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TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE — PAGE 2



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Towards a Conference for a Democratic Future

A historic conference consisting of all South African organisations committed to ending racial oppression and exploitation will be held on October 7th in Johannesburg. This emerged during a press conference addressed by representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, the Black Conscious Movement and various church leaders.

The conference, expected to be attended by thousands of delegates representing millions of people, will be entitled "Conference for a Democratic Future." The aim of the conference will be to map out the most effective, shortest path to the ending of oppression and exploitation and the creation of a democratic country.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFERENCE

Delegates at the press conference traced the origin of the *Conference for a Democratic Future* to a resolution taken at the UDF National Working Committee conference in May 1987. It was resolved that all forces opposed to apartheid be should be invited to a massive conference which would lay the bases for the unity of all anti-apartheid forces and the eventual isolation of the regime.

After the banning of the UDF in February 1988, Cosatu convened a special National Congress at which the idea of such a conference was taken forward. This culminated in the Anti-apartheid Coalition conference which was to have taken place October 1988. The conference was banned on the eve of the day it was suppose to start. After the banning of the AAC - conference, a call was made by the UDF for organisations to forged close links with other anti-apartheid groupings at a grassroots level.

Over the past two months this matter was discussed between the MDM, BCM and the churches. This has resulted in the decision to convene the *Conference for a Democratic Future*.

THE UNIFYING PERSPECTIVE

A unifying perspective which would unite all the participants, has been worked out by representatives of a wide variety of organisations. This representatives make out the convening committee. Their task is to work out the logistics of the conference.

Commitment to the following 7 demands was agreed on as being the unifying perspective:

1. One person one vote in a United Democratic South Africa;
2. The lifting of the state of emergency;
3. Unconditional release of political prisoners;
4. Unbanning of all political organisations;
5. Freedom of association and expression;
6. Press freedom;
7. Living wage for all.

It was agreed that organisations' preparedness to unite in action to realise these demands was an important factor which would be taken into account when convening the conference.

AIM OF THE CONFERENCE

The aim of the conference is to broadly map out a shared perspective of how to reach the objective of a democratic country. While the racist elections will be mapping out the minority's plans to cling onto minority rule and privilege, the conference will be an assembly of the people of our country truly democratic in its character and objectives.

Given this objective, the conference will have to address some of the burning issues facing our people. Key amongst these will be:

1. A programme of united mass action to end apartheid
2. The attitude of our people on the question of negotiations.
3. Our call to the international community about their role in ending apartheid.

We expect that the conference will capture our peoples current mood of defiance and determination to make apartheid unworkable. Furthermore we hope the conference will harness this mood in a programme which will help to make our vision of a democratic future a reality.

POSSIBLE STATE ACTION

We expect that the apartheid state may attempt to prevent the conference from taking place, wither by banning it or attempting to disrupt it in some way. While we believe that it is for our people, and our people, to determine our future, we have briefed a range of foreign governments, including the governments of Western Europe, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, the USA and the Frontline States. We are alerting the international community to monitor the actions of the regime in relation to this gathering of the people of our country. We are making a special appeal to all governments and international forums, including the OAU, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth, the United Nations and international solidarity organisations to put pressure on the South African government not to ban the conference. The current mood of our people is such that we believe they will defy any attempt by the state to prevent the conference from going ahead.

We call on all our patriotic and freedom-loving compatriots to rally behind this initiative. While the old order is decaying and in disarray, we need to construct the new democratic and egalitarian order which is in the process of being born. We see the Conference for a Democratic Future as being the midwife for the birth of this new order.

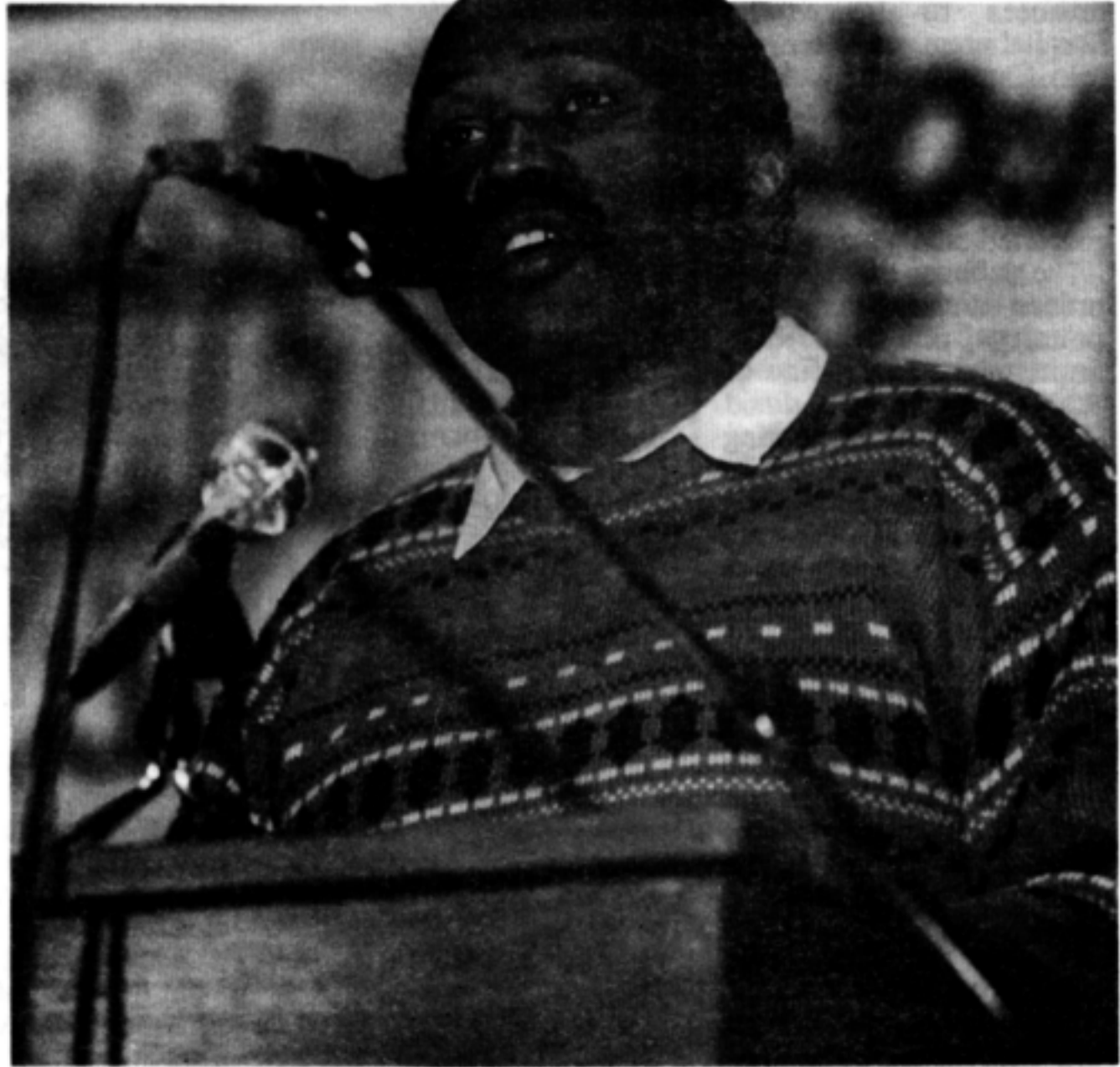
The Convening Committee of this Conference consist of the following leaders;

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Dr Alan Boesak
Father Smangliso Mkhathshwa
Dr Beyers Naude
Cyril Ramaphosa
Chris Dhlamini
Khehla Mthembu
Mbulelo Rakwena
Mohammed Valli Moosa
Albertinah Sisulu

MASS ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER.

Over three thousand people turned up for medical treatment at white hospitals country-wide and a further 17 people defied their Emergency restriction orders in the Western Cape on August 2.

This was in response to the Mass Democratic Movement's call for mass defiance of segregated facilities, restrictions on individuals and organisations and the rejection of the racist September elections.



The MDM's Murphy Morobe addressing a TIC Conference in Lenasia

"RECENT coverage of what is supposed to be MDM's position on the elections has tended to suggest that the MDM has no clear position on these elections and particularly on our attitude to white voters.

"Our rejection of this parliament cannot be overemphasised. Suffice it to say that no amount of sweet talking can coax us into accepting it as a democratic and legitimate structure. We remain committed to campaigning for its inevitable dissolution and establishment of a people's assembly representing all South Africans irrespective of colour, race or creed" said Murphy Morobe at a press conference in Johannesburg.

Clarifying the MDM's position on the tactic to be applied in areas of the white colonial bloc, Murphy said "campaigning for a white

boycott of the elections is not a critical issue at this stage. Our position is not informed by what is emotional expedient or dramatic, but by what advances our struggle most. Therefore, we are not campaigning for whites to boycott the elections, but are unambiguous on the obligations of white MDM members towards the whole movement.

Slamming the Democratic Party for giving legitimacy to the tricameral parliament which has been rejected overwhelmingly by the majority of the people, Morobe said "the MDM can never sympathise with and unequivocally rejects the fielding of candidates in those communities where we struck telling blows at this tri-cameral parliament. Their action has been interpreted as being calculated to give the tricameral parliament a

new lease of life and this we cannot accept"

"Elections in S.A have become synonymous with the perpetuation of apartheid and discrimination. The only means that remain open to the voteless majority is to embark on a programme of peaceful, non-violent defiance that will change these laws. These are laws that deny basic human rights, that confine the majority to overcrowded hospitals and schools and to second class recreation and transport facilities. These are laws which deny access to empty hospitals, schools and public transport simply because these facilities are defined as being for whites only" said an SACC statement.

DEFIANCE

In many places where defiance took place the

presence of the police was felt. In Pretoria students at the Medical university were delayed for a period of 3 hours under the pretext that the buses they were using were overloaded and names of students were slowly taken down. The centre of Pretoria was marked by impromptu roadblocks, and the entrance to the H.F Verwoerd hospital had a roadblock near it.

Earlier on security police were seen harassing commuters in taxis thinking that they were on their way to the hospitals. In Johannesburg, more than a thousand people, accompanied by leaders of the MDM and diplomats reported for treatment at the Johannesburg General Hospital.

In Natal police filmed and videoed the proceedings. One incident which nearly marred the peaceful protest was when a Natal hospital

official told Indian MDM officials that unless they were ill they had five minutes to leave the hospital premises.

In Cape Town, restricted activists addressed a church service in defiance of the restriction order and staying at the service beyond their restricted time.

The defiance of restriction orders carries a maximum penalty of 10 years imprisonment or a fine of R20 000.

"We believe that ignoring these restrictions is in accord with all that is good and just" said Amy Thornton addressing a congregation in Cape Town on behalf of the UDF.

"We in the MDM have resolved that we shall no longer be the instruments of our oppression. We are aware that the regime will not take kindly to our actions. We are not taking part in this campaign to please it" said MDM Western Cape spokesman, Bulelani Ngcuka.

"We do not do this for bravado. We are committed as ever before to non-violence, to peace and justice", said Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

SUPPORT

Workers, community organisations, youths, students, churches and 15 Afrikaans speaking individuals all came out in support of the MDM call. This has brought the MDM and the state into renewed confrontation.

"The time has come for us not to be willing participants in our oppression. The restrictions imposed on our organisations and members are intended to frustrate our struggle for material liberation", said Ngcuka.

Mineworkers at the President Steyn mine in the Free State used change rooms reserved for whites, whilst their colleagues at the Rustenburg mine were prevented from using parks reserved for whites by police. At the Mintek,

Impala, and Ergo mines workers used toilets and showers that are reserved for whites.

Students in Cape Town came out of their classes in what is referred to as a week of protest.

The churches in the Western Cape called services that were addressed by representatives of restricted organisations and restricted individuals.

In Natal, over one thousand students waged a peaceful morning long protest in front of the Addington hospital contravening laws on outdoor meetings.

"The campaign has been victorious thus far in the sense that we have fought the authorities to admit African and Indian patients who are not catered for by the hospital, but in terms of desegregating the hospital which is our objective, we will still have to come back here" said Dr. Diliza Mji, a Namda representative in Natal.

OPPOSITION TO CAMPAIGN

The NUM has claimed that the Anglo American is bombarding workers with pamphlets in an attempt to dissuade them from participating in the defiance campaign.

"We wish to urge Anglo to stop its threats against mineworkers using facilities meant for whites. The use of white change rooms by black mineworkers as happened on the 20 July at President Steyn mine should be seen as a progressive step towards the realisation of non-racialism", said Num press officer Jerry Majatladi.

This brings to two the number of large scale offensives against apartheid this year, since the historic hunger strike by detainees in all the prisons in demand for their release.

The present campaign also coincides with the 37 anniversary of the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

RENEWED CONFRONTATION

The coming September racist elections, segregated facilities and restrictions on organisations and individuals, has brought the state and the mass democratic movement into renewed confrontation.

The right of opposition to apartheid has been eroded by the sweeping emergency regulations - and this, consequently illegalised every effort on the part of the mass democratic movement at organising against apartheid. It was in view of, amongst other things, the absence of this legal space that the MDM made this call.

A statement issued by the mass democratic movement and read by Mohammed Valli Moosa called upon the people to unite and fight against repression and the coming September elections.

"We are determined to claim our democratic right to protest against apartheid laws and protest against the apartheid elections.

It is our democratic right to call on our people not to vote in these racist elections, and to defy the restrictions on our leaders and organisations.

Our struggle has shown that only our direct action can rid us of these laws and open all facilities and amenities to all the people of S.A.

"The forces of change lie with the masses of our people. Let us by positive and non-violent action against racist laws free ourselves from oppression.

"We thus call on all anti-apartheid people to begin a process of non-violent direct action against segregated facilities and amenities. We will consider all hospitals to be open to all people from August 2 1989 onwards." declared a statement issued on behalf of structures within the mass democratic movement including amongst others, Cosatu, South African Council of Churches and

the Organised Youth.

The call for Mass Action For People's Power is a culmination of months of national consultation and co-ordination by organs of the MDM.

While the practical aspects of the campaign were still being worked out, the Minister of Law and Order, Adrian Vlok issued a stern warning and refuted claims that there is no legal space left for the peaceful opposition to their horrendous laws.

"The revolutionaries and the radicals must no longer maintain that they are planning these actions because they have no other choice. The National Party has bound itself to peaceful reform

According to Vlok, the ANC-SACP alliance was behind the planned mass action. He quoted the ANC president, Oliver Tambo in the January 8 speech as having said that 1989 is the 40th anniversary of "that outstanding document of our struggle for liberation - the programme of action. Drawing on and continuing that experience, and developing on the heroic actions of church leaders and other patriots last year, our approach must be one of militant mass defiance".

Details of the planned mass action were released in a speech by panich-stricken Adriaan Vlok at Fochville as including, amongst other things,

- * July 30 mass occupation of buses and parks reserved for whites

- * August 2: occupation of hospitals reserved for whites, these include Johannesburg, Vereeniging, Paardekraal, H.F Verwoerd, Addington, Dundee and Port Shepstone hospitals.

- * August 9: a march to Union Buildings.

- * August 15: a petition demanding the release of political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions on organisations and individuals.



A doctor and hospital workers demonstrate outside Johannesburg General Hospital

* a campaign by restricted people to defy their restriction orders and

* a campaign against the September elections.

At a press conference called specifically to respond to Adriaan Vlok's implied threats against the planned MDM's protest actions, the statement further says.

"The minister attempts to turn actions of protest and defiance which have been openly discussed, into something sinister and conspiratorial.

"In an atmosphere of fear and intimidation where the leadership cannot address the people, an explosive situation would result. We are determined to claim our democratic right to protest against apartheid laws and the apartheid elections. We are also determined to make it peacefully. But if the

government creates a situation where they make peaceful protest impossible, they must take full responsibility for the consequences of their actions"

"In so far as the MDM have planned any actions, these have been openly canvassed and are non-violent in their nature. This is in contrast to the violent and repressive actions of the state. While the white leaders are campaigning to be elected, they are once again planning to place the black leadership behind bars", explained Valli.

"Any attempt to use the election hysteria to clamp down on the organisations and leadership of the majority must be resisted with every means at our disposal.

"We call on all South Africans and the international community in

particular to keep a very close watch on this government actions in the next few weeks. Those who have been saying give De Klerk a chance will have to face the fact that it is only effective international pressure combined with internal mass action which will finally force the regime to abolish apartheid".

THREAT

Vlok threatened to clamp down on what he called "generals" and "lower rank radicals" should the campaign be successful. The clamp down on activists would include detentions, restrictions and even a possible banning of the campaign under the emergency regulations. According to him the campaign would include the usage of violence and petrol bombings of election candidates.

VLOK RETREATS

As the peaceful campaign unfolded and lawyers representing Cosatu confronted the ministry of law and order on allegations made against Cosatu, Vlok retracted his earlier statements.

"I gladly give the undertaking that I will desist from making any further statements to the effect that the document specifically supports petrol bomb attacks on candidates in the pending elections.

"In point of fact, I am even willing to undertake not to state that the said document advocates or supports any specific act or acts of violence", said Adriaan Vlok.

