

RENEWAL CULTURE

CLARION CALL

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UWUSA and COSATU
Just who is dividing the workers?

The launch of

May 1, 1986, King's Park Stadium, Durban



Cover: Chief M G Buthelezi arriving at Kings Park Stadium, May Day 1986 Photo: Ken Oosterbroek

UWUSA



More than 80 000 people packed King's Park Stadium in Durban on May 1 for the launch of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA). This overwhelming show of support for the new union as well as for the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, who delivered the opening address, had several messages for the labour movement in South Africa as well as internationally.

Firstly, by turning up in such large numbers, a significant block of black workers in South Africa made it known that they are not happy with being politically manipulated — particularly by COSATU who held a rival rally on the same day at a venue close to King's Park. It should be noted that COSATU rallied far less than 10 000 people that day.

Secondly, when asked if they wished UWUSA to support disinvestment and sanctions in their name (as COSATU is doing) they rose as one to their feet and roared "no". This was recorded by the national and international media present.

There can no longer be any doubt that the tactic of disinvestment does not have the support of the majority of black workers — as claimed by COSATU (who have never held a general ballot on the issue) and churchmen such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak.

There has also been an obvious backlash to the "pirating" of black union members for party-political purposes by COSATU and its support for the pro-violence ANC Mission in Exile.

COSATU's national and international campaign of denigration against the 1.3 million-member Inkatha liberation movement has also angered workers supportive of the organisation's stand for peaceful change and negotiation and against violence and disinvestment.

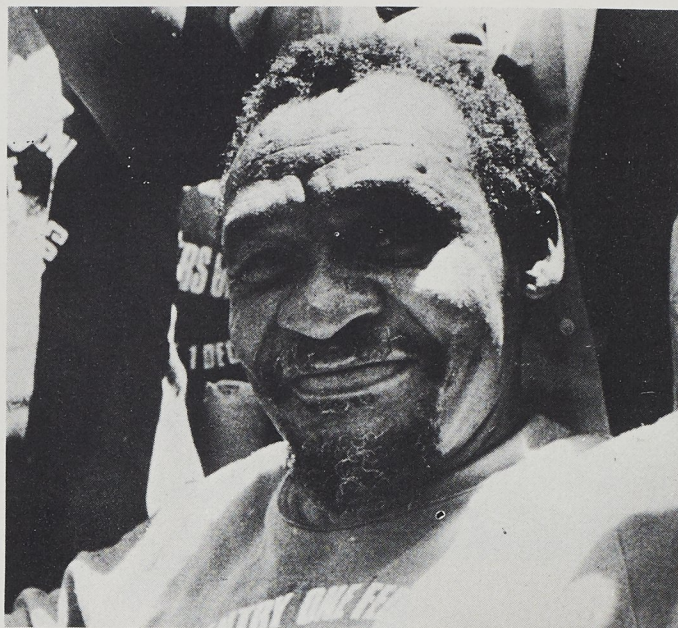
This issue of Clarion Call highlights UWUSA's aims and aspirations and attempts to put into perspective the reasons why black workers have shown such massive support for this new union.

COSATU — what

On December 1, 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was launched at King's Park stadium in Durban. Reported attendance was between seven and ten thousand.

COSATU represents 34 affiliated unions (membership figures quoted in the Press range between 380 000 and 500 000) and it is significant that, at the time of its launch, tens of thousands of Inkatha members were also members of unions who had affiliated to COSATU. No overall general ballot of members was held before the affiliations to COSATU.

Inkatha, a non-violent black liberation movement, has 1.3 million paid-up members in branches throughout Natal/KwaZulu, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Northern Cape. It is now in its eleventh year and although it was started in KwaZulu, has both Zulu and non-Zulu members.



Mr Elijah Barayi, 53, President of COSATU. Mr Barayi is a personnel assistant at Rand Mines's Blyvooruitzicht gold mine near Carltonville in the Western Transvaal. He has worked on the mines for 25 years.

On the day of COSATU's launch its President, Mr Elijah Barayi, wasted little time in firing the opening salvos of what has become a continuous attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha.

At the same time he made it clear that under his leadership COSATU would support disinvestment as an "essential and effective" form of pressure on the SA Government. He claimed Chief Buthelezi did not have a mandate from the people to oppose disinvestment. Mr Barayi did not articulate his own alleged mandate to support disinvestment.

At the December launch Mr Barayi gave the Government "six months" to dismantle apartheid and made it clear that COSATU would involve itself in politics "as part of the liberation struggle ..." Political commentators now agree that COSATU sees its involvement in politics as one of its main tasks.

Mr Barayi said COSATU

would aim at "applying socialism in South Africa" and that it favoured the nationalisation of major industries. He came out strongly against the free enterprise system.

COSATU has also made it known that it plans to challenge the growing power of multinational corporations.

Soon afterwards more than 10 000 trade unionists and workers, who support Inkatha and its stand against disinvestment, met in Empangeni in Northern Natal to voice their disquiet at the stance taken by Mr Barayi.

These workers also sent representatives to Ulundi to discuss their problems regarding COSATU with Inkatha leaders. For many years now, at mass meetings throughout the country held by Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha, hundreds of thousands of black workers have voiced their opposition to disinvestment and they made it clear they were not happy with Mr Barayi's statements on

their behalf.

Inkatha does not support disinvestment and is cautious about socialism in view of the fact that nowhere in Africa has it improved the quality of life of ordinary citizens.

It believes the free enterprise system remains the most powerful system man has devised which is capable of fostering sustained economic growth. However, Inkatha has made it clear that it would like the free enterprise system freed of the exploitative aspects which have created such strong reservations about it in the black community.

