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JUNE 16

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COSATU's two biggest affiliates, the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) and the National Union of Metal-workers of SA (NUMSA), both held their biennial national congresses recently. These congresses are important as they chart the political and organisational direction of the unions.

Key decisions taken at the NUMSA and NUM congresses will be referred as resolutions to the COSATU congress - scheduled for mid-July - for discussion. Thus the congresses of NUMSA and NUM provide important indications about the major issues that will be discussed in COSATU's congress.

James Motlatsi is president of the biggest union in South Africa, with 240,000 members. In 1987 the union launched the biggest strike in South African history, when 360,000 workers out in support of NUM's wage demands. The industry suffered huge financial losses, but the union was forced to back down when Anglo American fired 50,000 strikers. In the aftermath the employers directed fierce repression against NUM. It has, however, recovered remarkably fast.

Moses Mayekiso is general secretary of a union with diverse origins. Three unions came together to form

Speaking about politics

Interviews with James Motlatsi and Moses Mayekiso

NUMSA in 1987. NUMSA now has a paid-up membership of 180,000 - a growth of 43% since it was launched. Through a series of tactical and organisational advances, including last years' limited strike, NUMSA has become the dominant union in the metal and engineering industry. It also

dominates the motor assembly and components industries.

In the past NUM and NUMSA have often clashed with each other in COSATU forums. NUM was seen as the major protagonist of the 'populist' position, while NUMSA was seen as the major 'workerist' union. However, as these interviews show, a high level of consensus has been established. The prospects for this years' COSATU congress are a more unified federation than ever before.

In this feature we publish the two interviews, key resolutions from NUM, NUMSA, and ACTWUSA and an overview of political debates in COSATU. We follow with an article written by members of Chemical Workers Industrial Union in Phalaborwa, in which they describe their experiences during the period of peoples' power in 1985-6. Finally, there is an interview with two Natal unionists about the death of Jabu Ndlovu in continuing violence in Natal.



Interview: James Motlatsi, president of NUM

JAMES MOTLATSI speaks to **LABOUR BULLETIN** about the union's 1989 Congress which was held in April, about the political situation, and about resistance to Anglo's campaign of repression on the mines.

Labour Bulletin: *NUM was quite battered and weakened by repression after the 1987 strike. Judging by the congress has the union recovered, or is it still weakened?*

Motlatsi: At the 1987 congress NUM took important resolutions, such as the resolution on "Mineworkers take control". Immediately after the congress, workers implemented the resolutions at a number of mines, particularly the collieries. Repression started in the mining industry not only because of the strike, but because of what happened after the congress, before the strike. The mining bosses realised that NUM is a union which does not just adopt resolutions for the sake of adopting them.

They wanted to smash the union in a gentle way, because the present pol-

itical situation makes the state and employers reluctant to use tactics such as banning organisations or restricting leaders. The attack they used was to dismiss workers. They aimed to destroy the structures of the union - that is why they dismissed leadership at national, regional and branch level. Not only leadership in structures, but activists at shaft level. Some leaders were deported to neighbouring states, and refused entry back into South Africa.

They wanted to demobilise the union and discourage workers from being members. Dismissals were followed by repression - the derecognition of shaftsteward agreements, the installation of mine security all over the shafts, surrounding hostels with security fences, the ID system restricting access to mine property, and an increase in assaults

by white miners and black supervisors. It was clear the mine bosses wanted to destroy the union in a subtle way.

In 1988 we had our special conference. The morale was very low, because of what I have mentioned. But an important resolution was adopted, to rebuild our structures and go forward regardless of repression.

Indeed, we succeeded. The congress this year was well attended, in spite of management's refusal to give time off to some delegates. Because of the determination of the workers some delegates took unpaid leave. As was planned, we had 601 delegates from 16 regions.

We in NUM thought that the 5th

JAMES MOTLATSI, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, was born in Lesotho in 1951. He worked for over 17 years in the mining industry - first as a rockface worker, then as a driller, and later as a team leader. After that he was employed as a personnel assistant at Western Deep Levels. Motlatsi has been active in NUM since its inception in 1981, and was elected president in 1987. Dismissed in the 1987 strike, he was voted full-time president after this year's NUM Congress. ☆

Congress in 1987 was marvellous - it was well-organised, the deliberations were good. But the 6th Congress this year was better. Deliberations were strong, healthy, and a number of important resolutions were adopted unanimously after long debate and amendments. This was the most powerful congress since the inception of NUM in 1982.

Labour Bulletin: *Could you describe the significance of the resolutions?*

Motlatsi: The congress focused on problems facing members on the shaft-floor. It focused on the structure of wages in the industry as a whole. It also focused on the political situation in the country. Our members showed they are not only fighting for bread and butter, today they are aware that the real problem is a political one. Today they are aware of the cause of oppression on the mines, the cause of poverty wages, the cause of migrant labour.

Our resolution on the constitutional guidelines of the ANC states that NUM is to organise conferences at shaft, branch, regional and national level to discuss the guidelines. We will push the same resolution to the COSATU congress in July, that COSATU should do the same.

Then when the decision is taken to go and discuss the constitutional guidelines with the African National Congress we will be able to put forward our thinking on the guidelines, which will be the thinking of the work-

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ing class, not just a few labour leaders. Because we believe the constitution of the country must be understood by the workers, by the masses.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of the constitutional guidelines as NUM sees it?*

Motlatsi: They go together with the Freedom Charter. They are gui-

delines, they are not a constitutional proposal. We believe they need to be discussed by the masses. Most of our members didn't have an opportunity to go to



Mineworkers celebrate at NUM's 1989 congress

Photo: Cedric Nunn/Afrapix

school. Most documents such as the guidelines are in English, and the people who discuss them are usually educated. Our resolution makes it possible for our members to discuss and understand the guidelines.

Labour Bulletin: *Why is it important at this point to discuss the guidelines?*

Motlatsi: It's important, if one looks at changes internationally. In countries which were colonised, workers never play an important role. That brings conflict after liberation, because the constitution becomes a problem to the mass of people in that country.

We as NUM play an important role in the economy of the country, and we believe we must play an important role in the changes that are coming. We must discuss every proposal. We must participate in determining the way forward.

Labour Bulletin: *NUM has always had a close relation with the MUN, the Mineworkers' Union of Namibia. How does NUM see the current situation in Namibia and what will happen in the future?*

Motlatsi: The congress resolved to give support to the Namibian people - not only moral, but material support. Immediately after the congress we sent our co-operatives co-ordinator to Namibia. They requested this, as there will be thousands of exiles returning to Namibia and they want to prepare

for that. We are also prepared to send our staff to help them run their offices on day to day work, so that they are free to go and campaign for the election. We can't campaign for their elections, they have to handle that.

We hope that the entire labour movement, and the mass democratic movement, will give assistance to the Namibians. We hope progressive lawyers and doctors also give help. Because the regime is going all-out to give assistance to its puppets there. We believe that a victory for SWAPO will be a step forward for our struggle.

