

provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, then we will have made some progress.

The employers maintain industrial councils because they have gained control over the unions. They have learnt to make industrial councils control the unions, and how to operate the industrial machinery. Industrial councils have become a means of control rather than of assistance to trade unions.

**If trade union leaders were agreeable to de-registration would they get the support of their members? Do you think it would be possible to negotiate agreements which would be legally binding?**

How did trade unions get the support of their members in the early days when there was no legislation? There were trade unions in South Africa before the 20th century and most industrial legislation only came into effect in 1924. It may be a bit difficult to convince our members at first, but no more than it was in the early days. If it was brought home to workers individually that they must cast their lot with other workers they would be agreeable. If this racial problem was put in perspective people would be able to see clearly beyond the barriers that the law makes.

**What was the response of the trade unions and TUCSA leaders to your suggestions?**

The idea was so new that they did not even consider it, they did not even hear me. Only the distributive union came to me and pointed out that they felt that it was compulsory for trade unions to be registered. I asked them how Africans could run an organisation without being registered. I explained to them how societies could be registered. I feel that if all the workers were 100 per cent organised and belonged to a benefit society it could work.

When I was negotiating for my union's agreement I found

that the individual employers were willing to negotiate separately and willing to deduct the workers' contributions and send them in to the union. If any employer would refuse we would see that he did not get labour.

#### **STALEMATE**

TUCSA has reached a stalemate. There are going to be other unions as dissatisfied as ours, for instance the Typographical Union. At this last conference TUCSA's strength was 76 unions and 189 000 workers. The affiliated strength was more or less the same now as it was in December 1947. There were more unions affiliated then when there were less people in industry in South Africa. I do not think that TUCSA has made any real commendable progress. We have become merely a focal point for resolutions asking the Government to do certain things, the Government then refuses to do these things, and then we stop. There is nothing more we can do. That is why I feel we should now examine the effectiveness of different forms of organisation.

I feel unions should show their wishes to the Minister by organising African workers by de-registering their unions and forming other kinds of association which will take in all workers. I think that this action will bring such chaos that it will force radical rethinking.

It is a myth that industrial legislation protects us, it actually restricts us. Unions are registered in terms of laws which are fundamentally in conflict with the principles of the labour movement.

I believe that if we do make a mass move to de-register, first of all examining how we could form other organisations with a workable constitution, we could still negotiate contracts with employers individually and set up main collection offices — and work out something in that way.□

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# **FROM THE OUTSIDE**

by M. Pascal Gwala

We buried Madaza  
on a Sunday;  
big crowd:  
hangarounds, churchgoers,  
drunks and goofs;  
even the fuzz  
was there  
as the priest  
hurried  
the burial sermon-  
and we filled the grave  
with red soil,  
the mourning song  
pitched fistedly high;  
— what got my brow itching though  
is that none  
of the cops present  
dared to stand out  
and say  
Madaza was a "Wanted"□