumptions derived from this type of managerialism as do the introductory quotations to this section.

In essence, scientific management conceives of work, or training for work, as a closed system. The overall conception of the production or the training process is separated from its execution on the basis that the manager-designer (or trainer-designer) has a monopoly over the worthwhile knowledge or expertise and is therefore in a position to dictate and control each step in the overall process. The conception of human experience and behaviour embedded in this approach is profoundly technicist.⁽¹⁰⁾ Scientific and

(10) For a full discussion of technicism, see BUCKLAND (1983) pp 2-4.

technological terms are used and subjective criteria are underplayed or denied in favour of quasi-scientific objectivity. Such descriptions as "input-process-output", to describe human activities like learning, is a familiar example from Chapter Three. This fragmentation of work disempowers workers who are deprived of choices and are expected to act in predetermined ways without initiative or imagination. Obviously, training which is carried out in the same manner prepares workers psychologically for their alienated positions on the factory floor. Optimum efficiency and economic incentives are the keys to the management rationale.

The closed system approach to training for work ignores the interaction between the trainer and trainees and their economic, social and political contexts as well as between the factory or firm and its context. Social structures beyond the organization and their impact on the people within it, are not taken into account.

The assumptions about how to train workers derived from 'scientific management' include assumptions about the notion of 'skills' and the 'skills shortage' discourse in South Africa. While certain types of skills shortages undoubtedly do exist, the ideological effect

of the repeated skills shortage cry from capital and the state has been used to justify a variety of economic and political factors which are the results of profound historical social contradictions. At the same time, the skills shortage calls create ideological 'space' for restructuring in state policy. For example, claims about technical skills shortages provided the basis for reformulating job reservations and the restrictions on Artisan training for Africans. This usage of skills shortage 'talk' is not unique to South Africa.

The CCCS editorial team illustrates how 'skill' was used to argue for economic changes in Britain during the sixties:

The expansion of employment in the white-collar occupations and in the service sector, increasing automation and the application of science to production and complaints about specific shortages of skilled labour all produced a situation, it was argued, in which a more skilled labour force was required. A more 'technological' society required more scientists and technicians and a higher general level of 'skills'. On the other side, skill was used as a kind of metaphor for educational expansion.(11)

(11) CCCS (1981) pp 144/5.

They also go on to show how assumptions about 'skill' were important politically. Much of their discussion can be applied to South Africa in the 1980s.

Both Muller and Meth⁽¹²⁾ demonstrate that the actual extent of the skills shortage is difficult to determine and that published estimates require cautious treatment. Meth's research shows that the alleged shortages in the number of apprenticeships required is at variance with the 'facts' and "what is more, the location, and hence the significance of the shortages does not appear to be very well understood".⁽¹³⁾ In a later paper Meth argues that in absolute terms, the number of vacancies for scientific workers, engineers and technicians is surprisingly low and it cannot be claimed that the supply in "the combined white, coloured and Indian groups has been exhausted".⁽¹⁴⁾

In the training discourse, as well as in training practices, the meanings embedded in the general category 'skill' are left unexamined. 'Skill' is used

(12) Muller, J : 'Much Ado : The Manpower Crises and the de Lange Report' in JAMES (ed) (1984) p 8 (cited in Chapter 3) and Meth, C : 'Trade Unions, Skill Shortages and Private Enterprise' in the South African Labour Bulletin, 5(3) October 1979.

(13) Meth, ibid p 87.

(14) Meth, C : 'Class Formation : Skill Shortage and Black Advancement' in SARS (1983) pp 195 and 197.

to signify a variety of techniques, attitudes and intellectual abilities. The generally positive connotations given to the term or its apparent scientific neutrality when used in the discourse of scientific management, has made it possible for the concept to be used ideologically rendering questioning and criticism difficult. As the CCCS team argues:

... we may speak of more or less 'skill' (or of 'skilled', 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled') but these categories disguise essential features of social context and human effect. Social situations and human capacities are systematically technicized; arrangements are moved out of the realm of evaluation, choice and politics and into the realm of abstract necessity.(15)

Techniques ('masteryes' or 'competencies') cannot be conceived of other than in the social relations in which they are embedded.(16) The 'skill components' of training courses, therefore, require careful examination. For example, Bird⁽¹⁷⁾ shows how a training course for mineworkers which was concerned primarily with safety, included censorious references to late workers and lazy workers. This supports the

(15) CCCS op cit p 145.

(16) Ibid, p 146.

(17) Bird, A : 'The Adult Night School Movements for Blacks' in KALLAWAY (ed) (1984) p 214.

view of Chisholm that the skills "needed by certain sectors of monopoly capital ... are concerned as much with 'moral and ideological preparation' ... with labour discipline and with the inculcation of the values of 'free enterprise', as with increasing technical requirements".(18)

The ideological usage of skills training, is especially necessary for capital and the capitalist state when, as is the case for the period under study, schooling has failed to inculcate the necessary positive mental 'set' towards capitalist social relations and the capitalist production process requirements in the majority of the population. One of the recurring themes of the discourse examined in the previous chapter was the fear that black working class attitudes towards the free enterprise system and its values were becoming increasingly negative. The carefully controlled training process, with its incentives for 'good' performances such as promotion and salary increases, is an ideal area in which to regain lost ground in legitimizing capitalism in the minds of the workforce. A quotation from Chisholm and Christie illustrates how

(18) Chisholm, L : 'Redefining Skills : Black Education in South Africa in the 1980s in Comparative Education, 19(3) 1983, p 360.

managements use training to influence the attitudes and behaviours of the workers:

Employers are looking for a quality of 'steadiness' that is not the same thing as skill but may be achieved by a process of training. There has always been evidence that jobs with training made for more stable workers than jobs without, and now it seems that employers are 'skilling' jobs, adding 'training' programmes as a form of work discipline.(19)

De Clercq sums up the argument developed above about the ideological assumptions embedded in the term 'skill' and the practice 'skills training':

... skill is a socially constructed concept whose full meaning can only be gauged in its context ... [S]kill training is not only the teaching of neutral skills but also the teaching of a certain form of work discipline, work ethics and attitudes.(20)

Because it is socially constructed, 'skill' is a contested notion. Furthermore, in different contexts to be 'skilled' implies very different attributes. To be "a skilled operator", for example, implies quite different attributes when referring to the production

(19) S. Frith quoted by Chisholm, L and Christie, P in 'Restructuring in Education' in SARS (1983), p 261.

(20) de Clercq, F : 'Some Recent Trends in Bophuthatswana : Commuters and Restructuring in Education' in SARS (1984) p 281.

line and when referring to the politics of the boardroom.

However, in the context of industrial training, "skill ... is the conceptual device through which men are given measurable attributes" and are "quantified and graded".⁽²¹⁾ In scientific management terms, the measurable attributes which are claimed to differentiate the 'semi-skilled' worker from the 'skilled' worker are the technological knowledges and techniques which enable the former to undertake a greater variety of tasks in order to successfully complete a complex operation. However, from a worker's perspective, what elevates the 'skilled' worker from a 'less skilled' is her ability to conceive of, and carry out, an entire contract or job from conception to practical implementation. The sum of knowledge, experience, imagination as well as the specialized technical abilities to implement a job effectively is what distinguishes the skilled, in traditional terms the 'craft', from the less skilled worker. The Marxian literature on deskilling⁽²²⁾ cites numerous examples of research studies which have

(21) Morphet, Tony: 'Deconstructing Education : The Case of Skills Training', unpublished paper, p 2.

(22) See, for example, BRAVERMAN (1974), CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES (CCCS) (1981) and ANTHONY (1977).

proved that most industrial jobs which are categorized as skilled are well within the capacities of most workers and that very short orientation courses would place them within the capacities of all but a few with some form of handicap.

What is at stake is, therefore, not technical capabilities, but autonomy in the work situation, combined with job interest and variety. In short - power. The de-skilled worker is limited to a particular phase in the production process. This phase is repeated within an optimum time scale which allows for few variations and very little initiative other than in 'cutting corners' to break the monotony or to save some time for social interactions with other workers. By deskilling the production process through systems design and mechanization, the number of expensive skilled jobs are limited and labour is more easily and efficiently controlled. The training and replacement costs for labour which is specialized in short specific tasks, are much less than for artisans or other skilled workers. As has been argued, fragmented training prepares trainees for fragmented labour.

Thus far, the presentation of the assumptions which are embedded in training have been limited to one type of

management approach and paint a uni-dimensional, Orwellian picture. The other form of managerialism which co-exists with Taylorism is the humanistic or liberal approach. This approach concentrates less on the functions or tasks to be performed and more on the people performing the jobs. Trainers belonging to this school of thought, or using some of these ideas, are concerned with future employee/trainee morale and the human relations within the organization. Conflict reduction rather than control is the key to this approach. It is not surprising that after the working class, and especially the industrial labour struggles of the 1970s in South Africa, management concern with worker motivation and communication with the different levels of the managerial hierarchy became more evident.

Fullager shows that in South Africa recent humanistic approaches to industrial behaviour (which includes training) have emphasized cultural rather than individual differences. He quotes Wiendieck in support of this claim:

... the South African industrial psychologist is solicited into producing motivation theories for racial groupings, because the society dictates that the various race groups may not be motivated in terms of the same opportunities for development, promotion, self-expression, remuneration, security, achievement, self-determination and so forth...(23)

Much informal talk among trainers as well as some of the writing on training and 'black advancement', is concerned with the cultural characteristics of different trainee groups. The solution to cultural problems is thought to be improved communication and understanding. The broader socio-economic factors are largely ignored.

Fullager warns against an exaggeration of racial and ethnic differences in a society in which Western capitalist mores have penetrated even the most remote areas. Spurious explanations such as, "The desire among black employees for immediate gratification of their demands as a result of traditional breast-feeding practices..."(24) for labour conflict, merely perpetuate offensive paternalistic stereotypes.

(23) WIENDIECK (1979) p 232 quoted by Fullagar, C :
'Organizational Behaviour in South Africa' in BARLING
(ed) (1983) p 15.

