NATAL BODY TO PROMOTE WORKER PARTICIPATION IN PROBLEM SOLVING AND DECISION-MAKING PRODUCTIVITY - QUALITY AND CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA (NAPROGCSA)

"BLACK WORKERS AT THE CROSS - ROADS"

"QUALITY CIRCLES WORKER PARTICIPATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS"

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MAHARANI HOTEL: DURBAN

Although the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is in session at this time, I found it very difficult to turn down the invitation to be here with you this morning. Thanks for inviting me to come here to share a few thoughts with you.

I have dedicated my life to the service of my people. My people are the bonded people of South Africa and I have been involved in their struggle for human rights for no less than three decades now. As I grew up in this country White supremacy and White domination were sold without any compunction at the hustings. The politicians who did well were those who promised to guarantee that Die Witman moet die Baas vir altyd. This was not something that could be laid only at the feet of the Afrikaner but at the feet of White South Africa. An impression has been created that because the Afrikaner made White racism or White domination an ideology through the policy of apartheid, that the Afrikaners are the sole architects of Black oppression. This is far from truth. They have their share of guilt in the last 38 years when they have been at the helm of power. But imperialism was not founded by Afrikaners, But their policy of blatant racism under apartheid has made them to appear to be the worst sinners as far as the oppression of the Blackman is concerned, although the Blackman has been oppressed wherever he is in the whole world.

We Blacks are still largely a bonded people, While there are various measures which have been passed to ease the lives of ordinary people there has been no fundamental change in South Africa, It is only in the field of labour

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relations where there has been a fundamental change through participation by Blacks in the labour movement. No one can in fairness describe this as merely cosmetic, Only a few years ago we struggled very hard to push the government to allow our people to have trade unions. In terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act at the time the Blackman was excluded in the definition of "worker", as defined in that Act. I recall that after I had presented to the then Prime Minister Mr Vorster the need for allowing Black people to have trade unions, he told me without batting an eyelid that he was not prepared to allow Black workers to have trade unions as these would be exploited by unscrupulous politicians, I could not believe my ears as this meant that unscrupulous politicians were a breed that could be found only in the Black community and not on the other side of the colour line, It represents a fundamental change,

Because of discrimination and all the iniquitous legislation which made Blacks to be regarded as temporary sojourners in the metropolitan areas of South Africa, Black workers were no more than just serfs. Black people tended to see the free enterprise capitalist system as an exploitative economic system, which they saw as part and parcel of the oppressive machineryof the ruling class, which happened to be White,

I mention this because unless the free enterprise capitalist system is opened for Blacks to enter into it not only as workers but as entrepreneurs and industrialists, there are people who intend to use the existence of this anomalous situation, to destroy the economy of South Africa. It is only now that the State is talking of opening up the Central Business districts to Blacks. While this is laudable, I am concerned that if this is not allowed to happen on a large scale that the economy of South Africa is in jeopardy. It is only a few days ago that the State President announced a decision that has been taken to dismantle the pass-system, which made it impossible for the Black worker to see himself as anything other than an exploited slave. The State President has also promised to abolish influx control which is part and parcel of this wicked system that has restricted

the mobility of only Black workers in South Africa,

Job Reservation fell away because economic realities made it anachronistic and it therefore had to be abandoned. We have reached the point when both the Government and Industrialists accept without any reservation that Black people must be trained to do any job if the expanding South African economy is to be adequately serviced.

I must hasten to say that the capitalist system has operated in an exploitative way even during the nineteenth century in Europe. The worker and even children were exploited as we are all aware during the industrial revolution in Europe, Erich Fromm puts it this way:

"The most characteristic element of nineteenth century Capitalism first of all, ruthless exploitation of the worker; it was believed to be a natural or a social law that hundreds of thousands of workers were living at the point of starvation. The owner of capital was supposed to be morally right if, in pursuit of profit, he exploited to the maximum the labor he hired. There was hardly any sense of human solidarity between the owner of capital and his workers. The law of the economic jungle was supreme".

