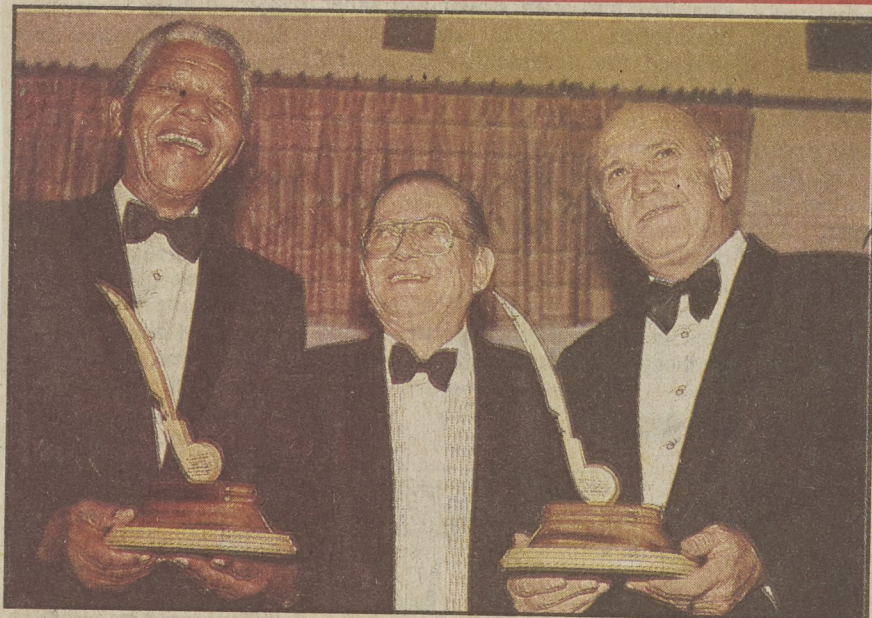


16/1/11



**Newsmakers ... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk receive awards from Press Club chairman Hans Lombard.**

## Mandela, De Klerk differ on new SA

By SANDILE MEMELA CP 24/02/91

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk differed sharply on the question of a new South Africa when they jointly received the Newsmaker of the Year award on Friday.

The two men received the prestigious award at a function hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

Mandela said the current government under De Klerk had no moral right to govern, and called for the creation of an interim government.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer we shall be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails," he said.

De Klerk dismissed the idea of an interim government, saying he could not accept a government which was "cooked up in talks in dark rooms".



# Must unions don one or two hats?

**D**URING the 1980s trade unions became key members of the broad anti-apartheid alliance.

Most important was the biggest federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which adopted the Freedom Charter and entered a formal alliance with the UDF. The black-consciousness aligned National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) also saw itself as part of the broad struggle.

Indeed, once the State of Emergency had put the UDF and most community organisations out of action, Cosatu became the main organisation in the mass democratic movement.

Since February 2 last year, however, the situation has begun to change. For one thing, the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP meant Cosatu was no longer forced to play the role of a political movement.

In the second place, the February unbannings opened the way for political negotiations and, ultimately, should lead to a democratic government.

These changes posed many new questions for the trade unions. What political role should they play in the transition to democracy? And would there be a political role for trade unions after democracy has been achieved?

While the trade unions in Cosatu are still debating these issues, most unionists believe Cosatu should continue to play a role in politics during this transition period. But it is a very different role to the one it has played up to now.

Currently Cosatu is playing a political role on two fronts. On the one hand, its members are playing a political role within the ANC and SACP, helping to build these organisations. On the other, Cosatu has a firmly established position as a member of the tripartite Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance, through which it can influence politics as an independent mass organisation.

High-profile Cosatu leaders such as Moses Mayekiso, Chris Dlamini and Sydney Mafumadi have emerged as members of the SACP's internal leadership core. While fewer top union leaders have emerged as ANC leaders at national level, at branch and regional level many Cosatu unionists are playing a significant role in building ANC structures.

This has led to the "two hats" debate in Cosatu. Some unions feel it is wrong for union office-bearers to hold office at the same time in political organisations. If the party adopts a certain view, they ask, will the unionists then try to impose it on the union?

Those unionists who support the wearing of two hats argue that the trade unions have a duty to help build political organisations which have been banned for so long.

Some argue that this is only a transitional arrangement. Once the political organisations are firmly established individuals will have to choose which organisation to represent.