(24) DE VILLIERS (1974) quoted by Fullager ibid.

The training principles derived from humanistic managerialism assume that with emphasis on 'healthy' communications and careful induction into the culture of the organization, loyalty to the aims and practices of the organization will be achieved and the relationship between management and labour will be essentially harmonious.

In recent years, human resources management based on Maslow's theory of self-actualization has become popular among the reformist fractions of capital and the state. Grounded in humanism, this approach to 'manpower development' and training adopts more participatory practices, but the approach to worker participation tends to be on an individual or small group basis. Control 'from above' is still the rule, but it is usually defined as "leadership". The human resources management approach is especially popular with industrial relations trainers. The Institute of Industrial Relations established by Bobby Godsell, now chief industrial relations officer for Anglo American, typifies this approach:

[They wanted to] incorporate labour and management bodies. They believed that the best way to deal constructively and effectively with conflicts was by "increasing industrial relations skills and expanding the opportunities for communication and co-operation between labour and management".(25)

The trouble with most humanistic approaches to training is that, while they allow for more trainee and worker participation in, for example, course evaluation, they leave the production process and the contradictions underlying most worker grievances largely untouched. This type of training encourages more worker participation in such decisions as the canteen menu, but it is ideological in the manner in which it implies that 'worker-management chats' will have a more profound effect than the superficial therapeutic relief which comes from 'being heard'. Any assumptions based on a philosophy of worker-management harmony and which perceives of conflicts as temporary distortions in a co-operative process, are ignoring the socio-economic structures of work and the socio-political contexts in which trainers and trainees live and experience the meanings of their lives. Few training assumptions rest upon the belief that trainees live and work in power structures about which they develop understandings based on experience.

(25) From Seftel, L : 'Worker Education in the 70s' in Africa Perspective, 24, 1984, p 94.

Both broad categories of training assumptions discussed here rest upon closed systems. In the scientific management category the systems are treated in an objective, instrumental manner with the emphasis on efficient, controlled production. The second category of assumptions treats the factory as an isolated 'family' in which open talks, team loyalty and interpersonal skills training will enable happy workers to be more productive and emotionally fulfilled by the achievements of the management aims and objectives. Neither approach takes the structural interests of the industrial agents seriously. The political, economic and community contexts of workers are generally ignored and all industrial training suffers from a narrow conception of human nature and work.

Despite the lip-service paid by local trainers to multi-culturalism, in practice training is concerned with trainee 'adjustments' to the production environment with the possibility of modifications being made in the work place and process to suit worker needs and characteristics being largely ignored. The only exceptions to this general principle, are based on safety and efficiency concerns. Reciprocal accommodation between workers and management based on negotiation is the goal of a few progressive personnel

departments, but in the training arena the few attempts at negotiation of programme design and content have tended to be empty or ideological exercises because few ingredients in the training 'recipes' are open to change from below. This is partly a result of the rigid registration criteria applied to courses and partly because of manager pressures on trainers to provide cost and time-saving courses with direct (measurable) behavioural outcomes which show benefits in production. Human concerns such as worker morale and interest and psychological health are difficult to prove according to technicist criteria.

The narrowness of officially approved training practices in industry is illustrated by the refusal of state policy makers to offer financial incentives for adult basic education courses in industry. Worker basic education is concerned with enabling workers who have had limited or no formal schooling, to acquire a foundation in reading, writing and calculation (literacy and numeracy). Based on the de Lange model of parallel formal and non-formal education 'systems' with much non-formal education taking place in the industrial work environment, some trainers argue that this makes worker basic education their responsibility. They claim that they have been forced into a position of compensating for failures and gaps in the state

provision of education. In order for adults to function effectively in the modern world, particularly in the modern capitalist production environment, they require a modicum of basic education. Once the initial breakthrough in literacy and numeracy has been made, it is argued, the learners are themselves in a position to continue this education in their home and work environments.

The attitude of the state in refusing to support such initiatives, is explained by Dr Nick Alberts of the National Training Board.⁽²⁶⁾ He emphasizes the need for work orientation with the aim being to familiarize people with a technological production environment. He explains that, in time, a case might be made for "occupational literacy" with the training criteria being slightly expanded to include specific systematized forms of worker basic education in the standard training programme contents. What is implied in the talk of state representatives such as Dr Alberts, is that worker basic education can prove difficult to control. The attitudes and ideas expressed in teaching literacy, for example, are not always narrowly confined to malleable 'good' worker

(26) In an unpublished talk to an audience concerned with worker basic education held at the Rand Afrikaans University on 30 March 1984.

behaviour. The state officials are hyper-sensitive to this issue given the South African tradition of such education for workers having been introduced by the Communist Party in the 1920s. This fear tends to be grossly exaggerated as a number of liberal and conservative literacy agencies have since provided most extra-production worker courses and the actual numbers of learners benefitting from all such schemes remains small.

An official of the Western Cape division of the National Training Board exposed the de Lange claims for work based compensatory education. At a forum of trainers he had the final authoritative words on the subject: "Training is training and education is education".

Only the very large corporations with a public commitment to, and the funds for, 'corporate social responsibility' undertakings have treated worker basic education as a management priority. The most notable examples have been the Barlow-Rand and Anglo groups. The size and financial power of these corporations enable them to operate their personnel development and training programmes independently of the official structures. They can afford to forego the tax incentives offered for registered training courses

should they so desire. Furthermore, they attract training officers of the highest calibre because the rewards offered by such corporations are extensive. Not least among these are the opportunities for innovation and independent action. Executive members of these corporations have been at the forefront of liberal capitalist lobbies which criticise the inequitable system of separate education in South Africa and they seek to illustrate their arguments through their own corporate educational engagements.

Despite this exceptional power and independence, the commitment to worker basic education is a fairly recent development for these corporations and their work in this field has yet to be independently evaluated and scrutinized.

3. THE EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

If the black man is to be persuaded that free enterprise is not simply part of a discriminatory system that limits his opportunities, commerce and industry should heed the words of the President of Tanzania, Dr Julius Nyerere in noting a distinction between [education and training] which makes liberated men and women into skillful users of tools, and a system which turns men and women into tools : that regards them as creatures not creators.(27)

Most educational practitioners would agree with Morphet that "much of what is classified as education is in fact no more than training".(28) Despite this fact, conscientious educationists spend much of their professional lives resisting pressures from the state, the institutional powers for whom they work, and sometimes from the learners themselves, to turn people into tools. In education, learners (as well as teachers) are regarded as unique social agents, who bring to the learning situation a blended history of their own experience. This includes the structures of social relations of which they are the bearers as well as their psychological and physical characteristics. In other words, education, and adult education in particular, conceives of the participants in a learning

(27) Dr K Hartshorne in Optima 30 (1) July 1981, pp 28/9.

(28) Morphet, Tony : 'Deconstructing Education : The Case of Skills Training, unpublished paper, 1983, p 8.

situation as always-already-constructed subjects in the process of becoming. However, this existential terminology is not intended to deny the structurally determined aspects of subjecthood.

Where education departs dramatically from training is in its regard for people, especially adults, as agents i.e. as beings capable of imagining, reasoning, understanding and acting in a given situation. The primary role of education is to extend this capacity of agents - of learners. Through exposure to new experiences, information and techniques, the repertoire of choices of the learners is extended and axiomatically so is the social power.

It has been shown that training is concerned with limiting experience. It deals in artificially closed systems in which the learner/trainee is disempowered and controlled by the design of the training experience and by the actions of the trainer to control the situation and the people within it by using scientific management techniques. Training is closely related to commodity fetishism : knowledge, social attitudes and skills are conceived of as commodities to be 'had' and once 'owned' the commodified worker's price in the labour market appreciates. Management 'experts', training 'consultants' and 'package designers' run the

shop with the trainer as the 'salesperson'. The problem with the shop analogy is that the consumer, the trainee, has little choice in most industrial training situations. The withholding of 'purchase power' could result in the unemployment line or at least real social and economic sanctions.

Without intending to caricature the training situation for the learners and educators involved; the shop analogy communicates the assumptions in training about learning offering the same goods for all people whose powers to acquire it are essentially alike, although they may differ in quantity (IQs, aptitudes, etc. all measured according to standardized testing procedures). Educators do not assume that a learning experience will necessarily be the same for those who participate in it as for those who design it, nor do they assume that individual learners will experience the learning in like ways.

Any educator-learner situation is one of unequal power and strange humanistic attempts to deny this are insulting to the social agents involved and are essentially ideological. However, in the training situation, the rigid limits set on the exchange between trainer and trainees results in closure at the expense of the trainer as much as at the expense of the

trainee. All learning is an exchange process and by limiting the exchange to a one-way transaction, the trainer is impoverished - is denied new experiences and insights brought to the situation by the trainees but ignored and rendered invisible or meaningless by the preset training parameters.

Thomas offers some important insights into the implications of training for learners. He shows that by "placing the primary responsibility for what gets learnt with the trainer or designer of training materials" the trainer is made vulnerable to poor instruction and trainer dependency is created which makes it more difficult for trainees to cope independently and creatively with challenges arising in less protected situations.⁽²⁹⁾ All learning is about change. In training its about change in the trainees to fit the production requirements of an organization. The organization is, therefore, the arbiter of the success of the training process. In education, as Thomas points out, the final arbiters of the effectiveness of learning are always the learners themselves.⁽³⁰⁾

(29) THOMAS (1983) p 275.

(30) ibid, p 276/7.

Training is, therefore, dependency inducing while ideally education is not. By undermining the 'creator' in learners, training makes them more malleable and obedient to the views and instructions of authorities and 'experts'. It also encourages learners to perceive themselves according to the criteria of others, especially those in positions of power. Furthermore, in industrial training, because major facets of the worker-learners' experience are denied or dismissed as unimportant and because this is the dominant ideological view of working class culture and experience in capitalist societies, the worker-learners are themselves trapped in this ideological perception of their own positions and experience. Because they do not belong elsewhere, a sense of alienated helplessness (the familiar 'laziness', 'apathy' or 'joking, nothing matters' stereotypes) results for those who are 'subjected' and 'qualified' by such messages.