So the question of colour did not enter into it in Europe, But the worker there could still be a voter, The difference here is that Black workers are not voters and it has only been through the struggle for liberation and economic realities that there has been any progress at all for the Blackman in the economic field,

After a long struggle by workers in Europe Capitalism ceased to be as blatantly exploitative as it was in the last century. Here in South Africa because the Blackman is still both the most economically and politically deprived of all race groups there is even confusion as to whether the granting of trade union rights does improve the plight of the Black worker. That is why we are in such serious trouble in the labour relations field. There are politically

motivated people who are exploiting this anomalous situation in which the Blackman finds himself by presenting the Trade Union not as an instrument for use in regulating relationships between labour and management, but as a political instrument in the hands of the Blackman which he must use equally to regulate labour relations and also to cure the ills in our body politic.

Most of the Black workers are either illiterate or semi-literate and it is therefore inevitable that they should seek help from Whites, Coloureds and Indians who have had longer experience in the Trade Union Movement. This is where our problems begin. There have been all sorts of people that are running Black Trade Unions or who are running multi-racial Trade Unions who have other programmes, other than concern for the interests of workers. Most of them have their political programmes which receive priority more than the interests of workers, Some are out and out ideologists.

If you are Black like me you face a dilemma here, No one who is Black can say that Black workers should not bother about justice and the issue of human rights. But there is an imbalance which has characterised some of the Black trade unions, where people with their own political programmes use trade unions to carry out their own political agendas, than promote the interests of workers in the labour field,

That is why the State President has to move very fast if the economy of South Africa is not going to be completely destroyed. South Africa may end up like Mocambique if fundamental changes are not introduced very soon by the State President. There is an urgency about this, Because of the shortcomings of the free enterprise capitalist system as it operates in our land, and the very odd ordering of our society, it is more credible to Black workers if they are told that their miseries are caused equally by a bad political system as much as by a bad economic system. There are political organisations such as the External Mission of the African National Congress which believe that a socialist or marxist system will be a panacea for both the political and economic ills of our troubled land. These things sound credible particularly to people who have not read much about economics or history. The slogan —

The Devil you do not know is better than the Devil you know, will sound like music to any person who is oppressed. That is why COSATU from the moment it was launched declared itself as in favour of nationalising industries and supported the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. These are not just pressures to convert Mr P W Botha to bring about fundamental changes, these are pressures which are meant to destroy the economy of South Africa as we know it today to clear the way for a Socialist or a Marxist State.

When workers have to think more of their political plight than of their interests under an economic system productivity is bound to suffer. If the economic system is rejected it will not be looked at as the goose that lays the golden egg, but as just one other tentacle of the wicked system which throttles them. It will sound more credible that the economic system must be equally destroyed. So any actions of workers will not take into consideration whether the interests of workers are served by such actions. But the actions of workers will be prompted by whether any action contributes towards destroying the economic system or hastening the downfall of the Government. All that motivates workers in such a situation is whether they can manage to wipe off the slate clean, in order to write on it the new Utopian economic system that they are being promised by ideologues,

There is nothing as attractive to any workers than to know that if they do certain things that they will soon control the means of production,

There are many idealistic notions that serve as a rationale for those who want to reject the capitalist system, Erich Fromm again states:

"Since the modern capitalists 'employs' labor, the social and political form of this exploitation has changed; what has not changed is that the owner of capital uses other men for the purpose of his own profit. The basic concept of USE has nothing to do with cruel or not cruel ways of human treatment, but with the fundamental fact that one man serves another for

purposes which are not his own but those of the employer. The concept of use of man by man has nothing to do even with the question of whether one man uses another, or uses himself. The fact remains the same that a man, a living human being ceases to be an end in himself, and becomes the means for the economic interests of another man, or himself, or of an impersonal giant, the economic machine."

To a politically deprived people like we Blacks, trade union rights become a new toy that can be used to make up even for our political deprivations. Or if Black workers are told that if they use it in a certain way it will bring about the downfall of an oppressive government under which they are denied the right to elect, they will be inclined to do as they are told. They will want the downfall of the government, and dawn the consequences,

No one tells Black workers that the Soviet is on this planet earth, or that it is not a Heaven on earth. No one will tell them that the trade union rights they enjoy are not a prerogative of workers in the Socialist countries that are presented as veritable Utopias. Black workers have through their vertical mobility in South Africa acquired bargaining power. This bargaining power needs to be established right through and consolidated. This bargaining power should not be used prematurely to the detriment of workers' interests. But those who have their own political agendas will not bother about workers' interests. If workers commit economic and political suicide in the process it is no bother to them as long as they carry out their own political agendas,