But Cosatu does not only seek to influence political organisations through its members who join them. It also influences them directly through its role in the tripartite alliance. For example, Cosatu believes very strongly that the most democratic way to draw up a new constitution is through a constituent assembly.

While the ANC also supports the demand for a constituent assembly, it became apparent towards the end of last year that some leaders saw this as negotiable.

However, in December Cosatu's workers' charter conference resolved

AS South Africa struggles towards democracy, the political role of the trade union movement is beginning to change. The politics of resistance is slowly being replaced by the politics of reconstruction. **LABOUR BULLETIN** editor CARL VON HOLDT looks at the issues.

## Labour action

### likely if new govt tramples workers' rights

that the constituent assembly demand was non-negotiable. After a meeting of the tripartite alliance in late January, a statement was issued clarifying that an all-party conference could not, in fact, replace a constituent assembly. Clearly, pressure from Cosatu – and the SACP – had prevailed.

Cosatu also believes the new constitution should entrench the rights and powers of unions and workers – such as the right to strike without being dismissed.

Thus it is trying to formulate democratic principles which should be enshrined in the constitution, such as a bill of rights, equal rights for women, the obligation to hold referendums when demanded by enough voters, and the right for workers to participate in economic decision-making.

But what will happen once South Africa has become a democracy, and all South Africans are represented in parliament by political parties? Will Cosatu like a happy midwife look proudly at this new baby democracy, wash its hands of politics, and settle down to bread and butter issues?

This may happen, but it is unlikely. Currently the Cosatu affiliates are debating the problems of economic development and overcoming the material inequalities which are a legacy of apartheid. This is the new politics of reconstruction which is emerging.

But there are different views on how to do this. Some unionists believe that the unions, together with civics and rural organisations, should negotiate a reconstruction accord with the ANC whom they expect will become the new government in a democratic South Africa.

Other unionists argue that the unions should enter into a social contract with the employers, which would be beneficial to both parties, and establish collective bargaining forums at industrial and national level.

Whatever the final position of Cosatu is in this debate, it seems clear the unionists intend to play a significant role in shaping the economic, social and political institutions of a democratic South Africa.

If the new government begins to trample on workers' interests the unions are likely to oppose it. They will be a political force the government will find difficult to ignore.



Workers strike for better conditions and a living wage... is this a scene which will disappear in the new South Africa when political allies of the trade unions take power?

## We will still encourage strikes – Naidoo

By LEN KALANE

SOUTH Africa's black labour movements, having survived the tough apartheid era, will face a totally different ball game in the new South Africa.

*City Press* spoke to leaders of Cosatu and Nactu, the largest union federations in the country, and it is apparent the unions will still flex their political muscle in a new South Africa.

Assistant general secretary of the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Marcel Golding, said: "In the absence of political organisations prior to February 2 last year, the oppressed people had no alternative voice in the country to express their political aspirations. We fulfilled this role."

And will they continue to do so in the new South Africa?

"Yes of course," says Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo. "We have been fighting for the workers' right to take strike action and when the need arises in the new South Africa we will still encourage them to do so. In fact this right should form part of the new constitution."

Nactu general secretary Cunningham

said the shedding of their political role would be a mistake – which had happened elsewhere in Africa.

"We are definitely not going to repeat that mistake here. We will retain our political posture."

But Naidoo said the labour movement's political role in a new South Africa needed to be re-defined.

"The emphasis in a post-apartheid South Africa would be on matters that directly affect the economic interests of our membership, but we also intend taking action to safeguard the interests of our members on political issues."

To what extent will labour movements influence political decisions?

"The trade union movement must play a more direct role in decision-making. For instance, we must have a say in the restructuring of the economy at a national level," said Naidoo.

"Even if we have a democratic government, people outside the government's political structures must continue to play a role in the democratic decision-making process."

Ngcukana agrees, saying it is imperative the trade union movement plays a role in constitutional development.

"Whether we do this directly or by engag-

ing the liberation movements in discussion to put across the demands of the trade union movement will be determined by how the constitution evolves," he said.

