

# NEW UNITY MOVEMENT

## BULLETIN



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**ABANTU BEBANYE ABOSOZE BOYISWE!**

**ABANTU BEMUNYE ABASOZE BEHLULWE!**

## EDITORIAL: THE ELECTION FIASCO

The elections of 26 October, 1988, proved to be little more than what we predicted in our previous "Bulletin". Insofar as the oppressed were concerned every form of deceit and pressure was used to get voters to the polling booths. In general, the candidates who stood for election were a ragbag of political, apolitical and ignorant persons without any sort of real support among the masses. Savage laws and penalties prevented open opposition to the dummy elections. A heavy police presence led to virtually every candidate being voted for down the barrel of a gun. The biggest and most cunning trick, however, was the use of the system of "prior votes" - the ruse of getting "voters" to cast votes secretly before the actual day of polling. This has become standard practice now among the rulers and the collaborators who live off the system of political oppression. Fully 80 and more votes out of every 100 cast were organised by this method. The fact is that the oppressed stayed away from the dummy elections - on October 26. For the ruling class it did not matter who (or what) was standing for election. For them the most important thing was to get the collaborators to form management committees, local authorities and town councils to run the locations for them.

Who else? Without these collaborators, the new system of "own affairs" and self-service apartheid cannot operate at all. For the ruling class, part of the bluff and deception was to make it seem as though the oppressed had put these political yes-men and yes-women there. These collaborators, as they sit on these location-control committees, now give the Joint Management Centres - the new police-army-collaborator link up - the rightaway to jump into action to get an iron-fisted grip on the country.

The Regional Services Councils (RSCs) can now get ahead with protecting and extending the high living standards of the franchised (whites). They will be joined by professional beggars who will sit at their tables waiting and/or begging for the crumbs for the poverty-, terror- and unemployment-ridden locations. These beggars will be highly paid by previous standards for

collaborators, but there is no way in which they will be able to buy over the support of the oppressed. Dummy councillors are thoroughly bad news among the disfranchised. Paying these lick-spittles more does not make them acceptable. What, in fact, happened on October 26? Did the oppressed abandon the boycott and the growing acceptance of non-collaboration?

More than 1 800 dummy councils were supposed to be set up. In no fewer than 126 cases no candidates were nominated at all. In more than 700 cases no elections were held. Here there were either too few candidates or just enough to be returned "unopposed". "Unopposed" or unwanted? In no "wards" - locations - did every person entitled to vote actually register. In fact, the touts who set about registering "voters" also arranged "prior votes". In this way the ruling class tried to claim that up to 80 out of every 100 voters voted in certain areas. Despite this trickery, the fact remains that throughout the country fewer than 10 out of every 100 persons "entitled" to vote did so. Voting took place without the need to prove the identity of "voters". This, according to evidence throughout the country, created a situation where people were paid to vote several times; the names of dead persons were used; or of persons who had left a particular location. Moreover, some voters had 3 or more votes, some 2 and some 1. The actual number of "voters", therefore, was far smaller than the number of votes cast. The official boast that 380 000 votes were cast in the Town Council elections is a hollow one. This, by any count, can be no more than 10 percent. But the voting pattern was uneven. In the troubled central Natal Area, dominated by the Pietermaritzburg civil war, it was only Sobantu that could muster an "election". Most of more than 100 000 voters took no part in "elections". In the rest of Natal, as in the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape and most of the Witwatersrand, the collaborators could not lure more than 15% to vote. So hated were these proceedings that Enos Mabuza brought the dummy "elections" in Kangwane forward by 1 month to prevent confusion with the dummy "elections" of October 26. In certain areas the ruling class claimed up to

80% polls. What bait was used to draw the oppressed to such "elections"?

The pressing problems of the rural poor and location-bound oppressed are jobs, pensions, housing, rents that have fallen behind. There is ample evidence that a harassed people were told that if they did not register and vote they would lose their pensions, their houses if their rents were in arrears; or that if they voted they would get jobs and houses. In other cases money was allegedly used to lure people to the polls. In yet other cases mafia-like mobsters stood for election to make sure that they could have control over locations, over the handing out of housing sites or rented-house permits, of trading licences and the "right" to operate the growing combi-taxi transport system; control over the use of the few civic amenities and sports facilities and, not least of all, the "right" to collect bribes, levies, taxes and protection money from embattled location dwellers. There is no doubt that oppressed communities were helpless in the face of such harsh blackmail. Only those who voted for the mobsters could feel "safe" about residence rights and "freedom" from victimisation by mobsters' hit-gangs. In other areas voters deliberately used their votes to kick out known collaborators. In Port Elizabeth's Ibhayi ward, the "mayor", one Tamsanqa Linda, a known political lackey who has acted here and overseas as an apologist for ruling class policies; in Soweto "mayor" Nelson Botile and management committee chairperson Letsose Radebe were kicked out. So too was the head of the Union of community associations of SA - one G Kgame. On the other hand, other quislings or collaborators were elected in their place - to do exactly what the rejected quislings would have done.

The efforts of PFP touts, liberal agents like Tom Lodge and Steve Friedman and IDASA boss van Zyl Slabbert, to get people to abandon the boycott was served a well-deserved snub. If anything, October 26 and the months and years ahead will show in no uncertain fashion that the policy of non-collaboration and the use of the boycott are going to prove more and more powerful weapons than ever before. In

addition the independent civic associations of the masses must prove more vital as rallying organisations in the struggle against the new self-oppression own-affairs format of location rule. This is so much the more important if the **unity of the oppressed** in struggle has to be spread and strengthened upon the basis of a **common minimum programme of demands for full citizenship rights**. The new local authorities are most definitely planned to lock up each community separately in its "own affairs" - and to direct its energy, organisation and attention away from **national liberation, common citizenship and national emancipation** from exploitation, poverty, homelessness, unemployment and general misery.

The "white" voters have acted largely as expected. They have rushed to support

the Conservative Party, the AWB and the ruling Nationalist Party. The support for naked fascism and rule by the gun has increased - in defence of "white" privilege and the monopoly over wealth. "White" workers have in a period of high unemployment risks supported the Treurnicht gang by means of more vigorous job apartheid measures in the simple belief that that sector of the ruling class can best protect their job security with high salaries and wages. Blood and the bluster of the "boerenasie" brigades held more appeal for them than the blood and benign or kindly fascism of the Botha wing. This swing has not helped the cause of imperialist-backed white domination since 1910. It is a rush into the laager in which English and Afrikaner capital still have both feet.

The most important lesson that emerges from October 26 is that the growing **united action** of the oppressed has developed 'in non-collaboration a major weapon; it is a recipe for increasing success in our struggles and for repeated failures for the ruling class in its efforts to secure any meaningful collaboration from the mass of the oppressed. To the ten homeland governments with their disgraceful records, and the House of Representatives and House of Delegates with their equally disgraceful records, the ruling class can now add more than 1 800 groups of expensive nonentities who have no hope whatsoever of making the racist system of divide-and-rule work in 1988 and after. They can have the lot. In the coming period the oppressed will be sealing their fate - on the road to total emancipation.

## ANGOLA SELL-OUT: PHASE 2

In a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, during the week of November 14-19, the second phase of the "settlements" in Angola and Namibia was arranged. Present at the talks were representatives of the South African government, the Angolan government, Cuba and the USA's Chester Crocker. Observers from the Soviet Union were also present. No exact details of agreements were released by the meeting. The governments of Cuba, Angola and South Africa had to agree to the terms of the "agreements" before such details were published. What is clear, however, is that the main business of the meeting was the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola during a period of 27 months stretching to the end of 1990.

Present at the Geneva talks were persons from the SA Army, like Magnus Malan, and a Dr Neil Barnard, head of the National Security Services of South Africa. On November 22 Pik Botha of the SA team announced that the Botha Government, the Cubans and Angola had all accepted the terms of the Geneva "agreement". During the same week, Jonas Savimbi - the UNITA boss - met PW Botha in Pretoria to discuss the Geneva "settlement".

### SELL-OUT-STEP BY STEP

The Angolan sell-out is part of a process of setting up the stage for the carrying out of UNO's Resolution 435 to create an "independent" Namibia. The South African government long ago demanded that the Cuban troops (50 000 in number) leave Angola before South Africa would be prepared to help in putting Resolution 435 into effect. The Geneva agreement is, in effect, a massive sell-out by imperialism, led by the USA's Chester Crocker, of all the liberation movements in Angola, Namibia AND South Africa. The talks between Botha and Savimbi - the tool of the United States and South African armed forces - were part of this sell-out.

