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# “On The Ground”\* With the South African Labor Movement

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Peter Rachleff

*I*n the 1970s and 1980s, the South African labor movement played a major role in the struggle against apartheid. New unions were created by workers, especially black workers, who had not previously been part of the labor movement. These unions built rich internal lives and they connected with student, community, and political organizations. When South Africa’s political climate began to change rapidly in the early 1990s, these unions assumed an even more public and political role and, in 1994, were recognized as a formal part of the country’s ruling “alliance” — the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Indeed, in the 1994 elections which made Nelson Mandela the first president of the new South Africa, the labor movement appeared to reach the height of its influence as many prominent labor activists assumed positions in the government and in the management of public enterprises. Ironically, union power has declined since this high point six years ago, and the internal life within unions has atrophied. Our trip to South Africa gave me an opportunity not only to explore the complexities of these processes but also to discover the diverse efforts “on the ground” to rebuild and re-energize the labor movement.

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The repressive qualities of South African apartheid reached deeply into the world of labor. In many ways, apartheid was as much about

\* “On the ground” is a colloquial expression frequently used by activists to characterize grassroots political work.

labor control as it was about racial control. The British and Dutch colonial powers and settlers sought to control black Africans, Indian indentured laborers and their descendants, and Indonesian, Malaysian, and Asian slaves and their descendants (i.e., the so-called “coloured”), not just for the colonists’ ego gratification and the fulfillment of their fantasies (though these were certainly elements of this history) but, primarily, to create wealth that they could then appropriate and enjoy. These needs shaped a racially structured political, social, and economic system in South Africa over the later years of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The interweaving of racism and capitalism became the defining feature of South African society.<sup>1</sup>

While these racial structures became deeply embedded, as the needs of the elite and the economic order changed, they also proved somewhat malleable. In the late 1940s with the rise of the National Party and the Boer elite, apartheid became legislated and codified. In the 1950s, the Industrial Conciliation Act specifically prohibited racially mixed (i.e., white and coloured) unions and reasserted the exclusion of black African workers from membership in “registered” labor organizations. In the early 1960s, during the intensified repression after the Sharpeville uprising and other challenges to the regime, the government destroyed racially mixed communities like Cape Town’s District 6, banned the ANC and the SACP, imprisoned such activists as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, and outlawed the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). As a result, black African workers, the bulk of the workforce in the key industries of gold and diamond mining, textiles, automobile manufacturing and other heavy industries, and transportation and dockwork, were denied the right to organize, bargain collectively over their working conditions and compensation, or exercise a voice over their employment.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1970s and 1980s, grassroots pressure—in workplaces, townships, schools, and the international community—succeeded, often at great cost, in modifying the rules of apartheid. In early 1973, seeking an immediate wage increase and the right to participate in “registered” unions, more than 60,000 black African workers in Durban launched a strike wave. University-based intellectuals, college students, one-time SACTU activists, and even a few sympathetic officers from the white Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) came to the factories, picket lines, and mass meetings to offer their solidarity and support. Some of the new independent unions that emerged were all black, but many practiced non-racialism, particularly in Durban, where Indians

had long been an important sector of the working class. Over the next few years, these new unions waged one struggle after another in Durban, spread into Pietermaritzburg, a nearby industrialized city in the Natal, and built a series of collaborative organizations such as the General Factory Workers Benefit Fund, the Trade Union Advisory and Coordinating Council, and the Consultative Committee on Black Trade Unions. These unions and labor formations survived the new wave of repression and the economic recession after the 1976 Soweto uprising, and they surged forward again in 1977 – 1979, when they helped create the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOS-ATU). In 1979, recognizing that repression did not seem to be bringing the industrial and social peace it sought, the government, through its Wiehahn Commission, turned to co-optation and offered black and racially mixed unions the rights to registration. Over the next years, into the mid-1980s, these unions more than quadrupled their membership.<sup>3</sup>

Over the course of the 1980s, with this new legal opening and the example that had been set in Durban, unions spread rapidly among black African workers. Some, influenced by the Black Consciousness movement, maintained racial exclusiveness, while most chose the path of non-racialism that had been dominant in Durban and was encouraged by the banned — but influential — ANC and SACP. Workers within these unions also participated in intensive debates about “workerism” and “populism.” These philosophies centered on the relative merits of building syndicalist organizations that fought for shop floor power, improved wages and benefits, and an expanding labor movement as against the need to connect workplace organizations with political struggle, particularly the struggle against apartheid and the white regime that kept it in place.<sup>4</sup>

