


# Congress Militant

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Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

**S'KHOKHELE COSATU!  
Phambili ngombuso wabasebenzi!**

# STAND FIRM FOR MAJORITY RULE!



"I am convinced we are no longer dealing with human beings but animals.... We will not forget what Mr de Klerk, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty."

Nelson Mandela, 21 June 1992, after visiting the scene of the Boipatong massacre.

Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

The Boipatong and Swanieville massacres both occurred within "two days after the only visits that FW de Klerk has made to Ulundi in recent years."

Lawyers for Human Rights

## Mass action to force out the government



"By choosing to appear publicly at Ulundi on June 16, on the day that the ANC-led alliance launched a peaceful campaign of mass action, De Klerk sent a message to every warlord, to every death squad, to every assassin and impi in our country." — Chris Hani

# Editorial

## Military training for workers and youth

# Why we want conscription

**The composition of the armed forces is a central issue in any negotiations. In contrast to the standpoints of both the government and the ANC leadership, we favour basing the army on universal conscription of South Africans of all races.**

White minority rule has always depended on military-police repression. However much they try to present themselves as neutral, the 'security forces' in our townships are felt as an alien occupying power.

Like the SAP, the SADF has secretly trained and equipped killing machines like Inkatha. The murderers of Matthew Goniwe and of many other leaders of our struggle remain in authority within it.

Marx and Engels taught that the state is basically armed bodies of men for the protection of the ruling class, its power and property against the exploited working people. Not surprisingly, the government and the bosses want to keep the SADF intact as far as possible in the "new South Africa".

Plans are afoot to 'replace' the SADF with a "super" Defence Force, incorporating elements of the TBVC armies, MK, and the ultra-right Ystergarde and Wenkommando. Plainly the existing SADF will be the framework for this "new" force.

### Permanent core

Kat Liebenberg, head of the SADF, says the new army will "remain" basically a citizen force. The truth is that the SADF is basically a professional army trained to serve the ruling class. To this permanent core, white conscripts are periodically added. Liebenberg wants the permanent force slightly changed by the addition of selected new elements. Conscription is to be "extended to all races" — but severely limited in numbers so that control by the permanent force is not weakened.

The ANC leadership has correctly opposed this plan, which would leave the existing state power basically intact. But the alternative they put forward is one which, we believe, fails to tackle the problem.

Comrade Joe Modise, head of MK, has outlined a policy for the creation of an "entirely new army" by combining together the SADF, MK, Apla, and the armies of the TBVC states and self-governing homelands. In the period of transition, the proposed all-party interim government would command this force. It is seen as "the first phase of the total restructuring of the existing armed forces in a new national defence force." (Our emphasis.)

The ANC leadership believes that a full-time, professional army must be the core of a new defence force, formed without conscription by volunteers who want to make the army their career. We disagree.

We don't deny that, in the struggle against apartheid, the

End Conscription Campaign has played a progressive role. In the head-on confrontation between the black majority and the armed forces of white domination, refusal by whites to serve has encouraged black resistance and weakened the resolve of the enemy. In the next period, however, the nature of the problem is likely to change.

If, as a result of negotiations, the ANC enters government, that in itself will not remove the menace which the existing state machine poses to the working class. The professional core of the army will essentially be the old SADF permanent force, which is a formidable power. This reality will not be altered merely by the joining together of all existing armed forces into a so-called "new army" under a new name.

Undoubtedly, the proposals by the ANC leadership would present the racist commanders of the existing state with difficulties. But formal provisions for multi-party "control" of the armed forces will not prevent a professional army from coming under capitalist control and being used against the working class.

The permanent armed forces of any state are an elite, with powers, privileges, housing, clothing and financial security above those of ordinary workers. An elite army of "volunteers" is no less prone to lording it over the people.

This is why Lenin said that there should be *no standing army*, but rather *the people as a whole* should be trained and armed for their own protection. This is also our standpoint.

### Self-defence

The ANC National Policy Conference of 28-31 May 1992 concluded: "in the period of transition, the ANC needs to actively equip our people with the capacity to defend themselves against state-organised and vigilante violence, and to mobilise elements of the security forces to support the transition to democracy." We fully agree.

In line with this policy, we have long campaigned for the creation of disciplined community self-defence units, bearing arms. A policy of universal conscription for military training naturally goes hand in hand with this.

The practical arrangements for implementing this at the lowest possible cost would need extensive discussion. The point here is to establish the principle. In our view, every man and woman should be called up for a year of national military service at the age of 18. The great majority of youth of the townships would respond with enthusiasm to this call.

At the same time, every individual who objects to bearing arms, for religious or any other reason, should have the right to choose an alternative form of national service. This should be an absolute right and not subject to any enquiry into the person's motives.

This policy of universal conscription would ensure the effective defence of our communities. It would bring to an end

the situation where individuals or groups of comrades are forced to obtain arms illegally and conduct training in secret.

Universal military training would not fuel militarism but weaken it. Militarism is built on myths about miracles that can be achieved with arms, and on the self-importance of a minority which possesses them.

### Citizens' reserve

Conscripted youth would return to form the basis of a disciplined citizens' reserve, which would link up with the organisation of self-defence units. The threat to our communities from the minority of armed *comsotsis* — from individual terrorism and gangsterism would be reduced.

Military training of women would be one element towards achieving the equality of women, and would lead to increased self-confidence in standing up against domestic violence.

But the main advantage of universal conscription would be in beginning to alter the relationship of forces within the state. The constant inflow of black workers and youth into the army would bring with it their political life and experiences. They would completely swamp the white racists and black mercenaries who are presently trained, armed and paid to do their dirty work under the cover of the army.

The conscripts could uncover and force an end to all secret training of Inkatha and government hit-squads. They could frustrate right-wing attempts to prepare any future military coup.

### Basic character

While all this would not in itself alter the basic character of the state as an instrument of capitalist rule, it would greatly weaken the position of the bosses when it comes to repression.

It would hamper South African imperialism in threatening militarily our brothers and sisters in the neighbouring countries.

In the event of a major confrontation between the classes at home, it would be far less difficult to win the troops over to the side of revolution.

Hand in hand with conscription should be a program of democratic rights for all those serving in the army. These must include freedom of political association and discussion; the right to elect officers; and the right to strike. There should be a soldiers' charter, including a statement that conscripts have the right to refuse any illegal order; to arrest any officer involved in plotting a military coup; and to distribute arms to the people for self-defence in the event of a coup attempt.

## Majority rule means 50% + 1 Reject any minority veto!

The following draft resolution is suggested for use in ANC branches, ANC Youth and Women's Leagues, trade union branches, shop stewards' locals and Civics.

We declare full support for the campaign of mass action adopted by the ANC National Policy Conference of 28-31 May. We note the statement of the Special Commission on Negotiations that "the underlying strategic approach of the programme of action is the removal of the De Klerk regime from power and the institution of a democratic government."

We undertake to make preparations immediately in line with the programme of action adopted by the National Policy Conference and supported by Cosatu.

The Nationalists' insistence at Codesa II that a new constitution can only be adopted by a majority of 75% is outrageous. Majority rule is the only basis of genuine democracy, and a fundamental pillar of the Freedom Charter. Majority rule means 50%+1.

Although the National Policy Conference accepted that a two-thirds majority in an elected Constituent Assembly should enact a new constitution, it also demanded an "effective deadlock-breaking mechanism" to deal with a situation where an undemocratic minority vetoes the adoption of a constitution which has the support of more than 50% of the delegates but less than two-thirds. In this situation, the Conference declared, the proposed constitution will be put before the people of South Africa in a referendum for adoption by a simple majority vote.

There must be no retreat from this position during further negotiations.

Whatever gestures of goodwill may be made in the interests of reconciliation between the races in South Africa, a minority cannot be permitted to veto the adoption by the majority of a democratic constitution.

Minority rule must be decisively ended. No minority should be permitted to obstruct the will of the majority and its representatives in carrying out policies to overcome racial

inequality and privilege, to end capitalist exploitation, corruption, dispossession from the land and other legacies of the apartheid era.

We therefore reject an interim constitution which denies the sovereign powers of a majority of delegates elected to a Constituent Assembly.

We call on the leadership to stand firm for majority rule and the transfer of power as demanded by the National Policy Conference. They should insist on:

(1) The immediate setting of a date for one-person-one-vote elections for a single-chamber Constituent Assembly with unrestricted power to write the new constitution.

(2) Resignation of the Nationalist government and the transfer of its powers to a multi-party Interim Government with a limited lifespan set up solely for the purpose of preparing and overseeing elections for a Constituent Assembly.

# Community self-defence is our right!

## Mawakhululwe amamashali aseNanda!

Inanda ngelinye lamalokishi amakhulu aseThekwini. Izindlu eziningi yimijondolo eyakhiwe ngomhlalathi. Abantu baphila ngaphandle kwamanzi ahlanzekile, akukho gesi kanye nemigwaqo efanale.

Uhlumende akazimisela ukuthuthukisa lendawo. Into eyakhiwe yizitehi zamaphoyisa ezine. Ihlo lomphakathi okuyilona kuphela lathathwa yiSADF ngempi.

Ngo-1987 Inkatha yasumbulula udlame eNanda. Kulapho Inanda Youth Organisation (NAYO) yaqala khona ukukhokhela abantu baseNanda. Injongo kwakungukuphikisa indluzala yeNkatha.

Ekgucineni sayehlula iNkatha, sayikhipha kwiningi lamasection aseNanda. Kuze kube namlanje, Inkatha iyehluleka ukuqoqela iNanda ngaphansi kwencindezelo yayo.

Kuthe ngo-1989, sesiyehlule Inkatha, kwaqala ubugebengu. Kwaba nengqungquthela eyabizwa yiNanda Peace Committee ngo-July 1989, eNewtown A section. Lapho iNAYO yahlaba umkhosi wokuthi ubudlova nobulelisi abusabekezeleki, kubanele bushabalaliswe. Emveni kwengqungquthela sabanomhlangano.

Kulapho kwasungulwa khona umbutho wamamashali, ngo-1 October 1989. Umsebenzi wamamashali kwakuzokuba ngukuqapha ezingqungqutheleni kanye nasenzidaweni zokuhlala. Lombutho sawulolonga izinyanga ezintathu. Sasincuse ukuthi isection ngayinye kwezingu-22 eNanda ibe namamashali angu-10. Ngaba ngomunye owakhethwa ukuzobheka ukulolungeka kombutho.

Amamashali kwakungewona umbutho oshosha phansi. Kwakungumbutho

womphakathi osobala, osebenza njengeso labantu ezitheni zomphakathi, izigebengu neNkatha.

Sasifuna ukuphelisa ubulelesi; sishabalalise ubudlova; sehliise izinga lokuhlalana; siqaphe izigelekeqe uma abasebenzi bebuya emisebenzini, sibancedise ekuzivikeleni.

Ngeshwa, abakhokheli behovisi leANC eSouthern Natal, basinxusa ukuthi sizise sivuqale phansi lombutho ngoba sawuqala begekho.

Konke lokhu kwenzeka nje isike yabambana yadedelana phakathi kwamamashali nezigelekeqe eNew Town C Extension. Kulapho kwaboshwa amamashali angu-14. Omunye wabo, ucomrade King Zulu, owayengucommander walesisigceme samamashali, wabulawa yiSAP esiteshini samaphoyisa. Amaphoyisa athi wayezama ukweqa. Kodwa ubuso bakhe babushaywiwe, izingalo zakhe ziphukile. Amaphoyisa abulala futhi uMbili Mhlongo ngokumdubula, athi lokhu kwenzeka ngephutha.

Okwashaqisa kakhulu kwabanda kwamancane, uma unobhala weANC wesifunda, uShu Ndebele, ekhuluma emsakazweni ethi lamamashali aboshiwe akusiwona weANC. Lenkulumo yanikeza amaphoyisa umdlalana.

Yingakho amamashali angu-8 asabhadle ejele nanamuhla. Amathathu adedelwa emva kokubhadla ejele unyaka wonke, amaphoyisa athi abathola bengena cala.

UKing Zulu yena ulele kobandayo. UMHlongo bamdubula!

**Lawrence Gwamane  
eNanda ANC**

## Inanda Newtown Marshalls Defence Campaign

The Inanda marshalls have been in jail since May 1991. They were arrested after the people had driven the criminals from Newtown C Extension and Ezimangweni. When the criminals were terrorising the community the police stood by. When people defended themselves and tried to make the townships safe, the police clamped down. The Marshalls are loyal ANC members. They have been held on bail of between R500 and R1500 each. Unfortunately the ANC official structures failed to free the comrades.

On February 2 we invited Philemon Mauku from Alexandra to speak about the PMDC. There were about 160 people at the meeting, and the community of Inanda Newtown C Extension was so inspired that we launched the **Inanda Newtown Marshalls Defence Campaign**. An Action Committee was elected, of two delegates each from the Inanda ANC Interim Committee, the Youth League Interim Committee, Women, Marshalls, Prison Visiting Committee, and *Congress Militant*.

Our first step was to attend the ANC Zonal structure in Inanda to inform them about the campaign and ask for two delegates to serve on the Action Committee. They endorsed the campaign and sent delegates. Unfortunately,

promises of solidarity from the Zonal structure has come to nothing so far. Since then, some of the leading members of the Zone were arrested. We were ready to extend the INMDC to fight for their release as well — and insist on the need for genuine community defence.