Labour Bulletin: *How do you see the situation regionally in Southern Africa?*

Motlatsi: South Africa is setting the pace regionally because it dominates the economy. Even governments which are anti-apartheid cannot be effective because their economy is dependent on South Africa. South Africa also actively destabilises those countries.

If SWAPO wins the elections in Namibia, what will South Africa's attitude be? Can you see common ground between anti-SWAPO forces in Namibia and UNITA in Angola? There you have a base for destabilisation.

Labour Bulletin: *Nonetheless, NUM has put forward the slogan, "A victory for SWAPO is a victory for us".*

Motlatsi: That is a very good slogan, and we believe in it. But there are

dangers facing SWAPO.

At independence Machel said, "The struggle continues." He realised that as long as there is oppression in South Africa it will be very difficult for neighbouring states to enjoy their independence. It is very good to know that the Mozambicans are sympathetic to our struggle, but what kind of assistance can they give us now? Is there any?

That is why the mass democratic movement must go all out now to provide any assistance or expertise the Namibian people may need, to build the ground now. They must be able to counter these forces now even before they win the elections.

Labour Bulletin: *How do you see the situation internationally, and especially the question of negotiations? It is being placed on the agenda by Thatcher, and there also seems to be pressure on the ANC.*

Motlatsi: The international pressure comes with a hidden agenda. There are still stumbling blocks between the ANC and the regime.

The Namibian situation is a lesson we have to learn. Even if the ANC reaches the stage where it has to compromise its own demands, we as the working class inside this country must be ready to put the pressure which the



ANC may not be able to put.

In Namibia now, they wholly depend on the external wing of SWAPO. The SWAPO internal wing is not so strong that it can put pressure inside Namibia. We must be able to put pressure inside

and outside when we reach that stage of negotiations - we must be able to negotiate from a powerbase so that we are not overpowered. The balance of forces at the time will determine the terrain of negotiations.

The balance of forces does not only mean the military balance of forces. There are forces inside the country. To start with, there are employers who are supporting apartheid one way or another. We as the working class will have to unite and counter that. So the working class, the trade unions and employers are all forces which have to play an important role.

One cannot rule out negotiations. Even MK was not formed to overthrow the government militarily. They resorted to that to put pressure on the ruling class to come to the negotiating table. We have not been against negotiations right from the beginning.

Labour Bulletin: *There is an argument that we must avoid negotiations, as they will sell out the working class. What is your response?*

Motlatsi: If you look at the role of the working class now, you cannot go to the negotiating table without the views of the working class. In other countries the working class did not play an important role. That is why we say the working class has to play not only an important role, but the leading role in our liberation.

Labour Bulletin: *According to NUM what is the way forward on the anti-apartheid conference (AAC)?*

Motlatsi: It was a very important conference, which is why it was banned. It will have to continue. The COSATU congress in July will have to decide how to do that.

Labour Bulletin: *What are the aims of the AAC?*

Motlatsi: The aim is to bring together organisations with different ideologies and political views but opposed to apartheid, to draw a line and say the real enemy is apartheid. Sometimes it seems the differences between anti-apartheid organisations are greater than the differences between these organisations and apartheid itself. What is important is to bring all these together and draw up a programme of action against apartheid itself.

There are criticisms from within our ranks. Some are saying why should we invite Wynand Malan, why should we invite so-and-so. But the fact is we are all against apartheid. Let us set a programme to eradicate apartheid. After that we will see if we can

solve our problems. It's a starting point to bring together all who are opposed to apartheid, so that we can set a base for tomorrow. Otherwise the organisations that were anti-apartheid will fight amongst themselves once apartheid is eradicated.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the role of the mass democratic movement in such an alliance?*

Motlatsi: The role of the mass democratic movement is to set the pace, draw up a programme, and to play a uniting role. It has to seek common ground with other anti-apartheid forces, even to go inside the ranks of apartheid to try to grab some of the people to our ranks. The mass democratic movement should not take an arrogant stand. We have to show daily that apartheid is wrong, and win people over to follow us.

That conference would have been the first to get forces even from within parliament. To isolate apartheid is a very important weapon.

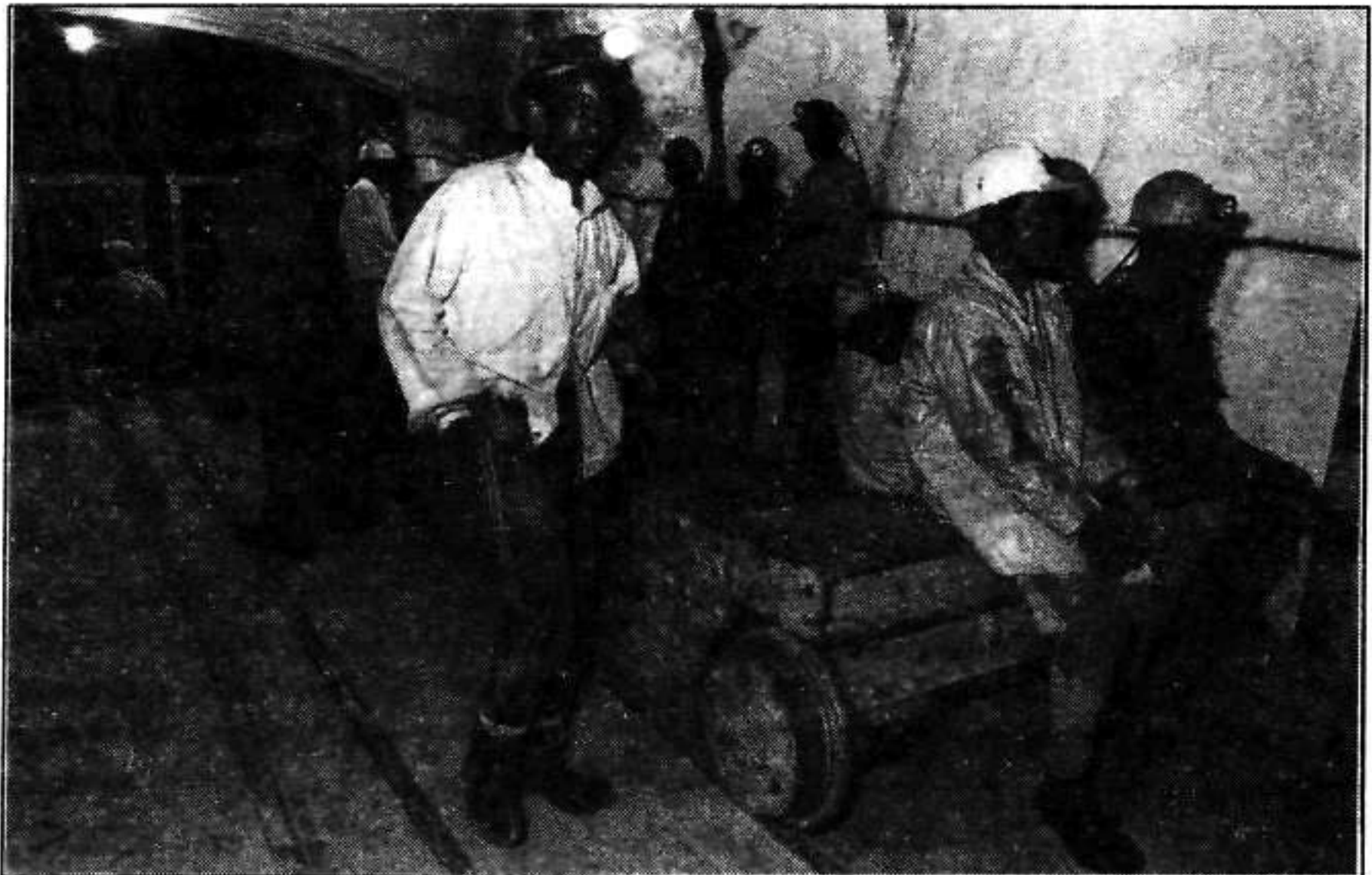
Labour Bulletin: *Does the formation of a broad anti-apartheid front not force the mass democratic movement to compromise its position? For example, there will be forces there which support a free enterprise system, and who oppose the Freedom Charter.*