After the workers' meetings, the Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, told the Sunday Tribune in Durban: "We have, all along, tried to steer clear of politicising labour. Therefore we encouraged our own members to join existing trade unions. We feel trade unions have to do with the rights of workers. We do not want to hijack their agendas for our own selfish rights."

worried the workers



The COSATU rally at Curries Fountain in Durban on May 1 — the same day as the UWUSA launch. It was attended by about 7 000 people.

"However, we have now been approached by workers to find out how we expect them to behave when some unions are now spending their time denigrating Inkatha."

Persistent reports of COSATU's constant attacks on Inkatha resulted in the Central Committee of the movement resolving to "... reserve our right to mobilise the full strength of Inkatha's workers to find alternative means of negotiating for worker rights if any particular trade union abandons this prime responsibility in favour of playing a party political role."

Inkatha President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said a short while later that Inkatha would "not stand by ... when the African National Congress Mission in Exile and the United Democratic Front move in to usurp the function of those trade unions which are so deeply valued in all Western industrial societies ..."

He said Inkatha was faced with a situation in which cross-

cutting membership between it and COSATU could become problematic and warned that the Inkatha black liberation movement would, if necessary, enter the field of labour relations.

Trade unions that put politics before employees' rights would prey on the benefits of workers and contribute to the poverty of those who had no viable unions to fight for their rights.

Workers should recognise, he said, that trade unions had a union job to perform which was of vital interest, not only to workers, but to the country as a whole.

Inkatha would not sit back while COSATU "politically poached" members and tried to hijack the SA trade union movement.

Since its inception, COSATU has made it clear that it supports the pro-violence African National Congress Mission in Exile. While initially denying links with the organisation, its leaders have subsequently had meetings

with the ANC in Lusaka and elsewhere. Within South Africa COSATU's political links lie firmly with the United Democratic Front.

In another move which angered Inkatha members and supporters, COSATU announced that it was planning a national and international campaign against Inkatha.

COSATU general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, alleged that Inkatha had attacked COSATU members. This charge was vehemently denied by Inkatha's leaders. Charges and counter-charges of violence between the two organisations have continued.

Chief Buthelezi responded to Mr Naidoo's threat of an anti-Inkatha campaign saying that COSATU wanted to get involved in a "winner-take-all bareknuckle fight" with Inkatha. It came as no surprise that COSATU was going to openly campaign against Inkatha — this confirmed what Inkatha had known all along.

COSATU was actively attempting to sow seeds of

confusion about Inkatha and in so doing was harming the cause of black unity. Since the very day of its inception the leaders of COSATU had gone out of their way to vilify Inkatha. Their action was a part of a carefully orchestrated and vicious plan to sow confusion about Inkatha and its leadership.

For instance, there were widely circulated statements alleging that "Inkatha vigilantes are running amok in townships and murdering people — with the cooperation of police ..."

Chief Buthelezi said one could not give COSATU the credit for initiating this all by itself.

"The facts of the matter are that COSATU is taking its orders from the ANC Mission in Exile, as do other organisations well known for their continuous attacks on Inkatha."

Mr Aziz Pahad, an executive member of the external mission of the ANC, had also announced that the ANC was to step up its offensive against him (Chief Buthelezi) and Inkatha.

"COSATU are merely following suit and, in so doing, are telling the world who really calls the shots in their organisation."

He warned COSATU to remember that there were many Inkatha members and sympathisers within its ranks who were unhappy about the unmandated actions of COSATU leaders.

"If one follows the thinking of COSATU, then Inkatha has no right to exist as a national cultural liberation movement dedicated to non-violence and peaceful change in South Africa," he said.

What, then, has Mr Barayi been saying that has worried so many people?

The following pages highlight some of his statements, as reported in the South African media. Clarion Call has not published many of Mr Barayi's insulting and inflammatory remarks regarding Chief Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha.

ELIJAH BARAYI... in his own words

The following are excerpts of an interview conducted with Mr Barayi for LEADERSHIP magazine:

Do you see a difference between so-called worker issues and broader political issues? If so, which is more important?

Barayi: I think COSATU was formed to concentrate on the broader political issues. Of course, I do believe this should start with the workers on the factory floor. COSATU should not neglect issues such as wages or working conditions, because that is where our strength comes from. But COSATU is going to involve itself politically in the struggle.

Your General Secretary, Jay Naidoo, has already visited Harare where he met with the ANC. What is COSATU's policy with regard to the ANC?

Barayi: I would not like to comment on that.

Chief Buthelezi has strongly criticised COSATU, and claimed it is a front for the ANC. What do you say to this allegation and why do you think he has displayed this hostility towards your organisation?

Barayi: It is a pity that Chief Buthelezi has accused us of being a front for the ANC and in reply we say he is a front for the Afrikaner Government. He is making accusations against COSATU because he's scared. He thinks he's supposed to be

the only person who can speak on behalf of the millions of black people in this country. We in COSATU say: No, you are wrong Chief Buthelezi. You were not democratically elected by the majority of people in this country. He was elected by that certain clique in KwaZulu called the Zulus ...

Both COSATU and the National Union of Mineworkers have taken a strong line on disinvestment and economic sanctions. What exactly is your position on this key issue?

Barayi: This is a sore point. The western countries say they are prepared to embark on constructive engagement with the South African government. The question arises: Are they prepared to engage themselves constructively with the majority of the population or with the minority government? In addition, I do not think places such as Great Britain or America which are more than 6 000 miles away should liberate the black people of South Africa. We, the black people of this country, shall liberate ourselves.