No matter where particular unions came down in these heated debates — Black Consciousness versus non-racialism, workerism versus populism — all shared a similar internal cultural development. Workers, often with the involvement of intellectuals of diverse sorts (academics, playwrights, choreographers, composers, actors, musicians, poets, painters, printmakers, and more) and ideological stripes (communists, Trotskyists, socialists, nationalists, and more), created rich cultural tapestries through drama and dance projects, radio shows and concerts, murals, banners, and public art, and the publication of poetry ‘zines and the public reading of poetry. Picket lines (of which there were many) were festooned with art and echoed with drummed

rhythms and song. Rallies were advertised with brilliantly colored posters, and speakers shared podium time with singers and poets. The labor movement throbbed with artistic energy, and it inspired the creation of much public art. This art and energy brought thousands of rank and file workers into the life of the labor movement, and it stamped the labor movement with their experiences and dreams.<sup>5</sup>

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the political environment in South Africa began to change in fundamental ways—negotiations between the ANC and the National Party; the unbanning of the ANC and the Communist Party; and the freeing of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. Unions, particularly those affiliated with COSATU, began to change in subtle ways, too. They put more emphasis on direct negotiation with management and less on participation in social and political movements; more on the training of officers and stewards about the concepts and theories of political economy and the nuts and bolts of collective bargaining and grievance procedures and less on strategies for popular mobilization and direct action. Union projects that encouraged rank and file participation and creativity, such as workers' theater, poetry and art, music and choirs, received diminished attention and resources. The gap between full-time union officials, in many cases including shop stewards, and the rank and file membership began to grow.<sup>6</sup>

After Nelson Mandela and the ANC took power in 1994, this distance expanded, due to government policies and the increasing implication of the trade unions in those policies. Not long after assuming the presidency, Mandela disclaimed the ANC's long-standing commitment to the nationalization of gold and diamond mines, and the redistribution of land. While the new government sought to provide social services, housing, and access to education that went well beyond the structures and practices of the apartheid regime, its development plans paid little more than lip service to any notions of economic redistribution. Instead, economic proposals that emphasized cooperation between labor and capital, South African accommodation to the demands of international capital, and private sector-led development were quickly adopted and implemented. At the same time, a cultural/ideological framework of "reconciliation" subsumed claims for accountability and responsibility and delegitimated contentions for redistribution and reparations. Meanwhile, more and more union officers left the labor movement for national, provincial, and local government positions (both elected and appointed), managerial positions in

public facilities, and human resources and bureaucratic positions within corporate enterprises.<sup>7</sup>

By the late 1990s, as Mandela was turning over the reins of government to Sussex University trained Thabo Mbeki, the labor movement appeared to be crumbling before what seemed to be the ineluctable forces of economic neo-liberalism. Globalization, privatization, deregulation, free trade, and flexibility were becoming the watchwords of economic transformation in South Africa, and the range of responses available to the once powerful labor movement appeared to run from outright accommodation to purely symbolic resistance. Despite the government's consistently capital-friendly policies, there has continued to be a net outflow of private capital, a net out-migration of wealthy, educated whites, and a paucity of multinational investment. Unemployment among black Africans, difficult to measure precisely, has been estimated at 30–40–50% in different regions of the country. Crime dominates front-page news, while crises of housing, health, and education worsen. The unions seem little able to articulate an economic populism, while the visions of socialism that had blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s have turned into hollow dreams.<sup>8</sup>

The national economic agenda has slid from the Keynesianism of Nelson Mandela's "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP) to Mbeki's "Growth, Employment, and Redistribution" (GEAR), increasingly conceptualized within the framework of a regional "African Renaissance," dominated by South Africa. "To focus on redistribution at the expense of an expanding economy is a sure path to the universalisation of poverty," Mbeki has warned. Meanwhile, an increasing array of critics, including rank and file workers, argue that there is little growth happening and no redistribution, although there is still considerable wealth, some of which is falling into the hands of a new black elite. South Africa remains one of the most unequal industrialized societies on earth, with whites (about 10% of the population) still owning 95% of the land and more than 98% of the stock market.<sup>9</sup>