Motlatsi: The AAC is not meant to discuss the future economy of the country. We know our positions. The conference is not supposed to change

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the positions of the different organisations. If those differences are debated at the conference it will not achieve anything. It will divide the people completely. That is where it is important to understand the two stages of our struggle.

policy of alliances with progressive organisations - essentially the United Democratic Front and its affiliates. NUM proposed the same policy at the 1987 COSATU Congress, and it was adopted. Looking back, how do you view that policy?



Mineworkers - the mass democratic movement depends on their involvement at grassroots level and their participation in community issues

Photo: David Lurie/Afrapix

The Freedom Charter states that everybody will be allowed to vote, it will be democratic. Democracy won't only exist to put people in power, it will also determine the type of economy. I believe in a planned economy, a socialist economy. But I don't believe it should be imposed on people. It is a long process. It is not as easy as some people think.

Labour Bulletin: *In 1987 NUM adopted the Freedom Charter and a*

Motlatsi: At the COSATU Special Congress last year COSATU resolved to convene an anti-apartheid conference. If the UDF was not banned it would have been the organisation to take that step. In other words, that showed that COSATU was willing to take political responsibility, and to take on the tasks of other organisations that were banned.

COSATU has also taken initiatives on meeting with NACTU, and is discussing the ANC constitutional gui-

delines. These also show that COSATU is taking on the tasks that UDF would have taken. This is the result of COSATU adopting the Charter and a policy of alliances.

Labour Bulletin: *So has the alliance made the sort of progress you were hoping for?*

Motlatsi: Not really. The alliance developed more at the national level and at the level of structures. There has not been enough progress at a grassroots level. It is easy at a national level. But when we adopted the policy we envisaged an alliance at all levels, and not just involving structures, but involving mass membership. So that if organisations are banned or leadership is detained, the masses are able to continue the work of the organisations and the alliance.

Labour Bulletin: *My impression, though, is that in places like Kattlehong and Johannesburg the alliance is quite strong at the local level.*

Motlatsi: I'm talking specifically from the perspective of the mineworkers. We have not established this alliance at the grassroots.

Labour Bulletin: *That raises a question. Most mineworkers live in isolated compounds, far from the townships. What does the alliance with the community mean in this situation?*

Motlatsi: We do have married

quarters in the townships. Community structures must be established there, but they haven't been. Even in the compounds, they should establish links with the community organisations. Especially now, mineworkers are often meeting in the townships because the union cannot get access to the mines. For example we are using the YMCA in Soweto. Community members should be coming to those meetings but they are not.

We believe that the community and the workers are the same thing. When workers knock off they go back to the community. Community members should attend every union meeting, and union members should attend every community meeting.

Labour Bulletin: *Last year UDF and the SA Youth Congress were banned. Many civics were smashed and some, such as Soweto Civic Association were banned. Isn't this one of the factors that has made it difficult to build the alliance?*

Motlatsi: You mention the banning of the Soweto Civic, but that's exactly where you find resistance continuing. They have been banned, but there are new ways of carrying on. To give an example, in the period of 1984-86 the youth were very militant. They were confronting authority daily in the townships. They were *toyitoying* in the streets. Now that militancy, or that form of struggle, has been crushed.

But you have new forms of struggle, such as the rent boycott. You

have structures that you don't even know the names of. You find a committee negotiating with the council - where do they come from? They are doing exactly the work of the Civic. Its members are Tutu - a minister; Chikane - a minister; Ramaphosa - a trade unionist; Sister Bernard Ncube - also from the church. And when they come from negotiations they report back to the people.

If the bannings were effective you would find nothing. Instead you find new structures and new struggles. That is how it should be. We need to adapt our strategies and choose the terrain.

Labour Bulletin: *It seems that the repression facing NUM on the mines is very similar to the repression in the communities. I imagine there are similar lessons to be learnt in dealing with this repression.*

Motlatsi: I do not like to talk about repression in the mines or anywhere else as if it was different from repression in the communities. Repression in South Africa is one. It is just that its form and the way it is practised differ in different places.

Repression on the mines operates under different conditions from repression in the townships. You have to analyse these differences so that you can develop the right approach to working under repression.

As far as we are concerned, the mining companies are a pillar of apartheid. All the oppressive measures come from the mining industry. The

state of emergency is the order of the day in the mining industry, it has been permanent since the mining industry was started. In the mining industry there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of association, no freedom that you may name. None.

The mine is a government by itself - it has its own military with its own military equipment. They ran the hostels for over one hundred years with their own military. Detention without trial started there, in their detention barracks. People are detained there without being taken to the SA Police.

So repression started in the mining industry. Recently though, around the time NUM was formed, some mining companies started to relax their repression. In particular Anglo American, which is well-known as a liberal company. But immediately after the strike they reversed everything by 30 or 40 years. The company that used to be the worst, Goldfields - today it's better than Anglo American.

Labour Bulletin: *I want to focus on shopfloor issues at this stage. How are the recruitment and anti-repression campaigns progressing?*

Motlatsi: I wouldn't say they have made so much progress. After the strike, with dismissals of over 50,000 workers and the loss of members, our membership dropped from 260,000 to between 180,000 and 190,000 paid up. Through the recruiting campaign we went to our congress this year with 240,000 paid up members. Within less than a year our recruitment has

become a success.

The anti-repression campaign has not yet been formally launched, although there are structures in some areas. It will link with all the other campaigns - the Living Wage Campaign, the health and safety campaign, Save the Patriots, the anti-Labour Relations Act and others. For us in NUM having the different campaigns under different sub-committees is simply a formality. We cannot use one strategy - the mining houses oppress us in different ways. We need different strategies. We believe you cannot run one campaign apart from the others.

