

# NUM News



OFFICIAL NEWSLETTER OF THE  
NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS  
JULY 1989 Congress reports

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## Mineworkers on the march

The sixth national congress of NUM held in Johannesburg from 12 to 16 April proved beyond doubt the union is ready to face all challenges. About 80 resolutions in line with the congress theme of "Defend and Consolidate NUM", were voted on by 601 delegates from sixteen regions. A full report starts on page 5.

# TOUGH WAGE TALKS

## But new wage policy advanced

**MINEWORKERS** agreed to reasonable wage increases this year after tough negotiations between the NUM and the Chamber of Mines.

The union said it was "satisfied". It pushed up Chambers' initial offers and all increases are now above inflation.

Several small victories advanced the union's new wage policy but the union has not yet broken the back of the Chamber's racist wage policy or achieved a national minimum wage.

However, for the first time the Chamber was forced to negotiate in money terms and not percentages.

General secretary Cyril Ramaphosa warned that future industrial action might be necessary to eliminate the continuing wage differences between the mining houses.

Surface workers in grade 1 at Anglo gold mines are now to get increases of R62 (18.4%) bringing the minimum monthly wages up to R399 and underground workers in grade 1 are now to get R70 more (18.2%) bringing

wages up to R455 a month.

Surface workers in grade 1 at Anglo coal mines on the surface are to get an increase of R59 (17.5%) and underground workers in grade 1 are to get R64 (17.3%) bringing monthly minimum wages up to R434. See tables on page 2 for other increases.

Mineworkers had unanimously rejected the first offers of the mine bosses for a disgusting low wage offer of 11% increase on gold and collieries on all job categories.

In cash terms collieries had offered a minimum wage increase of R29 and R37 for surface and underground workers respectively. Gold mines had offered a wage increase minimum of R37 surface and R42 underground.

**DEFEND AND CONSOLIDATE NUM!**

**FORWARD TO COSATU CONGRESS!**

# The case for a national minimum wage for mineworkers

**THE NUM is demanding a national minimum wage while the Chamber of Mines is resisting tooth and nail.**

A national minimum wage means all mining houses will pay the same basic wage to workers in the lowest grade, if not more.

The minimum wage decided on at Congress is R600 a month for underground workers and R543 for surface workers. The union did not reach this figure in negotiations, but mineworkers were able to accept the rises the Chamber offered for the time being.

However, industrial action may be necessary at some time to force the bosses towards a decent wage.

A national minimum wage is the first step towards moving mineworkers to a living wage.

The NUM has also proposed wages for the various wage grades above the minimum. This is to build a standard of pay for the different jobs in the industry. At present the scales of pay vary very much between the different mining houses.

The union believes the wages of workers should depend on the job they do, not the mineral they mine or the mining house that administers the mine.

## First step

Uniformity in the various grades may take time to establish, but the union believes the first step is to establish a national minimum wage.

The minimum wage that the union has demanded - although not achieved in negotiations with the Chamber - is a very reasonable sum.

It is in line with wages in the manufacturing industry. What the new NUM wage policy wants to do is to move mineworkers from the very bottom of the wage ladder to the middle. It wants the minimum wage in mining to be similar to the minimum wage for A1 - the lowest grade - in other industries.

The demand for a national minimum wage is also a political demand. Today many firms are exploiting the resources of South Africa - the natural wealth of the country - which should be shared by all is being used for the enrichment of a very few.

## Union arguments

In negotiations the union put forward its proposals for a national minimum wage and a industry wage structure.

The Chamber of Mines resisted by saying "each mining

group has its own wage philosophy". But they are unable to explain exactly what this philosophy is or on what it is based.

Workers, of course, would know that the bottom-line line of the mining houses' "philosophy" is exploitation.

In negotiations with the Chamber the union made a strong case for a national minimum wage.

The union said when the Chamber was first established, the minebosses said one of the purposes of having a Chamber would be to have a standard wage. The union said although the minebosses wanted this to keep wages down - the Chamber could not deny that there was a lot of logic in a standard wage.

## Blatant racism

The union accused the Chamber of "blatant and naked" racism because white workers were able to negotiate standard wages with the Chamber. But when it came to black workers, the Chamber fell back on weak arguments like "that is the way it has always been done in the past".

The union said the Chamber had no excuses for this racism - there were no laws forcing them to negotiate in this way.

The union pointed out that in other mining countries all mining unions which negotiated with a central mine industry body, negotiated on uniform standards of pay.

It also reminded the Chamber that all other employer bodies in South Africa that negotiated wages and conditions of employment with unions, negotiated national standards of wages.

The Paterson grading system was being used in the mining industry by the different mining houses. But a worker graded A1 on one mine would be paid a different wage to a worker on another mine.

The different mining houses had standard rates of pay, and the union said it "could find no reason" why this principle should be not applied at Chamber level.

The union added the Chamber of Mines was a centralised body and the mining houses had cross holdings, shared board directors and used the same recruitment agency.

Comrade Ramaphosa said the union's general satisfaction at the outcome of the negotiations was marred by the increased gap between the wages paid in the lower job categories by the different mining groups.

He said the negotiations had highlighted the need for a uniform wage structure.

# Union battles Chamber for every cent

**THE union rejected the first offers of the Chamber of an 11 percent across the board increase. The Chamber then put their offers in cash terms which were just as low.**

The NUM would not even consider such ridiculous offers which were seen as insulting.

Without reviewing its offer the Chamber of Mines declared a dispute with the union. The two parties opted for the establishment of a Conciliation Board in an attempt to resolve the deadlock.

At the Conciliation Board, after careful thought and discussion the union reduced its minimum wage demands to R420 and R480 for surface and underground respectively.

For the Chamber the new union position was still unacceptable. The Chamber then made their final offer of a minimum increase of R56 surface and R64 underground in gold mines. In collieries they offered R59 as minimum for surface and R64 for underground workers.

## First offer rejected

This was overwhelmingly rejected by mineworkers who did not see any progress towards a living wage.



Mineworkers then proposed that the NUM opened informal talks with the Chamber to try and resolve the wage war which had been raging for more than a month. The next alternative was mediation.

In its informal discussions with the Chamber, the NUM succeeded in making the Chamber move from its final offer to make an extra increase of R6 a month across the board.

## More negotiations

After meetings and report-backs mineworkers accepted this increased offer.

However the union will continue negotiating on a standard contract industry-wide, an end to compulsory overtime work, restrictions on evictions from hostels, negotiations over retrenchments, two months notice on end of contract and health and safety.

During negotiations the Chamber of Mines argued that they were facing economic difficulties due to the fall in the price of gold and the problem of marginal mines which are no longer yielding high profits.

On the other hand, the union argued mineowners still refuse to pay properly the thousands of men who work underground in highly dangerous conditions.

In all other major mining countries of the world, mining wages are well above manufacturing and other industry wages. This is because of the hard and dangerous nature of the work.

In South Africa, however, wages for blacks on the mines are far below those in manufacturing, while whites on the mines earn more than whites in manufacturing.

Whites on the mines are the top earners amongst all whites.

The poverty wage policy of the Chamber of Mines has kept black miners' wages amongst the lowest of all black workers.

## GOLD

### 1. ANGLO AMERICAN GOLD MINIMUM RATES

	1988	1989	Rand increase	Percentage
<b>SURFACE</b>				
1	337	399	62	18.4%
2	382	450	68	17.8%
3	443	519	76	17.2%
4	517	597	80	15.5%
5	597	682	85	14.2%
6	704	803	99	14.1%
7	823	943	120	14.6%
8	956	1096	140	14.6%
<b>UNDERGROUND</b>				
1	385	455	70	18.2%
2	443	520	77	17.4%
3	512	595	83	16.2%
4	599	688	89	14.9%
5	694	783	89	14.3%
6	799	914	115	14.4%
7	924	1050	126	13.6%
8	1067	1222	155	14.5%

### 2. GENCOR GOLD MINIMUM RATES

	1988	1989	Rand increase	Percentage
<b>SURFACE</b>				
1	294	356	62	21.1%
2	337	405	68	20.2%
3	402	478	76	18.9%
4	474	554	80	16.9%
5	565	650	85	15%
6	670	769	99	14.8%
7	812	932	120	14.8%
8	1006	1148	140	13.9%
<b>UNDERGROUND</b>				
1	350	420	70	20%
2	398	475	77	19.3%
3	475	558	83	17.5%
4	548	637	89	16.2%
5	661	760	99	15%
6	780	895	115	14.7%
7	929	1055	126	13.6%
8	1119	1274	155	13.9%

## GENCOR MARGINAL MINES GOLD MINIMUM

Marginal mines are Grootvlei, Marlevale and Stillfontein

	1988	1989	Rand increase	Percentage
<b>SURFACE</b>				
1	291	353	62	21.3%
2	335	403	68	20.3%
3	400	476	76	19%
4	471	551	80	17%
5	561	646	85	15.2%
6	665	764	99	14.9%
7	806	926	120	14.9%
8	1000	1140	140	14%
<b>UNDERGROUND</b>				
1	347	417	70	20.2%
2	394	471	77	19.5%
3	472	555	83	17.6%
4	544	633	89	16.4%
5	656	755	99	15.1%
6	774	889	115	14.9%
7	922	1048	126	13.7%
8	1110	1265	155	14.0%

## COAL

### ANGLO AMERICAN COAL MINIMUM RATES

	1988	1989	Rand increase	Percentage
<b>SURFACE</b>				
1	338	397	59	17.5%
2	375	439	64	17.1%
3	424	497	73	17.2%
4	477	556	79	16.6%
5	543	631	88	16.2%
6	618	715	97	15.7%
7	699	805	106	15.2%
8	845	969	124	14.7%
<b>UNDERGROUND</b>				
1	370	434	64	17.3%
2	412	482	70	17%
3	485	544	79	17%
4	520	606	86	16.5%
5	590	685	95	16.1%
6	667	771	104	15.6%
7	755	869	114	15.1%
8	906	1039	133	14.7%

## MINEWORKER BRIEFS

### May Day celebrated in force

THOUSANDS of workers participated in over 35 May Day rallies around South Africa.

From Atlantis to Madadeni, from Phalaborwa to New Brighton, workers took part in a day of culture, freedom songs and speeches. The biggest May Day since 1986 showed that workers were determined in their demand for a paid public holiday on May 1, and not on Botha's "Workers Day".

### NUM condemns Emergency

THE NUM condemned the re-imposition of the State of Emergency on 12 June.

It was a "clear indication that the racist minority government is committed to the use of brute force to suppress the democratic rights of the majority of South Africans."

### Kriel anger over unsafe shafts

THE health and safety campaign has been taken very seriously at Kriel Colliery where workers have stopped working twice because of dangerous conditions.

On 29 May workers stayed away at H9 section but were forced back to work after management got a court interdict. The mine inspector was called to inspect the place. But the problems were not resolved because there was no report from the mine inspector, and the same working area carried on falling when there was blasting or drilling. Management then accused workers of not keeping the place safe. Workers, however, blamed management.

H9 workers refused to enter the section on 21 June. In the afternoon all workers went on strike because the H9 crew was suspended pending disciplinary action. Workers went back on 22 June, except for the H9 crew.

On 23 June it was reported that H9 section had fallen, damaging machinery as there were no workers. The H9 crew has now gone back to work after the union intervened.

### Victory for nurses at Rand Mutual

NURSES at Rand Mutual Hospital have won an arbitration award.

The nurses, who are NUM members, were not being paid properly or graded properly in terms of their skills.

### Combi fares stop work at colliery

WORKERS at Newcastle Coal Mine held a work stoppage from 11 to 15 May after management did not pay for transport to work.

Workers had been told by management to hire combis because of the bus boycott by the community of Newcastle against increased bus fares. Workers went back after management agreed to pay out for transport.

### Worker leader buried in Soweto

A FOUNDER member of SACTU, veteran of the ANC and former member of the SACP, Comrade Elliot Goldberg Tshabangu, 62, was recently buried at the Avalon cemetery in Soweto.

Comrade "Chairman Mao", as he was affectionately known, was a tireless fighter in the cause of national liberation and social emancipation.

### Murder leads to work stoppage

ABOUT 1500 workers stopped work at New Denmark on Monday 17 April after a NUM member was murdered.

It was alleged he was killed by members of UWUSA. The NUM blamed the violent events on the migrant labour system with its ethnically based compounds which divide workers.

### Anglo throws away R150 million

ANGLO'S Minorco company spent R150 million in its failed attempt to take over the Consgold mining company.

### Fighting on the wrong side

FIFTY eight black employees at Hlobane Colliery have joined the SADF Northern Natal Commando.

The union is investigating this as well as the increase in mine security on many mines.

# Repression at Anglo mine

THE private army of Anglo American broke up a wage negotiation report back and dispersed thousands of mineworkers with teargas at Freddie's gold mine at the beginning of July.

Mineworkers held an open air mass meeting at No. 7 shaft bus terminus to get the latest developments on wage negotiations between NUM and the Chamber of Mines.

The meeting - held with the permission of the mine management - took a dramatic turn when armed mine security personnel interfered with the proceedings of the meeting.

