

# Congress Militant

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Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

*Reject De Klerk's Constitution fraud! Demand...*

# Majority-rule elections now!

The new Constitution planned by De Klerk has one central aim. In the words of the *Guardian* newspaper: "The scheme is designed above all to ensure that a black majority will never be able to exercise effective political power."

This fraud against democracy must be rejected completely. The government and the bosses intend to negotiate the new Constitution at a multi-party conference. We must reject that trap, and demand *one-person-one-vote* elections now, so that an elected Constituent Assembly, representing the people, will draw up a new Constitution.

For generations, the liberation struggle has centred on the demand of the African majority for the right to vote. Under the government's plan, every adult will now have a vote. But the votes of the majority will not give them the power to make laws! *Minority* parties will have a bigger say. This is the *old* South Africa of minority domination, wearing new clothes.

The First House of parliament is to be elected by one-person-one vote. But a Second House, not so elected, will have the power to veto (over-rule) its decisions. This is an undemocratic fraud.

In the Second House each region will be allocated equal seats -- the Northern Cape, for instance, would have the same number as the

whole PWV/KwaNdebele region.

Minority parties will be given the same share of their region's seats as majority parties, and can gang together to prevent majority rule. The Conservatives, the Nationalists and Inkatha would each get as many seats to represent the Transvaal as the ANC!

The *Star* says: "even if one party [meaning the ANC] wins an overall majority in all nine regions, it is likely to be in the minority in the Second House."

## Executive

De Klerk's plan is for a permanent *coalition government*, in which the Nationalists and their allies like Inkatha, will

have a built-in majority over the ANC.

The President will not be the leader of the majority party. A *troika* -- intended to be De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela -- will share the Presidency and make policy by agreement!

The Cabinet will be a multi-party body. Even if the ANC got 70 per cent of the popular vote, it would still not be allowed to form a government or choose a majority of ministers.

In Regional government, the majority party will be limited to one executive place. The *minority* parties will always have a majority in the executive.

In Local government, only half the councillors will be chosen by one-person-one vote. The

other half will be chosen only by property-owners, lessees and people who pay their rates.

This means that the millions of "squatters" and people in backyard shacks will never be able to elect a majority of councillors to see to their needs.

## Power

De Klerk says he will not retreat from these plans in any basic way during negotiations. He says the NP will *prevent* the adoption of a constitution which would lead to majority rule.

In our opinion it is wrong for the ANC to enter an "All-Party Congress" with the government and Inkatha, unless they *first* accept that a Constituent Assembly must be elected with full power to draw up the new Constitution.

The ANC must negotiate *only* for majority rule! Until that is conceded, the task of the ANC is to mobilise and lead a *mass movement* in a struggle for power.

**Raise R5 000 for Congress Militant!**

by Sizwe Nonjila

Comrades! The big newspapers are controlled by the bosses and the government. As a result the majority have got no say. The working class needs its own paper and that is *Congress Militant*. It's where workers, youth, unemployed, and students can voice their views and organise their struggles for the changing of society.

We appeal to our readers and contributors to help raise R5 000 before February 1992. This amount will start the building fund for *Congress Militant*. We need a printing press, computers and all the facilities to develop the paper.

Targets	Feb 1992
Transvaal	R2 000
Cape Town	R1 500
Durban	R 500
Other Areas	R1 000

The *Argus*, *Star*, *Natal Witness*, *Citizen*, *Sowetan* are all financed by the bosses. A workers' paper is exposing lies and crimes of the bosses. Its purpose is to tell the truth of workers' lives and to show them the way forward in the struggle for socialism. The bosses cannot finance a paper that stands against them.

*Congress Militant* needs to come out more often. Our readers need at least a regular monthly paper. This edition received more than 100 articles and letters from writers. It also has a special focus from comrades in the struggle for socialism. For the paper to come out more frequently we need money.

The paper must be read in every corner of South Africa, workplaces, townships and schools. We call on all those who buy the paper to dig in their pockets and make an additional contribution.

Every seller be bold and ask for a contribution and for standing orders from the big earners! Ask for 50 cents to R1000. Workers make collections at your factories, students at your schools and unemployed amongst your friends.

# Women's rights

Page 9

Forward to a lively  
Congress Militant!

# Editorial

A warning to all comrades in the Congress movement

## ANC plan means coalition government with Nats & Inkatha

A document of the National Working Committee (the ANC's shadow cabinet), issued on 22 August, sets out the leadership's policy on an Interim Government to replace the present government of De Klerk.

Careful study of this document shows that the ANC leadership proposes a long governing partnership with the Nationalists and Inkatha, before elections are held.

It is vital that all comrades in the ANC, ANCYL, COSAS, ANWL and COSATU realise the implications of this, and act now to prevent a disastrous mistake.

### Trap set by De Klerk

De Klerk's fraudulent constitutional proposals prove what *Congress Militant* warned: the government has no intention of negotiating majority rule. De Klerk, Buthelezi and the bosses refuse to accept a Constituent Assembly elected by one-person-one-vote.

To force an undemocratic constitution down the throats of the oppressed majority, they want it to be drawn up, not by elected representatives of the people, but in a conference of leaders of all parties. They want to trap the ANC into participating in this scheme, to make it acceptable to the people.

### Interim Government

Like the ANC leaders, *Congress Militant* demands the replacement of the present government by an Interim Government. But what should be the character and tasks of an Interim Government?

The only purpose for which power should be entrusted to an all-party Interim Government is to hold immediate elections to a Constituent Assembly. Once this has been done, the unelected Interim Government must hand over to the elected Constituent

Assembly. This democratic Assembly must then choose an executive to govern until the new constitution is in place.

### ANC plan

The ANC's July Congress envisaged the following steps:

- "(a) The convening of the All-Party Congress;
- "(b) The installation of the Interim Government;
- "(c) The election of a Constituent Assembly; and
- "(d) The adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a parliament representative of all the people of South Africa."

On 31/7/91, the ANC NEC "re-affirmed that the only way forward for our country is to create a transitional authority, with a limited lifespan, charged with the task of preparing the country for a democratic constitution and governing the country during this period." This transitional authority is referred to as "an Interim Government of National Unity". Notably, the formulation avoids mentioning elections to a Constituent Assembly.

The National Working Committee document which explains this (*Strategic Perspectives on the Interim Government*), shows that this government of "limited lifespan" is intended to remain in power without elections for a considerable time.

The NWC document contains no reference to a Constituent Assembly at all!

Instead, an Interim Government, a multi-party coalition clearly together with Inkatha and the Nats, is to concern itself with matters "beyond the questions related to the transition".

Its tasks include: "restructuring" the government; seeing to "the complete overhaul of the ministries and departments" under "Multi-Party Commissions"; undertaking "socio-economic development"; setting "budgetary priorities"; and deciding "foreign policy".

If this involves a

"limited lifespan", then what would a long-term coalition look like?

The right of the people to elect a democratic assembly, which then frames the constitution, takes over all aspects of government, sets policy and undertakes socio-economic development ... this fundamental right is to be usurped by an unelected coalition with the oppressors and exploiters of the people.

### Elections

The National Working Committee document reveals that the ANC leadership has no intention of forcing the government to concede one-person-one-vote elections for a Constituent Assembly.

To elect a Constituent Assembly on party lists, it would be enough for every adult to vote at any polling station in the country on a certain day -- with precautions to ensure that no person votes twice.

Thereafter, the country's electoral system, constituency boundaries, etc., become a matter to be framed in the new constitution.

But the ANC plan envisages that this constitution-making task should be undertaken by an Electoral Commission under the multi-party Interim Government.

What is more, the Interim Government is even to be given the task of drawing up a Bill of Rights -- a centre-piece of any new Constitution.

While all this is going on, the ANC hopes to "further win the confidence of various sectors of society" (the capitalists?) by its performance in government in such fields as "education, housing, foreign trade and industry, foreign relations and sports". At the same time it will see to "decisive restructuring of the Civil Service"!

We ask the ANC leadership: How many years are you intending the Interim Government to last before elections are held?

Your document even

concedes that the Interim Government "might need to account to some immediate authority in the absence of any parliament". That means in the absence of elections and the absence of a Constituent Assembly.

The implication is obvious: *The All-Party Congress will take the place of a Constituent Assembly*. It will write the new constitution on the basis of compromises reached with the Nationalists and Inkatha. The mass of the people will have no direct say. This is precisely De Klerk's plan.

We want a majority ANC government, elected by one-person-one-vote.

If the ANC enters a coalition government with De Klerk and Buthelezi, its hands will be tied, reforms will be too limited, and the capitalists will apply unrelenting pressure for the demands of the working class to be abandoned.

Mass disappointment will develop, and the basis will be laid for terrible confusion and splits.

Instead of majority-rule elections, we will have elections only under one or other fraudulent scheme.

For the ANC to avoid the trap set by De Klerk, it must focus all attention on the demand for immediate one-person-one-vote elections for a Constituent Assembly. A campaign of mass mobilisation for *Majority-rule elections now!* can turn the tables on De Klerk.

### All-Party Congress

It is with this in mind that we should review tactics towards the proposed All-Party Congress (or 'Multi-Party Conference' as the government calls it).

In February this year, *Congress Militant* (No. 6) argued: "In attending an All-Party Congress, the ANC should have as its aim to confront the government with the demand for an elected Constituent Assembly -- and to withdraw from the negotiations if this is

refused."

At the time, this would have enabled everyone to see that the obstacle to a negotiated settlement lay not with the ANC, but with the government. Today, especially after the publication of the Nats' planned constitutional fraud, everyone can see that the government rejects democracy.

What is the point of entering an All-Party Congress with the government now? It puts in question whether the ANC leaders are serious about the black majority's democratic demands.

### Where will it lead?

In July, the ANC congress clearly saw an All-Party Congress only as a means to securing an elected Constituent Assembly.

In the ANC's agreement last month with the PAC and Azapo, that they would join in attending multi-party talks with the government, the purpose of securing a Constituent Assembly elected by one-person-one-vote was again emphasised.

But there is no plan whatsoever to force the government to concede this. In fact, preparations are being made to compromise the demand for an elected Constituent Assembly during the All-Party Congress.

This is shown not only by the National Working Committee document discussed above, but also by ANC press statements.

According to the *Star* (20/9/91), "Penuel Maduna of the ANC's legal department said although his organisation insisted on an interim government and a constituent assembly, it was not inflexible. If something acceptable was proposed at an all-party congress, the ANC would seriously consider it."

While the ANC leadership is prepared to be 'flexible' on fundamental democratic demands, De Klerk and his government absolutely rule out both a sovereign interim government and an elected Constituent

Assembly.

The 'transitional arrangement' offered by De Klerk would leave real power in the hands of the existing government and state, while co-opting leaders of the masses into joint responsibility.

The danger is that something of this kind will be agreed to in the negotiations, and then dressed up as an 'Interim Government'.

In setting out its strategy for an 'Interim Government', the National Working Committee proposes to strive for an "overhaul of the command control structure" of the state's security, communications and broadcasting services.

Such phrases sound radical on the surface. But De Klerk and the bosses will lose little sleep over them. Far from dismantling the present state structure, far from transferring power, they leave the foundations of the status quo intact.

### Precondition for negotiations

In our opinion, the ANC leadership has been far too willing to drop the preconditions for negotiations set out in its April ultimatum to the government. The leadership seems to be shifting further and further to the right.