We have been collecting donations and signatures on petition forms; looking after the Marshalls; and raising solidarity from ANC and COSATU structures. We set targets of raising R5 000 and 5 000 signatures. So far we have raised R1 200. We collected at taxi ranks, stations, factories and schools. Pupils from two primary schools in Mpumalanga donated R37. At the May Day rally in Durban 200 people signed our petitions and made donations. Half the people attending the SACP "Hands off Cuba" meeting gave signatures and donations.

In May the C Extension community decided that each family will donate R5 for the campaign. Nobody objected — some even wanted it to be R10 or R20 each! This is evidence of the support campaigns can mobilise in poor and oppressed townships like Inanda.

We have taken the campaign to organised workers. NUMSA and COSATU local shop stewards councils in Isipingo pledged support.

They decided to collect at each organised factory in Isipingo. This is a great step forward in building solidarity.

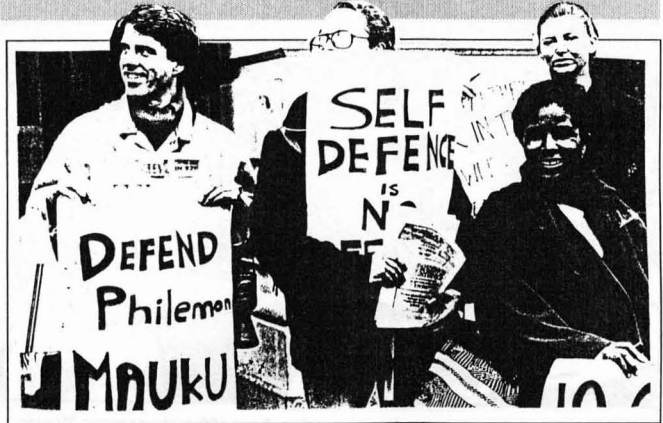
We have scored some small victories already. Through pressure on the prosecution the bail in almost all charges was reduced by 50%! In April the charges against one Marshall were dropped. In June, one of the two charges against two other Marshalls were also dropped. This is an admission by the state that it does not have any real case.

The continued imprisonment of youth who played a responsible role in the community is an outrage. To put together a case against the Marshalls the police have been trying intimidation and bribery. It has not worked.

They have no legal leg to stand on. The prosecution has not even proposed a trial date yet. We demand the Marshalls be released immediately and all charges against them be dropped.

In June we bailed out Ben Malevu, with the agreement of all the Marshalls. This should help our campaign to free the rest of the comrades. Our campaign continues, and with it we are building the ANC and strengthening the community.

**By Pieter  
Carelse**



Demonstrations were held outside South Africa house in London to demand that charges against Philemon, and all other comrades on trial for organising defence, be dropped!

## Free Philemon Mauku!

On May 18 Philemon Mauku was sentenced to five years in prison with two years suspended, for the 'crime' of obtaining two AK47's for the defence of the community in Alex.

He told *Congress Militant*: "The murderers responsible for the Sebokeng massacre have been set free. What happened in Boipatong shows the necessity for self-defence. De Klerk's killing machine is still operating. The killers are never brought to justice.

"My crime was wanting to protect the community. We took a resolution to form defence, and arm the people. But it was difficult to do that because of the police. The IFP was not the major problem. It was the police. They have the right to arrest us if we get weapons.

"It was a choice for us. If you don't try to get arms for self-defence you have to fold your arms and get killed. But if you try to get arms you will get arrested. This is a big problem which is facing the working class.

"I encouraged people to form defence. I took the responsibility to get arms. I got arrested by the regime."

## "Justice has gone to the dogs."

Often it seems as if there is one law for Inkatha and the SAP/SADF, which allows mass murder, and another for the community, which sends people to prison for the 'crime' of trying to protect themselves.

In Alex no member of Inkatha has been sent to prison for the killings that have left over 200 members of the community dead and 2 000 homeless.

In Sebokeng, the perpetrators of the horrific vigil massacre were free in June. Inkatha members arrested in possession of AK47's are given R500 bail. Every trial of Inkatha train killers has collapsed.

In Philemon's trial the magistrate rejected a defence of necessity. He accepted Philemon was a responsible person but said the law gave him no alternative except to send him to prison.

Within weeks Judge Foxcroft in Cape Town contradicted this! In the trial of MK member David Dlal, who pleaded guilty to illegal possession of weapons, he postponed sentence



Philemon Mauku

unconditionally for one year. He said "to imprison such a man would remove from society a valuable member of the community."

As soon as the ANC enters the government all comrades in prison or on trial because of these unjust laws must be released!

## PMDC a success!

The Philemon Mauku Defence Campaign was launched in October 1991, by the ACO joint hostels' committee, with the support of *Congress Militant*.

Its aim was to raise funds for Philemon's legal defence, and to campaign politically for the right of communities to organise armed community self-defence units.

The campaign led to greater confidence in the community. It strengthened people's beliefs in their right to self-defence. One comrade said: "The ANC supports self-defence, but when we are arrested we find we are on our own. There should be a defence campaign like this for every arrested comrade!"

5 500 signatures were collected, mostly from Alex. Petitions were also sent from all over Natal. PMDC raised R11 500, mostly in small donations.

Messages of support came from Britain, Sweden, Germany, Spain, and Belgium. Former British Labour Party Marxist MP's Terry Fields and Dave Nellist expressed their support. The Newcastle Trade's Council representing 20,000 workers passed a resolution. A card was even received from the Workers' Democracy organisation in Russia.

The trial got press publicity in SA and abroad. An article in the *British Independent* and the *Sowetan* compared Philemon's conviction with Nelson Mandela's 28 years ago:

"Mandela was jailed for taking up arms in defence of his people. So was the 24 year old Mauku. Neither of them ever actually fired a gun in anger."

Philemon is at Nigel prison, but the PMDC continues. His appeal is likely to be heard in November. It will again raise the defence of necessity, and the right to organise disciplined community self-defence in townships such as Alex.

# Workers on the march!



**ERIC SHEZI, from Inanda writes:** We are workers from 100 years, or more. We see everything changing, but do not have anything for our lives.

We are poor. We haven't got nice houses, electricity, water, cars. We use Putco or taxis or trains to go to work. We stay in shacks and hostels.

The capitalists got lot of things, for example 6-door Mercedes Benz. They stay in hotels, they got millions of Rands in the bank. All this they got through our blood and sweat.

We say to our leaders: lead us to the real freedom. That is the government controlled by the working class.

## Down with SABC bosses! Solidarity with MWASA!

The MWASA speaker at the June 16 rally in Nyanga asked for solidarity. So, on June 19, we organised about 70 people in our area of Khayelitsha. We asked four taxis to take us free to Sea Point.

When we arrived, comrades were toyi-toying carrying placards. One said "De Klerk and Pik Botha: wanted for murder!"

There was a big crowd of police and soldiers. While we were singing, the comrades were shouting "Down with de Klerk, SAP and SADF because they are the killers!"

The police and soldiers were angry.

Alan Boesak and Willie Hofmeyr arrived. Boesak told the police and soldiers they are not defending people, they are defending

apartheid.

He said we will support this strike until the SABC management give the workers what they want. Willie Hofmeyr said the government must stop using the SABC as a propaganda tool of the Nationalist Party.

**David Chaka  
ANC YL**

## Stop the jobs massacre

● More than 100 000 workers have lost their jobs in the industrial sector since the beginning of 1991.

● Seifsa, the engineering bosses, retrenched 34 000 people in 1991. The rate of retrenchment is as high again this year.

● Gold mining has cut 100 000 jobs since 1988. 43 000 workers were sacked in 1991.

● The building industry has cut 36 000 jobs since 1989.

● Between 1985-1990 only 8 out of every 100 new entrants to the labour market found jobs in the formal sector of the economy.



**Victory to the hospital workers!**

In one week in June more than 100 000 workers staged disciplined and peaceful demonstrations in cities across SA. As the hospital strike spread, and nurses joined in demonstrations in solidarity with ancillary workers.

At SABC, MWASA members remained determined in their strike for higher wages. In Durban 5 000 workers at Toyota in went on strike for the second time in two months. Almost every day new disputes are being declared.

The bosses were shocked by this powerful display of workers' unity. The mood of workers is that enough is enough. The bosses are going too far with mass redundancies, below inflation wage increases, and worsening conditions at work.

COSATU is a powerful force for unity. In coming months COSATU leaders have a responsibility to unite these struggles, and lead workers in mass action for better wages and an end to mass redundancies.

## Dismissed workers attacked

When dismissed Barlow Rand (Kew) workers marched to mark the beginning of the mass action they were brutally attacked by the SAP/SADF.

36 were arrested, and held in prison for three days. They appeared in Wynburg magistrate's court and were remanded to 9 July.

These bosses are murderous dogs of the government and thieves, for they reap where they have not sown.

The Barlow bosses are at the negotiations – but they attack us on the ground. *Barlows' John Hall is the chief of the National Peace Accord!*

The workers at Barlow Kew were organised by NUMSA. Their demands were for better working conditions, and better wages. One worker told us:

"First, we embarked on demonstrations at lunch time. Some

workers were suspended. We wanted their immediate unconditional re-instatement. We started sit-ins, one lasted for eight days.

"On 28 August police came with dogs, batons and even teargas. We were dismissed. We took the case to court but lost. We didn't get any reward as the bosses said we destroyed their machines."

Elias Motswaledi from the ANC supported the march. He warned that it is against the law – "but this is the time to defy!" There were about 300 marching. When we reached the white suburbs, the police came in full force. They formed a barricade with hippos.

The officials told them not to attack, so we can disperse peacefully.

We moved back to Alex. When we reached First Avenue

a hippo came. They stopped and started attacking us.

I (Jimmy) ran. I tried to jump a high tin wall. The police followed us. They beat me with a baton, then produced a gun and said: "Stop or I will shoot!" I managed to climb to the top of the tin wall and escaped. While I was running I heard one say: "Skiet, skiet!" I heard people screaming for help as they were being beaten.

This is a rape of the principle of justice. They told us to disperse, we show them respect and disperse. We were sure that they will never attack us because we listened to their orders, but they just attacked and tortured innocent defenceless people.

**Mafika Mathata &  
Jimmy, Alex ANC**

On 26 June the bosses at Table Bay Spinners in Cape Town retrenched 20 workers. They have also announced their intention to retrench another 25 within days. They say economic conditions are poor and the factory is no longer profitable. They argue that unless they retrench, the factory would close.

They are offering a retrenchment package of only one week's wage for every year employed. This means if you worked five years and earned R200 a week, you will only get R1000 plus holiday pay of six days.

The union is demanding a better retrenchment package of four weeks' wages for every year worked.

But the bosses are being adamant. In April they sacked 11 workers for refusing to work on one of the machines. This was to warn workers that bosses would not give in.

### Capitalism is to blame

Workers are very angry. But they see that the country's economy is not well. Many have been on short time. They are not optimistic about victory over the bosses. Some approached shop

stewards to say they wanted to volunteer for retrenchment.

But active workers are not giving in.

They explain that whenever the system goes bad, workers are the first to suffer. However, when the going is good, bosses pocket huge profits and forget the workers.

The clothing and textile bosses say there are not enough orders, so production must be decreased. Meanwhile thousands of poor people have to go without proper clothing or blankets in the winter.

Production under capitalism is geared for profit and not for the needs of people.

De Klerk and the NP say they will protect minorities, like coloureds. But their policies are responsible for the misery experienced today. What is De Klerk doing to save our jobs? Instead millions of rands are

squandered through corruption and paying for death squads.

Leading workers are using these arguments to convince fellow workmates not to accept the excuses of the bosses. They explain that the bosses are looking for weaknesses and divisions among the workers so that they could push through their plans. The first thing that has to be achieved is unity. United, workers would be in a stronger position against the bosses.

### Open books

The initial proposal of the bosses was to retrench 150. Then workers demanded that bosses open their books so that the union could see whether they are telling the truth about the state of the plant. When bosses refused workers felt they were hiding

something.

The shop stewards then demanded that the bosses give up their perks and privileges before retrenching. They asked what sacrifices bosses are making? If the company is in serious financial crisis they must sell company cars and take a salary cut before attacking jobs of workers.

The fact that the union and stewards were prepared to fight gave workers confidence. Also, the fight of clothing workers for higher wages changed the mood at TBS.

Workers realised that even though things were not looking good, they stood a chance of saving jobs if they fought.

This forced the bosses to retreat from their initial proposal of 150. This is an important achievement.

Now the union is fighting to stop any further retrenchments. The agreement signed by

Sactwu leaders and industry bosses promised to save jobs. This has not happened. Since then many workers have lost jobs.

Workers should demand that the union leadership should renegotiate the agreement and get an undertaking from the bosses that retrenchments will be stopped immediately.

If the bosses do not agree with these demands then it will once again prove that they are only serious about saving their own profits. What then is the use of signing this agreement with them?

### Campaign against retrenchments

SACTWU Congress in 1991 resolved to fight large scale retrenchments. Since then thousands of workers

have lost their jobs, but no national fight back has been organised.

The mass demonstrations organised by SACTWU in the clothing industry shows the support a big campaign to save jobs will have if organised by our union leadership.

If SACTWU and COSATU organised a national fight against retrenchments we can force the bosses to retreat.

Workers all over the country and in every industry have had enough of the attacks by the bosses and the state. Millions would be prepared to support such a campaign to defend our jobs.

The "new SA" will be no different from the old one if there is still capitalism. What will be the use of the vote and other political rights if bosses will still have the power to retrench us whenever they feel like, to save their profits?