Training, and much education, emphasizes the role of the individual in the organization. Few training activities are co-operative group enterprises except perhaps for a few within the humanistic 'group dynamic' approach. But this latter approach emphasises the role of the individual in the group, not the role of the group in the organization or society. It was

argued in Chapter Two⁽³¹⁾ that working class power derives from the structural position of workers as a group in production. Working class power is essentially collective. It is upon this that trade unionism and worker organization rests. Individualistic training and socialization undermines this power and makes the organization of workers more difficult.

Education does not have as limiting an effect upon learners although it does play a powerful ideological role in interpellating individuals into the dominant views, attitudes and mores of a society. However, critical education, and in this respect the less institutionalized character of the best forms of adult education is a positive attribute, strives for openness rather than for the closing down and restricting of learning experiences. Morphet describes this type of education as making people aware of the "controlling frameworks" in their lives and thereby enabling them to act upon questions of values and choices.⁽³²⁾ Education is emancipatory when it assists social agents to explore and understand the contexts in which they live and work. Via this process of meaning-making and

(31) Section 2.3 (b).

(32) Morphet, op cit, p 9.

analysis they develop their own capacities to change and act.

Sound adult education principles are based on understanding learning as an individual process of personal change which has consequences in practice. The action which results from learning is, or should be, examined and critically evaluated as a social process with consequences for the individual learner as well as for his social context - the system of social relations in which he lives and works. Such education is, therefore, self-conscious. It implies individual and collective responsibility and carries with it accountability for behaviour consciously chosen. Training discourages this critical attitude. Trainees react in predetermined ways according to institutionalised choices and the questions of values and consequences are left to management.

It should be noted that adult education in South Africa is a peripheral discipline. Few formative or evaluative investigations are available which enable the student to deduce the general assumptions and principles operating in this field. At present, the marginalized status of most adult educators allows them considerable freedom to choose discrete areas of practice which respond in small ways to the massive

need for compensatory and remedial social education for adults in work, life skills and social movements. The disadvantage of this state of affairs is that adult education, itself, tends to be taken for granted as a positive enterprise. While the roots of most current adult education practices lie in the European traditions of worker education and community development, too often adult educators who are opposed to state policy are, themselves, allowed to operate as if they are removed from the dominant structures of power and exploitation. They have tended to be regarded as free critical intellectuals who, because they function on the edges of the formal systems and because their absolute numbers are small, are insulated from some of the hard choices faced by formal system educators and trainers. For this reason, the voices of many of the leading academic adult educators have been largely absent from the dominant education and training discourses. When they have participated in central policy-making activities, as in the de Lange Committee on Non-Formal Education, their role has tended to be one of counter ideological debate and criticism - reactive rather than proactive. To date, large-scale system mobilization and mass interpellations have been avoided by such educators as this would bring unwelcome public attention and a subsequent loss of freedom to innovate, experiment and explore. As a result,

counter-hegemonic adult educators devote their energies to limited small-scale reform activities with little impact on the dominant practices and discourses.

4. TWO ALTERNATIVES

In this section two alternatives to the type of industrial training which has been described in this study are offered. These are counters to the social and educational assumptions embedded in the dominant training discourse and practices. However, as neither alternative is well developed in this country, each is presented in very brief incomplete outlines derived from very few empirical sources. The intention is not to offer alternative 'ideal types', but rather to illustrate the most likely forms in which practical education engagements against the training ideologies are likely to take in the industrial work arena.

4.1 Trade Union Worker Education

This outline is a synthesis of the ideas of Alec Erwin, former National education officer of

FOSATU⁽³³⁾ and a review of Worker Education by Lisa Seftel.⁽³⁴⁾ The general strands from these sources are combined and the outline should not be regarded as an accurate representation of either writer's views.

The primary sites of the trade union worker education favoured by the independent South African emergent unions are the union meeting and organizational processes. However, the outline below is confined to the more formal educational practices of unions. To date, these have tended to take place in a rather haphazard fashion.

(a) The aims

Worker education is primarily practical. Its purpose is to equip workers with the knowledge and skills which will make them effective organizers and leaders within the factory, the union and the wider community. It also aims to help workers to understand their structural position in the socio-

(33) SALB interview with Alec Erwin entitled 'The FOSATU Education Workshop and Worker Education' in the South African Labour Bulletin 9(8) July 1984, pp 116-120.

(34) Seftel, L : 'Worker Education in the 70s' in Africa Perspective, 24, 1984, pp 86-98.

economic context and to give them a sense of historical continuity in both local and international worker struggles. It strives to counter the dominant anti-worker ideology and to reinforce and stimulate working class pride and culture. An important concern is that worker education should be democratic and that those who benefit from special courses should pass the insights gained on to other workers. It is feared that if some workers benefit from extra education and are not prepared to share what they have learnt, a power struggle and hierarchy amongst the workers will result. The central tenet of union education is unity and group struggle.

(b) The processes

As far as is possible, participatory processes are favoured. Seminars or group discussions are held at week-ends; simulated negotiation exercises are done with all participants contributing to the design and content; and consciousness raising songs, plays and newsheets are 'work-shopped', with the intention of stimulating discussion among members as well as with the aim of reaching a

wider audience of potential members. FOSATU members describe such processes as 'interactive'.

(c) The content

The preferred type of content for most worker education situations is that which is raised by the workers and which relates directly to their experiences in the work environment or in trade union organization processes. An exchange of ideas between shop stewards from different branches or regions often forms the basis for an educational 'event'. Organizational procedure, grievances, labour law, negotiations and workers' rights are examples of the types of issues around which worker education is most often designed.

In the South African situation, however, unions have found that some 'compensatory' basic education is necessary to equip unionists to keep records, handle group monies and facilitate oral self-expression and debate. Therefore, literacy, numeracy and rhetoric are taught in workshops. Care is taken to ensure that the materials used are union and worker related.

More 'theoretical subjects' such as history, geography, economics and other aspects of social life are taught from a working class perspective in an attempt to counter the predominant forms such subjects take in schools. These subjects are often presented in dramatized forms or are the subject matter of union articles and workbooks.

(d) Testing

Group evaluation is encouraged at the end of the more formal processes, but the main criterion for the measurement of success is enhanced participation and leadership within union activities.

(e) Some points of controversy or disagreement

There is some debate about the use of sympathetic outside 'experts' or agencies to conduct certain forms of trade union membership education. Trade union service organizations such as the Urban Training Project and the Institute for Industrial Education were prominent in the re-formation of black unionism. However, some unions are wary of creating a dependency upon outside intellectuals and would prefer to develop their own 'organic

intellectuals'. This is the theory. In practice, a lack of resources, time pressures and a low general level of formal education has resulted in most unions using outside services for the creation of materials and the teaching of their broader society-based courses.

The issue of political education is a more difficult one for unions to resolve. Some favour general working class political consciousness raising only, others feel that 'bread and butter' politics should be part of union discussions and events, while a third group have open political affiliations and regard their role as being part of a broad community or racial struggle. In reality, politics have impinged on most union campaigns although party-political politics are generally frowned upon.

Finally, a quotation from an interview conducted by Seftel with a TUCSA official reveals the parallel union approach to worker education.

[He said that] he saw very little scope for worker education of his membership because they do not have shop stewards and because everything is dealt with by a full-time staff and his personal interaction with management.(35)
(original emphasis)

4.2 Job-Related Adult Education

In recent years there have been some tentative initiatives by academics such as French (of the H S R C) whose field is literacy and numeracy for adults, members of continuing and adult education departments in the more liberal universities, as well as by some members of adult basic education non-profit service agencies; to pool resources in order to provide adult basic education for workers which is broader in scope and more flexible than industrial training and less organization and mobilization orientated than union worker education.

Thus far, political and methodological differences have resulted in only a few informal talks and meetings taking place to keep this concept alive, but no combined activity has been practicable. The compromise label for possible future

(35) Ibid, p 91.

programmes would appear to be 'Job-Related Adult Education' and the content would fall broadly within the category of 'worker life skills' and 'personal development' with adult literacy and numeracy classes forming the base.

Issues such as negotiating worker time-release from production and/or classes on factory premises are typical of the ideas discussed. The target learner group would be the lowest paid, 'unskilled' workers who tend to have had little or no planned education of any sort.

While this brief discussion is very tentative and general, it is presented because it is likely that the on-going study of non-formal education by the HSRC, the increase in opportunities to obtain private funding for certain types of non-formal adult and 'compensatory' education, and the rise in the number of tiny groups and organizations providing materials for or classes in various types of adult basic education; may well result in some of these organizations combining to undertake a large project of this nature. All the agents in this field are in agreement about the one issue which makes such an undertaking possible : the need for more experience related adult basic

education among the poorer strata of the working class is great.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the educational assumptions embedded in South African industrial training were examined. They were shown to be narrow, restricting and ideological. These assumptions were traced back to the two major strands of managerialism which co-exist in South African society, viz. scientific management and humanistic or liberal management. Training was then compared with education in order to reveal the deficiencies in training practice and the effects of this for trainers and especially for learners. Finally, two undeveloped and as yet generally neglected alternative models for the education of workers were sketched based on current practices in this country. These were presented on the grounds that they offer some indication of likely directions for future non-state developments in the field of education for workers.

The two examples of counter-hegemonic worker education sketched above as foils for reflection upon industrial training reveal, at this stage, the fragility of worker

education discourses which are in opposition to the dominant view. The worker education discourse of the independent trade unions is notable for its incoherence and defensiveness while the job-related adult education discourse suffers from naivety and innocence. At the root of the weaknesses of both these counter-discourses is the lack of a strong tradition in social practice. To articulate education theories and principles without a strong base in practice is largely an exercise in wishful thinking. As worker organization grows and strengthens and various forms of work-related adult education programmes are undertaken, it will become easier to judge what alternatives to training such practices offer and what the social consequences of such undertakings are. In the interim, the dominant industrial training discourse is so entrenched that it drowns out the counter interpellations and successfully co-opts many of the more able agents of independent worker education. The recruitment policies of the Anglo American Corporation is a case in point.