The Cuban troops, medical corps, teacher corps, engineers, technicians and agricultural teams have been in Angola to defend the independence won by the Angolans after more than fifty years of intense secret and open armed struggle. Savimbi's UNITA has been built up by the American, South African, Portuguese and Brazilian armies and capitalist bosses to destroy the MPLA, to smash the economy of Angola and to prevent the growth of a

worker's socialist state in Angola. (The MNR has been used for the same purposes in Mozambique).

### MISPLACED "TRUST" IN AGREEMENTS

Mozambique provides a clear lesson in how imperialist agents use "trust" to smash the very people with whom they sign "peace and co-operation" agreements. The Nkomati Accord was signed five years ago. But the MNR has been supplied with arms, its units have been trained in North-eastern Transvaal and it has been directed mainly from South Africa to wreck the Mozambique economy - farms, factories, roads, bridges, power lines, hospitals, schools, harbours and homes - and to force the Frelimo government to spend most of the country's wealth on the armed defence of the country, leaving little to develop the country. In the same period Samora Machel and other members of the leadership were murdered in the notorious air crash a few years ago. It is likely that after the Geneva agreement and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola new efforts will be launched to smash the free Angolan State.

## POOR RECORD OF SOVIET-BUREAUCRATS

One of the tragic facts about Angolan and Namibian "settlements" is the role that the government of the Soviet Union has played. It long ago declared that it was not any longer going to support governments like those in Angola and Mozambique. It could not "afford" to do so, it declared. By agreeing to the removal of Cuban troops from Angola it has helped to create the following sets of conditions.

1. The Cuban troops prevented the South African army from overrunning Angola from 1975 onwards. Now the MPLA will be left without the support of their vital allies.
2. The Cuban troops prevented UNITA from doing the job on behalf of America and the South African army. If the Cuban troops leave, UNITA will be in a relatively stronger position to do even more damage.
3. The Cuban and MPLA forces held off several attacks on Angola by the South African army. When the Cubans leave the South African army will be the unchallenged and most powerful armed wing of imperialism in Southern Africa.
4. The armed forces of SWAPO will be exposed to the full violence of South African-imperialism's power to bring SWAPO to its knees. In this way it will be possible to manipulate the Namibian "settlement" more easily.

5. In general, with the help of the Soviet Union, imperialist forces - including the offices of Chester Crocker and UNO - will score a massive temporary victory over the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

6. The South African army will return to South Africa. UNO's armed forces will police Namibia. The liberation movement in South Africa will be exposed to a new wave of repression, backed up by the newly formed local authorities, RSCs and Local Management Centres.

## BLUFF, BLUSTER AND BETRAYAL

Already the United States Congress is preparing to put the Namibian sell-out on the road. It has called for the withdrawal of sanctions against Namibia. This is the same USA that has voted billions of dollars to support Savimbi in Angola, the reactionary forces in Afghanistan and is at present whipping up troubles in Europe, the Middle East, the Phillipines and other countries.

This is combined with the bluff and bluster of the Botha government. This government demanded the withdrawal of Cuban troops before the Namibian "settlement" could be considered. It has got its way. It said Namibia could be "independent" by August 1 if this were done. That was sheer bluff. Then it became January 1, 1989. This will continue until the Pretoria Regime and Anglo-American imperialism are certain that they remain the bosses in Southern Africa and the governments of Angola and Mozambique are under

their thumbs or jackboots. e 2 of the Betrayal will be worked out over two years - the period set out in the Geneva Agreement.

## THE BOARD OF SELLERS-OUT

The Soviet bureaucracy will join Cuba, Angola, South Africa and America in a Committee of Appeal to which all "problems" will have to be referred. Another committee will supervise the withdrawal of Cuban troops. A third will prepare the way for putting Namibian "independence" operations into motion.

The damage done by UNITA, the MNR, USA, Portuguese and South African mercenaries and by SA Army strikes into neighbouring countries is reckoned to have amounted to more than 50 billion rand during the past 13 years! After "peace" in Angola and Namibia, the South African ruling class will be able to boss Southern Africa with its army, as well as politically and economically.

## THE QUISLINGS CLOSE RANKS

Savimbi is not the only quisling to have visited Botha. Before him the Idi Amin of Zaire - Mobutu Sese Seko - met Botha. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has not raised any protest against this mass sell-out. Nor has the external liberation front of South Africa. They, too, are interested in a "deal" or settlement "by negotiation". The Angolan-Namibian sell-out suits their book well. Like the OAU, UNO and the rest, they will support it.

# THE ONSLAUGHT ON SACOS AND NON-RACIAL SPORT

## THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SACOS

Since its inception SACOS has played a vital role in the struggle for liberation. SACOS was formed in 1973, that is, after the 1960s when the State through draconian legislation and police repression had smashed all public protest, and political organisation fell to a low ebb. SACOS stepped into the

breach and took on a political mantle and has played a key role organising and politicising the oppressed.

SACOS has provided both sports persons and the community with a proper political perspective and demonstrated the connection between the encumbrances they have had to endure - the lack of facilities, funds, poor playing

fields etc - and their lack of political rights. SACOS co-ordinates and controls local, provincial and national sporting codes and forms a bulwark against regular attempts by the players and administrators of racist sports organisations to infiltrate and corrupt non-racial sport. In addition, SACOS has brought pressure to bear on inter-

national sports bodies to isolate the racist sports codes in South Africa.

### 15-YEAR SUCCESS RECORD

SACOS has been able to make these giant strides in less than 15 years because of the principles and policies upon which the organisation is built and which have guided it in its day-to-day struggle to improve the lot of the sportsperson and the community as a whole. These principles are embodied in the maxim: "NO NORMAL SPORT IN AN ABNORMAL SOCIETY". This emphasises the importance, indeed the primacy, of the struggle for a just, democratic society. The "normalisation" of sport would be one of the many benefits of the new society.

Another reason for the success of SACOS is its political non-alignment. As an organisation of sportspersons it transcends the rivalries that exist between the different political tendencies in South Africa. As such it has been able to carry on its work without the fear of becoming embroiled in internecine conflict.

SACOS has the potential to play an even greater role in the future. It is precisely this fact that makes the destruction of SACOS so important for the rulers. And today SACOS is faced with the greatest threat yet, a twin onslaught by the State and its racist sports bodies on the one hand, and by the populist, liberal forces on the other. Both these groups are bent on undermining non-racial sport in South Africa.

### ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE SACOS AND NON-RACIAL SPORT

The racist sports codes, desperate to break out of their isolation, are trying every trick in the book to get back into international sport. Danie Craven and Louis Luyt have admitted that the SA Rugby Board can make its way back into the international arena only through "Africa and the ANC". But this sell-out can be successfully perpetrated only in the wake of the destruction of SACOS principles and policies and its non-collaborationist stand. No number of visits to Harare can change the fact that the social, political and economic crises in South Africa become worse with every passing day. The situation is becoming more and more abnormal! The mere thought of joining hands with

the racist sports codes makes a mockery of everything our comrades have fought, suffered and died for over the past 300 years. But this is the price we may have to pay if we allow liberals and reactionaries to take control of SACOS.

### THE NATIONAL SPORTS CONGRESS (NSC)

The oppressed sportspersons and their comrades in the struggle have a right to know:

1. What is the NSC?
2. What or whom does it represent?
3. Why was it formed and by whom?
4. What are its policies, principles and constitution?
5. What is its purpose or goal?

It is our contention that the NSC has been brought into being with the express purpose of holding SACOS to ransom. Non-racial sports codes are being blackmailed into accepting the Freedom Charter and joining up with the populist forces. In this process the "constraining" Double Standards Resolution will be jettisoned, giving the populists and liberals a free hand. The Danie Cravens and Louis Luyts will not have to travel to London or ... are but will be able to carry on their negotiations right inside South Africa with the blessing of the "new-look" SACOS.

If SACOS refuses to yield to pressure from the populists, the NSC will threaten to split off the larger codes like rugby and soccer from the SACOS fold. In a report of a meeting held between the SACOS executive and an NSC delegation on 7 May this year, an NSC spokesperson stated that the main reason for the formation of the NSC was to "take sport to the townships..." The NSC had "analysed the historical developments in SACOS and...recognised its inability to penetrate the townships..." The existence of the NSC was justified on the basis that it would "cover this terrain".

It has to be admitted that there are areas in South Africa, both urban and rural, which have yet to be reached by the non-racial sports codes. We must concede that there are definite logistic, physical and ideological barriers which

make this difficult and that SACOS needs all the assistance it can muster to overcome these. What, then, prevents the members of the NSC from attempting to "penetrate" these areas under the banner of SACOS and bringing them into the non-racial sports fold? We may well ask: Is it really SACOS's "inability to penetrate the townships" that has resulted in the formation of the NSC, or is it because SACOS's Double Standards Resolution and Non-Collaborationist stand are anathema to the sports and political negotiationists who are attempting to hijack all organisations?

### POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM

It is our contention that the NSC is a product of political opportunism and duplicity, set among the oppressed like a wooden horse - to undermine and divide SACOS. And this under the guise of bringing SACOS into the "national democratic movement"! SACOS has always been and continues to be an essential part of the liberatory movement. Why is doubt being sown at this stage as to the political role and status of SACOS in the liberatory movement? Or is this just another manoeuvre to brow-beat the non-racial sports codes into aligning themselves with a single political tendency?

These developments augur ill for the future of SACOS and the entire liberatory movement. They smack of the self-same chauvinism and sectarianism which deliberately divided CCAWUSA (Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA) thus setting back the workers' struggles and trade union movement. They smack of the self-same arrogance which called for the inclusion of a number of liberal and reactionary organisations at an anti-apartheid conference, and then merely listed SACOS as one of several sports organisations, many of whom were not in the non-racial fold. To pander to the populists and their liberal mentors will set back both the sport and the political struggle by several years.

### INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION AGAINST APARTHEID

We wish to concur with the following part of a Declaration Against Apartheid Sport issued at the International Conference Against Apartheid Sport (ICAAS) in Harare on 5-7 November 1988: "We, the participants at the

ICAAS, recognise that apartheid as a system defies any meaningful reform; apartheid must be destroyed, root and branch. We recognise, too, that there can be no normal sport in an apartheid society; one in which the distribution of resources is grossly distorted on the grounds of "race" and where children and youth are effectively denied the equality of facilities and equality of opportunity on the grounds of "race". Such discrimination on the grounds of "race" constitutes the very antithesis of the

principles for which the Olympic Movement -and all fair-minded sportspeople- stand".

### UNITY OR BETRAYAL?

To achieve the liberated society in which normal sport may flourish we need to strengthen our unity and resolve and to intensify the struggle in the sporting and all other arenas. The struggle in sport must continue to be conducted upon the bases of the prin-

ciples and policies of SACOS. This is not the time to relent and succumb to the bribes and carrots of the Danie Cravens and the Louis Luyts and their capitalist allies. Nor should we tolerate the dishonesty of a leadership which seeks to negotiate with or accommodate racist sports organisations, administrators or players in any form whatsoever. For this smacks of betrayal.

## THE HARARE SAFARI

Events on the sporting front have recently become the focal point of news and views. It all started with Danie Craven and Louis Luyt of the racist SARB (South African Rugby Board) meeting the ANC in Harare. Many people were shocked and surprised when they saw the president of SARU (South African Rugby Union) and two other officials sitting side by side with Craven and company at the same meeting. According to reports the SARB, SARU and ANC reached an agreement to "work towards one non-racial union for rugby in South Africa." By this ploy South African rugby could re-enter the arena of world sport.

This meeting had several repercussions. According to reports SACOS (South African Council on Sport), of which Saru is an affiliate, expressed its disappointment because it was not consulted before the meeting. SARU however, met with Sacos after the Harare meeting to inform it about the content and outcome of the meeting. This resulted in SACOS bringing out a statement condoning the actions of SARU.

Soon after the ANC-Rugby meeting, officials of NSL (National Soccer League) also met with the ANC with the SASF (South African Soccer Federation), an affiliate of SACOS, following shortly afterwards.

Before we comment on the sporting and political significance of these meetings and the agreements reached, we would like to give a brief historical background of and take an objective look at the sports set-up in South Africa.

### APARTHEID AND SPORT

Because of the racist laws, policies and practices of the South African Government sport in South Africa was, and still is, divided on "racial lines". The "Whites" with full political rights and citizenship enjoyed superior sport facilities and opportunities. Only they could be elected to play against teams from other countries and for the Olympic Games. The sports federations of the world, dominated by European and American sportsbodies, participated in sports tours to and from this country although they knew about the oppression and discrimination taking place here. The racist sporting bodies in South Africa enjoyed their privileged position and never protested against the Government and the oppressive laws. In fact many of them were enthusiastic Government supporters and fully supported Apartheid and discrimination in sport. Danie Craven declared not long ago that "only over my dead body will a non-white wear a Springbok jersey". The South African Government was so arrogant that it could dictate the composition of teams refusing to allow into SA, teams that were not "all-white".

### ORGANISING THE OPPRESSED

On the sportsfront the oppressed people themselves were divided on "racial lines" with separate "Coloured", "Indian" and "African" sportsbodies being the order of the day. It also seemed as if the oppressed people were accepting their inferior position. But gradually a change came about when progressive and politically conscious people entered the sports arena. This led to the formation of SASA (South African Sports Association) and later

of SANROC (South African Non-racial Olympic Committee). These organisations were formed to organise the sport of the oppressed people and to protest against Apartheid and discrimination in sport. They also campaigned for the expulsion of the South African racist sport from world sport. The government clamped down on SANROC by victimizing its officials, with the result that SANROC was forced into exile. With its headquarters in England, SANROC still fights valiantly for the isolation of racist sport.

### SACOS AND THE DOUBLE STANDARDS RESOLUTION

In 1973 the place of SANROC in South Africa was filled by the formation of SACOS. Most of the sport bodies of the oppressed united under the banner of SACOS and SACOS was soon recognised by the world as the only body representing non-racial sport in South Africa. SACOS exposed the racism and discrimination in sport in this country. It also exposed the gimmicks, lies and window dressings used by the racist sports bodies to get back into international sport. Non-racialism and non-collaboration became the cornerstones of SACOS policies and principles. These policies and principles were embodied in THE DOUBLE STANDARDS RESOLUTION. SACOS also declared that there could be: "NO NORMAL SPORT IN AN ABNORMAL SOCIETY".

### THE SPORTS COLLABORATORS

Not all the sporting bodies of the oppressed joined SACOS. Some have preferred to collaborate with the "white" racist sporting bodies and in this



way to assist these bodies to get back into international sport. As a reward they are granted a second-class affiliation and "thirty pieces of silver" in the form of generous sponsorships. The best known amongst these bodies are: The SARF (South African Rugby Federation), SARA (South African Rugby Association) and the NSL (National Soccer League).

The SARF ("Coloured") and the SARA ("African") are regarded as provincial units in the SARB. These unions are continuously used in the window-dressing efforts of the SARB to impress the world with how "the races play together"...

They also work closely with government structures such as the police, army tricameral system, management committees and urban councils.

The NSL split from the NPSL, which was formed by "white" clubs and "Black" clubs merging. The NSL is a "multi-racial" union which is well sponsored by big capital and government agencies such as the SABC. The NSL was formed specifically to let the world believe that soccer is non-racial and normal. Its attempts to organise tours to and from South Africa were however unsuccessful.

### THE ISOLATION OF RACIST SPORT

Because of the hard work of SACOS and SANROC the white racist bodies became more and more isolated. They were kicked out of the Olympic Games and from almost all World Federations. In an attempt to break their isolation they tried to co-opt a few "blacks" into their sportsbodies and teams. They also spent millions of rands on bringing "rebel tours" to this country. These tours turned out to be massive failures and farces.

The racist sport establishment is not leaving any stone unturned in its efforts to break the international sports boycott. It has now realised that rebel tours and other underhand methods will not bring it back into the international fold and that "the only road back is through Africa". Unfortunately that is easier said than done because The Supreme Council of Sport in Africa recognises SACOS as the only representative sports body in South Africa. The racist sportsleaders know full well

that SACOS is a hard nut to crack. SACOS is not at all impressed by the so-called "mixing" taking place in the racist sports bodies. The white sports establishment will therefore try their utmost to bypass, to undermine and to break SACOS.

Craven and Co have in the past made numerous attempts to meet with the SARU leadership but these attempts were opposed by SACOS and the non-racial sportpersons every time. The Double Standards Resolution expressly prohibits any association with racist sport administrators and players. SACOS dealt firmly with persons who transgressed this resolution. The SARU leadership met Craven (and the ANC) without consulting SACOS. The question could be asked: What has changed in the racist-oppressive system in South Africa to make a meeting with Craven and other racist sports persons permissible? If such meetings are not acceptable inside South Africa why should they be acceptable outside South Africa?

### POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Let us now look at the significance of these meetings for non-racial sport in particular and the liberation struggle in general.

### MOVING CLOSER

These meetings took place at the same time as PW Botha and Co were meeting certain leaders in Africa and Europe. Botha would like the oppressed people and the world to believe that his oppressive system is becoming acceptable. He would like to show the face of reform to the outside world while the face of oppression is becoming uglier inside. Meeting the representatives of the government's favourite sportscode contributed to the grand illusion of the oppressor's moving closer to the rulers.