The widening gap between leaders and members within unions has made it difficult for dissatisfied workers to find or create effective vehicles to express their views, let alone manifest any collective power. COSATU leaders organize demonstrations on Sundays and holidays to protest GEAR, but they are reticent to call for strikes, slowdowns, or other forms of direct action, either against employers or the government. In the public sector, they have been ineffective in countering government privatization measures, which have been dressed up as

“black empowerment.” In the private sector, they have even emerged as the enforcers of management’s agenda against rank and file workers. In January 2000, 4,000 Volkswagen workers at the Uitenhage factory struck against management and the national leadership of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) when thirteen elected shop stewards were suspended for encouraging workers to resist management alterations of the terms of employment. Despite contract provisions and union traditions, workers had not been allowed to vote on a series of changes, including the requirement that they get their wages from a local bank (with service charges deducted), increases in their mandatory contribution to their health benefits, a change in the work week from five days to six with rotating days off, the reduction of tea breaks from two to one per shift, the restructuring of annual holidays from the traditional year-end shutdown to a staggered calendar for each individual worker, and the elimination of washing up time on the clock. Volkswagen management decreed that such changes were necessary for the plant to remain “competitive in the global economy,” and the NUMSA leadership urged the workers to accept them. When the stewards led a series of short strikes in January, the national NUMSA leadership suspended them from the union and VW management suspended them from their employment in the plant. When the majority of the workforce walked out on January 24 to demand the reinstatement of the stewards, management suspended 350 workers. As of this writing, COSATU has joined NUMSA in urging the workers to return to their jobs while the stewards and 350 workers remain suspended. This is a stunning expression of the deterioration of the inner life of the South African labor movement.<sup>10</sup>

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My trip to South Africa brought me into contact with a wide variety of labor activists — local officers, shop stewards, rank and file workers, labor educators, journalists, labor historians, and organizers. They had different personal histories and racial backgrounds, and they came from diverse social locations, industries, and communities. They shared a profound frustration with the current situation in South Africa, particularly its evolution from the days of dynamic struggle in the 1980s, and they admitted to a confusion about the best strategies to adopt for the present and future. They were particularly frustrated that

the arrival of formal democracy had coincided with the ebbing of participatory democracy, that the rise of union legitimacy and power had been connected with a sapping of the movement culture within those unions and even a diminution of union democracy, and that the discourse of "reconciliation" had made it more difficult for ordinary South African workers and citizens to find a language to express their own experiences under apartheid and thereby develop a collective vision of how to move forward. Despite these deep frustrations and profound confusions, the activists I met have refused to lapse into cynicism. Instead, they had thrown themselves into new projects and into intensive analysis and discussion about their country's contradictory experiences.<sup>11</sup>

In the remainder of this essay, I want to discuss some of these new projects. Many of them involve organizing women workers, including women in the informal sector and domestic service, which had not been part of the earlier growth of the labor movement. These new labor projects raise not only economic issues, but challenge gender constructions, more conventional working class identities, and wider political structures.

In 1993, Pat Horn, a veteran anti-apartheid and labor activist, launched the Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU), which organizes women street vendors who sell traditional herbs and medicines and arts and crafts in Durban's informal sector. She has received a cold shoulder from both the government, which has refused to consider these women and their issues in the Comprehensive Labour Market Commission, and from COSATU, which argues that since they don't have employers and can't demand higher wages, they are not really "workers" and, therefore, are not entitled to unionized status. SEWU also stands outside the ANC, since many of its Zulu members, whose homes are in rural KwaZulu-Natal, have affiliations with the Inkatha Freedom Party. At the same time, SEWU sees its struggle as political as well as economic. It seeks not only to express the material interests of its members (temporary housing, storage for commodities, childcare, and protection from crime and exploitation) but also to challenge the ways that economic structures reinforce traditional patriarchal relationships, to raise public awareness of domestic violence, to provide social security for workers in the informal sector, and to promote mobility between the informal and formal sectors by breaking racial and gender discrimination. In Durban, SEWU has used public rallies and demonstrations, songs ("When You've Touched a Woman, You've