The "new SA" will not mean much if workers still have to suffer starvation wages, unemployment and high food prices.

**By John  
Fredericks**

## Fight retrenchments at TBS!

# De Klerk exploits coloured insecurity

In the past months a large part of the coloured population, possibly a majority, has swung politically behind FW de Klerk and the Nationalist Party. This was shown by the enthusiastic turnout to welcome De Klerk in Mitchell's Plain on 11 April, and now again in Diamant.

In 1984 Mitchell's Plain united in the struggle against PW Botha's Tricameral parliament. It became a Congress stronghold. The UDF was launched there. In the 1989 racial elections, the MP for Mitchell's Plain got less than 2% support from the community. Now the political mood has changed.

It is useless to comfort ourselves with the argument that FW's visit was successful only because NP supporters were bused in from rural areas. Similar swings are shown in surveys of political opinion among coloured people in all parts of the country.

In the factories, comrades have reported sharp changes of attitude, with even unionised coloured workers expressing support for De Klerk, and conflicts erupting between coloured and African workers over political insults.

**TOM ADAMS**, an ANC member in Bellville, went to Mitchell's Plain to support the ANC demonstration against De Klerk. He interviewed many working-class people. Here he discusses the reasons for the NP's gains among coloured people, and how the support of the coloured working class can again be won to the side of the ANC.

The influx of African people and the growth of Khayelitsha, the coloured people are overwhelmingly working-class. The low-paid garment workers here are almost entirely coloured. From Paarl to Worcester the coloured workers live and work like the Africans on the farms.

Although poverty and oppression of Africans is generally far worse, it would be wrong to call coloureds a "privileged" minority. Like our African brothers and sisters, we spend our lives working to make the bosses rich. We cannot afford decent housing or health care.

Since 1976, coloured youth and workers have taken part in the forefront of the struggle against the state. The Labour Party leaders were long discredited as puppets. The coloured communities looked to the UDF and the Congress movement for leadership to overthrow the apartheid regime. Coloured workers have eagerly joined Cosatu, uniting with African workers to build our class strength together.

Coloured people rejected PW Botha's attempt to use them in the Tricameral system to support white minority rule. But the events of February 1990 have heralded a new period, with the unbanning of the ANC and the start of negotiations.

With the dropping of apartheid by De Klerk, and the promise of votes for all, it has seemed for the first time that our problems can be solved peacefully. The mass of people, coloured and African, for

the first time could hope for a better tomorrow.

"Forget the past, look to the future!" someone said at the recent FW visit to Mitchell's Plain. After all, even Nelson Mandela described De Klerk as a 'man of integrity'! "FW! FW!" shouted thousands of coloured youth and workers.

A coloured pensioner said to me, "Look we are now getting more pension, it's due to FW." But the reality is that De Klerk will not solve any of the problems of the coloured working class. He is the leader of the main bosses' party, a party for the defence of the rich against the poor. In the referendum all the big companies contributed to De Klerk's campaign, yet when workers ask for a decent wage or housing the bosses are not willing to put the money.

The coloured working class is facing the same attacks as the Africans in education, housing, unemployment. Our demands for improvements are the same. In the past the NP gave special privileges, job security and welfare to whites, but that will not be repeated for coloureds. More than half the retrenchments in the Western Cape are of coloured workers.

All De Klerk and the bosses want is the coloured vote. Way back in the 1924 elections the NP tried to lure the coloureds. But the "new deal" they promised never materialised. In 1956 they removed the coloureds from the common voters' roll; and after that provided us with three fake parliaments in succession.

General Hertzog admitted why he had needed the support of the coloureds in the 1920s: so that the

NP could "deal decisively" with the "native problem".

The apartheid policy from 1948 was their next attempt to deal decisively with the rising African proletariat. That too has failed. Now they want the support of the coloured people again for their manoeuvres to divide the working class.

There are coloured youth who threw stones against the regime in 1985, and now say they support De Klerk. It will do us no good to argue that all this comes simply from ignorance. Coloured people are gripped by uncertainty as to where their future lies in the "new" South Africa that is being negotiated.

In Cosatu coloured workers feel the industrial strength which comes from class unity with the African workers. But in the political field they find no such security. It does not solve matters to simply appoint prominent coloureds like Allan Boesak to leadership positions in the ANC.

The ANC leaders, instead of clearly continuing a struggle for power, seem willing to settle for De Klerk's "power-sharing". Majority rule is to be given up, and blocking powers for minorities agreed. The present state is to remain in existence. The bosses are to continue in command of the economy.

Instead of power passing to a united working class, political questions are to be settled by deals with the capitalist leaders of racial and tribal parties. *All this deeply influences the political thinking of the coloured working class.*

People are asking themselves: If we have to look after ourselves

as a powerless minority, where does it make most sense to give our vote? The practical choice is between the party of the white bosses (the NP) and the party of the black working class.

*The main condition for winning the mass of coloured people firmly to the ANC is that the ANC must clearly represent working-class interests and workers' power against the capitalists and their state.*

At the same time, with facts figures and arguments we can begin to cut across the support for De Klerk. We can show the responsibility of the government for the violence of Inkatha and the police, and justify the self-defence efforts of black communities.

The support for FW rests on very weak social foundations. His 'protection for minorities' is not for the coloured or white working class, or for the lower middle class, but to maintain the system whereby a few families control the wealth of the country and will continue to keep millions in poverty for the sake of profits.

Whatever political tricks are used to stop majority rule, the African proletariat will still be the vast majority. This class is the key to solve the problems of the working class as a whole. Cosatu shows the strength of workers of all races when we unite in action.

But the workers need more than just a trade union. The working class needs a political party with a socialist programme that can lead the way to peace and prosperity for all.

Our task is to transform the ANC, the traditional party of the African working-class majority, into that.

## Demolish the hostels!

The hostels in the PWV area are the only strong bases of Inkatha. Here, with police backing, Inkatha organises Zulu-speaking migrant workers into killer imps to terrorise the townships.

After the Boipatong massacre, Iscor has been forced to 'promise' to close KwaMadala. If De Klerk was serious about peace he would long ago have closed all these hostels. Instead he allies with Inkatha. Migrant labour is a barbarous relic of apartheid, maintaining tribalism. All workers should have proper accommodation with their families and become part of the settled urban community of all nations.

These hostels must be demolished! If the government will not do it, the communities will do it directly in their own defence. Last year in Dobsonville, one hostel was destroyed by mass action. Since then, Inkatha has used the remaining Siphwe hostel as a base for killing and raping residents.

On 8 June, the people of Dobsonville decided enough was enough. They marched to attack the hostel, and were prevented only by stronger forces of armed police. **PETER KAMWE** reports.

The march involved school students, youth, women and municipal workers on strike. Beginning with about 150, the crowd was soon very big.

An ANC official told the crowd that we should not march to the hostel but make today more of a warning. His speech made people angry like bees wanting to sting you.

"We are marching to the police station, and then to the hostel!" the crowd shouted and left the leadership standing without words.

"How could you talk of next week action?" demanded a worker. "We did not go to work today so that we can help demolish the hostel. The demand to demolish the hostel is on the leaflet."

It was great to see 12 year olds upwards marching to join us, toyi-toying with a big flag of ANC written: *People shall Govern*. Old women left their kitchens to join. The school youth were eager to destroy the hostel. The school close to the

hostel has been closed due to Inkatha violence.

A petition was handed over calling for an end to killings, demolishing of hostels and the resignation of the councillors. It was signed by ANC, SACP, COSAS, PAC and AZAPO. The leadership tried to give more speeches but the crowd made it clear that the next thing was marching to the hostel. The war began.

It's no easy thing to destroy the hostel. The riot police in their hippos were dancing to the singing as if in solidarity with the masses. They were just hyenas in a sheepskin with a wicked intention.

Openly the police protected Inkatha as the crowd tried to enter the hostel. The militant youth were armed with everything to the teeth, home made guns, real guns, stones, petrol bombs, sticks and metal bars.

Shooting started at 11.30 a.m. between the police and the comrades. All streets leading to the hostels were full of

angry residents and the police found it difficult to control. More hippos and police were called. There was firing and running all over.

Burning barricades were soon set up. The air was polluted, atmospheric gases replaced by teargas fumes, newspapers burning to neutralise the effect.

You try to discuss, the next thing make sure you run for cover. Mothers and girls were holding buckets full of water to dampen the teargas canisters. They signalled which way the police were coming.

The police found it difficult to follow up the armed youth because the youth used the passages between the houses. Kitchen doors are left open for cover. At one stage the one kitchen was occupied by youth armed with petrol bombs and guns. 3-4 minutes is enough before they proceed again.

Around 1 p.m. the fight cooled down and a witchdoctor came sprawling a mix-

ture of water and muti in all streets leading to the hostels. A strong belief in muti is rife. I think this weakens the struggle because it puts superstition in place of scientific planning.

The police acted as white Inkatha. Private combis carrying these white Inkatha terrorised the streets with gunfire.

At one stage the Inkathas came out of the hostels armed and wanted a fight and the police intervened. The aftermath was the echoing of gun shots throughout the night with the number of casualties on the increase.

Without effective planning and with a leadership that wanted to hold the people back, the attempt to demolish the hostel failed that day. But eventually it will succeed.

On 14 June the Inkatha members went to attend a rally. So the youth got organised and by 9.30 a.m. they had entered the hostel. A youth of 17 went to steal an

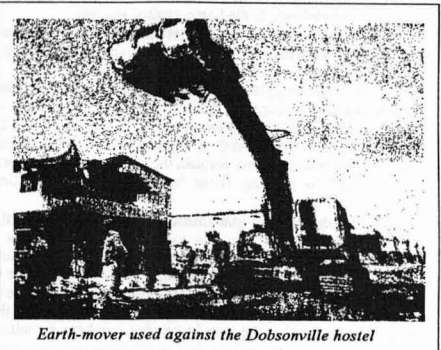
earth-mover for levelling the road and drove it to demolish the buildings.

Women and youth were ready for any action. Other youth were busy looking for petrol to burn it.

But very soon the Triple One police force arrived firing a hail of bullets. The comrades

returned fire. It was serious fighting for about 10 to 20 minutes. Part of the hostel had been demolished.

The youth in the area are determined to destroy the hostel. But direction is needed to how are we going to make it successful, and to prevent a spiral of senseless killings.



Earth-mover used against the Dobsonville hostel

# Stormy Europe

## Crisis of capitalism Crisis of the traditional parties

Europe is stormy. Not since the Second World War have there been such explosions. The collapse of the Soviet Union has changed the relations of power between states and nations.

Yugoslavia has broken up in a civil war which has so far caused 12 000 deaths and 1 million refugees. Czechoslovakia is about to split. The capitalist boom in the West has faltered, bringing huge strike movements not seen since the 1970s.

This is the moment when the traditional political organisations of the working class should be coming forward. But almost all the Communist parties have broken up, and the social-democratic parties (Labour and Socialist parties) are losing support.

### Alan Green explains:

The downfall of Stalinism, and with it the planned economies of Russia, Eastern Europe, etc., has given big short-term political advantages to the capitalist parties of the West. "Socialism" seems to have failed.

However, the fact that the Stalinist dictatorships were brought down by mass movements of the working people has also given a boost to the confidence of working people in the West.

They are less prepared to tolerate the remote authority of an unaccountable officialdom. Suffering job losses and cuts in public services, they are more determined to stand up against the blatant greed of the capitalist elite. They resent the domination and profiteering of the monopolies.

But this growing opposition to capitalism still has to find a coherent political expression. The communist parties are stained with the crimes of Stalinism. The traditional social-democratic parties are despised, especially among the youth, as part and parcel of the old fossilised establishment.

There is a search for answers in all directions. The Green environmental parties have picked up support. So have nationalist and regional parties. In Germany, France and Italy, the

main parties of the capitalist class have also lost support. In Britain, despite the fourth successive victory of the Conservatives, the basis of their support is more feeble than ever. It has much more to do with the bankruptcy of the opposition Labour Party than with any positive factors.

Dangerously, in a number of countries, far right parties have been gaining in support as they opportunistically exploit grievances against central authority. They blame black and other immigrants for Europe's problems (200 North African workers have been killed in racist attacks in the last ten years in France) and boast a "fighting alternative".

### Russian Revolution 1917

The 1917 socialist revolution in Russia seemed to offer a way out for Europe which had been dragged by capitalism into the bloody impasse of the First World War. For the first time in history the working class held power, under Marxist leadership. But the spread of the revolution to the advanced countries of Europe failed in a series of defeats.

The resulting isolation of red Russia led to the removal from power of genuine Bolshevism during the 1920s, with the rise of the monstrous Stalinist bureaucracy. Stalinism was never genuine socialism, which is inseparable from workers' democratic control of production and the state.

After a number of decades, Stalinism eventually ruined the planned economy and prepared the conditions for its own collapse.

While it existed, it tended to discredit "socialism" - at least in the relatively affluent and democratic West - by associating socialism with dictatorship, corruption, mass murder and the stifling of the human spirit. When it fell, it further discredited "socialism" as a "failure" - this time all round the world.

*Our answer to this is that genuine socialism has never yet had the chance to show its powers.*

We should remember that Russia and the other countries now returning to capitalism broke from it in the first place precisely because capitalism could not solve their problems. If today there is capitalism again, it is only because Stalinism was not a way

forward either, and no other alternative to capitalism could immediately be found.