CHAPTER FIVECONCLUSIONS

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	278
2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	280
3. IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS	287
4. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	289
5. GENERAL CONCLUSION	291

CHAPTER FIVECONCLUSIONS1. INTRODUCTION

This study set out to examine the South African industrial training discourse and policy during the period which begins with the appointment of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions of Inquiry in 1977 and ends after the first full year of implementation of the Manpower Training Act of 1981. The investigation was designed to answer two types of questions. The first type of question was concerned with the ideological problems presented by the emergence of industrial training as a prominent theme in the general South African socio-economic discourse at a time when social struggles were becoming pronounced and the state was in the process of restructuring its policies, institutions and official discourse. The second type of question was more explicitly educational. These were concerned with understanding the educational assumptions and theories which had been put to use inside the formulation of industrial training practice and the implications of these assumptions for the trainees as learners and the trainers as educators.

The study was designed to move from a survey of some of the more influential theories of ideology as a critical concept to the development of an ideological critique as the first analytical framework for examining the industrial training discourse. After a brief discussion of some of the other theoretical concepts which featured in this framework, it moved on to sketch a broad outline of the most important socio-political developments in South Africa during the period under study. This formed the contextual framework for analysing the industrial training discourse and policy.

The third and major part of the study traced, analysed and illustrated the major themes in the industrial training discourse. The training messages which appeared in public audience based sources such as newspapers, journals and speeches, were grouped according to the social class affiliations of the authors or speakers. The messages of each broad grouping were compared and contrasted. The social agents who had barely featured in the general discourse were identified, and the development and changes in the training legislation and policy were traced.

The last chapter of the study examined industrial training from an educational perspective. The educational meanings and assumptions embedded in

industrial training practice were discussed. These were then compared with the general aims and assumptions of adult education and two alternative models of education for industrial workers were presented.

2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It was found that the industrial training discourse was dominated by calls for the expansion of industrial training practice which came from the ideological agents of capital and the state. Initially the ideologists and prominent figures in the corporate fraction of capital took the lead in promoting training in the public communications media, but by the turn of the decade, the training messages of all the fractions of capital and the state had become remarkably similar in all but one respect: The state messages which were directed at the relatively privileged white fraction of labour contained reassurances about the protection of their vested interests in the apartheid labour policies through a strategy of reformulated controls over the African working class.

The training discourse of the ultra-conservative white working class was primarily aimed at retaining the Verwoerdian labour policies based on racial separatism and the supposed superiority of the white people. The fraction of labour which supported the parallel unions, tended to echo the messages of the state. The emergent non-racial unions provided the strongest counter-discourse to the dominant group's ideological messages and the related state labour policies. This fraction's discourse was primarily concerned with the dualistic labour policy which distinguishes between a smallish group of African 'insiders', i.e. those with urban residential rights and the majority of African 'outsiders' who are regarded as temporary sojourners in the urban areas where they work. Furthermore, this fraction rejected the excessive control measures applied to the working class through the restructured labour laws relating to unionization and training.

The main ideological themes which emerged in the capital-state training discourse as well as state policy, were directly related to the working class political, economic and educational struggles which emerged as a result of historical social contradictions in the South African social formation. Training and labour policies were reformulated and promoted in the

discourse of capital and the state as a solution to such problems as:

- * economic recession and rising inflation.
- * the threat of mass populist action by the unemployed.
- * the declining legitimacy of capitalist hegemony among the African working class and the related communist threat (the co-optation of a trained black middle class was the solution being proposed).
- * the failure of Bantu Education to prepare the African youth ideologically as well as academically for the modern capitalist production process.
- * the 'deracialization' of state policy and restoration of South Africa to its former position as a stable market for foreign investment in the eyes of the West.
- * the survival of the moral values and social mores associated with the free enterprise system.
- * industrial relations harmony for higher labour productivity and peace.
- * the solution to the claimed 'skills shortage' crisis.
- * national security and economic growth.

The restructuring in state policy affecting training began before 1976, but it was with the appointment of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions in 1977 after the urban African unrest and the continued development of the independent unions which had emerged in 1973, that it gained momentum. These complementary commissions reported in 1979 by which time some ad hoc amendments had been made to the tangle of statutes which had a bearing on the training arena. The recommendations of the commissions had the effect of appearing to deracialize state policy while implementing more subtle controls and divisions in the African working class. The first Wiehahn Report, in particular, echoed many of the ideological themes in the dominant labour discourse and was greeted enthusiastically by the different fractions of capital. Among the major recommendations directly related to industrial training, were the proposed national manpower organization comprised of representatives of capital, the state and labour (the National Manpower Commission which was established a few months later); the consolidation of the various labour and training acts without any racial distinctions; the reformulation of financial incentives for all registered training programmes; the gradual phasing out of the remaining job reservations, the registration and control of the independent unions; and the control and registration of industrial relations

training to eliminate 'undesirable' influences. A dual reform/control strategy emerged, but the state response was disappointing to the capitalists who had been promoting the positive aspects of the new reformist capital - state alliance. It appeared that P W Botha's approach to consultation with capital and the promised reduced state involvement in the labour market had been temporarily shelved. Coupled with the inconsistent state policy reform process were the harsh actions of the State Repressive Apparatus against black working class leaders and independent trade union officials and members. These apparent contradictions seemed to signify divisions and struggles within the state and the reluctance of the National Party leadership to jettison some of its traditional conservative supporters despite its overwhelming victory in the 1981 general election and its gain in corporate capital support.

The education 'crisis' of 1980, the appointment and report of the de Lange Commission of Inquiry into the provision of education and the continued 'skills shortage' and 'black advancement' rhetoric in the general public discourse as well as the continued expansion of and action by the independent trade unions, were among the developments which took place before the passing of the 1981 Manpower Training Act.

This time nearly all the major recommendations made in the second part of the Wiehahn Report (which had dealt with all the aspects of training including industrial relations training) were accepted. All forms of training were now gathered under a single act and the National Training Board was established to control and develop training policy and to administer the financial incentives, the rewards and sanctions linked to the registration of training schemes and programmes. The training practices which proved acceptable to the Board were narrow and reflected an instrumental and technicist view of worker education.

The educational assumptions embedded in the training policy and practices which were vigorously promoted by the state and capital in the early 1980s, denied the underlying contradiction of interests between capital and labour. Training practices treated worker trainees as 'raw materials' ('inputs') to be 'processed' according to standardized procedures and 'turned out' as docile and malleable production workers ('outputs') in fragmented, controlled and repetitive jobs in production.

These educational assumptions embedded in industrial training were found to have links with the deskilling of jobs in modern capitalist production, the isolation

of the production concerns of managements from the broader social context in which production takes place, and the treatment of workers as uni-dimensional beings who can be controlled and manipulated according to the 'manpower needs' of industry as long as they are prevented from experiencing and understanding their structural power as the proletariat. It was shown that true education is concerned with open learning experiences which provide learners with understandings and choices which empower them to act upon the environments in which they live and work and to change themselves. Training, on the other hand, closes down the learners' choices by limiting the learning situation, creating dependency upon outside authorities and commodifying creative human capacities and manipulating these in the labour market place.

The educational ideas of the independent trade unions were presented as the counter model to orthodox industrial training policy. In this model the educational assumptions are directly related to Marxian ideas about the power and capacity of the working class to change the capitalist social relations of power and exploitation. The fundamental concern of such worker education is with the development of worker leaders and democratic organization of all workers in production. Individualistic and managerial teaching practices are

avoided and learning materials are related directly to worker interests and experiences. This type of education was mooted as one area of adult education development for the future as worker struggles and trade unionism continue to develop in this country.

The other possible direction offered for the growth of industrial worker education was that of job-related adult education. This was described as a form of basic education with the emphasis on worker experiences and personal concerns both on and off the job. It was suggested that this type of worker education is likely to be developed by agencies outside of state and union control. This form of educational practice is rooted in the humanistic educational tradition of personal growth.

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

The ideological functions of industrial training have important implications for adult educators. They will have to choose whether the limited, instrumental view of humanity promoted in training is anathema to the general aims and objectives of adult education. On this basis, questions about adult educators' role in the development of the post de Lange, predominantly

job-related non-formal education 'system' will need to be examined and answered. . . . It would seem that adult educators' class affiliations will have considerable bearing upon whether they decide to operate within such a system, independently of it or in opposition to it. In facing such decisions, they will have to confront the structures of state controls and sanctions in the worker education sphere as well as their own current peripheral (and therefore protected) status.

The examination of the industrial training discourse and policy also points to the need for adult educationists in this country to develop a vigorous and critical political economy of adult education in order to develop the understandings of the social roles and the historical and socio-economic contexts of all forms of adult education practice in South Africa. Theories of adult education which take into account the structures of interests and their mediated forms of practice in society, require further research and development if adult education is to move from its reactive, 'first aid'/compensatory position to a critically aware formative position in society.

Furthermore, the examination of the theoretical assumptions embedded in, and the social effects of orthodox training practice, provides adult educators

with some important insights into their own training-type practices. Notions such as 'skilled' and 'unskilled' and learning situations which emphasize functions and techniques isolated from other human capacities, point to some of the ways in which adult educators can and should develop a critical awareness of their own educational assumptions and methods. Just as all training has come to be presented as a "good thing" in conventional wisdom and has needed to be analysed using the insights offered by critiques of ideology, so too is all adult and non-formal education in danger of achieving a similar ideological status in the dominant educational and human resources development discourses in this country.

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The current research on industrial training in South Africa is undertaken almost exclusively from a business and industrial perspective. The need for further educational investigation in the fields of training theory, policy and practices is pressing. Educational perspectives and understandings have much to offer the growing numbers of trainees and trainers.

A major lacuna in this study has been the area of the experience of trainees of the training practices on the ground. This is an important area for further research. Workers' perceptions, attitudes to and choices about training require empirical study.

