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A Paradox of Victory COSATU'S Contested Legacy Labour Beyond Cosatu South Africa: Current Issues and U.S. Relations Trade Unions and Democracy The Impact, the Interaction of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Workers Unions of South Africa (AWUSA) Cum Inkatha on Industrial Relations Practices Beyond the Factory Floor South African and Nigerian Workers' Perception of Their Trade Union Federations Trade Unions and the Coming of Democracy in Africa Imperialism Or Solidarity? The Battle for Cosatu Striking Back Comrades Still Struggling Strategic Unionism Labour Beyond Cosatu COSATU Statement on the Banning and Restriction of Organisations The Tripartite Alliance on the Eve of a New Millennium Rethinking the Labour Movement in the 'New South Africa' South Africa's Uneasy Alliance Hlanganani Basebenzi An Overview of Competing Perceptions of Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) and South African Chamber of Business (SACOB) Regarding the European Union (EU) - South Africa (SA) Trade Development and Co-operation Agreement (TDCA) Who Rules South Africa? Global Restructuring, Labour and the Challenges for Transnational Solidarity Place, Space and the New Labour Internationalisms Trade Unions and the Provision of Social Protection in South Africa The Background to the Framework Agreement Between COSATU, SANCO, and the National Committee for Labour Intensive Construction Political Unionism and the Ethical Question of Trade Union Involvement in Government The Impact of Globalisation on Trade Unions Contemporary Left Politics in South Africa F.W. de Klerk Organise Or Die? An Analysis of White Workers in South Africa Moving from White Trade Unions to Non-racial COSATU Unions and the Implications Thereof Why Workers Should Vote ANC Regional Intervention Politics in Africa TOWARDS a Science and Technology Policy for a Democratic South Africa Revolution Deferred Opposition and Democracy in South Africa Civil Society and the Zuma Government COSATU'S Contested Legacy The Spirit of Marikana

COSATU's Contested Legacy analyses the dilemmas and opportunities of trade unionism in contemporary South Africa. The volume brings into sharp relief the contestation that union activists engage in as they seek to chart a future trajectory for trade unionism. Title first published in 2003. In recognition of the power of organised labour, the ANC Government elected in 1994 granted South Africa's unions unprecedented legal and constitutional rights. Despite these gains, the country's unions have faced a fresh set of challenges, many of them emanating from their political allies in Government. From Parliament to the factory floor, South Africa's unions are now confronted with threats as dangerous as those they confronted when organising illegally in the heyday of apartheid. The purpose of this book is to examine how South African unions have responded and how well prepared they are to meet the challenges that confront them in the new millennium. A healthy democracy needs a government that understands that it has to share some of its power with civil society, the realm in which citizens acquire a voice, enabling them to ensure that government responds to their needs and is accountable to them in an ongoing representative manner beyond the ballot box. The public debate on whether there are centralist impulses evident in the ANC as the dominant electoral force raises questions about the nature of democracy and the state of South Africa. Is there a danger of government distinguishing between development and democracy and acting as if they are mutually exclusive? African democracy institute Idasa and the International Development Research Centre held a roundtable discussion, of which this publication is the result, on the role of civil society, the areas of involvement for civil society, the policy recommendations to be made and areas of research need to be explored. This thesis examines the trajectories of class politics in post-apartheid South Africa. It investigates whether we can witness South African politics entering into a post-nationalist era characterised by the increasing salience of class struggles rooted in the country's glaring socioeconomic inequalities. In particular, the thesis explores the political role of the organised working class with a focus on the Tripartite Alliance between the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Alliance politics has traditionally been studied with a

focus on policy analysis and elite-level exchanges played out in the public domain (Bassett 2005; Buhlungu 2005; Lodge 1999; Webster 2001), or with a focus on workers' political attitudes that uses statistical survey data (Buhlungu et al 2006a; Pillay 2006). The unique contribution made by the thesis is that it offers a detailed ethnographic focus into class politics 'from below', with a focus on the political attitudes and activism of members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), South Africa's largest and most politically influential trade union. The thesis explores how rank and file members of NUM have adapted to the radically altered social, political and institutional environment heralded by the transition to democracy in 1994. In particular, it analyses how and why union members are engaging in their trade union in changing ways, and what implications this has for those who advocate the trade unions becoming the driving force behind a radical