What of the argument that sanctions will hurt black workers the most as they will lose their jobs when companies pull out?

Barayi: I don't think it is true to say that when sanctions are applied to this country it is the black people who will be hurt.

Blacks have been suffering since the arrival of the Boers in this country as far back as 1652. We have massive and growing unemployment in this country yet investment is still coming in. Where does that money go? Why should we have unemployment like this and be told we would suffer more if sanctions were applied? We are suffering right now whilst sanctions are not applied. The black man has been suffering for more than 300 years.

At the inaugural conference you said that a COSATU government would nationalise the mines. Is that your personal view?

Barayi: That is correct. Black people are the ones digging



gold and in return they are paid peanuts. Once we nationalise the whole industry, our belief is that everyone will reap the fruits of his sweat and toil rather than a few individuals getting it all for themselves from the sweat and toil of a black person.

Would you describe COSATU as a socialist organisation?

Barayi: Yes, I believe COSATU is a socialist organisation and I would like to see a socialist State in South Africa ... This country is in a crisis because of capitalism, if we at least nationalised the big firms, then the government could look after its people and the people could look after the government.

WHAT COSATU IS DOING ...and what the papers are saying

ANC, COSATU hold talks

African National Congress president Oliver Tambo was among ANC leaders who held two lengthy sessions with a Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) delegation visiting Lusaka ... *Business Day*, March 6.

ANC takes COSATU talks seriously

A seven-person delegation of leaders of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) completed two days of talks on political and union issues with a joint African National Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions delegation in Lusaka yesterday ... *Weekly Mail*, March 7 to 13.

ANC and COSATU getting together

As black worker militancy has increased in South Africa so the South African Communist Party has progressively raised its profile ... the SACP has begun distributing a new quarterly publication inside South Africa which goes by the name of "Umsebenzi" (The Worker) and its flag has begun to appear at funerals ... COSATU's organised strength and its declared willingness to participate in distinctly political campaigns, rather than those restricted to shop floor issues, has made the trade union congress a must for the ANC alliance ... *The Daily News*, March 7.

COSATU, ANC and SACTU delegates agree: Union unity is strength.

Lasting solutions can only emerge from the

national liberation movement headed by the ANC and the entire democratic forces of our country — of which COSATU is an important and integral part ... A senior SA Communist Party official, Joe Slovo, was present at the ANC/SACTU/COSATU talks, reliable sources told *City Press*. It is not known what part, if any, he took in the talks ... *City Press*, March 9.

Taxes, rent under fire

COSATU hardened its defiant stand against the Government at a rally ... in the Western Cape. Mr Elijah Barayi challenged the payment of taxes ... and the payment of rent on "matchbox houses." "We must all stand up and say to hell with taxes, from today workers must stand together and refuse to pay rent on these houses," Mr Barayi said. *Sowetan*, March 25.

Barayi rejects 'Inkatha union'

"We call upon Buthelezi to resign ... and join COSATU ..." *Interview with City Press*, March 30.

Double attack on govt.

Mr Barayi delivered a scathing attack on the launching of the United Workers' Union of SA, which he said was an attempt to divide workers. He wanted to know why, if Chief Buthelezi was a real leader of all South African blacks ... had agreed to govern only KwaZulu and not the whole of South Africa ... *The Star*, May 2.

JUST WHO IS "DIVID"

In numerous statements COSATU and its President, Mr Elijah Barayi, accuse Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha — and now UWUSA — of "dividing" the workers. That workers have a democratic right to organise themselves as they see fit has been scorned by COSATU.

The facts of the matter are that Mr Barayi committed COSATU to being divisive right from the beginning when he began his attacks on Inkatha and its leadership.

Now COSATU would like people to believe that UWUSA is an Inkatha "sweetheart" union.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

UWUSA was formed by black workers who were totally disenchanted with Mr Barayi's utterances and the direction he has articulated he wishes trade unions to move towards.

In the 11 years since its formation, Inkatha has not involved itself in trade unions — while encouraging its 1.3 million members to join unions. Inkatha's stand on this matter has always been that trade unions have different responsibilities to political organisations.

There is evidence that Chief Buthelezi, throughout his entire political life, has fought for the establishment of trade unions for black workers and, as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has never interfered with their role in his region.

Inkatha policy is that trade unions and political organisations should co-exist in a broad front in which unity is based on a multi-strategy approach.

It would appear that workers reaction to Mr Barayi and COSATU (the 80 000 who gathered at the launch of UWUSA being a typical example) has shocked him. His

character assassination of Chief Buthelezi as reported in the media and his tirades against Inkatha and UWUSA seems to be a knee-jerk response to the rejection of COSATU by many workers.

Mr Barayi has now taken to saying that Chief Buthelezi is "on Pretoria's payroll ..." This, too, is not true and response to this vilification is required as these lies have caused considerable confusion both in South Africa and abroad.

The answer to this vile accusation is quite simple: Chief Buthelezi, a direct descendent of the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka, chose to fight apartheid where

elected to do so. This request was also made by leaders of the ANC including the late Chief Albert Luthuli. This is well documented and cannot be truthfully refuted by the ANC Mission in Exile.

Chief Buthelezi has stood by his people and has refused all attempts by the Government to force the Zulu nation to take "independence" for KwaZulu. In founding Inkatha — with a current membership of 1.3 million — he has forged the largest black political movement in the history of the country. It is a national organisation and does not distinguish between one black and another in terms of their



COSATU supporters at Curries Fountain on May 1. Traditionally Zulu men carry sticks, as shown here. Anti-Inkatha propagandists try to allege that only Chief Buthelezi's supporters carry them.

it is most divisive — in the Government's homelands policy.