The feasibility of, and the assumptions embedded in, the alternative models of worker education mooted in the fourth chapter offer another broad area for adult education research. The social implications of these alternative forms require detailed critical analysis and empirical research.

The most recent developments in the training discourse and the state bureaucratic structures which have been established since the 1981 legislation was passed, also offer much scope for further investigation. Related to this, is the need for a comparative study of registered and unregistered training programmes.

Finally, some of the major ideological themes in the capital-state training discourse such as that which promotes a general consciousness of a 'skills shortage crisis' and the need for a major training drive at a time when the growth of unemployment in the country has reached alarming proportions, require more detailed research and analysis. Such research could have

important consequences for the sections of the South African population which are suffering from the harsh impact of un- and under-employment.

5. GENERAL CONCLUSION

It is hoped that some of the issues and ideas raised and discussed in this study will enable adult educators generally and academic departments of adult education in particular, to make more informed choices about their engagements in the industrial training sphere. This is especially important at a time of both complex social contest and struggle in the country and increasing state and capital pressures on university adult education departments to play a more active role in developing training schemes and programmes and to train more trainers.

APPENDICES

	<u>Page</u>
1. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	293
2. A LAST WORD	294

ABBREVIATIONS

AHI	Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut
ANC	African National Congress
Assocom	Associated Chambers of Commerce
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa
FCI	Federated Chambers of Industry
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ILO	International Labour Organization
Nafcoc	National African Federated Chamber of Commerce
NMC	National Manpower Commission
NTB	National Training Board
SACCOLA	South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALB	South African Labour Bulletin
Sanlam	Suid-Afrikaanse Lewensassuransie Maatskappy
SARS	South African Research Service
UF	Urban Foundation
WBE	Worker Basic Education

A LAST WORD

The following lengthy extract is from Prof. F.G. Schutte, Director of UNISA's School of Business Leadership's article entitled: 'The human resources crisis in South Africa: challenges and opportunities for business'.(1)

Some major challenges and opportunities for business

Entrepreneurship

One of the major challenges open to business at present is the creation of a climate within which a spirit of entrepreneurship can re-emerge. Job security, a high standard of living (which many white managers feel they must, at all costs, maintain) together with an organizational climate of over-control and red tape are all factors which breed out entrepreneurship and which breed risk-avoiders. During the course of research recently undertaken by the School of Business Leadership,¹⁷ clear evidence was found of the tedium felt by many managers, especially those employed by large organizations, with respect to the bureaucracy, red tape and lack of clarity with which they are confronted daily. The challenge open to business lies in delegation; we must force decisions at lower levels of management and then learn to accept decisions which are not necessarily the same as ours would have been. In other words, lower and middle management must learn to be situationally creative in their management. They should also be made conscious of the fact that they have the right to be wrong or to be different. If we allow our managers to 'do things their way', they will rise to the occasion and a spirit of entrepreneurship will be rekindled.¹⁸ Perhaps a further area open to investigation constitutes the structure of business school courses. It may well be that the way in which courses are structured and presented also stifles entrepreneurship. A challenge to business school management lies in a re-assessment of the content and structure of their courses with a view to bringing a spirit of entrepreneurship 'back in'.

With respect to black managers and entrepreneurs, specifically, it would appear that South Africans are, at present, doing everything possible to stifle every ounce of entrepreneurship that exists! In recent studies of black managers, the SBL found that the position of the black manager within many organizations is circumscribed to the extent of providing him with very little opportunity to do things *in his way*. In essence, we are so busy trying to change the black managers to fit the white mould that we destroy their entrepreneurial talents in the process. The challenge open to business lies in asking whether we should be attempting to change people to fit jobs or if, rather, we should be changing our jobs and our schedules to fit the motivational patterns of specific individuals. Put simply, perhaps one of the main challenges open to business lies in the incorporation of some aspects of all of our various cultures into the work environment.¹⁷ The

meeting of these challenges could solve some of the problems relating to cultural differences (component 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix), could increase productivity to justify wage increases (component 4 on the crisis axis of the matrix) and could eventually lead to a reduction in unemployment (component 1 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Turning to black businessmen, it would appear that, although black entrepreneurs have now been given a far greater opportunity to participate in the free enterprise system than before, entrepreneurship has, until recently, been effectively stifled by a tangle of rules, regulations and legislation. Moreover, black businessmen in South Africa are often undercapitalized because of difficulties in obtaining funds; they are therefore unable to buy in bulk which leads to higher prices and a limited range of commodities; this, in turn, leaves them unable to compete with white stores for customers and profits are consequently small. Many black businessmen also lack managerial know-how and training and their entrepreneurial attitudes often conflict with traditional values.¹⁹

In the years ahead, a far greater emphasis will have to be placed on the development of business skills and the promotion of the informal business sector. The challenge for business lies in its active support of programmes designed to bring black entrepreneurs into the mainstream of the free enterprise system and to overcome the unique problems with which the black entrepreneur is faced. This in turn could lead to a reduction in unemployment and assist in the amelioration of many of the problems associated with cultural differences (components 1 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

A greater understanding of cultural differences

In the SBL's recent research among almost 300 managers from all over South Africa, we became aware of three distinct profiles, namely, that of the white Afrikaans-speaking manager, that of the white English-speaking manager and that of the black manager. These profiles have, moreover, led us to conclude not only that differences between these three main types of manager may well exist on a general level, but also that such differences should be conceded to and even acted upon.

For example, the white Afrikaans-speaking manager is more likely than other South African managers to be reasonably confident of his own ability and to judge others in the work situation in a critical, objective way. He appears not to worry overmuch about what others think of him and tends to welcome situations in which he can do things in his way with minimal interference. He dislikes red tape, bureaucracy and administration and

(1) In the South African Journal of Business Management, 13(2) 1982 pp 46-51.

often regards his superiors, colleagues and subordinates as incompetent, ignorant or narrow-minded. He is happy when his top management and immediate superior do not interfere in his work and when a good team spirit exists between himself and his colleagues and subordinates.

The white English-speaking manager is likely to be a little 'softer' and a little less critical than his Afrikaans-speaking colleague. He is also reasonably confident of his own ability but tends to show more respect for the attitudes and opinions of others and to care rather more about what others think of him. He appreciates support and flexibility and welcomes mutual respect and a free exchange of ideas. He tends to dislike autocratic and inaccessible superiors and tries to be co-operative in his relationships with colleagues doing similar work. He worries about his subordinates when they lack motivation and is gratified by their development and growth.

Like the white English-speaking manager, the white Afrikaans-speaking manager is likely to feel that the most crucial differences between managers of different races relate to the influence of culture and upbringing on performance in the work situation. With respect to differences between white managers, however, he is likely to regard himself as less professional but as more authoritarian than the English-speaking manager while the latter is likely to regard the Afrikaans-speaking manager as conservative.

The black manager is more likely than the white South African manager to be sensitive to the need for adequate and meaningful relationships in the work situation; he demands feedback and the accessibility of superiors and thrives on satisfactory communication. He needs to know where he stands, to be shown respect and to be appreciated and encouraged. The black manager is more likely than the white South African manager to assess his relationships with superiors, colleagues and subordinates in a subjective way; that is, he frequently does not assess the performance of his fellow employees objectively — at a distance from their relationship with him; rather, he assesses other employees in terms of the way they seem to feel about him. The black manager is, for example, more likely to worry about whether or not his subordinates show him respect than about how they are doing their job. Similarly, the black manager is more likely than the white manager to obtain satisfaction from interpersonal contact and from customer satisfaction. He is also more likely to thrive in a relationship with a supportive and committed immediate superior, and to be demotivated by overtones of racism or simply poor communication in his relationships with his colleagues.

Although most managers — both white and black — regard themselves in a favourable light, the black manager is generally extremely positive about his own self-image and is more likely than the white manager to feel that his potential has been achieved. He is, however, likely to concede that increased knowledge and education will make him better at his job. The black manager, like his white Afrikaans-speaking counterpart, is more committed to South Africa than the white English-speaking manager. For this reason, he would tend to think long and hard before accepting a position overseas.

The black manager is likely to attribute 'racial' differences to the broader socio-political context and to its differential treatment of black people and he may also be suspicious of white managers: of the Afrikaner for his occasional racism and of the English-speaking manager for his occasional hypocrisy.

That so many differences among managers exist is perhaps a point worthy of some consideration — a challenge — for business. Should we not attempt to do away with dubious and fictitious stereotypes and allow people to do their jobs in a way which comes naturally to them? The challenges for business are to consider taking cognizance of the various fundamental structures of experience which exist among managers, to tolerate individual needs and goals and, again, to incorporate some aspects of all of our cultures into the work environment.¹⁷ The meeting of these challenges could, in turn, facilitate the movement of black people into supervisory and middle management (component 3 on the crisis axis of the matrix) and could draw more black people into a satisfactory relationship with the free enterprise system thereby reducing strike activity and problems relating to cultural differences (components 5 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Development and re-training, and skills training.

The third challenge for business lies in the development and re-training of its workforce, activities which are linked to a fourth challenge, namely, skills training. A predecessor to all of these activities is, however, education; a commodity which is at a sadly low level among certain segments of the population in South Africa today.