class-based, post-nationalist political agenda (Bond 2000; 2010; Habib and Taylor 1999; 2001). The thesis also explores workers' relationships with the post-apartheid state and their experience of economic transformation under the ANC government. The case study evidence offers an important insight into how workers understand post-liberation politics and how they construct their political identities in relation to both their class and also the nationalist movement. In doing so, the thesis does not attempt to offer normative prescriptions as to what COSATU 'should' (or 'should not') do. Instead, it challenges mechanical, deterministic analyses of the relationship between class and nationalist politics, particularly those that stress that underlying class divisions in South African society will inevitably, in some form or another, produce a new class-based politics that will not only challenge, but potentially supersede, nationalist politics. The opening address to Parliament on 2 February 1990, wherein the following decisions were taken : 1) The unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party ; 2) The lifting of emergency regulations on the media and education ; 3) The lifting of restrictions on the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African National Students Congress, the UDF, Cosatu, and, Die Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging van Suid-Afrika. Over a decade after the South African majority gained its independence from white minority rule under apartheid, a system of racial segregation, the Republic of South Africa remains a regional superpower and is considered to be one of the United States two strategic partners on the continent, along with Nigeria. With the largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on the continent and a President eager to play an active role in the promotion of regional peace and stability, South Africa is poised to have a substantial impact on the economic and political future of Africa. President Mbeki took a lead role in founding the African Union (AU), successor to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). South Africa, twice the size of Texas, has a population of 44 million, of which about 79% is African and 10% white, and a diverse economy. The South African political system is regarded as stable, but it faces serious long term challenges arising from poverty, unemployment, and the AIDS epidemic. The African National Congress (ANC), which led the struggle against apartheid, continues to dominate the political scene, controlling the presidency, over two-thirds of the National Assembly, all nine provinces, and five of the nation's six largest cities. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party, key ANC partners, have been critical of the Mbeki government, arguing that its policies have increased unemployment and failed to respond adequately to the country's HIV/AIDS epidemic. As the 2009 general elections approach, the ANC's leadership succession debate may highlight a growing rift between these allies. A history of South Africa's largest union federation, COSATU. Traces the history of the trade union movement in South Africa. "Organise or Die? Leadership in South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers from Apartheid to Democracy is the first in-depth study of one of the leading trade unions in the country. Founded in 1982, the trade union played a key role in the struggle against white minority rule, before turning into a central protagonist of the ruling Tripartite Alliance after apartheid. Deftly navigating through workerist, social movement and political terrains that shape the South African labour landscape, this book sheds light on the path that led to the unprecedented 2012 Marikana massacre, the dissolution of the Congress

of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) federation and to fractures within the African National Congress (ANC) itself. Working with the notions of organisational agency and strategic bureaucratisation, Raphael Botiveau shows how the founding leadership of NUM built their union's structures with a view to mirror those of the multinational mining companies NUM faced. Good leadership proved key to the union's success in recruiting and uniting mineworkers and NUM became an impressive school for union and political cadres, producing a number of South Africa's top post-apartheid leaders. An incisive analysis of leadership styles and strategies shows how the fragile balance between an increasingly distant leadership and an increasingly militant membership gradually broke down. Botiveau provides a compelling narrative of NUM's powerful history and the legacy of its leadership. It will appeal to a broad readership - including journalists, students and social sciences scholars - interested in South Africa's contemporary politics and labour history."