SUPPORT FROM CHURCHES

The SACC gave its full support to the campaigns for mass action.

"We lend our support to the proposed programme of action to defy oppressive laws and structures in S.A. It is only increased pressure on the apartheid regime that will force it to abandon apartheid and move away from posturing on negotiations into genuine negotiations."

In a joint call made by Dr. Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, the trio said "our churches and university have repeatedly declared their abhorrence of laws and regulations in this country which abrogate fundamental and God-given human rights. Laws and regulations which empower the government to restrict people's freedom of movement, assembly and speech in contravention of the Rule of Law are evil measures, worthy neither of respect nor obedience.

"We consequently support the demand of those under restriction that their restrictions should be lifted. We believe that if their demand is not met they

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

would be justified in ignoring the terms of their restriction orders and in asserting their right to move freely and to engage in peaceful political activity." said the statement.

At the launch of the non-violent campaign to eradicate apartheid laws, the MDM conveyed the decision of all anti-apartheid people to refuse to submit themselves to, or support, laws that oppress the vast majority of our people. In the spirit of this decision our people have mandated their representatives organisations to lead the defiance against unjust laws and begin the process for the dismantling of apartheid.

The MDM thus calls on all organisations precluded from organising freely within their constituencies as a result of unjust restrictions on their activities to exercise the mandate of our people and derestrict themselves. The UDF, Cosatu and Sayco will lead all restricted organisations at a mass rally at the Flower Hall, university of Wits, on Sunday 20 August 1989. From this day (the 6th anniversary of the UDF). All

restricted organisations will consider themselves to be free to operate and organise within their constituencies. This will be so even if the rally is stopped by the state.

We believe our call to be responsible, just and non-confrontationist one. The first phase of the campaign against apartheid proved the discipline of our people and was conducted in a non-violent and controlled manner, despite the hysterical reaction from Vlok. We have no doubt that the process of the derestriction of our organisations will also be a non-violent and discipline one.

We believe we are fully justified in derestricting our organisations by our disciplined and direct action. The correctness of our position is obvious. Vlok's attack on Cosatu, and his subsequent apology, made it clear our organisations were restricted on the basis of unsubstantiated information. The motivation for the restrictions were based primarily on the maintenance of white rule and the oppression of the masses of our country. We thus have no hesitation in declaring our organisations

free from restrictions from 20 August 1989.

The effect of our action will be that all organisations representing the masses of our people will work openly and peacefully among our people. Any attempt by the government to act against our organisations will belie F.W de Klerk's assertion that he is moving away from apartheid towards a S.A free from racial oppression. If the government is sincere about negotiations and genuine change, they must afford organisations democratically formed by our people to organise freely. We thus appeal to the international community to monitor the reaction of the state to our intention to derestrict our organisations from Sunday 20 August 1989. We will derestrict our organisations in a non-violent and disciplined way and these organisations will continue to operate in a non-violent and disciplined manner.

The UDF, Cosatu, Sayco and other restricted organisations have continued to enjoy broad grass roots support despite restrictions. On 20 August 1989, these organisations will again begin to operate

openly and without the shackles of unjust restrictions. These organisations will publicly lead our people away from apartheid and oppression to a democratic S.A where all shall be equal.

The mass rally will take at the Flower Hall, university of Wits on Sunday 20 August. Speakers will include comrades from the UDF, Cosatu, Sayco and all other restricted organisations.

In conclusion, we have two announcements. A monitoring group has been established to monitor the intake of patients at previously segregated hospitals. Any person refused treatment at any hospital on the basis of race is asked to contact one of these numbers 299165, 337 4775 and 23 3244. All such case will be vigorously followed up and appropriate action will be taken. Secondly, Jodac will be having a "mill-in" at the Rosebank Mall on Saturday 19 August 1989. People are invited to participate in the distribution of UDF leaflets. UDF t-shirts will be available for sale.



Volunteers arriving for the beginning of the Defiance Campaign, 1952

SOUTH AFRICA'S DIRTY TRICKS IN THE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE PLAN EXPOSED

THE Namibian people are full of hope. The election month draws to its close and the long dreamed-of independence will soon be a reality. Families will soon be reunited as the refugees are being repatriated.

In this build up towards the election, the Secretary-general of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), Andimba Toivo ja Toivo puts across his organisation's position regarding the current political trends in Namibia.

On 12 June the first group of Namibian refugees were repatriated home. A week later a group of Swapo leaders returned to Namibia to start preparations for the November elections; to open Swapo offices, and to start an election campaign.

"If the process goes smoothly, perhaps by the end of July the bulk of our people will be repatriated back home". estimates Toivo.

Toivo explains that South Africa's decision not to repeal discriminatory and oppressive laws, or declare a general amnesty led to a delay of the repatriation of the detainees.

Repatriation was also started on a small scale because UN refugee officials have had to study and prepare themselves for the problems arising during the return. "Still, it seems that South Africa has only repealed some of the oppressive laws; those which have specially been used against the Namibian people still exist. The so called Administrator-general of South Africa was saying that some laws were left intact and can be used against those who South Africa thinks have committed criminal acts within 60 days after independence. I do not know why they do this because

As November 1 draws near, SWAPO remains optimistic of a landslide victory over the forces of racism and colonialism.



SWAPO general secretary Toivo ja Toivo

after independence they will no longer be there. Who is going to use these laws?

The Secretary-general pointed at South Africa's obstinacy as an illegal occupier of Namibia.

"In fact the regime has been defying the international community, the United Nations, and Security Council resolutions and is still in charge of the administration and registration of voters, although no longer supposed to be in Namibia. The

Council for Namibia, elected by the United Nations in 1976 was long empowered to be in charge of the administration until Namibia reached independence - but somewhere between 1980 and 1982 something went wrong, and they decided that the Special Representative has to work together with the South African Administrator-General. In my view South Africa was supposed to be out from 1 April. But there is nothing we can do about now."

On a number of occasions the Namibians have expressed reservations about the role being played by Marti Ahtisaari, UN Special Representative for Namibia.

Ahtisaari —a yes man

"A man who is supposed to be supervising the elections, it seems now has become an observer, a yes man to whatever the South Africa administrator think.

His behaviour has led Swapo and many, especially African governments to pressure the UN Secretary-General to appoint a deputy to Ahtisaari. The former Botswana Ambassador to the UN, Mr Joseph Legwaila has been appointed to that post.

"Perhaps things will improve because he is a fighter, and I am sure Ahtisaari is going to have a rough time with him." says Toivo.

Impartiality not observed

"Only the UN at this stage has honoured its obligations as far as impartiality is concerned. The UN has fulfilled its undertaking by stopping financial assistance to Swapo. But the South Africans are still financing the so called former ministers in the so called interim government, the former Koevoet and also members of the South West African Territorial Force. Those demobilised are on the South African payroll for the next 7-8 months. The churches are demanding that the Battalion 101 be disbanded instead of being integrated into the police force with Koevoet. The failure to do this aggravates the situation and can cause a breakdown in the independence process.

"This is really insincerity on the part of South Africa.



"Welcome Home" message spread in Ongwediva refugee centre in Namibia. (Insert) UN special representative Marti Aatisaari

Impartiality should be a two instead of a one way process.

"Perhaps the South Africans have found weaknesses in Ahtisaari and they are exploiting this to the maximum".

Victory is certain

However, Toivo ja Toivo believes that if there is pressure on South Africa, the election will take place on 1 November as scheduled. He appeals to all peace movements to send as many observers as possible to monitor the pre-election process and the elections themselves; journalists, lawyers and parliamentarians must be there.

The more eyes we have in Namibia to observe what the South Africans are doing, the better for us because it will deter them from their evil activities. If there are good observers to deter South Africa's nasty activities, we have no doubt that Swapo is going to win the elections with the required two thirds majority.

Unita in Namibia

Toivo says that about 60 000 Unita bandits are in Namibia and have been given Namibian identity cards.

"Also, before June about 300 people crossed the borders of Angola to Namibia. One wonders how

it is that when the first repatriation was about to take place, so many crossed into Namibia without knowledge of the UN or Swapo.

"If they were Namibians who fled Namibia because of the war situation, and crossed into Angola and didn't have any connection to Swapo, they would have just crossed one by one not en masse. This can only happen when people are organised. There is speculation that this was a plan between South Africa and Unita.

The Walvis Bay debacle

The last colonial hold over Namibia is the Walvis Bay

which South Africa has claimed as its own territory. Toivo ja Toivo says that it is part and parcel of Namibia. "There is no independence without Walvis Bay. It is the backbone of our economy. South Africa doesn't need it at all - it is only out of greed and certain strategic considerations that the regime wants it.

"We suspect that the regime want to use it to arm-twist the independent government of Namibia and the Swapo leadership. We won't be surprised to see the regime amassing its troops there after independence." said the Swapo leader.

"WE LOOK FORWARD TO A GREAT TRIUMPH AFTER NOVEMBER 1" — ANC



Sam Nujoma, Oliver Tambo and Herman Toivo ja Toivo

IN June, the African National Congress addressed the Congress of the Socialist international in Stockholm, Sweden. The Congress was attended by a high-powered ANC delegation led by its president, Oliver Tambo.

The statement said that despite the latest treachery and bloodletting, Pretoria has been forced to concede a formal withdrawal from Namibia.

"We look forward to a great triumph after 1 November. Yet, precisely because of this possibility, Pretoria has been unsparing of money and schemes in its attempt to disfigure the

character of independence. We are called upon to exercise the utmost caution in addressing the situation. We have to come to the assistance of Swapo, which is being assailed from all sides by the racist regime with a view to depriving it of an electoral victory. If these efforts fail, plans are already afoot to destabilize independence in Namibia.

"It is also imperative that we also underscore the reality that the Pretoria regime has not withdrawn its commitment to destabilize the Frontline States through bandit groupings and surrogates such as Unita and MNR.

The countries of the region continue to live under constant threat of direct aggression which has already wreaked havoc, spread carnage and held back development.

The state of emergency was recently reimposed throughout South Africa. The apartheid structures, though shaken and weakened by the forces for change, are still in place; people's organisations remain restricted and proscribed, while political activists are still being restricted, detained, murdered or hanged, and censorship of the media remains stringent."

The statement further appealed for help to stop the hangings and judicial murders.

"South Africa imposes more death sentences per head of the population than any other country in the world. It is for this reason that attempts by banks and international financiers to rescue Pretoria must be effectively blocked.

Take the initiative in forcing the regime to decolonize Namibia and ensure genuine independence before the end of the year".

EDUCATE, CONSOLIDATE AND ADVANCE TO VICTORY — COSATU's 3rd National Congress



CosatU congress sets itself the colossal task of transforming the society from the nightmare of apartheid and capitalist exploitation to a society free from the shackles of economic and political enslavement.

THE government's aim in restricting Cosatu to factory floor issues has been rendered useless and unworkable. This was the mood at the recently held third national congress at Nasrec, Johannesburg from 12 to 16 July.

"The regime is determined to whittle away whatever legal modicum there is for us. Given our contention that the regime is itself illegal and illegitimate, we in this congress are not prepared to confine our programme to what Pretoria has defined as legal and acceptable", said Elijah Barayi in his presidential speech. The congress deliberated on a

number of burning political issues of the country. These included negotiations, constitutional guidelines released by the ANC, Save the Patriots campaign, peace for Natal and the Namibian question.

Amongst messages of support received from fraternal structures were those from the ANC-SACP-SACTU alliance. These messages received a tumultuous applause.

"At this decisive moment organisation, unity and action around the common perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial S.A are the order of the day,

said the ANC

"We are certain that as the congress works its way through its agenda it will give to the fore the understanding that history calls from all of us to unite in action as never before and to march forward as one towards the goal of transfer of power to the people, concluded the message from the ANC.

"Unless we therefore consciously and deliberately set about determining our actions in such a way as to advance to victory, we shall be evading our historic responsibility" said the SACP message.

"The irreversible crisis of the apartheid system is an opportunity for the people to go onto the offensive, an offensive that will open the road to victory" continued the Party message.

In its support for the anti-apartheid coalition a message from SACTU said "Let us continue to build unity in action of the entire democratic anti-apartheid organisations inclusive of the democratic trade union movement".

"Our united action constitutes our singular greatest weapon if we hope to array the blows the enemy attempts to direct at us.

Unity between affiliates and in relation to the UDF must be seriously pursued and guarded" concluded the SACTU message

The congress, attended by over two thousand delegates and guests ranging from diplomats to various formations of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and all COSATU affiliates, opened with an address presented on behalf of ANC-SACP leader Harry Gwala, who was unable to attend the congress.

Organised around the theme Educate, Consolidate and Advance to Victory, the congress was also addressed by representatives of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), the SA Council of Churches, the MDM and the Cosatu leadership.

"Our presence at this vital congress has historic and traditional roots. This is a manifestation of the spirit of practical and revolutionary solidarity between the Namibian and South African workers," said NUNW representative Barnabus Tjizu.

This solidarity amongst the oppressed and exploited masses of both Namibia and South Africa finds expression in the alliance between their tried and tested liberation movements, the ANC and SWAPO, he said.

"The masses of our people are in a state of revolutionary ferment - the enemy is equally determined, marshalling all the forces and resources at its disposal towards smashing the democratic movement," said Elijah Barayi in his presidential address.

"During the course of this congress, we shall assess the gains we have made and setbacks we have suffered since our launching congress. In so doing, we must keep in mind that the

enemy forces have created an extraordinary situation around us and our allies. We also have to look at ourselves critically and acknowledge that we did not always make full use of the opportunities which presented themselves to us, said Barayi.

CRISIS OF THE RULING BLOC

Speaking on problems faced by the government, Barayi said the crisis facing the ruling bloc "had all the signs of being a terminal one" and that the people resoundingly rejected the regime's solutions to these problems.

"The morale in the cabinet is at its lowest possible. The cohesion of the ruling bloc is cracking up in different directions. There is a deep moral crisis resulting from the discomfort at the continued operation of apartheid colonialism. We have to turn this moral disquiet into moral outrage".

NATIONAL UNITY

Speaking on the need for unity against apartheid Barayi said "as a mass organisation of the working class, in working out our strategy and tactics we must firmly uphold our fundamental class interests. At the same time we make a thorough analysis of all relations among the classes in our society and take into, full account changes in these relations at different times. For we have always believed that the unity of all national and class forces interested in the removal of the fascist Pretoria regime, the destruction of the apartheid system, and the reconstruction of S.A as a popular democratic state with power in the hands of the people, is the central strategic perspective of our our national democratic struggle. The successful defence of our liberation will also require the

maintenance and reinforcement of that national unity. This confirms that this task is not of a tactical, transient or temporary nature. Rather it is of a strategic importance".

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

Speaking on the responsibilities facing the Mass Democratic Movement, he said that "the terrain of our immediate struggle is to map out the path to power and to develop the subjective forces that are equal to the task. This task is central to our strategic outlook. The masses of our people have long abandoned the slavish submission to the enemy. Their mood is one which is agitated, they want freedom, and they can settle for nothing less. That mood still has to be fully shifted to the terrain of conscious, organised militant activity.

CAMPAIGN FOR A WORKERS' CHARTER

Setting the mood for a workers charter, Barayi said that "every sector of the democratic movement has the liberty to amplify and elaborate on what is contained in the Freedom Charter. In the conditions which exist in S.A today, we have immense possibilities to initiate a process which bears similarity to the Congress of the People Campaign.

"This process can enrich our struggle because it can result in various formations of the democratic movement formulating their own charters which are specific to their immediate terrain of struggle. These charters will not be mutually exclusive, but they will enhance our strategic line of march.

CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Reiterating the demands set out by the Democratic Movement before any meaningful negotiations

with the government can take place, he said that "we have called for the withdrawal of the SADF and para-military forces from the townships. We argued the case for the repeal of those apartheid laws which seek to to criminalise legitimate political activity. These are not negotiating positions but fundamental aspects of a situation which needs to change before a climate and framework for negotiations can be reached. Conditions must exist whereby, if negotiations take place at all, they do not take place above the heads of the people. The ball is in the regime's court and it will have to play it. We are not going to heed any bogus signals."

ORGANISE AGAINST THE LABOUR RELATIONS ACT

Addressing the question of the Labour Relations Act, he said "together with Nactu and the unaffiliated unions, we have made it clear that that the LRA will never work for as long as we are unhappy about it. Our approach to the second workers summit is that we want to mobilise the broadest possible resentment to the LRA. Employers can call it "an unhealthy threat of dispute" if they want, but that is what we intend doing.

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

Jay Naidoo in his secretarial report said that the state faced a structural crisis, "this is shown by the financial crisis it faces, its inability to repay its foreign debts, its increasing dependence on gold reserves and the general stagnation of the economy.

He further said an accumulation crisis exist because "monopolies cannot find any more areas for p r o f i t a b l e investment. Instead they are exporting their surplus

profits or investing them in shares" Naidoo said that the apartheid state lacks funds and has no political will to force the capitalists to invest in job creating industries.

