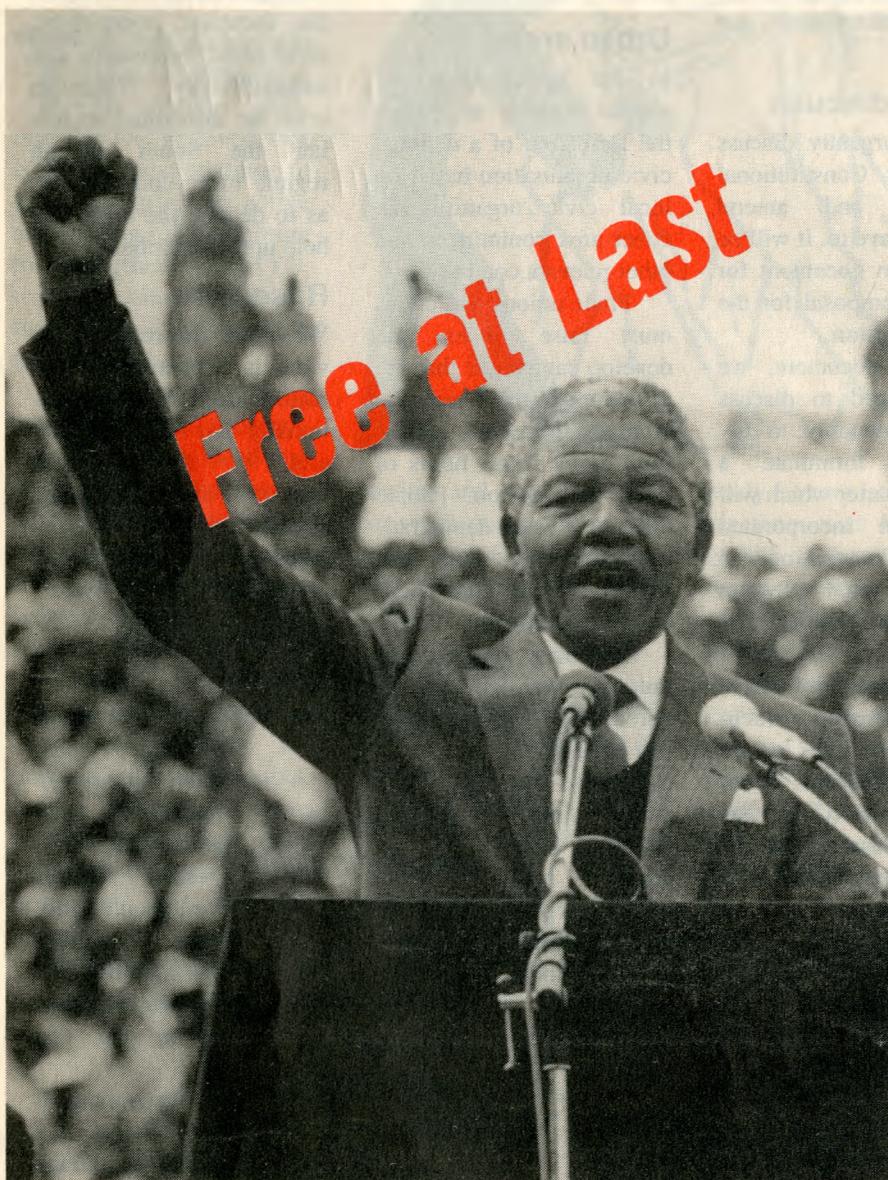


NUMSA

Bulletin



Vol 1 No 1
February 1990

What is to be done?

- Cde Mayekiso p. 2

NUMSA in 1990

- Growing and Leading p. 3
- Restructuring p. 4

The Socialist Project

- E. Europe p. 7
- Cde Slovo p. 9
- SA socialist economy p. 11
- The Social Charter p. 13

About the Bulletin:

...NUMSA structures take many decisions. These decisions are not taken in isolation, they are influenced by events, information and debates. The decisions taken will be found in the official documents and reports of NUMSA

committees and congresses. These decisions are NUMSA policy.

However, as part of the education programme, the Bulletin will carry background articles. These articles are not policy but are part of the educational resources of NUMSA.

No end to violence

- Cde Mchunu p. 15

"What is to be done - the way forward"

Cde Nelson Mandela has been released, political organisations have been unbanned, negotiations have been brought a step closer. Cde Moss Mayekiso, NUMSA General Secretary outlines what the union movement must do in response.

If we are to succeed in tilting the balance of power and the balance of forces to dual power and total power, the working class must lead the present battles over negotiations and in other terrains of struggle.

Organised workers through their workers' organisations are a core-force of the working class. They must lead the struggle in alliance with other progressive organisations who are fighting for democracy since the working class is the most oppressed and exploited class.

But in order to lead we must start now to discuss the way forward. We must propagate discussion about democratic socialism, how the economy should work and how the wealth of the country should be distributed to suit the needs of the people.

To ensure democracy we should make certain that the trade union movement and other organisations like civics are independent of any party politics since their way of mobilising and organising should be non-sectarian and across party politics.

The fight for democracy

that has and is still taking place in Russia and Eastern Europe socialist countries together with Cde Joe Slovo's paper (summarised elsewhere in the Bulletin) and our interpretations of democratic socialism have paved the way towards important discussions and answers.

What to discuss

We must urgently discuss the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines and amend where we have to. It will be a foundation document for the future proposal for the new Constitution.

In this document, we are challenged to discuss the future economy; to discuss and formulate a Workers Charter which will possibly be incorporated into the Constitution; to discuss the land question and the future political dispensation.

We already have Workers Charter documents. These are in the form of proposals from SACP and SACTU, the SACP proposal looks the best; it can be used as a starting point.

Rebuilding organisations

To do all of the above we have to strengthen, build and rebuild organisations - trade unions, civic organisations, political organisations and many other sectoral organisations.

In COSATU and the UDF's assessment, organisations are weak, they do not have democratic structures, they are ineffective since there is a gap between the top leadership and regional and local leadership.

This defeats democratic decision-making, accountability and answerability. This is happening in all levels of our structures. Now that we are faced with negotiations, this democracy is going to be needed most.

Urban areas

In the urban areas we should urgently encourage the formation of a national civic organisation based on local civic organisations, street area committees and other relevant committees.

Trade unions and civics must raise issues and develop campaigns that are of interest to the masses eg. Housing, transport, education, living wage, hours of work and so on. People must be elected democratically and they must then represent their constituencies democratically.

We have noticed our failures where we have ignored these relevant issues and engaged in campaigns that partly failed.

We must have proper programmes - political, economic and local programmes based on local issues.

If we are to succeed in tilting the balance of power.... the working class must lead the present battles over negotiations and in other terrains...

Rural areas

Rural areas must be targeted as a priority, especially Transkei and KwaZulu where people there have already taken initiatives. The setting up of democratic committees is essential. Again we must pick up on local issues - al-

location of land, bureaucratic chiefs and headmen - and work out plans and programmes.