Mineworkers say that a military armoured personnel carrier arrived at the meeting place full of security personnel.

Members of their paramilitary force forcibly took control of the mass meeting by grabbing the loud hailer.

Workers who wanted to air their views on the wage offer were asked to provide their personal particulars to mine security before they could speak.

They were forced to give their names and company numbers. Mineworkers felt that this was a severe restriction on freedom of expression and assembly and refused to comply.

Mine security then fired teargas into the crowd.

Meanwhile a fully fledged platoon of black commandos con-

crised the mining industry.

The existence of the mining bosses' private army with hippos and vicious dog squads became clear during the 1987 Great Miners Strike. The brutality of this repressive machinery left several miners dead and hundreds injured.

With the introduction of the commandos it is now clear that mineworkers have their own "state" within a state.

The mining bosses have their own trained armies deployed on the mines ready to unleash terror.

Late last year the NUM research team unmasked the "liberal" face of AAC by exposing severe repression existing on Anglo mines.

In an attempt to end repressive measures on Anglo mines, the NUM has drafted a Code of Conduct.

Negotiations with Anglo American started early this year and are still continuing. But repression on the mines remains unchanged if not escalating.

The mine state of emergency has to be lifted if conditions conducive to good industrial relations are to be created.



Flashback to January: no decrease in repression  
sisting of some employees of Hlobane Colliery, has been deployed in Northern Natal.

The inclusion of black mine employees into SADF structures is a new development in the milit-

## The longest strike is over

THE longest strike in the history of the mining industry by 543 comrades of the National Union of Mineworkers is over.

The strike waged at the Rustenburg Platinum Refinery, a subsidiary of JCI, lasted a bitter 80 days before management and the union reached settlement.

NUM News spoke to two of the comrades involved in the strike. They said the main reason they embarked on the strike was that they demanded a living wage.

"This wage increment should be in line with other minimum wages in similar refineries."

Despite having been on strike for nearly three months, morale was high.

"Every day, workers entered the plant as per their normal working hours, chanted and sang in the open until it is time to knock off."

They said the attitude of the company had been extremely hard-line during the strike and in negotiations.

"During the first two weeks of the strike, we slept in the company premises. We were not allowed any shelter and had to



Rustenberg Refineries workers show placards saying "JCI pay a living wage" as police escort them out of town

sleep in the cold open air"

"When our families came with food parcels, they were turned away or confiscated by the security."

"Then, we arranged to come to Johannesburg to hold a placard demonstration outside JCI's headquarters."

"But they called the police who escorted our buses out to Krugersdorp. These actions were despite an agreement between the police and the NUM that the demonstration could take place."

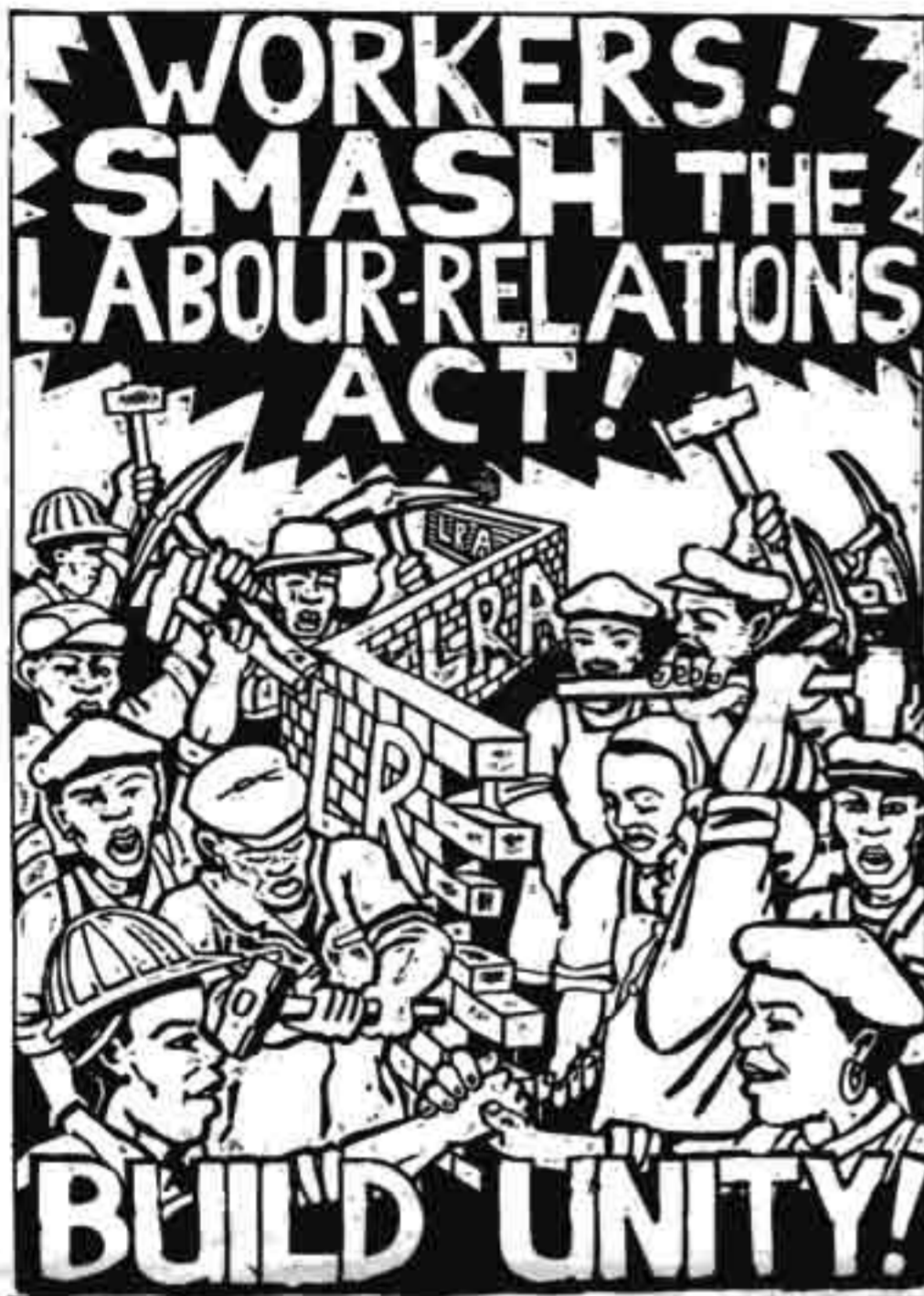
"This action clearly showed that the bosses and the police are

bent on repressing our legitimate rights."

Management granted workers a wage increment of 14,5 percent payable for January and February, and June 16 off for those workers who requested leave. Workers had been demanding a 22 percent increase and four months maternity leave.

"Although we have not won all our demands, the strike has showed that workers in our plant are determined to sacrifice for working class liberation and also that we want to push the realisation of NUM Wage Policy."

# Unions vote on Act



ALL NUM members will be asked to vote on action around the Labour Relations Act as part of the campaign by COSATU, NACTU and independent unions.

Millions of union members and workers will be asked the question: "Do you wish to take action in support of the demands by COSATU, NACTU and independent unions conveyed to SACCOLA, SAAU and state departments on 1 June 1989."

The ballot forms will be distributed at the end of July.

COSATU and NACTU have sent letters of demand to the main employer associations and government departments. The letters of demand say those sections of the Act which violate the rights of workers must be scrapped.

Workers rights must be protected by the Act and it should include workers who are left out such as farm labourers.

The letters also say if the government refuses to change the Act, then employers must pledge themselves to recognise the basic

rights of workers - no matter what the Act says.

## National dispute

If the employers do not answer the letters by June 30, then the unions will consider themselves in a national dispute with the main employer bodies.

Rallies and meetings are due to take place around the country to discuss action against the Act.

COSATU has called for co-ordinating committees of NACTU/COSATU and the independent unions to be set up in every region and local.

## August summit

It has asked all workers, churches and community-based organisations to fully support the campaign against the LRA. A second workers summit is planned for 5 and 6 August.

The bosses are using the LRA to sue unions for damages, interdict legitimate industrial action, lockout union members, undermine job security and limit the right to strike.

The letters of demand call for:

- the right of all workers to belong to trade unions



- all workers excluded from the LRA such as farmworkers and domestic workers to be covered by the Act;
- the scrapping of all sections of labour legislation that undermines trade union rights;
- the entrenchment of the right to strike, take part in solidarity strikes and the right to picket;
- no dismissal without sound reasons and proper procedures;
- the duty to bargain with majority unions;
- retrenchment negotiation on the basis of 'last in, first out';
- and no employer to use homeland laws to refuse negotiation with a union.

## COSATU/UDF meet Inkatha to stop violence

TWO peace meetings about ways to end the violence in Natal have recently taken place between leaders of COSATU/UDF and Inkatha.

The first meeting on 19 June agreed that to lay the basis for peace there must be: freedom of association; freedom of expression of one's political views or affiliations; and freedom of residence.

The meeting made a call for "an end to hostile propaganda against each other which does not contribute to the creation of an

environment for peace".

The second meeting on 23 June committed the three organisations to:

- Preparing a joint working document on peace proposals to be submitted to organisations
- A meeting of the "Four presidents", and delegations of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and COSATU by the end of July
- A peace conference would take place after the meeting of the four presidents
- Joint peace rallies would fol-

low the conference

The meeting also agreed to highlight the role of the police, to move towards setting up peace committees and joint monitoring groups and to continue consultations about the violence in Natal.

COSATU and UDF have called for a peace process because they believe that the killing in Natal has to stop. Nearly 3000 people have died since 1987.

COSATU/UDF have said the violence only benefits the warlords, the police and criminal elements.

## Advancing to congress

MORE than four hundred delegates from NUM will be attending the COSATU congress from 12 to 15 July.

Seventeen unions will be attending the Congress at Nasrec, Johannesburg.

The theme of the Congress is "Educate, Consolidate and Advance to Victory". The Congress will assess the progress of the federation and discuss ways to move forward.

It is expected important resolutions will cover areas such as strengthening the mass democratic movement, support for Namibia, action against the Labour Relations Act, building the anti-apartheid coalition and the need for peace in Natal.

There will be cultural days for workers on the 8 and 9 July at Nasrec, and again on the 16 July.

## NUMSA congress calls for worker unity

THE National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) made a clear commitment to worker unity and building socialism at its second national congress from May 18 to 21 in Johannesburg.

Speakers emphasised the need to resist a concentrated attack by the state and capital on the trade union movement.

General Secretary Moses Mayekiso, recently acquitted on charges of treason and sedition, said workers had a duty to rebuild the mass democratic movement.

"NUMSA has committed itself to the unifying of the working

class in its struggle for a socialist South Africa."

"Socialism is the answer to social, economic and political problems", said Mayekiso.

The congress, attended by more than 750 delegates representing about 190 000 members, was opened by ANC veteran Harry Gwala who was elected honorary president.

Important resolutions at the Congress included:

- NUMSA reaffirmed its support for the Freedom Charter as a "starting point towards maximum democ-

racy".

- The union called for the rebuilding and transformation of the structures of the mass democratic movement. The NUMSA resolution envisaged a more centralised structure, not based on political ideology, starting at the street committee level.
- The congress noted the Labour Relations Act was part of the offensive by capital against the working class. The Congress resolved to bypass the LRA by replacing industrial courts with arbi-

tration procedures, and replacing unfair labour practices by strengthening the working class.

On negotiations, the congress indicated strong opposition to any negotiations with the Nationalist government before certain basic preconditions were met.

On the Living Wage, the congress noted the struggle for a living wage could not be separated from the struggle against the LRA, privatisation and deregulation. The congress resolved COSATU

and NACTU should adopt one set of living wage demands.

- On the way forward the union committed itself to socialism, and said the union must conduct itself on the basis of political analysis, open debate and democratic decision making.

The following office bearers were elected: Dancile Dube (President), Maxwell Xulu (First vice-president), Percy Thomas (Second vice-president) and Moses Mayekiso (General secretary).



Our sixth national NUM congress held at Nasrec, Johannesburg from 12 to 16 April was a resounding success.

The theme was "Defend and Consolidate NUM". The congress was attended by 601 delegates from sixteen regions.

There were scores of guests including union representatives from the Miners International Federation (MIF), Botswana, the United States of America and other European countries.

A wide range of messages of support included solidarity messages from the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), the SA Communist Party (SACP) and other national and international organisations.

The nearly 80 resolutions debated by delegates will shape the political and economic policy to be followed by the union over the next two years.



Six hundred delegates from sixteen regions filled the hall

# 12 to 16 April 1989 CONGRESS



Major resolutions looked at repression on the mines, wage policy, the future of the mining industry, the need to debate the ANC constitutional guidelines, the necessity for broad unity and an anti-apartheid coalition, and support for the people of Namibia.

As the largest single affiliate of Cosatu, the NUM resolutions are bound to impact on the Cosatu congress to be held in Johannesburg in July.

The congress was opened by NUM president comrade James Motlatsi who said mineworkers have set themselves the task of fighting the hated migrant labour system, undemocratic structures in the hostels, racist conditions, unsafe working conditions and wanted the right to organise freely.