We have reached a stage in the dealings with the government, where it is necessary to draw a clear line.

Before the ANC and its 'Patriotic Front' allies, the PAC and Azapo, enter any All-Party Congress, the government must first accept that a Constituent Assembly must be elected without delay with full power to draw up the new Constitution. On this basis only, should an Interim Government be formed.

Only on this basis can the ranks of our movement ensure that the leadership holds firm to its democratic tasks, and does not slip further into the trap set by the bosses and De Klerk.

# LAMONTVILLE

Lamontville is named after Rev. Archibald Lamont, who was the mayor of Durban in the 1930s.

The people believe he gave the land to them. They are angered that huge sections of land have been sold to developers, like Stocks & Stocks, Rabie and LTA -- who are charging sky-high prices for newly-built houses. Most residents cannot afford them.

A huge section of the population are youth, mostly unemployed. There are few recreation facilities available. There are no libraries, and only one sports field. Crime is rampant.

Lamontville is one of the few townships in Natal which does not fall under KwaZulu. Under the leadership of Msizi Dube, the people successfully resisted incorporation into KwaZulu in 1983.

Inkatha tried to make a breakthrough by violent attacks. Msizi Dube was murdered. But the youth and women fought back and defeated Inkatha.

Comrade Gogo Luthuli, a founder of the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) together with Msizi Dube, told *Congress Militant* about the long history of struggle by the people of Lamontville.

Leaders of JORAC worked to build the ANC underground when it was banned.

After the government unbanned the ANC, however, a division developed in the community. An organisation called LARA (Lamontville Residents' Association) was set up in opposition to JORAC, and it argued that the capitalist developers can "help the people".

Control of the ANC branch fell into their hands, giving rise to great unhappiness in the community.

*Congress Militant* encouraged the JORAC supporters not to give up the ANC, but to recruit a mass membership into the ANC, and see to it that a new leadership is elected.

This strategy has succeeded, with the election in September of a new ANC executive. It now has the task of leading a struggle by the community for affordable housing, and against the profiteering developers.

Comrade Gogo says, "The houses built by the developers are for people with better money, like doctors. My children have no place to stay there. They are staying in Folweni."

"This Lamontville must belong to the people who have been suffering."

*"The Marxist Workers' Tendency is a platform in the ANC to ensure that the views held by the ordinary people are the dominant views."*

"We are supporters of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC in Lamontville. We have been campaigning for the people to join the ANC and directly participate in the election of their branch leaders.

"We want to build the ANC branch on a fighting program that raises the demands of the people. The problems are housing, high rents and transport fares, the refusal of the undemocratic council to resign, the issue of land rights and the developers.

"We want to fight for facilities for the youth. We have more police stations in Lamontville than youth recreation centres. We have no parks for the children, so we have to build our own parks.

"We want to build our branch such that the masses have direct participation in decision-making.

"Regular meetings with special programs must be held at fixed dates, so that we can follow the ups and downs in our revolution. Local, national and international politics will be taught and shared amongst the people.

"We shall have to learn to constructively criticise ourselves from within, to be able to build a mass ANC.

"Despite disappointment in the previous branch leadership, support for the ANC in the community remains rock-solid. So does the rent boycott.

"The people are ready to do battle. All that it will take to revive the militant spirit of Msizi Dube is a leadership that fights for the people."

Sifiso Sosibo and Makhanda Mbele  
JORAC members

## HAMBA KHAHLE QHAWE

*Congress Militant* mourns the death of comrade Mabrada, who was organising for the launch of the ANCYL in Lamontville. He was killed in a car accident on 16 August, 1991. His death is a tragic loss to the Congress movement. We will continue to build the ANCYL in the memory of this fine comrade.

## "How can you paint a broken house?"

-- resident asks *Congress Militant*

We have a big problem about housing. Some people do not have houses. Those who do, have no good houses.

Our houses are too old, the walls are cracked, and when it rains the water comes inside. We must put a dish where the water comes.

We are a family of 12 and we sleep in a house with four rooms. We bought our house, and we're paying it off. People who are renting houses, like this are paying the same as we do. The rents are too high.

Some people are renting since 1958 when they came to stay here. Their houses were never renewed, and they cannot paint them because they are renting.

Before, when the authorities came to paint, the people did not allow them. They wanted to paint over the cracks and not close them. How can you paint a broken house?

We are trying to get together to find a way to talk to the NPA, but so many times we try to talk to them and nothing happens.

## Msizi Dube's way

Msizi Dube organised against the unelected councillors in Lamontville. He led the masses against the unfair rent and fare increases. As a result of his leadership, the rent and bus boycott was effective.

He fought against the developers, demanding for land and sites at a reasonable price.

Under the banner of JORAC he took the initiative to go and call meetings in every corner of Lamontville.

No-one missed those meetings, where JORAC would listen to the people's

grievances and discuss collectively how to approach their problems.

Everywhere he called a meeting, the whole community, from youth to pensioners, filled the church hall to capacity.

When the state and the capitalists tried to bribe him, he took the cheque back to the community, because they were the people he represented.

The people chanted, "Asinamali!"

After his death, the people took up his sword and carried his flag.

# Strengthen our ANC branches!

## Alexandra Thabo Meletse reports

During the release of Nelson Mandela the ANC was alive in Alex.

But all that changed after Inkatha started its attacks. Then ANC meetings were held behind closed doors with only a few people.

But at our General Meeting in September you could see people were again determined to build the ANC strong. Up to 800 attended, many were shack-dwellers who had faced violence.

It was reported that we had not reached membership targets set

for Alex. But Alex is very strong for the ANC. We called a door to door recruitment, and that the ANC's organisers must be stronger when promoting the ANC.

The main issue was violence. In the commission everybody was angry, calling for proper self defence to be organised in practice not just in theory.

Unfortunately when the resolution on violence was read to the whole meeting, this was not mentioned. It only said we support the Peace Accord.

We also took a resolution to make people aware of the dangers of AIDS.

We face horrible conditions in Alex. We must build the ANC to fight to better our lives.

## Khayelitsha Ndoda Ntsimbi reports

I attended an inter-branch meeting of all ANC Youth branches in Khayelitsha.

Among the items discussed, the one that comrades felt needs urgent attention was the escalating violence.

Comrades from Site C, of the Petani branch, gave a report of killings that took place. Five people died in an attack in the middle of the night. The police were seen to be involved. Shacks were burnt down.

A comrade from the A/B branch, proposed that a march by the ANC and

COSATU should be called, followed by a general strike.

He said we should also demand arms from the leadership to defend ourselves, because we have marched many times yet we still get shot and killed by the police. He said we should demand the police get out of the townships.

This was supported by the whole room, with motivation by other comrades, saying that now the ANC is losing support because people do not find themselves defended in the ANC.

The meeting agreed that one of the comrades should tell the ANC that the youth was passing such a resolution, and that it must also be taken to COSATU.

## Langa Norah Bayuma and Thezama Solifa report

On 17th August there was a march by the ANC in Langa.

5 000 people -- mothers and fathers with their children -- joined the march. They shouted "Phantsi Malan and Vlok" for funding Inkatha to kill innocent people who support ANC and COSATU.

At the police station they locked the gates. We stood outside and gave a petition to one of the police. There were speakers from the ANC and MK.

People were carrying

a coffin. On the coffin was written *De Klerk, Barend du Plessis, Malan and Vlok*. It was burnt to ashes.

It was a successful march. There was no interruption by the police, mainly because they were afraid of the masses.

Our demands were very modest -- for an elected Constituent Assembly.

I think the ANC should demand the resignation of the whole government, which is corrupt.

This demand should be taken up both by the ANC and COSATU. It will unite the workers nationally against the state. This will be the way to build the movement.

## Police treat us like dogs

We knew that Inkatha was in Mshenguville when we were woken up by guns. The neighbour's shack engulfed in huge flames. Families ran for safety to the churches.

The police do not see us as human beings. They do not care that we will starve or freeze. Even though people ran away from their homes, which every person has a right to have, the police still follow and harass us.

Why do the police treat us like dogs? What are police doing in the churches? Why did the police not protect us from gangsters?

They allowed Inkatha to patrol at night, forcing every man to be a member. Everyone had to pay the R5 joining fee,

and R40 every month.

But the majority refused and prepared to take their belongings and leave.

**ANC and SACCAWU member  
Mshenguville**

Violence in Khayelitsha is going to its heights. Two months back Zola Ntuche was killed by Webta taxi drivers, assisted by the police. He was chairman of the Griffiths Mxenge ANC Branch. A week later Pro Jack was killed by Askaris. After that Mapongwane was killed by the same people.

Zola Mexeleni, chairperson of the Site B ANC branch, escaped when his home was attacked. The family of Solomon Ntsuke was killed. He was chairperson of the Site C branch.

There are robberies and thefts taking place increasingly, but the police kill innocent people, allowing criminals to rob.

These attacks are taking place where the ANC has a stronghold, like Zola Budd. The ANC leaders have signed the 'Peace Accord' but is this going to defend people? The answer is no.

We see the police force increasing in numbers. Since they have moved out of Angola and Namibia, they have come back to SA to destroy the ANC.

We see that people are running from the ANC, because there is no protection for them in the ANC. People are rather joining organisations which can protect them. While our leaders talk peace, people are dying or running away from the ANC.

Self defence is the most important topic. Comrades have tried to approach ANC and SACP leaders to find out how to form defence committees. Tony Yengeni replied that it was the task of the underground structures, not our task.

Only one told the truth -- an MK soldier who said that there are no self

defence units anywhere since the ANC failed to build anything. It is only Harry Gwala's area where there is self defence units.

What is happening is that youth are taking initiative to raise money and try and build self defence units. But without a clear program and plan, many degenerate because the youth are unemployed and misuse money because they are hungry.

They get reported to the police, and police just confiscate weapons and arrest the youth.

**ANC Youth League member  
Khayelitsha**

In Alexandra white police come and attack at night, getting into the houses, searching, demanding money.

These are uniformed riot policemen. They go on a rampage. One mama reported that her 3-month old baby was battered by

the white policeman.

When they find a photo of Nelson Mandela, or anything to do with the ANC, they get very angry. The police take the picture frame and hit us with it until it is completely broken. They shout abusive language about our organisations.

When we report this to the police station, they refuse to look at the evidence. They don't accept the statement of more than 15 people.

Conditions are getting worse by the day. Unemployment is very bad, and the crime rate is very high.

The only way to improve things is to take mass action. We do not trust the police, even after the 'Peace Accord'. We demand that the white police and SADF must be removed from the township.

All should form armed defence units.

**Jordan Maila  
Alexandra**

## How to get peace?

**By Temba Tansi  
Khayelitsha  
ANCYL**

The situation in the Western Cape is a very horrible one. I agree that we have to stop the violence and let peace prevail, but the peace in my view cannot be brought through uniting with the perpetrators of violence.

How can we have unity with state agents and thugs like Hoza and Ngxobongwana? We know clearly that these people are all out to oppose, crush the Congress Movement and take control of our areas.

Ngxobongwana is the person responsible for the killings which took place in Crossroads whereby a lot of our brothers and sisters lost their lives. Hoza is also the most terrible gangster like Gatsha. For years now he has been forcing his rule by a gun.

This point also boils down to the question of Chieftainship which is being encouraged by our leaders. Politically this is against our struggle -- we cannot allow development of bureaucracy just for the sake of having big membership in book.