--Publisher's description. Publisher description Labour Beyond Cosatu is the fourth volume in the series Taking Democracy Seriously - a ground-breaking, textured and nuanced study on workers and democracy - which was established in the 1990s. The series looks at members of trade unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and provides a rich database of trade union members and research conducted over the past twenty years. It is one of the very few such resources available to researchers anywhere in the world. Labour Beyond Cosatu paints a complex picture. The 12 chapters of the volume explore various rebellions and conflicts in the trade union sector, starting with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and rivalries between Cosatu affiliates. Unpacking the conflicts between state-sector and private-sector workers, contributors look at the impact of generational and educational shifts, seen by some commentators as proof that Cosatu is now 'middle class'. The book also raises the issue of gender in the unions by usefully locating the controversy around charges levelled at Zwelinzima Vavi in 2013 in the larger context of serious problems in the gender politics within parts of Cosatu. Refuting the image of a union federation solidly committed to the ANC, Labour Beyond Cosatu presents evidence of a sharp decline in support for the ANC within Cosatu, and growing scepticism towards the Alliance. It shows that attempts to understand the labour movement in South Africa in the future will need to include research of smaller, independent unions and social movements. The volume's contributors make a major contribution to key debates on labour and democracy, providing new material that can potentially shift the discussion in important ways. This book will be of great value to students and researchers in Industrial Sociology, Political Studies, Industrial Psychology and Economics and Management. This volume examines the possibilities and obstacles to transnational solidarity in a period of global restructuring. It brings together a range of international and transnational case studies, examining successful and failed transnational solidarity covering inter-trade union co-operation as well as co-operation between trade unions and social movements within the formal and informal economy, and the public and private sector. New interest in labour and union internationalism has developed over the last 10-15 years. This collection, co-edited by scholars from an older and younger generation, is a very original attempt to grapple with the challenges of globalisation for labor. The collection includes contributions from academics and activists based in the North and South. This collection examines the nature, scope and prospects for political opposition under African National Congress political dominance. South Africa: success story or basket-case? This year marks the centenary of the ANC. It is also the year when Jacob Zuma will fight for his political life, seeking to fend off opposition from within the Tripartite Alliance and retain his presidency. Now, more than ever, to the victor the spoils. With the country's politics poorly understood in the world, Paul Holden and Martin Plaut present the true story of post-apartheid South Africa. They depict a nation fighting against appalling unemployment, poor education, widespread corruption and organised crime. In a country where poverty is rampant and institutions are weak, the battle for power is set to intensify. Plaut and Holden seek to answer the burning question: is South Africa destined to become another African tragedy or is there still the promise of growth and a stable democracy? "In the book, Craven recounts happenings of the last five tumultuous years of the biggest and most powerful labour federation, leading up to the expulsion of Numsa and Zwelinzima Vavi from the federation."--Publisher description. In this book, top scholars look at the efficacy of trade union and worker protest in overthrowing authoritarian governments in Africa. The analytical introduction and case studies from major African countries argue that

unions were often the most important single social force in the democratization process. The heuristic value of the political dichotomy Left and Right has been the subject of much debate since the end of the Cold War. In South Africa, the two terms are frequently used to describe political contestation within the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and the Tri-partite Alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. However, what is behind the label 'Left'? Writing about the Tri-partite Alliance is often focused on turf- and ideological battles. In this book, however, we seek to interrogate what these labels mean at the coal face of politics, in the Eastern Cape province. It will be argued that the Alliance Left is, in its practice, largely concerned with what insiders refer to as politics of 'influence', rather than with politics of 'structural transformation'. This book should be read by students, researchers and others who want to understand the politics of the Tri-partite Alliance in South Africa. The book is also useful for anyone who would like to get a better understanding of contemporary politics in the Eastern Cape province. The results, contained in this book, present a unique and authoritative insight into the lives, opinions, values and activities of shop-stewards affiliated to COSATU and their members. The study was conducted by CASE, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, in association with the Sociology of Work Programme at the University of Witwatersrand and the Culture and Working Life Project at the University of Natal, Durban. (cont.) The federation's unique participatory and democratic shop steward system also facilitated worker militancy and cohesiveness. The federation has failed and faces challenges to both membership and organisation because it has inadequately confronted the material conditions of capitalism which have resulted in structural issues such as the informalisation and casualisation of the work