Our objective is to organise 400,000 members by our 1991 congress. We are not only looking for numbers, we should be able to say we have achieved these

wages, we achieved this in health and safety, and we saved so many of our patriots.

Labour Bulletin: *Before the 1987 strike you had many structures on the mines - the shaftsteward committees, health and safety structures, education structures, and so on. After the strike, with the repression, many structures collapsed. What progress have you made in rebuilding*

them?

Motlatsi: We have rebuilt all the main structures - that is the constitutional structures. They are operating quite successfully, from shaftstewards' committees up to branch and regional committees. At present we are busy rebuilding health and safety structures and education structures. Those three structures are not suffi-

cient - that is why we have established Save the Patriots, anti-repression and other structures. We would like to involve as many of our members as possible on a daily basis.

To have more than one structure is very important. That lesson we learnt on 12 August 1987. The whole regional structure was detained at Klerksdorp. But we

had education and health and safety structures, and the members of those structures immediately brought them together and formed an alternative. Now we would like as many structures as possible. Each and every member must give himself a task.

Labour Bulletin: *Isn't there a danger of too many structures, and a resulting lack of co-ordination between them?*

NUM FIGHTS FOR:

- A living wage
- Decent housing and an end to the compound system
- Better health and safety
- No job reservation or racism
- More control at the workplace
- Unity

Every mineworker a NUM member

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Motlatsi: There would be a danger if the structures were autonomous and not accountable - then they could pull in different directions. But all of the structures I have mentioned are accountable and subordinate to the constitutional structures - the shaftstewards committee at shaft level, and the BEC and REC at other levels. It is the role of the union president to coordinate all the campaigns. So there is no danger of going in different directions.

There is a need to train individuals in the structures to be aware of the role of the structures and of himself as an individual. So if all others are detained or dismissed and the structure ceases to exist and he is left alone, he knows what to do. It would be a disaster for him to do nothing. He must know exactly the next step.

Labour Bulletin: *What response have you had from Anglo to your repression report?*

Motlatsi: Their first response was to run a propaganda campaign in the press which tried to make NUM responsible for violence. Secondly, they pushed the code of conduct as an answer to repression, to seem concerned. We are not opposed to a code of conduct. But we don't want a code that is like a disciplinary machinery, we want a code that will improve industrial relations in the mining industry. We are negotiating this with Anglo at the moment.

We believe it would be best to negotiate a code of conduct at indus-

try level, rather than with the different mining houses, but the Chamber of Mines pulled out of that.

We are still battling to get access to mines where Anglo has refused access. They are trying to make impossible conditions, like demanding that mine security or management must be present at all our meetings. Shaftsteward recognition is still withdrawn at many mines. But we believe that through our structures and recruiting, and through our campaigns, they will have to talk. Because NUM is here to stay. This is not the 1940s.

Labour Bulletin: *How does the NUM negotiating team maintain contact with the membership?*

Motlatsi: In the negotiations with the Chamber - we negotiate separately with De Beers and other independent mines - the negotiating team is formed by the national office-bearers and representatives from each branch, so that there should be no problem with report-backs. After each and every negotiation the members of the team will report back to their branches. It goes straight from negotiations down to the branches, rather than through the executive and the RECs.

The number of reps depends on the size of the branch. A branch with 15 - 20,000 members will send 2-3 reps, whereas a branch with 3,000 members will send one. The regional congresses discuss demands, which then go to national congress. There a resolution on demands is adopted. From there the national office-bearers

fill in the resolution, and take it to the NEC. The NEC finalises the demands and sends them to the Chamber and the branches of NUM.

Labour Bulletin: *Last year the pro-business newspapers were saying that at last NUM is more responsible because agreement was reached without a strike. Your response to that?*

Motlatsi: You know what we were in 1988. In this country if you can't move because of repression they say you have come to your senses.

Labour Bulletin: *What do you expect to happen this year?*

Motlatsi: This year we are facing a number of problems. The Chamber has proposed that we negotiate coal separately from gold, which is a problem in itself. They have also proposed to hold separate negotiations for profitable goldmines and marginal goldmines. Their strategy is to divide us. We might have to go into dispute from the beginning.

We are going to have to think carefully and develop a strategy that will work. The new wage policy decided at congress is to demand a national minimum wage, rather than a percentage increase. We are trying to close the gap between wages at different mining houses. NUM is also pushing to narrow the gap between wages in different job categories. We have come with a unifying position. They are coming with a divisive strategy.

Coming to your question about

whether there could be massive action again, there are a number of factors to consider. The industry provokes workers time and again. Mass action cannot be ruled out. Our members will have to decide on that. We are confident that they are ready for action. The major problem is communication between union structures and membership.

But 1989 is the year when the Chamber wants to split the union. We don't have to fight our battle on the terrain of the enemy. We have to set the pace and fight the battle on our terrain. Our policy has already set our terrain, but there is a need to develop strategies within our policy. That is the task of the NEC.

To try and divide our negotiating team into three camps - that is the terrain where they want us to take immediate industrial action, so that they can say, "Look - you are on a profitable mine. We are prepared to pay you. Why are you on strike?"

The Chambers expect strikes. I don't want to anticipate what will happen except to say that we don't have to fight on the enemy terrain.

Labour Bulletin: *So going on strike can also be enemy terrain?*

Motlatsi: A strike cannot be ruled out, it is our last resort. But you have to think how you will conduct a strike. Will you conduct a strike as you did in 1987? The answer is no. The answer is no because after the strike they saw the loop-holes and mistakes they had. We saw the weaknesses and

loop-holes on our side. Because we made quite a number of mistakes, we have to acknowledge that. We have to correct them.

To show that the mining houses realised some of their mistakes: one of the Anglo chairmen, Peter Gush, said that the reason the strike was successful on Anglo mines was because they did not divide senior workers from other workers. They said the reason Goldfields did not go on strike was that they made a clear distinction between supervisory workers and other workers. That is why immediately after the strike Anglo divided the hostels along those lines.

Now senior staff, supervisors and clerks, have their own quarters. So that if ever there is a strike they must be able to use at least part of the workforce. The privileges now of those people are much higher than the rest of the workforce. Management is also reinforcing ethnic lines.

That is why we say we cannot conduct ourselves the same as in 1987. Time and again we have to change strategies. Even if we take action we have to be able to change strategies every day. If we are forced to take action we have to think hard how we will conduct our business.

Labour Bulletin: *You mentioned mistakes made by the union. Can you describe them?*

Motlatsi: Right at the beginning we in the leadership did not plan the timetable of the strike. To be quite honest, we were not aware that the

bosses could dismiss as many as 50,000 workers. We did not plan our response to a mass dismissal. We did not plan how to deal with scab labour. As you know the mines use migrant labour from neighbouring states and homelands. We should have planned in advance what to do if they dismissed.