Intensifying struggles

We must intensify all our struggles on all fronts eg. in the factories, townships, rural areas, nationally and internationally. Sanctions must be intensified to isolate the South African regime more and more so as to deepen the crisis and help uproot apartheid.

Research

We must do research on what is happening in our factories and townships, nationally and internationally and in the political, economic and social fields so as to learn from the mistakes and successes of other people and from our own.

Working class unity

We should encourage working class unity but not antagonise other democratic progressive forces. We should mobilise, organise and stabilise the working class forces to plan and act.

Throughout all the above we should encourage consistent, democratic and open debate. We must talk openly about the future society and work out programmes.

The working class itself must take the above initiatives for it has nothing to lose but its chains!

Growing and Leading

The CC in October 1989 decided to increase subs to R1,50 per week from the 1st February 1990. In this short article we look at why they did that.

The first reason was that in looking at the present situation the CC believed that NUMSA must continue to grow and play an active and leading role in helping to strengthen COSATU, working class organisations and the liberation movement.

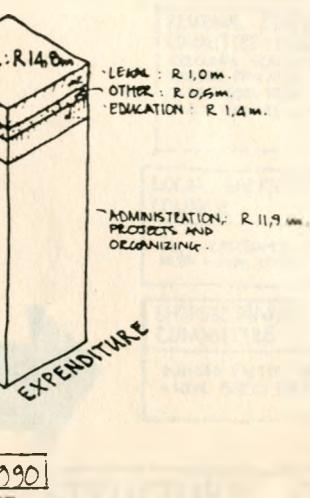
This meant expanding our activities and programmes. The choice faced was do we stand still because of lack of funds or do we try and increase our income. With our future at stake it seemed madness to stand still.

Secondly, our membership is growing requiring new offices, more organisers and administrators, more meetings, more stationery and phone calls and new computer equipment to keep accurate records.

When the CC looked at the budget for these ex-

panded programmes and larger membership it worked out at a planned expenditure of R14,8 million in 1990. With our estimated mem-

May 1987. It is now



nearly 3 years later. During this time costs have risen by 30%. In the same period our membership grew by a little bit more than 30% meaning that in real terms our financial position in 1990 was very little better than in 1987. But if you compare NUMSA's activities and programmes in 1990 with those of 1987 one would hardly believe that they were the same union. Growth needed an increase in subs that would improve our real income position not just take us back to our 1987 starting point.

Reducing expenditure?

One answer to our problems that the CC examined carefully was whether we couldn't reduce expenditure. No member of the CC favoured reduction of expenditure that would reduce our activities. The possibility looked at was whether we could carry out



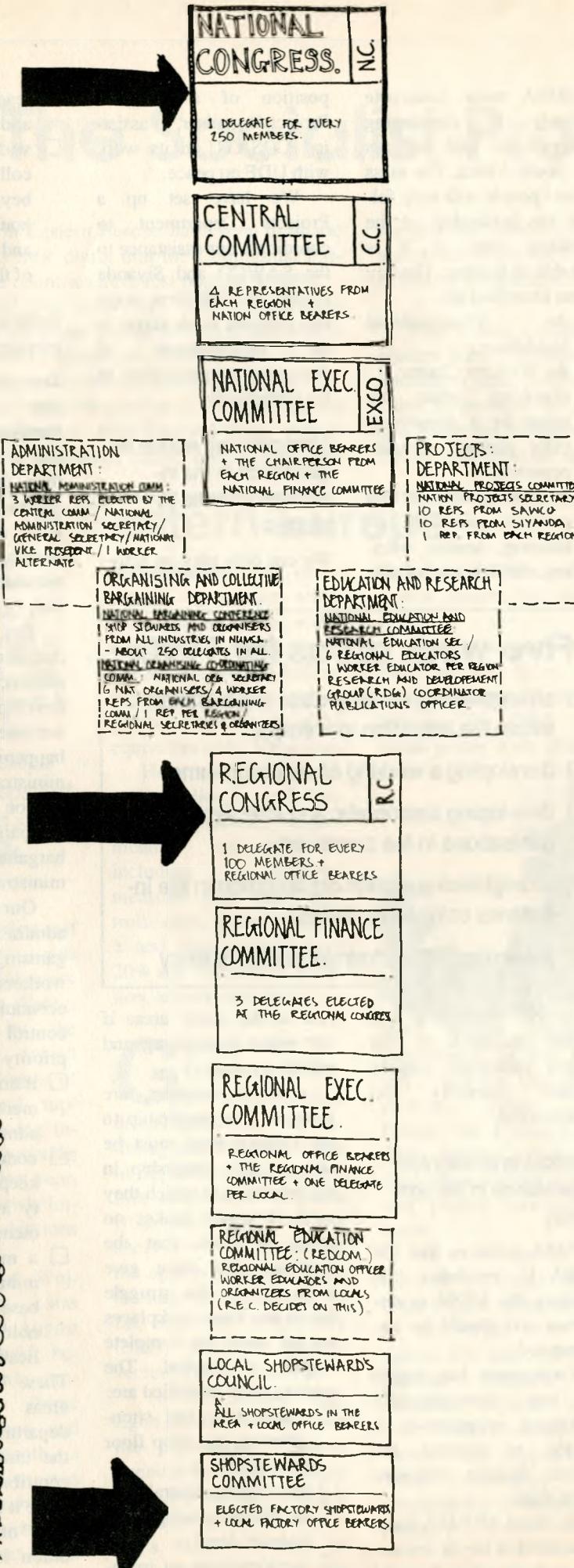
our planned programmes by reducing wasteful expenditure elsewhere.

For reasons that we'll look at next the National Finance Committee and the CC carefully examined expenditure in the last 3 months of 1989. In fact certain activities were cancelled. New procedures were introduced and all parts of NUMSA now work within strict budgeting procedures. The CC is satisfied that very, very little wasteful or unnecessary expenditure occurs.

So the next question was whether we were spending money on the wrong things. The varying percentages of total expenditure accounted for is shown in the expenditure chart. The large items are salaries, rents, meetings and education.

Can we afford to reduce staff? The CC answer was no and nor can we deny staff increases.

Can we reduce meeting



Responsibilities of structures

N.C.:

No. meetings: 1 x 2 years

Responsibility: Highest decision making body in NUMSA. Only NC can change the Constitution. Elects National Office Bearers.

C.C.:

No. meetings: 1 X 6 months

Responsibility: Manages affairs of the union between N.C.'s.

NEC

No. meetings: 1 x 2 months

Responsibility: Coordinates and directs programme decided by the CC; coordinates activities of the four Departmental Committees

Administration Department:

No. meetings: 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: Deals with Finance, Staff, Offices, admin. Reports to NEC

Projects Department:

No. meetings: 3 x 1 year

Responsibility: To coordinate NUMSA's support work for coops and any other projects assigned to it by the CC. Reports to NEC.