Touched a Rock”), petitions, and political pressure to push their material demands. SEWU is also providing political and economic internal education, helping its members rethink their relationship to public life in South Africa and empowering them to struggle for positive improvements. In 1997, SEWU produced a pamphlet, *Understanding the Economy*, in English and Zulu editions, for distribution to its members. Pat Horn’s forward explains: “We believe that every person can understand how the economy works, even without a university education. . . . This book is meant for all those people who want to read more about the economy but have not been able to find anything which explains it in a way that everyone can understand.” SEWU has also widened the self-understanding of its members by connecting them to women street vendors in other cities in South Africa and in India.<sup>12</sup>

In Cape Town and East London, domestic workers are coming together to tell their stories, discuss their work situations, analyze the failure of earlier efforts to organize unions (a union with 80,000 members in 1989 has disappeared), and contextualize their own experiences under apartheid and since its “overthrow.” They have struggled with the ways that the discourse of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has delegitimized the “chronicle of tears” and silenced stories about “the ordinary suffering of everyday life”—the petty and not-so-petty indignities heaped upon black domestics, rape and sexual abuse, starvation wages, work schedules that keep women away from their families, being treated “worse than the dog.” As these stories are told—and heard—these women begin to discuss their needs, goals, and dreams, and the possible vehicles they need to make them a reality. This is a slow beginning for a domestic workers’ organization, but it is on solid ground.<sup>13</sup>

In Cape Town, the Trade Union Library and Education Center (TULEC) has begun a project with women workers from the food industry. They have organized an adult study circle, coordinated by a young woman staff member, which meets weekly. The ten women come together and discuss their workplace experiences, their struggles with their unions as well as with management, the relationship between their work and family lives, and how they might develop strategies to improve their situations. They then sit down at a bank of computers where they e-mail their stories to similar groups of food industry women workers in a dozen other countries! Of course, they also receive stories, which they respond to and discuss. Like so many

other South African workers, they increasingly see themselves in a wider context, even as they remain firmly “on the ground.”<sup>14</sup>

International communications is an ever more important part of the effort to revive the labor movement. TULEC recently set up a state of the art radio production studio with funding from George Soros’ Open Society Foundation. At first, they produced live shows for a township radio station, BUSH Radio, but now they are producing full-length features including talk, interviews, music, poetry, and more. These shows are produced directly onto CDs, which are then sent to largely non-commercial community radio stations around the country. TULEC is trying to get the South African Broadcasting Company to pick up some of these shows for national broadcast and they are exploring international contacts to make the CDs available to non-commercial stations here in the United States and in Europe. As TULEC’s Martin Jansen explained to me, this is all part of developing a new generation of leadership to replace those who left the labor movement in the 1990s, and to broaden the movement beyond the conventional collective bargaining which also came to dominate the 1990s.<sup>15</sup>

And so the new millennium finds South African labor activists—of diverse experiences, races, communities, and social locations—back “on the ground,” organizing, reaching out to new people, challenging dominant social, economic, and political structures. They are as empowered by their experience dislodging apartheid as they are frustrated by the minimal distance that wealth and power have moved. Having made history in their lifetimes, they know that before “the end of the day” they can achieve even more. ●

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## Notes

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1. George M. Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford, 1981); Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson, eds., *The Frontier in History: North America and South Africa Compared* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Shula Marks and Stan Trapido, eds., *The Politics of Race, Class, and*

*Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987); Jill Nattrass, *The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change* (Cape Town and N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1987). The Slave Lodge Museum in Cape Town, once a museum to the South African Supreme Court, now tells the story of the Dutch importation of Asian slaves in the 17th and 18th centuries and their racial legacy (the “coloured”) in the Western Cape. The Kwa Muhle Museum in Durban offers a gripping presentation of the early years (1890s – 1910s) of the pass system and the struggle against it. In Cape Town, former members of Umkonto We Sizwe offer tours of the townships (via Western Cape Action Tours) which highlight the administration of the “dumb pass system” (as they call it) and the massive movement against it in the 1960s.

2. Leonard Thompson, *History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Hein Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998); Dave Lewis, “Registered Trade Unions and Western Cape Workers,” in Eddie Webster, ed., *Essays in Southern African Labour History* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1978), 232 – 236; Johann Maree, “Emergence of the Independent Trade Union Movement,” in Johann Maree, ed., *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974–1984* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 1 – 2; Humphrey Tyler, *Life in the Time of Sharpeville* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 1985).