KwaZulu is all that remains of the previously vast Zulu territory — it was not a creation of apartheid and Pretoria. There are seven million Zulus and they form the largest ethnic group in South Africa. As such they are a powerful and cohesive force against apartheid and the policies of the South African Government.

So intense is the desire of the Zulu nation to remain a part of South Africa and to resist so-called "independence" for the region that Chief Buthelezi was asked by the Zulu people to take up his traditional role as Prime Minister of the Zulus and he was subsequently

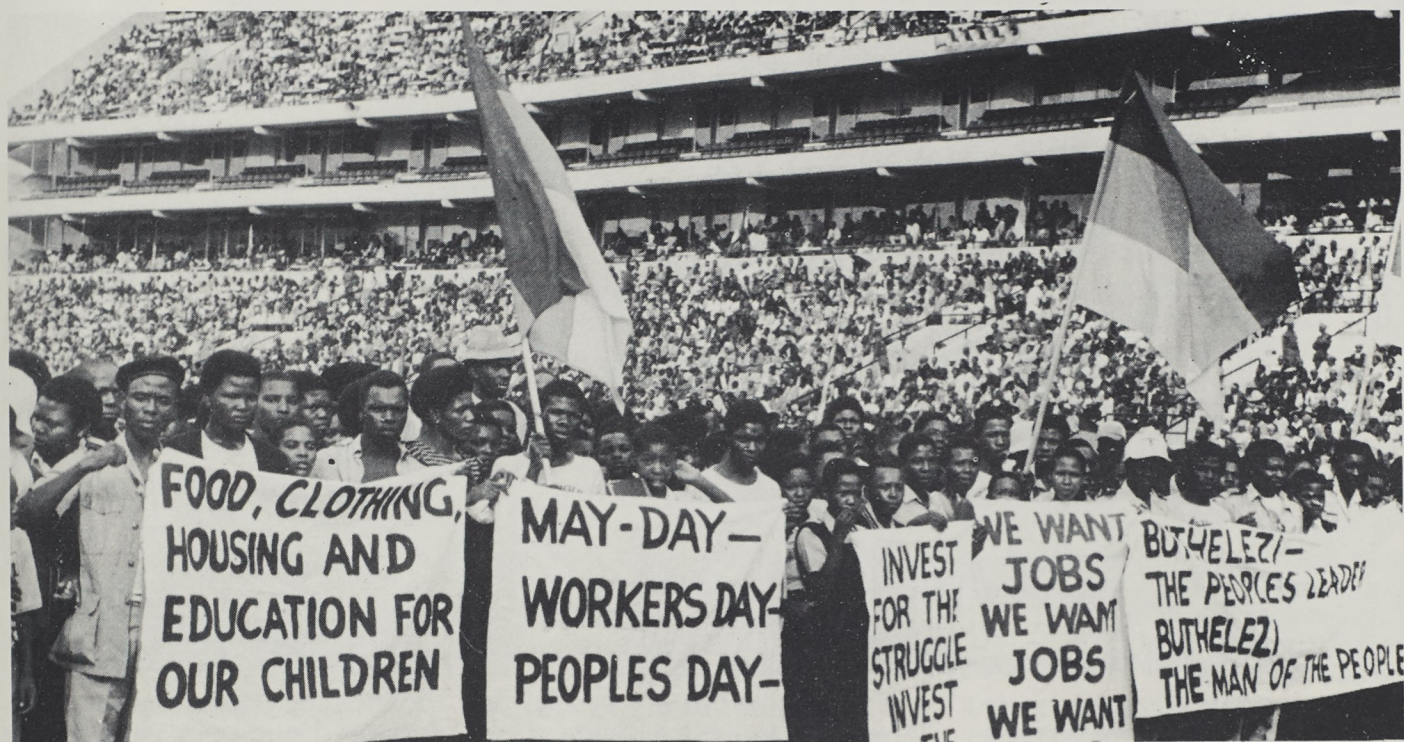
cultural and historical origins.

Chief Buthelezi has called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners as well as the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other political organisations. He has refused to enter into any form of negotiations with the Government until these conditions have been met.

The Zulu people pay Chief Buthelezi's modest salary. They directly contribute R290 million to the KwaZulu budget. Whites alone do not produce the wealth of the country and South Africa is one country with one people who have one destiny. There is one economy and one central political process.

When Mr Barayi insults Chief Buthelezi as being on

NG" THE WORKERS?



UWUSA supporters at the May 1 rally. Opposition to disinvestment and support for Chief Buthelezi was overwhelming.

"Pretoria's payroll" he insults all black people — as if they, too, do not have the right to drive on roads, enter hospitals, clinics, schools and universities.

Mr Barayi also asks about Chief Buthelezi: "Why is he a leader of KwaZulu and not the whole of South Africa? Why does he agree to ethnic divisions in our beloved land?"

Once again, Mr Barayi demonstrated his capacity to confuse and divide.

Chief Buthelezi is recognised as a national leader both in South Africa and abroad where he has, over many years, met numerous Heads of State. The very fact that he has kept KwaZulu intact as a part of South Africa and has opposed the Government at every turn is evidence of this.

The respected and influential international magazine, *Time*, said in a full-page article on Chief Buthelezi in late May this year: "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is perhaps the only man, white or black, who can bring about a peaceful end to apartheid ..."

Time went on to say that "... the Zulu Chief is likely to play a pivotal role in the future of the country ... even his bitterest critics acknowledge that Buthelezi's anti-apartheid credentials are solid and long-standing ..."