These Chiefs who automatically become the ANC convenors are also imposing problems in squatter areas. People are forced to pay rents for no benefits but to keep the Chiefs existing. They end up becoming dictators and not allowing disagreements with them, by dealing secretly (assassinations) with the opponents.

The history of violence in South Africa has proven to us that speaking for peace purposes with the tools (stooges) of the enemy (the state and the bosses) is just inspiring them to continue their attacks against the workers and youth of our movement.

To them these peace initiatives by our leaders symbolises the weakness of the ANC, therefore undermining its power.

Peace committees set up between the ANC and the police will not work either. The working class is the only force that need to be organised to deal with this violence.

## CAN WE RELY ON THE 'PEACE ACCORD'?

Congress Militant wants an end to the violence which terrorises our communities. We are not opposed in principle to the signing of a 'Peace Accord' even with the Nationalist government.

But the necessary conditions for this are:

(1) It must provide full scope for effective self-defence by the people against attacks; and

(2) It must not prevent the peaceful removal of the government by the majority.

On both these counts the 'Peace Accord' signed by the ANC with the government, Inkatha etc, fails dismally. As it now stands, it cannot be relied on to bring peace.

The Accord accepts and strengthens the authority of the existing state machinery.

Together with the refusal of the government to negotiate a democratic constitution based on majority rule, the Accord serves to create new obstacles to the mass struggle for freedom.

On paper, it sets out worthy provisions for

limiting the brutality of the SAP and SADF. It states that "there is no place in the police force for policing practices based on personal or racial prejudice, corruption, excessive force, or any unlawful actions."

It requires police in uniform to "carry a legible external form of identification." It stipulates that all police vehicles such as Casspirs, and SADF vehicles supporting the police, "shall have an identification number painted on the side..." This would limit their ability, e.g. to transport Inkatha impis without detection.

The Accord "Rules out involvement of public funds, SAP or SADF in promoting or opposing any political party".

Persons arrested for political violence have the right to telephone their family or a lawyer. Judges' Rules for the protection of detainees have to be "consistently applied by all police officials."

*These and other provisions can and should be used in the struggle for our rights.*

However, although these codes of conduct are "binding on the SAP and SADF", enforcement of them is left essentially to the state authorities themselves.

A special police unit is to be established -- to investigate the police!

The Commissioner of the SAP "shall have regard to recommendations of the National Peace Committee" but is not obliged to follow them.

People's complaints about the police go to a Police Ombudsman, who only has power to "make recommendations to the Commissioner of Police".

In overall charge of investigating violence, is the Commission established under the Nationalists' own Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act of 1991.

*What real protection can our communities expect from all this?*

Very importantly, the Accord recognises the right of all people "to defend themselves and their property and to establish voluntary associations or self-protection units [defence units] in any neighbourhood to prevent crime and to prevent any invasion of lawful rights of such communities."

But only "licensed arms" are permitted -- which must be issued by... the Commissioner of Police! Why, at least, are the Local Dispute Resolution Committees, to be formed in the communities, not given the power to issue firearm licenses? Let's demand that!

On the one hand the Accord tries to restrict the arbitrary power of the state -- but on the other hand it strengthens it. "The SAP remains responsible for the maintenance of law and order and shall not be hindered in executing their task by any self-protection unit," says the Accord.

Instead of defence units

acting to protect people against the police also, they are required to liaise with the police.

Instead of being popular democratic organs accountable to the community, the local structures of "peace promotion" will be given statutory recognition and "funded by the State".

No-one can have any doubt that only the provisions which serve to assist the state will be seriously enforced. How else could Inkatha brazenly hold an armed demonstration outside the hotel where the 'Peace Accord' prohibiting such actions was being signed?

We say: *No trust in the 'Peace Accord'! Maintain your vigilance! Build armed community defence units, independent of the state and under popular control!*

Use those provisions of the Accord which can assist our struggle. Reject those which help to maintain the undemocratic rule of a privileged minority.

## Harry Gwala's criticisms at the ANC Congress

The commission on violence was the scene of heated debate. Comrade Harry Gwala from the Natal Midlands attacked the weak response of the ANC to Inkatha and State violence.

He was particularly critical of the failed strategy of entering into agreements with Inkatha. He said, "Violence has raged since the December 1987 UDF-COSATU agreements with Inkatha. Warlords have continued with their work. Inkatha ignores arbitration. More peace agreements

have been made. Good! We all want peace. If you want peace, arrest the warlords. But we do not get that."

He vowed never to shake hands with warlords like David Ntombela and maintained that, "All the priests and their bibles to sing hosannas for peace on earth will achieve nothing. We need guns to defend ourselves. You say it will pollute the atmosphere for negotiations."

He emphasised the importance of not having a conciliatory attitude towards

Inkatha. "We got peace when we imposed peace -- when we defended ourselves. We did not go on a handshaking expedition. While we talk peace they practice war."

He linked our response to the Inkatha violence to the need for a serious struggle to defeat the regime.

We have a right to use legal and illegal weapons. Self defence units must acquire weapons in the community and involve the community to contribute financially.

A serious debate followed. Finally, a resolution on violence was adopted. The most important points in the resolution are that the violence is clearly recognised as "part of a counter revolutionary strategy to maintain white domination in new forms".

Inkatha is named as an agent of violence. The NEC is mandated to set a deadline by which time self defence units must have been established. But the NEC is mandated to continue with peace initiatives and

attempts to develop codes of conduct together with the government and Inkatha.

At the end of the commission many comrades were left wondering how we can seriously take up a policy of armed self defence against the Inkatha vigilantes and state-backed killers while entering into agreements with them at the same time.

**By a Congress delegate**

## Buthelezi's dream

Comrades, Inkatha Frightening Party's leader, Buthelezi, said everyone in a democratic country has a right to have his own dream. He reduces people's fight for basic human rights to mere dreams!

This reminds me of an American slave, being told by his master that when he dies he is going to heaven. As the slave walked through the plantation he would look up into the skies and then keep on dreaming while he slaved for the master. He dreamt that one day he would drink milk and honey and walk on golden streets. While he was being fooled the master was busy getting rich with all the gold that he dug.

Buthelezi wants people to dream while he is collecting all the wealth. He has recently been exposed for digging his bloody hands deep into the coffers of the government while we were busy dreaming.

Tapu Moleng  
Katlhlong

## Comrade Ramodike?

Dear comrades,

Our king is Finance Minister in the Lebowa Government. He does nothing for the development of his people. Every year he demands money saying it's for bursary purposes, but no one has used that money.

People are living under bad conditions, pushing wheelbarrows to fetch water. There are poor roads, a lack of medical facilities and places for entertainment.

Farmers fetch the people at villages during winter months to pick cotton. These people are not protected against diseases and are earning poor wages.

The Lebowa Government, headed by Ramodike, does nothing for the people. Ramodike bought the King a Mercedes Benz, to strengthen his personal position. He tells the people he has joined the ANC, but he is in conflict with the ANC Northern Transvaal region.

On the 26th August teachers went on strike in Lebowa. The strike erupted after Ramodike announced the suspension of teachers who participated in the SADTU march. The teachers were demanding his resignation.

# Letters

Please give your letter to a Congress Militant seller. Ask if you need help writing it down.

## Unity is the best muti

Dear Comrades,

To respond to the subject of muti, of which comrade Bongani Ngwenya had written for *Congress Militant* No 7.

The comrade said when he was a scholar he disbelieved that muti works, then things changed his disbeliefs when he was a footballer. His football team invited an inyanga to give them muti, because of the tough match they were going to play.

Then they were on camping, but one of his playmates was not there with them. A whistle was blown over his head but it did not give sound, but when it was blown over the head of someone who was in the camp, the whistle sounded, a proof that this guy was enjoying the night with his girlfriend. Then the inyanga chased this guy out of the house where they were.

This subject to me sounds as if the person who was blowing the whistle knew that this guy was not in the camp, and also the inyanga knew about that. The purpose of the camping is to keep the players away from enjoying nice time and to save their fitness and stamina for the tough match.

I think this excuse of the whistle was an idea of trying to switch off this guy from the match, because since he was enjoying the night with his girlfriend he was going to be unfit for the match. That is why they came up with this idea, as if the muti made the whistle soundless.

Comrade Ngwenya said he was worried why there is no inyanga organisation to make muti to fight apartheid. If there is such a thing as muti to fight oppression and exploitation physically, then we would not still be on this misery of over 300 years of black enslavement. The only solution is to unite the black working class and draw the confused white working class from the capitalists to the side of the revolution with clear scientific Marxist ideas, and change society.

There was an article in his local newspaper about an Inkatha inyanga who caused a state witness to faint before the eyes of the magistrate in Mandla Shabalala's charge, therefore there was no proof that Mandla was guilty and he was discharged. Then he conclude that muti works.

We must understand that the state and its courts are ruled by the minority racist capitalist ruling class, which they apply their unjust laws when coming to a case where there is a murder of a black person by black or white. But if a black person killed a white person, he would never win that case. He will face the hangman or a long sentence in jail with no bail.

Muti is a natural herb to cure naturally certain diseases and sickness, not that it can make you win a case in courts. Even the white doctors and pharmacists are using muti and mix it to make medicines.

I do not think that we will need muti from inyngas to get our freedom, whereas we are sick and tired of this oppression and exploitation by the racist capitalists ruling class. The best [muti] is the unity of the workers and youth with a clear socialist program in the A.N.C [inyanga] for the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

From Khulu Khumalo

Their strike has affected the students, because examinations are nearby. Parents ask if this issue cannot be solved quickly, since their children will perform badly because of this disruption.

Now the executive

branch of SADTU is negotiating with him which is wrong. They cannot negotiate while they demand his resignation.

from John Mokwene  
Pietersburg

## Comrades and tyrants

I am from the Ciskei. During the time of Sebe, we were ill-treated and pressurised. We were not allowed to join any organisation which lead to liberation.

Sebe asked people to pay R10 for each and every house, but remember that they build their houses by using their own materials. His position is that the land belongs to him. If you refuse to pay he regarded you as a law breaker.

Once my father-in-law asked, "Why are you asking people to pay money for something we do not know?" They did not answer him. Instead, together with the headman, they arrested him.

When the tyrant was overthrown Oupa Gqoza carried on as an existing government. But people who were busy operating with Sebe now joined Oupa because they did not know what can happen to them.

They took the issue of joining ANC with big fat feet. Now they knock door to door asking people to join the ANC by force. And they were selling membership cards with the message of 'people shall govern'. We were compelled to buy it like it or not.

One day they come to my place and ask me to buy that membership card. And I said "no I know this organisation before you know it." I said "you were working for Sebe, now he is overthrown, you are cheating us by pretending as if you are a full member of the existing ANC. Tell your colleagues that I am not prepared to join your organisation."

They pretend they are fighting for people's rights. Even old men of 70 or over were forced to have membership cards.

Gqoza has nothing to do with the people. People keep on saying 'comrade Gqoza'. But he is not a comrade. Comrades are very respectable, reliable and keen to do what they should do. They are not oppressors. They know their feelings and what they stand for. My last words is 'Comrade Gqoza' is not a comrade he is a tyrant.