Organising and Collective Bargaining Department:

- National Bargaining Conference: (NBC)

No. of meetings: 3 x 1 year

Responsibility: To coordinate all industry and central bargaining in NUMSA and decide on National demands.

- National Organising Coordinating Committee (NOCC)

No. of meetings: 4 x 1 year

Responsibility: To coordinate collective bargaining; implement programme of demands agreed by the NOCC and CC

Education and Research Department

No. of meetings: 3 x 1 year

Responsibility: Coordinate and carry out Ed. Programme decided by CC. To coordinate and administer the Research and Development Groups. Reports to NEC.

Regional Congress

No. of meetings: 3 X 1 year

Responsibility: Highest decision making body in Region

RFC

No. of meetings: 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: Finance in the Region

Regional Executive Committee

No. of meetings: 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: To carry out the regional affairs of the Union between Regional Congresses

Regional Education Committee

No. of meetings: usually 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: To organise and coordinate Regional Education Programme. Reports to REC and Nedcom.

Local Shopstewards Council

No. of meetings: not less than 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: Local activities of the Union

Shopstewards Committee

No. of meetings: 1 x 1 month

Responsibility: deal with factory problems

Key: - - - = non-constitutional structures of the Union

tional union.

The various national committees have now been made responsible for four operating departments in NUMSA. This streamlining of the union will make it more effective in carrying out the work to be done in 1990.

If a union tries to do too much without being clear what it is doing the work for then it will end up doing nothing. A union that does nothing will end up accepting the wages and working conditions offered by capital. Such a union is guilty of economism.

On the other hand just to talk about politics and to be involved in rallies only is of no use to the working class. Many make this mistake.

Our actions and work in NUMSA must contribute to taking the working class forward. What should this work be? Will the work always be the same? NUMSA does not pretend to have the answers to both these questions. However, in analysing the present situation the CC identified 5 work areas in 1990.

Strengthening working class organisation within the liberation movement

Here three main areas were identified

- to contribute to strengthening our federation COSATU and all its affiliates
- to build a closer working relationship with NUM because of the importance of unity between the key metal and mining workers in our economy
- to establish an effective alliance of socialist organisations.

Developing a Working Class Programme

NUMSA must contribute actively to developing programmes and policies for South Africa. The mass of our people will only follow the leadership of the working class if it is capable of leading. The key areas identified are:

- the Constitutional Guidelines
- the Workers Charter
- clarifying what we mean by a democratically planned socialist economy
- developing detailed and concrete proposals on housing, health, training, the structure of col-

position of a full-time Project Organiser, to assisting COSATU in its work with UDF on peace.

We have set up a Projects Department to coordinate our assistance to the SAWCO and Siyanda Coops. In both these ways our purpose is to assist in the development of democratic organisation in the community.

Strengthening worker organisation in the industries covered by NUMSA

We can only play an active

leadership, organisers and members

- widening the areas of collective bargaining beyond wages into housing, health, training and even the structure of the industry.

Achieving 100% administrative efficiency

Too often activists think that administration is bureaucratic. This is only true if administrators rather than members control an organisation. What is not well understood is that democracy cannot survive without good administration.

For people to make decisions they need information; to control and develop their organisation we need to know what's happening, good administration prevents corruption and all effective campaigns and collective bargaining need administration.

Our aim is to show that administration is part of organising and politics. If workers want to control an economy then they must control their union. The priority areas are

- training and development programme for administrators
- computer technology to keep accurate and easily available records of members and finance
- a more effective communications system based on modern technology and regular publications.

These were the five work areas identified. Each department and region of the union should make a contribution in each area since it is a lot of work. The aim of the restructured union is to carry out the programme more effectively.

Five work areas for 1990:

- strengthening working class organisation within the liberation movement
- developing a working class programme
- developing democratic and effective organisations in the community
- strengthening worker organisation in the industries covered by NUMSA
- achieving 100% administrative efficiency

lective bargaining and the structures of two key industries, namely auto assembly and electrical.

Developing democratic organisation in the community

NUMSA believes that the COSATU resolution on building the MDM is important and should be implemented.

Experience has taught us that democratically structured organisation is needed to counter the various divisive strategies of the State.

In Natal NUMSA have committed a lot of resources, including the release of a senior organiser to the

role in the above areas if our union is a strong and effective union.

Also if workers are going to give leadership to the struggle they must be able to give leadership in the industries in which they work. It surely makes no sense to claim that the working class must give leadership in the struggle but in our own workplaces we are under the complete control of capital. The priority areas identified are:

- reactivating and strengthening our shop floor structures
- developing central collective bargaining at an industry level
- implementing an intensive education programme for elected

The Socialist Project

THE events in Eastern Europe have been dramatic and there is little doubt that the Communist Parties in those countries have lost popular support. The capitalist world have been very quick to use these events to claim that socialism is dead. Merely to deny this is not enough. We have to openly and honestly learn the lessons of Eastern Europe and see what their implications are.

Taking a careful look at the position in South Africa and looking at events in Europe - both East and West - is now an important task. The Bulletin carries articles here that

suggest that democracy is very much alive and that if we absorb the lessons of Europe and the USSR then socialism is also very much alive.

This section contains a summary of recent events in Eastern Europe, a summary of points made in an important discussion paper from Comrade Joe Slovo, a summary of a paper on the need for a socialist economy in South Africa and finally the European Social Charter which suggests new directions even in the capitalist world.

Events in Eastern Europe

1989 saw the dramatic collapse of many communist regimes in Eastern Europe. This article examines events leading up to their collapse and political and economic steps that have been taken since their downfalls.

POLAND: First off the post was Poland's Solidarity Party, led by Lech Walesa and supported by the Catholic Church, which survived several years of state violence and suppression before being invited to the negotiating table in February last year, and achieving overwhelming victory in elections held on June 4.

In July General Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected president, in August Tadeusz Mazowiecki became the first non-communist Polish Prime Minister in 40 years, and the following month a coalition government was formed with communists holding only four seats.

Poland's greatest assets are the popularity of its government and the

entrepreneurial flair of its people. Its greatest weakness is its economy, which is weighed down by an external debt of \$40 billion, inflation of 40% and an average worker wage of the equivalent of \$2 500 a year.

Hope of economic recovery lies in a stabilisation programme, implemented this month, including austerity measures and wage controls, open unemployment, a real wage reduction of 20% and "corrective" inflation, among other things.

GERMANY: Mass demonstrations throughout East Germany in September and October met with violent response from the State, but the sheer size and power of the uprising soon put paid to hardline members of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and its general secretary, Eric Honecker.

The SED's new leader, Egon Krenz, failed to woo the population - despite opening the border to West Germany and appointing a reformist prime minister, Hans Modrow - and he resigned after 44 days. The SED changed its name to the Party of Democratic

Socialism (PDS) and chose a new leader, Ms Barbel Bohley.