Most Black workers will not be told about what thinkers such as Erich Fromm state about the Russian brand of Socialism for example:

"The other point which both wings of the Marxist movement have in common is their (in the case of Russia) complete neglect of man. The criticism of Capitalism became entirely a criticism from an economic stand-point. In the nineteenth century, when the working class suffered from ruthless exploitation and lived below the standard of dignified existence, this criticism was justified. With the development of Capitalism in the twentieth century, it became more and more obsolete, yet it is only a logical consequence of this attitude that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia is still feeding the population with the nonsense that workers in capitalistic countries are terribly impoverished and lacking any decent basis for subsistence. The concept of Socialism deteriorated more and more; in Russia, with the formular that Socialism meant state ownership of the means of production."

I wanted us to focuss on exactly where we are as far as Black workers are concerned in South Africa. Black workers find themselves in a Tower of Babel Situation, Let us talk of worker participation and problem solving in the context of where the Black worker is today. It is quite clear to me that if Black workers are subjected to these kind of pressures within this kind of political context that productivity will be affected. Where workers are concerned about political programmes above their interests as workers, productivity will not be one of their preoccupations. When political programmes supercede problems of labour relations, productivity will take a back seat. As workers stay away from work to comply with this or that political agenda, the quality of their work is bound to be affected. This in turn will create instability which suits those who are bent on destroying the economy.

I do not think that the private sector in South Africa realise at what cross-roads the Black worker finds himself at this time. Because we are a society in which we are alienated from each other, there is going to be more complex conduct, which is not typical in similar circumstances in other countries, which will make White employers think that Black workers are a strange breed. You must understand the political pressures that workers are being subjected to at this time. If this was a question of democratic

behaviour I would have no quarrel with it. The Black person knows that the economy depends very much on him or her. He or she knows that his or her powers as consumers are growing every day. These could be used constructively to create more understanding between employers and employees or between White and Black. But we must look at Black workers not merely as people bombarded with all kinds of political propaganda, but even more seriously Black workers are forced to adopt certain postures or face the consequences, The consequences could be a house burned down. It could be loss of a limb or life, It could be the much used 'necklace', These are methods which certain organisations have sanctified as methods which all true patriots should use to impose their will on the Black population of South Africa, That is why I believe that we are at the cross-roads,

There are some of us who see the dangers of destroying the economy because whoever rules this country in another decade will need massive wealth to enable citizens to make a living. If one accepts this then the economy needs to be nurtured for posterity. The climate in South Africa is just not conducive to the nurturing of the economy.

I do not say it is not important to concern ourselves with the welfare of Black workers in the labour field and about labour relations in general, I think it would be a mistake for me to come here and not focuss your attention on the fact that there is a battle for hearts and minds which is taking place amongst Black workers today. This battle is an ideological battle which is being waged by political ideologists often far above the heads of ordinary workers. The welfare of workers has taken the back seat. Trade Unions as we are aware are an instrument that should be used to normalise relationships between labour and management. Trade Unions have to do bargaining on behalf of the workers. We know also that it is the prerogative of workers to go on strike if and when the matter cannot be resolved by negotiations or through the industrial courts. But because of the ideological battle now being waged it is being inculcated into the minds of Black workers that the aim must be to go on strike first and to negotiate only afterwards. There are many

campaigns now being waged for strikes which are not aimed at normalising relations between labour and management, but which have political goals as their objective. Again one comes into a delicate area here because a politically deprived people cannot be chided for being concerned for their political rights. But the problem is that there is now an effort to lead workers down a primrose path by telling them that they should be part and parcel of the effort of certain political organisations which aim at making the country "ungovernable," Workers are being misled that if the downfall of the present oppressive Regime is achieved by violence, a worker state will be installed to replace the present Regime. Workers are not informed as to whether there is in fact any place in the world where the El Derado of a worker state or Socialist State operates to the benefit of the ordinary workers without exploitation by an elite,

I felt that I could not talk about Quality Circles before giving the background of where the Black Worker finds himself today,

Before I sit down I want to discuss the role of such systems in the future development of our economy, our people, and our country. It is the economy which political organisations, described by Archbishop Hurley as "Progressive Organisations", seek to destroy.