Despite the boom of the 1980s in the advanced countries, it is clear that capitalism remains unable to take society forward on a world scale. In fact worsening unemployment, poverty and degradation is the lot of most of the world's people. The collapse of so-called "socialism" in no way rescues capitalism from its own inbuilt contradictions.

This fact will eventually weaken the effect of the capitalist propaganda which deliberately associates "socialism" with Stalinism, and which implies that a workers' revolution would inevitably lead to dictatorship and economic decay.

The Stalinist bureaucracies themselves claimed to be "socialist". It is evident how De Klerk, Anglo American and Gatscha take advantage of this in their own interests to discredit nationalisation.

But the working class will never submit to the attacks of capitalism. And the disappearance of Stalinism from the world map will eventually make it easier for the working class internationally to return to the road of socialist revolution.

A fight-back against the right-wing nationalist and racist parties will be one of the ways in which the working class gathers strength for a showdown with capitalism. The recent strike wave in Germany shows the immense power of the industrial organisations of the working class, once they are forced into action. In future, the big battalions of the workers will inevitably seek a political expression for their struggle, probably through attempts to transform the traditional workers' parties.

In the present confused period, which is nevertheless full of opportunities, Marxists have to build the conscious forces for the socialist revolution through all the various movements of resistance to capitalism - while at the same time maintaining an orientation to the traditional mass parties.

## Britain: 4th Labour defeat

In April this year, the British Conservative Party came to power for the 4th time in a row. How was this capitalist victory possible with the country in the grip of a capitalist recession?

Jobs are being destroyed at the rate of 10 000 per week. Municipal housing for rent is decaying. 900 000 people owning their own homes have fallen behind with the payments. Health Services are being withdrawn. There is widespread abuse of children and violence in the home against women.

Unlike even their parents' generation, people feel powerless against forces they can only see faintly, and do not know yet how to oppose.

At the same time, there is fabulous wealth which is being denied to working people by the capitalists and their system. In ten years, directors' pay has increased 281%, in some cases 24 times more than that of skilled workers. Huge office blocks stand empty or incomplete, because the bosses don't consider it "profitable" to convert these buildings into something beneficial for all.

All this should have guaranteed a Labour victory. But the Labour Party leaders just add to the problem. Without a convincing programme to reconstruct Britain by overturning capitalism and providing jobs for all, they could only offer to tinker with the country's decline. They offered a programme of higher taxes whereby those in employment would carry the burden of supporting the ever increasing numbers for whom

capitalism can provide no work.

Justifying why he was voting for the bosses' party, one worker explained: "It's a hard cold world out there. No-one else gives a damn for you or me, it's every man for himself. Those who can't cope go to the wall. That's the way things are. Their problems are nothing to do with me."

Although this is an extreme statement, it shows the extent to which the decades of failure by the Labour leaders to offer an alternative to capitalism has encouraged cynicism and a weakening of solidarity among working people.

Yet as the magnificent Anti-Poll Tax campaign which defeated Margaret Thatcher showed, a militant leadership can transform the situation and revive the fighting solidarity of the working class.

When Tommy Sheridan of Scottish Militant Labour was elected as a councillor from his prison cell (see page 11), a woman who voted for him said: "Tommy understands about damp houses and money needed by the unemployed. He lives in similar conditions to us and he'll do some thing about it."

With fighting comrades organised into strong Marxist tendencies worldwide and a scientific programme to explain the way forward for society, we can win.

## German strikes

A major turning point since the Second World War has been reached with the strikes by 500 000 public sector workers in Germany. The most powerful country in Europe, the centre of gravity in the European Community, has been shaken by the

biggest movement of workers for 45 years.

The leader of IG Metall, the biggest trade union in the world with three million members, denounced the German capitalists for making super profits out of the unification of west with east Germany. Workers have carried the cost: they paid DM73bn compared with DM17bn the capitalists paid in taxes. One worker commented in German: "Oben Hummer, unten kummer" - upstairs champagne and sole, downstairs solely pain!

The public sector workers demanded a 9.5% pay rise and then went on strike when they were offered only one-third of that.

A hospital shop steward told *Voran*, our sister paper in Germany, "We're striking properly for the first time. We offered the management an agreement on emergency cover but they refused. So now they have to come to us and ask. We then decide who should work. On Thursday they tried to abuse this but we have set a limit of ten workers."

"Before the strike ballot 47% were organised; now over 70% are in the union. Kohl (the German Chancellor) would like to break us. It's become clearer to all members that this strike isn't just about the wage rise; it's about defeating Kohl's wage policy."

The workers eventually scored a victory. And things will not be the same again: the workers have tasted their power, and although they can expect the bosses to take revenge, they have begun to experience how to fight back.

But it has not just been Germany. In Spain, the last nine months have seen strikes by five million workers, ranging from miners to bullfighters! In Italy, there was a general strike last month when a judge was killed by the Mafia. In Ireland, France and Norway there have been strikes by postal and dock workers. In Greece there have been strikes by refuse collectors, whilst in Belgium even the police have been on hunger strike for better conditions!

The traditional workers' parties have at best only reluctantly supported these movements. In Germany, the Social Democratic Party initially supported Kohl's refusal to meet the workers

# The national question today

The peoples of the world have never been more closely bound to a single fate in an integrated global economy. At the same time, the conflicts between the nationalities within existing states have seldom, if ever, been more dangerously inflamed.

Not only is there civil war in Yugoslavia. Fighting rages also in the former Soviet republics of Moldova and Georgia, and between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Slovakia has voted for separation from the Czechs. A desire for independence from English-dominated Britain has risen sharply among the Scots. Wealthy Canada, too, now teeters on the brink of a split. From the Middle East, to Africa, to Asia, unresolved national conflicts simmer and boil over into violence.

Already in the last century Karl Marx recognised that only the unity of the working class of all nations, and the establishment of a socialist commonwealth of all the peoples, could provide a lasting way out of national conflicts. In the program of Marxism, this standpoint of workers' unity has always gone *together* with a vigorous struggle for the liberation of oppressed nations and defence of the democratic rights of national minorities.

In the rise of capitalism, particularly during the 19th century, the *nation-state* provided the framework for the development of the productive forces. Against local barriers put up by feudalism, the bourgeoisie forged a unified national market to enable their exploitation of natural resources and human labour power.

It was a progressive development, said Marx and Engels, that Germany was unified 120 years ago out of many semi-independent provinces and states.

Splitting up into small states, as in the Balkans at that time, was reactionary and not conducive to the development of large-scale industry and scientific technique.

With the rise of the great capitalist nation-states, and the development of modern industry, the nature of the problem changed. The productive forces grew beyond the framework of the state, although the state remained a necessary lever in development.

Capitalism became *imperialist*, seeking new markets, raw materials and labour through the struggle for colonies.

British imperialism and its allies fought German imperialism in two World Wars, the second of which turned into an attempt by Hitler to destroy the Soviet Union.

The end of the Second World War saw a mighty push for national independence in the colonies. In Asia and Africa (South American countries had generally got their independence in the century before), workers and the rural poor in many cases fought bitterly against foreign rule.

In most cases, imperialism withdrew, replacing direct military domination with continuing *neo-colonial* forms of domination and control. The basis for this has been the colossal power of the trans-national monopolies, and their domination of the world market. Many giant companies, like General Motors, are bigger than individual national economies.

The imperialist powers and these corporations have at their disposal vast productive resources and finances which enable

them to dominate and exploit the weak. In 1989, for example, Third World countries saw \$51bn of capital flow out to the industrialised countries – equivalent to the entire aid they received the previous year!

At the same time, the advance of modern industry in the developed countries, and the growth of a single world market penetrating and linking all countries, means that today even the strongest powers are in the grip of global forces of capitalist competition which no-one controls. Today, it is increasingly difficult to speak of a *national* economic development.

Facing intensified competition among themselves, the imperialist powers are grouping together in three great trading blocks, dominated by the USA, Germany and Japan. On the one hand, the limits of the national states have been partially overcome by the expansion of capitalism. It is clear that the further development of the productive forces requires much larger economic fields. On the other hand, the capitalists cling to the competitive advantages and protection afforded them by existing state power.

The need for world government, a world currency, and a co-operative federation of all nations has never been greater. Instead, on the basis of capitalism, ruthless competition between the power blocs, and between individual national states, will threaten repeatedly to intensify into currency and trade wars, and even at times outright armed confrontation.

As was obvious during the Gulf War, the United Nations serves essentially as an instrument for domination by the USA and other imperialists when their vital interests are threatened.

In this blind alley, national minorities chafe against the confines of existing states, and seek their "own" states as a means of asserting some independence against the domination of uncontrollable powers.

However, they also look towards *integration* into a wider economic unit, such as the European Community. There is no realistic expectation of *economic independence* now.

Marxists have always supported the *right of nations* to self-determination, i.e. to separate and form their own territorial state. However, Marxists have also explained the advantages of the widest economic unification, and not necessarily *advocated* separation of nations as a wise step.

As far back as 1923 Trotsky advanced the slogan of a '*United States of Europe*', linked with the idea of a *Workers' (or Workers and Peasants') Government*. The development of the productive forces demanded no less, while the capitalists were tearing Europe apart by competition.

Today the capitalists are trying to unify Europe, but combined with increasing retrenchments and cuts in social services, making the working class bear the cost. Marxists' recognition of the progressive features in European integration has to be combined with slogans and struggle for a socialist alternative to capitalism – not only in Europe but on a world scale.

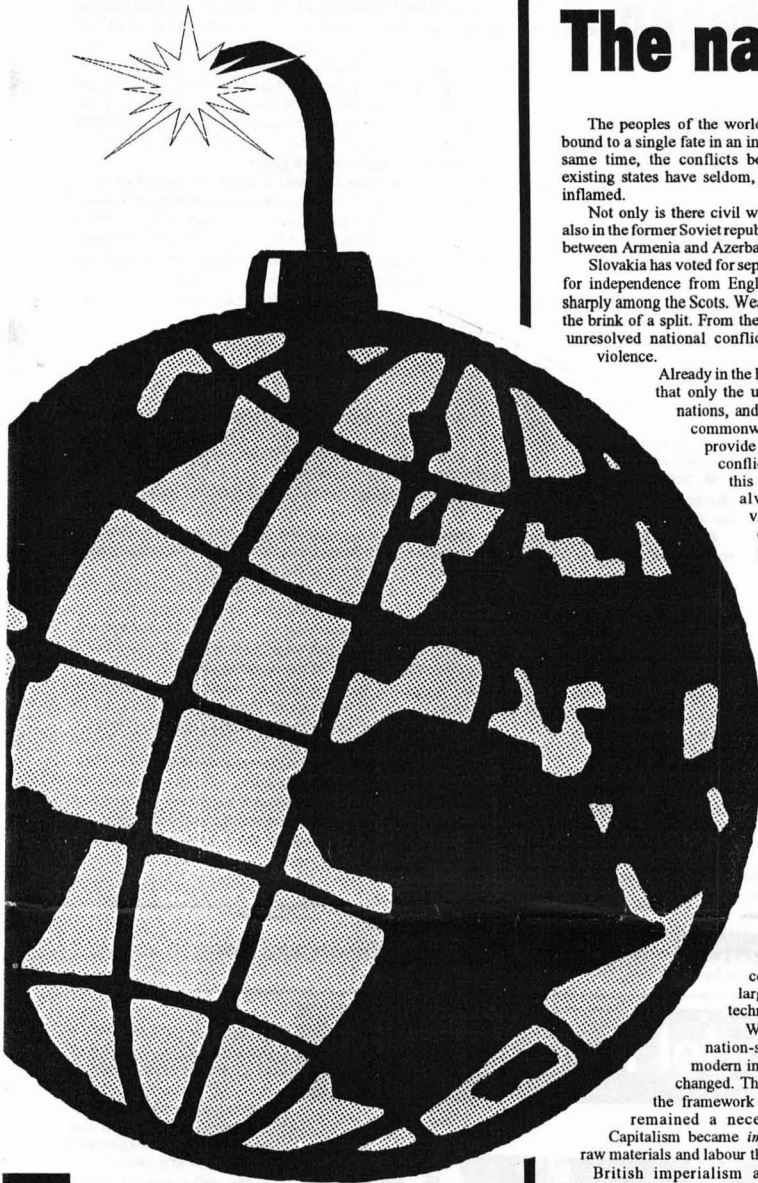
In these circumstances, Marxists would not oppose the movements for independence by small nations, such as the Scots, as being somehow "reactionary" and limiting on economic development. They have nowhere to go but Europe and the integrated world economy. The unity of the Scottish and English workers will in fact best be ensured by a sympathetic attitude of the latter to the former's wish for self-rule.

On the other hand, there are numerous instances of vicious slaughter across Europe as integrated communities are ripped apart in the struggle over territory. National self-determination cannot be an absolute right, but has to be judged in relation to all its progressive and reactionary consequences.

An *all-European socialist revolution* – which could be set in motion in any important country – offers the only sure way out of the nightmare of ethnic division and strife.

The timely and skillful presentation of a program to resolve the national and social questions, fought for by the organised workers united across national boundaries, can powerfully advance the cause of socialism.

Alan Green



demands, and the union leaders then criticised the party for "distancing itself from our struggle".

In Spain, where the Socialist Party has been in power for more than a decade, there have been no official talks with the socialist trade union federation, the UGT, for four years.

It has been left to the trade unions to defend and fight for the workers. In Spain, Finland and Sweden it is the trade unions which now face the government with demands and action.

In Sweden the trade unions have agreed to call a strike against the government in October as a result of a campaign by the comrades of *Offensiv*, the Swedish Marxist paper allied with *Congress Militant*.