As yet no single party has emerged as a clear favourite to win elections in March. The PDS may retain power if its allies in



the interim coalition government do not swap sides; and the largest opposition group, New Forum, has a chance if it sticks together and an electoral alliance of six opposition parties survives the strain.

What worries all East German politicians is the mass exodus of its citizens to the West (350 000 people left last year) and possible failure of economic reforms. However, East Germany will receive vital support from West Germany, and restructuring is already underway.

YUGOSLAVIA: The death in 1980 of

authoritarian president Josip Broz Tito spelled the end of unity in Yugoslavia's six extraordinarily diverse republics - Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosvo - and enabled the largest, Serbia, to assert itself.

Reformist prime minister Ante Markovic, who heads the increasingly fragmented and unpopular League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is finding it impossible to quell the rampant nationalism of the republics and find the consensus to push through changes.

To make matters worse, Yugoslavia is crippled with rising unemployment, an inflation rate of more than 1 000% and a debt of \$19 billion. Economic reform revolves around increased foreign investment and a new programme which has introduced tight controls, a convertible currency and a six-month wage freeze.

CZECH-OSLOVAKIA: The people of Czechoslovakia knew exactly who they wanted as their president after their fairly painless uprising brought a weak government to its knees in November 1989.

He was Vaclav Havel, a popular writer and former jailed dissident who emerged as leader of the umbrella opposition group, Civic Forum.

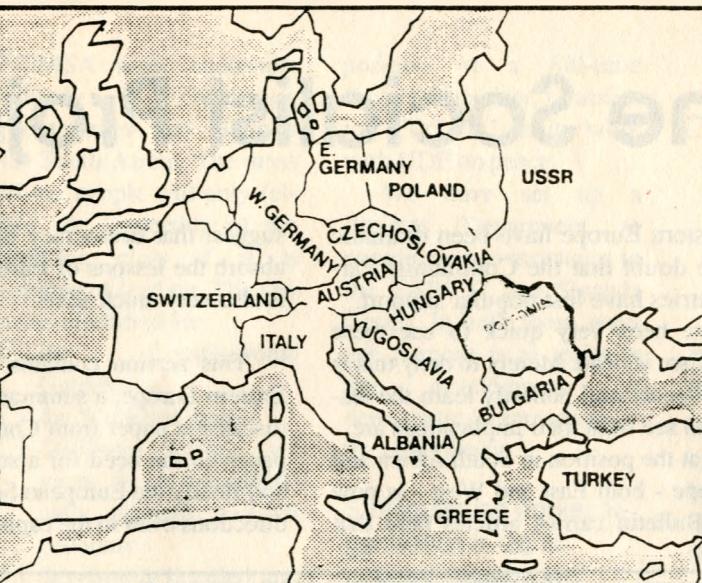
Although the new government is led by a communist, Marian Calfa, it now has a communist minority and is dictated by Civic Forum. They will steer the country to a June 8 election, which will be contested by the Communist Party, the Social Democratic, Christian Democratic, Peasants, Liberal and Green Parties.

The country's economy is fairly healthy, and its three economic ministers, who are the keenest free marketeers in Eastern Europe, are preparing to cut subsidies and open up the country to foreign investment, private ownership and free enterprise.

BULGARIA: Rather feeble unrest in Bulgaria and a divided opposition has done little to inspire reform, and the few changes which have occurred have been largely courtesy of the ruling Communist Party.

Since ousting the country's long-serving leader, Todor Zhivkov, three months ago, moderate new leader Petar Mladenov has concentrated on tackling Bulgaria's messy economy, which has been crippled by corruption and inefficiency, and entrenched vested interests.

Other pressing problems have been lack of educated and experienced "managers" to help run the country, and unrest among the country's oppressed ethnic Turks. Last month Mr Mladenov vowed to re-



store their cultural and religious rights, and he has granted Bulgarians the right to travel as well as abolishing censorship. The Communist Party looks set to win Bulgaria's June election.

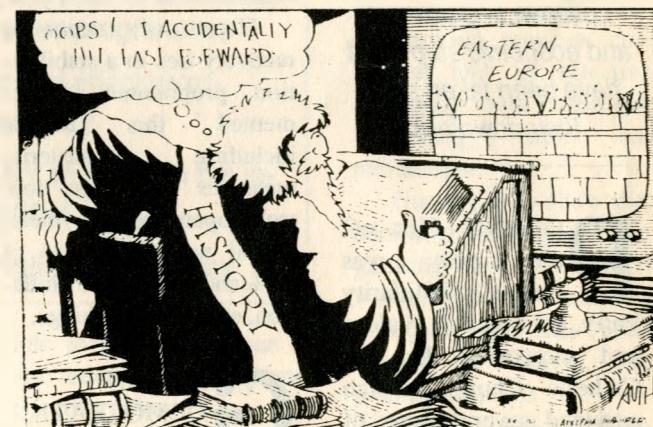
HUNGARY: Transition in Hungary has been less traumatic than in many other East European countries, and will culminate in elections by March 25. Although tentative economic reform began in 1968, political reform only took root last year at the instigation of two members of the communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP), Imre Pozsgay and prime minister Miklos Nemeth.

In February, Mr Pozsgay forced the HSWP to re-examine the 1956 uprising which it finally agreed was a genuine popular revolt. The party's conservative leadership was undermined and, in October, Mr Pozsgay and Mr Nemeth formed the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The reformers wisely set about building foundations for democracy by implementing human rights, freedom of travel, opening of the economy, creating

institutional structures to cope with political changes and, together with Hungary's many and varied opposition parties, drafting constitutional and legal safeguards.

Problems in Hungary are likely to be social,



caused by emotive and often intolerant opposing groups, and economic. Harsh measures, among them reduced subsidies for state-run enterprises and raised food prices, have begun to bite. The country has a \$20 billion debt and 20% inflation.

ROMANIA: The legacy of the Ceasescu regime lives on in Romania despite its bloody overthrow last month. Decades of tyranny, and the huge membership of the Romanian Communist

Party, have prevented the rise of credible opposition.

The Front for National Salvation, which seized power on December 22 1989, is failing, distrusted by the population because of its prominent communist party members and its failure to bring secret police to trial. To make matters worse, attempts to change are being blocked by party members entrenched in almost every area of influence.

With organisation, both of the country's large opposition groups, the National Peasants and National Liberal Parties, stand a good chance of winning

elections later this year.

The West

Already Western Europe is jumping in to encourage economic co-operation, and the EEC's 10-year economic agreement with the Soviet Union last month, along with preparations for the 1992 single market, has provided the structure to do so.

Already on the agenda are standard trade and economic co-operation agreements with Eastern Europe, the removal of import quotas, tariff reductions, and huge quantities of financial and food aid.

Has Socialism failed?