Standing beneath the Freedom Charter are the newly elected office bearers of NUM (from left): MARCEL GOLDING (Assistant General Secretary); ELIJAH BARAYI (Vice-president); JAMES MOTLATSI (President); CYRIL RAMAPHOSA (General Secretary) and PAUL NKUNA (Treasurer)



CONGRESS resolved that the Mass Democratic Movement should pledge solidarity with the Namibian people as they move towards independence.

Another resolution on international affairs was a delegation of NUM mineworkers will hand over a dossier of discriminatory laws to the governments of Britain, West Germany and the United States in the next few weeks.

According to the resolution taken at the NUM's recent Congress, most Western leaders - including Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl and George Bush - are misinformed about the true nature of apartheid laws.

The dossier will include a list of those detained, arrested and charged under apartheid laws and those executed over the last 10 years.

In handing over the dossier to the three Western leaders, the NUM delegation will seek the assistance of leaders of miners' unions in the three countries.

Earlier in the Congress NUM president comrade James Motlatsi attacked Western imperialists for the sinister role they are playing in defending their economic interests in the sub-continent.

#### Attacks on SWAPO

He said recent attacks on Swapo by members of the South African Security Forces were a well orchestrated attempt by the apartheid regime to galvanise Western support.

The Western media and the United Nations have been quick in accusing Swapo of having "blatantly violated the cease-fire and the terms of UN Resolution 435."

But in the past few weeks overseas newspapers have dramatically changed their perceptions on South Africa's destabilising role in Namibia.

The perceptions have now changed from sharp criticism of Swapo's "incursions" and acknowledgement of the "correctness" of South Africa's position,

# Namibia saluted



NUM President JAMES MOTLATSI called on Congress to pledge solidarity with Namibia

**"Comrades, it is our duty to come to the aid of the Namibian people in their hour of need. There has always been a close historical bond between our struggles. Now more than ever, we must show our solidarity... Their victory is our victory". Motlatsi**

to scathing comments on the behaviour of the security forces.

One newspaper commented that "having been granted licence by the United Nations to go on what one diplomat called a 'turkey shoot' against Swapo guerillas, the military now appears to have convinced themselves that they are the lords and masters of Namibia again."

#### Atrocities

Recently a television documentary programme screened privately to dozens of US politicians and journalists in Washington, claimed that scores

of captured Swapo fighters have been executed at point-blank range by South African security forces.

The film shows grisly footage of bloated and semi-naked bodies of Swapo guerillas buried in mass graves.

The Untag must bear part of the blame for the cowardly murder of the Swapo comrades. They, after all, granted the security forces a licence to kill by allowing them to leave their bases and fight Swapo.

That South Africa has injured Untag's pride and authority is evidenced by the fact that they

have forced the UN body to agree to release the army troops from their bases to fight Swapo.

SA security forces are also maintaining a highly provocative presence around Untag assembly points maintaining constant patrols of these points.

Comrade Murphy Morobe warned that the Western world is known for its vacillating stand. "Suddenly the Western world, with all its self-proclaimed knight-hood for democracy, is ready to jettison Swapo and cuddle-up to the devil that has brought so much misery to Namibia

Comrade Motlatsi called on the congress to salute and congratulate the comrades in Namibia who are on the eve of crossing the threshold from colonial and racist domination to a democratic and non-racial society based on human dignity and regard for the common man.

He also called on the Congress to come to the aid of the Namibian people now that the South African government is bent on installing its puppets, the Turnhalle Alliance, as rulers of a free Namibia.

In response to comrade Motlatsi's call, congress resolved that the Mass Democratic Movement should pledge solidarity with the Namibian people and that trade unions and other mass-based organisations should strengthen links with their counterparts in Namibia with a view of lending support whenever necessary.

Earlier Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa told Congress the NUM continued to play a major role in international affairs.

"Our union has always been closely associated with the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN) and joins them in all the challenges and joys that they face as they are an integral part of the struggle being led by Swapo towards independence play," he said.

He said the NUM was proud to have assisted the MUN in their struggle against the racist illegal occupiers of their country.

"We have continued to maintain links with several miners' unions and federations throughout the world. This included the Miners International Federation (MIF), the International Miners' Organisation (IMO), the African Federation of Miners Trade Unions (AFMTU) as well as our pioneering role in the Southern African Miners Federation (SAMF)," Comrade Ramaphosa said.

## World mineworkers are proud of NUM



MINERS International Federation (MIF) general secretary, Peter Michalzik, said mineworkers of the world are proud that the NUM, though still a young union, has become the largest single union in Cosatu, on the African continent and within the MIF.

He said the MIF congress held in Harare, Zimbabwe, recently, "reiterated its total rejection of the apartheid regime and condemned the policy of the SA government which seeks to maintain an inhuman, unjust and

reprehensible system."

Michalzik told Congress that the MIF unanimously supported the call by SA trade union movement for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions as a means of bringing about changes that are urgently needed in SA.

He said the MIF would act to achieve a joint ban on South African coal imports by countries belonging to the European Community.

He also told Congress the MIF supported the NUM's decision that Royal Dutch/Shell Group

products be boycotted until the company disinvests from South Africa.

Michalzik said human and trade union rights are not only violated in South Africa but in many parts of the world such as Latin America.

He said whenever mineworkers have raised their voices asking for fair treatment and seeking shelter under the umbrella of unions, an evil alliance of mine bosses and reactionary forces in those countries have tried to crush the workers

organisations.

He called on the NUM to support MIF programmes saying he believes they could strengthen international structures, particularly in the Frontline States and Namibia "where our comrades are in dire need of solidarity support."

The general secretary of the Namibian Union of Mineworkers, Comrade Ben Uulenga, was unable to attend and speak at the congress because of the tense situation in Namibia.



# Nothing will stop the mineworkers

NUM general secretary, comrade Cyril Ramaphosa said in spite of the emergency, the dedication, commitment, spirit and enthusiasm of mineworkers remained high.

He said 1987 was the year in which the NUM made its mark on the mining industry with the historic Great Miners Strike.

"It was in this strike that our union - its brave and gallant members, old and young - took on the combined forces of the Chamber of Mines and the state. This challenge to the most powerful institutions in the country showed to all and sundry the brutality of the forces of repression and exploitation," comrade Ramaphosa said.

The strike captured in a very clear way the determination of the capitalist mining industry and its trusted ally, the apartheid regime, in defending the system of poverty wages, migrant labour and general oppression," he added.

## Chair for Mandela

A symbolic empty chair, which comrade Motlatsi said was not only a fountain of inspiration but a symbol of fortitude, commitment, hope and faith in victory, was reserved for the union's honorary president, comrade Nelson Mandela.

To comrade Mandela's jailers, our oppressors and exploiters together with their lackeys, the empty chair is a threat - a millstone around their necks, comrade Motlatsi said.

## Gwala spoke

Comrade Harry Gwala, a veteran stalwart of the African National Congress recently released from apartheid's jail, delivered the honorary presidential address on behalf of comrade Mandela.

As a listed person, comrade Gwala cannot be quoted.

Comrade Jay Naidoo, Cosatu's general secretary, told the congress the democratic forces in southern Africa are poised to seize the initiative that would propel our people towards victory over the forces of apartheid that have stained the subcontinent with the blood of millions of our people.

That victory, comrade Naidoo said, lies centrally in the hands of the working class of which the mineworkers are the backbone.

He said in treading the path of sacrifice, courage and resistance, workers must remember that they are walking in the footsteps of giants such as comrades Mandela, JB Marks, Gwala and countless others - many of whom have paid the ultimate sacrifice.

## Regime in crisis

Comrade Naidoo said the repressive state with its vast arsenal of repressive laws from detention without trial, treason trials, vigilante strategies, banning and restrictions have failed



Stalwart HARRY GWALA is embraced by NUM organiser MANOKO NCHWE after delivering the honorary presidential address on behalf of jailed leader, NELSON MANDELA

to dampen the resistance of the masses.

The capitalist system is facing a structural crisis which it cannot recover from. There has been virtually no investment in the job creating sector because of the lack of political confidence in the regime.

Within the rulers conflicts are intensifying as the social base of the reactionary forces narrows. Diverse groupings within the white community are now looking to the ANC for future solutions.

He called on workers to work towards the establishment of a "broad coalition" of anti-apartheid forces opposed to repression and exploitation.

## Rebuild structures

He also called on workers to rebuild structures that have been weakened or crushed by the racist regime and to strengthen those that have survived and kept the flames of resistance alive.

Comrade Murphy Morobe, former acting publicity secretary of the restricted United Democratic Front (UDF) warned delegates against imperialist manoeuvres.

He told the congress there is talk in the imperialist chambers that after Namibia the focus must shift onto South Africa. He

warned against the double-standards of the West so clearly displayed in the recent Namibian crisis. The Western world condemned Swapo for the latest clashes when it was clear who the aggressor was - South Africa.

Our attitude to the imperialists must continue to be based upon

sound scientific principles.

The sudden clamour for negotiations by the Western world, comrade Morobe said, is a response to the significant advances made by the democratic movement and the growing uncertainty of the ability of the regime to safeguard the interests of the Western world.



General Secretary CYRIL RAMAPHOSA congratulated mineworkers on their strength and courage

"We must never think of negotiation outside of our strategic objective, which is genuine transformation of our society through the transfer of political and economic power to the masses of the people."

He said for us to consider negotiations there must exist conditions within which the Democratic Movement is able to mobilise and organise freely.

Whatever settlement reached in the future dispensation in this country, must not be in spite of us but because of our achievements, demands and clarity of political positions.

Earlier the NUM's general secretary, comrade Cyril Ramaphosa, told the congress that relations with the mining industry reached an all time low in the past two years.

This confirmed the union's view that the principal concern of the employers is profits and production, and that the well-being of mineworkers and their families is not a priority.

"The repressive measures now in operation in the mining industry are a microcosm of what the whole of South Africa really is. The State of Emergency is now a permanent feature of life in this country," comrade Motlatsi said.

The past two years has witnessed the bombing of Cosatu House, Khotso House, Khanya House and several regional trade union offices.

"We have also witnessed the mass production of kitskonstabels and vigilante groups, all with weapons and a licence to kill our people at random," he added.

## High level of discipline

The congress was characterised by a high level of discipline and incisive participation from delegates. The high level of critical debate and discussion once more highlighted the quality of leadership at both regional and local structures of the union.

The apparent current reluctance of Western leaders to condemn the South African regime and the racist mining industry came under strong attack from delegates who resolved to gather all discriminatory laws and statutes and hand them over to major Western leaders.

Delegates pointed out that Western leaders have slowed down on their promise to dismantle apartheid.

At the end of four days of deliberations, the union clearly charted the course it is going to follow in the next two years.

The following national office-bearers were elected into full-time positions:

- President - Comrade James Motlatsi.
- Vice President - Comrade Elijah Barayi.
- General Secretary - Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa.
- Assistant General Secretary - Comrade Marcel Golding.
- Treasurer - Comrade Paul Nkuna.



Delegates arrive at the Congress

## Resolutions to develop and defend union

**Stop order deductions:** Many mine managements did not submit monthly subscription cheques, management was on a campaign to try and paralyse the NUM financially. NUM should protest to the Chamber and use stricter checking measures

**Usage of Union offices:** No-one should be allowed to stay in union offices while waiting for cases or to sign affidavits after being dismissed because it enters in the running of the offices and leads to conflicts

**Sub regional offices:** Should be established where the need arises

**Attacks on Union offices:** There have been a number of cowardly attacks and bombings of our offices. The union should hire offices near top businesses on the basis of "an injury to one is an injury to all"

**Mobilisation of workers:** Workers are ill-informed about their rights and work in fear under tremendous pressure. Faction fights are often caused by bosses, and through conflict the bosses manage to divide workers.

Congress resolved that through education workers should be made aware of their rights. Mobilisation should take place so workers are educated for self-reliance and the future.

**Locals:** Local structures be established as regions meet infrequently and have a wide area of jurisdiction.

**Full time office bearers:** In accordance with international standards the union should negotiate with the mines to have an office bearer on a full-time basis without losing his job at the end of his term.

**Full time national office bearers:** Leaders are harassed and dismissed. The union constitution should allow dismissed mineworkers to stand for elections as national office-bearers and the union should employ any dismissed worker so elected.

**Labour Relations Act:** Our union should gear itself to fighting this law by all ways and means

including mass demonstrations and go-slows.

**Health and Safety agreements:** Health and Safety is a priority for our union. All mines and energy companies should recognise health and safety stewards, and sign agreements with the union.

**Paraplegics:** Workers should put pressure on management to provide transport and set up training centres where paraplegics can learn new skills.

**Compensation:** Compensation is inadequate as compared to the injuries mineworkers receive on the mines. The law is racist.

**Liaison committees:** Liaison committees established by management are meant to oppress workers. They should come to an end in the mining industry.

**Rival unions:** Mines bosses and the sweetheart union, the FMU, confuse workers and are a direct attack on our principle of one union, one industry. Workers should be educated.

**Mechanisation:** Congress noted mechanisation increased unemployment and called for a Commission of Inquiry into mechanisation and its alternatives.