3. Surendra Bhana, ed., *Essays on Indentured Indians in Natal* (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1991); Paul Maylam and Iain Edwards, eds., *The People’s City: African Life in Twentieth Century Durban* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1996); Ari Sitas, ed., *Black Mamba Rising* (Durban: Culture and Working Life Project, 1988). I learned about the 1973–1976 struggle from two participants, Gerry Maree, now a professor of sociology and labor educator at the University of Natal in Durban (interviews January 10 and 13, 2000), who was then a college student, and Nise Malange, who then worked in a textile mill and became a participant in the workers’ theatre movement.

4. Johann Maree, 6 – 10; Eddie Webster, “A Profile of Unregistered Union Members in Durban,” 17 – 30; Ari Sitas, “The Dunlop Strike: A Trial of Strength,” 100 – 116; and Joe Foster, “The Workers’ Struggle — Where Does FOSATU Stand” [1982 document from FOSATU congress], 218–238, in Maree, ed.

5. Belinda Bozzoli, “Intellectuals, Audiences, and Histories: South African Experiences, 1978 – 1988,” 237 – 263, and Bhekizizwe Peterson, “Performing History off the Stage: Notes on Working-Class Theater,” 321–329, *Radical History Review*, 46/47 (Winter 1990); Astride von Kotze, *Organize and Act: The Natal Workers’ Theatre Movement, 1983 – 1987* (Durban: Natal Workers Theatre Movement, 1988); Astride von Kotze, “Workshop Plays as Worker Education,” *South African Labour Bulletin* IX, no. 8 (1984): 95 – 111; Keyan Tomaselli, “The Semiotics of Alternative Theatre in South Africa,” *Critical Arts* 2, no. 1 (July 1981): 14–33; *People Read Their Work at CAP [Community Arts Project]*, no.1 (November 1986); Astrid von Kotze, ed., *The Man Who Could Fly and Other Worker Stories and Poems* (Durban: Culture and Working Life Project, 1991); Ari Sitas, ed., *Black Mamba Rising* (Durban: Culture and Working Life Project, 1986); interviews in Durban, January 10–13, 2000, with Ari Sitas, Astride von Kotze, Lliane Loots, Jerry Pather, and Nise Malange.

6. Linda Cooper, “‘Schools of Labour’ and ‘Labour Schools’: Worker Education under Apartheid,” unpublished paper (January 2000) in author’s possession; Jonathan Grossman, “‘For Our Children Tomorrow’: Workers in Struggle in South Africa, 1973–1995,” Research Paper no.1, Institute for Critical Research, Amsterdam, 1996, in author’s pos-

session; Alex Callinicos, ed., *Between Apartheid and Capitalism* (London: Bookmarks, 1992); Dan Mokonyane, *The Big Sellout by The Communist Party of the South Africa and the African National Congress* (London: Nakong Ya Rena, 1994); Sakhela Buhlungu, "Generational Transition in Union Employment: The Organisational Implications of Staff Turnover in COSATU Unions," *Transformation* 39 (1999); *An Alternative View of Workplace Democracy* (Cape Town: International Labour and Resource Group, 1999); interviews with Lucien van der Walt, Workers' Library Museum, Johannesburg, January 8, 2000; Kessie Moodley, Workers' College, Durban, January 12, 2000; David Jarvis, Trade Union Research Project, University of Natal, Durban, January 11, 2000; Martin Jansen, Trade Union Library & Education Center, Cape Town, January 18, 2000.

7. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995), especially Part 10, "Talking with the Enemy," and Part 11, "Freedom;" Gordon Young, *The Price for Apartheid: The Wealth Tax and How It Can Pay for the Reconstruction of Black Communities* (Cape Town: Labour Research Service, 1992); A. Adelzadeh and V. Padayachee, "The RDP White Paper: Reconstruction of a Development Vision?" *Transformation* 25 (1994); Ari Sitas, "South Africa in the 1990s: The Logic of Fragmentation and Reconstruction," *Transformation* 36 (1998); interviews with Ari Sitas and Astride von Kolze, Durban, January 13, 2000; David Monyae and Jeffrey Ndhuye, Soweto, January 8, 2000.