## Turmoil on every continent

In Brazil, world leaders made empty promises about saving the earth from pollution, but could not address the hunger and desperation which drive the masses there to raid supermarkets.

In Malawi and Nigeria, hundreds have been killed in recent weeks protesting their poverty. In Thailand, mass demonstrations forced the resignation of the military government.

There have been mass strikes of steel workers in Algeria. In India 12 million workers have recently joined a strike against the government's capitalist economic program.

The explosion of revolt in the black ghettos of Los Angeles

showed what lies under the foundations of US capitalism.

In the world's richest and most powerful country, racial minorities have it rough. The top 1% of Americans own more private wealth than the bottom 90%. In LA, there is 50% unemployment among black youth, a rate twice as high as among whites. One-quarter of blacks in their 20s are in prison – more than in college!

Capitalism has not made a reality of the dream of Martin Luther King. Even though there are 7000 blacks in elected public office (the mayor of Los Angeles is black) the mass of blacks have been cut out of American society.

The boom of the 1980s made millionaires 243% richer, whilst workers, white and black, had a real drop in wages.

There are to be presidential elections at the end of the year, but the people will have three capitalist candidates to choose from. The American working class needs to form a Labor Party on a socialist program, if a way out of the nightmare of capitalism is to be found.

## 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 this form, and hand it to a Congress Militant seller.

Name:

Address:

Phone No.:

Build a mass ANC for workers' power!

# Beginning of the end for Mugabe?

**On 12 June the Zimbabwean government banned the first protest march ever organised by the Zimbabwean Trade Union Congress (ZCTU).**

Morgan Tsvangirai, President of ZCTU, said: "Zimbabwe is like a police state. The extent of repression to prevent a peaceful demonstration is shocking."

The march was meant to protest against changes in the labour laws which make it easier to dismiss workers, and against the **Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)** which has enormously burdened the working people.

The government claimed Tsvangirai was going to use the march to launch a new opposition party. On 7 June the newspapers had carried an advert for the Forum for Democratic Reform (FDR), the most serious opposition force to Mugabe since independence in 1980, and now turning itself into a political party.

Severe criticism of Mugabe has surfaced even in the state-controlled media, leading a journalist to conclude: "the government appears frozen like a rabbit in the headlamps of a speeding truck". (Andrew Meldrum, *Weekly Mail*, 22-28 May 1992)

## From reform to repression

After 12 years of independence Zimbabwe is facing economic and political crisis. After a guerilla struggle for power, Mugabe's ZANU signed an agreement at Lancaster House which provided for majority rule - but protected the privileges and property of the white bosses and farmers.

Despite this, in the first years after independence there was a small economic boom and major reforms in education, health, and minimum wages. Land reform was begun and in the mid-1980s there was evidence of some well-being for a section of the peasants.

Mugabe encouraged limited state intervention in the economy, which, combined with the powers over the economy left over by the Smith regime, enabled a certain development to take place on the basis of the existing capitalist system. In contrast with the rest of Africa and SA, Zimbabwe had an average growth of 5% during the 1980s.

The economic growth of this period Mugabe called socialism! But strikes were banned, and trade unions state-

controlled. Apart from the big capitalists, only government ministers got rich by buying big farms and companies.

State intervention which left control and ownership of the economy in the hands of the powerful capitalist class, could not be used to improve the conditions of the mass of Zimbabweans on a permanent basis. Quickly reforms were taken away again. As the economy ran into crisis the bosses increased pressure on Mugabe. Combined with the crisis of Stalinism in the former USSR they have been able to blame all the problems on "socialism".

In the last two years the IMF and local capitalists have forced Mugabe to withdraw the state from the economy, to end subsidies, and make big cuts in spending.

As part of this the government introduced the ESAP. Mugabe said it was the only way for jobs to be created and economic growth continued. But ESAP has brought disaster for the working people:

- Cuts in spending on housing, health and education have been introduced.
- School fees, hospital charges and service charges are up.
- Basic food prices have risen by 60% this year.
- There is to be a 25% cut in civil service jobs and a loss of 23% of industrial jobs.



The burden of ESAP is shown by the fact that it now costs Z\$180 to write only one 'O' (matric) level exam!

The people say ESAP means: *Even Sadza (miele-meal) is A Problem.*

All this comes at a time of the worst drought in Southern African history. Many Zimbabweans eat grass and roots to survive. Nobody now talks of a growth of peasant production. Industrial output is expected to drop by 15% this year.

These problems are now being laid at the door of the one-party dictatorship of Mugabe.

In the past opposition was ruthlessly attacked. In 1985 socialists fighting for democratic trade unions and genuine socialist policies for ZANU(PF) were detained and tortured. Up to now opposition parties have been one-man shows,

based on tribal or regional support. Many are out-and-out reactionaries like Ndabaningi Sithole who supports Renamo.

But with the formation of FDR, supported by hundreds of middle-class professionals, with names like the retired chief justice Enoch Dumbutshena, the first serious capitalist opposition grouping has been launched.

FDR stands for the dismantling of the one-party state, for cutting the armed forces, and the bloated Cabinet of 52 ministers. These are popular demands for working people who have laboured under one-party dictatorship with, until recently, annual states of emergency.

However FDR also promises a drastic reduction of state economic controls which, they claim, would bring economic prosperity. These capitalist policies would not bring to an end the burden of Zimbabwean people. But people want change, and in the absence of a working-class alternative, many may be prepared to support FDR's popular demands.

The program of the existing opposition parties is, "We can run capitalism better than Mugabe!"

## ZANU in crisis

Mugabe is caught up in a net of crisis. ZANU is seen as a party of repression and intolerance. One-party elections are seen as a fraud. During the 1990 elections only 8% of the registered voters cast their votes.

There is a growing atmosphere of political uncertainty. In June all 10 000 University of Zimbabwe students were expelled for demonstrating against the government. The days of unrestrained rule by Mugabe are over. The emerging opposition marks the beginning of the end of his rule.

The crucial question is whether the ZCTU will join the campaign of FDR. This would give the FDR the base among working people it presently lacks. But it would also trap the unions in an alliance with capitalists who can provide no solution to the problems of the working class.

The temptation for trade union leaders is to jump on the FDR bandwagon in the hope of enjoying the privileges of power as in the case of ex-trade unionist Zambian President Chiluba.

But the FDR's out-and-out support for unrestrained capitalism will lead it into conflict in future with the workers and peasants. Former chief justice Dumbutshena is no friend of the workers: he opposed laws protecting workers' rights.

If the ZCTU leaders declared their intention to build a working-class party with a democratic socialist program, it would give a focus for workers, peasants and youth looking for a way forward.

**By Jake Wilson and Peter Kamwe**

# Kenya: Capitalism's model in crisis

**When Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi visited FW De Klerk in June he found he had a lot in common with his host. Moi rules a country with a few super rich and many poor. He uses the army to oppress mass opposition.**

**Now Kenya is preparing for its first multi-party general election and some opposition parties are even calling for a CODEKA (Convention for a Democratic Kenya)!**

There are hundreds of political prisoners. Many are on death row at Kamati prison, locked up without fresh air or sunlight. When their mothers went on hungerstrike in April, support demonstrations were held which led to violent clashes with the police. A Kenyan worker commented: "These days there is more teargas in the air than milk in the shops. It's an era of police terrorism."

Kenya has been a de facto one party state since independence in 1963. At the time of independence from Britain there was mass support for the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), led by Jomo Kenyatta.

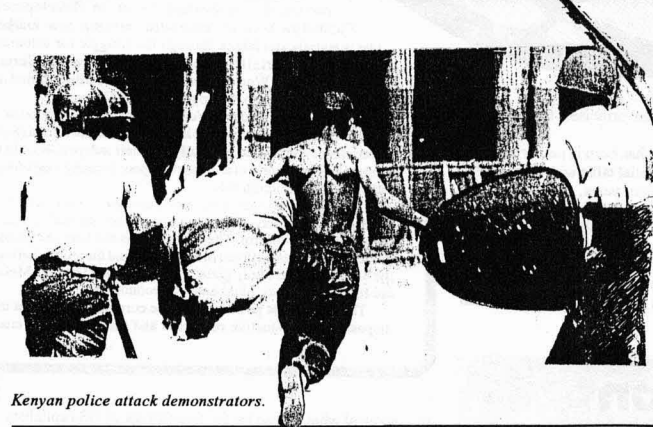
But after independence KANU maintained links with the old colonial masters and merely adapted their methods to suit their own ends. One month after independence KANU asked Britain to help

put down a mutiny in the army! Today the head of the Kenyan national bank is still appointed in London!

KANU is discredited. Workers and peasants are no better off than on the first day of independence. Capitalism and massive western financial aid has failed to develop Kenya, which now has a foreign debt of \$6-billion!

During 1990-91 there was a rising tide of militancy. There were demonstrations, strikes and uprisings in the country.

Although Moi's allies in the advanced capitalist countries never complained about his regime before, growing evidence of corruption and mismanagement, and their fear of social unrest forced them to pressure Moi to reform. After they threatened to cut off financial aid Moi was forced to advise KANU to repeal the Constitution's one-party clause. Since then many new "opposition"



*Kenyan police attack demonstrators.*

parties have been formed as Kenya's ruling elite fight amongst themselves.

Like De Klerk, Moi is desperate to keep power and privilege, and is trying to cause divisions amongst the masses to do this.

Kenya is an ethnically complex country: 52 different languages are spoken and there is a range of religions and cultures. 80% of the population live off the land. Capitalism has done little to unify the peasants. In a time of drought and hunger it is easy to instigate people to turn

against neighbours they have lived peaceably alongside for generations.

To delay the general election Moi is deliberately stoking fires of ethnic violence. Early this year there were violent clashes in the rural areas which left 150 people dead and 10 000 homeless. KANU politicians and police were involved. Moi's own tribe, the Kalenjins, were especially aggressive. In an Open Letter to the government in March Kenya's Catholic bishops wrote "There has been no

*impartiality on the part of the security forces... orders were given from above to inflict injuries only on particular ethnic groups."*

Opposition to Moi has crystallised around the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). FORD is not a mass party based on the workers and peasants. It is a wing of the ruling class. Many of its leaders are old members of Moi's cabinet.

On April 3-4 FORD called a two day national general strike to demand a date for elections. It went ahead despite

intimidation by the government and threats of mass dismissals. The leaders of all the big unions opposed it. COTU (the trade union federation) is an instrument of the ruling KANU, and has tried to keep organised workers out of politics.

The strike was successful on the first day, but faltered on the second. In some areas youth erected barricades. But factories and hotels owned by FORD leaders remained open! They called the general strike not to fight for better conditions for the masses, but to use the masses to put pressure on Moi. Nonetheless its success marks a new era of struggle against Moi.

Now enthusiasm for FORD is fading. Its leaders are becoming divided on ethnic lines. There is confusion as to how to go forward, and a danger that Moi may succeed in dividing Kenyan workers and peasants in a bloody ethnic conflict.

It is likely that FORD will win the elections (if Moi allows them to take place), but this will not ensure that Kenyan workers and peasants are able to improve their conditions.

They need an alternative to FORD that has a political programme to unite workers and peasants of all ethnic groups, based upon a fight for better conditions, and an end to exploitation.

**By David Thomas**



# The trouble with Winnie

## Why I support Winnie Mandela

by M. Lakhane

member of ANC Women's League, Alexandra

Firstly because of her knowledge. I am not talking about her home affairs. No! Or her involvement in the killing of Stompie. The killing is not an issue now. Even what is said in the paper is not an issue.

We support Winnie Mandela because she is a strong woman. Her husband went to jail for 27 years. She did not get another child outside except Nelson Mandela's. That is why we support Winnie Mandela as the Alexandra Women's League.

When now the husband is back from the jail a lot of things came out. But when she was struggling without her husband, no one was there. Now they are trying to destroy Winnie Mandela.

If she had someone to control her she would not have done that. Because we failed to control her we cannot say she is not doing the right thing or that she is trying to destroy the ANC. If we say we belong to an organisation then we must guide people like Winnie Mandela. Even with the Welfare Department, if what she did was out of order, the thing to do is to sit and discuss this and tell her. Winnie Mandela's problem is our problem not just Winnie Mandela's problem.

To depart with her husband, that is her own problem. We need Winnie Mandela to build our organisation, not to discourage the people and say Winnie Mandela is wrong.

The reason we support Winnie Mandela is that we always see her in the frontline, even in other townships.

As far as the suspension is concerned, we feel that it was not a proper suspension. We went to the meeting of the Women's League on the 7th June in the region, to discuss this issue. We did not support it. We then went back again on the 14th June to discuss further. We asked for the minutes of the meeting at which Winnie Mandela was suspended. They could not give this to us. We wanted to know how many areas were present when she was suspended. They said they do not know.

We do not know who suspended Winnie Mandela. We asked them who wrote the letter to say that Winnie Mandela was suspended. They referred to comrades from Pretoria and other places, who they said supported that Winnie must be suspended. But the comrades from Pretoria denied this. It was a big question about this. We know that only three people took this decision. We will never mention names but they know who they are.

What we wanted to know from them is how it got to the newspapers. Why did they not tell the areas and consult with us first before they took the decision. But further why did they not tell us that they were going to print it in the newspapers. Our question was: "How did the papers get the information?" They said that when they got to the meeting, the journalists were already there. We asked who called them. But we did not get an answer.