**Training centre for unemployed workers:** Mining bosses were retrenching and dismissing workers and had done nothing to increase skills training. Training centres run by NUM teaching carpentry, welding etc. should be set up so workers can make a living after dismissals.

**Support for co-operatives:** Co-operatives should be supported.

**Co-op and union structures:** Co-operative members should become associate members of NUM.

Co-operatives co-ordination committees in Lesotho and Transkei should elect one representative each to serve on the NEC as ex-officio members with speaking but no voting rights. Phalaborwa co-op shall be represented through the regional committee.

# Organise to defeat repression

**THE CONGRESS theme of "Defend and Consolidate" was carried through in the nearly 70 resolutions passed by worker delegates.**

Resolutions concentrated on forming structures where they did not exist, and strengthening structures to take forward both political policy and the new wage policy.

The resolutions showed the NUM is recovering from the setbacks of the 1987 strike and is once more poised to challenge the bosses and the state.

Of importance were the calls for the consolidation and building of the mass democratic movement.

The resolution on repression noted the bosses through the violent compound and migrant labour system had intensified their attack on the union since the 1987 strike.

### Mobilise workers

Capitalists in collusion with the state, it said, were bent on crushing the mass democratic movement. "Nothing other than the mobilisation and consolidation of the workers and mass democratic movement can overcome this brutal repression", it said.

The resolution on repression said the NUM should speed up the building of anti-repression structures and mobilise members to resist management repression.

### ANC Guidelines

Delegates voted for the mass democratic movement to begin discussions to begin around a future democratic constitution and the Constitutional Guidelines proposed by the ANC.

The Guidelines set out economic and political policy for a non-racial, democratic country. The resolution said NUM should form local structures to discuss the Constitutional Guidelines and encourage other Cosatu affiliates to participate.

Delegates said the apartheid regime encouraged racial division and exploitation of the working class. The apartheid constitution did not protect the basic human rights of the majority of South Africans.

Another resolution on political policy called for an anti-apartheid coalition.

The resolution, proposed by Witbank and Wits, noted the repressive tactics used by the state.

### Anti-apartheid coalition

The regime had to be exposed. The democratic forces in the country had to communicate with all the relevant progressive parties that had been to Lusaka. Cosatu and UDF had to form the core of an anti-apartheid coalition as organisations that already have consensus on principle.

### Freedom Charter

A resolution on the Freedom Charter said it had to remain our guideline in the struggle for political and economic liberation. It said the Charter should be added as an annexure to the NUM constitution.

The congress called for another Anti-Apartheid Conference, noting that the state had banned the previous one and had introduced the Labour Relations

emergency was supported by capital. Many of our comrades were detained without trial.

Congress resolved to take forms of action to back the plight of detainees - particularly the hunger strikers. The resolution also called for a massive and decisive national action to call for the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all detainees.

On the question of political prisoners Congress noted "the racist Botha regime and its agencies is trying by all means to deceive the international community that it is seriously considering releasing all political prisoners languishing in apartheid jails."

Campaigns for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of the African National Congress needed to be reinforced and advanced.

Strong resolutions on capital



Ramaphosa and Barayi in front of "Defend and Consolidate" banner

Act. While the Workers Summit was supported, it was not a substitute for an Anti-Apartheid conference.

Political education was taken very seriously by the congress which said schools were used by the government for its propaganda and that the "children of today are the workers of tomorrow".

The congress resolved that a programme be compiled in conjunction with community and youth organisations to teach children about the true nature of the apartheid government and help children to develop a culture of resistance and struggle.

A resolution on detention without trial said the state of

punishment and "Save the Patriots" said South Africa had the highest number of executions in the world.

### Save the Patriots

There were trade union leaders on death row. NUM called for a Commission of Inquiry to look at the death penalty. South Africa should be pressurised to sign the Geneva Protocol and to grant comrades on death row prisoner of war status.

A resolution on organising in the homelands noted the need for all mineworkers to belong to NUM regardless of ethnicity.





Congress demanded that all forms of discrimination be abolished in the mining industry

## Congress decides on policy and direction of the union for the next two years

Other resolutions passed at the Congress included:

**The Development of the South African Mining Industry:** The resolution noted the mine bosses continue to plunge the mining industry into crisis by mismanagement and pursued racial policies that brought untold misery to mineworkers.

Miners should develop clear policies on how the mining industry should be run. Congress resolved debate in all structures of the union should begin.

A blueprint document should be ready by the next National Congress dealing with such matters as mineral production, new technology, housing, future of the industry, health and safety, wages and other matters such as development.

**Recruitment campaign:** Every NUM member should be an organiser. The union should organise those who are unorganised, and all workers in the mining industry should be organised under the banner of the NUM. The union should be organised at all local Teba depots.

**Disciplinary code:** A standard disciplinary code for all mines should be negotiated

**Annual leave:** All workers should get 60 days annual leave

**Income security and maternity leave payments:** These are not enough and the time of payment should be increased.

**Acting allowance:** That this be eliminated and that the person should be paid the rate of the job he was doing

**40 hour week (5 days):** That workers should be with their families over weekends and that in other industries it had been adopted

**Company education subsidy:** the bosses had stopped bursaries for education of children. Bosses should permit study leave, give bursaries for children and build schools near where workers live

**Women workers:** Discrimination against women in terms of jobs, low wages was continuing. The participation of women at all levels in the union was not enough.

Congress resolved that NUM make stronger efforts to promote the participation of women in all structures of our union

**Hand collected subscriptions:** Branches should make sure these are collected and handed over to regions so that they can become self-sufficient

# New wage aims

The NUM Congress declared war on poverty wages.

Delegates voted for a national minimum wage of R543 for surface workers and R600 for underground workers. Delegates have given the mining industry three years to bring wages up to those of a living wage.

As comrade president Motlati said: "we mineworkers demand the right to a job and a living wage." The resolutions will help revitalise the Living Wage campaign.

The resolution on wage policy noted black mineworkers were amongst the lowest paid workers in industry. The mining industry, it said, was able to pay a living wage to the workers who extracted the riches from the mines.

### Wide gaps

Different mining houses paid workers different wages even if they were in the same categories and did the same work. There was a very wide gap between wage categories.

A percentage increase divided workers and further widened the gap between job categories. The resolution also noted that underground workers were more exposed to dangers than surface workers. Since NUM started negotiating wage increases the wage policy of the Chamber had

not been broken.

The Congress therefore resolved:

- the mining industry must make progress towards paying a living wage to all mineworkers by 1991
- the union must negotiate a national minimum wage for all mineworkers at all mines
- all workers must receive a good wage increase even if they are paid above the minimum in their grade
- the gaps between the job grades must be narrowed by raising up the wages of the lower grades
- underground workers must be paid more than surface workers in each grade
- wage demands must be set in money terms and not in percentages

Living wage committees had to be revitalised at shaft, branch, regional and national levels, said another resolution.

### Living wage

The tasks of the living wage committees would be to organise discussions on the living wage and union wage policy. Committees should also monitor wage agreements on the mines and report any irregularities they discover.

A very important resolution was the one on the 1989 wage

demands for the Chamber gold and coal mines.

### National wage

The resolution noted that the cost of living was rising but the bosses continued to pay starvation wages.

Congress resolved that minimum wages for all job groups must be negotiated from 1989 in money terms.

There must be a national minimum cash wage in the mining industry of R543 per month for surface workers and R600 a month for underground workers. This must exclude any payment for food, accommodation or medical care. The Congress proposed the minimum wages for grades 1 to 8 should be negotiated as follows for all mining houses:

Grade	Surface	Underground
1	R543	R600
2	R605	R669
3	R675	R746
4	R753	R746
5	R840	R928
6	R937	R1035
7	R1044	R1154
8	R1165	R1287

A minimum wage of R543 for surface workers and R600 for underground workers would also be demanded in non-Chamber negotiations.

Congress demanded that all forms of discrimination be abolished in the mining industry and that all workers be paid equal pay for equal work.

A resolution on retrenchment brought home the fact that thousands of workers in the mining industry are losing their jobs.

Workers were not given enough warning of coming retrenchments. Congress delegates voted that there should be no unilateral retrenchments without proper negotiation, and the profits made by workers should be used to create job opportunities.

The resolution also said mining houses affected by retrenchments should try and transfer workers to other mining houses and that the union should be notified of coming retrenchments three years in advance.

Secunda and Orange Free State proposed a resolution on danger pay which said as mining was very dangerous, danger pay should be added to salaries. Workers should be covered by company insurance schemes.

Congress noted that the Chamber of Mines refused to give workers June 16 as a paid holiday. It said March 21 (Sharpeville Day), May Day (not Botha Day - first Friday in May), and June 16 should all be taken by workers as holidays.



**UNITED** action to defend and consolidate organisation was an important Congress theme.

The tone was set by our president, Comrade James Mofutsi in his presidential speech when he urged mineworkers to extend their experiences beyond the mine and hostels into the community.

Repression on the mines is characterised by mass dismissals, detentions, physical assaults, harassment and intimidation of high intensity against union members.

But the brutal naked terror is not only confined to the mines.

Four years after the declaration of a permanent state of emergency, the state is still bent on continuing with its vicious programmes to destroy the mass democratic movement and thus reversing the hard-earned gains the people made over the years.

It is imperative in the face of the state's relentless efforts to crush the mass democratic movement that workers should defend their organisations and consolidate the gains they have made.

**Lay the groundwork**

Comrade Mofutsi told the 600 delegates and scores of guests at our Congress that mineworkers' involvement in community issues will lay the groundwork for the building of mass-based participatory democratic organisations country-wide which will give direction to the various campaigns of our people.

He warned that the building of unity is a crucial task which cannot be undertaken effectively unless workers have a clear understanding of the struggle.

One of the most important lessons we have learnt from our struggle is that organisation, democracy and unity remain the pillars for effective struggle and the only defence we have against the brutal naked terror the regime has un-

leashed against our people in the township villages, schools, mines and factories.

**Recruit**

He said workers must, as a matter of priority, patiently persuade all mineworkers to become NUM members. Every worker in the hostel room, blocks, scopes, shaft and mine must be drawn into our structures and we must encourage participation, critical debate and discussion at every level of the organisation.

"Without organisation we will not be able to defend our members and the mass movement as a whole. In the present situation we have critical responsibility," comrade Mofutsi said.

He said mineworkers have major tasks of uniting the mineworkers into an effective national union, playing a leading role in strengthening the unity of COSATU and the trade union movement and forging unity of the working class movement by uniting all other formations around the demands of the Freedom Charter.

"To achieve unification of the working class movement we have to relate to all sections of the working class. We cannot confine ourselves only to the task of trade union work. But we must never forget that if we ignore the tasks of mine and local organisations, we do so at our peril," he said.

**Broad unity**

"To build broad unity and the anti-apartheid coalition, we need to strengthen the structures of our allies at local, regional and national levels."

This means the reviving and strengthening of grassroots youth, civic, women, student and other structures, according to Comrade Marphy Morobe, former acting publicity secretary of the restricted UDF.

Comrade Morobe said it is important not only to build our democratic organisation, but to build them in such a way that they are able to withstand state

harassment and repression.

**Co-ordination**

He emphasised that we need to build strong local, regional and national co-ordination between various components of the Mass Democratic Movement thus deepening resistance to apartheid through local and national campaigns.

In this way the regime will be isolated and deprived of any possibility of regaining the political initiative and at the same time ensuring that the ideological falling apart of the ruling class leads to its political demise.

The NUM's slogan 'DEFEND and CONSOLIDATE' is not a slogan of management boardrooms or pure intellectual fantasies, but a slogan about seizing the strategic initiative for the final push against racist oppression and exploitation.

He said consolidating whatever political gains we've achieved through struggle is a political imperative. For the whole democratic movement to adequately contend with the demands of the popular advance against racism and exploitation, the concept of the united front must represent a new and highly dynamic approach to our understanding of the tasks facing the Mass Democratic Movement.

**Anti-apartheid coalition**

This drive against apartheid and exploitation must be deepened at all levels. A coalition of all forces eager to see the ushering of a new society free from exploitation and oppression is therefore necessary.

This coalition must be made up of all the forces of change presently making up the South African equation of struggle.

This means bringing together the widest possible range of all forces against apartheid, even though these forces do not necessarily agree on all matters of strategy and tactics, said comrade Morobe.

The forces for change can be identified as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and its allies,

# BUILD UNITY, DEFY APARTHEID!



forces which are neither pro nor anti the MDM, forces which are ready to break with apartheid but whose long term interests are not the same as that of the MDM and forces which are opposed to both apartheid and the MDM.

Between these forces should run a unifying perspective which recognises both the grievances and immediate interests of these forces. Included in this perspective should be the following positions:

- One person one vote in

- a united South Africa;
- The lifting of the State of Emergency;
- A living wage for all;
- Freedom of association and expression;
- Press Freedom;
- The unconditional release of political

- prisoners;
  - The unhampering of the ANC and other organisations.
- The main objectives of this coalition would be to maximise our unity in action against apartheid, and

isolate the regime even further.

What is of paramount importance is to realise that the building of the coalition is a process and not a single event.