I say OUR economy, OUR people and OUR country because I believe this to be a fundamental truth about South Africa, For better or worse, all of us, Black, White and Brown, Afrikaner, Xhosa, English, Zulu, Indian, Sotho, Coloured, all of us have inherited this country and its future. There are many choices that do face us, and will face us in the future, but this is not one of them. We are all in this together. We cannot escape this fact. We can make this country great together or we can destroy it together. But let there be no mistake, we will do it together. On a personal level there is real truth in the saying that it "takes two to destroy a relationship". Equally; there is truth in the saying that it "takes two to build a relationship," The attitudes that are negative towards the economy come out of the belief that it is the white man's economy, and not our economy.

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I believe there is another important truth about our country, your country and mine, and that is this: the Black people of South Africa will be liberated from the oppression under which they have suffered for the last 100 years and more. The only point that is at issue is WHEN this liberation will occur, HOW this liberation will occur, and what the CONSEQUENCES of this liberation will be. Not many years ago, the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, stood on the shore of history and claimed that the tide would not come in, not in his lifetime, at least! Hundreds of years earlier a misunderstood man on another continent, King Canute, stood on the shore and commanded that the waves recede.

I say King Canute was misunderstood because it turns out that King Canute was commanding the sea to retreat not because he believed it would do so but to prove to his followers that he did not have the power to do so. Ian Smith, on the other hand commanded history to retreat because he wanted to persuade his followers that he did have such power! I hope, Mr Chairman, that there are fewer and fewer South Africans who believe that they have the power to turn back the tide of history. The more such people there are, the greater the trouble this country is in,

The WHEN the liberation will occur will be revealed in the fullness of time, The HOW is of considerable importance to every South African, It can come about by peaceful means, It can also come about by violent means, I fear we have already reached the point where it will come about by peaceful means alone. Even now we are involved in a vicious circle of violence and repression and violence and repression. But let no one be deceived and relax believing that things cannot get worse, It will, unless the Government gives real meaning to the process of change, real change, Tragically the Government continues to give the impression that it is more influenced by those who seek to impose change through violence, than it is influenced by those who are determined to bring about real change by peaceful means and reason,

I want to ask the Government one simple question and give one single warning,

My question is:..../11

My question is: If it is true that the Black people of South Africa will be liberated from oppression, is it not better that this is conceded gracefully through reason and negotiation than if it comes as a result of an escalating civil war which will leave the economy in ruins, the people starving and bitterness in the hearts of everybody?

My warning is that if peaceful change, or even reasonably peaceful change, is to come about, the time for reason and negotiation is now. For every Black man who is killed, by police, army or by their fellow Blacks, bitterness and anger are etched on the hearts of 100.

Now you may say that the Government is making concessions. Yes, it is. But so far it is dealing in small change not real change. I have already given credit to the State President for some things that he has introduced to ease the lives of Blacks, even though they do not address the fundamental issue of human rights. These concessions are appreciated but they remain no more than just concessions. The Government is making the terrible mistake of treating itself like an occupying power. Yes, of treating itself like an occupying power. It confuses concessions with change. It may think that because people can now go to the same cinemas (except in Pretoria) or marry each other, or go where they want in the country, or, in the future, buy a house where they wish or have their children better educated, that the yoke of oppression has been lifted, Our people will never be satisfied with just that only. That is why it is urgent that the State President addresses the fundamental issue of power sharing,

Oppression will not have been lifted until the Black people participate fully in the Government of their country and in all other aspects of South African life.

Let me try and prove this to you, I say to the Government: "Put yourself in our shoes and perhaps then you will feel the pain," Imagine Japan today if the Americans were occupying their country, Do you think the Japanese would not be in revolt merely because the Americans were allowing them to go to any cinema or hotel, or allowing them to travel where they wished or because they didn't have to carry passes any more? Or the Germans in the same position? Or the Afrikaners? Have you forgotten how you felt when you were dominated by the British?

There will not be peace until the issue of full political participation is resolved. And the longer it takes to resolve the greater the destruction that will occur and the legacy of hate that will remain. The only thing that is certain is that it will be resolved. Only the WHEN, and the HOW and the CONSEQUENCES are in our hands, and especially the hand of the Government.

