

# Congress Militant

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Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

**African National Congress**

# Organise

# for victory!

**THE TALKING is over. Now's the time for action. In five months every South African citizen will be able to vote. For the majority it will be for the first time – a historic day for the African majority and working people. After years of struggle and sacrifice, victory is in sight.**

But to complete that victory, ANC activists still have to organise to make sure there is a massive ANC majority in the National and Regional Assemblies.

We must stretch every muscle to elect a government with power to end the injustices and inequalities of the past.

73% of African people, 57% of coloureds and 49% of Indians expect their lives to improve after the election. We want jobs, homes, education, health care and security.

We have waited too long already for the right to enjoy a decent life. Millions of us will be ready to move into action the day after the election. The new government must be equally ready to meet our demands.

The ANC must fight in government for the working masses who defeated apartheid.

The demands of the Freedom Charter must be implemented to transform people's lives.

Defeated parties must not be allowed to stand in the way. Nor must racists, 'home-land' leaders, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, or South Africa's own ruling class. They have had their day. Now it's our turn to rule!

If the ANC leaders in the new government give a lead, they can be sure of support in the communities and workplaces to defeat any attempts at sabotage.

But first we have to win the election. We can't take success for granted. On the doorsteps, at work, in the streets, in rural areas, the message has to be spread to make sure that every vote for the ANC is cast on the day.

*Forward to victory on 27th April*

## Bloody alliance

CHIEF Buthelezi's IFP, who claim to represent the Zulu nation, have formed an unholy "Freedom" Alliance with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

On 16 December the racist AVF intends to hold a big rally at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria to celebrate a massacre of Zulu people at the Battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838!

On that day a commando of 470 boers, led by Andries Pretorius, used cannons and muskets to slaughter 3,000 Zulus, armed only with spears and assegais. Only three boers were wounded.

Before the battle the commando made a vow to God that if they should win they would build a new church and always celebrate the Day of the Vow.

How can Buthelezi still claim to speak for the Zulus while collaborating with people who commemorate this defeat and humiliation! There is a River of Blood between the Zulu people and the AVF.

Inkatha no more represents the Zulu people than the AVF represents the Afrikaners. All they both want is to turn the clock back to the days of apartheid and sabotage the African national democratic revolution.

The Zulus have exactly the same interests as all the other African people persecuted by the AVF's white ancestors. Now the majority are about to reclaim their country.

**Phantsi ngeNkatha!**

# Elections and the struggle for power

## Editorial

**AFTER NEARLY four years, constitutional negotiations have now been completed. The latest agreements have cleared the main obstacles to the elections. For the first time the majority will be able to elect the government. We are now entering the last days of white *baasskap*.**

The masses want an ANC government to end the misery of life under apartheid and capitalism. At a People's Forum near Durban local leaders told Nelson Mandela: "We have no houses, no roads, no electricity, no water, no sewerage, no creches, no clinics, no security, no good transport."

Opinion polls show that three-quarters of blacks believe a new government will make SA more prosperous. The same percentage think the government should give free housing and 90% believe in free education and welfare for the unemployed.

The bosses refer to these modest demands as a "crisis of expectations".

### Restrictions

Throughout the negotiations the ruling class was determined to concede as little real power as possible. While they have been forced to give the vote, they are not prepared to hand over state and economic power to the majority.

Their tactic has been to drag out negotiations and secure maximum concessions from the ANC.

The agreements reached at the Kempton Park talks reveal many compromises made by the ANC leadership which were not necessary. The most important of these are:

- A compulsory five year coalition government.

- A Constituent Assembly that will not be sovereign. Its powers to write the constitution will be severely limited by the already agreed constitutional principles and the unchallengeable powers of the unelected

constitutional court.

The interim constitution is supposed to be in force for five years. But the regime's real aim is to make it permanent.

Such was the confidence of the ruling class at one stage that the capitalist mouthpiece, *Business Day*, boasted: "Yes, an Assembly will come into existence after the elections. But it will be so constrained by a comprehensive list of principles that it will be able to do little more than improve the grammar of the interim constitution..."

### Vote for change

Yet what appears to be a major victory for the regime and the bosses rests on very shaky ground. Their optimism over the negotiated agreements is based entirely on the retreats of the ANC leadership. Constitutional restrictions on paper are one thing, implementing them will be another.

For the capitalists, democracy and the right to vote is acceptable only if it does not threaten their economic power. They are prepared to live with it so long as it does not enter the heads of the working class that this right entitles them to do more than change the government.