By Nina Bavuma

## Support socialists on trial!

By Mafika Mathata, Alex ANC

In Israel *Mahmoud Masarwa*, a Palestinian trade unionist who stands for the unity of the Jewish and Arab working class, has been tortured and sentenced to 10 years in the Israeli dungeons.

On August 8 his Appeal was heard by the Israeli Supreme Court. The international *Free Mahmoud Masarwa campaign* organised a special delegation to monitor the Appeal. It included a Swedish MP, British Labour MP Dave Nellist, and Paddy Hill from the 'Birmingham Six'.

*Paddy Hill* is an Irish worker who was arrested in 1974 after the bombing of a public bar in Birmingham by the IRA. He and five others were beaten by the British police, and forced to 'confess' to the crime. They repudiated their 'confessions' in court but were still found 'guilty', and sentenced to life in prison. They were only released after 16 years when new evidence made it impossible for the British judges to uphold their convictions any longer.

After visiting the Gaza strip, where most Palestinians live, Paddy said "What I saw today is a disgrace not only to Israel, or to the Jews worldwide, but it is a disgrace to humanity."



Mahmoud Masarwa

On the day of the Appeal the *Free Mahmoud Masarwa Campaign* organised demonstrations in 22 countries! In South Africa we demonstrated outside Israeli Government offices in Jo'burg. In Israel the judges hearing the Appeal knew about the demonstrations. The case was postponed until September. Mahmoud is still in prison, but we

prevented the Israeli judges from quietly dismissing his appeal -- as they do with most Palestinian political prisoners.

Send protests to demand Mahmoud's release to:  
Prime Minister's Office, 3 Kaplan Street,  
Jerusalem, Israel, 91919.

In July *Terry Fields*, a British Labour MP, was sentenced to 60 days in prison for refusing to pay the poll tax. The poll tax was introduced by Thatcher to force the poor to pay the same in taxes as the rich!

Terry played a great role organising a campaign of mass non-payment. 14 million people stopped paying! The Government was forced to abolish the poll tax, because of this pressure, mobilised by the supporters of the Militant Tendency. Today nearly R7bn in poll tax remains unpaid!

Terry was elected in 1983 as a Labour Party MP. He is "a worker's MP on a workers wage". Now Labour leaders are witch-hunting Marxists in the Party. They did not support Terry in prison. On 25 September they suspended him, and another militant MP, Dave Nellist, to prevent them standing in the next elections as Labour candidates.

Send protests against their suspension to:  
Neil Kinnock, Labour Party NEC,  
150 Walworth Road,  
London, SE 17, Britain.

In Nigeria there have been mass protests by students against low grants, and to demand the unbanning of the National Association of Nigerian Students.

The military dictator, Babangida, responded with a clampdown. Security forces and vigilantes attacked demonstrators, and students have been arrested and tortured. In one incident a vigilante leader, involved in an armed attack on a student meeting, was killed.

Now *Adola Soesan*, last year's President of the Obafemi Awolowo University, and three other student leaders are in detention, charged with his murder -- even though they can prove that they were not involved in that incident.

In 1990 69 political opponents of the regime executed.

COSAS and ANCYL members! Send protests to:  
Nigerian High Commission, 9 Northumberland  
Ave, London, WC2N 5BX, Britain

The defeat of the Stalinist coup attempt in the USSR in August was a turning point in world history. It led immediately to the complete collapse of 'Communist' Party rule. Statues of Lenin have been pulled down by the masses in the land of the 1917 October Revolution. Capitalism is being restored.

The world-wide propaganda machine of the bosses triumphantly announces that "Socialism is dead!" But, as ADAM BROWN explains, the struggle for genuine socialism in the Soviet Union suffered a crushing defeat nearly sixty years ago with the rise of the Stalinist dictatorship.

What is defeated today is not socialism but Stalinism. Despite the advantages now for the imperialist powers, the struggle of the working class for democratic socialism internationally will eventually rise again more strongly as a result of these events.

Without the Bolshevik victory of October 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky, the masses of the old Tsarist empire would have remained in backwardness and oppression.

The October Revolution stopped the slaughter of World War I. It gave the land to the peasants. It freed the subject nations and drew them into a voluntary federation with Russia. Under genuine workers' soviet rule, the country enjoyed greater real democracy than capitalism has allowed anywhere.

But it was crippled by poverty and the invasion of 21 imperialist armies. These were beaten off thanks to the huge support of the urban and rural masses for the Bolshevik government and the gains the revolution had brought.

All Europe was gripped by a revolutionary tide. But these revolutions were defeated. Soviet Russia stood isolated. Industry was destroyed by war, agriculture disrupted, and famine reigned. The working class which made the revolution was shattered.

Out of these conditions arose an undemocratic bureaucracy in the Communist Party and the state. Officials from the old ruling class who had joined the Party after the revolution wormed their way up. Some former Bolsheviks who no longer believed world socialism was possible, developed into bureaucrats. After Lenin's death in 1924, this bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, took power.

Using the name of Lenin, and the claim of 'socialism', the bureaucracy enforced a totalitarian dictatorship, and built itself into a privileged hereditary caste. It would have moved in the direction of restoring capitalism even then -- but world capitalism was in the grip of desperate crisis.

So the bureaucracy proceeded to establish an economic system similar to socialism in one sense only: private ownership of the means of production was replaced by state ownership.

But in a socialist system, the state, production and every aspect of society is democratically run by the working people themselves. Stalinism suppressed every expression of freedom, initiative and independence among the people.

The Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, and faithful to Lenin's ideas, was systematically crushed. The Stalinist counter-revolution was victorious. Stalin called this the victory of 'socialism' -- and thereby confused millions world-wide.

The 'Communist' Parties degenerated everywhere into agents of the Moscow bureaucracy. They helped to defeat workers' revolutions in China, Germany, Spain, Italy, France, Greece.... Stalin and his successors understood that a victorious workers' revolution against capitalism in the West would also lead to the downfall of the bureaucracy he led.

Thus 'peaceful co-existence' with the imperialist powers became the Stalinist watchword -- and led to the struggle of the colonial peoples being compromised. The retreats made by Gorbachev have

been only a continuation of the policy begun by Stalin himself.

As the planned economy advanced, the bureaucracy began to enjoy wealth and privileges like the capitalists in the West. But because the economic system in the USSR was based on state ownership, not private property and private profit, a fundamental conflict remained between Stalinism and imperialism.

This conflict, plus the idea that what existed in the Soviet Union was socialism, drew millions of oppressed people in the Third World towards the Stalinist powers.

As capitalism ravaged these countries, intellectual elites were drawn to the policy of nationalisation under bureaucratic control, and the creation of regimes in the image of Moscow.

But with the crisis of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the Third World Stalinist regimes have also been falling like dominos.

The biggest lie against socialism put out by capitalist propaganda, is that the collapse of the system in the Soviet Union shows that a planned economy won't work. In fact, planned economy enabled the Soviet Union to leap from a backward country to a world super-power, initially allowing big improvements in the conditions of the masses. But this couldn't last.

In *Revolution Betrayed* (written in 1936) Trotsky explained that a planned economy needs workers' democracy like a human body needs oxygen. Without it the planned economy would run into an insoluble crisis.

"Without a planned economy the Soviet Union would be thrown back for decades. In that sense the bureaucracy continues to fulfill a necessary function. But it fulfills it in such a way as to prepare for an explosion of the whole system which may completely sweep out the results of the revolution. Without deceiving themselves with regard to the ruling caste... they [the workers] see it as a watchman for the time being of a certain part of their conquests. They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility. For this it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise."

In fact, the delay of the socialist revolution in the West is now leading to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. But the downfall of Stalinism in turn clears away the most stubborn obstacle to workers' victory against capitalism.

Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* was meant to solve the crisis of Stalinism without ending bureaucratic privilege and power. But the economic crisis worsened. Looking to the rich countries of

"No-one, not excluding Hitler, has dealt socialism such a deadly blow as Stalin... Hitler assaults Marxism. Stalin not only assaults it but prostitutes it. Not a single principle has remained unpolluted, not a single idea un sullied."

Leon Trotsky, 1937



Leon Trotsky, together with Lenin, led the Bolsheviks to power in Russia in October 1917. After Lenin's death, Trotsky upheld the tradition of workers' democracy and genuine socialism both against world imperialism and against the bureaucratic regime of Stalinism.

Trotsky was exiled and eventually assassinated by Stalin. Thousands of Trotsky's supporters and their families, down to the age of 12 years, were exterminated. But today, as Stalinism collapses, socialists adhering to Trotsky's ideas are reorganising in the Soviet Union. They need our support.

# Collapse of the

## Comrades

*Congress Militant* has received these eyewitness reports from comrades involved in the struggle which defeated the August coup by the Stalinist hard-liners.

**Monday, 19 August, Moscow:**

Before the scale of the coup sunk in, many workers, had an uncertain attitude. Most opposed it, but few wanted to defend either Gorbachev or even Yeltsin.

But this mood began to change as the protests grew in size and as the consequences began to sink in.

Within hours, some people had raised the call for a general strike, which Yeltsin followed. Strikes started.

**Tuesday, 20 August, Leningrad:**

Demonstrations are not allowed. There are supposed to be no leaflets. Yet everybody's walking around the city reading leaflets and demonstrating!

3 000 automatic rifles were stored in the Leningrad Soviet building, the Maurinsky palace, all ready to hand out to the workers who had come to defend it.

On the pavements young men with white armbands called for anyone with experience in the armed forces to line up. In seconds commando units were formed and armed with Molotov cocktails. They moved off, commandeered buses and spread out through the city.

In the factories workers were building barricades. Bus-drivers were prepared to take their buses to block the streets as they had in Moscow. Dockers took action on

### What we stand for

*Congress Militant* stands for common ownership of the means of production, for a socialist planned economy, and for democratic workers' control and management of production and the state.

We maintain that a return to capitalism in Russia and the countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will not solve the problems of the mass of working people.

Nevertheless, the interests of the working people could not be served by the regime of Stalinism, which has been the biggest obstacle standing between the Soviet working class and genuine socialism.

The mass struggle against the coup was progressive, even though the defeat of the coup means that the return to capitalism is now taking place faster. As the struggle of the Romanian miners shows, a working class that brings down Stalinism is also capable of fighting effectively against the capitalists, once it realises that its interests demand that.

\* *Congress Militant* supported the smashing of the August coup.

The coup leaders wanted to impose a dictatorship. They would have banned strikes, newspapers, and all opposition. They were defending the privileges of the 'Communist' bureaucracy, not the working class or planned economy.

They supported the restoration of capitalism, but they wanted this to be done without the danger of strikes and demonstrations from the masses.

# Protests in Leningrad and Moscow report

the first day, followed by engineers and metal-workers on the second.

**Spm:** The square outside the Maurinsky Palace begins to fill up. Banners declare "All out on indefinite strike!" "They shall not pass!" "Down with the temporary government!"

The armed forces are split. In Leningrad they are solidly behind the Leningrad soviet and aren't operating the central decrees at all. The Omon army units who invaded the Baltic states in January have declared they fully support the Leningrad soviet.

At least a quarter of a million are on the demonstration. The mood is not fear but confidence, euphoria even. A huge banner across the army general staff building says: "The airforce is with you."

The Kirovsky factory workers are reported to be preparing to put heavy vehicles across the bridges of the Abodny canal because it has been reported that tanks are near. Workers who make anti-tank defences build barricades. The traffic police are going to report any tank movements.