Mr Barayi is from the Ciskei. What did he do to stop Dr L Sebe from selling his birthright and accepting "independence" for the Ciskei a la Pretoria? Where are the Press reports of Mr Barayi's role in blocking "independence" for the place of his birth? Rhetoric is just not good enough.

Mr Barayi criticised Chief Buthelezi for agreeing to be the guest speaker at the launch of UWUSA. Mr Barayi was reported in the media as saying: "That puppet fool Gatsha has a rally in Durban while COSATU has another there ... he is confusing and dividing the worker class ..."

Chief Buthelezi agreed to address the UWUSA launch because he believes that UWUSA is a genuine workers' movement and that it will emerge as a tough union

fighting for worker rights and for the destruction of apartheid. It was for this same reason that he spoke at the launch of FOSATU in the Richard's Bay region some years ago and was also asked to the launch of CCAWUSA in Durban.

UWUSA is not an Inkatha trade union and it never will be. Inkatha has its own strength and it does not need a trade union to "front" for it. UWUSA supporters believe it will grow from strength to strength because it has genuine trade union commitments.

Mr Barayi and COSATU must understand that the bulk of Inkatha's members are workers and that an insult directed at Inkatha and its leaders is an insult to all. His continuous attacks on the movement harm the cause of black unity.

The huge attendance at UWUSA's launch must surely have given Mr Barayi a message.

The Editor

SIMON CONCO

General Secretary of UWUSA

UWUSA's founding General Secretary, Mr Simon Conco, reported at a recent Press conference that there has been an "overwhelming response" to the new union and its initial membership drive has exceeded all expectations.

In less than a month since its launch, UWUSA had been involved in the formal registration of more than 85 000 members.

"Our resources at the moment are stretched to the limit," he said. "Quite frankly, the few offices we have established cannot cope. We are paying attention to this and soon hope to be able to accommodate the thousands of inquiries we are receiving from individuals and many major trade unions," he said.

He added that UWUSA is currently involved in negotiations regarding formal links with five established unions who have a total membership of more than 250 000.

Negotiations with employers are underway with regard to recognition agreements.

A priority for UWUSA at present is the training of organisers and help is being sought abroad in the United States, Europe and Israel.

UWUSA is non-racial (several hundred white members have already signed up) and is seeking registration in terms of the South African Labour Relations Acts as a general union. It does, however, hope to grow into a federation supporting the policy of one industry, one union.

Mr Conco said he wanted it known "quite clearly" that UWUSA's aim (apart from

establishing its power base) was to concentrate on basic labour affairs and "to be free of political intimidation ..."

"Inkatha will not, and I repeat not, direct our affairs — as our detractors are fond of alleging" he said.

Ideologically, however, UWUSA supported Inkatha's stand for peaceful, negotiated change in South Africa and its opposition to disinvestment and sanctions.

Mr Conco also said that he would find accusations of UWUSA being a so-called "sweetheart" union funny — if

'I find it callous and insensitive for people who are working in factories to advocate a policy (of disinvestment) which will result in our people losing their jobs ... they are already suffering because of the downturn in the economy ...'

they weren't so serious.

"When you think about it, how will we ever hope to flourish if we don't produce the goods for our members? If we sold our members down the drain, we wouldn't last five minutes ..."

"The suffering black masses in South Africa deserve the best and no union can strive

'People who believe in disinvestment should leave their jobs ... leave factories which have overseas interests. The mass of black workers are not doing this for the simple reason that they do not support disinvestment and they do not believe this tactic will work ...'

for their rights unless they fight tooth and nail for them. We plan to do just that. We will succeed or fail on this alone ... the shop floor is where it counts ... we are sincere and we will just have to prove that ..."

He said it "goes without saying" that UWUSA would support the "struggle for liberation" in South Africa — but through negotiation, not violence.

"Negotiation skills are paramount, in labour and in politics," he added.

UWUSA's executive, in harmony with other union and political organisations, favoured one man, one vote in a unitary State. They would also "relentlessly" call for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political leaders and for the unbanning of political organisations.

In numerous interviews, labour reporters have appeared to be keen to know UWUSA's stand on stayaways and strikes.

Mr Conco said he wanted it made "crystal clear" that UWUSA believed in worker participation in all union matters and that the union would always "seek a mandate" before strike action was taken.

"Of course, we believe in negotiating and having the best possible people to seek consensus ... if negotiations fail, we will go back to the workers.

"There is a tendency among certain other union leaders to think for the people and take action without consulting them. UWUSA will not operate this way ..."

"The strike weapon is the one thing which workers have to use when negotiations between labour and management break down ..."



Mr Simon Conco

the right to strike is the workers' prerogative ... what I am trying to say is that we in UWUSA believe in using our worker power wisely."

He added that it had become obvious that there was considerable political interference in trade union activities in South Africa.

"Many people have told us their unions have been dragging them into ideologies foreign to them ... this is wrong. Workers have a democratic right to support political organisations of their choice without interference."

Mr Conco, a former member of the ANC, has deep political roots in the black struggle for liberation.

"I'm not opposed to the ANC, the real ANC," he said. "What I am opposed to is the stand taken by the External Mission of the ANC, especially with regard to violence and disinvestment. As far as I am concerned, Inkatha embodies the values of the ANC as I know it ..."

Mr Conco, 59, is labelled in the SA Press as an "elder statesman" who has wide experience in both the political and labour fields.

The former Chief Whip of the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly (he has resigned from all his Inkatha posts so there can be no "conflict of interests") Mr Conco has for many years combined business interests with worker interests.

'We agree with COSATU that the South African Government has had a hand in mismanaging the economy of South Africa .. but tearing down the economic foundations of our future is not the answer ... it will not produce jobs, it will not feed, house, clothe and educate people ... there is enough suffering already ...'