The challenge facing the mass democratic movement is to intensify the struggle. We must mobilise, organise, and defy apartheid at every opportunity.

## Mass campaigns

THE Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has identified several tasks and campaigns which need to be taken up at a national level.

A recent paper on the State of the Nation said the size and influence of the MDM has grown a lot. "We need to take up more campaigns and keep the pressure on the regime." The paper said tasks should be identified at the local, regional and national levels.

Conditions were ripe, said the paper, for an all-round onslaught on all aspects of oppression and exploitation.

**PEACE IN NATAL:** Too many lives have been lost in Natal and the MDM should spare no effort in achieving peace in Natal. The task of finding ways of stopping the fighting in that region should not only be the task of the people of Natal, but all patriots.

**ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION:** The efforts to isolate and neutralise elements of the ruling bloc need to continue. The uniting of all anti-apartheid forces should be part of the ongoing struggle, and incorporated into all campaigns.

**LABOUR RELATIONS ACT:** All efforts must be made to unite workers against the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

**STATE OF EMERGENCY:** The

recent hunger strikes and release of prisoners showed that determination can bring changes. The MDM must take up the fight against the Emergency. Many activists are also under severe restrictions and we need to challenge this.

**SAVE THE PATRIOTS:** All forces should be mobilised against the apartheid hangings.

**RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS:** The struggles of the people have pushed the state to a point where it has released some of the leaders of the people and may release more. But we need a campaign for the further release and welcome of our leaders at the local, regional and national level.

**BODIES OF MINORITY RULE:** The October town council elections showed that the town councils are not supported by the majority of the people.

**BUILD LOCAL CAMPAIGNS:** There are many local issues which need to be taken up such as the fight against petty apartheid, removals.

New ways of organising the rural areas to withstand repression need to be found. Structures must be reorganised, and street, block and area committees established. Shaftstowards councils and COSATU locals need to be strengthened.

# What is behind the bosses scheme to share?

**MANY** workers have accepted free shares (ESOPs). However, the bosses are not giving these away out of the goodness of their hearts.

The old Greek proverb says "Look a gift horse in the mouth". In other words, what are the bosses trying to do? Workers should be aware of what is behind the giving away of shares.

The mine bosses believe that by offering workers free shares and productivity related pay (PRP) workers will feel more loyalty to the company and work harder.

It is not surprising these schemes were introduced immediately after the Great Miners Strike of August 1987. These schemes are imposed as alternatives to trade unionism - in this case the NUM.

Share schemes are intended to bribe workers away from socialism and worker control.

The strategy is designed to give capitalism a human face.

## Who owns what

The Anglo American Corporation, which owns more than half the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, is a leader in the campaign which pretends to divorce apartheid from capitalism.

The free shares they are offering black miners will not make any difference when it comes to who is to have control over the ownership of that giant monopoly because workers are given "preference" shares which do not carry any voting right.

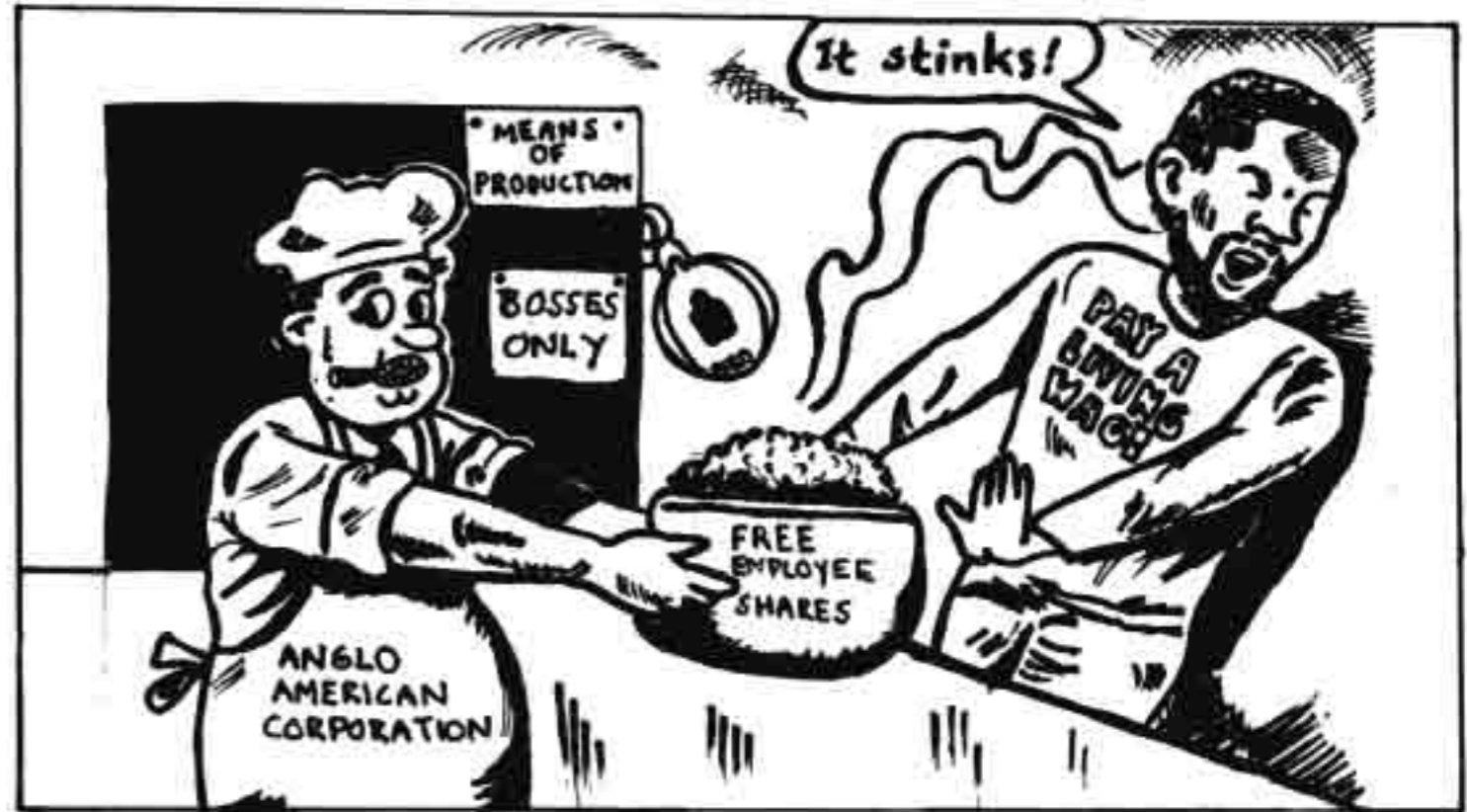
Cde Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary said "The Anglo American Share Ownership Scheme stinks... if every worker does actually take up the shares offered, this would amount to 0,6% of the total AAC share portfolio. This is the most degenerated tokenism".

## Living wage

"The workers' demand for a living wage remains. Workers demand that a bigger share of the profits should go towards wages and not to share ownership schemes... This scheme is a ploy to undermine unions".

"We view the share schemes and the productivity pay as part of the multi-pronged attack. We see the LRA, deregulation and privatisation, restriction on foreign funding, and the latest detentions, bannings and restrictions as the main weapons being used against democratic organisation at this time."

The evidence from the productivity related pay schemes in



other countries show that they are designed to make it easier for employers to manipulate wages and reduce pay during economic slumps.

The bosses would like workers to believe that ownership of a few shares means that workers become part owners of the factories and mines.

## False sense of security

It gives workers a false impression of security in their jobs and creates the illusion that they are participating in the decision-

making process of the mines. The workers are in fact just as threatened by the retrenchments, physical assaults by their white supervisors and mine security personnel, inadequate compensation, health and safety and mass dismissals as before.

The mine bosses hope that if they successfully sell the idea of share ownership or the productivity related pay schemes to the workers, workers will then help intensify their own exploitation.

Comrade Jay Naidoo, the General Secretary of COSATU

says: "We are essentially opposed to the ESOPs and PRP Schemes. Fundamental issues must be redressed first. We are struggling for a living wage, let alone considering buying shares which are seen as perpetuating inequality."

Most trade unions have reacted with hostility to these schemes. Unions have recognised that they offer little more than a bribe to continuing apartheid and class oppression.

There can be no real equality until the workers really share in the ownership of the means of production.

## PEOPLE IN THE UNION

**MAPULE MAKWELA**, a finance officer of NUM keeps a tight check on the union's finances. NUM News interviewed her as part of our series introducing union officials to members.



**Mapule, how has your background influenced your choice to work in trade unions?**

I come from an ordinary Soweto family. My childhood was happy and normal.

It was only in June 1976 that I first really came up against the apartheid system and felt real anger and bitterness.

It was my first experience of police brutality.

**Describe to us what happened that day - 16 June 1976.**

I was in form 1 at Seanamarena

High School in Mapetla. A group of children came to our school, and asked us to join the march against inferior Bantu Education.

The march was supposed to be peaceful. The students were excited: some were shouting slogans and others were talking.

We marched until we reached Central Western Jabavu, close to Morris Isaacson High School. And then all hell broke out. There were helicopters above and teargas below.

**What do you feel about those times now?**

It still makes me very angry when I think about it. I felt the

Boers were unfair.

They didn't give us a chance to say what our demands were. Nothing since then has changed my opinion of them.

When I left school my first job was with the African Allied Workers Union. I started working for NUM in 1986.

**What does your job as finance officer involve?**

I handle aspects of the union's finances and money affairs. Keeping a close guard on petty cash is my special responsibility. I am also responsible for monitoring stationary, and looking after transportation.

**Why is looking after the union's money so important?**

The money is from subscriptions that NUM members trust to us to look after their interests. It is a great responsibility.

We have to make sure the money is well spent and properly accounted for. Not a cent must be wasted or stolen.

The property of the union is the property of our members, and we have to guard it carefully. Without money we will not be able to take up the cases of members, or develop their interests and fight against the bosses.

## Mgedezi saved but more to hang

**THE** petition signed by thousands of mineworkers calling on the State President to show mercy for the life of Comrade Tyelovuyo Mgedezihis succeeded.

However, Comrade Mgedezi - who was a shaft chairman at Vaal Reefs Mine - still has to languish in jail for 20 years.

The efforts of miners nationally and internationally to save our patriots from the barbaric state legislated killings are not in vain.

Comrade Lucky Nomnganga who was sentenced on the basis of "common purpose" has been granted leave to appeal against the two death sentences imposed on him for his alleged complicity in the death of two Western Holdings Mine senior white managers. He was shaft secretary of the union then.

There are over 200 patriots and compatriots awaiting executions at the Pretoria death row - which is called by many the killing capital of the world.

At our 6th Biennial National

Congress NUM passed a resolution to fight the barbaric death sentence

The congress noted trade union leaders and members are more than often sentenced to death for their alleged participation or having a "common purpose" in strike-related killings.

The democratic world was recently astounded when the judge sentenced to death 14 residents of Upington under the "common purpose" doctrine.

Among the accused was an old lady of 60 years, which shows that apartheid knows little humanity or morality.

The hangings of political prisoners is a gross violation of international humanitarian law, in particular the Geneva Convention and Protocols.

NUM has resolved to see to it that the Save the Patriots Campaign is actively taken up in all structures of the union.

NUM further resolved to join other unions and community organisations in protesting against the hanging of people, irrespective of their alleged offences.

THE Provident Fund for mineworkers will begin on 1 July. After months of negotiation the NUM and the Chamber of Mines have reached agreement on the terms of the Fund.

NUM General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the Provident Fund would benefit union members very much.

He said it will provide savings benefits for workers on retirement, serious injury, retrenchment and dismissal.

In the future union members will be able to borrow on the Fund to buy a house, land or use the money for building improvements.

Ramaphosa will be the first chairman of the Fund.

Workers and management contribute equal amounts to the Fund. So for example if a worker pays in R9 each month to the Fund, management will also pay in R9. Each month that particular worker will be saving R18 under his name in the Fund.

**Membership**

The fund will apply to all NUM members in recognised job categories 1 to 8, and staff and non-staff graded A or B lower.

However, if you are not a member of NUM you will not automatically be a member of the Fund.

Members of the Mines 1970 Provident Fund will also become members of the Mineworkers Provident Fund. Membership of the Fund will not, however, be extended to current members of the Mine Officials Pension Fund, the Mine Employees Pensions Fund, or the Mines (1970) Pension Fund.

Any person who was over the age of 55 years when he first entered service will not be eligible to join the Fund.

**Contributions**

Each member of the Fund will be required to contribute a portion of his monthly basic wage

# PROVIDENT FUND HAS MANY BENEFITS



Ramaphosa is first chairman

(excluding bonus) in the form of a compulsory saving to the Fund.

In the first year, this amount will be R3 for each R100 that an employee earns in basic wages. For example, an employee earning R300 will contribute R9,00. An employee earning R500 will contribute R15,00 and so on.

You may also decide, if you so wish, to increase your contribution to the Fund to increase the size of your savings for retirement. These additional contributions will not, however, be matched by your employer.

Your monthly contribution will be shown on your payslips.