"As the disintegration of the ruling class intensifies so does the ideological and political fragmentation of capital. We need to deepen these divisions but never at the expense of consolidating the democratic forces in our country. Our strategies must be aimed at intensifying our mass struggles and building mass organisations.

STRENGTHENING OUR MASS APPROACH

Naidoo emphasised the need for mass involvement in the formulation and implementation of campaigns. "This means that accountability, mandates and reportbacks must be an essential part of our daily activity."

He also called for leadership training with emphasis on cadre development which goes beyond mere membership of organisations and activist groups to create a qualitatively new one able to lead us to a new S.A

"It must strive at all times to unify the working class and the oppressed of S.A and to create a climate of democratic debate and decision-making".

BUILDING PEACE IN NATAL

"It is quite clear that Vlok and his cohorts cannot be entrusted with the task of restoring peace in Natal", said Jay Naidoo. He said that the regime shocked by the gains made by the MDM went on to foment senseless violence resulting in over 3000 people losing their lives.

He said that the MDM's attempts at setting up meetings with the ANC,



COSATU general-Secretary, Jay Naidoo

Inkatha, working committees and complaints adjudication board show that the MDM is committed to the establishment of peace in the Natal region.

"The struggle for peace is not inkeeping with other elements of the regime's overall policy. The vigilante strategy has proved to be very effective in disorganising mass opposition to apartheid." According to Naidoo the MDM has identified certain tasks for the establishment of peace in Natal which include among others

- * holding peace rallies and workshops
- * development of cultural activities around the peace campaign
- * strengthening coordination between Cosatu and community-based organisations and
- * identification of the support base of the warlords and attempting to to deprive them of this support by talking to the parties concerned.

NEGOTIATIONS

In his speech on behalf of the Mass Democratic

Movement, Valli Mohammed, said that the present political situation demanded the deepening of discussions so as to meet the challenges that lie ahead. According to him one such issue is the question of negotiations.

Valli said that the launch of the armed struggle and the campaign to isolate the regime in 1960 was a consequence of the regime's refusal to enter into dialogue with the people's leaders.

He said that the mass struggles of the 70's and 80's have won the people a victory in that the regime is now forced to acknowledge the need for negotiations.

Valli however cautioned the congress of the false signals that the government was sending. "Our view is that the regime's present utterances are not about genuine negotiations. They are about new and sophisticated ways of perpetuating white minority domination".

Valli said that the regime has to unilaterally create a climate conducive to

negotiations but that the government was avoiding such a situation by making apartheid structures like the National Council a starting point.

According to him the state's aim in this regard was the demobilisation of the masses, the easing of international pressure and the relaunching of the reform process.

"The present situation demands of us to mobilise mass action against the elections. the labour Relations Act and all other forms of repression" said Valli in a call for the intensification of the struggle.

Speaking on the way forward for the MDM, he said the MDM had a unique opportunity to take advantages of favourable conditions so as to consolidate itself and chart a decisive path to power. He also called for a Conference for a Democratic future to be held in October this year.

- "We must secure the participation of all those who share our unifying perspective which is
- * lifting of the state of emergency
 - * unbanning of the ANC
 - * an end to all forms of repression
 - * one person one vote in a non-racial S.A
 - * freedom of association and the press"

He further stressed the need to engage in tactical alliances with all other various forces but that the MDM always remains the core of such alliances, because it is itself a strategic alliance.

WORKER GUIDANCE ON NEGOTIATIONS

The SACC general secretary, Frank Chikane asked worker to give guidance to the churches because the churches might misjudge and make mistakes that people will regret later.



"It is important that workers deliberate and decide the type of society they wish to see in S.A and the type of government to rule over our land.

"It is important that you formulate a vision of our future because we need to be guided by you for without the guidance of that vision the churches will misjudge and make mistakes which we would regret many years to come".

RESOLUTIONS

□ CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES

Congress resolved that COSATU initiate discussions and debates in its structures around the constitutional guidelines as proposed by the ANC. It further called for the intensification of discussions by the MDM "with a view to shaping a democratic constitutional model of a future democratic S.A.

□ PROCESS OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Congress rejected all reformist solutions which do not address fundamental and economic demands. The congress also called on the international community to pressure the government to meet the conditions of the people as set out by the MDM for negotiations. "To avoid any settlement being imposed on our masses, the MDM should initiate discussions aimed at developing a common position" said the resolution.

□ BUILDING THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The congress reaffirmed its commitment to the strategic alliance of COSATU and the UDF as crucial for the unification of all anti-apartheid organisations of different classes and sectors of the population. It called for the establishment of organs of people's power, namely street, area and towns committees with democratic elections

without hindrance of ideological differences. Congress called on the youth, women and students to consolidate and develop effective and democratic structures at all levels.

□ ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION

Congress resolved to set up the machinery of "all major" forces to reconvene the anti-apartheid conference not later than October. Whilst the congress recognised the leading role of the UDF and COSATU it called for the involvement and the drawing in of all major forces. All forces to the conference would retain their autonomy and decision making structures but "be united by the perspective arising out of the conference". The congress called for the development of a unifying perspective of the demands for:

- * one person one vote in a democratic and unitary S.A free from racism
- * the unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations
- * an end to the state of emergency and all other forms of repression and
- * freedom of the press, political association and

other political expression.

□ WORKERS CHARTER

Cosatu is to launch and spearhead a workers charter campaign involving the oppressed and exploited masses of the country by canvassing the views and opinions through democratic and participatory methods of consultation. As soon as all the COSATU and all its allies have discussed the demands of the charter, COSATU should call for a WORKERS CHARTER CONGRESS. Such a congress would also involve Nactu, and the other formations of the MDM.

□ PEACE FOR NATAL

COSATU committed itself fully to peace in Natal and endorsed the following steps in attempt to create peace

- * meeting of the presidents of the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha
- * the setting up of an independent commission of inquiry
- * the holding of peace rallies and the setting up of peace committees in the affected areas
- * the development of an

effective programme to deal with internal refugees.

□ LABOUR RELATIONS ACT

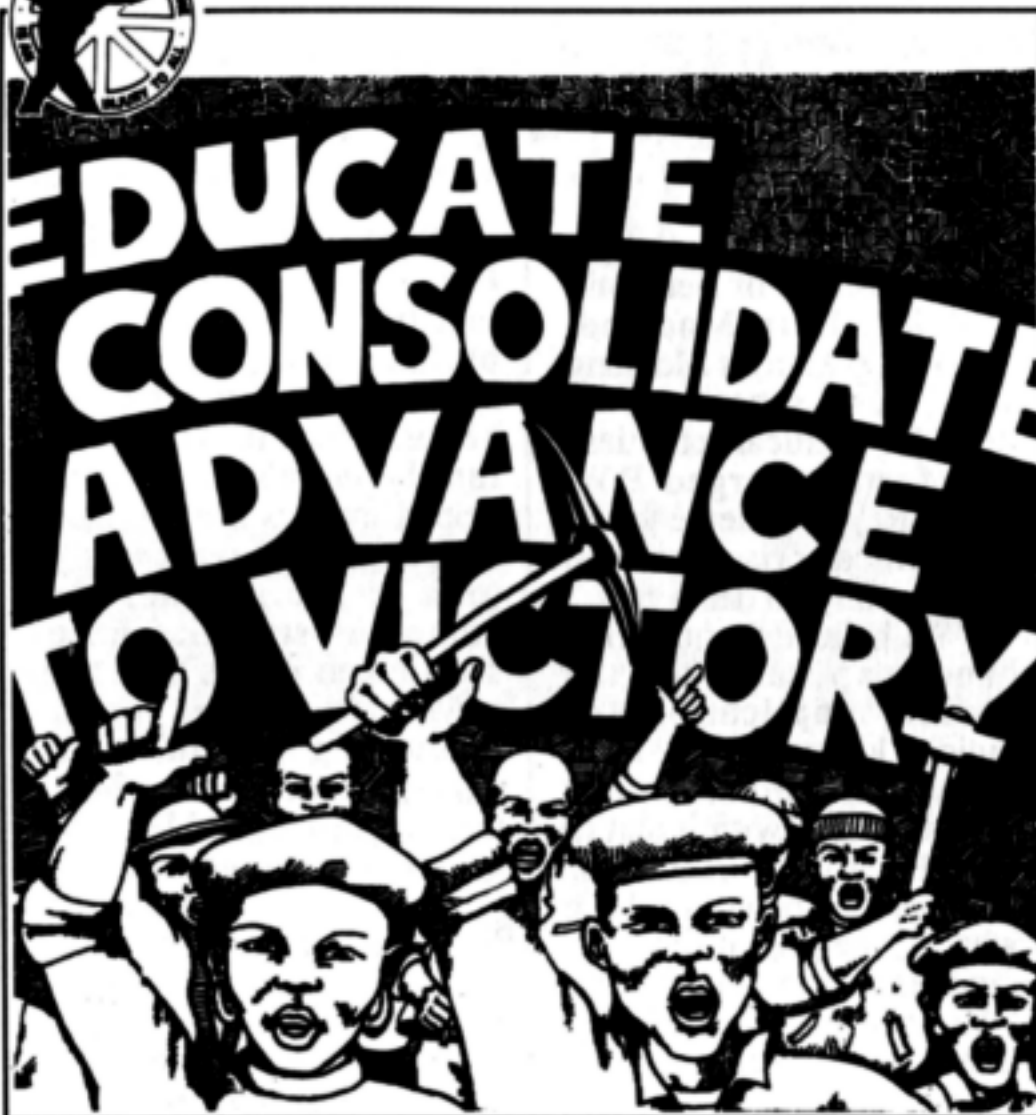
Cosatu resolved to link the LRA campaign to other struggles waged by the MDM against oppression and exploitation and committed itself to the participation in the implementation of the workers summit. It is further going to mobilise within its ranks and all other sections of the working class for support in solidarity actions.

□ NAMIBIA

Congress resolved to give moral and material support to the people of Namibia. In this regard Cosatu will launch a campaign to inform, educate and agitate the masses for action in solidarity with the Namibian people. A solidarity committee with the NUNW is to be set up to work out a joint programme of co-operation and all affiliates were encouraged to do likewise. The affiliates were also asked to pay R1,00 per member towards a SWAPO election fund. COSATU is to set up an investigation into the involvement of Nactu and the International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICTU) in creating a third force and expose the two federations if the allegations are found true.

□ SAVE THE PATRIOTS

"S.A should be pressurised to sign the Geneva Protocol and grant our comrades on death row and those jailed the status of prisoners of war" said the congress resolution. Whilst the congress called for the abolition of the death penalty, it further called for the national and international campaigns against the hangings of people. The churches are also called upon to allocate time in the Sunday services to address the issue of people on death row.



MARCH TO THE UNION BUILDINGS

"OUR brothers, fathers and husbands have been hanged but we shall continue to fight the hangman," said Themba Xulu, whose brother, Sipho Bridget Xulu, was hanged in 1986 for MK activities.

This re-affirmation was made this month when family members of comrades who have been hanged for their activities "in the struggle for liberation" marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to deliver a petition to the State President urging him to stop the hangings.

The families came from as far as the Eastern Cape, Durban and Cape Town. Those who signed the petition included Xolile Mini, whose father, Vuyisile Mini - a SACTU stalwart - was hanged in 1964, Martha Mahlangu, Solomon Mahlangu's mother; Lephina Zondo, Sibusiso

Andrew Zondo's mother and the parents of Benjamin Moloise, Jerry Mosolodi and Thabo Marcus Motaung who were sentenced to death for political activities. The families urged P.W. Botha to grant clemency to 34 political prisoners who are presently on death row.

"We believe that our first hand exposure to the terrible implications of judicial killing qualify us to tell you of the horrors that are associated with it and to plead with you for clemency on behalf of those who are waiting to die," the families said in a statement. "We have experienced first hand the anguish, the torment, the sense of helplessness and the anger experienced while waiting for a loved one to die. We have all experienced the deep feelings of futility and anger when our husbands, brothers and sons have been hanged.

"With respect, Mr President, there is no justification for the cold blooded and purposeless killing of another human being. The killing of our family members has not helped matters nor changed the situation in our country to a peaceful one. As numerous statistics have shown their deaths have not prevented others from continuing with the pursuance of ideals which they regard as noble. The spiral of violence in our society is gaining momentum and the hanging of more people only perpetuates that spiral.

"Times are changing, and today, what may seem to you as just retribution will most certainly be regarded by future generations as grievous crimes. More and more countries around the world are abolishing the death penalty, and in South Africa it is particularly

appropriate that this be done now to make sure of a less violent future for us all. The solutions to the problems that we face can only be found if the parties concerned, and you are one, show compassion for those who are at your mercy," they added.

The 34, for whose clemency the families called for, included the Uppington 14, Robert McBride, Jabu Masina, Ting Ting Masango, Neo Potsane, Mthetheleli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula, who were sentenced to death for treason and murder.

CAIPHUS NYOKA INQUEST JUDGEMENT

The outcome of the inquest of Daveyton activist and former Transvaal Student Congress (TRASCO) co-ordinator, Caiphus Nyoka, followed the same pattern of similar past hearings in which the police have been exonerated of all blame.

Previous inquests into the deaths of activists at police hands have shown similar trends in which magistrates found that no-one was criminally liable for the deaths.

The judgement in the case of Nyoka will also go into the annals of the struggle of oppressed masses of South Africa as were the findings in the inquests of Ahmed Timol, Steve Biko, Victoria Mxenge, Andrew Raditsela and Matthew Goniwe.

This month, yet again, a Benoni magistrate said no-one was responsible for the

death of Nyoka who died in a hail of police bullets in his home almost two years ago. The inquest court was told that two policemen, Marais and Stander, had fired nine shots at Nyoka who was sleeping at his outside room in his parents home in Daveyton, Benoni. The findings of two pathologists, one appointed by the state and the other by the family of the deceased, were the same - "the deceased died as a result of multiple gunshots wounds". The courts saw it otherwise. In a one-hour judgement Magistrate JP Myburgh said he found no-one had "brought about any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person".

Family members, youth leaders and legal representatives expressed anger and shock at the

outcome.

"I really do not know what to say but I am certainly unhappy with the judgement. I feel shattered," said family lawyer, Amichant Soman.

Soman said he planned to study the judgement and hopefully apply for a review of the findings.

"The fact that we want to explore all possible avenues to have a review shows our level of dissatisfaction with the judgement," he added. Nyoka's family and friends, who filled the tiny court room, sat silently as the magistrate delivered his verdict.

The inquest court was presented with two opposing versions of what happened on August 24 1987, the night Nyoka died. These were evidence by the family and friends and that of the police. The police version won the game.

Myburgh rejected evidence by three youths who were sharing a room with Nyoka that night and that by his father and brother as "highly unsatisfactory and unreliable".

Nyoka's father, Moses Abednigo Nyoka, criticised the findings.

"I am not learned but one could see that the magistrate is siding with the police. I do not accept his findings at all," he said.

Daveyton activist, Skeer Zwane, said the courts were used to perpetrate injustice. But he re-affirmed their commitment to go ahead with the struggle despite the Caiphus Nyoka judgement.

"We are prepared to pick up the spear that was dropped by Caiphus, sharpen it on the tombstones of the martyrs and move forward to people's power," he said.

THE ANC PAPER ON SPORTS AND ACADEMIC BOYCOTT



The Sacos banner says it all

THE sports and academic boycott were conceived as important aspects of the ANC strategy for the total isolation of the racist minority regime.

After intensive campaigns conducted by our movement and people with the support of the world, anti-apartheid forces, the UN and other international agencies, - cultural, sporting academic and other contacts between the international community and apartheid S.A are today reduced to a bare minimum.

These campaigns have already resulted in the exclusion of official South

African sports teams from every world sport body, the visual exclusion of S.A from international entertainment circles, the cutting off from international academics networks for South African academicians and scholars, and the stigmatisation of artists, cultural workers, sports-persons and academics who continue to foster links with apartheid S.A.

The multi-pronged offensive of the democratic forces, inspired by the ANC has resulted in the transfer of the initiative from the oppressor regime to the people.

An important and dynamic dimension of this democratic offensive against the structures and institutions of the apartheid colonialism is the sphere of culture embracing the arts, other intellectual pursuits and sports.

Cultural activity has won and already occupies an important position as an integral part of our overall strategy for national liberation and democracy.

Cultural workers, activists and artist have increasingly began to assume their rightful role in the struggle for freedom and are actively assisting to mould through their work the values, ethos

and more of an emergent non-racial and democratic S.A.

The application of the boycott has to take account of these new developments. The culture of apartheid and colonialism is almost universally regarded as a tool of oppression intended to maintain the oppressive status quo, to imbue the oppressed with a sense of powerlessness and resignation-rather than the will to resist and assert their humanity.

In the process of struggle the people of S.A have evolved a democratic culture of liberation which

expresses their social and political aspirations. This culture though distinctly South African is infused with an internationalist, humanist spirit that draws upon the best of the cultural heritage of all the population groups of our country and that of the rest of humanity.

It encompasses the artistic, intellectual and material aspects of culture.

In order to grow and develop this emergent culture of liberation needs to interact with and be exposed to the progressive intellectual and cultural currents in the rest of the world.