8. David Jarvis, *Making Sense of Workplace Restructuring* (Durban: Trade Union Research Project, 1999); Franco Barchiesi, "Economic Adjustment, Political Institutionalisation, and Social Marginalisation: COSATU and the First Democratic Government," *Transformation* 38 (1999); *An Alternative View of Economic Crisis* (Cape Town: International Labour and Resource Group, 1999); Peter Barron and Marian Jacobs, "Child Welfare and AIDs," paper prepared for Macalester College International Studies Seminar, January 2000; Pieter LeRoux, "Social and Economic Development in South Africa," paper prepared for Macalester College International Studies Seminar, January 2000; the *Wall Street Journal* on February 7, 2000, featured a first page article: "South Africans who Fought for Sanctions now Scrap for Investors—But They Find Luring Back Capital is a Lot Harder Than Was Chasing It Out."

9. National Institute for Economic Policy, *From the RDP to GEAR: The Gradual Embracing of Neo-Liberalism in Economic Policy* (Johannesburg: NIEP, 1996); *Debating GEAR* (Johannesburg: The Khanya College Economic Literacy Series, no.1, 1997); *An Alternative View of Globalisation* (Cape Town: International Labour Research and Information Group, 1998).

10. *COSATU, the SACP, and the ANC: The Parting of the Ways?* (Athlone: The Labour Left Collective, 1998); Oupa Lehulere, "The Political Significance of GEAR: The Transformation of the ANC into a Party of Monopoly Capital" (Cape Town: self-published, 1999) and n.a., "Are the Poor Being Heard?" (typescript, n.p., distributed in Cape Town by the Trade Union Library and Education Center); *An Alternative View of Privatisation* (Cape Town: International Labour and Resource Group, 1999); on the NUMSA strike at VWWSA, my source is e-mail from the Workers International Vanguard League of the Eastern Cape (wivl@sn.apc.org).

11. While many of these concerns were expressed in informal conversations, they have also been articulated in writing by Jonathan Grossman in recent papers such as "My Wish is that My Kids Will Try to Understand One Day': Domestic Workers in South Africa Communicating the Experience of Abuse, Resistance, and Hope" (unpublished

paper, March 1996, in author's possession); and "Violence and Silence: Rewriting the Future: Silencing Working-Class Experience, Resistance and Hope" (paper presented to the 10th International Oral History Conference, Rio de Janeiro, June 1998). Also, see Saranel Benjamin, "Trade Union Women Investigate Working Women's Rights," *Agenda* 32 (1997): 63 – 65; Roseline Nyman, "Labour Reform: Addressing Women's Needs?" *Agenda* 35 (1997): 6–17; *Weaving Gender into Our Work: A Handbook for Working People and their Organizations* (Cape Town: International Labour Resource and Information Group, 1996).

12. Interview with Pat Horn, Durban, January 10, 2000; "A Labour Policy for All: The Self-Employed Women's Union," *Agenda* 35 (1997): 51–55; Jillian Nicholson, *Understanding the Economy* (Durban: Trade Union Research Project and SEWU, 1997).

13. Interview with Jonathan Grossman, Durban, January 10, 2000. Jonathan Grossman, "'My Wish is That My Kids Will Try to Understand One Day': Domestic Workers in South Africa Communicating the experience of Abuse, Resistance, and Hope," and "Violence and Silence: Rewriting the Future," unpublished papers, *op.cit.*, provided courtesy of Jonathan Grossman. Brenda Grant, "Domestic Workers: Employees or Servants?" *Agenda* 35 (1997): 61–66. I also found valuable background in a paper written on the SIT-Durban program by Macalester College student Meghan Dudle, "Women's Work is Never Done . . . or Valued: Domestic Labor in Durban, South Africa." Dudle's paper traces the collapse of the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) in the early 1990s.

14. Interview with Martin Jansen, Cape Town, January 16, 2000; John Pape, *Will the Workers of the World Unite in Cyber Space? Critical Reflections on Information Technology and Labour Movements of the South* (Cape Town: International Labour Resource and Information Group, Occasional Paper no. 2, 1999).

15. Interview with Martin Jansen, *op.cit.*; *Building Internationalism*, special issue of *South African Labour Bulletin* 23, no. 6 (December 1999).