Your monthly contribution, together with your employer's contribution, will be saved under your name in the Fund.

Any loan granted will become repayable in full by you should you retire, resign or be discharged.

**Funeral Death Benefits**

A new scheme to replace the existing Death Benefit Scheme, providing funeral benefits for you and your family, and additional benefits on your death, is still being negotiated between the Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers.

**Retirement age**

You will be eligible for the full benefit of the Provident Fund on

reaching the age of 50 if you work underground, and anytime thereafter until the age of 60. If you work on surface, retirement can be taken from age 53 onwards, until 63 years.

Providing agreement is reached with your employer, you may, if you wish, continue working beyond the maximum retirement age of 60 (underground) and 63 (surface) and remain a contributory member of the Fund.

**Methods of payment**

You may:

- Take a lump sum payment, or
- Request that your money be paid to you in regular (monthly) amounts during retirement, or
- Keep some or all of your money in the Fund after you leave the mines.

**Representation**

The Fund will be administered and controlled by 10 Trustees.

Five trustees will be appointed or elected by NUM to represent the members (the employees). Another five will be appointed to represent the employers.

The Chairman of the Fund will change every year. In the first year the Chairman will be C Ramaphosa.

**Savings fund for NUM mineworkers pays out on retirement, permanent injury, death, retrenchment, resignation and dismissal.**

## When fund pays

■ **LUMP SUM PAYMENT ON RETIREMENT:** On retirement from work, you will receive a full lump sum cash payment made up of your own monthly contribution and the monthly contributions of your employer.

■ **PAYMENT ON INCAPACITATION:** If you become permanently unfit to continue working, you will receive a full lump sum cash payment, made up of your contributions and the contributions of your employer.

■ **PAYMENT ON DEATH:** If you die, your dependants will be paid the full lump sum cash benefit, made up of your contributions and the contributions of your employer.

■ **PAYMENT ON RETRENCHMENT:** If you are retrenched, you will receive a full lump sum cash benefit, made up of your contributions and the contributions of your employer.

■ **RESIGNATION AND DISMISSAL:** If you resign from the mining industry, or are dismissed, you will receive a cash refund of all your own past contributions to the Fund.

You will also receive part or all of your employer's contributions depending on your length of service. If you have 10 or more years' service, you will receive all of your employer's contributions. If you have only 5 years service for example, you will be paid half of your employer's contributions when you leave, and so on. The lump sum payable if you resign or are discharged can only be paid 12 months after you have left the mine. If you return to the same mine or to any other mine within this 12 month period, you will remain a member of the Fund.

■ **INTEREST PAYMENTS:** You will get interest earned on the contributions saved under your name in the Fund.

■ **LOANS FOR HOMES AND IMPROVEMENTS:** An extra benefit of the Fund is the opportunity for you to loan a portion of the available money accumulated on your behalf by the Fund to help in purchasing a house or paying for improvements. It can also be used for purchasing land and building materials. This loan benefit will be available at a later stage when the Fund can afford it.

## EXAMPLES OF MONTHLY SAVING

Member's basic monthly wage R	Member pays each month R	Employer pays each month R	Total saved in Provident Fund R
300	9	9	18
350	10,50	10,50	21
400	12	12	24
450	13,50	13,50	27
500	15	15	30
550	16,50	16,50	33
600	18	18	36
650	19,50	19,50	39
700	21	21	42
750	22,50	22,50	45
800	24	24	48
900	27	27	54
1000	30	30	60
1100	33	33	66



Poet Mzwakhe Mbuli at NUM rally: culture is a weapon

# MINING POETS

**MANY workers are starting to speak and write poetry. Sometimes we are lucky enough to see our miner poets at cultural or union events.**

Some recite poetry in English, while others speak in the more traditional orator forms in Zulu, Sotho or Xhosa.

But many more workers need to start writing and performing. The poets we know of are a drop in the ocean of potential mine-worker poets.

Many miner poets are not exposed to the work of other progressive poets or organisations of cultural workers. Often their work is not written down, and so is lost to other generations. They are denied venues and contact with other poets.

As we build and develop people's culture, this will be one of our challenges: making sure the voice of the miner poets echoes through South Africa as it does through the shafts.

## Militant message

The militant message of the miner poets is like the men themselves: it is strong, simple and has the spirit of no compromise. It picks up the sounds of the hard and dangerous work underground, of marching feet and the pains and joys of organised workers.

Like many other examples of people's culture - music, film and art - the poetry of mineworkers also looks forward to a future of freedom and liberty.

Members of NUM are beginning to link up with the COSATU cultural unit and the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW).

But many NUM members who are able to write, make music or act still have to organise themselves. COSAW is a national organisation of writers whose aim it is to become part and parcel of

our struggle for liberation, non-racialism and democracy.

As popular poet Mzwakhe Mbuli of COSAW says: "The most important issue in South Africa today is to work towards the destruction of apartheid and its culture, and the creation of a new, alternative, non-racial, united and democratic society."

## Culture is a weapon

"I feel very strongly that culture must be used both as a weapon and a vehicle to raise the awareness of people about their living conditions and the reasons for their suffering", he says.

"Particularly since avenues of freedom of expression have been affected by the state of emergency."

He stresses the need for worker poets to organise. Mzwakhe says: "One cannot be a coal, burning alone - then one will go cold very quickly. One needs to burn together with other coals - then the conflagration (fire) will grow."

The poems below are from the Orange Free State where miner poets are starting to come together to discuss and perform their work.

## LET US NOT FORGET

*Dear fellow workers,  
Let us step into the shoes,  
Of the families of our fellow workers,  
Who have lost their lives in the mining accidents,  
Let us be part and parcel of them.*

*Dear brethrens,  
Let us wear the skins,  
Of the families of our brothers,  
Who have been consumed by death,  
Let us be part and parcel of them.*

*Dear comrades,  
Let us see what,*

*The families of our brothers,  
Are facing in this sick world,  
Let us be part and parcel of them.*

*Dear Africans,  
Let us feel,  
What the families of our brothers feel,  
Then we will know,  
Who we are, what we are and why we are.*

*Dear Africans,  
Let us not forget,  
Our brothers who become martyrs,  
For our liberty,  
We shall rise from the forlorn,  
And reign supreme among other nations.*

Stephen Rakgosi

## ALUTA CONTINUA

*The structure of our country is rough,  
The land of our forefathers has been confiscated,  
Don't quit young Africans,  
The struggle continues.*

*Youth of Africa,  
We have become strangers in the land of our birth,  
Don't allow it to continue,  
Don't retreat young Africans,  
The struggle continues.*

*We are the backbone of this country's economy,  
But in this country's wealth we share not,  
Therefore, fight workers,  
The struggle continues.*

*The heart of Africa is bleeding for our rights,  
Our beloved country needs our valour,  
The way to freedom bounds non quitters,  
Therefore, don't quit workers,  
The struggle continues.*

Edwin 'Mapeta' Tekane

**In the Orange Free State mineworkers are writing poetry and starting to organise themselves around issues of culture and liberation**

## VICTORY IS CERTAIN

*Mothers and father of Africa  
Shall you prick your ears and listen  
listen to the voice*

*Listen to the sound  
bursting through the bullet-riddled walls of Luanda  
Walls that gave refuge to PLAN combatants  
Combatants who routed the racist battalions  
on the valleys of Cuito Quinavale*

*Listen to this voice  
bringing tides of joy  
to the people  
tides of liberation  
to the nation*

*Sons and daughters of our Mother-soil  
Shall you rouse from your slumbers and listen  
divorce your siestas*

*Listen to the voice  
piercing through the billows of Walvis Bay  
Billows that rejected the anchoring of racist colonial ships  
Ships that brought war, injustice and famine  
to the land of peace, hospitality and plenty.*

*Listen to this great voice  
making promises of a happy future  
to Namibians  
promises of Uhuru  
to South Africans*

*Roar young lions of my country, roar  
As we're listening to the voice of hope  
thundering like a limpet-mine explosion  
rumbling over the dusty streets of Katutura  
Streets saturated with rivulets of blood  
Blood swallowed over time immemorial  
Blood that oozed from gaping wounds of innocent babies  
Wounds inflicted by barbaric Koevoet cannibals  
products of a racist womb.*

*Students, teachers, parents and workers  
hear this voice*

*Hear this sound  
through the toyi-toyi stamping feet of the energetic youth  
in the sharp ululation of a choking Namibian women  
under the tear-gas perfumed cloud of the slum and ghetto  
Bidding welcome back home to the SWAPO exiles*

*We will hear this same voice  
whispered on the half desert-land of Namaqua  
We will hear this same sound  
rumbling on the banks of the famous Limpopo  
We will hear this same voice  
shouting in the dense forests of Louis Trichardt  
We will hear this same sound  
roaring in the ever lively streets of Mamelodi  
We will hear this same voice  
bursting through the motors of capitalist machines*

*We will hear this same sound  
clattering through Holiday Inns' sculleries  
We will hear this same voice  
announcing VICTORY to us*

*Ask Pee Wee about this voice  
he'll tell you that it causes strokes  
Ask F.W. about this voice  
he'll tell you how how bald it makes one to be  
Ask Terry about this voice  
he'll tell you how good a music it is for laager*

*But remember  
this is not a voice from a minuscule opera  
for no racist violin can match its sound*

*But a voice from an overwhelming majority  
A voice of citizens*

*united  
A voice of patriots  
determined*

*A voice of comrades  
committed*

*A voice that knows only one truth  
that Freedom or Death...VICTORY IS CERTAIN*

# Workers fight for injury rights

**THE NUM has launched a campaign to make sure all workers who are injured get proper compensation and their rights.**

NUM says the two main problems regarding compensation are many workers do not get paid out while others do not get enough money.

COSH says more than 12 000 mineworkers are badly injured at work every year. All of these workers are entitled to compensation or injury money.

But compensation money is paid according to a law called the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1941.

This law gives workers the right to get compensated for illness and injuries which result from work. But the law discriminates against black workers.

Compensation money is calculated on the basis of wages. Because black workers earn so little money, the compensation paid out is very low.

Some of the aims of the campaign are:

- To ensure that every injured or sick worker gets compensated.

This can be done by making sure that every injury is reported.

The doctor who treats a worker for an injury or illness must explain the problem and treatment properly. He must also write a proper report.

Management must fill in a compensation claim form and send it together with the doctor's report to the compensation commissioner or to Rand Mutual Hospital.

A union member must accompany the injured or sick worker to hospital to make sure that these things are done.

- Worker must make sure that they receive the right amount of money.

They must demand that management gives a proper breakdown of the compensation money. Some of the questions asked must be: What is it for? How was it calculated? Have there been any deductions? What are they for and how much are they?

The amounts can also then be double checked at the unions' offices where there is a copy of the law and the union's compensation manual.

- Workers must start demanding more money.



**An injured workers is rushed to hospital. But who will make sure he gets adequately compensated?**

Union members must discuss what they think a good compensation system should take into account.

Problems with compensation can be raised in the branch committee meetings with management. Demands can also be raised in Chamber negotiations, and the union can go to the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner with these demands.

The law also needs to be discussed and changes proposed. The 1989 NUM congress resolved that we must fight for removal of all racist definitions in the Workmen's Compensation Act.

- Injured workers must be re-trained.

Most workers who are injured or who become paraplegics through mine accidents can never return to their old jobs.

They are sentenced to a lifetime of unemployment. Workers can change this situation.

At our 1989 congress delegates resolved to put pressure on management and the Chamber to set up training centres where these workers can learn new skills to make them self sufficient.

Workers interested in health and safety should discuss whether we need to set up special campaign committees at branch and regional levels.

The task of these committees will be to identify the problems and to see that they are being followed up.

## ACCIDENT MONITOR

**ELANDSRAND GOLD MINE:** - Two miners died and three were injured in an accident on 19 May. The accident happened when two material cars went out of control in an incline shaft.

One mineworker died in a rockfall on the 25 May.

**STILFONTEIN:** - A mineworker died on 8 May after a fall of ground at the Hartebeesfontein gold mine. The accident occurred at the Number 6 shaft.

**KLOOF:** - Six workers died on the 9 of May at Gold Fields' Kloof Mine.

The workers died after falling down a 30 m stope ore pass after a steel grid on which they stood collapsed.

On April 17 one worker died in a rock-fall, and four were killed on 29 April.

**BLYVOORUITZICHT:** - Five miners died after a rock burst and 48 were injured on 27 April.

**WESTERN DEEP LEVELS WEST:** - Two miners died and three were injured after a rock-burst on 26 April in no 2 shaft.

One worker was killed in another rock burst on 2 June.

**VAAL REEFS SOUTH:** - One mineworker was killed on 30 May.

**VAAL REEFS WEST:** - Two workers were killed and one injured on 25 May.

**WEST DRIEFONTEIN:** - Two workers died in a rock fall on 2 June.

**PRESIDENT BRAND:** - One worker died in a rock fall in no 4 shaft on 10 May while another was killed in no 3 shaft. On 22 May a third worker died.

**ST HELENA:** - Two workers were killed on 16 May, one in a cage accident on the surface and another in a rock fall underground.