It is because I am so certain that it will be resolved that I am so committed to looking at what will happen in the economic future of our country. It is why I am so committed to investment not disinvestment. It is why I am so appalled by the External Mission of the ANC's commitment to the destruction of the means of production. Those means of production and a strong economy will be as important in the future as they are now. In fact they will be more important - because the demands for a living wage, proper education and decent shelter will be even greater than they are now. People who claim that it will be possible to provide for these demands with an economy that is in ruins are simply deceiving the people they claim to serve. The 'Utopia' of a Worker State or a Socialist State, or a Marxist State will never resolve the problems of Black poverty,

The solution to these perfectly legitimate demands for food, education and shelter lies in creating a bigger and bigger cake to share more fairly, not in foreign aid handouts or in a fair distribution of the burnt crumbs that may survive the economic Armageddon that some are promoting. Why is the Russian bear, which we are told represents the most just system, dependent on American grain to feed it? If the Capitalist System operating in America is so vile, why would they eat food from America, which is a product of human exploitation in their terms?

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My commitment to the creation of a bigger economic cake leads me to why I believe the creation of Quality Circles and the work of organisations such as yours are of such crucial importance to the future of South Africa and all her people. But as long as people are being influenced to destroy the economy, as is the case now, the effect of organisations such as yours will be limited.

As I understand them the concept of Quality Circles originated in Japan. That fact alone should tell us much about the value of such a concept in a country such as ours. When one adds the fact that the Japanese themselves attribute much of their economic success to such institutions then surely we should sit up and take notice. I might add that it is my understanding that such concepts and variations of them are now part of economic life in many parts of the world. Indeed America may owe part of its economic resurgence to its ability to coopt such ideas. The writings of Lee Iococca (the financial wizard who saved Chrysler from destruction) and Tom Peters and Nancy Austin in their book "A Passion for Excellence" certainly attest to the fact that respect for a involvement of people in business, from the highest level to the lowest level, from producer to consumer, is essential. Gone are the days when a system which created alienated workers and alienated customers, was acceptable or even feasible.

Quality Circles can play an important role in getting us out of such a self-destructive bind, Quality Circles, as I understand them, involve small groups of workers in solving problems in the factory. This process produces not only a better product or a more economically produced product but, more important, and I emphasise more important, has the potential to develop alienated, unproductive workers into creative, thinking people who participate in the process of production rather than simply surviving the daily grind,

The workers gain a significant sense of satisfaction and participation, The end result is better productivity, cost savings, quality and maintenance. But these are, in a sense by-products of the Quality Circles process,

The most important result is the participation of the worker - not as an alienated pair of hands but as a thinking human being,

I would like to return for a moment, to the issue of productivity. Many studies point to the fact that productivity in South Africa is extraordinarily low - far too low for South African industry to be able to compete on the world market. For the moment, the crash in the value of the Rand has enabled us to compete once more. But our extraordinary inflation rate is already in the process of eroding away this temporary advantage. Until productivity rises our ability to compete on world markets, or even our ability to produce goods to meet the needs of South Africans at home, will continue to be suspect. Inflation itself is fed by this same lack of productivity,

Some people argue that if workers are not productive enough, the answer is to lower wages. This they say, will make the workers relatively more productive and thus reduce inflation and the resulting demands for higher wages. Mr Chairman I would say that such thinking comes from the economic and social equivalent of the primaeval swamps. It ignores the fact that many if not most workers are already working for wages that are below the effective minimum level. Such proposals are a recipe for the further alienation of the worker and a further widening of the gulf that exists between capital and management on the one hand, and the workers on the other,

The answer to the productivity problem lies in allowing and enabling workers to be more productive rather than insisting that they work harder - often a euphemism for running faster and faster in umproductive circles.