For the working class on the other hand, the vote is seen as a political instrument for their social emancipation. They will be compelled to mobilise against any constitutional restrictions designed to frustrate this aim.

No matter how sophisticated the constitutional agreements, they will be evaluated by the simple test as to whether they will make possible the transformation of the lives of the masses. This is why the

ruling class is so nervous.

### Weaknesses

Their traditional instruments of political power have emerged further weakened at the end of the negotiations. This is a reflection of the shift in the balance of forces in favour of the working class.

While there has been a "toenadering" between the ANC and the NP in the negotiations, the class forces on which they rest have become more polarised.

Whilst the forces of counter-revolution have been weakened, the forces of revolution remain intact.

Support for the National Party is falling. There are splits in the Afrikaner right wing; each splinter is denouncing the other as a traitor to the Afrikaner cause. Splits are also opening in the IFP.

The emergence of Popcru is a graphic indicator of the growing fissures within a part of the state machine.

As *Sunday Times* editor Ken Owen points out: "The white oligarchy has been steadily weakened by its follies, by international pressure, by local resistance, and ultimately by the process of negotiation, to the point where it is now too weak to fight. It is, as the mere threat of Cosatu to strike has lately shown, too weak even to resist minor pressures." (14/11/93).

### Freedom Alliance

The FA is a marriage of inconvenience between Afrikaner racists and black tribalists. It cannot survive for long. They are united only in their hatred for the ANC and democracy.

Buthelezi in particular has been weakened. He is faced with two alternative paths to ruin. If he continues to oppose the elections he will be totally

isolated. If he participates, his lack of support will be thoroughly exposed.

Despite their present weaknesses the forces of reaction will continue to place obstacles in the way of the working class. The ANC should demand that the TEC dissolve these reactionary structures immediately and mobilise mass action in those bantustans which refuse to allow free political activity before the elections.

We must take advantage of our growing power to grind homeland leaders and the right wing into dust. The ANC and Cosatu have the power to mobilise millions for this.

### Election campaign

For the past four years the masses have allowed the leadership to negotiate without much intervention. This is changing now.

Already there is a sense that power is shifting away from the white minority. With the elections only five months away, there is the beginning of a change in mass psychology. With the end of white minority rule in sight new members are flooding into the ANC to ensure a massive majority in the elections.

The first step towards the fulfilment of their aspirations is to win a massive majority for the ANC. We must organise a far reaching voter education campaign to realise this.

The campaign must however not be confined to this. The bosses and the regime have not suspended their war against the masses in the workplace and the townships.

Retrenchments, attacks on wages, inflation, evictions for rent arrears, jailings for electricity debts, violence - all of these continue in the run-up to the election.

Struggling on these issues should remain a central part of mobilising for the elections. Every victory, no matter how small, will give confidence

to the working masses, strengthening the power behind the ANC once it is in government.

### People's Forums

People's Forums provide an excellent opportunity to gather demands and draw up an election manifesto. They are a public demonstration that the transformation of society enjoys overwhelming support. People's demands must be reflected in the Reconstruction and Development Programme and form the key components of the ANC election manifesto.

### Economy

The weak capitalist economy of SA will make it impossible to address the needs of the people. Under these conditions the pressure of the masses for lasting improvements could force the ANC leadership to the left. The constitutional restrictions are intended to prevent this.

Under pressure of the bosses at home and internationally, the leadership has sacrificed the most important demand of the Freedom Charter - for the transfer of the wealth of the monopolies to the people. This is a serious mistake. It means agreeing in advance to leave intact the economic dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Yet support for nationalisation remains strong among the black majority. This was reflected in the ANC PWV's regional conference's adoption of a resolution reconfirming support for the nationalisation clause in the Freedom Charter.

### ANC majority

The bosses will attempt to use the constitutional restrictions to resist the

peoples' demands. This will draw attention to their undemocratic nature, compelling the working class to struggle against them. If constitutional means fail, in the end the ruling class will fall back on their control of the armed forces to try and defeat the challenge of the working class.

With every possible constitutional trick in place, the ruling class, conscious of their weakening position, are hoping for the best - a slim ANC majority. Nelson Mandela correctly warned the 1993 PWV ANC regional conference that there is no room for complacency.

We are being bombarded with predictions of a big ANC victory. The danger is this could make us complacent, waiting over confidently for an ANC majority.

A crushing majority for the ANC would make it impossible for the next government to justify denying the working class majority the right to thoroughly reorganise society. It will weaken the ability of the rightwing and the bosses to frustrate attempts to implement the demands of the people.