**Moscow:** The mood has been transformed. A woman worker told us that when she first heard about the coup she was very frightened. But when she heard everybody talking at work she wanted to write a leaflet immediately and put it round the blocks of flats calling on people to resist the coup.

Barricades were put up at all entrance roads leading to the White House (Russian

Parliament). By mid-day, massive crowds built up. Everyone expected tanks to attack the parliament that night.

Bakers' shops were turned into medical centres. Barricades were made of overturned lorries, concrete blocks, metal stakes. Young people discussed where to get arms.

Tanks that had defected the night before were strategically placed around the building. Militiamen armed with light machine guns guarded the doors to the parliament. Ex-army (and probably serving soldiers) were training defence squads.

Tens of thousands stood all night in the pouring rain.

Although the organisers asked women and children to stay away, one old woman, looking barely strong enough to stand, stood without even moving her feet all night. The defenders were given cloths and instructions how to use them in case of gas attack. Others, who still had their gas masks from the war, brought them.

**Upm:** Moscow is bracing for bloody battles. A rumour started to go round the crowds that Yazov (one of the coup leaders) had resigned. The shooting started. But it became clear the troops had no stomach for a fight.

On the ring-road crowds were attempting to block the tanks. One youth climbed onto a moving tank and covered the window so the driver could not see. The driver lost control and the tank swerved into the crowd. Tragically three were killed,

including the youth.

This was almost certainly the decisive turning-point of the battle. The crowds at the White House tensed themselves -- tanks could be heard rumbling down the streets.

But the attack on the parliament building was called off at the last moment.

The Junta held back for fear of deepening splits in the army and because the resulting bloodshed would almost certainly cause a general strike in Moscow. If they had gone ahead, hundreds would have been killed.

**Wednesday 21 August, Moscow:**

As Wednesday dawned, so did the realisation that the coup was crumbling. Tanks began withdrawing from their positions. Columns pulled away and left the centre, some waving.

A commandant who had been stationed outside the *Izvestia* offices left, apologising and saying that the army was "embarrassed and ashamed" for what it had done.

All the suppressed papers had produced photocopied editions. They were fly-posted in the metros [stations], with reports of protests and strikes in Vorkuta, the Urals and the Kuzbas.

Someone wrote on plain sheets of paper and pasted to the wall: "An aircraft has just taken off from Vnukovo airport, heading towards the Crimea with five members of the Emergency Committee aboard. The Russian government has asked the Ukrainian government to arrest it."

The coup had collapsed.

# The Soviet Union

\* *Congress Militant opposes Yeltsin, the Russian President, who led the opposition to the coup. Yeltsin represents the return of capitalism to the homeland of the October Revolution.*

For 30 years Yeltsin was a senior bureaucrat of the so-called 'Communist' regime. He left it when he realised that it could not hold onto power in the USSR.

He allied himself with the capitalists of the West, and headed that wing of the Russian bureaucracy wanting to turn themselves into capitalists. He emerged as leader of the uprising because of his defiant public opposition to the old regime.

We supported Yeltsin's call on the workers to defend the Russian Parliament. But we did so in order to ensure the defeat of Stalinism, not to support Yeltsin and the capitalists.

Yeltsin wants to build a powerful capitalist state in Russia. He stands for Russian imperialism, a new form of domination over the former republics of the USSR.

If he is able, he will use dictatorial state powers in the interests of capitalism, against the very workers who supported him during the coup. Previously he had tried to ban political activity in the factories, and supported Gorbachev against the striking miners.

\* *We oppose the banning of the Communist Party.*

After the rise of Stalinism, the CPSU ceased to be a party of the working class. It became a party of bureaucrats exercising dictatorship over the working class. Police, spies, and careerists made up its membership. It is collapsing. It deserves to disappear.



But we oppose its *banning* because we reject the power claimed by the state to ban political opposition. The same power will later be used by the capitalists to ban genuine socialist opposition.

\* *We support the right of the republics of the Soviet Union to political independence.* But it is clear that, economically, they remain inter-dependent and vulnerable to new forms of domination by world imperialism.

The only way for their people to achieve real freedom and prosperity, will be by voluntarily joining together in a *democratic socialist federation*.

\* *We believe that workers need to build a new party to fight for better conditions and genuine socialism.*

There has been a rapid growth of independent trade unions and other

workers' organisations in Russia, the Ukraine, and other parts of the old Soviet Union. As the workers discover that the market system does not answer their needs, their struggles against capitalism will mount, and they will begin to return to the traditions of genuine Marxism which were represented by the Russian Revolution.

Stalinism will never rise again -- but there will rise new workers' parties based on the democratic socialist traditions of Bolshevism.

Capitalism is a disaster for the majority of people in the world. Every year it leaves millions more without jobs, homes or food. Conditions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are unbearable.

But at the same time society is achieving enormous technological advances that could end suffering and guarantee prosperity for all. Only workers' power and democratic socialism can lead us to that.

## Zaire the horrors of capitalism

In late September the authority of the Mobutu government collapsed, with soldiers and civilians rioting and looting, and French and Belgian troops flying in to restore order. This is the result of the horrors inflicted by the imperialist powers and their stooge dictator.

Zaire is rich in minerals and other resources, but its people gained nothing from a century of European colonial rule. Today it is listed as the world's 4th poorest country. As the Belgian Congo, and since independence in 1960, Zaire's wealth has been plundered by foreign monopolies like Union Miniere and a corrupt African elite.

When Belgian rule ended amidst mass rebellion, the Western media broadcast the horrors of nuns being raped and murdered. But they concealed the imperialist manoeuvres to separate copper-rich Katanga for themselves.

The UN intervened, as in Korea and the Gulf, as a camouflage for US imperialism. Patrice Lumumba, who resisted the imperialists, was murdered.

Mobutu at the head of the army, came to power as the direct agent of imperialism. Surviving repeated revolts, he has been kept in power by military and financial support from the US and France. In the Angolan war, Zaire provided the base for US supplies to UNITA.

Today the capitalist press talks piously about the evils of dictatorship and "lack of democracy" in Zaire -- forgetting to mention that the one-party system of Mobutu was imposed and maintained by and for them.

Mobutu probably holds the world record for personal corruption. His wealth, stolen and then invested overseas, is estimated as high as R1 450 thousand million. No-one puts it lower than R14,5 thousand million.

Meanwhile soldiers in the army have been paid R10 a month, and finally revolted when they weren't paid at all.

There has been hardly any economic development, despite foreign debts amounting now to \$10 thousand million. There is mass unemployment; prices are rising by 3 000% a year. While Zaireans are not trained and employed, foreigners are brought in at high salaries -- one interior designer for the elite is getting R28 000 a month!

The imperialists rob the underdeveloped countries by forcing down the prices of the raw materials these countries export. Copper, which accounts for 35% of Zaire's exports, cost more to produce than its world market price during much of the 1980s.

To rescue Mobutu, the IMF promised new loans in 1987, but imposed strict conditions which meant further misery for the population. Among these were higher taxes, a higher petrol price, and further devaluation of the currency.

Uprisings against Mobutu have always been put down in blood. Last year, 100 students were massacred during a rebellion. Political opponents were ruthlessly hunted and killed.

With the regime facing the danger of overthrow, Mobutu tried to ease the discontent by 'democratic' reforms. Two months ago, "national constitutional talks" broke down, and opposition parties called for mass strikes. Now state control has collapsed. The Western powers are intervening directly to protect their interests.

They are now trying to form a coalition government of Mobutu with politicians of the opposition parties. Whether they will be able to rescue Mobutu, or will have to drop him, remains to be seen.

But even a government formed by the opposition, while it may bring temporary relief, cannot solve any of the basic problems of the people, unless capitalism is overthrown and the plunder by imperialism is ended.

The lessons of Zaire are lessons for the whole of Africa.

**"SA cannot afford to double its health spending to give all races the kind of health care enjoyed by whites.. The National Health Department seems intent on privatisation, ... they want to unburden themselves of escalating costs and transfer them to the private sector and individuals."**

*South African Chamber of Business*

The threat of the spread of AIDS must be taken seriously by everybody active in the ANC and COSATU. Violence organised by the state and Inkatha kills thousands. But more die from diseases, such as Tuberculosis which kills 36 people a day. In five years AIDS could be the biggest killer in our community. An organised campaign to make people aware of the dangers of AIDS is vital.

In SA the AIDS epidemic has not yet reached the crisis proportions of other countries in Africa. But already, according to government health authorities, up to 250 000 people are infected with HIV (the virus which causes AIDS). Early this year there were 685 registered AIDS cases. The real figures are most likely to be much higher.

At Alexandra Health Clinic 3000 people have been tested positive with HIV in 1991. One theory suggests that in urban areas the rate of HIV infection doubles every 8 months. That means that if 10 000 people in an area were infected in October, by June 1992, 20 000 could be infected, and by February 1993 this would increase to 40 000.

A 1990 NUM report said "In South Africa we have a ready made 'path of least resistance' which the AIDS virus can follow, because millions of South African's live in poverty, without permanent homes, in single sex hostels, and without access to the most basic services."

**AIDS has developed as an epidemic of the oppressed, and will devastate the impoverished masses of the Third world. This is the result of unequal social conditions and health care under capitalism.**

The government is not serious about slowing the spread of AIDS, although they do have the money and resources to tackle the AIDS epidemic. More important for them is increased spending on the SADF and SAP -- R3 million per day in 1991.

In 1991 the Department of Health gave only R5,4 million to a national campaign to fight AIDS. As a percentage of GDP this is far less than the amount being spent in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

AIDS puts an additional burden on hospitals -- but the government orders cuts in hospital spending. The Volkskas Bank calculated that the medical bill for treating people with AIDS could reach R14 billion a year by 1995 -- 20 times the total health budget in 1991. This is a huge amount.

The state and bosses place responsibility for treatment for the epidemic on the workers and poor. They say they cannot afford the cost of caring for AIDS victims. But how many families can afford to spend R3 000 per month for treatment?

The struggle against the AIDS epidemic is also a political question. Without majority rule, and workers' control of the health services, it will be impossible to get the resources to care for AIDS sufferers.

**But we cannot wait for power before we start to fight AIDS! We must demand now that there are no more cuts in health services, and that much more is spent on health.**

# AIDS CRISIS

## Bosses want the poor to pay!



**COSATU and ANC should campaign to:**

- \* Educate people and fight prejudices about AIDS.
- \* Demand that the bosses and state pay the full cost of this campaign.
- \* Fight discrimination against women and gays.
- \* Demand free condoms in schools and factories.
- \* No taxes on medicines!
- \* Demand an increase in health spending. Cut military spending!
- \* Demolish the hostels. Build decent family homes for all!
- \* Fight for a free national health service.

The fight against AIDS is also a struggle against the oppression of women, against crime, and for houses, better wages and conditions. It is linked to the struggle for power to better our lives.

COSAS and the ANC Youth League must educate youth about the need to practice safer sex; and overcome opposition to using condoms. Condoms must be freely available in schools. We need to step up the anti-crime campaign, and fight for better recreational facilities.

**In the absence of an easily available cure only the organised workers, led by COSATU, have the power to lead a campaign to stop the spread of AIDS.**

### Who's responsible for the rapid spread of AIDS?

The ruling class blames the black working class for the spread of AIDS. But the truth is that our social conditions, caused by the bosses' profit system, make it easier for black people to become infected with HIV, and harder to be treated when we get sick.