The poor educational, training, performing and other facilities which are uniformly imposed on all black communities are a direct expression of the oppressive character of the apartheid regime.

This inequitable access of the various communities to adequate facilities has led to actual inequalities of performance between Black and White. As a consequence of this established pattern of white privilege maintained at the expense of Black disadvantage, all the major means of cultural production and reproduction are owned and controlled by a tiny elite drawn exclusively from the white community.

This includes printing presses, publishing houses, film, video and some studios, art galleries, sports facilities and other outlets for cultural expression.

Black artists in particular have as a result been victims of the most extreme forms of cultural exploitation and degradation including the vulgarisation and debasement of authentic indigenous art and cultural forms.

The apartheid regime has for decades sort to impose the most stringent and repressive controls on the print and electronic media in S.A. The minority regime's statute books are full with a number of laws empowering the regime to

suppress and restrict the dissemination of accurate information in and about S.A.

Beginning with the so-called Native Administration Act of 1927, the regime has employed its wide ranging to suppress several newspapers, journals, magazines and other publications.

In terms of the Undesirable Publications Act, it has also restricted and controlled the inflow of information and cultural artifacts from outside S.A.

The suppression and circumscription of the press and other media is an important weapon in the arsenal of the oppressor regime which it wields to consolidate its power vis-a-vis the oppressed and exploited majority.

Inspired by the example of the other organised formations of our people, the various artistic disciplines have begun to organise themselves into collectives in order to fight together with other sectors of our society to secure their economic, political and other aspirations as cultural workers.

The pioneers in this field have been the writers and musicians whose organised bodies already play a no insignificant role in the Mass Democratic Movement.

This trend towards organisation must be strengthened and built upon as the cultural workers first line of defence against potential and actual exploiters and as a means of enhancing the artist contribution to the national democratic struggle.

The cultural and academic boycott of apartheid S.A. - that is those bodies, institutions, cultural workers and their product that promote, defend and give aid and comfort to the system of white minority domination - must consistently and continuously be strengthened as part of our overall strategy for the

isolation of the apartheid regime.

No cultural workers, artists, sportspersons or academics should be permitted to travel to S.A. to perform or to impart their services and expertise save and except in those instances where such travel is clearly in furtherance of the national democratic struggle or any of its objectives.

Democratic and anti racist South African artists, cultural workers, sportspersons and academics individually or collectively who seek to perform, work or participate in activities outside S.A. should be permitted to do so without fear of ostracism or boycott.

It would greatly facilitate matters if the Mass Democratic Movement created credible structures for consultation inside S.A. to, feed such struggle.

The National liberation and Democratic Movement should also be timeously informed of such plans so as to enable it to offer advice and assistance where necessary.

The current effort to create broad non-racial governing bodies in every major sports discipline has become an important new arena of struggle of the forces of national liberation and democracy. It deserves the support and assistance of the international community if it is to realise its potential.

It is the task of the forces of National liberation to promote and project the liberatory cultural values evolved by our people in and through the struggle.

The National Liberation Movement should foster these democratic values and assist the exponents of this democratic culture to establish contact with democratic cultural workers in other parts of the world.

The National Liberation Movement and the Mass Democratic Movement must internationalise the campaign to defend the democratic media and

journalists in S.A.

The flow of regular and accurate information about events in S.A. is a weighty factor in mobilising international opinion against and in support of our struggle.

The National Liberation Movement and all other democratic forces have a duty to assist the fledgling alternative media inside the country by ensuring that the international solidarity movement, NGO's and international agencies offer financial, technical and other forms of assistance.

The suppression and circumscription of the inflow of information, cultural products and artifacts from outside S.A. is an important weapon in the arsenal of the oppressor regime which it wields to consolidate its power vis-a-vis the oppressed and exploited majority. The National Liberation Movement and the Mass Democratic Movement support the inflow of progressive cultural products, artifacts and ideas into our country so that these become readily accessible to the wider sections of our people.

We support and encourage the dissemination of all cultural products, artifacts and ideas that enhance the struggle for democracy and promote democratic humanist values as opposed to oppressive, retrograde values and misanthropic ideals.

This applies to books, newspapers, journals, magazines, videos, films and sound recordings manufactured and produced outside S.A.

The organisation and mobilisation on a continued basis of the various artistic disciplines, sports codes and academics into the fold of the Mass Democratic Movement and into a cooperative relationship with the National Liberation Movement remains a priority task.

SAHWCO UNITES A BROAD SPECTRUM OF HEALTH WORKERS



Infant mortality. A permanent scar on apartheid health

A new antidote against "apartheid health" found expression in the formation of the South African Health Workers Congress (SAHWCO). SAHWCO was born out of the realisation that apartheid has and continues to cause irreparable damage to a healthy life for the citizens of this country. " This was said by SAHWCO leadership in an interview with Saspu National. The panel consisted of a doctor, nurse, clerk and organiser.

Q: WHY WAS THE SOUTH AFRICAN HEALTH WORKERS CONGRESS FORMED?

SAHWCO: Firstly, Sahwco was formed because there was

a need to bring health workers under one organisation. Secondly, to enable us to address health care needs of our communities on a national level. Thirdly, to expose the manifestation of apartheid in health and finally to work towards equal health care for all.

Q: HOW MANY HEALTH WORKERS' STRUCTURES CAME TOGETHER TO FORM SAHWCO?

SAHWCO: The Health Workers Association, which had branches in Transvaal, OFS and Western Cape, and the Health Workers Organisation in Natal came together and launched the South African Health Workers Congress on March 5 1989.

This launch was based on three principles - health worker concept, the adoption of the Freedom Charter, and obviously

to strive for better health, which, we believe, is firmly linked to the struggle for change in our country. We are of the opinion that the health needs of our communities are largely influenced by the redistribution of land, wealth and resources rather than by more doctors, nurses, clinics and hospitals.

Q: WHAT IS COMMON BETWEEN THE STRUCTURES THAT FORM SAHWCO?

SAHWCO: The bond between all these structures is our firm belief in the health worker concept. Our definition of a health worker has changed. It also includes those in the community who are struggling for better health such as individuals from organisations like civics, youth, women - and those who are keen to work towards better health and work conditions.

Some of them had some dealings with health and health care, but the majority of them are people who are involved in other jobs. However, one thing that brings them together is a common understanding that health care is not peculiar to doctors and nurses.

We move from the premise that, for an example, teachers are not the sole custodians of the community's education. In one way or another, organisations and individual members of the community do play a role in educating the masses. The same applies to health. Parents contribute a great deal in the healthy upbringing of the children. Basic hygiene skills are taught first at home and later in schools. This forms the basis of involvement and the deepening of health awareness amongst our people. This is an area which Sahwco would like to develop by working closely with those individual members of the community as well as community organisations themselves.

Therefore, the number of projects that we are involved in, coupled with our belief that rejection of apartheid health is not enough, together with our belief that the struggle for a proper health is part of the broader national democratic struggle - all formed the basis for the creation of the South African Health Workers Congress by allied structures.

Q: WHAT PROCESSES WERE INVOLVED IN BRINGING THESE STRUCTURES TOGETHER?

SAHWCO: For the past four to five years health workers in various provinces met on a four monthly basis. The need to meet regularly received first priority amongst all these health workers structures. Here we found that each of us were involved in community projects, in the unionisation of health workers, we were involved to some extent in exposing apartheid health and the common respect for a health worker concept. These meetings, held under the auspices of the National gathering, went on until April 1988 when the Freedom Charter and the issue of one union for the health workers was discussed. It was in that meeting that the comrades from the Western Cape Health Workers Society left because they felt they could not adopt the Freedom Charter.

Despite that, we have a firm belief in Sahwco that we need to work with all groups of people, we need to convince comrades in the belief we have in the Freedom Charter and its representative nature as far as the multiclass concept is concerned. The Western Cape branch of Sahwco will from time to time meet with the Health Workers Society to discuss with them common problems and joint campaigns around health issues. In other words, the scope for cooperation will always be there for the execution of common campaigns.

Q: IS THE ADOPTION OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER A PRECONDITION FOR AFFILIATION TO SAHWCO?

SAHWCO: It was not a precondition as such. What we found out was that in 1984-5 the Health Workers Association which had branches in Transvaal adopted the charter, followed by the OFS Health Workers Association which subsequently affiliated to the UDF. Natal adopted the charter a little bit later in early 1988 - and we found that three of the four regions of South Africa where health workers were being organised, had adopted the charter. We felt that in order to tackle health issues, we need to be united and if it wasn't through the Freedom Charter, which - in our opinion, lays the basis for a principled unity - then there would be many problems.

What we did was to bring the three regions together on the basis of the Freedom Charter. We did not exclude the Western Cape comrades, they left on their own. We felt that we stand to gain a lot by uniting around the charter. That offered us the opportunity to be part of the existing alliance of the democratic forces that have already adopted the Freedom Charter.

Q: ISN'T IT POSSIBLE TO COMPROMISE AND HAVE THE HEALTH WORKERS SOCIETY AS A SAHWCO AFFILIATE ?

SAHWCO: We felt that this could result in many problems. For instance, all our magazines reflected HWA's belief in the need for the UDF to be supported in all its activities and campaigns. Other comrades felt different about that.

Any national organisation that was going to be set up, would find it difficult to have a neutral position. We would find that in one region there would be articles or programmes supporting the UDF and in other regions attacks on the work done by the UDF. And we felt that this would be harmful, not only to the organisation of health workers, but ultimately to the struggle in general. That is why we felt that the adoption of the charter was imperative to the new national organisation that was going to be formed.

The only form of compromise could be to work with those structures on health related issues - a tactical alliance of some sort. Within Cosatu there is a willingness to discuss with Nactu despite fundamental political differences between the two federations. I think that we should take example from that approach.

Q: DO YOU REGARD SAHWCO AS A TRADE UNION OR A MULTI-PURPOSE STRUCTURE ?

SAHWCO: Sahwco has historically set out to organise health workers in the communities around issues of health and health care. Our aims and objectives, as set out in our constitution, by far and large emphasises an attack on the apartheid enemy from health point of view and also to the many other aspects that affect our people. Sahwco does not organise health workers around their immediate interests - it organises them around the broad issues of health in relation to the struggle for democracy and the equal distribution of the country's wealth.

It is not a trade union as such, but dynamics in the health sector and generally in South Africa are such that you cannot separate worker politics from the general political issues. Sahwco has a labour portfolio created to facilitate the progressive unionisation of health workers. And it is because of our firm belief that health workers are like any other workers. But in the past Sahwco has also taken up worker-related issues and this was actually required of us to do that - hence I said that dynamics in the health sector does



Bringing health to the reach of the poor

not allow absolute dichotomy between worker-related issue and political issues. Sahwco recognises Nehawu as the sole progressive representative body of health workers. That is why we have set up a labour portfolio dating back to 1981 when we were still Health Workers Association.

Our comrades in Natal also organised health workers into Health and Allied Workers Union (Hawu) of Natal. This has been a historic trend of individual organisations that formed this national health workers alliance. We don't regard ourselves as trade union, but an organisation that addresses the political economy of health and issues that generally relates to health.

Q: YOU SPOKE OF THE NEED TO ORGANISE THE COMMUNITY AROUND HEALTH ISSUES, WHAT AMOUNT OF WORK HAS BEEN DONE IN THIS REGARD, AND ON WHAT SPECIFIC ISSUES DID YOU ORGANISE - AND WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE?

SAHWCO: When I said organising health workers and communities I meant we define an individual in the community who is interested in or striving for better health to be a health worker, and also by putting health on the agenda of the community-based organisation, is actually organising communities around health care.

In this regard, we have made efforts to set up community health committees which are structures that are comprised of

representatives from different organisations, including two from each of the organisations that form part of the mass democratic movement.

At different times of the existence of the community health committees, issues such as high health tariffs, victimisation of doctors, which has a direct effect on the health of the community, have been taken up.

Q: CAN A HOSPITAL SUPERINTENDENT BECOME A MEMBER OF SAHWCO, AS IT IS NOT A TRADE UNION?

SAHWCO: We don't really anticipate a situation where a superintendent or a senior matron can become a member of Sahwco because we are not in hospitals' good books. They regard us as instigators in the health sector because we are not what they term a professional organisation. In short, superintendents are the representatives of the government. They are there to serve the interests of the government. They are there to see to it that everything is done the way the government wants it. To expect us to accept the superintendent as a member of Sahwco is tantamount to saying P.W. Botha should be allowed to become a member of the UDF, regardless of his political views.

Sahwco and a union are divided by political and economic issues. For instance, in the past you would never find a union taking up issue like nationalisation of health services, the question of the progressive primary health care. So we see health issues being taken up by Sahwco. Unions may run worker clinics for their own members. We see in Sahwco the vision of a kind of future health care which we would like to see in South Africa. Therefore, that's the difference between Sahwco and a union. They are not two different entities as such because a shopsteward cannot walk into the hospital and start organising health workers. Conditions in the hospitals are such that he has to speak first to clerks, doctors, nurses, hospital workers, especially if those people would be members of Sahwco.

Basically, we see ourselves as catalysts. Sometime in the past there was a group of nurses, maternity sisters etc, who at the stroke of a pen, their maternity leave was reduced to half. We told them that it is an industrial issue and they should take it to the union. Because of the erstwhile information they were given, a union was taboo. But having seen us operating in the hospital, they were at ease with us, we channeled them to Nehawu which took up the issue to its victorious conclusion.

Q: TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS BEEN SHOWING INTEREST, LET ALONE PLAYING A ROLE IN HEALTH ISSUES?

SAHWCO: At this point in time, it is important to remember that health does not enjoy the kind of priority that it should be enjoying. For an example, in 1976 education was a struggle of students and scholars alone, but ten years later, it became a struggle of the community with the students linking up workers, parents, etc, and this led to the formation of the National Education Crisis Committee.

Issues like high rents saw the massive mobilisation of many communities. We see it as our task to make sure that health must enjoy the same priority. We are confident that this can be done given the events currently at play within the health struggles. For instance, our comrades in Natal who have taken up the increased tariffs issue, have distributed something like 200 000 leaflets on the effects the increased tariffs will have on our people. Also, there was a campaign that was carried out across Natal which culminated in almost 40 000 signatures signed to petition the authorities on health related issues.

Another example is when about 101 doctors at Baragwanath Hospital were about to be victimised, a meeting was called, and we were astounded that almost every structure in Soweto was represented. In that meeting a letter was written to the superintendent warning that if action was taken against those doctors, then the community of Soweto would consider taking action. So we see health gradually being put on the agenda of the mass democratic movement.

Q: HOW DO YOU HOPE TO ENLIST MAXIMUM SUPPORT OF THE COMMUNITY IN HEALTH CAMPAIGNS?

SAHWCO: As I had earlier said, health was the monopoly of professionals. We see the structure of the health charter campaign as forging a link between us who have some skills in health and health care system, and ordinary community people. We see that as an important way to draw up the demands of our communities the same way as the Freedom Charter was drawn up. For instance, the unions came together and drew up a health and safety demand for their workers. Similarly, whatever Fedraw and women's organisations would agree upon on the kind of demands pertaining to maternity rights, family planning, abortion etc, would form part of the health charter. In other words, the health charter itself will not be the work of health professionals alone but will incorporate the community as well. The health charter will serve as a unifying factor between the so-called professional and the lay person.



Unequal distribution of resources

Q: WHAT ELSE DO YOU SEE AS THE ROLE OF SAHWCO, GIVEN THE FACT THAT IT IS NOT A UNION PER SE, BUT A STRUCTURE WITH A VERY BROAD MANDATE, WHICH OTHER STRATEGIC AREAS DO YOU FEEL HAVE NOT BEEN SUFFICIENTLY ATTENDED TO?

SAHWCO: I would view Sahwco as a political organisation in the health sector. We hope to be integrated more in the struggle against apartheid health and all its manifestations. We are involved in the struggle to establish democracy in our country. That is a major thing that will have a very

decisive effect on the lives of our people. So our area of involvement, I think, is to reach out to communities to provide not only relief programmes, but also to conscientise and organise those communities on health and its relation to the broad national democratic struggle. When organising people around health issues, we do not just stop there we emphasize the importance of people running those health structures themselves. In the process, they will discover the problems caused by apartheid to good health. In a nutshell, those areas we feel must receive top priority on Sahwco's programme

Q: WHERE DOES SAHWCO PLACE PRIVATE PRACTITIONERS?

SAHWCO: We recognise their role as very vital during unrests as well as in emergency situations when a so called low income group person has to deliver a baby, a private practitioner often has to help without charging a fee. We appeal to them to keep doing the good work among the people. They should avail their surgeries and skills selflessly to the people particularly in times of crisis.

Q: HOW DOES SAHWCO VIEW THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF HEALTH AND THE WAY HEALTH RESOURCES ARE DISTRIBUTED IN THE COUNTRY?

SAHWCO: Health resources are dominated and controlled by whites in the country. In terms of health care, the majority of the people, blacks, are shut out from the decision-making process. Health services in our country

are separate and unequal. Although the government would like to make us believe that they are separate but equal, the health budget shows that this is not true. Health care is fragmented in South Africa, you find that there are 14 ministers of health and this obviously results in the waste of resources. This can well be seen in increasing privatisation, increasing hospital fees etc.