He was, for instance, a leading figure in last year's Empangeni bus boycott — which lasted six months — and worked in harmony with unionists who have subsequently become actively involved with COSATU.

"I am a worker, I have always been a worker. I have no conflict of interests," he said.

"Like every other black man in this country I have suffered

the same indignities and I am as angry as the next man ... I will not rest until we are free. Nobody has a monopoly on black anger ... it is how you use that anger, how you direct it to attain your ultimate goals that counts.

"I want to look forward to a future with hope. What use is it to make empty promises? I want to make UWUSA a union that people believe in. I want workers to know that we will always do our best to deliver the goods but that, along the way, we will not deceive them just to make ourselves look good. People can't eat promises. They can't pay their bills with promises.

"Straight talk is sometimes unpalatable but in the end it works in your favour because if you don't underestimate your constituency, if you don't use them as your pawns, they respect you.

"I believe that worker strength lies in unity and the key to successful union leadership is to listen to the voice of the workers ..."

"If UWUSA does anything concrete, it will be to articulate the true feelings of the masses in South Africa — and do something about them".



AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- * To unite all workers of South Africa, regardless of colour, creed or sex in the pursuit of economic justice in the Country of their birth as their contribution to the liberation of South Africa in their realisation that economic justice cannot be abstracted from political justice.**
- * To ensure that workers have a democratic right to direct their Trade Union Leaders to express attitudes, values and aspirations that the workers themselves feel and to demand of their Trade Union Leaders that they make no statements and adopt no positions which have not been canvassed among workers.**
- * To back members in their demands that Management recognise that sound industrial relations can only be achieved within the framework of sound human relationships which are fostered by fair treatment and conditions of employment and that economic development in South Africa will become ever increasingly dependent on partnerships between employers and employees from which there are mutually derived benefits.**
- * To draw workers together in the common realisation that they have the right as workers to be regarded as the backbone of South African Industry and co-determinors of the Country's future.**
- * To provide essential secretarial and administrative services for all members.**
- * To promote leadership proficient in their skills to achieve standards of living, social security and acceptable working conditions for the Country's working class.**

PRINCIPLES

* UWUSA is committed to a totally free and democratic South Africa in which every individual, regardless of colour, creed or sex has full and inalienable rights to participate in the formation of the Government of the Country and of full freedom of political expression and to enjoy equality of opportunity in open competition in a race-free society.

* UWUSA is committed to liberating the free enterprise system from racist apartheid control and to make it a vehicle for the progress of the Country's working class.

* UWUSA is committed to the promotion of business by both the public and private sectors and to investment by foreign investors in a broader commitment to ensure that the Country's economy is strengthened so that poverty, ignorance and disease is banished.

* UWUSA is committed to non-interference in business and union and labour affairs by political organisations or political institutions.

* UWUSA is committed to fair political, economic and social structures within South Africa in which freedom, democracy, and the need to self-determination and expression are safeguarded and in which there is no form of discrimination at all.

POLICY STANDPOINTS

UWUSA is in full agreement with those political organisations whose aim is the liberation of the black man in South Africa.

However, UWUSA believes that political issues should be resolved through negotiation rather than violence.

UWUSA's attitude to COSATU is not intended to be confrontational. Instead, UWUSA believes that COSATU's standpoints on various socio-political and economic issues are non-productive, self-destructive and negative.

UWUSA believes that the time has not yet come to resolve differences by violent means and that all peaceful

options must be exploited in order to find solutions to the Country's problems. UWUSA regards violence as a final and desperate option.

UWUSA shares the views of the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, concerning the future political dispensation of South Africa — that is one man one vote — as being the first option, although he is prepared to consider other equivalent options.

UWUSA will constantly appeal to the South Africa Government for the urgent and unconditional release of Dr Nelson Mandela and other Political Prisoners as well as the unconditional lifting of banning orders on all political organisations and political detainees.

'This is not an Inkatha union...'



CHIEF M G BUTHELEZI *Kings Park, May 1*

In his inauguration address at UWUSA's launch, Chief M G Buthelezi asked the 80 000 present to stand up if they opposed disinvestment and sanctions. Everybody stood up.

Chief Buthelezi said that on his numerous visits abroad he met the Heads of State of various countries.

"Shall I tell them that you now want disinvestment and sanctions imposed on South Africa?" he asked.

The reply: "NO".

"Shall I tell them that you are now ready to suffer even more deprivations than you are suffering already ...?"

The reply: "NO".

Chief Buthelezi said that they had all come to inaugurate a "workers union ..." It was not a tool of Inkatha.

"The United Workers Union consists of black people who abhor apartheid for the scourge that it is, as much as any other opponent of apartheid," he said.

"While members believe in negotiations on the factory floor, and also in a negotiated future, they are as impatient and as angry as anyone of us ... as a result of the continuing existence of apartheid and oppressive rule in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi added that COSATU and its "pals" in the national and international media had tagged UWUSA a "Capitalist Union".

"This is, of course, a lot of balderdash," he said.

"They have aligned me with UWUSA and described me in the same denigratory terms. I

have volumes of speeches I have delivered in the last two decades ... I have stated many times to Captains of industry in South Africa that the free enterprise system as it operates in South Africa has thrived on the exploitation of black labour ...

"This has been more the case in the past than is the case at present. I have stated and restated, over the years, that unless blacks are given entry into the free enterprise system that it can have no future in a liberated South Africa.