Workers live in overcrowded conditions, or in hostels, away from their families. The migrant labour system and the housing shortage cuts families apart. Men and women turn to prostitution, and this spreads AIDS.

AIDS spreads fast among women and new born children. Women are twice as likely to get the virus during sex as men. Women suffer by the system of the bosses, and in the majority they suffer exploitation by their male partners. Wife-battering is very high. Women often cannot ask their partners to wear a condom. If they do they will be accused by the men of not trusting them and be beaten.

Black youth have no recreational facilities, and most have no jobs. This makes sex the cheapest form of pleasure. A survey by the Natal blood transfusion services found 10 teachers, 8 nurses, 12 transport drivers, 64 labourers and 118 school students to be HIV-positive. Jackrollers are operating in every township. 1000 women are raped every day, and rape spreads AIDS.

### How capitalism kills

Private ownership for profit is the basis of the capitalist system. In the case of inventions, the idea is 'patented' and owned as private property by the inventor or his/her employer, or the company which buys it to use for profit.

Burroughs Wellcome in the USA owns the patent for AZT, a drug which slows the development of AIDS and extends the life of an infected person. This company is charges ten times the cost of producing AZT, so a month's dosage costs R450, which only the rich can afford.

If AZT was mass-produced to meet people's needs instead of for capitalists' private profit, the cost could fall to R20 or R30 for a month's treatment.

*That's how capitalism kills.*

**Feature by Brenda Adams & David Thomas**

### AIDS kills fastest in impoverished Africa

AIDS has spread to every country in the world, but AIDS has only become an epidemic in the Third World.

\* Six million people are infected in Africa. One and a half million African women, and 900 000 children are infected. The death rate amongst babies is 100%.

\* In Harare AIDS has become the biggest killer of adults. Throughout Zimbabwe there are 204 000 orphans -- half of them have lost their parents to AIDS.

\* By 2015 there could be more than 70 million cases of AIDS in the countries south of the Sahara -- 10 million of these will be children.

\* Even if a cure is found millions will die because they are too poor to afford the medicines, or because there are no hospitals or clinics where they live.

\* In an advanced country a HIV infected person can live healthily for 7-8 years. In Africa this period is reduced to 44 months.

\* Because of HIV infection, thousands more people are dying of curable diseases, such as malaria and TB.

\* AIDS will further weaken the economies of Africa. 22 million people in Africa are on the brink of starvation. But AIDS will spread starvation even further by cutting the labour force in the cities, and food production in the country.

## COSATU and ANC! Fight for a free national health service!

### By Roelf Adams trainee doctor

The government is trying to make hospitals more profitable -- by cutting costs. Business consultants are paid to work out ways to do this. The sorry side is that they are paid the same percentage as the percentage they cut from the hospital's budget. The more they cut the more money

they will pocket!

In March Tygerburg and Groot Schuur hospitals in the Western Cape were asked to save R3 million. To do this they have cut beds and jobs. The government even wanted to close Somerset hospital -- the hospital with the greatest expertise for dealing with TB and AIDS-related diseases. Somerset hospital is used mostly by domestic workers, coloured workers,

and white pensioners. A doctor in the TB unit said "it seems as if we have gone back to the time before TB treatment came onto the market".

The government wants to put responsibility for paying for health care on the poor. The new National Policy for Health Act, means that even patients falling into the lowest income groups have to pay R5 per outpatient visit (even just to

collect their monthly medication) at day hospitals.

**Workers and youth must fight all cuts in health care. Proper health services are not a luxury. They are a human right that should be supplied free of charge to all.**

**The ANC and COSATU must demand equal health care and a free national health service for all.**



## Pritchard workers organise and fight

By women TGWU  
members

Our company is Pritchard Cleaners. We earn a miserable R439 a month, slaving for 9 hours a day. On a Saturday we have to work without pay.

We would like to have children but are afraid to, because we will starve for 3 months without pay and never get our jobs back.

The bosses are cheats and liars. They promised to pay us more if we used a heavy machine called A5. We never received this money. Yet we are forced to use it every day because "it makes the floors nice and clean".

The machine is difficult to control. It is only supposed to be used by men. It vibrates and shakes up your body. In this way it has affected many women's womb and we don't know if we will ever be able to have babies again. Our bodies get very sore, and we cannot sleep.

We went on a three-day strike in January, demanding a minimum wage of R800, maternity benefits, and recognition of our union. Our demands were not met.

The bunch of crooks tricked us once again. In June they divided us into three companies; Pritchard, Princeton and Security Tight. This was an attack on our union. They know the Pritchard workers will not leave TGWU, but they want to weaken our power. They employ workers in the other two 'companies' on condition they do not join the union. This is victimisation.

The bosses bought them off by offering them R700, but they have to work any hours, and cannot complain, and get fired for one day's absence.

We must build a strong union to protect our rights. You must see, comrades, that what the bosses give with the right hand they took away 10 times more with the left hand.

All the Pritchard workers must come back to TGWU.

# Women against exploitation

## Men must be taught the rights of women!

By Thembeke  
Ngubane  
Lamontville ANC

Wherever we are, we women have problems. We are victimized by men. A man intimidated me with a gun and he tried to rape me. That day there were no lights in the township. That's one of the problems of women. We're not free to go on the roads at night.

We have to get up early, go to work, come from work, you can only sit down for 5 minutes then you must do the cooking, iron the clothes. At night you are so tired you can't do a woman's thing to your husband, and the result is he go around for other girlfriends. Sometimes they stay away weekends.

Men come from work, see who's in the house, then they go to their friends. They don't have time for their families. Some of them don't know what standard their child is in or what is their child's age. It's very hard.

I think the men must

join the ANC. Sometimes I think the ANC must have a Men's League so that they can be taught about the rights of women because if you educate them from the Women's League they don't listen. Some husbands are good and they can educate those with problems.

If you go to the police, not just for rape, then as a woman they first propose love to you.

We used to have disciplinary committees to deal with problems. But the disciplinary committee treated the people badly. They did not handle cases properly and sometimes if they did something to someone then that person go to the police, and the police like that.

Sometimes a 16 year

old will punish a 39 year old. There is no respect. Young men would threaten their fathers. That is wrong. We must have the older people dealing with older people, and also married couples must deal with married couples.

We used to talk about collecting money to buy whistles for the women to blow when they had problems so that everybody can run out and hit the rapists. But we never did this yet. This is one way we can protect ourselves.

Women have no facilities in the township. We have few creches and no playgrounds for bigger children. Some of us want to play netball or relax and go to exercises like the whites, but there is only one hall and everyone uses it.

So, as you can see we have many problems. It is difficult to fight them but we must find a way.

## Abortion and contraception

In August, Vivien Seal, scientist and author of *Whose Choice -- Working class women and the control of fertility*, visited South Africa. Vivien is a British Militant supporter, active in the Labour Party's Women's organisation. These were some points in her message to women here.

**Abortion:** Women should have the right to choose. A woman is ultimately faced with the responsibility of looking after the child so nobody should force decisions on her. No mother wants to have a baby knowing that she cannot afford to bring up that child. We must fight for abortions to be made legal in SA.

**Contraception:** A woman must have the right to choose when she want to have a baby, and how many babies she wants to have. The choice of whether to use contraception should not be imposed on women.

**Need for combined action:** It is important to explain that these questions, and questions like child care, child abuse and rape, are not 'women's issues'. They mainly face the working class because of being oppressed and exploited. These issues must be raised in every structure for combined action by the whole working class.

## Fight for childcare and maternity leave!

From Shareen Fredericks, Coronationville ANC

If women cannot attend meetings their commitment is questioned. This is done by male and female comrades, especially those who do not have children.

We are told to bring children to meetings, and that children are part of our struggle. Yet when women bring children, most of their time is spent taking care of them.

I once heard a leading comrade say that women should not have children if there is no facilities to care for them. This will never draw working class women to our organisations.

From SACTWU members at ARWA Leisure Wear and SA Fine Worsteds, Atlantis:

At SA Fine Worsteds, out of 300 workers 80% are female. We feel strongly that the bosses should provide creches for our children.

The bosses at our factories say, when workers come late or stay at home, that we are using the "excuse" of child care. But they won't build a creche to reduce bad attendance and solve the child care problem.

Many women are carrying the whole burden of the family. One women worker, for example, said her husband is unemployed for 4 months and she alone cannot cope with the rent and other goods.

From a Transnet worker and SARHWU member:

I am a cleaner at the coach cleaning depot. As a pregnant woman I am still expected to carry heavy loads and a 25 litre bucket full with water and a heavy broom to wash the outside of the coach. If we complain, they threaten us with expulsion.

I have been to school and passed, but they will not offer me a better job. Even if the whites are as stupid as donkeys, because of their skin they get a higher grade.

## Conflict at ANC Congress

By Rashara  
Davids

Conflict arose at the ANC Congress in July over a proposal that 15 of the 50 elected places on the NEC should be reserved for women.

A third of the delegates supported affirmative action to break down the exclusion of women from ANC structures. Only 17% of Congress delegates were women. The majority, mainly men, were against reserving seats for women.

Heavy pressure, including from Nelson Mandela, was put on the Women's League to withdraw the proposal, which they eventually did. But the issue will not go away.

The number of women who are breadwinners and heads of families is increasing. Women are at the front of every struggle, but we are under-represented in shop steward committees, among full time officials, and on the national bodies of unions.

Terror Lekota said that equality must start from the bottom of the structures, not

through keeping places for women at the top. He argued that selection must be "on merit". But what is done to ensure that women can participate when men do not share the burden of domestic work?

For women to have equal opportunity, we need to address the attitudes of the majority of our male comrades. Affirmative action could help women to ensure that this issue is dealt with.

It is the strategy of the bosses to enforce an unequal, oppressive division of labour between men and women. Advancement on "merit" will remain a hollow phrase until COSATU has won major demands for women workers:

- \* Equal pay for work of equal value.
- \* A living wage and job security.
- \* Four months' maternity leave on full pay.
- \* Free health care.

\* Properly staffed and equipped maternity homes, ante-natal clinics, and child welfare centres in every community.

- \* Birth control clinics.
- \* Free day-nurseries for children of working mothers.
- \* Free and compulsory education from pre-primary school to university.

Of course, reserving seats for women in the leadership will not help if these are taken by middle-class careerists with no interest in taking forward the struggle of the working class.

The struggle against women's oppression must be linked to the struggle against capitalism and for the transformation of society.

Working-class women struggle through life in a state of exhaustion. Until these burdens are lifted off the shoulders of women, and placed in the hands of society, it is false to talk of winning positions on the basis of "merit".

There should be organised discussion on this throughout the ANC and COSATU.

# S'KHOKHELE COSATU!

A wave of industrial battles has begun to sweep through South Africa. COSATU would get a huge response from the workers, if the leadership was prepared to mobilise a united struggle against retrenchments, for job security and for real wage increases.

*Business Day* (27/9/91) reports that "strike action increased dramatically in the third quarter of the year, with the number of mandays lost approaching 2-million."

One-third of recent strike action was accounted for by the motor workers of NUMSA, but there were also important strikes in transport, mines and retail.

Many strikes have been against unfair dismissals, retrenchment, racial discrimination and union recognition. One of the most significant was the lengthy strike of 4 000 black SARHWU members for the reinstatement of a white co-worker.