For example, in 1979, for every R724 spent on one white pupil, R71 was spent on his black counterpart and whereas for every 20 pupils one teacher could be found in most white schools, the teacher/pupil ratio in black schools stood at 1:48. Similarly, whereas 97% of the teachers in white schools were educated at least to matriculation, the corresponding percentage in black schools in 1976 was 15.5%.¹⁸ In 1970, whites accounted for 90.9% of all of the standard 10 passes and 95.5% of all degrees in South Africa.¹⁹

It goes without saying that both quantitatively and qualitatively the black education system is at present grossly inferior to that of the whites. For this reason, one hopes that the ultimate response of the government to the De Lange Report on Education will be of some significance. However, while the long-term onus for general education must clearly rest with the government, business, in the short term, has its part to play, not least because educational improvements will be beneficial to business.¹¹

The challenge for business is to provide basic educational courses for its illiterate employees together with extramural educational facilities for those employees' children who require or desire extra tuition. Business should also augment the provisions now being made and envisaged by the public sector for the expansion of facilities and opportunities for technical and professional training; the challenge for business is to institute programmes of in-service training and re-training and to supplement these services through the institutional and commercially-run educational training programmes.²¹

Development and re-training could help to alleviate the shortage of supervisory and middle management (component 3 on the crisis axis of the matrix) as well as to reduce the number of strikes by, *inter alia*, an increase in pay commensurate with an increase in skills. A reduction in the wage-gap with an increase in skills would, in turn, help to alleviate some of the gross discrepancies in pay at present associated with race (components 5 and 6 on the crisis-axis of the matrix). Skills training could further reduce unemployment, facilitate a reduction in the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour and play a part in a move towards a more integrated wage structure (components 1, 2 and 4 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Selling the free enterprise system

'The free enterprise system' is a concept which is taken for granted by most whites in South Africa but which is very poorly understood by most black people, irrespective of educational level. In view of the increasing awareness, particularly among black people, of the existence of other systems in conflict with our own, it is crucial that business meets the challenge of selling the free enterprise system to its employees. In other words, employees must not only be made aware of how the free enterprise system works but also of its benefits to the individual. An awareness of and commitment to the free enterprise system could reduce the number of strikes and solve some of the problems relating to cultural differences (components 5 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

The creation of jobs

As stated earlier, in order to keep pace with the growth of the economically-active population, 730 job opportunities would have to be created each day for the 10-year period 1977–87. Such is the need for jobs! The challenge for business is to reduce unemployment and to draw black people into the industrial system, not only in order that some of their needs and aspirations may be met but also to offset, through training, the possibility of mass action by the unskilled. In order to do this, business must look for ways of trading off capital in favour of labour in the short term with a view to creating a higher level of skill and capital intensity in the long term. The meeting of this challenge — the creation of jobs — would not only reduce unemployment, but would also draw more black people into the free enterprise system within which labour unions can work in conjunction with

business in striving towards a mutually advantageous relationship. Indeed, the greater the unemployment, the smaller the level of unionization and the greater the possibility of uncontrolled and uncontrollable social unrest among the disadvantaged. It is the responsibility of business to engage as many South Africans as possible in active employment, for the benefit of all.

Effective delegation, communication, control and feedback

The seventh challenge for business is the development of effective management systems not only to improve profitability but also to improve the quality of work life of employees — both on a general level and on a specifically 'black' level. An effective management process will not only lead to the creation of enriched entrepreneurial roles and to a highly-motivated management team at all levels, but will also solve some of the problems currently confronted by black managers within the work environment.

On a general level, for the management process to be effective, the organizational design and the responsibilities of individual managers in the managerial hierarchy must be clearly specified and understood; planning, control and information systems have to support individual managerial responsibilities in an integrated manner and, finally, performance measurement, development and reward systems have to be integrated and supportive to the management process.¹¹ An effective, integrated management system, in turn, should overcome the blunting effects of the red tape, bureaucracy, duplication and confusion mentioned so frequently by managers during the course of our research.¹⁷

With respect to the inconsistencies, ambiguities and conflicts confronting the black manager in a white organization, the definition of key performance areas would give him a clear idea of his roles and responsibilities *vis-à-vis* those of other managers, and charges of discrimination or window-dressing could thus be dismissed. Moreover, a standard evaluation procedure could be developed with respect to the key performance areas of all managers. Evaluations would, however, have to be discussed with the particular managers concerned in order that these may be seen as reasonable and objective and as void of any discriminatory overtones. Black managers could also be placed in the care of sympathetic mentors who would attempt to share the burden of the machinations of the informal organization.¹⁶

In this regard, Jones, in describing his experiences of 'What it's like to be a black manager' in the USA, suggests an appraisal of managers on their contributions to the company's equal-opportunity objectives. According to Jones,²² 'The entire management team must be motivated to change any deep beliefs about who does and doesn't fit with regard to colour. Accordingly, companies should use the appraisal system to make the welfare of the black trainee coincident with the well-being of his superior. Such action, of course, will probably receive considerable resistance from middle- and lower-level management. But managers are appraised on their ability to reach other important objectives; and, more significantly, the inclusion of this area in appraisal signals to everyone involved that a company is serious. Failure to take this step signals business as usual and adds to any credibility gap between the company and black employees'.

Moreover, this kind of appraisal system motivates the mentor to school the black trainee in the realities of the political process in the organization. According to Jones, no one can survive in an organization without this kind of information. Jones also suggests unquestionable top-management involvement in and commitment to well-thought-out plans of equal opportunity and direct two-way channels of communication between top management and trainee black managers. With regard to the latter, it would appear that Jones is tacitly recognizing a problem particularly pertinent to the South African context, namely, that of resistance on the part of first-line white managers who may feel that their jobs are threatened. Jones argues that open channels of communication facilitate the intercession of a disinterested party if the black trainee finds a particular situation problematic. Moreover, Jones feels that 'Clear channels of communication will also enable top management to provide empathetic sources of counsel to help the new black trainee combat the potentially crippling paranoia that I

encountered. I didn't know whom to trust; consequently, I trusted no one. The counsel of mature and proven black executives will also help mitigate this paranoia'.¹⁴

Thus, the challenge for business is clear; effective delegation, communication, control and feedback should not only improve profitability and motivation generally, but also solve some of the problems associated with cultural differences, thereby facilitating the movement of black people into supervisory and middle management and realistically alleviating some of the problems associated with equal pay for equal work (components 3, 4 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Union negotiation

With respect to negotiations with unions, the challenges for business are both complex and acute. The era of inter-racial labour competition has left us with a fragmented trade union situation in which the prospect of faction-fighting is very real. This, in turn, will not only weaken the ability of organized labour to work towards integration on the basis of merit and ability, but also adds to the problems faced by employers who may become the victims of such faction-fighting.¹⁵ Moreover, the early eighties may prove to be an era characterized by problems of union recognition and bargaining rights on the one hand and by a high degree of uncertainty on the other. This might, in turn, result in unions employing industrial conflict for political purposes, particularly in view of the exclusion of blacks from the broader political arena.¹⁶ Although the responsibility for any increased strike activity because of the prevention of access of large groups to the political arena must ultimately rest with the government, the challenge for business lies in the recognition it affords to trade unions, in its ability to participate in industrial relations negotiations and in its clarification of the management of industrial relations at shop-floor level.¹⁷ An adequate working relationship between business and unions could alleviate some of the problems relating to cultural differences (the 'us, the black workers' versus 'them, the white managers' syndrome), reduce the amount of strike activity and ultimately diminish the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour (components 2, 5 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Industrial relations

The personnel management function is usually concerned with the overall control and management of people within the organization whereas industrial relations typically concerns itself with the area of employees' representation through unions, committees and other such bodies. Given the paramount importance of industrial relations to South Africa at present, business should perhaps consider the development of industrial relations as a profession in its own right. Be that as it may, industrial relations is of such critical importance that the challenge for business — or, more specifically, the challenge for management — lies in its role in setting up meaningful industrial-relations policies and procedures.¹⁸ With respect to black workers, in particular, such policies and procedures could include support of labour-union involvement in community action,¹⁹ support of group involvement in decision-making and teamwork,²⁰ and company involvement in the provision of community facilities.²¹ Such involvement, in turn, by drawing black workers into a more meaningful, or, at least, a more lucrative relationship with the free enterprise system, may lead to a reduction in strike activity, to the alleviation of some of the problems associated with cultural differences and, ultimately, to a greater supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour (components 2, 5 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

Increased productivity

The need for a fully-integrated pay structure in labour-intensive operations specifically demands increased efficiencies and increased productivity to justify wage increases. In the past, however, this has not been the case. For example, between 1980 and 1981, in the manufacturing sector alone, there was a 20% increase in wages compared with only a 4% increase in output per worker.²² Moreover, although some capital intensive organizations have been able to eliminate their artificial wage gaps over a relatively short period of time, many labour-intensive operations are in danger of becoming unviable if wage increases are made without a reasonable rise in productivity. The challenge for business is to increase productivity by assisting the black worker to develop a closer or a

more meaningful relationship with the free enterprise system. Business could, for example, provide educational and training facilities to encourage the worker to become more skilled; greater skill²³ could lead to more interesting work and to an increase in pay commensurate with each successive increase in skills. Finally, organizations must also attempt to do away with role conflict and role ambiguity, known causes of lower productivity,²⁴ not only among their black workers but among all employees. Employees must know where they stand; they must know what is expected of them; they must know what they will receive in return for their labour; and they must know that the organizations in which they work are essentially non-discriminatory and fair. Increased productivity calls for entrepreneurial flair of the highest order which in turn could be achieved by greater delegation and responsibility. Increased productivity in turn could solve some of the problems associated with socio-political wage pressure, could ameliorate intergroup relations and could, ultimately, reduce the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour (components 2, 4 and 6 on the crisis axis of the matrix).

A shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour

Together with a relatively high rate of unemployment, South Africa is also suffering from a severe skills shortage. Skilled jobs and the more highly-qualified occupations are at present almost entirely the domain of the whites, while approximately 90% of the economically-active black population is to be found in semi- and unskilled occupations.²⁵ However, Dostal²⁶ predicts a shortage of 705 000 skilled workers in 1981, and of 1 330 000 in 1990. Similarly, Sadie²⁷ calculates the required gross annual additions to the highly-skilled and less skilled categories of the labour force of persons other than whites as follows:

	Actual 1959-1979	Projected 1980-2000	Acceleration rate
Highly skilled	8 000	43 000	3.4
Less skilled	18 000	52 000	2.9

These figures highlight the need to reduce this shortage of skills by moving more black people into the skilled occupational group. Such movement in turn could lead to a higher rate of economic growth which is necessary both for the creation of employment opportunities, and for a narrowing of the wage gap between skilled and unskilled whites and blacks. According to the November 1980 estimates of Mercabank,²⁸ an increase in skilled labour of 3.2% per annum is required to sustain a growth rate of 5% per annum.