Labour Bulletin: *What lessons did the union learn from the strike?*

Motlatsi: The strike started as a bread and butter issue, but it became political - political in the sense that it involved sovereign neighbouring states which oppose apartheid. We should have made political consultations with these states. Within the country it should have involved the entire mass democratic movement, so that it could mobilise people in the rural areas and all areas where scabs could come from.

What we underestimated, to be quite honest, was the presence of the Chamber in the neighbouring states, in the TEBAs, in the rural areas. That kind of action needed us to man each and every institution of the enemy.

It suits the bosses to have many experienced mineworkers without work in the rural areas and neighbouring states. Then whenever there is a strike they can easily dismiss workers and find scabs who have experience of the mining industry. Immediately after the dismissals they recruited scabs from KwaZulu, but people of that area have no experience of mining. If they were experienced underground the



A lesson learnt - the 'homelands' provide an easy source of unemployed workers during a strike

Photo: Paul Weinberg/Afrapix

time ago. That was very broad. But discussion started there about how we go about nationalisation. Now we have to work out what we mean by that. How do we go about it? All factors will be looked into, and it is a huge job.

Labour Bulletin: *Do you see the blueprint being negotiated with management now, or only after liberation?*

Motlatsi: It can be put forward for negotiations, but I don't think it will achieve much. It will be useful after apartheid. We have

bosses would have had no problem.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of the resolution on drawing up a blueprint for the mining industry?*

Motlatsi: A lot needs to be done. There are so many ideas on this subject. It is very open. But the resolution mandates the NEC to table a blueprint for the industry at the next congress.

As you know we adopted a resolution on nationalising the mines some

already started to look beyond where we are now, to post-apartheid. It's not an easy task, because no-one knows what will take place. But it is our duty to formulate what we want to happen in future.

Let's not say we are fighting apartheid and that's all. We must be able to make the kind of changes that can benefit the people. We must not be like a dog which chases a bus. When the bus stops the dog also stops, because he does not know what he is doing. ☆

Interview: Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of NUMSA

LABOUR BULLETIN spoke to MOSES MAYEKISO after the recent NUMSA congress. Once again in his post as general-secretary of NUMSA, he spoke about the implications of some of the resolutions made at the congress.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of your recent acquittal on treason charges?*

Mayekiso: Firstly we believe trade union members should be involved in community struggles, community organisations, and political organisations. They should be involved in issues that are fought in the communities and join structures like street committees. The judgement is proof that there is nothing wrong with that. It proves that the structures we are advocating in the unions are structures that we can use in the townships.

In the case it became clear that our

aspiration is a socialist society. There is nothing wrong to have socialist aspirations - it proves that we have to be open about our political beliefs and aspirations. The judge commented that blacks don't have political rights, therefore he sees no reason why they can't be involved in peaceful protests like rent boycotts, consumer boycotts and strikes to encourage change and to express our grievances.

This case was a precedent. Should we have been found guilty then many COSATU leaders were going to be found guilty.

Labour Bulletin:
NUMSA was formed through a merger of unions with different



traditions, styles and political positions. It has grown very rapidly, approximately 43% since it was launched. You have just had your second national congress. What is the actual state of organisation in this giant which is NUMSA?

Mayekiso: We have grown in such a way because we embarked on many campaigns which attracted workers - campaigns like the living wage campaign, political campaigns, and the campaign for my release. People felt they should join this fighting union. They believe in a fighting union. We are the biggest in the metal industry

MOSES MAYEKISO was born in the Cala District in the Transkei in 1948. A member of MAWU when working for Toyota in Wynberg, he joined the union as an organiser after being dismissed during a strike. He played a key role in the November 1984 stayaway, a turning-point in joint community/worker actions. When NUMSA was formed in 1987, he was elected general-secretary, even though he was in jail at the time. He and four others were charged with treason as a result of their involvement in organising the Alex community. They were all acquitted when the judge said that their actions were justified. He has now returned to his post in NUMSA. ☆

because we are the only fighting union, fighting for the aspirations and interests of workers in the industry.

That growth has created problems on the other hand. We've got good structures as far as we are concerned, which encourage accountability and mandates. But because of this growth our structures are not very strong. They are weak. You find that that causes disruption of communication and reportbacks. We still have to strengthen the structures so that we have proper reportbacks and communications.

The three unions brought their expertise, and that also helped our growth. NAAWU brought campaign expertise, MAWU brought organising expertise, and MICWU brought administrative expertise. These different strengths complemented each other. At the moment there is no trace of MAWU, NAAWU or MICWU. I would say we are now stable, the merger has succeeded.

We believe that NUMSA is the most open union politically, open in discussing politics and also open in saying that we can't hide our beliefs about the future society. We believe in a future socialist society. We don't believe that we should hide that.

Labour Bulletin: *Presumably the policy of openness makes it easier to overcome what differences do exist between different traditions in NUMSA?*

Mayekiso: Yes, it does because you discuss things openly.



Mayekiso in Alex - unionists must join community structures, must belong to street committees and get involved in community issues

Photo: Cedric Nunn/Afrapix

The workers were controlling this congress without any interference from officials. Not a single official spoke, except myself giving reports on behalf of the union as a whole. But on resolutions it was just workers. This gives us the belief that working class control is succeeding. Workers' power is succeeding. Worker democracy is succeeding.

Labour Bulletin: *I want to turn to the political policy adopted at the congress. The resolution calls for a centralised structure for the mass democratic movement (MDM), rather than a federal structure. It calls for this to be based on street and area committees. What are the implications of this for the current*

UDF affiliates?

Mayekiso: Current UDF affiliates should exist - the youth organisations, the students organisations, the women's organisations. We do not say there must be no affiliates, no youth organisations and so on - there should be those organisations. UDF affiliates should centralise their structures in order to promote democracy.

When it comes to civic organisations they must be based on street committees, centralised structures and up to the national body. We also believe political organisations should have similar structures. But the UDF is a front so it has to have federal structures. As a front, it should be built of organisations which are based

on centralised democratic structures.

The national civic organisation and COSATU should have a permanent structured alliance. What we envisage is a national student body, a national youth body, a national civic body, a national trade union movement, in alliance with other political organisations.

Labour Bulletin: *There is a federalism, in that the national sectorial organisations are affiliated...?*

Mayekiso:to the alliance. Yes. You can't just get rid of it. What do you do with the students? The students cannot just be merged in that central body. They have got their own problems and they have to have their own organisation to deal with those problems.

The MDM would consist of the alliance of national sectorial organisations plus any political organisation.

Labour Bulletin: *When you say political organisations what sort of organisations are you thinking of?*

Mayekiso: We are thinking of organisations that are close to the working class organisations, that really see eye to eye to with working class organisations, and organisations that believe in non-racialism.

Labour Bulletin: *To come back to this stress on building a centralised civic structure. What prompts NUMSA to think along those lines?*

Mayekiso: You can't depend on organisations that have got loose structures. You find that some organisations exist in name - for example some civics are just a civic of two people. Like the old civic in Alexandra which had no structures at all, but they were affiliated.