By so doing the state is pushing health care beyond the reach of the working class.

Sharp differences also exist between health budget for the urban and rural areas. A survey for one fiscal year has

shown that KwaZulu had an overall expenditure of R60 million whereas Johannesburg General Hospital alone used the same amount for the same period to run that hospital. This shows a dichotomy that exists between rural and urban health care. We also know that the so-called bantustans are dumping grounds for the old, the poor, women, children and the ill. Health facilities are obviously neglected where they are most required.

The government would rather spend more on defence than on health and health care. In 1983/84 the defence ministry spent R3.092 bn. Over the same period the budget for health and welfare was R1.33 bn. The total expenditure for Baragwanath and General Hospital for the period 1985/86 was +/- R95 m for each. Baragwanath admits 120 380 patients, whereas Johannesburg General caters for 28 000. This represents 1/6 th of the total patients at Bara. Outpatients at Bara was 1.3 m whereas JHB General numbered 400 000.

This has disastrous and adverse effects on health. Blacks, by far, suffer from infectious diseases which are easily preventable. SA has one of the highest rates of malnutrition in Africa. In a country which produces almost 110% of its food supplies, you find it strange that blacks still die of malnutrition. Every year 30 000 to 40 000 children die of malnutrition. This is an average of 4-5 a day. It is totally unacceptable to find such a horrifying picture in a country as rich as South Africa. Tuberculosis which was totally wiped out in Europe and South America claims the lives of blacks at rate of 20 per day. There are 60 000 new cases of TB diagnosed every year. This figure could easily be put at 120 000 if we include the homelands. Whites suffer from diseases of affluence, similar to populations in North America and Europe, that is, chronic heart disease, strokes, etc. Also we find South Africa has developed a heart transplant, and also some advanced form of artificial insemination which helps women to fall pregnant.

Therefore we find it strange that children still die from diseases that could easily be prevented if the government instituted proper care. To illustrate this fact - the SA government only spent between 3 - 5 % of its total health budget on preventative programmes such as immunisation, polio, TB, etc. The state pays very little attention to issues like pap smear, which Provincial Administrations no longer do because of the cost factor. In a country where cancer of the cervix has one of the highest rates in the world, we still find that pap smears are no longer being done.

Q: SOUTH AFRICA IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST INFANT MORTALITY RATE, WHY IS IT SO?

A NURSING SISTER, WHO WAS PART OF THE PANEL, GIVES HER VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE.

Yes, it is true that South Africa is one of the countries with the highest infant mortality rate and African children being the victims. The reasons are, inter alia, lack of health facilities especially in the rural areas, and lack of community based health education. No effort is being made to reach the mother and child in the community.

When we talk of education in the community, we mean that education should be given at a primary level where a person is not yet sick, and in this way he/she can be brought up to take health issues very seriously as they are the pillars of life in every country. The community members encounters health education only when they go to hospitals and clinics, but if health education was taken to the communities, a vast area of preventative measures could have been covered.

Mothers are not given the opportunity to bring up their children as they have to go to work daily. Important things

such as breast-feeding are discontinued at a very early stage of the baby's life. Many children die because of the lack of proper nutrition and parasitic infection. This is often aggravated by a lack of proper sanitation and adequate water supplies.

Also, in relation to the causes of the high mortality rate, is the health of the mother. Most of the pregnant mothers are working so they haven't got enough time to go to the clinic so that their health status could be monitored. As a result, the majority of mothers go into labour suffering from one or the other disease and thus affecting the health of the child. How do we see ourselves as Health workers tackling the issue of an increasing mortality rate?

Firstly, it is through direct intervention through our community structures, such as community health committees or projects, that exist in rural and squatter areas where there is a lack of education as far as health issues are concerned. This is where we will be able to educate mothers on how to take care of their children, feeding as well as introduce family planning.

Also how we plan to conduct this, is through direct education where our media becomes important. We also see ourselves working with unions.

Q: I PICKED UP FROM WHAT YOU'VE BEEN SAYING, THAT PEOPLE ENCOUNTER HEALTH EDUCATION ONLY WHEN THEY GO TO THE CLINICS. WHAT AMOUNT OF WORK HAS BEEN DONE TO BRING HEALTH EDUCATION TO COMMUNITIES, WITHOUT COMMUNITIES GOING TO THE CLINICS BECAUSE NOT EVERYONE GOES TO THE CLINICS?

What we have done before, was to come out with educational leaflets, for instance, if you look at our Aids leaflet, it shows that any sickness is directly related to apartheid.

Through community health projects we encourage people to come to the clinic even if they are not sick, where there are talks on health every week. So not only do we encourage people to come to the clinic, but also be able to get health education. Apart from that we were able to set up community health committees. These are community based structures that are there to help bridge the gap between health workers and the community. Through these structures we would be able to reach out into the community. We would also be able, through these structures, to teach ordinary people about health issues. These ordinary people will also be trained as village health workers. So we see that it will not only be the task of health workers to promote good health.

Q: DO TRAINEES COME TO HEALTH CENTRES OR IS IT THE DUTY OF SAHWCO TO REACH OUT TO THE COMMUNITIES?

If we talk about community based education, as health workers we must reach out into the community, not that community members should come to the health centres. The present increase in tariffs at government health centres is another way of discouraging them not to go to the health centres. So you find that people are increasingly keeping away from such centres because they can't afford it.

Q: WHAT HAS SAHWCO DONE AS FAR AS DEVELOPING STRUCTURES IN THE COMMUNITIES IS CONCERNED AND RAISING THE HEALTH CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE PEOPLE?

We have set up community clinics in Jacksonsdrift and



Is health a right or a privilege?

Chickens Farm. We have already started setting up health committees in Tembisa and Johannesburg. Such committees consist of representatives from different community organisations. Through these structures we are able to get through to the community.

Q: HOW MANY HEALTH WORKERS, PART-TIME MEMBERS OR OTHER STRUCTURES ARE INVOLVED TO ENSURE REGULAR FLOW OF EDUCATION INTO THAT AND HOW IS IT OPERATED?

In each branch, from the National Executive to the regional level, we've got somebody who is the co-ordinator of community projects. We don't have permanent people who are running those projects. They are being run on a voluntary basis, mainly by youth.

The community project co-ordinator does not work alone. He/she forms a sub-committee to ensure the smooth running of the clinic, such as whether there are enough people to go to the clinic, or whether there is sufficient supply of drugs, etc. On a community level, we have tried to rebuild community health structures where they have collapsed.

We also went to an extent where we tried to form street committees, but these have failed due to threats received from the town councillors that people would be evicted if they belonged to such structures. Presently we have a group of people from the community that are interested in the clinic. What we have done to ensure that the community becomes interested in the clinic, is by giving them the responsibility of opening up the clinic and keeping the keys with them.

At Jacksonsdrift we even went further by showing them how to pull out cards, how to take temperatures, how to interpret prescriptions, etc. No health education can take place without consultations with the community on what they need to know.

Q: THERE HAS BEEN TALK OF FIRST AID UNITS ESPECIALLY IN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS. TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THE HEALTH WORKERS CONGRESS BEEN INVOLVED IN IT?

We have what we call, the Emergency Health Team, this was launched just shortly after the launch of the UDF. When the Tvl region of the Front was launched, we were approached to provide a first aid team. We were the first organisation to respond to this. Initially it started off at rallies, meetings and cultural events where HWA members set up a team. Each team consisted of doctors, nurses, radiologists, clerks and other health workers who were prepared to treat people who suffer from minor injuries. We then became involve in a number of issues where we had to treat patients who were injured as result of state intervention. The first incident was at the time of the tricameral elections in the so-called coloured and Indian areas.

In Lenasia, for example, we treated 140 people who had been either sjambokked, teargassed or shot with rubber bullets. After this there was the Vaal uprising in 1985. Subsequently, whenever there have been days of major significance to the democratic movement, we have been either on standby or provided a service.

At the moment there are a number of organisations looking at setting up a crisis management committee which would be in a position to treat people who have been injured as a result of police action. Besides this, is also the question of training community health workers and community members in first aid. And this went extremely well up to know. We see this as important because in times of unrest the police seal off the areas and health workers can't get into the area and injured people can't come out. So we need to train more and more people in the community, not only in basic first aid, but also other simple remedies which could save lives.

HEALTH IS OUR RIGHT!

SOUTH AFRICAN HEALTH WORKER'S CONGRESS

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE ANC

SASPU NATIONAL examines this relationship and the way in which the alliance itself is structured.

Sources close to the SACP points out that there is no real difference between the ANC and the Party. The ANC sees itself and is also seen by activists inside the country as spearheading the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses for the overthrow of the racist regime and the transfer of power from the racists to the people. The Communist Party holds the same view of the ANC in the alliance and accepts the ANC's programme for liberation, the Freedom Charter.

Despite accepting the Freedom Charter, the South African Communist Party holds an independent position of its own regarding the class nature of the struggle and how each organisation addresses itself to it. But however, the political reality of the situation in South Africa, according to the Party is that the "burning question for now is the establishment of a national democratic state - this is what the ANC is primarily fighting for. But the party on the other hand goes further than that.

The Party occupies a very special place in as far as the liberation struggle is concerned. It is recognised as the vanguard of our working class.

TWO STAGE THEORY

The ANC/SACP alliance strongly believe in the two stage phase of the South African revolution. However, as it is pointed out, these stages are intertwined and does not take place in isolation from one another. The first phase of the revolution, known as the national democratic phase, involves the transfer of power from the racist minority to the exploited masses of SA. After the seizure of political power

The belief among apologists of the apartheid regime is that the SACP dominates over the ANC and that it has influence as far as the movement's decision making is concerned.

This has generated debate within the circles of the ruling block and imperialists all over the world. They have actually questioned the status of each organisation within the alliance.

comes the transition from capitalism to socialism. This is known as the socialist revolution. The success of this transition from capitalism to socialism will depend how strongly the working class assert its leadership role over that of the other classes with whom they have formed alliances.

At its 1969 Morogoro Conference, the ANC adopted a key document called "Strategy and Tactics", it declared that behind the monopoly of the country's resources by the whites, lies the true base of white "baasskap". National liberation has no meaning without the redistribution of land.

"A Person doesn't need to be a communist to realise that there exist a simbiotic relationship between white "baaskap" and white dominated capitalism."

An SACP-spokesperson at last year's Leverkusen Conference, said that one need not to be communist to realise the simbiotic relationship between white "baaskap" and white dominated capitalism. All patriots, communists and non-communist believe that liberation goes beyond just the seizure of power. It also involves changing the mode of production from the ownership of the capitalists to the people.

The SACP belief that it is the task of the ANC to form alliances with the existing classes. Members of the Party also believe that it would be historically wrong for the ANC to adopt a

socialist platform as this would isolate the other classes and change the role that the movement plays currently, that of uniting all classes under the banner of national liberation.

The Party, on the other hand, takes on the role as the political vanguard of the working class. It consists of the most advance representatives of the working class whose role is to conscientize workers on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The line stressed by the Party is that of: Don't ask whether the struggle is a class struggle or a national struggle. The two are intertwined. This, activists stress, depend on our understanding of the class content of the national liberation struggle and the national content of the class struggle.

The SACP belief that the immediate objective of the revolution is the liberation of the nationally oppressed and exploited masses of SA. By putting all its energy into the national character of the South African revolution, the Party wants to ensure that the eventual outcome of the revolution would ensure a socialist victory.

MIXED ECONOMY

The Party acknowledges that the Freedom Charter itself is not a socialist document. It represents the minimum demands of the people. Together with the ANC it believes in a mixed

economy as the first phase of a post-apartheid SA. Small businesses will be protected, however, this does not apply to the big monopolies owned by the capitalists. The wealth that are being accumulated by a hand full of racists and exploiters will be seized and redistributed among the rest of SA people.

A new government, based on the will of all the people of SA, would want to prevent economic chaos from taking place. The sharing of the country's wealth and resources will not mean the physical sharing of these things. For example, farms owned by white farmers would not be divided in different parts and given to each individual farm worker, but they will have an equal say in the decision-making processes of these farms or factories.

CONCLUSION

According to leading activists within the mass democratic movement, one does not have to be a communist to realise that it is unacceptable that a minority should enjoy 95% of the wealth and income of the country's resources. This is exactly why the ANC and SACP saw the need to end this injustice and unfair practices by the white minority.

For as long as the majority of South Africa's people remain in political and economic bondage, there will be a need for organisations such as the ANC and SACP. Until such time that the SA government agrees to end the inhuman system of apartheid and choose to negotiate with the true representatives of the people, both inside the country and those in exile and offers to address their legitimate grievances, opposition - violent or non-violent to its rule will continue.

A PERSPECTIVE ON NEGOTIATIONS — VIEW OF THE MDM



INTRODUCTION

1.1 The question is again being raised with growing enthusiasm in our country and the world. Just as there are different parties who are interested in this matter, their interest, motives and approaches differ greatly. We must carefully consider this issue, so that we correctly gauge their relative power and determine what the oppressed can gain by negotiations.

1.2 We must formulate a clear view on negotiations. Our organisations and the

masses as a whole need to discuss this question thoroughly. The discussions have to focus on such key questions as:

- ◆ the aim of negotiations;
- ◆ how the process will unfold;
- ◆ the necessary mechanism for negotiations;
- ◆ how long the process will take;
- ◆ how it relates to other forms of struggle; and
- ◆ who should take part in such negotiations.

1.3 In order to facilitate such a discussion, we need to have a clear grasp of the

current political and economic context within which the question of negotiations is being raised. There is, therefore, a need to focus on the key political, economic and other factors that motivate the different actors in this scenario – what is the balance of forces? What problems confront the regime? What is the state of the Democratic Movement? What are the views and positions of each of these in turn?

2. THE MAIN VIEWS ON AND APPROACHES TO NEGOTIATIONS

2.1. The regime and its allies, like Thatcher and Kohl, see negotiations as from, or an alternative, and a counter to the mass offensive against apartheid and the demand for people's power. Their approach aims at demobilising the masses and easing international pressure on Pretoria.

They want to prevent fundamental changes by, among other things, substituting the protection of white privileges for the demands and aspirations of the Freedom Charter. Pretoria wants to make the tri-cameral parliament and the "Great Indaba" the bases

and framework of negotiations.

Various tactics and tricks are used to achieve these aims. Some of these are: parading the regime as a peace-maker in Namibia and pretending, as Thatcher does, that there is a strategic stalemate between the democratic movement and the regime, which calls for an outside force to break it. Thatcher hopes that her government will play the role of an "honest broker" and thus steer negotiations towards the common aims of her government and the NP.

2.2 The Democratic Movement and the oppressed see negotiations and the mass offensive as twin instruments for ending oppression, transferring political power from the white minority regime to the democratic majority of all black and white South Africans, as well as instruments for transforming SA into a democratic, non-racial and united country. This approach is guided by the basic aims of our struggle as set out in the Freedom Charter and the mass momentum of struggle on the ground. This rising tempo of mass struggle, which no state terror can hold back, is the key factor that plunged the regime into deep crisis, and forced it, together with its allies, into pretending it wants genuine negotiations.

THE NATURE OF THE CRISIS FACING THE REGIME

1. THE REGIME FACES A FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL CRISIS

a. The bodies of minority rule: the BLA's, the MC's and the white house of assembly were dealt a devastating blow in the October Elections.

The regime's hopes of smashing the MDM and replacing it with more collaborators co-opted to its side, have been dashed. Its

reimposition if the the emergency shows that it fears the power of democratic organisations with wide popular support.

b. The Bantustan schemes are totally discredited and unworkable.

Neither intimidation through repression nor trickery has breathed life into the bantustan model. The masses cannot be fooled and rejected bantustans to this day.

c. Cuito Cuanavale was a humiliating defeat for Pretoria's armed forces. The SADF soldiers had to run with their tails between their legs. The balance of forces in the region has been irreversibly changed and the myth of SA's invincibility has been smashed. Pretoria cannot use this myth too boost the morale of its dwindling support base. Thus, defeat and the prospect of an independent Namibia, have boosted the morale of the oppressed, and demoralised and confused the white minority!

d. Military incursions into the townships and neighbouring states have worsened world hostility towards the regime. Apartheid rule depends on war against the oppressed and aggression against the independent neighbouring states. The apartheid war-machine cannot be a force for peace; its entire training and goals are those of aggression in SA and the whole of the Southern African region.

e. There are deep divisions in the ruling bloc.

The wrangle between F.W. and P.W. reflects deeper tension between the securocrats and the reformists. The reformists want to maintain a semblance of National Party "democracy" and parliamentary rule, whereas the securocrats have only contempt for parliament and prefer to impose "military solutions"!

f. More and more whites are losing faith in the regime's ability to guarantee their privileges and still maintain stability.