A paper entitled "Has Socialism Failed" has just been published by Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party. Although claiming to be "first reflections of the author only" it provides a useful analysis of the dramatic changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe. Coming at a time when the Western media is declaring that the collapse of many communist-led countries means the death of socialism and communism, the paper is a useful counter to this belief.

In analysing the reasons for the crisis in existing socialism, Marxists come in for heavy criticism from Slovo. Those that still defend Stalinism for whatever reason are a "dying breed" and don't need to "detain us here". There is now no justification for Stalinism which was essentially "socialism without democracy".

Other Marxists who accept that there was something wrong with the way countries were being run but who now blame the fast pace of perestroika and glasnost on the current crisis, are "blaming the diagnosis and the prescription for the illness".

Some Perestroika adherents have gone so overboard in their criticisms of socialism, that they have lost their ability to criticise

capitalism and imperialism from a socialist perspective. Their analysis is no better than the Western media which is announcing to the world that communism is dead.

Other communists seem to have given up socialism altogether because of the bad track record it has earned itself in countries practising socialism. However, the real reasons for the bad track record in these countries are the "distortions and misapplications" of socialism practised by those in power, not socialism itself.

Distortions and misapplications

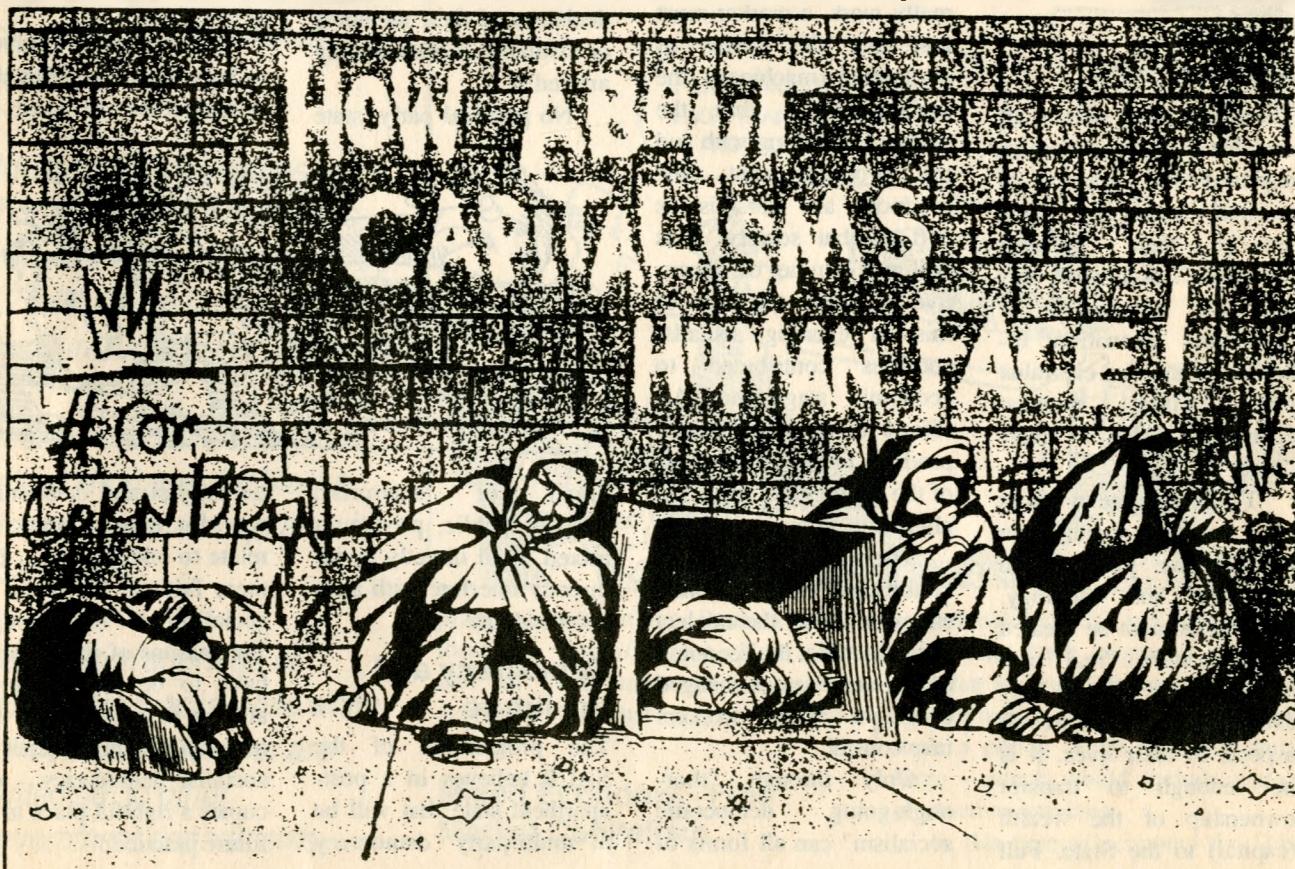
Dictatorship of "a party bureaucracy"

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" became in effect the "dictatorship of a

party bureaucracy". Using the threat of counter revolution from imperialist forces, democracy was restricted. More and more the Communist Party structures took decisions. This meant that elected institutions could only rubber stamp decisions that had already been taken.

In the mass organisations although membership was great, "democracy was more formal than real". Organisations turned into "transmission belts for decisions taken elsewhere".

The trade unions lost their independence and became "an adjunct of the state and party". "Workers had no meaningful role in determining the composition of the top leadership which was in substance, answerable to the Party apparatus. For all practical purposes the right to strike



did not exist."

Other organisations like womens and youth organisations developed in a similar way - "they were turned into support bases for the on-going dictates of the state and party apparatus".

The Party

The ruling Communist Party in each socialist state became more and more manipulated from the top. "Democratic centralism" was used to suppress and silence those not in agreement. The party became "vanguards by law and not necessarily by virtue of social endorsement."

Alienation

The single-party state in all socialist economies deprived the masses of political democracy. This led to their "political alienation". Added to this was the experience of "economic alienation inherited from the capitalist past" which socialist economies failed to overcome.

To de-alienate workers in a socialist society can not be done just through education and ideology. Conditions must be created which ensure "real participation and control" by every individual over all aspects of their lives. It is not enough to transfer ownership of the wealth (capital) to the State. Full

We dare not underestimate the damage that has been wrought to the cause of socialism by the distortions we have touched upon.
...The lessons of past failures have to be learnt. Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet - socialist democracy - occupies a rightful place in all future, practice.

popular control must be created in the creation, appropriation and distribution of this wealth. This means democracy at all levels.

But the centralised, commandist economies did none of this. In fact these economies kindled a different kind of alienation - "socialist alienation". Under socialism jobs are guaranteed, wages earned did not "always depend upon quality, productivity or efficiency, opening the way to parasitism at the point of production."

For socialist production to really work, a worker must feel that the means of production (machinery, the tools, capital) that the worker is working with and the products that s/he produces are hers/his as part of that society. This will give him/her the incentive to work; the lack of this in existing socialist societies contributed to economic stagnation. All efforts to force people to produce to meet the needs of the country just made the alienation worse.