UDF would think that they had a strong affiliate, but it was an affiliate of only two people! That is a problem. That is why we believe that organisations - especially civics - should depend on centralised structures, structures that can be accountable to the masses, structures that encourage democracy.

Also, we were encouraged by the centralised structures of COSATU.

The control of the organisation should be with the people themselves, the masses. You find in these loose structures that there is no control, and when it comes to issues they dish decisions to the people. There is no democracy at all. This breeds political and financial corruption and autocracy.

We'll just find pamphlets that there is a boycott, and people know nothing. There was no meeting at all. This creates problems.

I think the structure in Alex encouraged the union a lot. Such centralised structures unite people and people act together because they feel the organisation is ours. That's what is important - they feel the ownership of the organisation. Then they tend to trust it and support it on whatever issues it tackles, whether with the local authorities or the bosses.

Those are good structures for the future society. We don't want a society where there is no accountability of the leadership to the masses. If there are no centralised structures it will be difficult to talk of democracy. There should be structures that can really give mandates to the leadership and control the leadership.

Labour Bulletin: *The political resolution calls for alliances with other sectors of the community. What sort of alliance does NUMSA envisage with these sectors?*

Mayekiso: The taxi owners and some small traders, like the corner shops, we can't take those people as bosses or capitalists. They are part and parcel of the working class, they are organisations like taxi associations, that are closer to the working class. What we are saying is that we must unite those people with us, we must have alliances with them. Those are working class alliances.

I am an individual running this taxi. It feeds my family and I don't get any labour from anybody - it is my labour. These traders - it is just himself and his family, he is not exploiting anybody. They are part and parcel of the working class, they are a sector of the working class.

Labour Bulletin: *What about when you get to someone who is running a fleet of taxis and employing about 30 taxi drivers or someone who has got a chain of supermarkets? How do they fit in?*

Mayekiso: A person who owns a chain of shops employing people is different. The difference is that once you employ a stream of people that you underpay, people who are waking up in the morning working for you, reaping profits from them, you are now a bourgeois. You belong to another class though you are black. We can bring you to the anti-apartheid conference as a bourgeois.

The same applies to the person who has a stream of taxis, who is a tycoon employing a lot of people. He is no longer working, people are working for him. He doesn't belong to the working class, he belongs to a sector of the bourgeois class.

Labour Bulletin: *So he is no longer an element in the MDM?*

Mayekiso: As far as we can define the MDM, no.

Labour Bulletin: *One of the key issues that has been debated over the last year is the issue of a broad anti-apartheid alliance, specifically in the form of the Anti-apartheid Conference (AAC). How does NUMSA see that at this stage?*

Mayekiso: We believe in the AAC. We believe that it will be difficult to get rid of apartheid if we haven't got any such alliances. We must have those broad alliances with people who are anti-apartheid. They may be bourgeois but with the interest of getting rid of apartheid. We must bring in all the forces to fight the common

enemy, apartheid.

Labour Bulletin: *There was an article in Business Day today that said that the differences in COSATU are over broad alliances. It says that some unions such as NUMSA are pushing for a narrow working class alliance, while unions such as NUM are pushing for a broad anti-apartheid alliance.*

Mayekiso: That is not true for NUMSA. NUMSA wants a working class alliance, which I think is what is happening between COSATU and UDF. They are the core - organisations that are the sectors of the working class, or who are very close to the working class and are not antagonistic to the working class, coming together. We are for these organisations coming together, uniting the class itself. We are also for that broad alliance. The person who says that we are not for that is wrong.

Even in that broad alliance, if there is somebody who is very antagonistic to the working class then we would not meet with such a person. Just as we don't want Gatsha next to us in that alliance, we don't want Inkatha in that alliance. The resolution shows that we are for the anti-apartheid alliance, because we say that we can meet with opposition parties in Venda as long as they are not antagonistic to the working class, we can meet with the Transkei Democratic People's Party as long as they are not antagonistic. That is a big broad alliance. They don't have to agree

completely with our policies and principles, but as long as they are not antagonistic, like Inkatha.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the relation between the struggle for socialism and the national democratic struggle?*

Mayekiso: There is apartheid in this country, we can't ignore that. The MDM has to answer how we get rid of apartheid, and also forge ahead towards a better future society. That is why we have alliances.

In that battle for socialism we believe as NUMSA that we are now involved in a MDM, in a mass democratic struggle fighting that apartheid must be abolished. We also believe that it is not a single struggle, this struggle against apartheid. We can't say that I must get rid of apartheid first and then I can think of socialism tomorrow. No. Our struggle is a process. In that process you get rid of apartheid, you get rid of this and that, and in that process you introduce an understanding of socialism.

You also make gains towards socialism in fighting apartheid. Getting rid of apartheid, that's another gain towards socialism. You can't say when you are fighting to get rid of apartheid you are not fighting for socialism. That's ignorance. You can't get socialism if apartheid is still there. Getting rid of apartheid is part and parcel of stages. I believe there are stages. There is no one stage, there is no two stage, there are *stages* towards socialism.



The Freedom Charter - a basic document which unifies

Photo: Labour Bulletin

Labour Bulletin: *The resolution mentioned a working class political programme. What does one mean by a working class political programme, and what is its role?*

Mayekiso: We believe that we always talk of socialism and it has become an empty slogan. We have got our organisations, socialist organisations, but there is no analysis of how are they going to approach the future. And the Freedom Charter, we can't say it is a working class political programme, it is not. It is a document that is unifying.

The working class has got an organisation in South Africa, but we have not seen what programme the working class is to follow to make the socialist dream a reality. We believe

that if we are to succeed in our struggle for socialism we have to be open. The workers and the working class generally have to discuss that programme, have to discuss their future society. They have to build that political programme to give answers to the economic, political and social ills of the capitalist system.

We believe that the Freedom Charter contains the minimum demands and the minimum answers. It is a basic important document to start with. We believe that that programme should contain the maximums and it should be built by all the sectors of the working class.

Some people say, 'Don't talk of class struggle or socialism now, because the workers are not ready.' Or sometimes they say, 'Because it is

dangerous now, our allies will run away from us.' I think that is very, very dangerous, if we talk that language as members of the working class. Yes, members of the bourgeois class can say don't talk of socialism, because they are going to benefit from the ignorance of the working class. If we as the working class say that we should not allow the workers to talk about socialism, that is a crime and hypocrisy against the working class.

If we want the working class to be a clear working class that is going to lead the struggle to the future society, then we shouldn't hide and say that the workers aren't ready to discuss socialism or the class question. We believe that a clear working class will be able to lead. But an unclear working class will never be able to lead and socialism will be from the top to the masses, instead of from the masses upwards. Our openness, organisationally and politically, is paving the way to create a clear political direction.