We tried to show them that they were wrong. Even if they are the executive. Even the ANC was wrong to support this suspension. Why did they not consult us first.

What you must remember is that if you are born a king you will always remain a king. No matter what they say about Winnie Mandela, she will remain what she is.

## Demand for women's rights

Hilda Ndude, co-founder of the UDF, and now NEC regional representative of the ANC, addressed the Western Cape Women's League on June 16.

She told how women marched with babies on their backs against the pass laws. Many were gunned down.

The women contributed a lot in the struggle here, especially mama Silinga and Zihlangu who organised the women in WC, Border region, PE and Natal.

These struggles led to the formation of the UDF and the unbanning of the political organisations. But the legacy of apartheid made the women to be looked down on, as mainly men's domestic slaves, to bring up kids, do kitchen work and wash clothes.

She said our organisations are also exercising these methods which we will not accept. In Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, women who waged

the struggle were told after liberation that their work is in the kitchen.

"The message I am giving to the ANC when it comes to the government, is that this will not happen here", she said. She got lot of applause, especially from the women.

One male comrade heckled: "These women are lazy!" Other women responded, "It's not true, it's you who dominate everything."

Hilda got a biggest applause when she said "How many women are here on this stage? Do these speakers here want to tell me that there are no women in their structures? It is these imbalances I am talking about!"

Then she made an appeal on the women to join and contribute in drawing up the Women's Charter so that women's rights can be included in a new constitution.

by Sizwe Nonji

## Why we disagree - reply by Congress Militant editors

Comrade Lakhane's views are shared by many ANC supporters, especially among the most oppressed youth and women, looking desperately for a way out of their misery.

Winnie Mandela's brave defiance of the regime is not in question. But that in itself does not qualify her for leadership. We think comrade Lakhane is mixing up the need for a fighting leadership, with misguided support for an unsuitable individual.

We fully share comrades' objections to the bureaucratic methods used in suspending the Regional Executive Council of the ANC-WL. The members are right to call the National Executive to order, and insist on democratic decision-making.

We also agree that capitalist press attacks should not influence our policy. But if we are serious about the future of our movement, we must face facts and make a sober judgment about the qualities and defects of those who put themselves forward as leaders.

The beating and murder of Stompie is as much an issue of the future as of the past. It is shocking that the brutal abuse of children can be so lightly dismissed, particularly by members of the Women's League.

Winnie showed her readiness to use power viciously to crush anyone who crossed her, who would not bow to her personal dictatorship. For us Stompie symbolised the heroism and initiative of the youth. We reject, in the absence of the firmest concrete evidence, the convenient accusation spread that he was a spy. The militant youth would do better to follow Stompie's example as a fighter, than look to Winnie Mandela.

The MDM found her guilty of ● violating the "spirit and

ethos of the democratic movement";

● allowing the Mandela Football Club to conduct a "reign of terror" in Soweto;

● refusing to co-operate with black leaders in the crisis committee who tried to mediate between her and aggrieved people in the community.

To this day she has not even admitted that she was at fault. Instead she tried to use her husband's authority to have her critics removed. She herself is guilty of the same undemocratic practices which the members of the Women's League rightly complain of.

She acted disgracefully in trying to divert the issue from her own violent abuse of children onto alleged sexual abuse of them at the Methodist Manse. The judge found there was no reliable evidence of that.

She was clearly behind the demonstration outside the court which attacked gays, implying that homosexuality equals child abuse. How can someone with such reactionary sexist prejudices lead the struggle of women against sexism and traditional male attitudes?

Yes, we do need more strong and courageous leaders. But there is more to leadership than militant rhetoric and a presence at the front line of action. Important as this is, we above all need leaders with a clear programme.

The comrade speaks of Winnie's "knowledge"! To be kind to Winnie, she is at the very least ignorant and confused. She has a petty-bourgeois nationalist outlook, and not a revolutionary standpoint of working-class unity between the races.

In 1990 she told a meeting of coloured comrades: "You are called coloureds because not long after the (Europeans) landed here in 1652 these despicable people raped our grandmothers"! It is doubtful whether even the PAC would express hatred of white domination in this way.

Winnie parades in combat uniform, with fiery rhetoric for angry crowds. But the next thing she is rubbing shoulders

of trade union closed shops; the acceptance of racially exclusive private clubs and schools. It claims that too much wealth has already been transferred from whites to blacks by taxation! It wants to divide the country into 306 'cantons', each of which may break away! Etc.

Winnie wins popularity by her presence and speeches. But what does she build by consistent work on the ground?

The comrade argues that Winnie would be fine if she had "someone to control her". We presume she is not talking about control by a man!

All leaders must be brought under democratic control and discipline. But let us not be naive. Winnie has proved again and again that she will not accept such control.

Experience teaches that it is very difficult for the rank-and-file to control its leaders. It would be far easier to develop alternative strong leaders of good character than to bring Winnie Mandela under "control".

While comrade Lakhane calls for "control", she seems pleased that Winnie "will always remain a king"!

Winnie's supporters imagine she will provide a short cut to solving our problems, but she cannot because of her character, policies, method.

There are many fine comrades angry with the Congress leaders, who could be misled by Winnie into a split which weakens the movement.

She has denied this intention, but her ambition will tempt her if she fails in her present campaign for power.

Rather join with Congress Militant and work patiently to build and transform the ANC into a united instrument of struggle that can solve the problems of poverty and oppression.



with capitalist high society, in expensive outfits from the same New York fashion house that dresses Barbara Bush.

She claims to be the champion of the working masses, but supports capitalist policies which are totally against the policies of Cosatu.

She wrote a foreword to the book *South Africa: The Solution*, by Leon Louw and Frances Kendall, describing it as "the broad alternative we have been looking for...", one which "all freedom lovers embrace." "Here lies hope for a shattered nation."

And what does this book stand for? Unrestricted capitalism; complete privatisation; a constitutional ban on nationalising companies; prohibition

## Young, poor and pregnant

by cde Norma (Inanda ANC-YL)

Almost all teenagers at Inanda have babies. There are many causes of the problem. There are also problems experienced by teenagers when they are mothers and fathers. I am still in my teens. My friends who have babies always tell me about their problems. In many cases the fathers have run away. If not, they are going on with their studies. The worst problem is that as he is in school, he still exploits young girls who are inexperienced.

There are a number of questions which always arise when talking about this issue. What

causes teenagers to have babies at this stage? There may be a number of answers like family background, lack of sexual education, etc.

Most of the families at Inanda are poor. Those who are better turn to abuse teenagers.

Last year a man who had a tuck shop asked one of my friends to go to bed with him. He promised to give her everything she needs. Because my friend came from a poor family, she agreed. She knew that what she was doing was wrong, but the poverty forced her to agree. She fell pregnant. The old man, after hearing the news, said he will shoot her if she tells anyone. That forced her to do an

abortion because her family cannot support her and a baby. She died two days later after the backdoor abortion.

We at Inanda have no youth centres where teenagers can be taught about life. In that case other teenagers may have babies not on their own accord but because of the lack of knowledge. The only youth centre I know is at Inanda Newtown A. One has to take two buses to reach it. We do not have money.

Those of us who have babies experience a hell of a problem. They bring up children in unfavourable conditions. There is no clean running water, no toilets, and health centres are far. Even if the child is old enough to be left

so that the mother can go back to school, she can't because there are no good child care centres. This forces young mothers to leave school for good and in later years they find it difficult to cope.

Our parents are highly taxed but one does not benefit from that. It is only the minority which benefits. Our parents get their salaries with PAYE (Pay As You Earn) already deducted, but where does that money go?

I think the state must build centres for youth and care centres for children. This is our parents' money. I think the people who will work in these centres must be paid by the state and us pay less money or nothing to the centre.

# Letters

Mhleli,  
Ngithi angithathe leli-  
thuba ngiphawule.

Ubugebengu buyinto ebhidlange kakhulu kule-  
ndawo engihlala kuyona,  
Ezizangweni eNanda.  
Njalo ngithi uma ngivuka  
ekuseni ngibuze ukuthi  
ubulelesi bebungakuphi.  
Engifisa ukukukwazi  
ukuthi kungabe hlobo luni  
lomuntu lona lolu? Uma  
kangase kube khona  
ongiphendulayo nginga-  
jabula kabi. Kungabe lokhu  
abakwenzayo ingoba  
behloze ukukwenza noma  
benza ukusicekela phansi  
thina bantu abamnyama.

Abantu bathi bayakupha-  
kamela lokhu bakubika  
emaphoyiseni, kodwa  
amane angayingeni-ke  
leyo. Kuthi noma  
ayaphakama amane afike  
azinakele okunye okunga-  
hlangene nawo. Angazi  
ukuthi uhulumeni yena  
uthini ngabantu bakhe  
ababeka ukuthi babheke  
umphakathi. Mina ngi-  
kubeka ngokusobala ukuthi

nawo ayizigebengu ngo-  
kwawo.

Sihlezi lapha asisebenzi  
kodwa sithi uma sizizama  
bakuba abantu bakithi Nkosi  
Yami, basicokele phansi.  
Ngicela ukuba inhlango  
yabantu iluphakamele  
loludaba. Sikhuluma nje  
kunabantu abangenamizi  
khona lapha kwa C Extension  
ngexa yazo izi-  
gebengu. Bahlala ehlane.  
Kuthiwa uhulumeni usiza  
abahlupekile, kodwa lapha  
akukho noluncane nje usizo  
eselwenzekile. Ngiphinda  
ukunxusa futhi inhlango  
yethu iANC ukuba iba-  
phakamele lababantu ngoba  
abehlupekile nezinkubela  
uma behlala emahlane nje.

Sicela ukuba inhlango  
yethu futhi iphinde isifunele  
imisebenzi, mhlawumbe  
uma kungavela umsebenzi  
bangake bayeke abantu  
ukucekela phansi. Ngicabanga  
ukuthi kungaphela  
nya ubulelesi endaweni  
yaseZimangweni.

Phansi ngobugebengu!  
Lee Mzimela

Comrades,

On Mandela's visit to  
Zurich he told the interna-  
tional community that the  
ANC is going to hang its  
policy of nationalisation for  
the future. But I am in  
favour of socialism, the iden-  
tical twin of nationalisation.

In 1989 I was attending a  
meeting of COSATU in Jo-  
hannesburg. I met a comrade  
who had a pamphlet called  
*'The Workers' movement,  
SACTU and the ANC - a  
struggle for Marxist poli-  
cies'*. I borrowed it.

In it there is material  
which explains a strategy for  
the oppressed suffering

working class of SA. It  
taught us how to fight this  
strategy.

I understand the policies  
of the Marxists in the ANC. I  
don't see any way to live un-  
der democracy or to have  
socialism or nationalisation  
by compromising. We must  
overthrow the capitalists to  
get freedom.

This is why I joined with  
the Tendency. I appeal to all  
the young generation to  
grow up with the ideas and  
the policy of the Marxist  
workers' movement.

R Dlamini  
Modise Area, Alexandra

Send your letters to:  
c/o P.O. Box 596, Newtown,  
2113, Johannesburg.



On June 16 we organised  
residents in our area of  
Khayelitsha to go to the ANC  
rally in Nyanga. We went  
house-to-house, toyi-toying  
to the bus terminus. Several  
hundred joined.

No transport was  
organised. So we made a  
chain across the road, stopped  
a bus, and told the driver to go  
straight to the stadium. The  
bus was stopped by an  
inspector. He told us to get  
out. We said the bus must go  
to Nyanga. It did.

Others negotiated with taxi  
drivers for a free ride. It was  
the first time so many from  
the shack areas attended a  
rally in another township.  
Many were angry to be left  
behind. In the evening they  
held a protest demonstration  
outside my house!

Sipive Nyanda, the chief-  
of-staff of MK, spoke. He  
said mass action must reach  
from Simonstown to the  
Limpopo. It must go until  
power is in the hands of the

majority.

The regional secretary of  
the SACP said the govern-  
ment will continue to perpe-  
trate violence, and say it is the  
fault of mass action. When  
SAP or SADF kill, the people  
must organise self-defence.  
The government must stop  
funding Inkatha. He said  
mass action is not only to de-  
mand an interim government  
and democratic CA, but for  
housing, decent education  
and jobs, demands of the  
Freedom Charter.

We left the rally toyi-  
toying: "Ayadelela amadla-  
gusha, ngubani obengathinta  
thina siqine kangaka"; "Siza-  
balaz'elilizwe labantu abamnyama". "We are going  
to take South Africa to social-  
ism." Another one was "Trap  
De Klerk se kop in die naam  
van Mandela. Ons gaan  
Pretoria toe!"

By Thomas Samente  
Civic EC member and  
ANC activist

## Bellville: Maak grond beskikbaar vir huise!

In Bellville Suid bly tot  
vyftien persone in een huis. Die  
laaste staat huise was gebou in  
1972. Die huidige waglys is  
meer as 600.

Die staatsraad en hulle  
bylopers sê vir ons gemeenskap  
leiers dat daar nie grond is of  
geld om huise te bou. Maar ons  
sê hulle lieg!

Daar was grond vir die bou  
van die nuwe polisie stasie en  
vir private eiendomme om  
huise te bou by Hungry Town  
wat meer as R60 000 kos. Daar  
was geld beskikbaar vir die bou  
van 'n nuwe sportstadium van  
R14-miljoen.

Maar wanneer dit kom by die  
bou van huise vir die werkers en  
hulle families, dan is daar nooit  
geld of grond.