"I have, however, stated that despite the handicaps it has, I know of no other economic system devised by man, which can create jobs as much as it creates. I have, for example, expressed concern that with the birthrate of three percent per annum amongst blacks, we have vast needs for the black population ... half of which consists of people who are only 15 years and younger."

Chief Buthelezi is a recipient of the George Meany International Human Rights Award, bestowed on him by the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations in the United States. He was the second holder of this American trade union award after Nobel Peace Prize winner, Lech Walesa, of Poland.

He told the UWUSA launch that he would always "stand by workers to the bitter end ..." and added that this was shown when he and the KwaZulu Government supported the 1973 strike of black workers in Natal.

"I accept that the right to strike is the workers' prerogative," he said. "The strikes in 1973 were described



as 'wildcat' strikes, because black workers at the time had no machinery for negotiations with management ...

"There have been wild allegations that UWUSA will not strike ... this is not true. There are people who want to abuse workers and destabilise the economy. The economy belongs to all the people of South Africa. It is grossly irresponsible to do things that will ruin it on behalf of people who want to achieve just that.

"There are organisations which are promoting anarchy in our townships in the hope that they will succeed in making South Africa "ungovernable". We in Inkatha do not believe in creating chaos in South Africa where negotiations will become impossible.

"We feel this way because once the economy is ruined, it is almost impossible to restore it to its normal state in a generation or two. We have examples of these kind of problems which our brother, President Samora Machel, is

having in Mozambique just across our borders ..."

Workers in South Africa today had machinery for negotiations right up to the Industrial Court. They could

"If one follows the thinking of COSATU, then Inkatha has no right to exist as a national cultural liberation movement dedicated to non-violence and peaceful change in South Africa ..." Chief M G Buthelezi."

therefore exhaust all channels of negotiation — which were not available in 1973 ...

"That is not to say that workers will not go on strike if and when this is warranted," he said.

"But workers must guard

against being used by people who want to carry out their own political programmes by standing on the backs of black workers.

"We will continue to stand behind all black workers if and when they feel that we should support them when they use their right to strike. We are prepared to do anything that is in the interests of workers."

Chief Buthelezi then appealed for "common sense and wisdom" whenever workers felt that they should use their prerogative to go on strike.

"It is not possible to negotiate in South Africa in the midst of chaos and bloodshed ... it is easier to promote anarchy and bloodshed if the country is destabilised and if the economy is in ruins ..." he added.

"South Africa in another decade or two ... will need the wealth which can only be created through a stable economy. Let us not destroy the future of our children and

of their children's children ..."

He said Inkatha had kept its hand of brotherhood stretched out — which it extended to all who wished to hold it. Inkatha realised how important it was for black organisations to be united and it knew that there could be no solution for South Africa's problems without that unity.

At the moment UWUSA was a young Trade Union and still had a long way to go to consolidate its position as a Trade Union. It needed to concentrate on this aspect rather than be preoccupied with political "one-upmanship" games which had cost so

without uniformity as a price for such united action," he emphasised.

"Inkatha does not believe in using our young people as cannon fodder in order to catapult its adult leadership to political eminence. We do not believe in hiding behind our children.

"We believe that the struggle for liberation is our struggle, and that is all of us — the young as well as the old. We realise that this disease of using school children as battering rams in fighting apartheid — which has been endemic in South Africa since 1976 — is now creeping to the

had appeared in the media since UWUSA had emerged.

One paper had even suggested that because UWUSA did not reject the free enterprise system in toto that it was "incongruous" that it had chosen May Day for its launch.

This implied that May Day was the property of Socialist countries. May Day had, in fact, originated in a country (the USA in 1886) where the free enterprise system was more developed than any other country in the world.

May Day had become an international holiday on which workers in all free countries expressed their solidarity to each other's struggles.

"So May Day has acquired the status of a day on which workers and the poorest of the poor in our country also protest against oppression, exploitation, white racism and the fact that we are voteless and therefore voiceless," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had never "wooded" black trade unions to affiliate to it.

"I felt very strongly, as I do even now, that Trade Unions have a very important task to perform for black workers, which can only be done by Trade Unions," he said.

"I encouraged our Inkatha members to join Trade Unions ... I never tried to tell them what Trade Union they should join ...

"It has taken me a long time to realise that my attitude was politically inept as almost all other political organisations did not show just a passing interest in Trade Unions but they, in fact, poached membership of Trade Unions ...

"Inkatha is the fastest growing political movement in the history of South Africa and I therefore did not need to do what other political organisations, both inside and in exile, were doing ...

"There has been no need for me to substitute the back-breaking job of organising black people with political poaching of membership of Trade Unions. To me this is political piracy!"



"... I have no intention of interfering in UWUSA's affairs

"... I have made sure that this is the case by ensuring that those members of Inkatha who hold office in Inkatha resign their positions ...

"I do not want Inkatha to be accused of breathing down the necks of UWUSA's leadership ...

"I would like to stick to the principle that Inkatha should not interfere in the affairs of the workers Trade Union ..."

many black lives.

More than 500 blacks had so far died at the hands of other blacks. This was tragic and sad and it did not augur well for the future of the country.

"Inkatha still pursues its strategy of non-violence and negotiation. Inkatha believes that we can join hands as black organisations in the interests of our struggle,

region of Natal / KwaZulu ..."

Chief Buthelezi said he had inaugurated many unions over the years and the fact that he was the leader of the KwaZulu Government and President of Inkatha had made no difference ... nobody had ever accused him of interfering in Trade Unions.

He had been "amazed" at the "poisonous" writing that

Who's Who in UWUSA

The President of UWUSA, Mr Petros Ndlovu, says UWUSA's "primary objective" will be to organise, form and support industry-based trade unions throughout South Africa in order that they can concentrate "free from political intimidation" on the basic and vital labour affairs of their members.