**HARMONY:** - A rock fall underground claimed the lives of two workers on 23 May.

## AIDS is a world problem

NUM OFFICIAL, May Hermanus, attended the world AIDS conference at the beginning of June.

More than 12000 people from all parts of the world went to Montreal, Canada for the week long conference.

The keynote address was by Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, whose fifth son had died of AIDS in 1987. Dr Kaunda said: "AIDS affects my family, my nation, my country and my world."

He called on people "to unite to defeat this appalling adversary" which threatens the human race.

Speakers said AIDS was a dis-

case which needed medical resources as well as social and political action to combat it.

They pointed out that although AIDS could affect anyone, it flourished in a world where poor people were exploited by rich people.

Comrade May said that all the people she spoke to at the conference said that AIDS was a problem across the world - from Peru to North America, from Chile to Spain.

A speaker from South Africa, UCT Professor Gideon Knobel, criticised the apartheid government for its racist and short-sighted approach to AIDS.

## WORKERS OF THE WORLD



### British NUM celebrates 100 years

**BRITAIN:** - The British NUM celebrated its centenary from 16 - 18 June.

**ITALY:** - Over 14 million Italian workers took part in a four hour general strike in May in a protest against a government decision to charge for hospitals and medical prescriptions.

Unions saw the new charges as an attack on the "right to health". Signatures are also being collected across Italy in support of a bill which will make mandatory sanctions against South Africa law in Italy.

**HOLLAND:** - The largest transport union in the country is to call for a wild-cat strike to boycott all South African coal.

The Dutch unionists want their sister unions in Belgium, West Germany, Great Britain, Ireland and France to put pressure on their own harbour authorities for such an immediate boycott.

**MOROCCO:** - Coal miners in Jerada, Morocco, recently won an eight week strike for a 20 percent wage increase, minimum wage, and general improvements.

The Democratic Worker's Federation (CDT) says that, despite the victory, conditions on the government owned mine are a violation of trade union and human rights, as well as extremely dangerous.

## Belgian miners battle police

TWO thousand miners are fiercely resisting the closing down of Belgium's last two remaining coal mines at Beringer and Zolder in Limburg.

Dozens of miners have been injured in several pitched battles with police who use teargas, batons and have fired warning shots. Belgian miners have been armed with iron bars, stones and chains.

Earlier government plans had said coal production would cease in 1996. However, it was then announced the mines would close in to 1992 - four years early.

The mineworkers are angry because no consultation took place over the decision to close. The early closure date will mean many miners will lose part of their pen-

sions.

Mineworkers are demanding that their pensions be paid in 1992 as if they had worked until 1996 - a demand refused by the mineowners.

The Miners International Federation (MIF) said miners worldwide supported the Belgian mineworker comrades in "their struggles for their legitimate right to a decent standard of living for themselves and their families, by obtaining a guarantee of adequate and stable economic resources, which they deserve a thousand times over, considering their difficult working conditions and the wealth they have contributed to their country, ensuring its development and independence".



A policeman falls to the ground while trying to escape stick-wielding miners from Belgium. The miners want to keep Belgium's last two coal mines open while management and the government are pushing to close them down early.



Victory waves from SWAPO fighters as Namibia moves to independence

# Free to vote for SWAPO

ON November 1, all Namibian people will for the first time be able to vote in a general election for their organisation - the South West People's Organisation (SWAPO).

Namibians will be voting for delegates to the Constituent Assembly, which will be drawing up the constitution which will make laws for the governing of the country.

And if SWAPO wins a two thirds majority in the election, it will be able to draft the constitution itself.

But if it wins less than two thirds, it will be forced to draft the constitution with other parties.

Unlike in South Africa where the African National Congress (ANC) is totally banned, SWAPO's internal non-violent wing has been able to operate above the ground in Namibia.

### Mass struggles

It has been at the forefront of the mass struggles in the country for many years and most of the country's progressive organisations are either SWAPO affiliates, like the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) or work very closely with SWAPO like the Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO).

SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), has been banned for 23 years since its guerrillas took up arms against the South African occupation of their country in 1966.

The PLAN guerrillas will also be returning to their country to help build a future without the SADF.

SWAPO is deeply suspicious of

Namibians look forward to independence but the shadow of the South African army has not been banished yet. Here in South Africa COSATU has decided to send volunteers to aid the Namibian struggle.

the role that it expects South Africa to play in the election process.

As SWAPO information officer Peter Manning said: "The (South African government) was forced to implement Resolution 435 but it does not enter the process with any regard for the concept of fairness in the election, nor it being a vehicle for Namibia to gain genuine independence."

South Africa is keeping the entire 30 000 SWATF force on full pay during the implementation of 435.

And SWAPO says that while Pretoria claims that the notorious Koevoet has been demobilised, in actual fact members have been incorporated into the existing police force.

At the moment, Namibia is very like South Africa, with white Namibians earning 25 times more than poverty-stricken black Namibians.

### Mixed economy

SWAPO has dedicated itself to destroying this inequality. If it comes to power, SWAPO has promised to introduce a mixed economy.

At present, SWAPO does not plan to nationalise the mines. But according to the SWAPO leadership, taxes will be introduced to ensure that the country

as a whole benefits from the profits made from the country's minerals.

Much of the money from these taxes will be channelled into other sectors of the economy to make sure that they also grow.

### Watch on companies

Foreign companies will also be regulated to make sure that they do not take all of the profits out of the country. At the moment, over 35% of the wealth produced in Namibia ends up overseas.

SWAPO also says foreign investor's labour policies will be watched carefully to make sure that they do not exploit their workers.

### Land shared

SWAPO will also see to it that there is a fairer distribution of land among the country's people. At present, wealthy white farmers and privately owned small holdings will be allowed though, says SWAPO.

But it also plans to introduce co-operative farms, run by the people with the help of the state, and state farms.

People living in the more rural part of Namibia near Angola, suffered most in the war against the SADF, and redeveloping this war-torn area will be a priority for SWAPO.

**IN South Africa the government refuses to recognise May Day as a paid public holiday.**

Instead it has imposed "worker day (first Friday in May) on South African workers. But millions of workers refuse to accept the government imposed holiday, calling it "Botha Day". The NUM and Cosatu has demanded May Day as a paid public holiday.

But although mining magnates who own other industries have granted workers in some factories May Day, they refuse to do this in the mining industry.

### May Day is Ours

May Day is Ours! Mineworkers must reclaim the day and take our holiday along with other workers throughout the world.

The first time May Day was celebrated in South Africa was in 1904 when a group of socialists took over Market Square in Johannesburg.

The force that was to put May Day firmly on the calendar in South Africa was the International Socialist League (which dissolved in 1921 to form the Communist Party of South Africa).

### Down with colour bars

Up to this point May Day celebrations in South Africa had been strictly white. The ISL took up the difficult challenge of uniting the working class across colour lines.

The bosses realised the advantages of a working class split across colour lines and fostered divisions. For example in factories African workers were paid far less while on the mines there was job reservation.

In 1917 the May Day celebrations included an African speaker for the first time. He was Horatio Mbele, a Transvaal activist in the young African National Congress.

### Rand revolt

The demand for May Day as a paid public holiday grew. But the Rand Revolt of 1922 set back the chances of non racial unity for many years.

White workers revolted against mine owners because their privileged position was threatened. The strike was viciously crushed by the government, army and air force.

But the pressure for May Day continued. In 1925 Clements Kadalie, general secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa, wrote to the all-white South African Trade Union Congress and informed them of the ICU decision to take part in May Day celebrations.

In the early 1930s May Day was celebrated in different ways. The white registered unions sup-

# MAY DAY IS OURS

ported May Day - but such meetings were closed to African workers.

At the same time there were the militant mass meetings called by the Communist Party.

The economic depression weakened the Communist Party and labour movement for much of the 1930s and few celebrations took place. May Day, 1937 once more heralded massive celebrations, and the same for 1938 and 1939.

It was during the 1940's that May Day was most often observed - the focus being during the war on promoting internationalism and fighting fascism.

The Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) played a significant role during this period uniting workers under the slogans of "we want bread" and "work for wages".

### Freedom Day strike

CNETU (trade union congress), the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress called for a general stayaway and demonstrations to fight the Suppression of Communism Bill and to support demands for higher wages and better working conditions.

The Nationalist government - which had been in power for two years - mobilised all its resources. Meetings were banned and the army patrolled the streets.

Despite the harassment, however, the stayaway was widely observed. May Day 1950 was South Africa's first mass worker stayaway - it had become a day of mass political struggle against exploitation and oppression.

After the freedom strike the tradition of May Day declined in the face of growing state repression. In the 1950's the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Congress movement struggled to keep the May Day celebrations alive.

### Period of silence

The 1960s were also a period of silence. May Day left the streets, along with the organisations that had been unable to withstand the attack of the bosses and government.

It was only with the growth of the progressive trade union movement in the 1970s and 1980s that the tradition of May Day was recovered.



May Day in Namibia: a celebration of worker power

## May Day unity on worker Act

**WORKERS** at May Day rallies across the country have decided to write a new workers' Labour Relations Act and present it to the bosses. NUM members throughout the country joined other COSATU affiliates at rallies and meetings on 1 May.

Speaking in the Orange Free State, Comrade President James Motlatsi said: "The bosses have made the Labour Relations Act to try and break our unions." "Let us break this chain. Let us draw up our own Labour Relations Act that speaks about the needs and demands of the workers."

Comrade Motlatsi said the Workers Summit had recommended workers countrywide should draw up their own Act - which covers all sectors of our class including farm, domestic, forestry and public sector workers.

"After we have submitted our own Act, we will give the bosses 30 days to respond to our demands. If they refuse to make positive progress towards meeting our demands, workers will call a national dispute."

He said the lesson to be learnt from the history of May Day was that organisation, unity and democracy were the pillars of our struggle.

Among other places, rallies were held at Sowe o, Phalaborwa, Secunda, Rustenberg, and Kimberley.

MAY Day is celebrated by millions of workers in countries across the world. It is a celebration of working class power and culture on May 1.

May Day started as a struggle for an eight hour day. The idea of a special workers' day started in Australia in 1856. Workers saw it as a way of uniting around their demands for a shorter working day and better working conditions.

The idea of a self-proclaimed workers holiday spread to other countries. In 1886 American workers decided to hold a general strike in support of the demand for an eight hour day.

Like bosses the world over, American farm and mine owners forced men, women and children to labour for 18 hours a day six days a week. Conditions were dangerous and wages low.

### The beginning

After months of organising on May 1, 1886, 350 000 workers in 11 562 places of work went on strike. They won a big victory as nearly half were granted an eight hour day while others won a nine or ten hour day (but still a six day week).

However the strike took its toll. The bosses took their revenge and on May 3 six workers were gunned down by police. Four worker leaders were charged and executed.

### International day

The Second International, an international socialist organisation started in 1889 supported the idea of a workers day. It called for a "great international demonstration so that in all countries and in all cities on our appointed day, the toiling masses shall demand the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours."

May 1 was the chosen day. The first international Labour Day took place celebrated by workers in Austria, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Britain and the United States.

From that day May Day became an important feature in the struggle of workers for both improved conditions and socialism. May Day symbolised the class struggle and the exploitation of workers. It also showed the strength and power of the working class to change history.

### Unites across borders

What is also important about May Day is that it unites the working class across national borders.

In the Soviet Union the Bolshevik revolution brought the Russian working class into power in 1917. May Day became an official state holiday.



# A Soweto son comes home

**Describe how you saw the events leading up to 16 June 1976?**

I was in Std 9 at Musi High in Pimville.

The protests against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction had started at the end of 1975.

In February and March of 1976 students at one or two schools had called for the withdrawal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. By late May seven schools had gone on strike.

SASM, the high school version of SASO, was involved in organising a march to Orlando Stadium.

**Chris Mathabe has just been released from Robben Island where he spent nine years arising out of his student activities. He was an executive member of the Soweto Students League before his arrest in 1979. NUM News interviewed him about the June 1976 uprising.**

**Describe the events of that day?**

What happened on that day will go down in our people's history. June 16 was a typical Transvaal mid-winter day.

It was warm, not freezing cold. The news had spread through all

the schools that June 16 was going to be the day of the march from Morris Isaacson. The mood was one of excitement.

At our school immediately after assembly the whole school dispersed. We were marching West to join the other marchers.

The whole time other schools

and groups of pupils were joining in. All the way along the march was peaceful although pupils were excited.

I wasn't in the crowd that the police fired on, killing Hector Petersen and others. That happened before our school reached that point. All we saw was smoke and police convoys everywhere.

Then the news of the killings spread. At once the atmosphere changed. People were very angry and the burning started.

Many symbols of white rule like beerhalls and council offices were attacked.

The protests carried on through that night. Twenty five people were killed that day and 200 injured.

**What was the response of workers?**

Now you must remember at that time workers were not organised like they are today: there was no COSATU or political formations like UDF. Workers were more concerned about the education problem as parents, than in political terms.

There was a feeling of great anger in the hearts of all the people of Soweto - housewives, the unemployed and even the small children. From then on it was war. Day after day we would go to school to meet and then go into the streets.