The other factor which contributed to economic stagnation was the neglect of the fact that the economy of a country is not changed overnight when workers take control.

Only through "thorough-going democratic socialism" can all forms of

alienation be overcome and the potential of socialism realised.

A look at ourselves

Slovo accepts that the SACP too was influenced by the "Stalin cult" but that the processes of glasnost and perestroika, the trade union movement which emerged in the '70's, have forced the SACP away from this.

"We have always believed (and we continue to do so) that it is indispensable for the working class to have an independent political instrument which safeguards its role in the democratic revolution and which leads it towards an eventual classless society. But such leadership must be won rather than imposed."

In addition, in accordance with the SACP draft Workers Charter, "we still believe that trade unions and their federation shall be completely independent and answerable only to the decisions of their members or affiliates, democratically arrived at.

No political party, state



organ or enterprise, whether public, private or mixed, shall directly or indirectly interfere with such independence."

Democracy and the future

The programme of the SACP believes in a post-apartheid state that will be a multi-party democracy

and will "guarantee all citizens the basic rights and freedoms of organisation, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience and religion; full trade union rights for all workers including the right to strike and one person one vote in free and democratic elections. These freedoms constitute the very essence of our national liberation and socialist objectives and they clearly imply political pluralism."

A post-apartheid state must be ruled by elected representatives and not "directly or indirectly by the administrative command of a party." However, if a working class party does grow out of truly democratic conditions then the constitution must require it to go back to the masses for a renewed mandate, from time to time.

"We dare not underestimate the damage that has been wrought to the cause of socialism by the distortions we have touched upon.

We, however, continue to have complete faith that it represents the most ra-

tional, just and democratic way for human beings to relate to one another.... But mere faith in the future of socialism is not enough. The lessons of past failures have to be learnt. Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet - socialist democracy - occupies a rightful place in all future practice."

A Socialist Economy in South Africa

Until recently the actual economy of South Africa received little attention and if it did, this was in the form of a rhetorical debate on capitalism versus socialism. Now, however, it is clear that the economy is becoming a key area. On February 2, de Klerk isolated the economy as one of two key areas of negotiation.

Structural obstacles to economic growth

Unemployment: official figures 800 000; unofficial between 1 and 3 million.

Poverty: more than 50% of wage earners earn less than the minimum subsistence levels

Housing: official figures say a shortage of one million units; in March 1988 estimated to be 1,7million squatters in the Greater Durban area alone.

Health: unequal expenditure, critical shortages for blacks alongside white hospitals with spare beds

Education: shortage of schools for blacks while white schools close down or are rented out to other government departments.

What are the key areas of debate?

Two types of debate are possible. The first is an abstract one on whether capitalism is better than socialism. This is really a sterile debate if it is conducted without reference to the actual problems we are trying to solve.

Here I wish to enter a second kind of debate and that is starting from the social and economic problems the South African economy experiences. This sort of debate is possible since an increasing number of people in business and even government are prepared to acknowledge the seriousness of our problems.

The basic problems are unemployment, poverty, a housing shortage, a health crisis, an education crisis and a growing population which is moving into the urban areas. How do we solve these problems? Here we will very briefly summarise three possible economic programmes that have been

Capitalists see the solution to our problems as being a greater reliance on a free market.

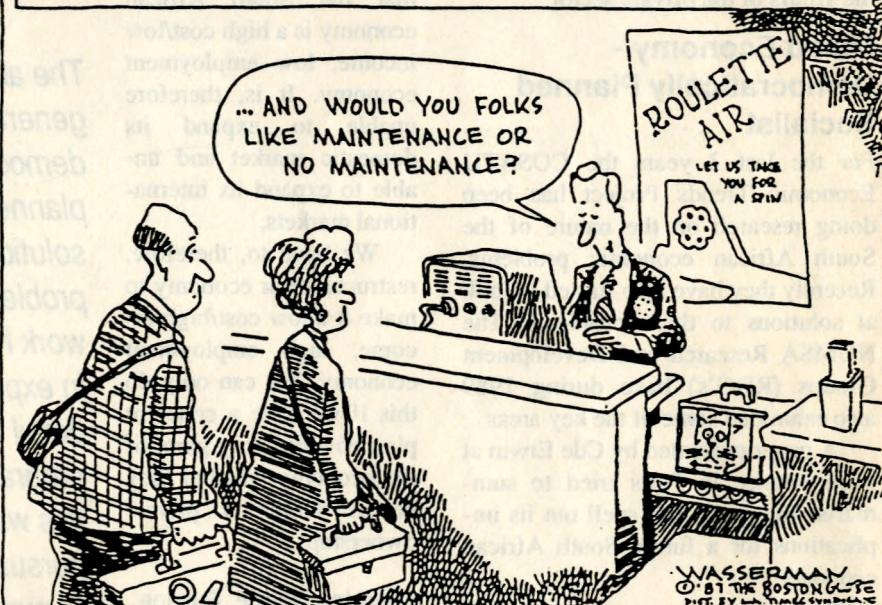
They argue that the public sector is inefficient and that apartheid placed too many restrictions on both the commodity market and the labour markets. Their proposals are, therefore, to reduce the size of the public sector - privatisation - and to eliminate rules and regulations in the commodity and labour markets - deregulation.

Such a programme will bring about economic growth, raise employment and therefore income and these combined will solve the other problem areas. The public sector would play little role in production but would act more as a service to capital and citizens.

Mixed Economy - Social Democratic or Welfare State

Many academics, some repre-

Deregulation gives consumers greater choices



proposed as solutions. Bear in mind these are simplifications. Note also that all three proposals are mixed economies so that is not the difference.

Mixed Economy - Free Market Capitalism

sentatives of capital and certain ANC documents have proposed programmes that are social democratic welfare state in nature. Such economies would have a public sector - usually quite large - which would include certain productive activities.

In this type of economy the State

rather than market forces would be the main instrument in dealing with the problem outlined earlier.

The State would do this through using progressive taxation systems to increase its income. This income would be used by the State to provide housing and so on. In doing this they would create more employment.

This would have a Keynesian multiplier effect because more employed people would spend their money in the private sector. The State would also assist the private sector by using macro-economic policy to encourage growth of the private sector.

Social welfare would be the responsibility of the State and the State could also encourage affirmative action programmes to assist those who were previously discriminated against. However, apart from macro-economic policy the State would not interfere in the affairs of the private sector.

Mixed Economy - Democratically Planned Socialist

For the last 3 years the COSATU Economic Trends Project has been doing research on the nature of the South African economic problems. Recently they have also started to look at solutions to these problems. The NUMSA Research and Development Groups (RDG's) have during 1989 also examined some of the key areas.

A paper presented by Cde Erwin at a conference in Paris tried to summarise this work and spell out its implications for a future South African economy.