Ons eis dat alle staatsgrond

by Bellville onmiddellike  
bevries word en dat dit beskik-  
baar gemaak word vir die bou  
van huise. Ook dat alle grond  
wat geskik is vir die bou van  
huise in die blanke woongebied  
vir alle rasse beskikbaar  
gemaak word.

Die Boshou en 'R300' grond  
is wat ons onmiddellike eis. Alle  
grond naby vervoer, skole en  
winkel moet ook beskikbaar  
gemaak word.

Huise kan gebou word deur  
die regering en die privaat sak.  
Die rede hoekom hulle dit nie  
doen nie is dat die base en die  
staat nie sal huise bou wat nie  
vir hulle profiet sal beteken nie.  
Vir elke R3.50 wat die fabrieks  
base gee vir die bou van 'n huis,  
gee die staat slegs R1.00.

Wat kan ons doen?

Die probleem van huise en 'n  
tektor van grond sal alleenklik  
opgelos kan word as ons 'n  
meerderheids ANC-regering  
het op 'n program van  
socialisme.

Ons sal die werklose tot  
werk sit, die groot base se  
fabrieke nasionaliseer, en van  
die grond beskikbaar stel vir  
die bou van huise. Alleenklik so  
'n regering sal die weg kan  
baan vir vrede, voorspoed en 'n  
beter lewe vir die inwoners van  
die land.

Ons die gemeenskap kan  
sorg dat die grond beskikbaar  
gemaak word. Ons het die krag  
as inwoners om die staat en  
stadsraad tot oorgawe te  
dwing. Ons moedig elke in-  
woner van Bellville aan om by  
die BRA (Bellville Gemeen-

skap Organisasie) en die ANC  
aan te sluit om saam te veg.

Ons eis:

● Dat die Civic leiers net  
moet onderhandel vir die  
beskikbaarstelling van die  
grond, en geen uitsettings van  
mense wat nie kan bekostig om  
hulle rente te betaal.

● Maak die waglys vir  
huise beskikbaar by publieke  
plekke in Bellville sodat elke  
persoon wat vir 'n huis wag,  
weet waar hy of sy op die lys is.  
Dit sal enige kullery verhoed  
tussen inwoners, die stadsraad  
en die gemeenskapsleiers.

● Die stadsraad en die  
bestuurskomitee in Bellville  
moet bedank en 'n  
demokratiese plaaslike ver-  
kiezing moet geroep word

## "We live like prisoners!"

Residents of Helen Joseph women's hostel in  
Alex spoke to Congress Militant about the  
need for the Alexandra Civic Organisation  
to lead a mass campaign for better living  
conditions and houses for all!

Some of us have been  
'Hostel Dwellers' since 1972  
when the hostel opened. Then  
we paid R5,70 a month. Last  
year rent increased to R24,50.

We used to pay rent because  
the councillors promised that  
flats were being built for the  
residents, that we will enjoy  
privacy with two people per  
room, and they will put plugs  
into each room. We're still  
waiting!

Many people from overseas  
are brought to see our dirty  
lives, but where is the change?

We were promised afford-  
able houses but we must now  
build shacks if we want to get  
out of here. That is what "buy-  
ing a stand" means. No one  
ever moved to a decent home.  
We will push this struggle,

it's the only language the  
Council knows, they do not  
think for us. Now there is a  
rent boycott because of condi-  
tions, and confusion over how  
much to pay.

We joined the Alexandra  
Civic Organisation in 1990.  
In the Joint Negotiating For-  
um our leaders agreed for us  
to pay R24,50 - for living in  
overcrowded conditions with  
no services! We are prepared  
to pay rent, but only when our  
demands are met.

### Our demands

#### ● Overcrowding

Accommodation is bad,  
women have to break their  
families, and stay with their  
children in this hostel.

In 1980 the roof of Block F  
and E was blown off. Then we  
were forced to live four in a  
room as a "temporary mea-  
sure". But after the roof was  
fixed new people were  
brought in.

We do not choose who we  
live with, so different people

practice different customs  
leading to trouble. Each room  
should only have two people.

#### ● Security

Our lives are in constant  
danger with no security.

An old woman was raped  
once. A man who was in the  
bathroom grabbed her and  
locked her in raping her sev-  
eral times that night. Other  
women have been raped and  
assaulted. In October 1991, a  
lady screamed while undress-  
ing. We came running and  
saw a white riot policeman  
jump down from her window  
and walk to a hippo.

The comrades from the  
community protect us. The  
gates are open the whole  
night.

We had an intercom system  
with a loud hailer and a phone  
for emergencies. It is now  
locked with the superintendent.  
We must be provided  
with more public phones.

Our mail, even urgent tele-  
grams, are dumped in an open  
box stand. Often everything is  
destroyed or blown away.

#### ● Decent Services

We pay rent to live in filth.  
The lockers in the kitchens are  
too small. Our groceries are  
kept in our tiny rooms. The  
place is infested with cock-  
roaches and rats with their  
own population. It has never  
been fumigated.

Toilets are tied with strings,  
and windows have been broken  
since 1986. 76 women  
share three bathrooms and  
toilets. To go to work we  
wake up at five to join the queue.  
The place is unhygienic.  
Women get boils.

One kitchen is used by 156  
women. Tired from work we  
have to wait for over an hour  
before a stove is free.

Women stand with basins

"We are sick and tired of living at this hostel.  
We will go under without getting any homes. We  
want houses, we do not want to live in hostels or  
mkhukhus.

There is no peace or privacy. I am 74 years old. It  
is unfair to stay with four in a room. Young people  
are stubborn. They threaten to hit me when I ask  
for the lights to be put off early. I need to stay with  
someone who will understand.

Young people want to stay out late. Because of  
the way this place is built with thin walls, even  
when someone walks it makes a big noise.

If I am sick, there is no place I can go. Not even  
a phone to call for help. The clinic is far and I am too  
old to walk. I am too afraid of the tsotsies. There is  
no proper lighting, it is very dangerous for us.

We stay in filth, with rats and cockroaches. They  
run all over us at night. When we complain to the  
superintendent she takes no notice.

Councillors are involved in this beer hall at our  
door step. It is filthy and dangerous.

They want us to pay rent when there is no proper  
service. The kitchen and toilets cannot stay clean  
on their own. There should be someone employed  
to keep it clean all the time.

I support that the hostels should be broken  
down. We are like prisoners. My question to stay-  
ing like a prisoner is: "If we are detained what is our  
crime?" No human being should live like this. This  
place is not even fit for animals.

I have stayed over ten years here. My children  
have grown up here. Now I have my grandchildren  
here.

What is my future?"

on their heads and plastics on  
their body to prevent the rain  
from flooding their rooms and  
destroying their belongings.

#### ● Better facilities

There was a place where we  
could learn to sew. This room,  
in Block L number 3, has been  
closed. It belongs to Prince  
Mokwena, the previous  
Mayor. This room must be  
opened.

### Campaign

This is what our life is like at  
Helen Joseph! We put this to  
you Mr de Klerk and we ask  
you: "For how long?"

The majority are not paying  
rent. If everyone supported  
this campaign we will win our  
demands for all to enjoy. This  
is the solution to our prob-  
lems. We must expose the  
conditions we live under.

As part of the mass action  
campaign we call on our lead-  
ers in Alex and the residents to  
support a campaign for better  
living conditions.

We must expose this gov-  
ernment for its inability to  
govern. They cannot even

meet our simple basic needs  
like proper homes for all. We  
need to intensify our rent and  
services boycott campaign  
until our demands are met.

"My boyfriend got ag-  
ry because I was always  
going to meetings. Chang-  
ing these conditions is im-  
portant, so I broke up. He  
is allowed to attend.

The problems of women  
are often ignored. We do  
not earn the same wages  
as men. We are the  
victims of rape which  
occurs daily in Alex, and is  
a result of unemployment,  
and the rotten conditions.  
This is the lot of women  
together with the house  
work, looking after the  
sick and bring up the chil-  
dren.

Men must fight to  
address the oppression of  
women at home and work,  
and even in our organi-  
sations. Addressing these  
problems will give women  
more time to participate  
in the meetings and we will  
be stronger and actually  
double the strength of our  
movement.

# Election results

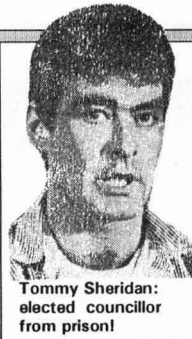
In the British general elections in April, Militant Tendency supporters stood as candidates in three seats. These were Dave Nellist in Coventry South East; Terry Fields in Liverpool Broadgreen and Tommy Sheridan in Glasgow Pollok in Scotland.

All are well-known fighters. Dave and Terry, were Labour Party Members of Parliament, who had touched the hearts of hundreds of working class people by their performance inside and outside parliament. Tommy led the

fight against the poll-tax in the whole of Scotland.

But for defending socialist ideas and leading the anti-poll tax struggle against the Tory government, they were expelled from the Labour Party by the pro-capitalist leadership of Kinnoch.

Last year Terry was jailed for refusing to pay the poll-tax. Tommy is in prison now for defending a working class family from having their property impounded because they were unable to pay the poll-tax. He had to conduct his election campaign from prison!



Tommy Sheridan: elected councillor from prison!

Terry and Dave stood as 'Real Labour' independent candidates. Tommy stood under the banner of Scottish Militant Labour (SML). Despite all the propaganda against them by the

bourgeois and the LP leadership they achieved outstanding results.

**Coventry South East**  
 Dave Nellist -- 10 551 (28,9%)  
 Labour Party -- 11 902 (32,6%)  
 Conservative -- 10 591 (29,0%)  
 Liberal Party -- 3 318 (9,1%)

**Broadgreen**  
 Terry Fields -- 5 952 (14,2%)  
 Labour Party -- 18 062 (32,6%)  
 Liberal Party -- 11 035 (26,4%)  
 Independent Libs -- 1 211 (2,9%)  
 Conservative -- 5 405

(12,9%)  
**Pollok**  
 Tommy Sheridan -- 6 287 (19,3%)  
 Labour Party -- 14 170 (43,4%)  
 Conservative -- 5 147 (15,8%)  
 Liberal Party -- 1 932 (5,9%)  
 Scottish National Party -- 5 107 (15,6%)

In local council elections in May Tommy Sheridan stood for SML in North Pollok. He won the seat by 1 432 votes, beating Labour and the SNP! Three other SML candidates were also elected in Glasgow.

**Free**

**Mahmoud Masarwa**  
 Palestinian socialist. Framed by the Israeli state. Sentenced to 10 years in prison. His Appeal will continue in July.  
 Send protests to: Israeli Trade, Government and Tourist Centre, Nedbank Gardens, Bath Avenue, Rosebank, Johannesburg.

# Khayelitsha

## Build the ANC Youth League!

by Zola, Sizwe and Lunga, (Khayelitsha ANC-YL)

The need to organise the youth of Khayelitsha under the ANC Youth League is urgent. We should draw youth from various churches, sports organisations, the working youth—in fact all youth—even those who do not belong to any organisation.

Because youth have basic skills like drawing and writing, music, and like other social activities, community halls and sports grounds can help keep them together.

But most importantly there is a need to develop a political education programme in the ANC Youth League, to discuss the problems in our

society, and international and also international topics. In South Africa the youth need to understand the present political situation, Codesa, and negotiations as a whole.

■ The education system is a problem for the youth. At Nomsa Mapongwana Primary 1 500 pupils share 10 classrooms and 14 teachers.

We need to fight for a free national education system from Sub A to Standard 8, with all the necessary equipment for our studies.

No racial classification practices should be allowed in education. Education should

be a right for all the people who want to study. At least affordable fees should be paid from Standard 9 onwards preferably on the basis of bursaries available to all. Youth need to understand it is our struggle which can change all these problems.

### Fight to end overcrowding!

■ As the youth it is necessary for us to play a leading role in the struggle for houses. We should fight to change the conditions which we find ourselves living in –

in shacks without toilets, water, and dirt bins not being emptied. And worse is the over-crowding in these areas. There is a high risk of illnesses under conditions like these. We can't live like this for the rest of our lives.

■ The other important thing to fight for in our Youth League is to link our struggles with workers. For example, we should support the demand for a national minimum wage of R250 for 40 hours a week for all the workers. Cosatu should make that a central demand and ask the youth to link with that struggle to achieve it. Because this can even assist in developing the economy if there is more money to buy things workers produce.

■ The situation in Khayelitsha is made more difficult by the continued violence in which the state forces are not innocent – Inkatha, taxi war, *balaclavas* (vigilantes). Councillors, the police and army are backing all these gangsters.

The government is involved in these kinds of terrors. Now we need to build the armed self-defence units under the discipline of the community organisations like the ANC and the civic in all the areas.

By keeping youth in struggle for their demands is the only way to prevent the gangsterism.

But these things can only be achieved if the youth join us in the ANC Youth League to struggle together.

## Marxists elected to ANC branch executive

In June supporters of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC were elected to the executive of the ANC branch in the mainly coloured area of Newclare, Johannesburg.

They told *Congress Militant*: "We welcome the opportunity we've been given by the members of the branch to play a leading role in building a strong ANC branch."

"We have been actively involved in building the Congress movement (UDF, Youth Congress and Anti-PC) in this area since the early 1980s."

"We assure members that we have no hidden agenda, nor is our aim to 'undermine ANC structures'. We will raise our ideas in a democratic way and abide by majority decisions. We will do everything to mobilise support for the ANC."