There is a deep crisis of confidence in the dwindling social base of the NP. Some of its past supporters have joined the far right-wing in the vain hope of recapturing the past. Others are throwing in their lot with the oppressed, by either joining or moving closer to the democratic movement.

g. The ANC enjoys more credibility than Pretoria. Business people, academics, students, sports persons and ordinary whites are looking to the ANC for a solution, and by-passing the NP. Fewer and fewer people believe that the NP has the answers about the future.

h. There is mounting pressure for the release of Mandela and other leaders of the people.

The whole world, including the regime's allies, is calling for the release of Mandela. The regime fears to acknowledge the people's victory by releasing their leaders. It fears losing both more of its supporters, who will see this as a betrayal. Pretoria is not confident that it will remain in control against the overwhelming popularity of the released leaders.

2. THE REGIME FACES A DEEP ECONOMIC CRISIS

a. Pretoria is confronted with a shrinking economy:

i. It cannot find more finance for its military machine.

ii. It cannot finance both repression and reform, or offer more inducements for its puppets.

iii. The elaborate and wasteful bureaucracy is becoming increasingly unaffordable. Public sector personnel are feeling the

pinch of the wage-freeze and [are] becoming demoralised.

iv. The NP has a record of economic mismanagement, for example: the Information and the DET computer scandals; the backing of Renamo and other forces of distabilisation. Its puppet structures are riddled with corruption and crooks like Rajbanji.

v. White workers becoming estranged with the government, because of the growing threat of unemployment and the fear that they will lose their privilege of protected jobs and higher wages.

vi. The combined effect of the trade-embargo, sanctions, absence of new investments is being felt deep in the ruling bloc. The trade embargo and balance of payments crisis has led to increased import duty – thus making it difficult to obtain both consumer goods and technology necessary for improving the quality of local manufacture.

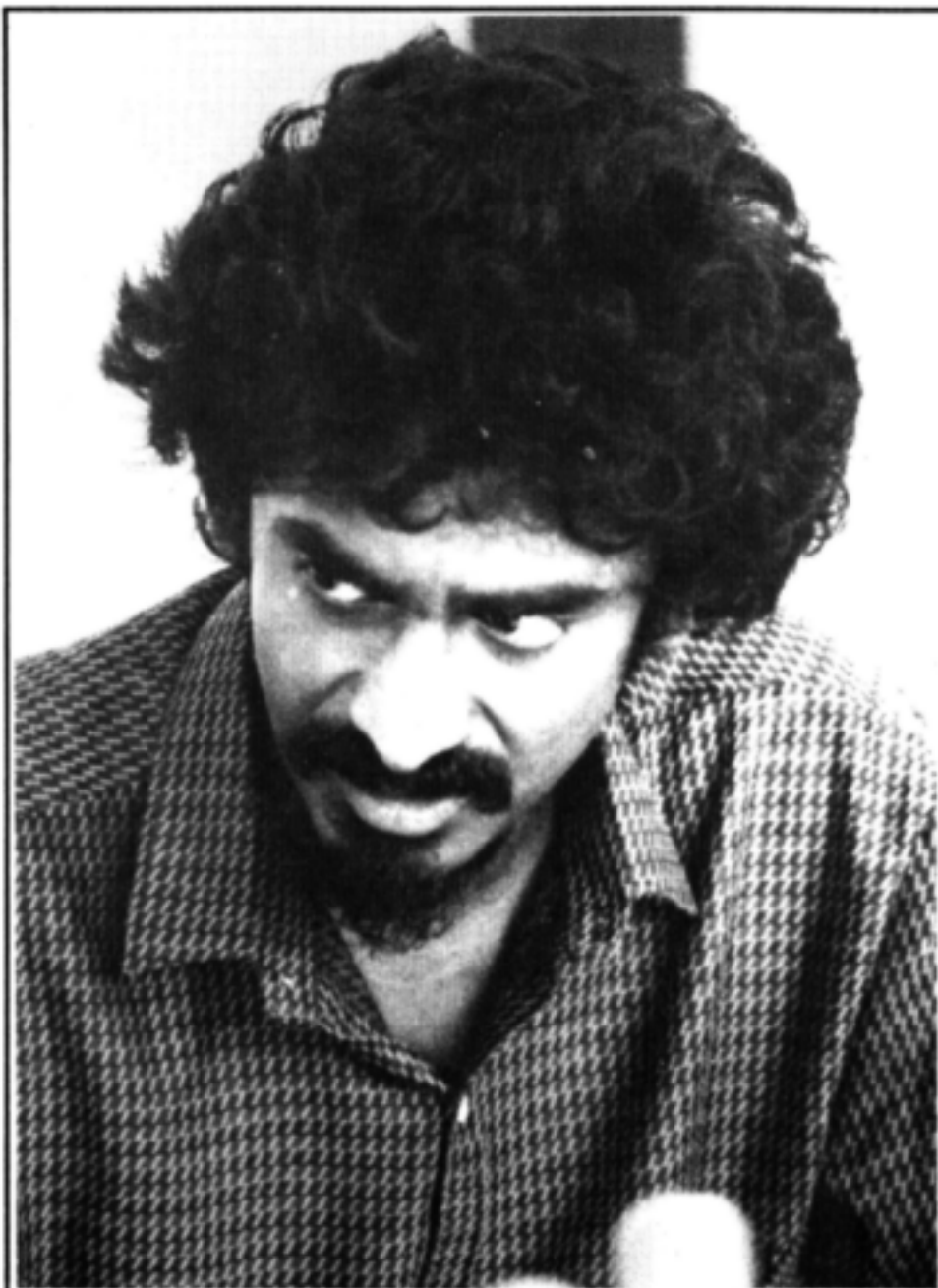
vii. The regime is battling to secure the rescheduling of foreign debts.

viii. There is a growing shortage of local government revenue, because of the rent-boycott campaign and further pressures for the government to fulfill its social responsibility – which it tries to avoid through privatisation.

x. South Africa's gold reserves are declining and the state is desperate to obtain gold-swaps which most countries are not willing to provide.

xi. The regime's attacks on labour, through laws like the LRA, are generating instability on the factory floor, disrupting production and scaring investors away.

THE MDM MEETS THE ANC



THIS is the full text of the official report of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 6 1989 between Cosatu, executive members of the UDF and the full NEC of the ANC.

It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement.

The meeting dealt with the key issues facing our struggle. The agenda covered the following issues:

1. Assessment
2. Negotiations
3. The Way Forward

1. ASSESSMENT:

A presentation from the Mass Democratic

Movement covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the MDM.

Several weaknesses of the MDM were also raised, viz, our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary on this point we concluded that our strategic perspective remains one of offensive action against the regime, and that the "volcanic material" of an upsurge is

building up. We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of firing up the imagination of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

2. NEGOTIATIONS

Our discussions on this issue produced the following general perspective:

In 1987, when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, that is, that it could not consider negotiations unless certain pre-conditions were fulfilled. For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency be lifted, etc.

The apartheid regime was

not prepared to make any moves and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the regime by all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again. There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987.

As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations. Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that:

* Does not create confusion or division in our ranks.

- * Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses.
- * Does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international area.
- * Results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime.

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

Information regarding negotiation initiatives

2.1 BRITISH.

Britain has been preparing for PW Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with blacks, white liberals, businessmen, etc.

The Foreign Office also wants to establish links with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC, but Downing Street believes that a solution can be found without the ANC.

2.2 USA

The Americans want to initiate a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiations". They believe objectives for such a process of negotiations will develop in the course of meetings. They believe this is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 PIK BOTHA — THATCHER MEETING

Pik Botha told Thatcher the reformers in the cabinet have the upper hand. F.W. De Klerk's Transvaal base is reduced and as a result he has to rely more heavily on the "reformers". The reformers want Thatcher to influence Africans to enter the process of elections, etc.

2.4 CONTACT GROUP IDEA

Britain does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of

the big powers. When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations. Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG still came to SA.

The question of what our response to this type of initiative could be needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 FW'S PLAN FOR A "REPRESENTATIVE FORUM"

FW de Klerk is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "representative forum" of all race groups which is likely to be quite soon. At the point of establishing this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity. Presently there is already some kind of anti-sanctions campaign.

2.6 FRONTLINE STATES
Zambia has a predisposition towards negotiations and has already stated its desire, should SA establish its bona fides, to invite SA to a Frontline States meeting. Mozambique and SA already have such contact and Comrade Eduardo Dos Santos has said - in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations - that "we may not have the time to develop that position of strength".

There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline States to re-build their economies should the South African "issue" be resolved. One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant destabilisation caused by South Africa. The pressure this places on the Frontline states to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious.

The role played by the Frontline states in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continue with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be remembered.

Part of Thatcher's mission in southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline states for her planned initiatives.

2.7 OTHER ALLIES

At a recent meeting between the Chinese and our comrades, the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule. Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modification of the status quo as a starting point.

There are indications from the Soviet Union that they are prepared to work for a peaceful settlement of the South African issue side-by-side with the West.

The contact group being proposed by Maggie Thatcher could include some of our closest friends.

The state of emergency will be lifted after the September elections. Comrade Mandela and other high profile political prisoners will be released (Comrade Walter Sisulu is expected to be released well before the elections), legislation to be passed to allow Africans into parliament, and an African could even be brought into the Cabinet.

There is a person already being mooted in their circles for this position.

Together with this, an announcement by FW de Klerk inviting all South Africans to an open-ended "indaba" conference to negotiate a new dispensation for SA.

At the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop. This

would put pressure on the ANC to become involved and stop the armed struggle.

2.9 OUR PERSPECTIVES

Negotiations are again a matter for discussion because of the manoeuvres of imperialists which have some support of our long established friends. The imperialist wants a modified/reformed capitalist society to replace the apartheid regime. This is quite different to what we have been fighting for...

Alternatively, how do we respond or enter the process planned?

We have to dictate the terms of change. Nothing should start to which we are opposed.

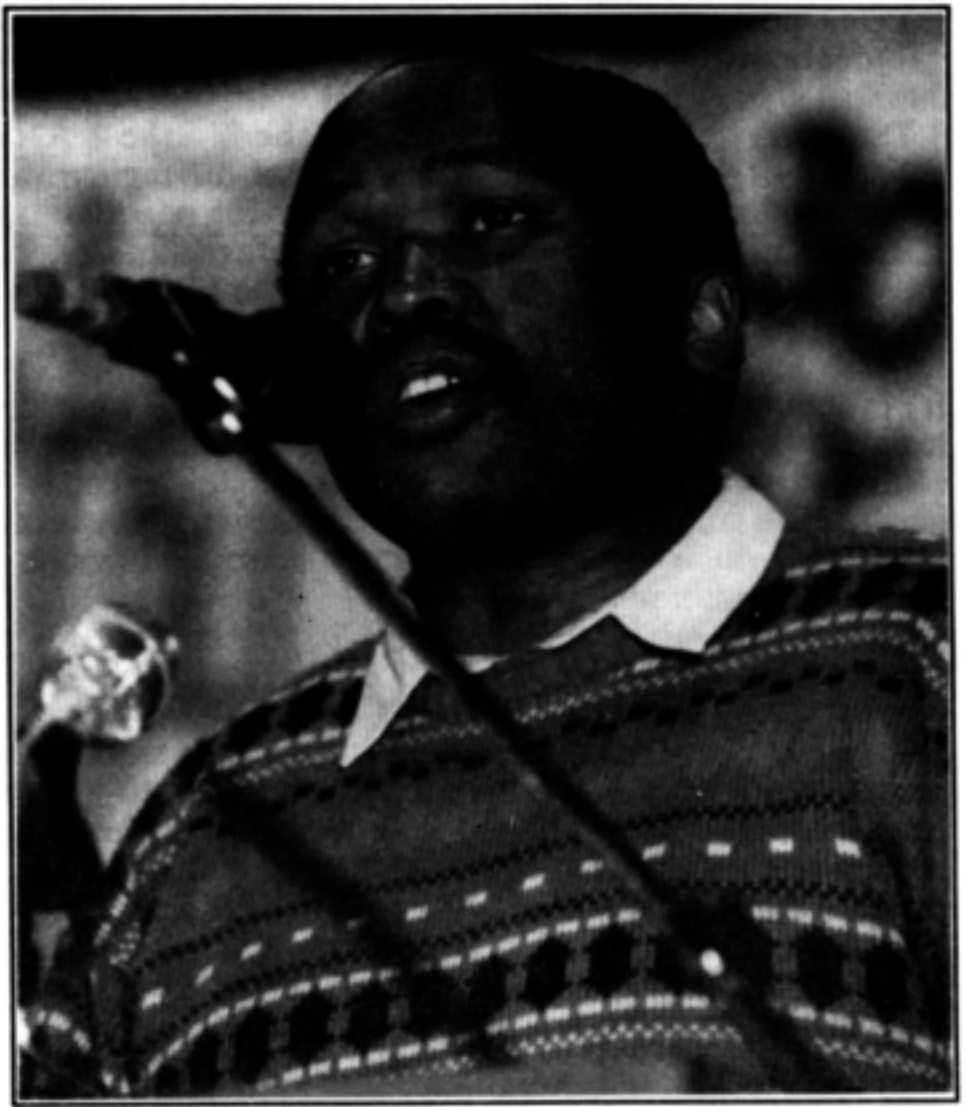
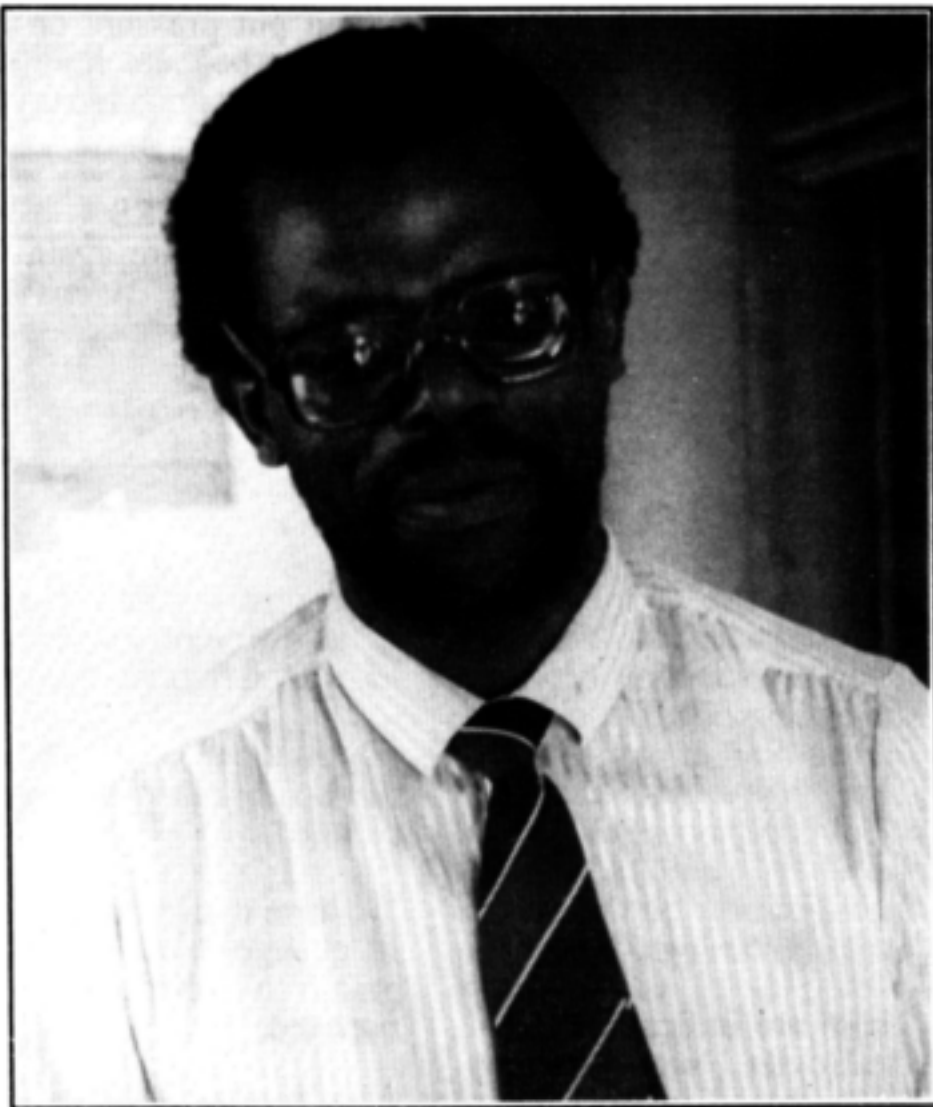
Our struggle is to take control of the process and ensure that negotiations, should they come, are genuine and serious.

For this reason it is important that:

- * We should all have the same agreed positions both inside and outside South Africa.
- * We have a strategy to remain in control so those who intervene have to deal with our position.
- * Our position should become an all-African position. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The Frontline have a crucial role in this.

We have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something. The world must deal with our proposal rather than we having to deal with another initiative. This would place us at an advantage and give us the ability to control and direct the process. We have to find ways of using the issue of negotiation to further divide/disrupt the ruling class rather than have the issue divide us.

In arriving at an acceptable



proposal we have to ensure we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations. Also we have to ensure that we do not demobilise the masses and that there is widespread consultation among our people.