### DISTRACTION

The meeting took place at a time when the rulers restricted and banned several organizations, persons and newspapers. This they did to prevent any opposition to the racist dummy municipal elections on 26 October 1988. The meetings thus distracted the attention of the oppressed people from seriously discussing and opposing the "elections". Instead Craven, rugby and

soccer became the main items of discussion.

### CONFUSION AND DIVISION

The meetings also caused a lot of confusion and division in the ranks of the oppressed sportpersons and the liberatory movement. The false idea is being created that a true non-racial body can be formed in South Africa that is, that normal sports can be played in an abnormal society. A false idea is being created that such a non-racial body can include racist bodies such as the SARB. The interests and composition of the SARB are diametrically opposed to the interests of the oppressed sports persons. For example:

The SA Police and the SA Defence Force play a major role in the organization of the SARB. Furthermore, the majority of the officials and members of the SARB are diehard supporters of the racist and oppressive government.

A lesson should have been learned from the experiences of Hassan Howa and his cricket union which tried in 1976 to merge with the "white" cricket union to "play normal cricket". He discovered then already that "there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society". His endeavor however resulted in a split in the non-racial cricket fold with Varachia and a few affiliates leaving to join the racist cricket union. Thereafter Hassan Howa coined the slogan: "No normal sport in an abnormal society".

### BREATHING SPACE FOR RACISTS

The meeting also gave a much-needed breathing space to the isolated racist sportpersons. In the case of rugby the "friends of South African sport" were waiting for the stamp of approval to resume sport tours to South Africa. They were quick to congratulate Craven on his initiative and gave the delegation a warm welcome at the IRB-meeting that was held recently. The probability of the world-rugby tour, which was cancelled this year, taking place next year was greatly increased. The Craven/Patel/ANC meeting is cited as the main reason why the tour will almost certainly take place. The Argus (5.11.88) stated clearly:

*"...South Africa's future in world rugby will be decided by white and black Africans coming together in Africa and*

*whipping the blinkers off the prejudiced politicians who have kept them ruinously apart for so long. The Craven/Luyt mission to Harare was the first step in that direction. And its first reward will come in June at Newlands. So start queueing up!"*

The letter sent to the IRB by the ANC, in which a request was made to it not to approve the tour to South Africa next year, is going to fall on deaf ears. Many of the world sporting bodies reacted favourably to the meetings in Harare as they have always been keen to play with South Africa again.

If this Harare meeting should result in the reacceptance of racist sport into world sport it would mean that the years of sacrifice by non-racial sportspersons have been in vain.

#### UNITED THEY STAND

The meeting in Harare also created the wrong impression that there is a split in the ranks of the racist sports establishment. To confirm that they are still birds of the same feather a spokesman stated after the SARB meeting held on 10.11.88: "the board has reached unanimity on the road ahead". (The Cape Times:11.11.88). They would also like us to believe that they have fallen out with their government. The speech made at a SA Olympic Committee function by Minister FW de Klerk showed clearly that the racist sportsbodies are united in their efforts to break their international isolation. In this they have the full backing and assistance of the government.

There are still people and organisations who believe meeting and talking to representatives of ruling class structures will cause division in the ranks of the ruling class and that in that way our struggle will be advanced. It is however proven that this strategy benefits only the rulers whose esteem rises in the eyes of the oppressed. This serves further to boost the rulers morale and credibility here and overseas while confusion and demoralization set in amongst the oppressed.

#### DEMOCRACY?

Meetings like these raise a question about the practice of democracy in our sports organisations. Executive members now have authority to negotiate with racist sportspersons and organisations without grassroots discussion or mandates from affiliates. In this way leaders are cultivated who see themselves as being above the organisations which they represent. Such leaders become mouthpieces of the ruling class and prefer to rule their organisations like despots.

#### NON-ALIGNMENT

It is SACOS policy not to align itself with any specific political organisation but to serve as the sportswing of the broad liberatory movement. SACOS has been very successful in its campaign to isolate racist sport and in spreading the ideas of non-racialism. This SACOS has done without prescription or interference from one particular political tendency or organisation. Lately, however, the impression is being created that SACOS has to toe the line of one specific organisation. It is obvious to many people that the ANC is trying to usurp the role of SACOS. This is leading to division in the executive and the ranks of SACOS. Although we are being told that the NSC (National Sports Congress) was not formed to be a rival to SACOS, many people cannot agree with that view. People see the establishment of the NSC as totally unnecessary in view of the good work done by SACOS over the years. The establishment of the NSC can only serve to sow more division in our ranks.

#### SACOS CONDONES THE MEETING

After the Harare meeting the SARU delegation reported back to a special SARU meeting and also to the SACOS executive. The SACOS executive then brought out a statement saying: "The Sacos executive committee accepts that SARU has acted in the spirit of non-racialism and in accordance with the aims and objectives of the broad liberatory movement." (South:2.11.88)

Many people were taken aback by the reaction of the SACOS executive. One would have expected SACOS to forward to SACOS affiliates the information provided by SARU. After thorough discussion the affiliates could have presented the SACOS executive with their views. The action of the SACOS executive prompts one to ask certain questions: Was the executive forced to play the role of peacemaker and therefore had to condone the actions of SARU? Was SACOS threatened that if it is too critical of the actions of SARU the latter will join the NSC? Is SACOS, in its efforts to preserve unity, forced to compromise on non-racialism and the double standards resolution?

#### CONCLUSION

We must always put our demands very clearly. When we say that we want non-racial sport from school-level upwards what do we mean? Do we mean that children from the separate (Apartheid) schools must mix on the sportsfield? When we demand a non-racial union do we mean that "Coloured", "White" or "Black" players should belong to one club? Is our concept of non-racialism the same as that of people like Craven, Luyt or Bhamjee? By making superficial changes or changing their rhetoric the ruling class will always try to fool us into believing that they have acceded to our demands.

We must be careful, too, not to put sport above all else. We are first persons and only then sportspersons. We cannot allow ourselves to be oppressed and exploited for five days of the week and then play ball with the oppressors on one day of the week. We can never play ball with a Louis Luyt who became a millionaire by the labour of the oppressed workers in his factories. We will have true non-racial sportsbodies only in a true non-racial democratic society. In order to play normal sport we will have to build a normal society. What do we mean by a normal society? We mean a society in which every citizen will enjoy full political rights; a society in which there will be no apartheid, no oppression and no exploitation. And this normal society will not be attained by negotiations or talks with racists, oppressors or exploiters.



# THE IDEA OF A LIVING WAGE: THE STRUGGLE FOR ITS ATTAINMENT

## PART I

### LOW WAGES - A POLITICAL PROBLEM

The launching of the present campaign for the attainment of a living wage has coincided with a steep increase in the number of strikes. By far the largest number of these strikes arose from wage disputes, and as long as the payment of low wages remains a national policy, wages will continue to be the strongest strike trigger.

In South Africa the setting of wage levels is a political question, and at the heart of the system of low wages lies the motive of economic exploitation. In a society where "race" and colour are central to the social system and permeate every facet of life, the very idea of a "living wage" and the struggle for its attainment becomes a highly-charged political issue. The wage issue is a political problem, a part of the entire political problem of South Africa. Similarly, its solution must be part of the whole solution to oppression and colour exploitation in South Africa. This is one of the fundamental lessons which workers will learn in the course of the campaign for a living wage.

In present society, a living wage should provide a family with the means to maintain a decent standard of living. It should enable the breadwinner to provide the family with the basic human needs of food, shelter, education, recreation and all the other requirements for modern living. This stands in stark contrast to the bosses' idea of poverty wages: "survival wages" which barely allow the worker and his family to keep body and soul together.

### APARTHEID WAGE DISCRIMINATION

In South Africa all wage determination retains "race" as an essential element, in order to perpetuate the system of economic exploitation. For many decades the Industrial Conciliation Act (now called the Labour Relations Act), the most basic law governing the conditions of employment of most workers, in its definition of "employee" specifically - on the basis of "race" - excluded the majority of oppressed workers from trade union rights. The Act simply declared that they were not

"employees"! They were therefore denied the right to organise for better wages and working conditions, whilst being excluded from all rights or benefits conferred by industrial legislation.

Under trade union pressure the state has pretended to "move away" from this "racial" foundation in industrial relations. Various "racial" provisions have since been deleted from the laws governing workers; yet the qualification of "race" remains firmly entrenched in industrial relations practice. This is particularly so in the setting of wages.

It is of no little significance that nowhere else is the system of colour-bar employment practice and discriminatory wages so rigidly and crudely enforced, and on such an extensive scale, as in the government service where "whites" occupy the top structures. Figures of the Central Statistical Services show that the public sector - that is central government, provincial and local authorities - in January this year employed 1,67 million persons with "whites" being paid an average monthly salary of R2 070. Yet, of these employees nearly one million are "black labourers", who earn an average monthly salary of only R447. In many departments they earn below R300, with a previously reported low of R178 per month.