force. Political engagement has had costs for COSATU, the most significant of which have been the class mobility of unionists into government and the opportunism that comes with the possibility for class mobility. The union is also drawn into the internal politics of the ANC government and likewise has seen its own internal leadership battles affected by this relationship. The federation has also failed in being adequately strategic and independent in its relationship with the ANC and risks getting consumed and distracted from its strategic and tactical goals through cooptation by the ANC. The communist party in South Africa began as a revolutionary movement. In exile in the 1960s and 1970s it took on significance its numbers never warranted through its relationship with the Soviet Union and the weapons it brought to the armed struggle. Today it worries that it has been absorbed into the ANC machinery of government, without being able to retain its own identity. The unions of Cosatu were born out of the fight against poverty level wages of the 1970s. Their culture comes from the shop-floor and the democracy of the shop steward movement. They played a critical role in ending apartheid through their links with the United Democratic Front and the grassroots groups in the townships. African Nationalism, Marxism-Leninism and popular democracy are never easy ideological partners. Yet the Alliance has survived and flourished. The cost of this relationship has been endless disputes. While each element of the Alliance pledges its support for the greater good, it fights for its own corner. The history of post-apartheid South Africa is littered with examples of how this has been played out. The overthrow of President Thabo Mbeki by Jacob Zuma in 2007 would have been unthinkable without the complex web of relationships that were developed within the Alliance. As the ANC moves towards its elective conference in Mangaung in December 2012, tensions within the Alliance are at breaking point once more. In theory this is a purely internal ANC party issue. But candidates for the top job are battling it out and the support of the unions and the Communist Party is a critical element in their campaigns. These battles can only be understood in the context of the Alliance - an extraordinary but poorly understood movement. The re-emergence of black trade unions in the 1970s was assisted by a shift of Western labour from imperialism to solidarity, a result of a relative decline of cold War tensions and the social democratic influence in the movement. At the same time, the black trade unions themselves developed an active, international, non-aligned policy. Southall's analysis provides a backdrop to the understanding of COSATU's present foreign policy: an attempt at more equal relations between the unions of the North and South, and the forging of global worker solidarity. This volume continues the work of Martin Murray's book, South Africa: Time of Agony, Time of Destiny. It explores the social forces that are currently shaping the new South Africa and provides detail on the political and ideological rifts in the liberation movement, including analysis of the "homelands" parties, the trade unions and the

ANC. The final chapter of this book surveys the results of the first multi-racial elections in South Africa and assesses their implications for the future of South Africa. Draws on a survey of members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in order to make sense of changes that have been taking place in this labour federation. Presents a picture of a multifaceted organisation whose members are steeped in the traditions of internal democracy, leadership accountability and mandated decision-making. 'Sakhela Buhlungu pulls no punches. His bleak prognosis is sure to fire debate and controversy...a must-read for anyone interested in the fate of the South African labour movement.' Michael Burawoy, Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley -- A comprehensive examination of the contemporary mineworkers' movement in South Africa, in a vivid ethnographic narrative. This book analyses regional interventions in African conflict spaces by engaging with political discourse theory. Interventions are a performance of agency, but what happens if interventions are performed by forces that scholars have hardly ever considered as relevant agents in this regard? Based on a study of regional politics towards the crises in Burundi and Zimbabwe, the book analyses how these interventions shaped and changed the emerging regional interveners. The book engages political discourse theory, proposing an understanding of intervention as a field, in which multiple and heterogeneous interpretations of the violence, the crisis, and the future post-conflict order 'meet'. It is not hard to imagine that this encounter is not harmonious per se but full of frictions. By making use of political discourse theory as a grammar for studying the complexity of an intervention, the focus is directed to the emerging subjectivities of regional interveners. This enables a view of regional interventions that neither reduces their subjectivity to universalist categories associated with 'liberal peace' nor overenthusiastically embraces them as the solution to all problems. This book will be of interest to students of international intervention, discourse theory, African politics, war and conflict studies, security studies and IR.

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