From the day of the march the schools were never the same. The schools served as assembly points. They were the only places where students could meet together and get information about developments.

**What was the state of organisation at that time?**

There were no proper structures for co-ordination apart from the student grouping. Students recognised that they had to involve parents - that without the support of the working people

the problems of education could not be resolved.

On the 4 August there was a call by the newly formed Soweto Students Representative Council for a stayaway.

Eighty five percent of Johannesburg's workers responded. During 1976 there were three stayaways. Although most people stayed away willingly some of them were coerced.

It was a very different situation to that of today where people are more political and have been mobilised and are not intimidated into staying away.

As we entered 1977 our demands shifted. We were not only looking at the problem of Afrikaans, or even of Bantu Education but the whole system.

In April students staged a march to protest the 80 percent rise in rents. In June the Urban Bantu Council collapsed.

June of 1977 was a sad time. On 10 June 21 people, including the newly elected president of the SSRC, Dan Montsitsi, were arrested. Many people didn't go to work and stayed at home to remember their dead. That was the start of the June 16 commemorations which have now become an annual event. In October 1977 the SSRC and eighteen other organisations were banned.

**How have things changed while you were in prison?**

The main development can be summed up in the word "unity". The development of the trade unions have also created a platform where issues can be discussed. And education is not seen as a separate issue but part and parcel of the struggle.

The most pressing demand for the struggle as a whole, particularly the working class, is that of unity. On the basis of that unity demands like June 16 being a paid public holiday for mineworkers can be attained.



Former Soweto student leader CHRIS MATHABE will never forget the events of June 16

## ANC guidelines on future South Africa:

**NUM will debate the African National Congress' Constitutional Guidelines at local, regional and national level.**

This was resolved at the Sixth National Congress of the NUM held in Johannesburg during April.

Workers pointed out that the present apartheid constitution was not aimed at protecting the interests of the majority of South Africans.

Apartheid and capitalism can only be ended if a restructuring process, based on the Freedom Charter can begin now. The restructuring should be aimed at achieving a non-racial society and provide a firm basis for national reconciliation and co-operation between different

communities.

The exploitation of workers, which presently continues unabated, can only be ended in a dispensation where the means of production belong to the working class, the Congress pointed out.

"We need to discuss and debate these guidelines because in them lies the the future constitution of South Africa. Unlike all National Party imposed options, the final outcome will be the product of participation", the NUM President, Comrade James Motlatsi said in his opening address at the Congress.

He was supported by Comrade Murphy Morobe who said the guidelines can be an instrument and campaign to encourage debate, discussion and organisation of the constitutional future of our country.

"We need to shape our future today! What we do today will guarantee the direction tomorrow", Comrade Morobe said.

Workers said because the apartheid regime and the racial policies of the National Party have sown deep divisions and encouraged interracial hostilities, there was a need for the Mass Democratic Movement to start discussions with a view of shaping a democratic constitutional dispensation in South Africa.

The National Party has manipulated cultural and language differences among the people of South Africa to enforce division and protect white minority rule.

**Product of struggle**

The Constitutional Guidelines came about as a result of the massive assault by the oppressed on the apartheid regime between

1984 and early 1987.

The ruling bloc experiencing serious cracks in its ranks came up with promises of reform and negotiation in an attempt to immobilise the struggling masses.

But by its actions the regime made it clear that power would remain in the hands of the white minority, although it was prepared to make certain gestures towards "power-sharing".

This was the background to the decision of the leadership of the ANC to examine different constitutional options and models for a future democratic non-racial South Africa.

The illegitimacy of the apartheid regime and the right of the oppressed to a democratic alternative to apartheid had to be asserted.

The Constitutional Committee of the ANC was formed in

January 1986.

The Guidelines are not meant to substitute the Freedom Charter but to carry it forward.

The Freedom Charter has a central place in the history of the constitutional development of our struggle. In the last ten years it been adopted as a programme by organisations in the democratic movement.

It projects a vision arising out of the struggles and demands of the people, which any future constitution for a non-racial democratic South Africa will be based upon.

The Preamble of the Guidelines emphasises the Guidelines present no changes whatsoever in our demands for full political, economic and social participation in the government of South Africa.

# JUNE 16

## A day to remember

**THE struggles by students against racist Bantu Education form part of the struggle for national liberation led by the working class.**

On June 16, 1976 20 000 students started a peaceful march through Soweto to protest against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction in schools.

The reaction of the racist government was violent and direct. Over 600 people were killed while more than 3000 were arrested. Hundreds of our youth were maimed or had to flee into exile.

Thirteen years of bitter struggle have followed since then. Thousands of our people have died in ongoing state violence in South Africa.

### Loss of lives

The working class has been drawn directly into this bitter struggle. It has suffered the loss of its sons and daughters. Along with the students, thousands of workers have been victims of the State and its collaborators.

In 1976 the youth of South Africa took the struggle against inferior education into their own hands. In doing so, they broadened the liberation struggle and attacked the very roots of oppression and exploitation.

In the last 13 years we have seen struggle and organisation develop in many areas.

The demands of the students include a free and equal "People's Education", the right to form democratic SRCs, an Education charter, the removal of racist and sexist forms of education; proper facilities and free books, improved facilities etc.

Why should workers involve themselves in the students demands? This is a question often asked, and because people have not been clear on it this sometimes leads to confusion and division.

The working class must recognise the sacrifices of our children and we must take forward the claims they have made for a proper system of education.

### Parents and workers

Students have called on workers for their support in the struggle both as parents and as members of the working class.

The youth and students, on the other hand, have on many occasions offered their support and solidarity to workers such as in the Great Miners Strike of 1987 when student groups collected blankets and tins.

Sometimes there are problems and conflict between workers and students. We have to recognise this weakens the struggle as a whole and attempt to build unity among all sections of the African people.

For this unity to be built we have to understand the problems and differences in organising students on the one hand and wor-



The youth of today are the workers of tomorrow

**Every June 16 hundreds of thousands of workers stay away from work. NUM is demanding June 16 as a paid public holiday on all mines. Why is it important for workers to support the education struggle?**

kers on other. We must also see how important the education struggle is for workers, and the liberation of the working class and all of society.

### Racist ideas

Education is important because of the skills it gives and because of the ideas people learn. In South Africa the content of education is that of the bosses and the racist government.

Our youth do not learn the history of the struggles against the early colonialists, of the great battles in the past, of the militant struggles of the people, and of the growth of the working class and organisations.

For the workers struggle it means that people only really learn about their past or the benefits of organisation when they join trade unions.

Education and knowledge must liberate us, it must allow us

to develop as human beings. At the moment in capitalist South Africa knowledge is used to oppress workers.

We are told our work is "manual" or unskilled labour and we do not deserve to get paid as much as "mental" or thinking people such as doctors or engineers. This is as if we do not work as hard. Or we do not think about our work while daily risking our lives.

In socialist countries this division between "mental" labour and "manual" labour is seen as false and people get paid according to their work.

The present education system is created for the purpose of keeping the working class in ideological bondage.

The education system is meant to teach only the ideas, values and ways of the ruling classes. But we know education is vital in the liberation struggle. Education must serve the interests of the vast majority of people.

# call to workers to discuss constitution

The Guidelines suggest a unitary, democratic, non-racial state with the power belonging to the people as a whole and exercised through one central legislature, executive and administration.

For more efficient administration and democratic participation powers will be delegated by the central authority to subordinate administrative units. Universal suffrage based on one person one vote is advocated.

The people's government will strive to create a single national identity as South Africans above loyalties of race, ethnicity, religion, language and religion.

To encourage foster national unity, the government would have to carefully sketch a policy to counter all the remains of apartheid, especially the forces of ethnicity.

Government policy should aim to reach all the people in all areas, especially the rural areas where the bantustan system is presently rooted.

### Bill Of Rights

The NUM congress noted under the brutal racist regime there is no guarantee of fundamental human rights of all citizens - indeed the majority is exploited.

The guidelines advocate a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the fundamental rights of the citizens and the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

The practice of racism and the encouraging of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred will be punishable by law.

A multiparty system, the right to education, the protection of the right to work and social se-

curity are guaranteed.

The Bill of Rights would be a means of enlarging people's freedoms in order to improve the quality of their lives.

### Mixed economy

The economic policy advocated by the guidelines is a mixed economy. The State will ensure the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of all sections of the population.

Development policy will be the task of the State. There would be a public sector, private sector, co-operative sector and a small scale family sector.

The private sector shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in the realisation of the broad development goals of the country.

Racial ownership of land will be abolished through a pro-

gramme of land reform that will ensure that land is given to those who have a real need for it like victims of forced removals.

### Workers' Charter

Recognising the leading role of the working class in our struggle for freedom and the building of a new society, the Guidelines suggest the inclusion of a Charter protecting worker's trade union rights, such as the right to strike and collective bargaining.

For the gender question, the guidelines advocate equal rights in all spheres of public and private life for women. The state has to ensure that inequalities and discrimination between the sexes is eliminated.

A free South Africa will be committed to the policy of non-alignment and the principles of the OAU Charter and the Char-

ter of the United Nations.

A post apartheid S.A would declare its solidarity with the forces of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

The oppressed people organised in their democratic structures have to participate in the process of mapping out our future constitution. The guidelines can be a basis for further discussion and enrichment.

Thus the guidelines have to be studied critically by the people for further development.

They have to be studied and criticised in the actual field of struggle for mobilisation and organisation against the apartheid system.

The guidelines should serve as a campaign to mobilise and organise the broad spectrum of all anti-apartheid forces.

# Goal of soccer bodies is unity

The process of unifying soccer clubs into a single non-racial controlling body recently received a boost when representatives from South Africa's major soccer bodies gathered in Johannesburg for unity talks.

The meeting chaired by Krish Naidoo of the National Sports Congress which convened the talks, was attended by four major soccer bodies in South Africa.

These were the Soccer Association of S.A (SASA), S.A Soccer Federation (SASF), the Football Association of S.A (FASA) and the S.A National Football Association (SANFA).

The four bodies have a combined membership of hundreds of thousands.

The attendance of key figures in the mass democratic movement, COSATU's President Cde Elijah Barayi, Assistant General Secretary Cde Sydney Mufamadi, and the Acting Publicity Secretary of the now banned UDF, Cde Murphy Morobe, underlined the significance of the talks.

## Dreams into reality

The talks give hope to what for many is a practically impossible dream of forming a single controlling body under apartheid.

Each body was represented by six delegates and five observers, while the NSC was represented by four delegates and two observers.

Each body's delegation had a full mandate from their respective structures.

The general masses view the talks as a move that will enable the soccer players to form their union, which they publicly talk about but are seemingly hesitant to pursue the matter.

## Worker players

Some of the top players are shop stewards at their work places and taking their working class leadership and experiences to the soccer game would eliminate exploitation of the game by capitalists and greedy soccer bosses and put an end to the UN sports boycott busters.

After much deliberations, all bodies resolved to appoint an eight-man commission to investigate and make recommendations on:

- The principle of non-racialism upon which a future single soccer controlling body would operate; and
- The implementation of such principles by a future body.

The commission will consist of two representatives from each of the four bodies. The commission is provisionally scheduled to report back to the four organisations on August 19 at the next meeting in Port Elizabeth which will be convened and chaired by NSC's Krish Naidoo.

Both SASA and SASF last year held separate talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in Harare.



A packed stadium watches an exciting match between Cosmos and Pirates. Many thousands of soccer fans want the soccer associations to form a single, non-racial controlling body.

## National Sports Congress looks at mass-based future

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NUM NEWS is published by the National Union of Mineworkers, 4th floor, National Acceptances House, Crn of Rissik and Anderson Sts, Johannesburg, 2000.



UNITY in sports will be on the agenda of the National Sports Congress (NSC) symposium from 15 to 16 July at Witwatersrand University.

Well known sports players and community and trade union leaders will debate various issues which could lead to common ground.

The theme of the conference is "towards a disciplined, healthy sports movement in preparation for a post-apartheid South Africa". At least 23 different codes of sport and more than 500 delegates are expected to attend.

Points on the agenda are:

- the concept of mass-based

- non-racial sport - introduced by Silas Nkanunu (rugby);
- the future of sport in South Africa - introduced by Kgalema Motlanthe (National Union of Mineworkers Education and Sports desk)
- the need for a sports conference - introduced by Krish Macherdhuji (cricket);
- towards a disciplined, healthy sports movement in preparation for a post-apartheid South Africa - introduced by Prof Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of Cape Town;
- the need for unity in sport - introduced by Mluleki George (NSC);

The difficult issue of sponsorship and what criteria is applied will be discussed by Judy Abrahams (athletics) and Gary May of SA Breweries.

These topics will be dealt with by three groups who will look at unity in sport, mass-based non-racial sport and the future of sport.

Some of the better-known speakers are Ebrahim Patel, Solomon Morewa, Edward Mtshali, Issy Kramer, Tommy Bedford, Goba Ndlovu, Dan Nefolohodwe, Rama Reddy, Gwede Mantashe, Ronnie Pillay and Hope Malgas.

The congress will finish with the appointment of a commission to launch the NSC.