The "sop" of so-called salary "parity" in certain employment categories in the public sector aims to buy off a certain thin layer of oppressed workers, to whom certain perks such as housing subsidies have also been extended. Some semi-state bodies, such as the more liberal municipalities, may claim to pay equal wages. But this is mostly a fraud, particularly in the absence of equal job opportunities and the payment of the rate for the job. These are, after all, essential minimum requirements for the payment of equal wages and salaries. And without the payment of equal wages for equal work there remains a long struggle to the attainment of a living wage.

### LOW WAGES AND THE LACK OF POLITICAL RIGHTS

So even whilst the window-dressing continues the system of wage discrimination is enforced by apartheid laws and a vast network of new frauds, over and above the "traditional" well entrenched colour-bar labour practices of long standing - all aimed at condemning the oppressed workers to permanent and abject poverty. The workers have had no say in the making of these laws which are to keep them poor; they do not enjoy the franchise in the country of their birth. In this context, then, the demand for a living wage becomes a forceful rejection of this state of rightlessness and voicelessness.

Cheap labour has always been the backbone of all industrial development in South Africa. The discovery of gold and diamonds just over one hundred years ago created a demand for a vast pool of cheap, controlled labour. Laws, which required the indigenous population to pay hut and poll taxes, were aimed at providing this labour by smoking them off the land to seek the necessary cash. But labour needs soon increased, particularly with the advent of deep-level mining, and when the problems of labour supply persisted various land acts such as the 1913 Land Act - were passed to accelerate driving the people off the land. Not only were the peasants now turned into squatters and work-seekers but their movement was controlled by pass laws which drafted them to those centres where their labour was most needed. The vast reservoir of cheap, controlled labour which this created, made possible the pegging of wages at a very low level. The Chamber of Mines was able to lay down a very low maximum wage which was enforced by law. Any company paying in excess of this maximum could be fined. This wage took no account whatsoever of the needs of the workers, requiring them to "find themselves", that is to say they had to foot the bill for all the basic living requirements themselves. This same standard of wage determination is still being applied in the circumstances of our time.

## "SCIENTIFIC" BASIS FOR POVERTY WAGES

Employers, and the government over which they continue to exercise great influence, have connived at providing payment of low "race"-based wages with a scientific foundation. This so-called scientific basis is being provided by "researchers" and "universities" whose wage research projects the employers have commissioned and continue to sponsor financially. This has given rise to a wage standard well-known as the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), which was pioneered by Professor Batson at the University of Cape Town during the 1940s. Central to Batson's method was the arbitrary quantification of poverty in monetary terms, with "race" as the central determining factor. Present-day "researchers" and "universities" with greater sophistication, though, are still adhering to Batson's principles although they are now shying away from the term PDL, preferring to use other "nicer" names. These are the Minimum Living Level (MLL), Supplementary Living Level (SLL) and Household Efficiency Level (HEL). Despite all this fancy naming and supposedly slight "differences" between the various levels, they are all designed to serve the same purpose: they seek to justify "scientifically" the payment of poverty wages. And great advantage is being taken of this "justification" by both the bosses and the government who will usually fix wages at even below the MLL. In this way these various "living levels" constitute a great hurdle to workers and their unions in the fight for a living wage. They have served for many years to make the PDL a wage standard to be striven for.

Despite daily government propaganda for the so-called free market system and constant talk of "free enterprise" and "market forces", state intervention in industrial relations practices in general, and wage determination in particular, remains a daily reality. The vast majority of workers who are covered by the Labour Relations Act do not fall under Industrial Councils where wages are negotiated between the Trade Unions and the employers. They fall instead under Wage Determinations which are issued by the Wage Board appointed by the government. The Wage Board has always been notorious for the very low minimum wages it determines for the various in-

dustries and undertakings. And until the workers' struggles of the 1970s these official wage determinations were rarely updated. Even today Wage Board Determinations are a great obstacle to unions in their endeavour to negotiate higher wages.

## CONTINUED STATE ASSAULT ON WORKERS

But for the state even Wage Board Determinations do not go low enough! Under its policy of deregulation which is supposed to counter the growing structural unemployment in South Africa, the state is making a further serious attack on worker living, health and safety standards. Under the guise of the promotion of economic activity and job creation through the encouragement of small business, the state has empowered itself to suspend the operation of minimum wages and conditions of work in certain specified areas. The Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act 1986 provides for the creation of so-called Zero Based Regulation Areas (ZEBRAS) by proclamation of the State President. Such ZEBRAS already exist at New Industrial Township (Johannesburg) and Bergville in Natal.

In any event, the Wage Act also empowers the Minister of Manpower, in publishing a Wage Board Determination, to exempt certain categories of employers/employees from the minimum wages and conditions laid down. These powers have already been invoked in the Commercial Distributive Trade, the Hotel and Liquor Trade and in the present fast-developing security services industry where already extremely low wages obtain. Minimum wages laid down for the security service undertaking, for instance, do not apply to any undertaking which employs fewer than fifteen workers. Similarly, in the low-paid commercial distributive trade all employers are exempted from minimum wages and conditions during their first year of operation. After this period, employers with fewer than 5 (five) workers continue to be exempted.

Coupled with the government policy of decentralisation, deregulation and privatisation are the most vicious attacks launched against workers in recent years. Decentralisation has been used to push workers around like pieces on a chess board - into the most

barren and poverty-stricken peri-urban and rural labour reserves and hunger-ravaged homelands. These are usually situated in areas for which there are no government minimum wage determinations or, where such exist, they make provision for minimum wages which are below those for the urban areas - even though the cost of living (or often dying!) is the same or even higher in those areas. In Atlantis in the Western Cape, a "decentralised growth point" which has stubbornly refused to "grow", despite massive state squandering of resources, many thousands of unemployed are locked into misery, miles away from the public gaze. The plight, for instance, of the huge Botshabelo on the bare veld near Bloemfontein cries to high heaven!

Privatisation which is at present high on the state agenda, is being pushed under the guise of "higher productivity". "Free enterprise" is aimed at the lowering of wages, and opening the doors to slave working conditions and more unemployment. Deregulation, decentralisation and privatisation form a devilish trilogy which seeks to destroy worker gains of the last decade as well as their trade unions. It is a conspiracy between state and employers to seriously impede, obstruct and undermine the struggle for a living wage.

## INFLATION

Whenever workers demand greater rewards for their daily labour the bogey of "inflation" is raised. At the beginning of 1988 the State President, supposedly to fight hyper-inflation, announced a so-called wage freeze. Workers in the state sector were to receive no salary/wage increases, and an appeal was made to all employers to take their cue from this. Needless to say, no freeze was imposed on the price increases of essentials. Botha thereafter embarked on a round of "friendly and open-hearted" discussions which were held at his Tuynhuis with big business employers, certain so-called trade unions and other associations which were to adopt and implement the wage freeze. But true to style those in government had taken a 12% salary increase for themselves and increased the perks for government ministers, before the show was to be launched!

Nobody, however, was fooled! Least of all South Africa's organised workforce, who had thrown themselves into the

campaign for a living wage and boycotted all talks with Botha. After all, who could expect the mass of South Africa's workers, forced to eke out an existence (if employed at all) way below the poverty datum line, to be impressed by a pious call to "tighten the belt" from somebody who is paid a salary of R135 000 per year? It is common knowledge that Ministers ("white" and "own affairs" appendages) are paid R122 000 per year, deputy ministers and ministerial representatives R86 000, whilst the 259 tricameral "MPs" bring up the rear with an average of R62 000 per annum each, plus perks such as cheap loans for cars, free flights and transport allowances.

Besides, it has been estimated that only a very small percentage of all these individuals possess skills and qualifications that could net them nearly so much money in the private sector. Maybe, once off the government gravy train, they would also have to campaign for a living wage!

#### POVERTY INTENSIFIED BY GOVERNMENT MISMANAGEMENT

But more seriously, this lack of the rulers' qualification to govern has resulted in a situation of economic mismanagement, in particular, which is driving those below the poverty datum line to the brink. The export losses accumulated for wheat and maize, which are staple foods for the vast majority of the nation, constitute a serious crime. "The R333 million maize loss amounts to about R10 a head for every man, woman and child within our borders." Yes, it is placing the humble bowl of mealie-pap beyond the reach of the ordinary worker! During one season the loss on wheat exports amounted to R125 million, bringing a steep increase in the price of a loaf of bread. In one fell stroke the state's Wool Board lost R45 million in foreign exchange, whilst the workers who manufacture garments are able only to admire them through a shop display window!