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL

We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement.

We need to ask whether the pre-conditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives. From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the pre-conditions. Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions.

Some ideas for dealing with this situation is to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which

would be empowered to draw up a constitution.

- * Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?
- * How would such an assembly be composed?
- * How do we negotiate over the establishment of such an assembly? These are some of the questions to be addressed.

There is another idea, going together with the idea of the constituent assembly, that the parliament(s) should be suspended and an interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of the armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement.

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire". Do we need one for the purpose of a proposal?

There are no definite

answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels. We therefore need to act swiftly, taking everything that has been said above.

The OAU summit meets 29-31 July and is therefore crucial in formulating an all-African position on the issue of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to pre-empt any other initiative we would to win support for our position, once it is worked out, by that date.

3. THE WAY FORWARD
Discussions on the way forward produced the following conclusions:

3.1 BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION

- * We need to restructure the Mass Democratic Movement organisations.
- * We must build unity with

the MDM and broader forces.

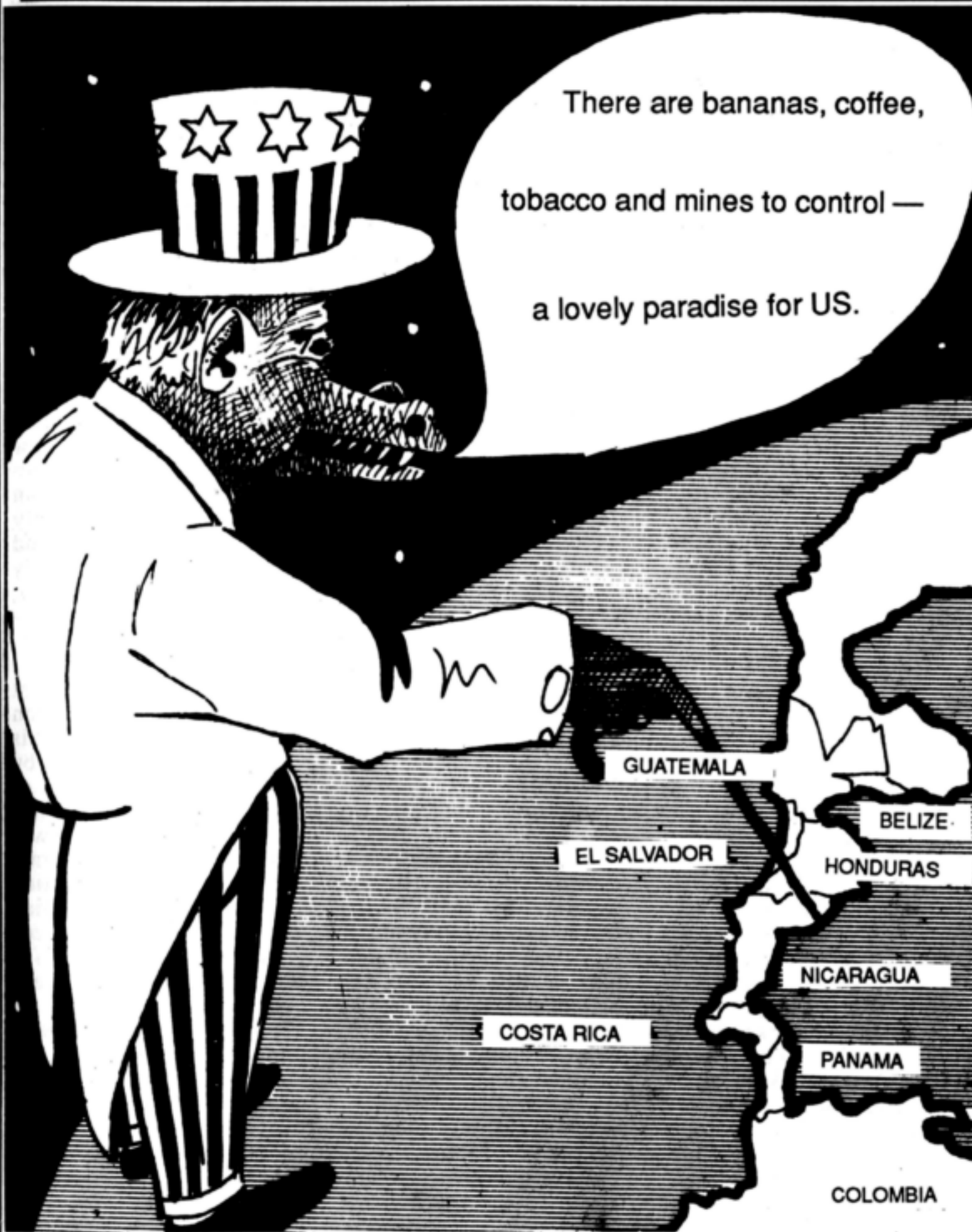
- * Discussions on the Constitutional Guidelines must be deepened.
- * The issue of negotiations must be discussed.
- * The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified.

3.2 CAMPAIGNS

- * A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our campaigns to be challenge to the regime.
- * The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupation) must be looked at.
- * Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include: Housing, Namibia and the September Elections.

In conclusion, we need to aim for the Workers Summit "of Action" in August followed by our action of September versus the action of the enemy.

IMPERIALIST WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA



foreign corporations was also nationalised.

The early 19th century Nicaragua never had a solid national government. Spain pulled out of Central America in 1821 and left Nicaragua in the hands of conservative and liberal political parties which dominated Nicaraguan politics for the next 150 years.

The Conservatives were aristocratic land owners, cattle ranchers and large merchants, descendants of the colonial military and bureaucratic elites backed by the Church hierarchy.

The Liberals were made up of small land owners and artisans, less influential in Central America. Their intention was to create a Central American federation which would break with colonialism and develop wider export markets for the Nicaraguan products.

These differences between the Conservatives and the Liberals prevented the development of a strong unified national bourgeoisie. Conservatives were based in Granada and Liberals in Leon.

Nicaragua was fragmented into two geopolitical entities independent of one another and this prevented the creation of one Nicaraguan nation. They operated as two states in one country; each with its own police force, shops, and even currency. They enjoyed their own independent transport infrastructure and distribution networks. They also used their own separate ports for foreign trade.

Intervention by the major powers such as Britain, Germany or North America appealed to the Conservatives as a source of commercial crumbs falling from the table of the big

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution that brought about the collapse of Imperialist-controlled dictatorship of the Somoza family. In this issue, SASPU National traces the history of this small Central American country and the many decades of American exploitation of its resources and manipulation of its sovereignty.

July 19 marks a very important period in the history of the victorious people of Nicaragua. During this period the popular Sandinista Front for the Liberation of Nicaragua (FSLN) led an armed mass insurrection resulting in the overthrow of the forty-six-year long US-backed dictatorship of the Somoza dynasty.

After only eleven days in

power, the FSLN National Directorate announced sweeping changes regarding class ownership of property in Nicaragua. This began with the expropriation of the Somocista's land which was distributed to the peasants. Four months after this, all foreign-owned mines were nationalised - and by December of the following year, the production of Banana, largely in the hands of

masters, while the latter treaties signed by the United States with the Conservatives sold off more and more of Nicaragua's sovereignty. The participation of local capital in the economy of Nicaragua was insignificant.

The operations of the foreign-owned companies were not taxed and their decisions were made abroad and unconnected to either the productive or the political apparatus of the Nicaraguan state. The main raw materials such as bananas, rubber and gold were produced in enclaves owned by the United States capital and they remained separate from national economy.

Treaties consolidated US control over Nicaragua. A dispute between the US and Britain over the opportunities offered by the Spanish pullout was inevitable. To avoid unnecessary outbreak of war, a treaty was signed allowing both countries the canal zone which was of strategic importance for the exploitation of the common agricultural products such as banana, coffee and rubber in the whole of Central America.

This agreement was called the 1850 Clayton-Bulwar Treaty and the Cass-Irisry and Dickinson-Ayon Treaties of 1858 and 1867. These treaties extended US rights of free transit through Nicaragua and expanding the US plantation system throughout Central America.

Contrary to their founding principles, the Liberals were flirting around with a certain shrewd North American adventurer and politician named William Walker. Walker was known to have attempted to take personal control of Central America at some point around the 1850s. He led an armed expedition into Central America and managed to make himself "president" of Nicaragua for a two years. Walker's aim was to reestablish slavery in Central America and open

Nicaragua for the US financial interests. Nearly the whole of Central America was mobilized against his manoeuvres.

He was later brought to aid the Liberal cause in Nicaragua. Consequently, the Conservative exploited the blunder of the Liberals - and through this, rendered them unpopular in Nicaragua from 1857 to 1893 wherein the Conservative Government turned the country into a state at the service of foreign interests.

Britain, isolated from Nicaragua for nearly four decades, also came up against a new current of Liberal nationalism at the end of the century. Although they briefly asserted their claims to the Mosquito Coast by landing Royal Marines in Bluefields and the Rio San Juan in 1893, they were lambasted by Nicaraguan troops of the Liberal president Jose Santos Zelaya. Zelaya performed all these military wonders with the assistance of the United State.

The 19th century rule of the Conservatives pursued the anti-nationalist course until 1893 when the liberals took control of Nicaragua. On resting assured that his country's internal and external enemies have been smashed, Zelaya then converted his regime into a dictatorship. The armed forces were modernized by his creation of a military academy and improving the quality of his troops' weapons to machine guns.

The short period he stayed in power was by rigging the elections. It is said that one day the campesino voters were given the choice of three candidates; Jose, Santos or Zelaya. All those names are Zelaya's and naturally, he 'won' the elections by landslide. Despite that, the unscrupulous Zelaya brought changes to Nicaragua. He modernised the state, opened the railways and improved communications network in a way which would

efficiently serve the new requirements of an economy oriented to agricultural export. Zelaya's nationalism and the first attempts to weld together a coherent state in Nicaragua soon came into open conflict with US policies.

In 1908 Zelaya contracted a large loan from the British Ethelburg finance syndicate to construct a railway. This was vigorously challenged by the US Secretary of State Knox. Washington accused Zelaya of infringing the Monroe Doctrine by entering into such close relationships with foreign powers. This Doctrine asserted US as the only power authorised to intervene in all political decisions of Central America.

The following year Zelaya executed two Americans sent to sabotage government ships in the Atlantic port of Bluefields during an uprising by the Conservatives. This gave the US the pretext it needed. Knox broke off the diplomatic relations and sent four hundred US marines to protect the Conservative revolt. Zelaya was overthrown. He was replaced by Jose Madriz whom the US refused to recognise because he also, was a liberal. He was intimidated out of power by the mere presence of US troops without a shot being fired.

Washington duly installed Adolfo Diaz, a Conservative account employee of a US company, as president of Nicaragua. After the stability of the Zelaya regime, open conflict broke out again. By the end of 1911, Diaz was incapable of controlling Liberal and Nationalist opposition and claims for limited bourgeois democracy, and he invoked his only real power base in a note to the US Embassy:

"The serious danger which beset us can only be destroyed by skilful and efficient aid from the United States, like that which

produced such good result in Cuba

"For this reason it is my intention, through a treaty with the American government, to modify or enlarge the Constitution ... permitting the United States to intervene in our internal affairs in order to maintain peace". The US-backed Conservative order brutally reasserted in 1912, when General Benjamin Zeledon, formerly a minister in Zelaya's cabinet, led a rebellion against Diaz. Again, Diaz called in the Marines.

When they arrived, they found in Zeledon's movement an entirely new phenomenon; the embryo of popular resistance, an army of patriots largely composed of peasants and poor artisans. They quickly took control of Masaya, Jinotepe and Leon - they even laid siege to Managua.

The US troops stormed in at Masaya and killed Zeledon with the other 600 of his followers. America was by this time in full control of events in Nicaragua. When this ephemeral skirmish was ended, the US left an army of 100, called the Legation Guard. The Diaz government was "favoured" by the United States for time being. They were given loans to pay-off the European debts - in this way paving way for uninterrupted US domination over Nicaragua.

Americans then appointed a controller of customs revenue and assured effective control of Nicaraguan government on a monthly basis. 51% of shares in the National Bank were 'handed' over to US bankers, and the tax laws and currency overhauled according to Washington's wishes. By the time of the presidency of General Emeliano Chamorro who came to power in 1906, financial control had been neatly formalised in a three-man committee composed of the Nicaraguan Minister of Finance and two North Americans, of whom one



was a State Department nominee.

The arrangement was known as the 'Lansing Plan' resulting in the signing of an agreement called the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty. This treaty gave the United States exclusive rights in perpetuity to construct a canal on Nicaraguan territory, and rights to build a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca which separates Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador.

In exchange, the Nicaraguan Conservative received \$3 million, which went straight to New York to pay off interest on loans. The hand over of Nicaragua to the United States was now complete. Emeliano Chomorro started showing tendencies of personal ambition when he attempted to bypass the Constitution and have himself elected to a second presidential term in 1920. He thought all these concessions would

buy US silence. The US quickly sent in an academic from Princeton University to redraft the country's electoral laws.

The Conservative Party was never returned to power, instead, the 1925 election brought in an unstable coalition of dissident Conservatives and Liberals. The president was a Conservative Carlos Solozano and his deputy was the Liberal Juan Bautista Sacaza who was supported by an emergent Liberal called Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

Reluctant to directly intervene in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, the United States sought a permanent device for the maintenance of stability in Nicaragua without jeopardising their vested interests. As soon as the new government came to office, the military weakness of Solozano and the vulnerability of his regime

moved the United States to remind the new president of an agreement made with his predecessor; the creation of a small and efficient US-trained military force which would henceforth be known as the National Guard.

The Solozano-Sacasa coalition never lasted. The old animosity continued to simmer between the supporters of both parties outside parliament. This coalition was overthrown by the former president Eliano Chomorro in 1925. Chomorro didn't like the marriage between Liberals and Conservatives. He wanted conservative rule in its purest form. The US was 'not in favour of the seizure of power by violent methods' as stipulated in the so-called Peace and Friendship Treaty with Central America. The treaty was invoked, thus annulling Chomorro's attempts. In its place, the United States resurrected Adolfo Diaz, a president in a decade earlier into the presidency again.

By this time liberal revolts sprang up in different parts of the country, one of them headed by Anastasio Somoza Gracia (known as the 'General'). The revolt was termed 'Guerre Constitucionalista' by the liberals, which meant Constitutional war. The liberals were scoring interesting victories in their constitutional war. A constitutional government was set up in the Atlantic port of Puerto Cabezas in December 1926.

From the US point of view, there was only one possible response; military intervention. The US later came to realise that in Diaz they were backing a loser.

Diaz wasn't charismatic and innovative a leader to rely upon. On the other hand, the Zelaya model of liberalism wasn't palatable to their longterm economic interests either. The only way open for the United States was to take advantage of the contradiction within the strong liberal tendency.

The contradictions within the liberals manifested themselves in, inter alia, (i) Moncada was a strong conservative who sided with the overthrow of Zelaya in 1909, (ii) Sacaza, the head of the coalition was always willing to place himself at the service of the US government, and (iii) the liberal army was composed of elements of the petty bourgeoisie, and on the other hand a sizeable group of workers and peasants.

This group had the elements of a new class consciousness, and prominent among them were the mineworkers of the north east, the most coherent sector of a still undeveloped working class. It was the presence of these forces which created the conditions for transforming the conflict into an anti-imperialist war of national liberation.

Henry Stimson, a US envoy was sent to Nicaragua in 1927 to impose terms on the internal parties of that country. The terms were, inter-alia, general amnesty, hand over of all arms to the US Marines until such time as they could organise the Nicaraguan Guard efficiently under US supervision and with US officers, and lastly, US-supervised elections the following year. Jose Maria Moncada and Adolfo Diaz promptly accepted subservience to the United States domination.

At that moment the constitutionalist War became a class-based revolutionary war led by the only liberal officer to reject what he called the infamous Pact of Espino Negro (as the treaty was known) and recognised that US imperialism was at the heart of Nicaragua's crisis. He was the 31-year old Augusto Cesar Sandino.

In the next issue we will look more into the role played by Sandino and the subsequent emergence of Sandinismo.

SECTION FOUR

HOW PROFITS ARE MADE; WHAT IS EXPLOITATION

1. INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth on capitalism. In the last section we saw the following:

- * capitalists own and control the means of production;
- * workers own nothing except themselves and their ability to work;
- * because workers own nothing they have to sell their labour power to the capitalists to survive. They sell their work for a wage;
- * by virtue of their ownership the capitalists have power. This power includes the ability to make workers work for them, and includes the power to exploit the workers.
- * the owners aim to make as much profits as they can (and so increase their wealth). Workers, on the other hand, aim to make as many wages as they can, and so increase their own wealth.

Put another way, capitalists aim to exploit workers as much as possible, and workers want to keep exploitation as small as possible, if not do away with it completely.

In this edition we look at profits; where it comes from and its relation to poverty and exploitation.

'Outside of the special reserves, the ownership of the land must be in the hands of the white race. The surplus of young men must earn their living by working for a wage.'