Weaknesses of first two programmes

The main weaknesses of the first two programmes that we have looked at, are that they do not take into account two key factors. These two factors are related to each other.

Firstly, there are serious structural

The fact that the plan would cover both the public and private sector is a distinguishing feature of this programme and defines it as socialist. However, here we can learn from the USSR and Eastern Europe. Firstly the formulation and implementation of the plan must be done by democratic structures.

obstacles to economic growth in South Africa.

Secondly, our location in the world economy is rapidly changing as Europe, the Socialist bloc and the Pacific rim nations (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Australia etc) restructure their own economies at a dramatic rate.

The first type of mixed economy will not succeed because market forces cannot break through structural obstacles nor do they allow for future changes in the world economy.

The second type of mixed economy is faced with the same problem because State income depends on growth in the private sector. The State will rapidly face fiscal problems and be unable to finance its public works and welfare programmes.

The briefest way of describing our structural obstacles to growth is to say that the South African economy is a high cost/low income, low employment economy. It is, therefore unable to expand its domestic market and unable to expand its international markets.

We have to, therefore, restructure our economy to make it a low cost/high income, high employment economy. We can only do this if we have a coherent plan covering key parts of the economy whether they be in public or private ownership.

Learning from E. Europe and USSR

The fact that the plan would cover both the public and private sector is a distinguishing feature of this programme and defines it as socialist. However, here we can learn from the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Firstly the formulation and implementation of the plan must be done by democratic structures. Comrade Slovo's paper points to important new thinking of how this could be done.

Secondly, if we are looking to restructure towards a low cost/high income, high employment economy with full employment then a centrally planned command economy is not the best way of doing this.

The command economies were reasonably effective in developing the capital goods sector and expanding employment. However, they were very much less effective at lowering costs and increasing productivity, quality and variety of production. South Africa's productive capacity is high but it is being misdirected.

Non-command economy type planning would use a range of different measures to bring about the restructuring. The public sector would be large but again in learning from the socialist countries the stress would not be on State bureaucratic control of assets but more towards collective ownership and the social obligation of enterprises. The forms of ownership in the public sector could vary and the market will play a defined role in both the public and private sector.

The above is a general outline for a democratically planned socialist solution to our problems. More work has to be done in expanding on the detail of our programme. Only in this way can we then persuade the mass of our people to follow the leadership of the working class.

The private sector will be active but the plan will intervene to bring about a general lowering of costs, improved productivity and expanding employment. Here we can learn a lot from the present restructuring in Europe and the Pacific rim nations.

The above is a general outline for a democratically planned socialist solution to our problems. More work has to be done in expanding on the detail of our programme. Only in this way can we then persuade the mass of our people to follow the leadership of the working class.

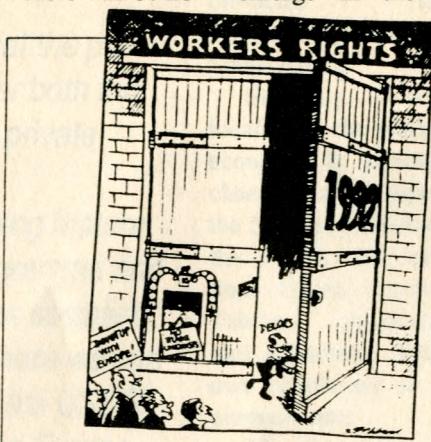
union: this would depend on the union being "legally constituted". If a country barred certain groups from belonging to unions, that would take precedence.

On the Charter's reference to workers having the right to a decent wage, the Commissioner has stated that the definition of a decent wage will vary not only between countries, but between regions and industries.

Such declarations have no binding force on the countries of the Com-

munity and there will be no

emerge in the form of



recourse to the European courts. Only the parts of the Charter which eventually

legally-binding directives can be used in that way.

To some extent thus, the

British government has been successful in blunting the teeth of the Charter. The TUC is highly critical of 1992, saying it "represented a further concentration of economic and industrial power in the hands of multinational companies".

However, the erosion of trade union rights has been such in Britain that British unions will undoubtedly use the Charter to try to win more legal protection for themselves.

The Social Charter

The fundamental rights which citizens from all European Community countries should enjoy are :

1. Freedom of movement :

To move freely throughout the Community to reside and work, with equal treatment in respect of social benefits and taxation advantages. The wage conditions applied in the host country must be guaranteed to visiting workers from another Community country.

2. Employment and Remuneration :

All employment shall be fairly remunerated and decent wages shall be established.

3. Improvement of Living and Working Conditions :

A maximum working week be established, in particular as it relates to contracts of fixed duration, seasonal work, part-time work, temporary work, weekend work, night work and shift-work.

4. Right to Social Protection :

According to the arrangements applicable in each country, workers shall enjoy social security cover proportional to their length of service and pay and to their contribution to the social protection system. Workers who cannot continue claiming unemployment benefits, shall receive a minimum income and appropriate assistance.

5. Right to Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining :

Every worker shall have the right to belong to the trade union of his choice. This shall include the freedom to enter into collective agreements, the right to collective action - including the right to strike. Also the right not to belong to a union.

6. Right to Vocational Training :

Every community worker shall have access to facilities to continue his vocational training. Each worker shall be able to obtain leave for re-training and updating skills in the light of new technical developments. Community citizens shall have the rights to same access to occupational training courses, including those at University level, on the same terms as citizens of the host state.

7. Right of Men and Women to Equal Treatment :

Equal treatment shall be guaranteed and equal opportunities developed.

8. Right to Worker Information, Consultation and Participation :

Taking into account the varied practices of the member states, this shall be developed, particularly when :

- Technological changes that have major implications for the work-force as far as working conditions and work organizations are concerned, are introduced into firms :
- Restructuring operations in firms, or mergers, have an impact on the employment of workers.
- When trans-frontier workers are affected by employment policies pursued by the firm where they are employed.

9. Right to Health Protection and Safety at the Workplace:

Every worker must have satisfactory health and safety conditions and appropriate measures must be taken to harmonise existing conditions in the EC countries, while maintaining the improvements already made.

10. Children, Adolescents, the Aged and the Disabled:

Young children shall be protected from exploitation in employment, as shall the elderly. Measures shall be taken to ensure the fullest possible integration of the elderly into working life.

No end to violence

Since 1987, townships in Natal have been at the centre of violent battles between warring factions. More than 3000 lives have been lost, thousands of lives have been disrupted, many have fled from their homes altogether. NUMSA's Project Officer, Cde Willies Mchunu, who was employed in March 1989 to deal specifically with the Natal violence, explains the background to the violence and attempts that have been made to end the civil war.

What is the reason for the beginning of the violence?

In our perception, in every area where violence has been reported, it has started with forceful recruitment into Inkatha. The recruitment has generated resistance from people who don't want to belong to Inkatha, some don't want to belong to any organisation. The recruiting has been done by certain individuals who later became warlords.

What do you mean by warlords?