The cost of apartheid to workers is well known. It is adding insult to injury that those, who for years have suffered the tyranny of the various Bantu Administration Boards, have to foot the bill for the losses declared by these bodies at their dissolution. The Northern Cape Board ended with a deficit of R3,42 million and a further R37,12

million owed by sundry debtors. The Western Cape Board in 12 years of existence accumulated a deficit of a cool R90 million. Yet, at the dissolution of these boards, the officials of the now defunct Bantu Administration Boards were all seen off with handsome golden handshakes!

Equally notorious is the cost of running the tricameral parliament. New buildings in Cape Town to house this farce are estimated to have cost more than R86,6 million. Five palatial homes built in Walmer Estate for Hendrickse, Curry and company have cost R3,35 million - to mention but a particle of tricameral expenditure. The cost of running the 11 ethnic administrations spawned in Namibia by the South African regime has amounted to R447 million, whilst the cost of propping up satellite puppet regimes in South Africa's own homelands has proved equally prohibitive. The Minister of War has recently revealed that the cost of ammunition used in "actual combat" (Cuito Cuanavale?) during 1987-8 amounted to R328,7 million, whilst during the 1986-7 period R298,9 million was spent on ammunition for training purposes alone! The Small Business Development Corporation, supposedly established to stimulate small business and to create jobs, has since 1981 written off irrecoverable debts amounting to R44,34 million - nearly 10% of the loans that it had granted!

#### POVERTY BY TAXATION

But the money to pay for all this type of mad bungling has to be obtained somewhere. It is obtained by keeping wages as low as possible and steadily increasing the "PAYE" deduction shown on the workers' pay advice. Personal Income Tax has risen during the last ten years by some 550%. According to "Die Burger", it increased by 21% during the current tax year alone, and is set to rise by at least another 15% during next year. But workers are even harder hit by indirect taxation. This was boosted by General Sales Tax (GST) which was introduced in 1978. According to figures, GST has increased since that time by 6940%! The "Cape Times" has queried whether such increases in taxation could exist "anywhere else on earth".

A large proportion of a worker's wage is spent on food and constantly spiralling prices are hitting hard. The "Argus"

of 26 May 1988 quoted an "unnamed spokesman" for the Central Statistical Services as saying that "the price of an average person's food basket went up 4,4% in March ...". It reported further that "Last year, food prices had risen 25% overall ...". It needs to be remembered, of course, that as prices constantly increase the profits soar. That is why big business could discuss a wage freeze with PW Botha. They knew that he would not (and never can) put a freeze on price increases. In any case as the October "elections" approached the "wage freeze" was forgotten. Votes had to be bought! Workers realise that it is exactly the spiralling prices that make their struggle for a living wage so difficult, turning a legitimate goal into a mirage.

This is bound, though, to teach the workers more basic lessons. It must raise with them immediately the question whether indeed it is possible to attain a living wage in the present SA society. And in the course of this type of investigation workers will inevitably become aware of the position of workers in the metropolitan countries. These are the countries of "Western", "Christian" civilization and of "democracy". They are the countries where everybody has the franchise, but where a living wage for the masses has not been instituted. Today, in these very countries, unemployment reigns supreme whilst daily many are being born without the prospect of ever having a job in their lifetime.

Similarly, workers will also turn their eyes towards those countries where society is organised differently and where much of the essentials of life - including a job - has been guaranteed for everybody. These are those countries where, above all, wages are not determined by "race", colour or "ethnic" origin.

#### THE IDEA OF A LIVING WAGE!

Meanwhile, in circumstances of rampant inflation in South Africa, there remains for workers and their trade unions the tantalising question: What is a living wage? And where wages are so shockingly low and vary so widely; where over wide areas of the country payment of wages is still made in kind - even in the urban areas - the problem of quantifying a "living wage" remains a daunting one. But the important idea of a living wage, which has been around

for so many years, will remain. Many years ago the cry of "Living Wage" and "Rate for the Job" was first raised by the Unity Movement. And it remains a concept for which workers will sacrifice. - a concept standing in opposition to the idea of a "national minimum wage". For history teaches that in an abnormal society such as ours, a national minimum wage will quickly be-

come a national maximum. It will freeze workers into their poverty.

It seems clear from the manner in which trade unions are mobilising around the concept of a "living wage" that workers will not be deflected from their path by fraudulent Share Participation Schemes. It seems too late to offer shares (even free of charge) in return for loyalty and higher productivity. The

propaganda that the "free enterprise system" is the only one allowing for everybody to realise his/her full potential, that "the sky is the limit" provided you work hard, and that all workers will have the scope to reach the "top of the ladder", is unlikely to turn workers away from the struggle for a Living Wage. No, the issue remains a political one. And to pursue it vigorously can only advance the struggle in general.

## NEGOTIATIONS: BETRAYAL OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

In the last issue of the Bulletin we commented on the impending settlement in Namibia. We made the point that while a negotiated settlement may be reached in Namibia, such a course could not be predicted for SA. That, in fact, a negotiated settlement in SA was out of the question.

Nevertheless, the political air in SA is thick with talk of negotiations between the ruling NP and the leaders of the oppressed Black majority. PW Botha has indicated a desire to negotiate with any Black leaders as long as they renounce violence.

On the other hand, various interested groups, including the Liberal English Press, certain sections of the Afrikaner Press, Liberal academics, parliamentary groupings and certain tendencies within the broad liberatory movement have articulated the idea that negotiations should take place. In addition, the Imperialist countries and even the Soviet Union, are all pushing for a negotiated settlement in SA.

All of these agencies have formulated various strategies by which a "climate for negotiations" can be created. These strategies include diplomatic pressure, economic sanctions, denial of loans from the outside and attempts to "isolate the government" from the inside.

The New Unity Movement (NUM), as with its predecessor the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), is strongly opposed to a negotiated settlement in any shape or form because it can only lead to a sell-out of the oppressed masses in this country. We believe that in any event, there are objective conditions which militate against a

negotiated settlement. Therefore, any programme of action which is designed to promote a negotiated settlement will divert the oppressed from the struggle for a true democracy and freedom from racial oppression and economic exploitation. When the promised negotiations do not take place, the masses will be thoroughly disillusioned and demoralised.

It is in the light of these assertions that we feel that it is in the interest of the broad liberatory movement that we examine the question of a negotiated settlement.

We will first examine the positions of the chief protagonists in any settlement, against the background of our understanding of what the nature of the struggle is.

Then we will examine the positions of some of the proponents of a negotiated settlement.

What are their motives and expectations? It is from an examination of these that we will learn who our real friends and enemies are.

### NEGOTIATIONS NP STYLE

Many people must be confused when they hear PW Botha talk about being prepared to negotiate with "Black leaders". What kind of negotiations is he talking about? The ruling NP, as it is in the wake of the breakdown of its Tricameral circus, is talking more and more about negotiations. PW Botha has stated that he is prepared to negotiate with the ANC "provided they foreswear violence". However, the content and intent of the NP version of a

negotiated settlement can be gauged from the following:

In an interview with the BBC in August 1985, after his "Rubicon Speech", PW Botha is reported as follows:

"Any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all SA citizens should be negotiated." He then went on to say that "this (a negotiated settlement) will not and cannot take place on the principle of one man one vote in a unitary system." In other words, he is only prepared to negotiate on the basis of Apartheid created racial divisions and the fragmentation of SA. During an address to a NP Congress on 14 November 1988 he is reported as saying: "SA's future cannot and will not be determined by a Lancaster House Conference."

These quotations serve only to confirm our contention that a negotiated settlement is just not on and that, therefore, the oppressed must not be misled into believing that it is a possibility.

### IMPERIALISM'S ROLE

The imperialist countries of the world (USA, EEC countries, Japan) have been in the forefront of those pushing for a negotiated settlement in SA. However, at the same time, they have all fully endorsed the views of PW Botha with regard to the fact that there can be no one man one vote in a unitary state. Their whole strategy in supporting and encouraging a "negotiated settlement" is to get PW Botha and the NP to reform Apartheid. Editorial comment in the Guardian newspaper which reflects the views of English Liberals and "Socialists", best sums up the at-

titude of the Imperialist countries to a negotiated settlement in SA (in response to Botha's rejection of majority rule).

"The rejection of one man one vote is neither new nor an insoluble obstacle to a settlement, and could be solved by voluntary partitioning or involuntary fragmentation."

This serves to indicate that, while the imperialist countries appear to be forcing the Nats. to the negotiating table (by diplomatic pressure, denial of loan capital and even limited sanctions), the negotiations they are striving for will occur on the basis of partition and not on the basis of one man one vote.