A shortage of supervisory and middle management

The occupational structure in South Africa is at present characterized by its 'bottom-heavy' nature, with 28 unskilled, 29 semi-skilled and five skilled workers employed for every one executive.²⁹ In other words, one manager exists for every 42 workers in South Africa, our closest comparison being Australia where the ratio is 1:11. Whereas in South Africa 5.5% of the economically-active population falls into the category 'professional, technical, administrative and managerial workers', the corresponding figures for the UK and USA are 14.7% and 24.7% respectively.³⁰ Moreover, the vast majority of occupants of these higher-level positions are whites, with blacks accounting for no more than 1.64% of the positions in the category 'managerial, executive and administrative employees'.³¹ This is in spite of the fact that the required gross annual additions to the executive category of the labour force of persons other than whites have been estimated as follows:³²

	Actual 1959-1979	Projected 1980-2000	Acceleration rate
Executive	300	3 800	12.7

The shortage of supervisory and middle management is acute, not least because of the lack of trained black manpower to fill the posts available.

Socio-political wage pressure

Although there is no legislation which prescribes discrimination in remuneration or which legislates as to the amounts payable to specific groups, two significant wage gaps between whites and blacks exist in many organizations at present. These have been well set out by Rosholt:³³

Discrepancies in the pay scales of people doing the same jobs carrying the same responsibilities. One cannot escape from the fact that blatant wage discrimination could have serious repercussions in the not too distant future although, for many of us, it already constitutes a humanitarian crisis at present.

The artificial discrepancy between the wages of those in unskilled occupations — mainly black people — and the salaries of those in occupations requiring greater skill. This wage gap also represents a crisis inasmuch as its existence retards the development of blacks who could aspire to higher positions. Thus, an integrated pay structure is perhaps the only solution. The problem, of course, is how to institute a fully-integrated pay structure in labour intensive organizations; increased wages demand greater efficiency and greater productivity if such organizations are to remain viable.³⁴

Strikes

Figures relating to strike activity suggest an exponential rise in the number of strikes which have taken place in South Africa during the last two and a half years. For example, 36 strikes occurred in 1979, 61 between January 1980 and the end of August 1980, and 80 between September 1980 and June 25, 1981.³⁵ Ninety percent of the labour unrest has involved black workers and one has to concede that political issues have, and will increasingly become, inextricably intertwined with economic issues in those trade unions which represent black workers.

Problems relating to cultural differences

In the wake of the recommendations put forward by the Wiehahn Commission, and with increasing pressure from international companies for the abolition of job reservation and for the institutionalization of equal job opportunities for all, much has been said and written about the problems confronted by the non-white manager, and in particular the black manager, within the South African context. Emphasis has been placed both on the extent to which the abilities and the performance of the black manager in the work situation are influenced by his traditional culture and on the barriers confronted by black people in the actual work setting.³⁶ This latter perspective has investigated issues such as tokenism or window dressing, white attitudes towards the promotion of black people and those of the white managers with whom the black managers are in closer contact.³⁷ Similarly, the behaviour of the black manager in the work situation in South Africa is reasonably well documented. Hofmeyr,³⁸ of the UNISA School of Business Leadership (SBL), in his interviews with senior-(white) line management, first-line (white) managers and potential black managers found, *inter alia*, that black managers are generally regarded as finding leadership, responsibility and autonomy problematic. They tend to be subservient, to experience problems in communicating clearly, to be insufficiently at ease with business concepts, to generate some customer resistance, to be affiliation-oriented and to lack interpersonal skills. Nassar,³⁹ also of the SBL, suggests that the performance of the black manager is handicapped by an inability to function autonomously and to handle increased responsibility, a lack of self-assertion, a tardiness in decision-making, a low propensity for risk-taking, a lack of innovation and creativity and, finally, a lack of initiative in resolving problems.

In general, the underperformance of certain black managers has been attributed to three main sets of factors, namely, cultural factors, educational factors and discrimination. However, although the problems relating to such factors do, undoubtedly, constitute an issue of critical importance within the South African context, recent research undertaken at the School of Business Leadership suggests that our failure to understand and explain the experiences of the black manager in a white world constitutes a crisis of equal import.^{40, 41} Unless we begin to understand the experience of the black manager

REFERENCESI. BOOKS, ARTICLES AND DISSERTATIONS

- ABERCROMBIE, N., HILL, S.
& TURNER, B. (1980) The Dominant Ideology Thesis,
Allen and Unwin, London.
- ADAM, H. (1978) 'Interests behind Afrikaner
Power' in Social Dynamics 4(2)
- (1984)a 'Engineering Compliance: The
Management of Dissent in South
Africa', unpublished draft for
chapter in forthcoming book
entitled Waiting for
Liberation.
- (1984)b 'Racist capitalism versus
capitalist non-racism in South
Africa' in Ethnic and Racial
Studies, 7(2) April.
- ALTHUSSER, L. (1984) Essays on Ideology, Verso,
London.
- ANDERSON, P. (1979) Considerations on Western
Marxism, Verso, London.
- ANTHONY, P.D. (1979) The Ideology of Work,
Tavistock Publications,
London.
- BARLING, J. (ed) (1983) Behaviour in Organizations,
McGraw Hill Book Co.,
Johannesburg.
- BIRD, A. (1984) 'The Adult Night School
Movements for Blacks on the
Witwatersrand 1920-1980' in
Kallaway, P. (ed), Apartheid
and Education, Ravan Press,
Johannesburg.
- BONNER, P. &
WEBSTER, E. (1979) 'Focus on Wiehahn' in South
African Labour Bulletin, 5(2)
August.

- BOZZOLI, B. (1977) 'Managerialism and the mode of production in South Africa' in South African Labour Bulletin, 3(8) October.
- (1981) The Political Nature of a Ruling Class : Capital and Ideology in South Africa 1890-1933, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- BRAVERMAN, H. (1974) Labour and Monopoly Capital, Monthly Review Press, London.
- BURAWAY, M. (1979) Manufacturing Consent, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- BUCKLAND, P. (1983) Education Policy and Reform in South Africa, Education Policy Unit, UCT, Cape Town.
- CARNOY, M. (1978) 'Can educational policy equalize income distribution?' in Prospects VIII(1).
- CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES (1978) On Ideology, Hutchinson, London.
- (1981) Unpopular Education, Hutchinson, London.
- COOPER, L. & KAPLAN, D. (eds) (1983) Reform and Response, Dept. of Economic History, UCT, Cape Town.
- CHARNEY, C. (1983) 'Restructuring White Politics : The Transformations of the National Party' in South African Research Service (eds), South African Review - One, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- CHISHOLM, L. (1982) 'Training for Capital : de Lange Report' in Perspectives in Education, Special Issue, the HSRC Report, May.
- (1983) 'Redefining Black Skills : Black education in South Africa in the 1980s' in Comparative Education 19(3).

- CHISHOLM, L. &
CHRISTIE, P. (1983) 'Restructuring in Education;
in South African Research
Service (eds), South African
Review - One, Ravan,
Johannesburg.
- CORNELL, J. &
KOOY, A (1981) 'Wiehahn Part 5 and the White
Paper' in South African Labour
Bulletin 7(3) November.
- DAVIES, J. (1984) 'Capital, State and
Educational Reform in South
Africa' in Kallaway (ed),
Apartheid and Education,
Ravan, Johannesburg.
- DAVIES, R. (1979) 'Capital Restructuring and the
Modification of the Racial
Division of Labour in South
Africa' in Journal of Southern
African Studies, 5(2) April.
- DE CLERCQ, F. (1981) 'The Organized Labour Movement
and State Registration : Unity
or Fragmentation?' in South
African Labour Bulletin 7 (1 &
2) September.
- (1984) 'Some Recent Trends in
Bophuthatswana : Commuters and
Restructuring in Education' in
SARS (eds) South African
Review - Two, Ravan,
Johannesburg.
- FISHER, F., SCHLEMMER, L.
& WEBSTER, E. (1978) 'Economic Growth and its
Relationship to Social and
Political Change' in
Schlemmer, L., and Webster, E.
(eds), Change, Reform and
Economic Growth in South
Africa, Ravan Press,
Johannesburg.
- FRIEDMAN, S. (1983) 'Political Implications of
Industrial Unrest in South
Africa' in Hindson, D.C. (ed),
Working Papers in South
African Studies - Vol. 3,
Ravan, Johannesburg.

- GOULDNER, A.W. (1976) The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology, The Macmillan Press, London.
- (1980) The Two Marxisms, The Macmillan Press, London.
- GREENBERG, S. (1980) Race and State in Capitalist Development, Ravan, Johannesburg (in association with Yale University Press).
- (1984) 'Ideological Struggles within the South African State', paper delivered at Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, October.
- HARTSHORNE, K. (1981) 'The Unfinished Business : Education for South Africa's black people' in Optima 30(1) July.
- HARTWIG, M. & SHARP, R. (1984) 'The State and the Reproduction of Labour Power in South Africa' in Kallaway, P. (ed), Apartheid and Education, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- HEALEY, P. (1983) 'Who Gains and Who Loses? The Political Economy of Adult Education' in Convergence, XVI(4).
- HINDSON, D.C. (ed) (1983) a. Working Papers in Southern African Studies - Vol. 3, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- (1983) b. 'The Role of the Labour Bureaux in South Africa : A Critique of the Riekert Commission Report' in Hindson, D.C. (ed), Working Papers in Southern African Studies - Vol. 3, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- HOFMEYR, K.B. (1981) 'Some Problems of Black Advancement' in South African Journal of Labour Relations 5(3) September.