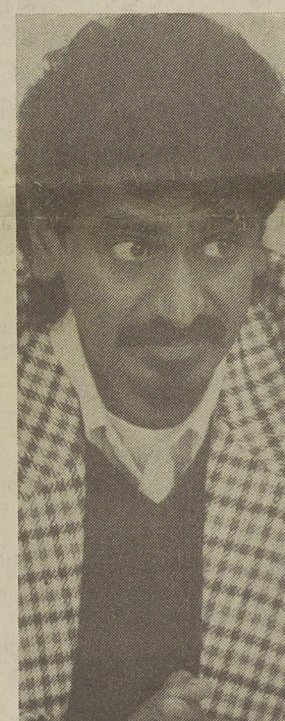
In Nactu's case it will depend on what type of political economy the new South Africa pursues.

"If the economy remains capitalist we will continue to fight for its dismantling to a socialist one, irrespective of whether the government is African or not," said Ngcukana.

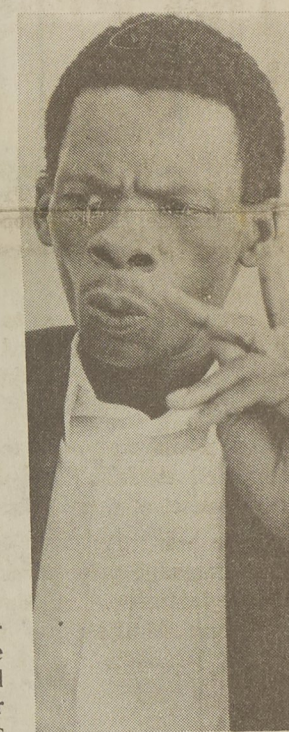
He said Nactu would strive to influence decisions taken by government for as long as the trade union movement avoided becoming "an appendage" of political parties in power.

Naidoo added there were still debates within Cosatu on whether a new government should legislate a minimum wage rate, or whether this should be left to bargaining structures.

"New South Africa or not, we will continue to encourage workers to engage in strike action for the right to a living wage. It will therefore be in the interests of everybody for the post-apartheid government to address socio-economic problems – the legacy of apartheid."



Jay Naidoo: emphasis on economic rights.



Cunningham Ngcukana: politics to stay.



## Inkatha lashes ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

C/P 1020  
24/2/91



THOUSANDS of heavily armed Inkatha members marched through the streets of Soweto yesterday on their way to hear KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi call on his followers and the ANC to lay down their weapons.

Addressing about 35 000 supporters at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, he also rejected the Harare Declaration, calls for a constituent assembly, the establishment of an interim government and lashed the ANC for its mass action calls.

Buthelezi said a one-man-one-vote system was not the only kind of democracy fit for mankind.



## ANC donors sit on funds

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC has still not received any of the millions of rands promised deputy president Nelson Mandela during two foreign tours last year.

ANC finance director Vusi Khanyile said at the weekend the organisation had not yet received the proceeds from Mandela's US tour in June, and it was not expecting to receive anywhere near the hundreds of millions reportedly pledged.

He said a figure of R5m was "not far off".

However, the ANC was in contact with organisers of Mandela's US trip, who indicated that the money would still be forthcoming.

Mandela reportedly received pledges of up to R70m during a tour of the Far East in October.

Khanyile said these funds had also not been received, and some donors were expected to renege.

25/2/91



# ANC's Messina two pin their hopes on appeal

CP Correspondent

CP 24/02/91  
THE appeal of two ANC prisoners who got seven death sentences each at the sensational "Messina trial" in 1988 will be heard at the Bloemfontein Appellate Division this week.

Mtheleleli Zephania Mncube of Diepkloof, Soweto, and Euclid Mzondeleli Nondula of East London have spent almost two-and-a-half years on death row awaiting their fate.

Their lawyer, Azar Cachalia of Chea-

le, Thompson and Haysom, said they were appealing against both the sentence and conviction - and the appeal would be heard tomorrow and Tuesday.

Cachalia said the political climate in the country had changed a great deal since their conviction and he was optimistic about the outcome of the appeal.

Sentenced in May 1988, the two have had the longest wait in the history of appeals against death sentences. During their trial in Messina in the Northern Transvaal they attracted adverse publicity.

In his evidence in mitigation, Mncube had told the court he regarded himself as a disciplined soldier of the ANC and that, given a chance, he would continue with his soldierly mission in the country.

In addition to their death sentences they were each sentenced to a total of 50 years' imprisonment for charges ranging from attempted murder to terrorism and contravention of the Arms and Ammunition Act.

Cachalia said the two have applied to the government for indemnity.