Hence, a Lancaster House type settlement for SA is not supported by the Imperialist countries. In confirmation of this point, it has been reported that during a recent visit to West Germany, Gatsha Buthelezi was said to have been persuaded to forego his call for one man one vote in a unitary state and to accept some form of Federal/Confederal solution.

#### THE ROLE OF THE LIBERALS

Of all the interested groups calling for a negotiated settlement and a national convention, none have been more vociferous and more persistent in their calls than the Liberal "White" establishment. Academics like H. Giliomee, Andre du Toit, Tom Lodge and Mark Swilling have written extensively on the need for a negotiated settlement. In the process they even attempted to debunk the policy of Non-collaboration and the Boycott as a weapon of struggle. The Parliamentary groups like the PFP and WDM of Wynand Malan and IP of Dennis Worrall promote the idea of negotiation on the party political platform.

The Five Freedoms Forum which is an alliance of a broad range of liberal organisations like Black Sash, DPSC, ECC, NUSAS sees its task as "hastening the process of negotiation" by isolating the government and bringing it to the negotiating table. IDASA has been instrumental in instituting a form of "dry run" for negotiations by taking parties of various groupings in SA to have talks with the ANC. Prominent amongst such groups who have held talks with the ANC, either in Dakar, Lusaka or Harare, have been

Capitalists led by Anglo American Chairman Gavin Relly, groups of Academics and even members of the Afrikaner establishment. Other interested groups who have met the ANC under the auspices of IDASA have been the NIC and TIC.

In the process of promoting the idea of a negotiated settlement, the Liberals have completely disarmed and infiltrated the organisations of the oppressed to the extent that they now have a major influence on the direction of the struggle. One of their main tasks is to destroy the policy of Non-collaboration and the boycott weapon. They are subtly introducing the idea that participation in government created structures can be tactically advantageous. The role of the Liberal has been to act as mediators in promoting "dialogue" between the State and the leaders of the oppressed. All that they are really interested in seeing, is a reform of Apartheid. They have, to a large extent, succeeded in influencing certain sections within the liberatory movement.

#### THE ROLE OF THE LIBERATORY MOVEMENT

It is indeed sad to note that a large part of the leadership of the broad liberatory movement has accepted the idea of a negotiated settlement. Individuals like Dr Alan Boesak and Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu have been in the forefront of the the campaign calling for sanctions. Their basic motivation being that if economic sanctions are applied by the Imperialist countries then, the government will give up Apartheid and negotiate with the leaders of the oppressed. Although naive, this idea has lots of support. Similarly, the ANC in exile is reported to have shifted its position from an emphasis on the armed seizure of power to a negotiated settlement.

However, the ANC maintains that a "climate for negotiation" can only be created if all political prisoners and detainees are released, exiles allowed to return to S.A, unconditionally, repressive laws dismantled, organisations unbanned and the right to free association guaranteed. It is unlikely that the state will accede to any of these preconditions. The ANC has had discussions with numerous groups of Whites, thereby creating the illusion that it will be allowed to take power from the "White" ruling class after some

negotiations have taken place. Furthermore, it is even attempting to force so-called unity between racist sports bodies like the SARB and non-racial sports bodies like SARU; in spite of the detrimental effects such actions will have on the process of building the unity of the oppressed and exploited.

#### THE ROLE OF THE USSR

The role of the Soviet Union in promoting a negotiated settlement is shameful although not totally unexpected.

It is apparently exerting pressure on the ANC, to offer "Whites" in S.A. guaranteed "group rights" so as to "hasten the negotiation process". The Russians are in the process of selling out the people of Angola by agreeing to a Peace Settlement which will only benefit S.A. and Jonas Savimbi. It is clear that the Soviet bureaucracy, out of pure self interest, is prepared to work hand in glove with the USA administration and the warlords in the Pentagon.

The role played by the Soviet Union serves to emphasize the fact that the oppressed must not look for nor depend upon help from outside, in its struggle for liberation.

#### CONCLUSION

It can be predicted that in the wake of a settlement in Namibia, that the call for a negotiated settlement in SA will become all the more strident and insistent. However, the prospects for such a settlement in SA are extremely remote. In any event, we must warn once again that a negotiated settlement, were it to take place, would be, to put it plainly, a **SELLOUT**. Any strategy that has a negotiated settlement as its end point can only result in co-option and defeat for the oppressed and exploited masses of this country who have struggled for more than three hundred years for majority rule in a Single Undivided South Africa. A negotiated settlement can only be based on the continued economic exploitation of the workers, the denial of real as opposed to formal democratic rights and the perpetuation of racism in SA.

The hard lesson must be learnt that the "white" ruling class in this country, backed up by a formidable military machine and supported by World Imperialism and local monopoly capital,

will never negotiate away its power and control of SA.

**The only guarantee of success in our struggle for an end to racial oppression and the elimination of economic exploitation is by: building the unity of the oppressed in this country; building independent organisations led by the working class and free of all liberal influence. The policy of non-collaboration with Imperialism and the local ruling class and its agents is an important and vital aspect in this regard.**

The policy of non-collaboration first elaborated by the Unity Movement over 40 years ago has become widely accepted by the oppressed in this country; and it has been effective! That is why the liberals are trying their utmost to undermine it because it directs the oppressed away from negotiation politics.

But the policy of Non-collaboration cannot stand on its own. It is given effect by the Boycott weapon which, when used correctly, is an effective weapon indeed.

A programme of **NON-NEGOTIABLE** minimum demands such as the **10 Point Programme of the Unity Movement** when taken together with the policy of Non-collaboration and the Boycott provides the oppressed of this country with a further important weapon in its arsenal to end racial oppression and economic exploitation and to secure democratic rights for all.

## HEALTHWORKERS ON THE MARCH

### A VICTORY FOR GSH WORKERS

Groote Schuur Hospital workers have been busily organising themselves into the Health Workers Union (HWU) over the past few years. They came to realise the importance of organisation after the 1984 stoppage and now have majority membership at Groote Schuur. The HWU has members at Conradie, Somerset, Victoria and other hospitals. After the stoppage on the first day, the Director of Hospital Services initially agreed to negotiate with the worker committee, but later queried its composition. When the striking workers as a whole insisted on the inclusion of all their representatives in the negotiating team - the authorities were forced to relent. Acting with great discipline and restraint, the workers returned to work, agreeing to give the authorities time to respond to their demands. The workers gave the director two weeks to put their demands to the Commission for Public Administration or the Minister concerned, after which, further strike action could follow. The Director failed to respond within the stipulated time and workers at GSH downed tools for the third time in one month. This time the GSH workers were supported with solidarity work stoppages at Somerset, Woodstock and Conradie hospitals and workers at Victoria and other hospitals watched the situation closely. The following day the Director informed the workers that a salary increase would be granted retrospective to the beginning of November. Details of the amount would follow but the increase would be over and above the 15% promised to all state employees on the 1st January 1989. Written response will also be given to the workers' demands on shorter working hours, permanent staff status, maternity benefits and recognition of the union.

### COURT INTERDICT AGAINST WORKERS AT ADDINGTON HOSPITAL, DURBAN

Following closely on the heels of the GSH strike, health workers at Addington Hospital and other surrounding hospitals in Natal, have come out on strike action. Organised under the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU), their demands are similar to those of the GSH workers. Once again 2 000 workers are involved and this time the state opted for a heavy-handed approach. The state obtained a court interdict against NEHAWU; more than 300 workers at Grey's Hospital have been arrested and 18 detained under the emergency regulations. The arrested workers will be freed if they agree to return to work but refused until all their demands have been met. The Addington workers have been given until the 30 November to return to work, failing which, all will be considered dismissed. A two-day work stoppage has also occurred at Kimberley Hospital and after being threatened with mass dismissals they returned to work. These workers are not officially organised by either the HWU or NEHAWU.

### DISCONTENT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

These hospital strikes are symptomatic of a general brooding discontent amongst those most down-trodden in the State sector. It gave rise to the strikes of hospital workers at King Edward VIII and Wentworth in Durban, when despite brutal police intervention - workers forced the Natal Provincial Administration to negotiate a wage increase with their union which it had refused to recognise. Poor working conditions and poverty wages forced

the Hillbrow and Baragwanath Hospital workers out on strike and have given rise to the strikes which have rocked the Postal Services as well as the South African Transport Services (SATS) in recent times.

### HOSPITAL WORKERS DENIED UNION RIGHTS

Hospital workers, like those employed by SATS and the Postal and Telegraph Services are classified as State employees, although they are employed directly by the four Provincial administrations and not the Central State. But, of course, under the South African apartheid system of tricameral government, Provincial Councils have now been abolished and the administrators of the four provinces are directly appointed by the State President. Thus, like all State employees, hospital workers are excluded from the ambit of the Labour Relations Act. Legally, therefore, hospital workers - like agricultural and domestic workers in the private sector - are being denied trade union rights. All strikes by hospital workers, are thus "illegal".