- INNES, D. (1983) 'Monopoly Capitalism in South Africa' in SARS (eds), South African Review - One, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- JAMES, W. (1984) 'State and Race : Revisionism, Inquiry and Bureaucracies', Paper delivered at Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.
- JUBBER, K. (ed) (1979) South Africa : Industrial Relations and Industrial Sociology, Juta and Co., Cape Town.
- KALLAWAY, P. (ed) (1984) a. Apartheid and Education, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- (1984) b. 'An Introduction to the Study of Education for Blacks in South Africa' in Kallaway, P. (ed), Apartheid and Education, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- KEENAN, J. (1983) 'Trickle up : African Income and Employment' in SARS (eds), South African Review - One, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- (1984) 'The Recession and its Effects on the African Working Class' in SARS (eds), South African Review - Two, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- LACLAU, E. (1979) Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, Verso, London.
- LAMBERT, R. & L. (1983) 'State Reform and Working Class Resistance 1982' in SARS (eds), South African Review - One, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- LARRAIN, J. (1979) The Concept of Ideology, Hutchinson, London.
- MAGER, R.F. & BEACH, K.M. (1967) Developing Vocational Instruction, Pitman Learning Inc., Belmont, California.

- MALHERBE, E. (1977) Education in South Africa, Vol. II : 1923 - 75, Juta & Co., Cape Town.
- McCULLOUGH, M. & McLAGAN, P. (1983) 'Keeping the Competency Study Alive' in Training and Development Journal, June 1983.
- McLAGAN, P. & BEDRICK, D. (1983) 'Models for Excellence : The Results of the ASTD Training and Development Competency Study' in Training and Development Journal, June 1983.
- MERQUIOR, J.G. (1979) The Veil and the Mask, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- METH, C. (1979) 'Trade Unions, Skill Shortages and Private Enterprise' in South African Labour Bulletin, 5(3) October.
- (1983) 'Class Formation : Skill Shortage and Black Advancement' in SARS (eds) South African Review - One, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- MILLIBAND, R. (1973) 'Poulantzas and the Capitalist State' in New Left Review, 82 November/December.
- MORPHET, T. (1983) 'Deconstructing Education : The Case of Skills Training', unpublished paper delivered at the Kenton-at-the-Stadt Conference.
- MORRIS, M. (1981) 'Capital's Responses to African Trade Unions post Wiehahn' in South African Labour Bulletin 7(1 & 2) September.
- MOUFFE, C. (1979) Gramsci and Marxist Theory, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- MULLER, J. (1982) 'How a Community Responds : De Lange and the Afrikaner Volkskongres' in Perspectives in Education, Special Issue, the HSRC Report.
- (1984) 'Much Ado : 'Manpower Crisis' and the de Lange Report' paper delivered at the Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.
- NCUBE, D. (1985) Black Trade Unions in South Africa, Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg.
- O'MEARA, D. (1983) Volkskapitalisme : Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934 - 1948, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- POSEL, D. (1983) 'Rethinking the 'Race-Class Debate' in South African Historiography' in Social Dynamics 9(1).
- (1984) 'Language, Legitimation and Control : The South African State after 1978' in Social Dynamics 10(1).
- PROCTOR-SIMS, R. (ed) (1981) Technical and Vocational Education in Southern Africa, Technical and Vocational Foundation of SA, Silverton, Transvaal.
- REX, J. (ed) (1981) Apartheid and Social Research, The Unesco Press, Paris.
- RUDE, G. (1980) Ideology and Popular Protest, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- SARUP, M. (1982) Education, State and Crisis, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

- SAUL, J.S. &
GELB, S. (1981) The Crisis in South Africa :
Class Defence, Class
Revolution, Monthly Review
Press, New York.
- SAVAGE, M. (1985) 'An Anatomy of the South
African Corporate Economy :
Ownership, Control and the
Interlocking Directorate',
unpublished paper delivered at
the Africa Seminar in the
Centre for African Studies,
UCT.
- SCHLEMMER, L. &
WELSH, D. (1982) 'South Africa's Constitutional
and Political Prospects' in
Optima 30(4) June.
- SCHNEIER, S. (1983) Occupational Mobility Among
Blacks in South Africa, South
African Labour and Development
Research Unit, W P No. 58,
Cape Town.
- SCHUTTE, F.G. (1982) 'The human resources crisis in
South Africa : Challenges and
opportunities for business' in
South African Journal of
Business Management 13(2).
- SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCH
SERVICE (eds) (1983) South African Review - One,
Ravan, Johannesburg.
- (1984) South African Review - Two,
Ravan, Johannesburg.
- SOUTHALL, R. (1980) 'African Capitalism in
Contemporary South Africa' in
Journal of Southern African
Studies 7(1) October.

- STADLER, A. (1982) 'Educational Reform and Political Change', unpublished paper delivered at the Education Seminar, UCT.
- (1984) 'Shifting bases of Legitimacy', paper delivered at the Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination at the University of the Western Cape, October 8-10, 1984.
- SWART, S.M. (1980) 'An Analysis of the White Paper of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part II : Training' in South African Journal of Labour Relations 4(3 & 4) September - December.
- THERBORN, G. (1980) a. The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, Verso, London.
- (1980) b. What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?, Verso, London.
- THOMAS, L.F. (1983) 'Learning Conversations : the Skill of Managing Learning' in Singleton, W.T. (ed), Social Skill : The Study of Real Skills Vol. 4., MTP Press, Lancaster.
- THOMPSON, E.P. (1978) The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays, Monthly Review Press, London.
- WEBSTER. E. (ed) (1978) Essays in Southern African Labour History, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- (1984) 'New Force on the Shop Floor' in SARS (eds) South African Review - Two, Ravan, Johannesburg.

- WIEHAHN, N.E. (1981) 'The Impact of Recent Developments in the field of Labour and the Influence of the State on Manpower Management' in South African Journal of Labour Relations 5(2) June.
- WORK FOR THE FUTURE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE (1981) Work for the Future : Conference Summary and Policy Proposals, University of Natal, Durban.
- WRIGHT, E.O. (1979) Class, Crisis and the State, Verso, London.

II. REPORTS, SPEECHES, BUSINESS JOURNALS, NEWSPAPERS AND SURVEYS

(a) NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

AFRICAN BUSINESS		All issues 1982.
THE ARGUS		7/12/1977 to 22/12/1977.
CAPE TIMES		12/8/1981.
DAILY DISPATCH		22/1/1982 and 13/10/1982.
EVENING POST		?/11/1980 and 11/7/1981.
FINANCIAL MAIL		All between June 1976 and April 1983.
FINANCIAL TIMES		17/6/1980.
GROWTH		September 1982 and January 1983.
RAND DAILY MAIL		9/12/1979, 4/5/1981, 17/12/1981, 24/2/1982 and 18/5/1982.
SOUTH AFRICAN PRESSCLIPS	(1981)	Labour Action and Organization, Hout Bay, S.A.
	(1982)	Black Labour and Trade Union Organization in S A : Jan- September, Hout Bay, S.A.
SOWETAN		2/10/1981.
STAR		6/5/1981, 10/6/1981, 14/11/1981, 19/12/1981, 22/9/1982.
SUNDAY TIMES including the BUSINESS TIMES		All from January 1977 to January 1983.
SUNDAY TRIBUNE		5/9/1982.
VOLKSHANDEL		All 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982.

(b) SURVEYS, REPORTS, SPEECHES and REVIEWS:

- COLLINS, J. (1982) 'Social Responsibility in South Africa : The work of the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund', Supplement to Optima 31(1) October.
- DU PLESSIS, DR. F.J. Sanlam Chairman's Address, 1983.
- O'DOWD, M. (1978) 'Practical Social Responsibility : The Work of the AAC and De Beers Chairman's Fund' Reprinted from Optima 27(4).
- OPPENHEIMER, H. (1979) Opening address to the SAIRR, 2 July 1979, supplement to Optima.
- RELLY, G.W.H. (1981) Address to SA Club, London, October 1981, reprinted in Optima.
- SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR) Annual Survey, Johannesburg 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982.
- URBAN FOUNDATION Annual Review, Johannesburg 1977/78, 1979/80, 1980/81 and 1982.

III. GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS.

DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER

- UTILISATION (1979) Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation : Part I, RP47/1979, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- (1980) Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation : Part 2, RP38/1980, Government Printer, Pretoria.

DEPARTMENT OF

- MANPOWER (1982 - 1983) "Manpower 2000 : Information Series", Nos. 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.8, 2.10, 2.11, 2.15, 2.16, 3 and 7, (pamphlets), Department of Manpower, Pretoria.
- (1983) a. Report of the National Manpower Commission for the period 1 January 1982 to 31 December 1982, RP45-1983, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- (1983) b. Report of the Director-General for the year ended 31 December 1982, RP69/1983, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- (1984) a. National Manpower Commission : Manpower 2000 : In-Service Training in the Republic of South Africa, 1980/82, RP24/1984, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- (1984) b. Report of the Director-General : Manpower for the year ending 31 December 1983, RP56/1984, Government Printer, Pretoria.
- (1984) c. National Training Board, Compendium of Training, Government Printer, Pretoria.

(1985) Manpower Training Act, 1981,
Information Brochure 32/18/2,
Department of Manpower,
Pretoria.

HUMAN SCIENCES
RESEARCH COUNCIL

(1981) Provision of Education in the
RSA : Report of the Main
Committee of the HSRC
Investigation into Education,
HSRC, Pretoria.

(1984) Education Research Programme,
The HSRC/NTB Investigation
into the Training of Artisans,
HSRC, Pretoria.

REPUBLIC OF
SOUTH AFRICA

(1979) a. Report of the Commission of
Inquiry into the Utilization
of Manpower, RP32/1979,
Government Printer, Pretoria.

(1979) b. White Paper on Report of the
Commission of Inquiry into the
Utilization of Manpower, WPT -
1979, Government Printer,
Pretoria.

(1981) a. White Paper on the report of
the National Manpower
Commission on High Level
Manpower in South Africa,
WPJ/81, Government Printer,
Pretoria.

(1981) b. Government Gazette, Vol. 195,
No. 7762, 9 September 1981.

(1981) c. Government Gazette, Vol. 197,
No. 7900, 2 November 1981.

(1982) Government Gazette, Vol. 204,
No. 8252, 16 June 1982.

(1983) Government Gazette, Vol. 212,
No. 8556, 23 February 1983.