When you talk of class and socialism some people label you as a workerist. That is nonsense as far as I am concerned, that is not workerism. We should discuss these things, we should be clear. We mustn't be caught up by the situation that caught the Zimbabwean working class, where they are now expecting Mugabe to bring in socialism, not them bringing in socialism themselves.

If socialism is going to come from the bottom, from the masses, they must discuss socialism, they must throw things around and shape up their programme and shape up what

they believe is needed in the future society. Unless we believe as leadership that we are going to impose socialism, which is wrong. Socialism in South Africa will be different, because each country has its own approach. So our own approach will be shaped by the working class itself. I think also SAYCO is also clear on that - we should discuss socialism, we should discuss these things.

Labour Bulletin: *The constitutional guidelines of the ANC are not referred to in the resolutions, but you did mention them in your report to congress. How would NUMSA see the relation between the guidelines and a working class political programme? How do you see the guidelines?*

Mayekiso: There would be a relation between the guidelines and the working class political programme. If the workers discuss their programme they have to discuss that in reality. They must establish their stand from the realities up to the future society they want. The constitutional guidelines are answering the realities of the present.

How should we go about moving our feet forward? It is just like the Freedom Charter, we have to start from the realities. Here is the Freedom Charter, how do we develop now, how do we move to the maximum demands?

If people discuss the guidelines they will be able to say the guidelines should be like this and like that.

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That's what we mean by working class leadership, where we comment on the guidelines and then the leadership that drew up the guidelines can be guided. It will be clear how the trade unions or the working class see the guidelines, or how the MDM see the guidelines. The voice of the MDM must be heard. I think the ANC has also encouraged that people must discuss them. So therefore we should.

It depends on us, because we may feel that this amendment is for today and this one is for tomorrow, for maximums. There will be minimums - now let's concentrate on the minimums, and then tomorrow we want this. That's why we talk of a programme - not a programme to be implemented immediately. But there should be a guide towards the future.

Labour Bulletin: *I want to refer again to the Business Day article, because it stated that the issue of a workers' charter divides the unions in COSATU. It refers to the NUMSA call for a working class programme and says that NUMSA is in the workers charter grouping. Is that so?*

Mayekiso: I think this is important. When we as NUMSA talk of a political programme we are not talking of the workers' charter. The workers themselves can't build political programs - that would be workerism. If you say workers' charter that means that workers themselves should have their own political programme. We believe that is not true. We believe that the working class must have a politi-

cal programme, not the workers.

If sometimes we talk of the workers' charter, we talk of the workers' charter as something that can just answer the workers' problems like trade union rights, not broad political questions. The workers' charter can answer things that trouble the workers - like the right to strike, the right to negotiate, a living wage. Then the working class political programme must answer the question, what is the future society? What is the political set-up of the future society? So there are two different things.

Labour Bulletin: *That conception of the workers charter is explicitly catered for in the constitutional guidelines.*

Mayekiso: I agree with the guidelines on that score. Definitely.

Labour Bulletin: *You did have a resolution on negotiations. Do you see negotiations as potentially occurring in the near future? What should the trade unions and the MDM be doing to prepare for such a possibility?*

Mayekiso: Firstly, I believe that the solutions to our country's problems will finally come through negotiations. I don't believe that we will be able to get to Pretoria and oust Botha from those buildings.

But I also don't believe that negotiations are near. There will be a negotiated settlement at some stage, but at the present moment those chan-



ANC stalwart and newly-elected NUMSA honorary president, Harry Gwala, listens with COSATU's Jay Naidoo and Sydney Mafumadi at NUMSA's congress

Photo: Labour Bulletin

Labour Bulletin: *That being the position, what should trade unions and the MDM do to prepare for the time when negotiations do occur?*

Mayekiso: We must build our organisations and strengthen the MDM. We must build democratic structures and engage in campaigns on political and economic issues that are facing our society, in order to build power.

ces are nil.

We still have the State of Emergency. We still have the people's organisations banned, the ANC, the SACP. Leaders are incarcerated, Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and others. People are still in exile, Tambo and others, not able to come back because of the violence of the apartheid regime. Our townships are occupied by the police and the army. There is no freedom of speech. There is apartheid and group areas and all apartheid legislation. As long as those things exist I don't believe negotiations are nearer.

As NUMSA we have stated clearly if those minimum conditions are not met we don't think that we should engage in any negotiations.

We must build our organisations so as to have power and control. The political initiative towards negotiations, the concept of negotiations, must come from us. We must control that initiative so as to dictate the conditions. We must not be dictated to by the Americans, the Europeans or the De Klerks.

We should discuss the constitutional guidelines and come up with answers. We must encourage the working class to discuss their future aspirations so that when we get to that position we know the aspirations of all the sectors of society. Then it will be easier to come up with a solution.

The solution may be a mixed economy, but how do you get to that situation if you haven't got the pulse

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of the society as a whole? That's why I say those people who are blocking the discussions on class politics and socialism are criminal. How are you going to know how the working class thinks if you don't want to get what they think? How are you going to go for negotiations, on what mandate? People should discuss these things so that the leadership will have a mandate.

We don't say that such aspirations are going to be met. We don't believe socialism must be there tomorrow when we finish negotiations. It won't be like that. But what we are saying is that to arm the leadership, to arm the organisations, the people must be free to discuss the constitutional guidelines. If they want to discuss a political programme they must discuss it, so that everything is open and we will come up with a solution.

We don't want the organisations and leaders to come with a solution that is still going to be opposed at some stage, where you find there is still conflict after such a solution. We have been fighting for 300 years, we don't want to fight again. We want to have proper political rights so that we can change society as we go along.

Labour Bulletin: *What will the role of mass organisations be during actual negotiations?*

Mayekiso: Those organisations will be belonging to an alliance. Through that alliance they will be very influential. If we want a proper solution, then all those organisations with a mass

base have to be represented at those negotiations. They will be trying to control the pace and strategy of negotiations. They will be trying to set out what is the answer for this country, what are the political, economic and social answers for this country.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of the sanctions resolution adopted at the congress?*

Mayekiso: We believe that South Africa must be pressurised to get rid of apartheid. We have tried all sorts of pressures and the South African regime doesn't want to listen. Therefore we believe that the international community should apply sanctions against South Africa.

Labour Bulletin: *Is there any re-think in relation specifically to disinvestment? Many of the disinvestments have the consequence of strengthening South African companies, often weakening the position of workers in this country. Doubts have been expressed, that disinvestment has not really contributed much towards damaging or isolating apartheid. So the question has been raised isn't it time to reconsider our position on disinvestment?*

Mayekiso: I don't think it is time. I think that's why South Africa is trying to get answers - although they are afraid of facing the true answers. Workers do suffer because of disinvestment, because they lose jobs. But workers are prepared to sacrifice - they

have been sacrificing for years, dying in the mines, dying everywhere, being retrenched. There were millions and millions unemployed whilst these multinationals were around making apartheid thrive. We believe disinvestment is going to hamper the apartheid regime and capital in this country. Well, equally it is going to hamper us as workers, but it will hamper us for a just cause, a good cause. We believe that we can sacrifice such things.