He told Clarion Call that certain key issues regarding UWUSA were being misinterpreted in the Press and "deliberately misunderstood" by others in the union movement.

"We represent a union whose objective is to work for and on behalf of the workers of South Africa — to end the exploitation of workers and to improve the quality of their lives ..."

Mr Ndlovu said he wanted employers and managements to understand that while UWUSA stood for the free enterprise system and believed that a strong and vibrant economy held the key to freedom and liberation, UWUSA would not allow its members to be exploited under the free enterprise system.

"UWUSA will not allow poor or weak management to be used as an excuse for retrenchment or for workers to be paid below accepted levels. UWUSA is committed to representing all workers to ensure that they are justly rewarded for their efforts and their meaningful contribution to the economy of this country," Mr Ndlovu added.

Mr Ndlovu said he wanted to emphasise that UWUSA was "fully committed" to serving the best interests of all workers.

"In order to do this we will recruit and employ the best consultancy services available in South Africa. If, within our executive and among our various union affiliates, we do not have the expertise that is

required to serve our members, then we will recruit or train to provide the best professionals available."

He said UWUSA, in terms of its founding, should at present be regarded as a general union.

"Under our constitution we are also identified as a general union with the facility to set up separate affiliates within various industries and so to evolve to become a federation.

"UWUSA will be registered as a general union under the Labour Relations Act of South Africa and we will use or exploit all the facilities that are available to us under the Act and the Industrial Court."



PRESIDENT:

Mr P Ndlovu, former school teacher, hospital compound manager, industrial relations regional controller for a group of companies in Natal. UWUSA regional chairman in the Durban region.

GENERAL SECRETARY:

Mr S Conco, community leader, former businessman, former Chief Whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly

and chairman of the Empangeni bus boycott committee.

TREASURER:

Mr P Davidson. Mr Davidson studied economics in the United States and is a former employee of IBM and Anglo American.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS:

MR G RADEBE. Industrial relations and personnel relations officer for Tongaat-Hulett group from 1979 to 1984, former member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, parti-time Law student at Natal University majoring in labour law.

MR G MATHIYANE.

Employed at Zululand Sawmills as a supervisor. Former national president of the Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union, regional chairman of Federation of SA Trade Unions in northern Natal until for the formation of COSATU. Now chairman of the Zululand region of UWUSA.

MR G MALUNGA

(Pietermaritzburg region), driver for the municipality, member of the Transport Workers' Union until the formation of COSATU.

MR S MAJOLA. (East Rand region), employed by Consol Glass, former member of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union.

MR M HLATSHWAYO

(Newcastle), employed by Veka in Newcastle as a storeman, former member of the General Workers' Union.

(Unfortunately, pictures were not available of the entire executive before going to press.)

COSATU divided over tactics

— *labour expert*

Radicals were ahead of the rank and file membership of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU) and insufficient attention was being paid to seeking mandates from members for executive action, according to labour expert, Mrs Kate Jowell.

Mrs Jowell, a senior lecturer in industrial relations at Cape Town's Graduate School of Business, recently addressed the Johannesburg branch of the school's alumni association. Her address was reported at length by Sheryl Raine in The Star newspaper.

The topic of Mrs Jowell's address was: "Trade unions and politics after COSATU."

She said the more pragmatic

leadership within COSATU realised the confrontation politics being espoused by some COSATU officials posed a real danger for the union movement unless those responsible knew how and when to beat a strategic retreat.

"Insufficient attention is also being paid to seeking mandates from the membership for executive action," she said.

The Star commented that "similar criticism" had been levelled at COSATU from UWUSA. COSATU had repudiated such criticism stating that it was a federation which followed democratic

principles.

Mrs Jowell said unions could be broadly categorised as reformist or radical.

Reformist unions worked within the economic system to reform it, using legal channels and focussed industrial action to achieve their ends.

Such unions gave selected support to political actions outside the workplace.

Radical unions wanted the destruction of capitalism.

Unions could be used as a mobilising force towards an overall radical end, although their independence and role in collective bargaining were likely to be the first casualties of any new non-capitalist regime.

KwaZulu accepts May Day as a public holiday

KwaZulu is to recognise May Day as a public holiday.

This was announced in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister, Chief M G Buthelezi.

He said a Bill would soon be introduced to declare May 1 a KwaZulu holiday to honour the country's workers.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu could not wait for the South African Government to decide on this issue and the KwaZulu Government wished to identify with the workers who were "the kingpin" of the economy.

KwaZulu had always fought for trade unions and the region's legislation which governed labour disputes were the same as in the rest of South Africa.

KwaZulu and Inkatha had fought for black participation in the trade union movement and had stated clearly their strong opposition to the continued exploitation of black South Africans all over South Africa — including the KwaZulu/Natal region.

"Now that our labour legislation has the same clauses as legislation in the

rest of South Africa, the trade union movement must ensure that any such exploitation comes to an end," said Chief Buthelezi.

"We have interceded for workers wherever there have been problems in the labour field. The 1973 strike in Natal/KwaZulu was so successful because the KwaZulu Government fully supported the strike and we were involved in it.

"We are not against workers involving themselves in the liberation struggle as the black struggle is one. What we do take strong exception to is Inkatha members in trade unions being carried willy-nilly on Mr Elijah Barayi's back in COSATU for handing over the SACTU and automatically to the External Mission of the ANC. This is undemocratic and our members have come to us to complain about it ...

"This is political poaching ... Inkatha members and supporters had no choice but to pick up the gauntlet which was thrown at them ..."

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