Should their appeal fail they will have to rely on their indemnity application. Should they be successful they will be among the thousands of political prisoners expected to be released by the end of April, he said.

Two tragedies have befallen their families since they have been on death row. Nondula's mother, Eugene, died last year while Mncube's grandmother, Victoria Dube, passed away three weeks ago. Mncube's mother, Winnifred, said her family was praying day and night for the success of the appeal.



16/1/11

# ANC's pilots look to SAA

S. Times 24/02/91

THE ANC is urging SAA to employ at least six qualified airline pilots who are in exile.

SAA said this week the pilots could apply to the airline and would be considered for employment in the normal way.

ANC official George Negota has held talks with SAA management on the possibility of jobs for exiles who are serving as pilots overseas. He said he was surprised by the enthusiasm of SAA officials.

"But we will not be getting any special treatment," Mr Negota said. "Pilots in exile will have to have their licences validated by the Directorate of Civil Aviation before they can be considered by SAA."

Mr Negota said the ANC had copies of the qualifications of six pilots and two flight engineers which were submitted to SAA. He said the pilots, trained in Ethiopia and Ireland and flying for Ethiopian Airlines and Zambian Airways, were between the ages of 26 and 32 and had an average of between 600-1 000 hours' flying experience.

He said all were first officers and were flying Boeing 707s or the more modern Boeing 757s.

Mr Negota said the ANC planned to submit the licences of another

## Exiled fliers 'welcome' if they qualify

By ROGER MAKINGS

four pilots and six flight engineers as well as those who were still undergoing training.

SAA's executive manager of flight operations, Captain Mick Mitchell, said this week that any South African citizen under the age of 35 was welcome to apply for a job as a pilot — providing he had the right qualifications.

### Stringent

These included:

- A South African commercial pilot's licence, or one validated by the Directorate of Civil Aviation as well as an instrument rating.

- At least 1 000 hours' flying time.

- South African citizenship.

"Once these requirements have been fulfilled, the candidate must pass a medical examination and

then appear before a selection board," said Captain Mitchell.

The head of the Directorate of Civil Aviation, Japie Smif, said pilots with foreign licences would, in addition to other requirements, have to pass a flight test and an examination on SA air law before their licences were validated.

But even after validation there were restrictions on the pilot regarding conversions to other aircraft types and renewals of the licence.

The SA commercial pilot's examination is one of the most stringent in the world. First-time candidates have a pass rate of less than 20 percent.

### Aviation

Captain Mitchell said the airline was planning a seminar for blacks interested in aviation which would include a tour of Jan Smuts airport.

- This week Mr Tony Leon (DP, Houghton) urged SAA to implement black advancement programmes if the airline wanted to operate in US skies.

He had discussed the matter with ambassador designate to the United States Harry Schwarz, who believed SAA should fund a bursary scheme to promote black advancement in the airline.



# MK soldier returns to old varsity

S. Times 24/02/91

THIS is the youthful face of a trained ANC soldier. She, together with thousands of others, are coming home after years in exile.

Veena Naidoo, 25, returned to South Africa two weeks ago after five years in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This week she registered at the University of Durban-Westville for a teaching degree.

When she fled the country with three friends at the height of the state of emergency in 1986, she was a 20-year-old law student.

Several of her friends were in detention and others faced charges for being members of the ANC.

"The armed struggle was the only way out," said Veena.

"Those of us who were in the ANC had to run, otherwise we were at great risk," she said.

Of the four friends who went into exile together, only Veena and one other have returned.

One was killed in a South African Police ambush. Another, Richard Vallihu, is still at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka.

Veena says she was one of two women trained at a

By SHARON CHETTY

camp in Angola soon after she went into exile.

After further training in several African countries and "elsewhere", she was sent to Swaziland to help set up a base.

"Soon after we had left a camp in Angola, most of another group were ambushed and killed — an attack we narrowly missed."

## Arrested

In June 1988, a close friend, Lenny Naidu, was one of three people shot dead in a police ambush at Piet Retief near the Swazi border.

She and fellow exile David Madurai were later arrested in Swaziland for one of the biggest arms caches discovered in that country.

Both were acquitted but Swazi authorities warned the ANC High Command in Lusaka that the two's presence in the country would no longer be tolerated.

Now, Veena stays with her six brothers and sisters, mother and schoolteacher father in Chatsworth, Durban.

16/1/11