'Thorough and general eviction of natives from private property through the country would effectually dispose of labour troubles as it would force upon the market the excess population and thus create a floating population of native labourers dependent upon it for its support.'

'That the native is grossly overpaid is undeniable.'



2. WHAT ARE PROFITS?

Profit is what the capitalists aim to make. We are taught that profit is the extra money that capitalists make when they sell their

products on the market.

In other words, the capitalist lays out some money to pay for labour, raw materials and so on to make something that can be sold. The money that the

capitalist lays out is called *capital*. The capitalist then sells that commodity and makes more than was put in in the first place. This is called expanding capital.

Let us use an example: let us say that it costs the capitalist R25 to pay to make a table. But the table is sold for R30. The profit that is made is therefore R5. This profit the capitalist keeps.

We all know that most capitalists make huge profits all the time. But we are never told where these profits come from. Do they come from the market where the goods were sold? Is the capitalist selling the table for more than it is worth? Or is the profit created in the making of the table - in the production process itself?

3. WHERE DO PROFITS COME FROM

3.1 THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

Let us look at how different commodities, or goods, are produced. All production processes involve the following things:

◆ **raw materials** these are, for example, the steel that is used to produce cars; the seeds that are used to produce food; the rock that is found to produce gold; the cotton that is used to make clothes.

Usually in one production process there are many raw materials that are used to produce a single commodity - a car is not made only from steel, but also from plastic, glass, rubber, aluminium and other materials.

Some production processes use raw materials which are produced by another company - glass used in cars is bought from a glass manufacturing company. For the motor car maker glass is a raw materials and the car is the final product. For a glass manufacturer, the sand, the lime and chemicals are the raw materials and the glass is the final product.

So, raw materials are the materials which are worked on to produce something.

◆ **instruments of labour** - these are the tools or machines which are used in

production. Every production process, no matter how simple, involves the use of some tool or another. It could be as simple as a hammer or a saw. It could be as complicated as a computerised machine.

Most production processes involve many different instruments which labour uses. Some workers making, for example, motor cars, would operate a press, others would use a welding machine, others still would use hammers, another would use a riveter, another would use a gluing machine, another would use a cloth to wipe and polish the finished car.

◆ **labour itself** - every production process involves the labour of a worker. It is the workers who use the instruments of labour on raw materials - who do the actual work of making a finished product.

There are many different kinds of work - there is unskilled work like digging a trench; there is skilled work - like brick-laying; there is mental work - like totalling up a number of figures; there is manual work - like lifting and loading. What is important to remember is that, while some work is more skilled than others, while some work involves some more mental applications, all labour is intelligent and purposeful. We will come back to this.

To summarise: a production process involves the workers labouring with the aid of instruments of labour on some raw materials in a purposeful and intelligent way to produce something else - a finished product. This finished product under capitalism is then sold for a profit.

3.2 LABOUR — THE SOURCE OF PROFITS.

Let us look at a simple production process. Let us say that a capitalist produces tables. To produce a table he needs wood, a

hammer, some nails, a saw and a worker.

The owner lays out capital to buy wood for R10, a hammer for R5, nails for R1 and the saw for R5. He finds a worker willing to work for R4 a day. Let us say it takes the worker a whole day to cut the wood and hammer the pieces together into a table. So it costs R25 to make a table. But he sells the table for R30. Where does the profit come from?

The profit comes from changing the wood and nails into a table. It comes from creating something useful out of bits and pieces of wood and iron. It comes from the creative work that the worker does.

In other words, it is the worker's labour that produces extra value to the things he was given at the beginning of the day. The capitalist does not sell the table for more than it is worth, at more than its value. He sells the table at its value - and the extra value came through the work of the worker.

3.3 THE NATURE OF LABOUR.

Why is it that labour has this ability to add extra value to whatever it touches? What is unique to human labour?

We have seen that, no matter how unskilled labour is, and no matter whether labour is mainly mental or manual, all labour is both intelligent and creative. This is what sets human beings apart from animals - we have large brains with which we can create all sorts of things. While we are not necessarily stronger than animals, it is our combined use of muscle power and brain power that allows us to dominate them.

All human labour combines intelligence with muscle power. This allows us to perform work. When that work is purposeful - when we plan how we are going to do something to produce a finished product, or a certain effect, we are

performing purposeful labour. It is in the process of doing purposeful work that people are creative. And it is in the process of creative work that people produce value.

Human work turns something useless (like wood) into something useful (like a table). And everything that is useful has a value. This value is measured in money. Anything that is useless has no value and no-one will spend money to get it.

3.4 PROFIT IS VALUE.

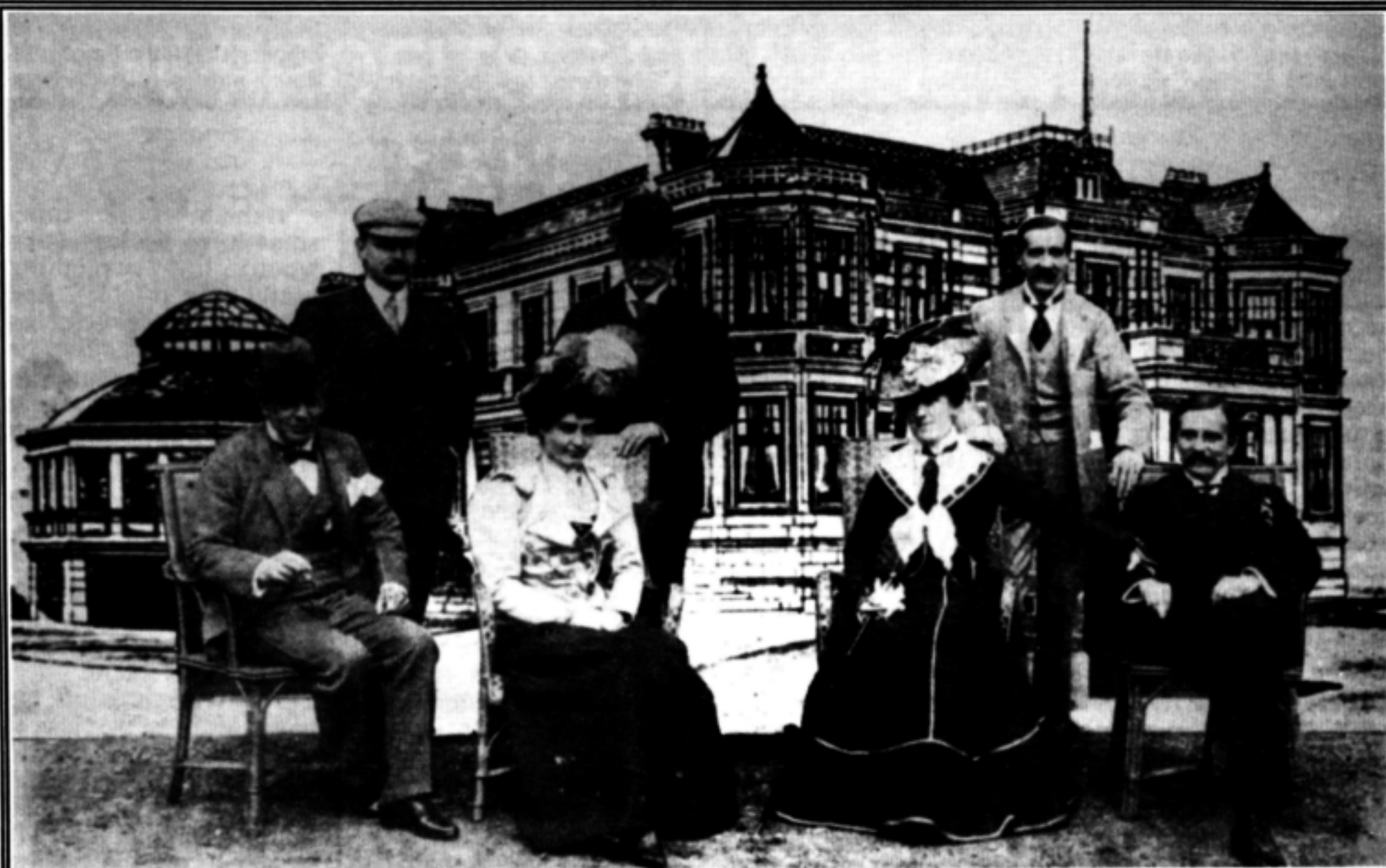
We can now see that, when we start a production process we buy raw materials and instruments of labour for a certain price. This price represents the money worth of the value of the wood, saw, hammer and nails.

The second step is that human labour spends certain energy and creative thought turning the wood and nails into a table. In the process of creating a table - in the process of work - extra value is added by the worker.

The third step is that the table is sold. It may seem that the table is sold for more than it is worth. That is, it only cost R25 to make, but it was sold for R30. But R30 is, in fact, what the table is worth. The R5 extra value came from the worker's work where extra value was added. So, the profit of R5 is the realisation of the R5 extra value that the worker added while working.

We can see then that profit is nothing more than the realisation of the extra value that the worker added while working. The profit is kept by the capitalist, despite the fact that the worker created it.

Several questions come out of this: was the worker paid less than the labour that was performed was worth? What is the connection between profits and exploitation? What is value?



Capitalism... The rich gets richer...

4. WHAT IS VALUE?

The production of goods, or commodities, aims to produce things which can satisfy certain human wants, or needs. All production is aimed at producing goods which can be used either to satisfy human wants directly, or else be used in another production process to produce another product which will satisfy a want or need. For example, the aim of farming is to produce food. Food satisfies human wants for survival. Another example: the aim of producing steel is to produce something which can be used in other production processes which produce buses (which satisfy the want, or need, for transport) or furniture.

All production processes involve the production of two kinds of value. The two kinds of value are called exchange value and use value.

4.1 USE VALUE

All goods that are produced have use value. Even labour has use value. What does this mean?

Every useful thing, such as steel or paper or tables is made up of a whole lot of different things, and so can be used in different ways. But the utility of a thing - its usefulness - gives it a use value. We can use steel to make cars. We can use food to give us life. We can use books to give us education.

Use-values only become a reality when they are used or consumed. For example, an electric light has use value. It can be used to produce light. Its use-value is realised when it makes light. But when that electric light is owned by someone without electricity, the light is useless. It cannot realise its use value.

So to societies with no electricity an electric light would be worth less than a

piece of wood. In societies with electricity an electric light is worth more than a piece of wood. That is, it has more use-value.

If we think about it, all things that are made have some use value or another. If we think about it again, all work that people do is all about the production of useful things - the production of things with use-value.

Even labour has a use-value. When a capitalist hires a worker the capitalist is interested in how that labourer is going to be used. The capitalist is interested in the skills the labourer has, and will pay more for labour which can be used more productively - that is, will pay more for the labour which has more use-value. That is why an artisan can earn more than an unskilled manual labourer. While this use-value is important in determining how much a capitalist will pay for a

worker, it is not the full picture, however.

4.2 EXCHANGE-VALUE

Commodities do not only have use-value. They also have an exchange value. What this means is that you can exchange one pound of gold for a hundred bags of wheat, or two chairs for one desk.

So exchange value is independent of use value. It is a measurement of the value of something irrespective of what it will be used for. Today, exchange values are measured in money. Something is worth R20 - irrespective of what it is going to be used for. A piece of processed wood is worth R20 - irrespective of whether it is going to be turned into a table or used as a knopkierrie.

Labour also has an exchange value. Workers are concerned about how

much they can get for their labour. They want their exchange value to be high. That is, they want to get as many wages as possible for their labour. The boss, on the other hand, wants to exchange as little as possible for that labour. This exchange is not fixed - it varies from year to year and society to society. This is the case with all commodities - the exchange value changes from time to time and place to place; and so does the use value.

4.3 HOW LABOUR AFFECTS EXCHANGE VALUE AND USE VALUE

Use-value is not determined by labour, except insofar as something is made better to do a certain job better than another thing which does the same job.

What makes something worth more, or cost more, is the amount of labour time that has gone into the manufacture of that item. For example, a simple carpet is worth less than a carpet which has taken a skilled person a lifetime to make. This is why mass-produced goods are, generally, worth less than the same good which is made by hand. Mass-produced goods are produced very quickly with the aid of machines. Hand-made goods are produced more slowly by specialist skills. But the measurement of labour time is an average. It measures the average time it would take an average labourer to produce a certain amount of value.

This also applies to the example we used above about the commodity of labour. We said that the labour that is worth more (that has more exchange value) is the labour that is more skilled. Looking at this in more detail, we could see that it takes a lot of time and work to produce skilled labour - the person must go to school, go to a technikon or to university. Many people spend many hours teaching, lecturing, showing that person how to do

something.

The way capitalism looks at the education process is in precisely this way: in the same way as there is a production process which is used to produce a table, there is a production process necessary to produce a skilled labourer. Taking the raw material (the person) that person must be worked on by a teacher who uses certain instruments of work (books, classrooms, chalk and blackboard) to produce a product - a skilled worker. With that finished school product, that person can go through another process - of turning him or her into a skilled computer operator. Once that process is finished, that person can then have certain use-value in the production process in a factory. That person is regarded as a 'skilled labourer' (not as a person) with a certain use value. It has taken a lot of time to produce that skilled worker, and so the skilled worker will be expensive - will

have a high exchange value. And the exchange in this case is the exchange of skills and time (eight hours every weekday) and obedience (to do what work is ordered) for a wage.

This is unlike the unskilled worker. The only effort or time it takes to produce an unskilled worker is to feed, clothe and house the worker. It takes no time of education or training. Very little goes into the producing of an unskilled worker. All it needs is health and muscle and some brains, as far as the capitalist is concerned. So, because there is less time taken in producing unskilled labour, the exchange value (and thus the wage) is lower.

4.5. THE VALUE OF LABOUR

We can now arrive at a starting point for understanding of the value of labour, and for the understanding of what a

wage represents.

The wage represents the value of the work done in producing the labour-power that worker has. Put another way, it is the amount of socially-necessary labour time needed to produce value equivalent to the wage.

Let us explain this. When the worker works in the factory, or on the farm or mine, the worker is continually producing value. We must remember that it is the act of labour that produces value. So in working the labourer produces value.

Let us say that, in one eight-hour day, a worker produces R20 of value. But that worker gets paid only R10 for the day. So the worker produced value equivalent to his or her wage in half a day, or four hours. For the other four hours the worker produced another R10 of value which the boss kept. But the boss got that value only when the product was sold. The R20 value was realised when the good was sold, and the R10 value became profit when the good was sold.

In this way we can see that the working day is broken up into two sections: the first part of the working day, the worker spent four hours producing value equivalent to the wage of R10; and the second part of the day was spent producing extra, or surplus- value, which the owner kept as profit.

These two parts of the working day are called necessary labour- time and surplus labour time. Necessary labour time is the time taken to produce the value of the wage. Surplus labour time is the time spent producing extra value which the owner of the means of production keeps as surplus value, and which is realised as profit when the good is sold.

6. EXPLOITATION

This, then is the definition of exploitation: not that the owners pay workers less than they are 'worth', but rather that workers do not



...and the poor gets poorer



get the full value of what they produce. They get paid only for a certain part of the working day, and not for the whole working day.

Exploitation is the taking by the owners of industry for themselves the surplus value produced during surplus labour time.

This reality is hidden. It appears to workers as if they are getting paid for a whole day or week or month's work. But, in fact, they are only getting paid for a certain period of work. The rest of that time they are working purely for the capitalist.

6.1 INCREASING EXPLOITATION

What capitalists aim to do all the time is increase the amount of surplus labour time. In this way they will increase the amount of surplus value produced -

and therefore increase profit.

The capitalist can do this in two ways: either necessary labour time can be decreased - that is, the amount of time it takes the worker to produce value equivalent to the wage; or else the capitalist can try to increase the amount of surplus labour time.

6.2 INCREASING SURPLUS LABOUR TIME

The way the capitalist does this is by trying to increase the length of the working day. Clearly, if the worker can be made to work for nine or ten hours per day, there will be more surplus labour time and more profits. The worker is producing R2,50 of value per hour. If the worker works for ten hours a day then R25 of value is

produced. The worker will still get R10 wages, and the capitalist will earn R10 surplus value plus another R5 surplus value = R15.

If the worker works 12 hours a day the total surplus value will be R20. So the aim of the capitalists is to constantly increase the length of the working day so they can increase exploitation and profits. Today they call lengthening of the working day 'overtime'.

6.3 DECREASING NECESSARY LABOUR TIME

Today, decreasing the amount of time it takes to produce the value of the wage is the more popular method the capitalists use to increase profits.

If it only takes the worker two hours to produce the value of the wage (R10),

then the capitalist will increase profits to R30. Let us see how: in four hours the worker produces R10 of value. If the worker can be forced to work harder and faster then it may take two hours to produce R10. So, if the working day stays at 8 hours, then the worker works for 6 hours for the capitalist. In other words, surplus labour time increase to 6 hours. And now workers are producing R5 per hour each, or R40 in eight hours. The boss therefore makes R30 of surplus value in those six hours, thus increasing profits and exploitation.

This increase in exploitation is what the capitalist aims to achieve all the time. In the next issue we will see how this is done and why the capitalist always wants to do this.