They are people who are in control of a group of people who go about assaulting other people. They are well-armed. There is also evidence that they have some kind of political control through being councillors or Members of the Kwa Zulu Parliament.

Peace initiatives began in Pietermaritzburg since 1987. It would seem that all attempts at national peace initiatives failed (see below), what have you decided to do now?

COSATU/UDF decided that it was time to push for local peace initiatives. In Hammarsdale, Camperdown and Wartburg we have been encouraging

local leadership to hold talks.

Are there any other structures that are assisting?

We have been trying to assist with the development of crisis and peace committees in those areas which want peace or which have problems. These committees have been set up in Hammarsdale, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Umzini, Chesterville and Lamontville. These structures are trying to reach wider than just leadership and through them I can say that the peace campaign has been strengthened.

What success have you had with these local initiatives?

In Hammarsdale this has led to a ceasefire agreement being signed. It has had an effect, but the real reason there is no fighting is because the police are no longer there.

Why is it that in some areas KwaZulu police are asked to stay, in other areas there are demands for them to be removed. Similarly, often communities are seen requesting the SADF to come into the townships.

In Mpumulanga the demand was for

Details of peace initiatives

November 1987: Points of agreement were endorsed by delegations of local leaders in Pietermaritzburg. A later meeting came to nothing.

Feb/March 1988: Attempts to arrange talks between national leaders of the organisation came to nothing when Inkatha insisted that the meeting cover other issues in addition to the Pmb violence.

September 1988: Agreement was reached on setting up a Complaints Adjudication Board. This board was unable to carry out its function because Inkatha respondents failed to appear before it. Inkatha failed to take any significant action against Inkatha members found guilty by the board.

May/June 1989: Buthelezi announced that he would only meet COSATU and UDF in Ulundi. He finally agreed to a meeting in Durban after a delegation from the Anglican Church intervened. Buthelezi demanded that the ANC be

involved and that there be a meeting of the Presidents of the four organisations. COSATU, UDF, and the ANC agreed to such a meeting.

COSATU pulled out of the CAB in May 1989 after the killing of a person who had laid a complaint at the CAB.

July 1989: Major breakthrough made after several meetings of the two delegations. A peace document was signed. It set out practical steps towards peace. COSATU's National Congress endorsed the document.

September 1989: Inkatha demanded changes. They wanted COSATU/UDF/ANC to be 1 organisation, Inkatha 1 organisation, UWUSA 1 organisation and the Natal wing of the PAC in Exile to be 1 organisation. Buthelezi also demanded that Thabo Mbeki and the ANC apologise for a statement made vilifying Buthelezi. Inkatha declared a moratorium on talks until this had happened.

Pietermaritzburg

With my glazed eyes
I watched those donga beds
Of Maritzburg which were cracked
By floods of tears
I couldn't hear a sound
... neither a song
I asked those donga beds
Where are the people?
Where is everybody?
The Answer was loneliness
... and sadness

With my shiny eyes
I looked from South to North
I looked from West to East
I saw nothing
... But little rivers of blood
Modelling on the streets of Maritzburg
I saw nothing
... but dark smoke
slowly going up to form dark clouds
As I climbed up the mountain
I expected to see houses
... But I saw ashes and flames from people's houses

With my bleeding red eyes
I looked up to the sky to ask the heavens
about the talented and gifted people of Maritzburg
Where is Khopho? I asked
A woman with the mountain voice
A woman with a silky golden voice

Where is Jabu?
A woman with lion strength
A woman with fires in her soul
A woman with flashes in her heart
Again there was no response from the sky

I sat on top of the hill
At the tip of the mountain
As I was watching
I saw young sad women
With cracked souls like soil erosion
Watching the graves of their boyfriends
With sadness and loneliness in their eyes
Shaking their heads a symbol of broken hope
I asked myself why God let one man
Destroy another man
Why God let oppressed people fight over crumbs of bread
Thrown at them
There was no response from heaven

As I was trying to break those tears
Which were pouring like the heavy rains of summer
I heard screams and cries in Moscow
I heard the blowing of whistles
And later heard the burst of a gun
I couldn't believe the voice
Which shouted so loud in my guts saying
"It is Mduduzi"
Oh it is hard to believe that death is
Part of the process
... That blood nurtures the tree of freedom
Oh it is hard to accept that the suckers
Of human blood
The thieves of one's pride; the
Destroyers of human nature
Shall also enjoy the fruits of freedom
Nevertheless a chained man is under the obligation
Of fighting to set himself free

Makhosi Khoza

the KwaZulu police to stay. This was because they had always been seen to be neutral. The riot police had always been called in to quell violence and when they came they were always seen to side with Inkatha.

But in KwaMashu the demand has been for the KwaZulu Police and the SAP to go. This is because in this township they were seen to be openly supporting Inkatha. People have been more willing to have the SADF policing the township since compared to

Do you think that the regional peace talks will be resumed?

Through the help of the Anglican Bishops as mediators agreement has been reached to hold 2-a-side meetings with UDF/COSATU/Inkatha to explore removing obstacles. These meetings are taking place.

How do you think talks about national negotiations will affect the peace talks?

This is a problem. Many people think



the KZ Police and the SAP they are neutral.

For a while it seemed that the violence was decreasing. But recently it would seem that violence has escalated. Why do you think this is so?

We believe that violence is escalating because the vigilantes that are involved see themselves as immune from arrest or prosecution because they are never arrested. In many cases it has been proved that the vigilantes have in fact been assisted by policemen. This was the case in Hammarsdale recently. More recently in Ntuzuma, it was found that some of those who were killed while attacking Ntuzuma people were police in civilian clothes.

If police and the courts are taking no action against the perpetrators of the violence then violence is bound to escalate. What we have noticed in the violence is that where there is an Inkatha presence the war is between Inkatha and UDF/COSATU. Where there is no Inkatha presence, new groupings which have no allegiance to Inkatha, and which seem to be composed mainly of ex-convicts have arisen. This is the case for the A-team in Chesterville, the AmaSinyora in KwaMashu, Lamontville and Umlazi. In Clermont there is a grouping called the Ninjas.

that Buthelezi is holding back on talks now because he wants to deal directly with Mandela.

Do you think that peace can be attained through signing peace agreements locally and nationally or do you think the problems go much deeper?

The agreement that we signed in July 1989 was not just a call for peace. It dealt with all the necessary aspects of peace. The three main ones are - a political agreement, joint action to correct police conduct and a process of reintegrating refugees linked to socio-economic upgrading of areas.

What is your response to Vlok's current promise to solve the violence?

We are prepared to meet with Vlok to discuss police conduct. If he can correct this he will contribute to peace. If he cannot then he remains part of the problem not the solution.

We hope to bring out 4 NUMSA Bulletins in 1990. You are welcome to send in articles that will contribute to debate, or provide analysis of some issue. Your article should be between 500 and 1000 words in length.

Send contributions to:
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