"We will start making preparations now for the election campaign. The branch will organise the fight for a majority ANC government, to carry out the demands of working people."

"As Marxists we believe that our national liberation is tied to the achievement of workers' power, and a democratically run planned economy. We stand for the interests of the working class in the ANC, and will struggle to achieve the demands of the Freedom Charter."

"At this stage, many coloured people support De Klerk. But he will not solve their problems. There is a shortage of houses, unemployment, insufficient transport, inadequate health care, a lack of recreational facilities and a rapid increase in drug abuse among youth."

"By leading strong campaigns on these issues, we can begin to expose De Klerk and show thousands that their future is with the ANC."

"Residents from Waterval and Westbury have already started campaigns against poor conditions at Corrie hospital, the management committee of the area and high rents."

"At Anthea hostel in Industria African workers live under appalling conditions and are constantly faced with the threat of violence from Inkatha."

"We pledge to involve our ANC branch in these campaigns, and to link them to the mass action campaign."

## Sifuna icreche!

Apha eMacassar abantwana bethu abana creche. Lonto isinika ubunzima ngakumbi thina bantu baphangelayo kuba akukho apho sinokuhlisi bashiye khona. Indawo enayo icreche ikude.

Abantu phantsi kwesebe lecivic balapha bathi bahlala phantsi babonisa ukuba singenza njani ukuze sibe nokuyifumana. Sakhupha ikomiti ukuba iye kudibana necouncil. Kodwa impendulo yecouncil yathi yona ayakhi zicreche, koko inika nje abantu ibala bazokhele ngokwabo. Kwindibano elandelayo yecivic kwagqitywa ukuba kukhutshwe imali ngabahlali, indlu nganye ikhuphe iR5.

Nangona abantu abaninzi bengasebenzi apha,

kodwa babonakalisa uthakazelelo ekuyikhupheni lemali. Ngoku ingxaki yikuba lemali ayisonelonga esisakhivo secreteche.

Ngoku kufanele ukuba kuthathwe ijont campaign ejongene nokubonakalisa icouncil ukuba asiyilibalanga. Kwaye ingenakusiqhatha. Ithi ayingo msebenzi wayo ukwakha icreche. Xa inganguwo yintoni umsebenzi wayo? Yazakha icreche eSite C, nangona icouncil isithi ayinayo imali yokwakha icreche eMacassar.

Kukho iR500 000 ebekwe ecaleni ukuze kuphuculwe iSite C. Kukho neplans zika 1993 ukuya ku 1996 apho icouncil inenjongo zokusebenzisa imali engange R630 000 ngonjaka ekwakheni icreche eSite C kuphela. Kodwa xa sifuna icreche apha eMacassar bathi ayingomsebenzi wabo.

Iziggibo ezinje zithathwa kanjani yilecouncil? Ingaba kungenxa yokuba uMali Hoza ucinga ukuba abantu baseSite C ngabalandeli bakhe? Uyaxoka!

Kufuneka sigunyazise ukuba xa bengenako ukusakhela icreche, mabaphume baphele kungene icouncilors zeANC necivic ezonyulwe ngabantu, ezizokulwela ukuba abantu babenokwakhelwa icreche, amaholo nezikolo. Kuba noxa le council ikhoyo isithi asingomsebenzi wayo ukwakha icreche, akukho nenywe into eyakhileyo apha ngaphandle kwetolents.

Phantsi nge council yo Hoza ne WECUSA! Phezulu ngecouncil ye ANC ne civic eyonyulwe ngabantu!

### By Sizwe Nonji and Zola Zondo

## There is a rent problem

When we moved from Khayelitsha's Green Point to Macassar, people calling themselves headmen of the people, sold us these plots for R35. It is people like Jerry Tutu, Phefile etc. They never told us that we will rent these plots.

After we built our shacks then they came up with this idea of people must pay rents. The people decided they will never pay rents and said,

"Down with rents!"

Following that we find these same people in the ANC, holding high positions, like being chairperson, while we never elected them. In our investigation about who elected them, we were told they were elected by the late ANC-YL regional executive member, Mzukisi, who stayed in Khayelitsha (block houses).

Still members of the ANC, these headmen formed another organ called Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA).

Their joining fee is R3. They said this organ is for the people staying in shack areas, to help when someone's shack is burnt. Then the person whose shack is damaged can get free material and money to rebuild the shack. *If you are a member you must pay rent.* If you have got any complaint you must pay R15 in order that your case can be heard.

### We built Civic!

Jerry Tutu tried to enforce

his rule by shooting people and burning shacks. We built the civic and said we've got nothing to do with them. One day on a Sunday while we had our civic meeting, they arrived as a group of WECUSA. They tried to take over our meeting and make it a WECUSA meeting. Then the fight broke out. We defeated them. They went to the police and named one of our comrades, Prince. The comrade was arrested, and imprisoned for 7 years.

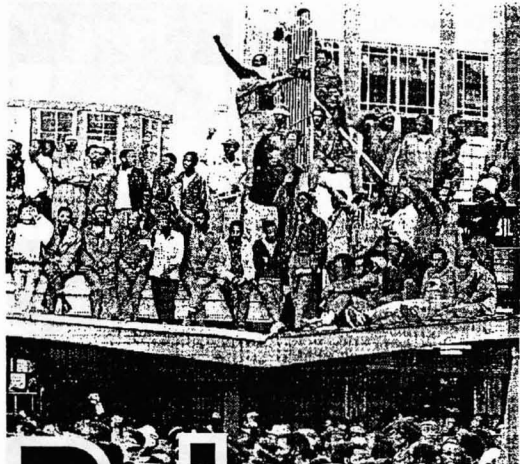
We are told that Jerry Tutu

is employed in the Lingeletu Rent Department. Now this corrupt council has sent us rent receipts saying we should pay R469,11 from the day we arrived here. We say:

● "Down with rent! We are not staying in these toilets they built us!" Even when they build homes people will have to decide how much to pay for the rent.

● We want Prince out of jail!

### by Khayelitsha comrades



# Raise wages to boost economy!

## Congress Militant

Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

The Labour Research Service found that in 1990 the average director's weekly pay was R3 540. This was 20 times a labourer's average weekly wage of R179. In 1990, directors of the top 100 companies gave themselves average increases of 18,8%. 1 079 directors received a total of R199-million. This could have supported 15 547 families at a wage of R1 140 a month!

Marches in recent weeks – by NUMSA, SACTWU, SAMWU, SACCAWU, PPAWU, CWIU and SARHWU – have brought the city centres to a standstill.

The big battalions of the organised workers are preparing to fight for better wages and against retrenchments.

The bosses are also making preparations. SEIFSA is balloting its members on a lock-out to compel unions to accept its 8% offer – half the rate of inflation.

It is vital for COSATU to link up the struggles in different industries. This can force bosses to concede the unions' demands.

### Recession

The South African economy is in the grip of the longest recession in its history.

The decline in growth began at the end of 1988. Since the last quarter of 1989, there has been an actual drop in production in every quarter except one. The bosses do not expect a significant recovery until "sometime in 1993."

Drought is only one factor. Even if agriculture is left out, figures still show a decline.

The bosses blame the workers for the recession, saying labour costs are "too high". But SA workers work longer hours and for much less money than workers in the stronger economies overseas.

The basic cause of the crisis is the bosses' failure to invest their profits in modernising and expanding production and employment. The total value of the machinery and equipment in SA manufacturing industry was lower in 1990 than in 1983.

This, plus the ruling class's failure for generations to finance education and development of skills among the black population, is what causes SA to fall further and further behind its competitors.

### Private profit

A system governed by private profit, and controlled by a handful of rich owners, cannot organise production and create jobs to meet the people's needs. Instead of investing, the capitalists gamble for extra profits on the Stock Exchange, and send their billions abroad.

Then they have the cheek to say that, if we want them to invest, we must first encourage them by accepting lower wages so their profits are raised higher. Meanwhile they attack nationalisation and economic planning, demanding freedom to decide whether to invest at all!

Where they do invest, they use new machinery to throw workers out of jobs, instead of allowing the work to be shared and everyone to benefit from the increased wealth produced.

This is the inevitable result of the system of private ownership of the big factories, mines and banks – the system which produces only for the profit of the owners and not to satisfy human needs.

### Spending

This recession is not only long, but very deep. Since the middle of last year it has really begun to bite. The reason is the sharp fall in consumer spending.

According to the Reserve Bank, private consumption expenditure dropped by 3% in the last three quarters of 1991, and again by 4,5% in the first quarter of this year.

The main factors behind this are: *retrenchments; lower wage settlements; and rocketing food prices.* All these are the responsibility of the capitalists.

If the working people don't have money to spend, they cannot buy the goods produced by the factories. So

production is cut, workers are laid off, and total spending falls further. If food prices rise steeply, then working people have less to spend on other necessities, and the same downward spiral follows.

### Wages

*Wage settlements below inflation cut our spending power, and cut the market for locally-produced goods.*

At first the recession was comparatively mild, precisely because wage settlements were higher than inflation.

In 1988, 1989 and 1990, wage settlements averaged between 17% and 18% – several percent above the rate of inflation.

The positive effect was confirmed by several capitalist economists at the time.

According to *Business Day* (11/11/90): "Large pay increases won by the trade unions last year – and the fillip to disposable income provided by rent boycotts – have underpinned sales of food, clothing and furniture. But the rest of the economy is in steep decline."

In August 1990, economists Max Pollock and Freemantle said: "We believe that the relatively strong earnings growth [for the clothing manufacturers] during the second half of the 1980s can be attributed to the increased spending power of the black community. The sharp rerating of semi- and unskilled workers' wages has contributed to increased spending from this sector."

But in 1991 the picture changed. In the second quarter, wage settlements dropped below inflation. By March this year wages were rising by only half the rate of inflation – a 7% cut in real wages.

Today the bosses are again demanding a similar cut. That might boost the individual boss's profits, but it will further deepen the recession

in the economy as a whole.

Whatever your boss's profits, *he has no reason to invest unless the economy is expanding.* So don't believe him when he says you can save your job by accepting a lower wage!

On the contrary, a united fight by all the unions for wage increases above inflation can help to boost the economy out of the recession.

### Retrenchments

A united fight against retrenchments is also vital if your job is to be saved. In the past 18 months alone, more than 100 000 have been retrenched – and that has only deepened the recession, putting more jobs at risk.

69% of manufacturers expect to dismiss unskilled workers this year. 60% will employ fewer skilled workers.

SEIFSA employers retrenched 34 000 last year, and the rate of retrenchments is again running at the same level.

The slump in the motor industry is not because motor workers are paid "too much". It is because the impoverished black majority can afford to buy only 1% of the new vehicles produced.

The building industry has cut 36 000 jobs since 1989, when the need for housing has never been greater. In the past five years, 50 brick factories have been forced to close.

This is the madness of capitalism, which cannot be cured by workers tightening their belts.

### Rising prices

The bosses lie when they say that higher wages simply lead to higher prices. Higher wages put money in the workers' pockets that would otherwise go to the bosses as profits. Only if the bosses have the

power to raise prices at will, can they recover this money in that way.

Lower wages *don't* lead to lower prices: the 30% rise in food prices to March this year occurred when wages were falling. We need measures to control prices – especially as four or five monopolies dominate everything.

Premier, the food giant, recorded a 24% increase in profits in the year to April – although it denies this comes from food price increases. Premier's Peter Wrighton, however, forecasts that food prices will rise again by 12-20% this year.

Bread is already double the price of last year. In June, the Wheat Board ran an expensive advertising campaign to persuade rich whites to eat the bread which the poor can no longer afford.

30% of South Africa's children are malnourished. This country has the most unequal distribution of income of 57 countries for which figures exist.

*Workers have no alternative but to fight back – and fight together – for jobs and a living wage.* This will not harm the unemployed – the wages of employed workers are supporting more and more jobless dependents.

No power can stop the organised working class if we join together in action under the leadership of COSATU.

Determined action for higher wages can re-distribute some of the wealth we produce from the rich to the poor.

In the short term that would boost the economy. But so long as the bosses own and control the economy, they can resort to economic sabotage, refuse to invest, and continue with retrenchments. *A lasting solution will come only when the working class overthrows capitalism and takes direct control of production in a democratic socialist society.*

## SACTWU march

On 18 June in Cape Town 12 000 clothing workers demonstrated to reject the 8% wage offer of the bosses.

The workers, mainly coloured women, came to support SACTWU's demand of R40 across the board.

It was the biggest demonstration of clothing workers since the struggle of 1989 which won the highest increase.

Free trains, organised by the union, were filled with thousands of workers. Atlantis workers came in five double-decker buses. Textile workers came to support the action.

Workers sang, "The bosses don't work, they only sit and order". A banner said, "We reject poverty wages, we reject R9,97." A worker told us, "We are going to strike. We have already dropped our demand from R40 to R30 but the bosses do not want to move an inch."

A female worker from Adidas said, "My manager says he is going to fire us, but hulle gat! He is living in heaven in a double storey mansion with one kid. With my 12 children I can't afford a house!"

Comrade E. Patel said the Transvaal bosses are offering R18. When he asked for a response to the R9,97 that the Cape Town bosses want to give, thousands roared: "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

Workers marched to the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association to hand in a petition. One auntie said: "Hulle gool miljoene liters melk weg maar ons moet ons kinders op die tet groot maak!"

"Die base maak te lank met die increase. Ek wil nie R30 hê nie, ek wil nou R100 increase hê," said another.

Workers went home confident they can win.

Tom Adams and  
Veronica Peters