But, although the economy has been in recession, wage demands have been the trigger in no less than 62,7% of strikes.

This suggests that, as the economy comes out of recession, literally millions of workers will be eager to get back the loss in living standards they have suffered. This will be boosted by the mood for struggle against VAT.

COSATU must be ready to lead an even bigger strike wave.

## "New realism"

Unfortunately, the leadership of COSATU and the unions have the idea that it is their role, not to fight against capitalism, but to help make capitalism work. The bosses refer to this as the "new realism" of the unions.

COSATU has shown a glimpse of its enormous power by taking the lead in the campaign against VAT. But occasional actions against the government and the bosses will not be enough to end the workers' plight.

The full strength of the industrial working class nationally must be mobilised on a program of workers' demands.

However, the leadership is deliberately holding back on this so as not to upset the government and the bosses in the course of political negotiations with the ANC.

Just as the ANC leadership is preparing to make itself a partner in

government with the Nats and Inkatha (see page 2), so the COSATU leadership see themselves as future partners with the bosses in the "economic reconstruction" of South Africa.

In the words of Jeremy Baskin, National Co-ordinator of COSATU, the unions "will have to be a force for reconstruction." The *Labour Bulletin* (March 1991) has a feature on the changing role of unions, called "From resistance to reconstruction." All this indicates the line of thinking at the top.

## Paralysis

It is very naive to think that the workers' organisations, by giving up resistance to the bosses and working in collaboration with them instead, can solve the workers' problems under capitalism.

It will simply lead to paralysis of the struggle, and the bosses will take full advantage of this.

The ANC itself must be kept under relentless pressure of the workers' struggle, or the leadership will fall further under the influence of the capitalist class.

The profit system internationally forces the employers to exploit the workers as much as possible. That is the logic of capitalist competition, which will continue until capitalism is ended.

In the past the bosses in SA made big profits by paying small wages. They were slow to introduce new machines. Since the re-birth of our unions in the 1970's we have forced the bosses to raise wages, especially unions such as NUMSA and NUM.

Now the bosses want to cut labour costs in order to improve their competitiveness on the world market. This means keeping wages down -- and more retrenchments, as workers get replaced by new machines.

They need the union leaders to accept this, and assist them to lull the workers. Whereas they used to imprison COSATU leaders, now they invite them to business seminars, and

call them "industrial statesmen".

While the bosses are talking more sweetly to our leaders, they are attempting to cut workers' rights in the factory.

If the union leaders agree to work hand in hand with the bosses, then the unions will be reduced to bosses' toys.

## Economic growth

We want the economy to grow, but in the interests of working people. COSATU cannot have the same economic program as the bosses.

The bosses lie when they say economic growth under their system will be used to benefit the working class. They are only interested in profit.

It does not help to accept low wages, because the market for SA goods is already too restricted here at home. It does not help to accept job cuts, because mass unemployment already holds back the development of local industry.

COSATU's slogan on May Day was "No to retrenchments!" But many unions are accepting bosses' arguments about why retrenchment is 'necessary'.

NUM and NUMSA have both made settlements accepting below-inflation wage increases in exchange for promises of fewer retrenchments.

But once you accept the profit system, you have to constantly give in to its logic. The bosses will come with demands for further retreats -- and threats to close if these are not accepted.

Everything workers have gained had to be taken by force against the bosses' violent resistance. We will not gain anything by giving up struggle. We must prepare now for coming battles.

We will fight to get what reforms we can from the bosses. But we have to be prepared to replace capitalism with democratic socialism, so the working class and not the capitalist will rule -- deciding what to produce, how to produce and distribute it, what wages will be paid, what investments will be made, and how the economy will be developed to meet the needs of society.

by Nkululeko Nomji

## Lessons of the auto strike

by Petrus Dlamini and Comfort Nzuza NUMSA

In August the majority of NUMSA car workers struck for R2-an-hour increase. After a week NUMSA recommended a return to work with a R1,20 increase, in return for a temporary halt to retrenchments.

Now we are forced to increase production, so the bosses can recover their losses. Soon they will retrench again. We must have job security.

The bosses want to replace workers with machines, since machines don't go on strike -- or ask for an increase. If they get new machines and production rises, our salaries should increase, we should work shorter hours, and more people should be employed.

Our R2 demand was reasonable. One can just

look at the price of bread. Inflation goes up every year. Now there is VAT. Are we working to live or do we live just to make profits for the bosses?

They have the money, but they refused to give it because they first wanted to see how militant are the workers.

At Toyota, they can afford to give money to Inkatha. They also sponsor "Toyota Top Twenty" and many other such things.

Our negotiators settled for too little. Lack of consultation prevailed.

Union officials never campaigned on behalf of workers. Solidarity action from other sectors was never raised. No strike fund was set up. The workers' power was undermined. All this caused a lot of disagreement. Some workers are talking about leaving the union.

The bosses are speeding up production, and deliberately seeking to divide workers.

We are the union, our leaders must take the mandate from us, not for them to settle their own mandates.

Until all this is corrected, then and only then will there be peace among the workers. And only then will there be progress and an end to starvation wages.

## SACTWU members' sit-in at COSATU HQ

by Tom Adams

After 97 clothing workers were retrenched at Jason Michael in Nancefield, a group of the workers staged a sit-in at COSATU headquarters claiming SACTWU officials were "conniving with our employers to arrange our dismissals". They demanded that COSATU investigate SACTWU.

They circulated a pamphlet alleging unfair retrenchments of union staff who opposed policies of the leadership. According to the pamphlet, "all 'retrenchees' were activist either in the ANC, SACP and Civics."

It is strongly critical of general secretary John Copelyn, whose policy of opposing union support for the ANC is seen as a "disguise ... used to detect ANC/SACP strong supporters who will later be harassed." Some "senior SACTWU leadership are great sympathisers of Inkatha," the pamphlet claims.

"We are strong believers of non-racialism," it says. "But we cannot accept that it is non-racialism if whites are recruited and do not apply or go through other normal democratic procedures and just come in and hold senior positions with little experience."

Congress Militant first learnt of the conflict on 19 September when we were asked by telephone to intervene to help the retrenched Jason Michael

workers. Comrades met the workers at the COSATU headquarters the next day.

They told us their boss said "he had permission from SACTWU for retrenchments." Their anger with the union officials had led them to make the mistake of wanting to leave SACTWU.

"In June we demanded that the boss stop deducting our stop-orders for SACTWU. But the boss spoke to the SACTWU leaders and nothing happened," they said. However, they also claimed that Copelyn had said "if we want to leave the union we can just go."

They wanted to end the closed shop at their factory, so as to join TAWU.

We explained that we fully supported their struggle against retrenchments, and outlined the ideas of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC. We recognised that the SACTWU leaders had let them down. But we firmly opposed their wish to leave SACTWU.

## Wrong to split

Many workers in other parts of the country are facing the same problems, we explained. Therefore it would be wrong to split away and join TAWU, because that would leave behind thousands of other workers in SACTWU who need unity and strong leadership just as they do.

We said the closed shop is a good thing, which strengthens the workers.

But it must be combined with democracy in the union and leadership under workers' control, otherwise evils develop around the closed shop.

They said: "The things you say are things the workers want. I think we should not go to TAWU. But how can we control our union?"

We said they should fight for democracy in SACTWU by fighting for a militant programme of action to defend their jobs and conditions.

## Join Campaign

We advised them to join the Campaign for a militant SACTWU, and offered to put them in contact with activists of the campaign in Cape Town.

The next time we met they were still demonstrating at the COSATU offices. Now their spirits were high.

Their slogans were "Workers' leaders on workers' wages", "Workers' control in our unions!", "Fight retrenchments! Fight the bosses!"

The same evening they had a meeting with SACTWU leaders. When they reported back they said, "We are still SACTWU members. We want to continue the fight for our jobs. The SACTWU leaders have agreed to look into our problems."

The Campaign for a militant SACTWU has pledged to support the struggle of Jason Michael workers to keep their jobs.

# Transnet lumka!

Ngo 1990 singaba sebenzi bakwa SARHWU sazibeka phantsi izixhobo ngenjongo zokulwela imivuzo ephilisayo, engange R1500.

Kodwa safumana ngaphantsi koko. Umvuzo wethu ngeloxesha wawuyi R575. Abaqeshi bathi bazokusinika i R600. Singabasebenzi zange siyamkele lomali. Saya sabuyela emsebenzini sasebenza u(go slow) ingxoxo zisaqhubeka.

Ekuqibeleni oongxowankulu bathi bamile kwi R575 ngenyanga. Bathi oongxowankulu abaphinde baxoxe ngemali bayokuxoxa ngo April ka 1991.

Oongxowankulu bakha u Transnet bengakhange babé nothethathethwano ne union.

Bavela bazigqibela ukuba banyuse kangakanani na imivuzo bengathethanga nathi. Abasebenzi bathatha izigqibo zokuba kuvulwe iigxoxo no Transnet malunga nonyuso lwemivuzo. Oongxowankulu bazigqibela kwelokuba bongeze i R250 ngaphandle kwengxoxo no union.

Singabasebenzi zange siyivume lomali ayifakayo lamabhulu. Sabiza i General meeting ecacisa ukuba asihambiselani nale mali yawo ayifakileyo. Kule General meeting savumelana ukuba ngo Lwesithathu umhla we 31 August singaphangeli, koko simatshe siye kwii ofisi ezinkulu zika Transnet eKapa siye kufuna unyuselo mivuzo engange R1500.

Okulandela lo General meeting yaba kukubona abasebenzi abanqomfa amatikiti ne shunters bezibeka phantsi izixhobo.

Ukuqalela ngo Mvulo nge 29 ku August apho bonke abasebenzi baye bamatsha ukuya kwii ofisi ezinkulu eKapa. Sasi-phethe iiplacards neleta ecacisa ukuba singabasebenzi asihambisani nolunyuso mvuzo lwabo, thina sifuna i R1500 qha.

For Labour workers and for Grade workers, 40 per cent increase.

Enye yemfuno zabasebenzi kulo leta kukuba ucalucalulo gokwebala kwimivuzo luphele! Umntu omnyama, owebala nomhlophe ukuba benza umsebenzi omnye, imvuzo mayilingane. Ileta leyo sayinika

umlungu omkhulu u Engelbrecht wathi uzakuyithumela e Rhawutini. Impendulo sokuyifumana kwithuba elingange vekinye.

Ukuze siphumelele ndiyakuthanda ukuba absebenzi abaku BLATU bayibone into yokuba u SARHWU umele amalungelo abasebenzi bonke. Mabeze ku joyina simanyane silwelwe amalungelo ethu singabasebenzi kubaqeshi.

Umanyano ngamandla!

Phambili nonyuselo mvuzo ophilisayo we R1500!

**Zola Masehluthé**  
SARHWU member

## Bosses demand wage restraint!

The bosses demand that workers accept wage increases below the rate of inflation. But they have a different rule for themselves! Spot your directors' wages in the table below:

Company	Directors get
Malbak Engineering	R9 615 per week
Barlow Rands	R8 814
Pick 'n Pay	R4 968
Toyota	R4 626
OK Bazaars	R3 819
SA Breweries	R3 498
Edgars	R3 036

The bosses' newspapers are always complaining about the "high wage demands" made by the unions. To get an idea of the mentality of these people, look at what the Financial Mail said in March:

"Since 1986, black wage settlements have on average each year risen by 17% against 10% for whites. No wonder that in the fashionable restaurants of Johannesburg and Cape Town there is hardly a black waiter to be seen. By unionising, and demanding higher wages they have destroyed their jobs in this sector, the service one, where the greatest potential for rising black prosperity and employment lies.