Labour Bulletin: *How does NUMSA view the workers summit? What are the prospects of unity with NACTU? Specifically how do you view the formation of the new metal union affiliated to NACTU?*

Mayekiso: We have heard of the formation of this union and we regret there should be another union cropping up instead of bringing the metal workers together. But we are open to meeting that union to at the end of the day form one metal union in this country. We will co-operate with it in order that we may succeed in having one union in the metal industry.

We as NUMSA are going to encourage summits, encourage co-operation between COSATU and NACTU. We believe that at the end of the day NACTU and COSATU should come together and form one giant federation. We will do all that we can to make that a success. I think the first summit was a success though no significant decisions were made. But the mere fact that unions could come together and discuss the LRA

and other problems - it was the first time in the history of the workers movement in this country.

Labour Bulletin: *Although at the workers summit half of NACTU wasn't there. In the light of that what are the prospects of developing unity?*

Mayekiso: Some people in NACTU want this unity, judging by their attendance even after NACTU had decided against attending. Also people in NACTU say that we have got a problem here and there - but there are no significant problems. The leadership is still not sure that this is the right move. We should convince the leadership of both COSATU and NACTU that it is in the best interests of the workers to come together so that there are no suspicions. I am optimistic. I think there are prospects.

Labour Bulletin: *In your report as general secretary you mentioned several problems in COSATU that made NUMSA members pessimistic, and people withdrew from some structures. You also said that the situation had improved and the people are more optimistic. Could you expand on this issue?*

Mayekiso: Before and since the formation of COSATU there were a lot of suspicions. The merger brought together unions from different political backgrounds and different traditions. Also, there was no openness. What you found in the meetings was just people attacking each other.

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No open debates were encouraged, with the result that there was a lot of antagonism.

NUM and NUMSA were at loggerheads. That was uncalled for. NUM would go there thinking we would get

sues, participating in structures, and suspicions are really dwindling. People are becoming one. They are understanding that they belong to one federation. They've got the same interests and aspirations as workers.



Unity is crucial in the struggle to achieve common goals - a section of a huge NUMSA banner at the congress

Photo: Labour Bulletin

NUMSA, NUMSA would go there thinking we would get NUM. That antagonism was unnecessary. Because there was no political openness inside COSATU, it was our fault, the leadership's fault.

That situation made many people withdraw from the structures, withdraw from shopsteward councils, just criticising organisations unnecessarily. That was bad. Things have improved a lot, because there is openness up to a point. People are discussing is-

Not that then there were such big problems that there could be a split in COSATU - no. But there were tensions and and fights. Also we as leadership were not handling issues wisely enough, which sometimes causes splits in the unions. I think that the leadership of the unions in COSATU is developing and they are careful of creating splits, and they handle issues in a mature way.

There is now respect for democracy. Whereas before if one believed

the position was wrong he just fought and fought, with the result that in the end he had to walk out because his views were not accepted.

Labour Bulletin: *In the past the union has felt a tension between negotiating at industrial council level and company level. In practice company in-house agreements threaten to weaken united action at the industry level, because people felt that they had their own agreements and their own wages and so on. Is there a way of overcoming that and was it discussed at the congress at all?*

Mayekiso: Not directly. We reaffirmed that national negotiations are the best, because we have got mass strength backed by all the sectors and workers in the industry. But also we believe you can't get rid of company negotiations. There are issues not covered by the industrial council that should be negotiated at company level. Conditions in factories are also sometimes different, so some things have to be negotiated at plant level.

There are difficulties, because the companies negotiating at industrial council level don't want negotiations at plant level and company level. You find that some companies negotiate at company level and sometimes they pull out of industrial council negotiations.

We can't run around with all these factories, negotiating factory by factory. That is time consuming and crazy. We want to consolidate the national negotiations in order to bring

together the workers en masse.

We want to negotiate at all these levels, we don't want restrictions. The best level is the national level, because you establish minimums for the industry. You are able to negotiate for the unorganised and the weakly organised. If you negotiate at the company level you can negotiate with the strong companies but not with the weak ones. In plants also, you can negotiate with the strong ones but not the weak ones. With national bargaining, then organised plants boost the unorganised and the weakly organised with their strength.

Labour Bulletin: *In the actual congress there was a delegation from Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU). What is the relation between NUMSA and MANWU?*

Mayekiso: There is a close relationship. We have had many meetings and we are co-operating with each other. There will be an exchange of organisers, there will be an exchange of experienced shopstewards. Because we believe they are our comrades and they are still trying to stand up. We believe they are fighting a just struggle. They are trying to introduce democracy. We believe that we are faced with one apartheid regime and one capitalist class, and therefore we should fight together for change. Their battles are our battles, our battles are their battles.

Labour Bulletin: *The independence of Namibia, what effect*

will that have on South Africa?

Mayekiso: Spiritually, emotionally and in reality it will be a political gain, also democratically. But economically I think Namibia is going to depend 80% or 90% on South Africa. When I visited that country many things I saw there are products from South Africa. So I think it is going to depend on South Africa. Their future is linked with our future, that's why we should build these links. By them getting the vote they are not going to be free until we are free. It shows the importance of the slogan, "Working class of the world unite!"

Labour Bulletin: *What are the most urgent tasks facing NUMSA, facing the working class and facing the anti-apartheid struggle?*

Mayekiso: As NUMSA we are faced with the present negotiations. We want to get as much as can. Another task is to push our political understanding to influence COSATU. As a big union we believe that we should be of influence. We should be able to sell our resolutions to other unions in COSATU.

As the working class we should concentrate on building democratic structures, just as in NUMSA we believe we should strengthen our structures. We have had good campaigns - the Living Wage Campaign, the anti-LRA campaign. We expected to have high success in those campaigns, but because of weak structures we could not. We should build structures anew,

and get the community to also build structures and introduce democracy.

A problem facing the working class is that if you talk of class and socialism you get labelled workerist. Yes, if you preach that the trade unions or a workers' charter are going to liberate us, that is workerist. But if people believe that there should be alliances, there should be struggles in the townships and in the factories and so on, you can't tell me that person is a workerist. We should clarify these things. Because people are not clear.

We should support all the progressive organisations that are trying to thrash out answers to the future of this country. Not to point fingers in saying that they are populists or whatever. Some people term the organisations that are involved in community struggles and political struggles as populist organisations. Ultra-leftism is always saying that the populists this and that. That is wrong. We should work together. We should be in one pot and destroy apartheid and go further. Labels control debates and delay progress. That is why we say, Down with sectarianism!

We are involved in the anti-apartheid struggle as part of the whole working class struggle, therefore we should be clear in that struggle where we are going. We are getting rid of apartheid and after that what is going to happen? People should grapple with those questions themselves, not leaders wanting to impose their views. Leaders must give leadership.

Those are the tasks that we are faced with, political tasks. ☆