However, even if hospital workers were to be granted trade union rights, under the Labour Relations Act, they would probably be classified as "essential service" workers because of the nature of their work. This would mean that it would still be "illegal" for them to strike; such as is the case with Municipal or Local Authority workers. They would then be legally compelled to resort to arbitration where disputes cannot be settled. So, it is clear that hospital workers have no avenues of negotiation over their conditions of work and wages. This is a situation which the hospital bosses have been exploiting over many, many years. And, ironically, this is what must increasingly lead to



strike action - unless the workers are granted trade union bargaining rights soon.

### **PUBLIC SERVANTS LEAGUE**

Typical of the situation in the Public Sector, the Groote Schuur Hospital authorities have, to date, refused to recognise the HWU and to grant stop order facilities. Like the SATS management for instance, which officially recognises only its own eleven "in-house" or sweetheart unions, Groote Schuur recognises only the Public Servants League of SA (PSL) which is granted all facilities at the hospital. The PSL was originally started by the more highly paid officials in the Public Service, or more particularly, the then Coloured Affairs Department, to beg for promotion and better salaries for officials and clerks. It has always been led by persons who, for their own selfish reasons have been supportive of the Apartheid system. It used to organise only salaried employees, excluding the majority of "non-classified" manual workers. However, during the period of the growth of the new emergent unions, it purportedly changed into a "non-racial organisation" and "opened" its doors to all state employees irrespective of rank or station. It has since built up a sizeable (often captive) national membership. But controlled mainly by bureaucrats and political conservatives, its track record remains unchanged. Some even support the Tri-Cameral parliament which is directly responsible for the rapidly increasing poverty. However, inside the PSL there is presently a battle raging to purge and change direction. It is no wonder then that the vast majority of Groote Schuur workers have spurned membership of the PSL. Yet, the Groote Schuur authorities prefer to deal with this totally unrepresentative body. In addition, the state insists upon the racial composition of these Staff Associations. Hence there is the Public Servants Association (PSA) for "whites", the PSL for "coloureds" and the recently formed Institute of Public Servants (IPS) for "Africans". All of these function as "benefit organisations" dealing with insurance, burial and discount facilities rather than the real issues confronting their members.

### **LOW WAGES FOR HOSPITAL WORKERS**

No wonder, therefore, that salaries for auxiliary workers at Groote Schuur and

other hospitals are as low as R260 per month. Never since its inception has the PSL opposed the so-called "Local Wage Rate System" which is racially based and assumes, for instance, that "Coloureds" and "Africans" have different wage requirements. Also, that wages should vary in different areas; a basic tenet of the Poverty Datum Line which was designed to keep workers in permanent and abject poverty. A predominance of female workers reinforced the incentive to pay low wages. The first demand of the Groote Schuur workers, therefore, is for a **MINIMUM SALARY of R800 per month** for all workers, without discrimination. The Addington workers are demanding R1 500.

### **TEMPORARY STATUS FOR LONG SERVICE**

It would appear that most hospital workers have long service; many 20 years and more. Labour turn-over does not seem to be very high. Yet the majority are still classed as "temporary" workers and enjoy very little job security. This is a common situation for non-classified workers in state service. For SATS workers, for instance, this position has been enshrined in law: the SATS Conditions of Employment Act and Personnel Regulations. Logically, the workers are demanding permanent status on the fixed establishment of Groote Schuur. A further important demand is the one for a 40-hour week and what it entails, for instance overtime payment for those long excess hours presently being worked as "normal".

### **MATERNITY BENEFITS**

Women form the major part of personnel in the health sector and it is a sad indictment that maternity benefits have never been considered for these workers (professional and non-professional). The demand for a minimum of 3 months fully paid maternity leave is well overdue and will ensure that the jobs of these women workers are secure after confinement, without loss of benefits. Other rights of pregnant workers need to be considered at the same time.

### **UNIONS REPRESENT THE MAJORITY**

A major demand, in addition to the one on wages, is the demand for freedom of

association. This principle was put forward by the State-appointed Wiehahn Commission ten years ago and was accepted by the government. There seems to be no legal reason for the Hospital authorities to continue denying the HWU and NEHAWU official recognition. It would be easy, in any case, to test their claims of majority support in open and democratically conducted ballots. The demand to be included under the Labour Relations Act will also enable the unions to expose unfair labour practices on a more acceptable basis.

### **MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENTS ARE FIGURE-HEADS**

The Medical Superintendents who are at the head of the Provincial Hospitals have almost no power to bring about basic changes that will satisfy workers' demands. The one at Groote Schuur, very typically, was quick to point a finger at the Director of Provincial Hospital Services, immediately turning the stoppage into a worker - state confrontation. Thus far, the workers have been patient whilst the Director has been dragging his heels over their demands for basic decent living standards - demands which he has been aware of for a long time. In any case, the Director is far removed from the scene of action and is as out of touch as those who appointed him. As long as the heat is off the Medical Superintendent, they will play hide and seek and shelve the issue. And provocative actions on the part of the Medical Superintendent, such as closing report-back and assembly venues, must ultimately aggravate the situation. They all need to realise that they have a "problem" which will not go away!

### **WHICH WAY THE STRUGGLE?**

The workers will also learn many lessons during this time. The most important will be that the road to a living wage is a long and difficult one, on which they have but taken the first step. Along that road they will have to consolidate their majority and expand their influence at the other institutions around them. But the final thrust to success will only be possible once all hospital workers are organised into one union nationally.

It is indeed going to be a long and hard struggle, but there is no other way!

## JOINT STATEMENT BY THE NEW UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Representatives of the New Unity Movement and the National Council of Trade Unions of South Africa met on Saturday, 8th October 1988 to discuss issues of mutual concern and national importance. After thorough examination and discussion of these basic issues confronting the liberatory movement in our country and Southern Africa in general, NACTU and the NEW UNITY MOVEMENT agreed upon the following:

1 The building of one united democratic State in South Africa must be the common principal aim of the liberatory movement.

2 The unity of the oppressed and exploited people is an essential precondition for the attainment of the above aim.

3 The two organisations agree that this unity be actively built upon the basis of clearly-stated political principles.

4 Such unity can only be achieved through the principle of non-collaboration with the racist ruling class structures and ideology, which are used to buttress the policy of divide-and-rule.

5 Both organisations agree upon the paramountcy of the interests of the working class and landless peasantry in the struggle.

6 Both organisations agree that the struggle for liberation entails a struggle against national oppression, capitalism and imperialism. Apartheid is one of many methods used by the ruling class

to divide, oppress and exploit the masses. Our struggle is both against Apartheid and against all other forms of discrimination based upon colour, class, sex and creed.

7 The defense of the political independence of the organisations of the oppressed against ruling class ideas is a necessary duty of all those involved in the liberation movement.

8 Both organisations agree that in order to defend the integrity of the democratic movement against the scheming and dirty-tricks of the ruling class, it is paramount that consultation at grass-roots level be democratically practised within all organisations in the liberatory movement.

9 In their analysis of recent labour law practices, NACTU and the NEW UNITY MOVEMENT concluded that the Labour Relations Amendment Act introduced on September 1, 1988, is clearly intended to (a) reverse the gains made by the Trade Union Movement during the last ten years; (b) prevent the Trade Union Movement from taking its rightful place in the national liberation struggle and (c) the State and employers have connived to erode the fundamental right of workers to withhold their labour power.

10 Racist "municipal" elections are being held on October 26 against the background of a State of Emergency and increasing State repression. The entire basis of these elections is undemocratic;

they are clearly intended to intensify the system of oppression and exploitation. Both organisations reiterate their commitment to work tirelessly towards the creation of true elections in which all the people over the age of 18 years have a right to elect and to be elected to one parliament and regional and local councils in an unsegregated, non-racial democratic society.

11 Both NACTU and the NEW UNITY MOVEMENT express the gravest concern about growing unemployment, raging poverty and starvation, the erosion of the buying power of workers' wages and the breakdown in the education of the oppressed.

12 Both organisations agree that the use of sanctions is but one part of the total strategy of the liberatory movement.

We condemn in the strongest terms the continued intervention of Imperialism in Southern Africa. American and South African military power is being used to crush Angola and Mozambique.

We condemn the Pretoria regime for its continued obstruction of Namibian independence and the right of the Namibian people to self determination. The intrigues of the forces of Imperialism in Southern Africa are being carried out with the express purpose of continuing to deny the people of Southern Africa their liberation from oppression and exploitation.

## A PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!