"The white teenagers from affluent households who have taken over these jobs do so largely for tips. They know a fancy education isn't needed to be a waiter. What is needed is a willingness to serve so well that higher tips are forthcoming. And what a pleasure it is to have them rather than some surly tribesman with his thumb in the soup and eye on the clock. It's worth 15% on the bill."



## Are they serious?

Muofhe Maluwelele from AEG (pty) Ltd writes:

Are De Klerk and his capitalist friends sincere in bringing about fundamental change? Change that entails the economic empowerment to the underprivileged majority?

If they were sincere they would not have turned a blind eye to the needs of the workers during negotiations between NUMSA and SEIFSA.

We demanded R2 an hour increase across the board, but they were prepared to give us 48c only. Is this a sign of sincerity? Do they consider that we are parents with families and

that many of us are supporting unemployed members of our family? It is clear that the clique of capitalist friends are only concerned about their own wealth and well being.

We are committed to negotiations, but we would like to warn the ANC leaders that they must not think there will ever be political peace without economic tranquility, with jobs for all, decent homes and available health care, with decent living wages.

The outcome of negotiations must suffice everybody, including the working class.

## Get Militant in SACTWU! Umzabalazo wakwa SBH



SACTWU MILITANT is the paper of the Campaign for a militant SACTWU. This Campaign was launched this year by textile and garment workers to revive their union and place it in the hands of the workers. This is the first issue of the paper. Congress Militant salutes it, so get out there and get it! To SACTWU workers it will be a formidable weapon against the bosses and for unity in the union.

### Yiyo lonto ndixhasa iCampaign for a militant SACTWU

Kubasebenzi abaqhekela kwiSACTWU ndithi masibuyeleni kwiyuniyoni yethu. Xa ubona amaqabane athengisa eliphhepha iSACTWU MILITANT efactory, fumana elakho ukwenzela ukuba sikwazi kuxoxa ukuba sizakuyilungisa njani na iyuniyoni yethu.

Ngamaqabane eCongress Militant andicaciselayo ukuba ukutheni na kufuneka singa qhekoki kwi SACTWU. SACTWU MILITANT kunye ne Campaign for a militant SACTWU ziqinisa abasebenzi bakwazi ukuthathela iyuniyoni ezandleni zabo. Iyasakha, baninzi abasebenzi abebekwi NACTU ngoku babuyela ekhaya, kuSACTWU, ndingomnye wabo.

Umsebenzi e SBH

Ngo 1989 Oongxowankulu bazanomthetho wokuba sicele xa sisiya etoilet. Bathi awunakuhlala ngaphezulu kwemizuzu elishumi, ungenakuya kabini ngo suku etoilet. Abasebenzi bama bonke, sathi angeke sicele mntwini xa sisiya etoilet.

Ndayikelela iforeman yam ukuba, ndingumfazi wenye indoda kwaye andina kucela kwenye indoda xa ndiya etoilet. Iforeman yadladlathekisa omnye umsebenzi kuba engacelanga xa esiya etoilet. Sabekaphantsi izixhobo sama naye xa wayengafuni uku sayina i "warning".

Ishop steward yethu yazama ukufonela uPatel (iofficial yeyuniyoni) akazange afumaneke. Wafika ngo 5.30pm ngaloomini. Wasixelela emva kwemithingini nemenejela kunye nee shop steward ukuba masiphindele emsebenzini.

Basebenzi bafumanisa emva koko ukuba eliqabane balisayinise i "warning" bazabaligxotha. Saphinda sabeka phantsi izixhobo, xa lomsebenzi esenza i "appeal". Ingxaki yaba kukufumana uPatel, qho xa sifonwa akekho e ofisini. Kodwa sifumanisa ukuba xa ufunwa yimeneja wasoloko ekho kwa SBH.

I senior shop steward yasixelela ukuba oligwayimbho lethu alukho mthethweni. Yasixelela ukuba imanejala ithi kufuneka sonke sisayine ii "warning", abasebenzi basayina bonke ngaphandle kwayo kuba yathatha isick leave ngaloomini.

Soyiswa kwelidabi yimanejala kuba ishop steward nee ofishiyali zeyuniyoni azizanga zime nathi. Ngoku kwafuneka sicele xasisiya etoilet. Esi sesinye sezizathu ezabangela ukuba abasebenzi baqhekeke kuSACTWU bajoyine iNACTU.

Ukufika kukaPatel kwa SBH yaba kukupheliswa kwe general meetings. Ngexasha sasibamba ezimeetings kwaLanga sasimanyeni. UPatel ufike neeshift meetings, ngoku abasebenzi abavisisisani kuba le ishift iphuma nesigqibo esingafaniyo nesene.

Iishifts zine kwa SBH lonto ithetha ukuba xasineegxoxo ngemivuzo soze sivisisane. Abasebenzi be grade 2 bahlawulwa imivuzo ephantsi kubasebenzi bonke, ugrade 4 kunye no 5 bafumane ngcono, koko kobalulekile ukuba abasebenzi bahlangane bonke babonisane kwaye babonelane.

UPatel akazifuni iigeneral meetings kuba akalufuni umanyano lwabasebenzi. Abasebenzi bayavuya kuba emva kwexesha elide siye sanegeneral meeting. Kodwa kusekho ishop steward azingayixhasiyo lento. Abasebenzi bafuna ukqonda ukuba ukutheni na?

Yigeneral meeting yokuqala le emva kweminyaka emibini!

**Thozama Sofiso**  
SACTWU member

**Fight for a national minimum wage of R250 for a 40 hour week!**

# STRIKE

# AGAINST TAXES!

## Congress Militant

Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

"Vatwatch has uncovered some alarming pricing trends in the run-up to VAT, which, if left unchecked, could result in 30% inflation over the next 12 months." — *Business Day*, 30 September 1991.

The government and the bosses have brought in VAT for one purpose only -- to shift onto the poor the main burden of paying for the state. We say: *Tax the rich not the poor!*

Capitalism exploits the majority of the people and keeps them poor. Income tax on high earners and property taxes on the rich are the only fair way of financing the capitalists' government.

South Africa has the most unequal distribution of wealth in the world. How can wealth be 'redistributed' unless the government is prepared to take money from the rich?

But because the bosses control investment, and can move their business around the world, they threaten to take their money out of the economy unless taxes on their incomes and profits are lowered. This is why, worldwide, there has been a shift to indirect taxes like VAT, a tax on the poor. Inkatha supports VAT. Even the ANC leadership says it accepts the need for a tax like VAT. We disagree. We say *Away with VAT!* To fight effectively against an unfair tax like VAT, you have to be willing to fight against capitalism.

### Companies paying less

In SA, the shift towards taxing consumers started with GST, which was set at 4% in 1978 and then rose to 13%. In 1980/1981, companies paid 78% of total taxes, while individuals paid 22%. This year companies' share is down to 61% and individuals' share up to 39%.

The poor will suffer worse now because more goods are taxed. VAT covers meat, vegetables, fruit, etc. An extra R2 000 000 000 will be gained in this way, mainly from the poor.

Even though maize meal and brown bread are still exempted, the government has withdrawn the bread subsidy,



resulting in further big price increases.

Don't be fooled by the government lowering VAT to 10%, compared with 13% for GST. They'll soon put it up higher.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) required the government to bring in VAT, in return for promised future loans. An IMF spokesman said "the normal rate in most countries is 15% to 20%. I expect the government will move towards this as soon as it becomes politically feasible to do so."

The IMF represents the big monopolies and the imperialist governments. It lends money to struggling underdeveloped countries on strict conditions, which usually involve wage freezes, price rises, cuts in social services, tax cuts for the bosses and higher taxes for the poor.

In African countries such as Zambia and Zaire, food riots have followed the imposition by the government of the IMF's conditions.

The government is trying to defuse the opposition here by pathetic last-minute concessions.

But the real concessions are made to the bosses under VAT. New machinery and materials are not being taxed, bringing them immediate savings of R3,75 billion.

One effect of VAT will be to induce bosses to replace workers with machines even faster than before.

The government says this will make goods cheaper and eventually benefit the consumer. But the monopolies always find ways of increasing prices and pocketing the extra profits.

Economists have revealed that many small businesses will be ruined by VAT, with unemployment rising by as many as a million more.

The bosses can claim back the VAT they pay at different stages of production. It is the consumer who ultimately bears the full cost of VAT. Inflation is now 16%, and VAT will add a lot to this. Unless wages rise substantially, consumers will be worse off. If consumers can buy less with their money, it means that the market for goods is more limited, and the bosses will have even less incentive to invest in economic growth.

*Increasing the burden on the working class does not benefit "the economy".*

When Barend du Plessis lowered the VAT rate to 10%, he increased the tax on petrol -- bringing in an extra R630 million to the state. Taxi operators do not get a State subsidy and those

who will be worst hit are the majority of workers who depend on taxis for transport.

Because of poverty, and in the struggle against unfair rents and charges, hundreds of thousands of people have stopped paying their bills. The *Sunday Times* says one advantage of VAT is that "it will increase revenue from those blacks who escape their share of the tax burden through rent and electricity boycotts."

Added to the burden of indirect taxes, like VAT, workers also have to pay SITE (Standard Income Tax on Employees), previously called PAYE. Last year R29 billion was collected from this tax alone.

### Relief for the poor?

The government has admitted that VAT will lead to further poverty. They are making R220 million available "to help the poor". This is just a propaganda gimmick.

What relief can it bring to the 16,3 million people who live below the breadline? When we divide this amount, each poor person will get back only R2 a month, while Government Ministers are earning about R18 000 a month!

## Use workers' power against VAT!

It is difficult to boycott VAT because, when you buy anything from the shops, VAT is already included.

It is difficult to boycott SITE, because when you get your wages, this tax has already been deducted.

But workers' power can fight this unjust tax system.

\* Firstly, organise to ensure that COSATU calls a general strike.

\* Secondly, demand an interim wage increase of 5% from your boss to compensate for VAT.

\* Thirdly, demand that your boss stops deducting SITE for the government, and organise national strike action through the unions to enforce this.

**Even with VAT at 10%, poor families will pay R26 to R35 per month more. COSATU should lead national strike action for a 5% interim wage increase!**

An ANCYL leader from Khayelitsha told *Congress Militant*:

"We know our tax money is used to maintain those who are killing us. Rm100 was given to anti-Swapo forces in Namibia. Rm1,5 was given to Inkatha. We say *No tax for killers!*"

"If we pay tax we expect better houses, hospitals, schools, jobs and wages, but because this government is for the bosses the money is not spent on these things. We pay tax but we have no vote, no representation. We cannot be expected to pay for this government. The bosses should pay for their own government."

"We are jobless and homeless, still they expect us to pay taxes. VAT is violence against the poor. We must all stand together to fight the tax system."

## Join with Congress Militant!

If you support the ideas in *Congress Militant*, and would like to join with the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC to fight against the bosses and the government, then please fill in the form, and hand it to a *Congress Militant* seller:

**Name:**

**Address:**

**Phone number:**

**Build a mass ANC for workers' power!**