How does one allow or enable workers to become more productive? One important answer lies in better training. But this is a long-term solution. It should be realised that if, and it is a hypothetical IF, we had excellent teachers to start training children at age 6 now, it would be 15 or 20 years before the real effect of this was felt in the workplace. This is, of course,

an approach..../15

any approach which must be followed. But in fact it is even longer term than I have indicated because the teachers must be trained first. In any event, even if it could be magically achieved now, with the wave of a wand, it is only part of the solution,

Clearly, formal education is only part of the developmental process that an individual undergoes. An equally important part of this developmental process is the on-the-job training a man or woman undergoes, and the onthe-job experiences that a man or woman enjoys or endures,

It is certainly true that the present education system is very poor indeed, That it often does the child damage and impairs rather than enhances his ability to think. But industrialists would be less than honest if they did not admit that the factory experience often further damages the individual and finally destroys his ability to think creatively. Our society abounds with individuals, probably hundreds of thousands of them, who leave school at least literate and enthusiastic but after 5 or 10 years on the factory floor their enthusiasm has been replaced by stoicism and their literacy destroyed, The same is true of the unemployed,

If you can understand the deprivation that most Black parents endured in order to educate their children, their absolute determination to create a better life for their children, at whatever cost to themselves, at whatever indignity to themselves, the excitement and hope on the part of the children, you will gain a valuable understanding into an important cause of Black rage at seeing these hopes and dreams destroyed. Now some or many employers will say, yes we understand, but the educational system is not educating people properly. I say to them, did you warn them that their education was going to be second-rate? Did you tell them that matric was not going to guarantee them a proper job? Did you set out to ensure a proper education system for all? Yes, Mr Chairman, Black youth, and their parents feel deceived, they feel abused, they feel lied to, they feel enraged. There are political

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organisations which are exploiting this justified anger of our youth, to serve their political agendas. They are programmes which certain trade unions are working out in liaison with some of our young people in order to create anarchy.

Having said that, I must also say that I believe employers can, at least make up for some of this damage. Indeed they can create and fulfill hope and create new opportunities. On the one hand they can provide training opportunities both on and off the job. In addition they can, through Quality Circles create new opportunities for fulfillment and self-training and creative thinking.

I realise that Quality Circles, are no instant panacea. Like everything else in life that achieves something meaningful and lasting, their introduction takes commitment, understanding energy and time. But there is no time like the present and I am pleased that most of you here today started the introduction and implementation of Quality Circles some time ago. An important and meaningful start has been made. I urge you to spread your knowledge and experience as widely and as generously as possible so that no time is lost in disseminating the concept into every factory in our land,

I understand that some workers and unionists fear that Quality Circles will lead to greater productivity and that this in turn will lead to less jobs, I do not believe that this is often borne out by reality. In practice greater productivity has a far greater tendency to lead to higher sales, nationally and internationally and thus to more not less employment,

I do want to emphasise that I am not arguing for low wages, I believe passionately that every worker should be paid a living wage, What I am arguing for is for management to create the opportunities for greater productivity so that wages can rise, not fall, and so that job satisfaction and a sense of fulfillment can rise at the same time. The political climate created by certain organisations causes Workers to regard other things than this as their priority,

The introduction of systems such as Quality Circles have important implications for the workers attitude to the free enterprise system, I have already explained that there is a campaign to villify the Free Enterprise System, In fact it has implications for the very survival of the system in South Africa. It is important to realise that there is no certainty that the free enterprise system will in fact survive, I am sure you realise that in the minds of many, many people the systems of free enterprise and Apartheid have become synonymous. Such people believe that it is necessary to destroy the free enterprise system in order to destroy Apartheid,

In fact the Carlton Conference and the Good Hope Conference at which Government appeared to some people to be coopting Business even deeper into the apartheid system tended to reinforce this view in the minds of many workers. I do not share this view that the free enterprise system should be destroyed but you should know that is commonly held. Personally, I believe the free enterprise system holds out the greatest promise for the economic development of our country PROVIDED it does in fact deliver the goods in the form of good wages, a sense of self-worth and job satisfaction, It is not perfect but I know of no better system of creating more wealth and the more you have the more you can share. With well-run trade unions, they can ensure that be the case.

In order to achieve this, it is essential that workers participate in decisions about their work, At one level this involves participation through trade unions,

At another level it involves Quality Circles in which workers participate in finding solutions to problems in the production process. At yet another level it involves ensuring that the days of a division of labour into White Management and Black workers are gone forever. For the Free Enterprise system to have a chance of surviving it is essential that Blacks are seen to be succeeding at every level in the business hierarchy. As I indicated at the the bigimning of this address Blacks must be given as many entry points into the Free

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Enterprise System as possible, if it must survive the propaganda of organisations that are campaigning against it, organisations which are already committed to a Socialist or Marxist future for all of us in South Africa.

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