Those powers which the ANC do have should be used to the full to achieve this. At the same time there will have to be a struggle against restrictions on the ANC's power in government.

The formal end of white-minority rule means the form of capitalist rule has changed. This will lay bare more sharply its class content. The antagonism between the classes will begin to come to the fore in the next period.

A massive victory for the ANC in the elections will be an important step in the struggle to bring about a fundamental transformation of society along socialist lines.

# Congress Militant

Paper of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC

Election  
Campaign  
Guide



## Prepare for power

### Build active ANC branches!

Support for the ANC is growing nationally. Opinion polls already indicate that the ANC could get at least 60% of the votes. But as comrade Mandela warned at the ANC PWV Regional Conference, "to assume victory because of predictions is a fatal delusion ... we have to do hard work." We must aim for an overwhelming ANC majority.

Congress activists across the country are faced with an enormous task.

The Alexandra branch secretary has summarised the challenge: "We are used to work up strategies and campaigns against repression, but we have never been confronted with work of organising and campaigning for elections.

"We have never voted before and we hope that next year will be a historic year in our lives. The question is how do we make sure that we win convincingly."

#### Strengthen

The first step of the election campaign is to revive and strengthen our ANC branches.

We need to

prepare ourselves politically with arguments that will convince ordinary people to vote ANC.

The majority of our people need houses, jobs, decent wages, education and real pensions.

With fighting campaigns around social issues we will rally millions to vote for the ANC.

This will also help win over coloured and Indian people.

In this way we can also inspire thousands more to be fully involved in the building of the ANC.

#### Voters' Cards

Millions of our people could be prevented from using their right to vote.

We must make sure that everybody has IDs or Voters' Cards.

An important part of the election campaign

must be voter education.

Resources for effective campaigning must be made available.

We need pamphlets, posters, T-shirts, all in the language of the people.

Money can be raised in our own areas together with appeals to the regional and the national office for help.

#### Intimidation

Intimidation is a serious problem from our employers, the chiefs and the reactionary parties.

East Rand comrades most affected by violence have been marching with Soweto ANC branches participating.

Our leadership should build on this example of solidarity nationally. The election must be our greatest mass action campaign.



Now is the time! Let all comrades of the youth, ANC, Cosatu, Civics and SACP mobilise.

All congress structures in every area now need to unite to implement election strategy.

The outcome of the election will be a sign

of the strength of the working class.

The ANC victory must be so big that it sends a clear message to all opponents of majority rule. Already in door to door canvassing in Meadowlands, 95% of people said they will vote ANC.

But elections are only the first stage. With the ANC victorious, people will find new ways to improve their lives and struggle for socialism.

L. Alfred,  
ANC  
Youth League

# Ke Nako!

**Our most important task at the moment is to prepare for the elections and continue the struggle for genuine majority rule. All black South Africans have to be fully informed of the technical side of voting. How and where to vote. All relevant material can be used with the understanding that voter education goes hand in hand with political organisation and programme.**

## Operation Register

To be able to vote people will need to have either an ID document or a Voter's Card. Six months before the election millions of people do not have either. Unless this problem is addressed the ANC could be robbed of millions of votes.

In March an election workshop was convened by the ANC REC in the Western Cape. The purpose was to train canvassers. Most of the branches were represented. We were given election manuals where there were tasks people were supposed to do, i.e. street sheets, community profiles, control sheets.

We started to use the street sheets in our branch in Khayelitsha. Through our activity we discovered that about 60% of people did not have IDs. Many are coming from the rural areas and the township is growing every month. All the branches who did this work experienced the same problems.

We mandated our sub-regional leadership to go and negotiate with the REC about this. The REC went to put pressure on the Department of Home Affairs and persuade them to send mobile ID registration units to our township. They agreed and they sent about three of them.

Then we moved around using loudhailers to call on people who don't have IDs to go and make them. They were asked to bring two photos with them and no money was asked to be paid. It took three weeks. Now the majority have got IDs. I think we covered about 40% of people without IDs, but we cannot relax.

Forward with Operation Register!

By Zola Zonde,  
ANCYL, Macassar

## Protect the rural voters

The election can unite town and country. But people in the rural areas are the most terrorised by the old order.

Addressing a Mooi River farmers' meeting KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works, Velaphi Ndlovu, spoke about getting "the right election results for the country, the region and for ourselves."

He told farmers, "We need you to organise meetings that we can address. And most of all we need you to become skilled enough to undertake voter education with your workers. If all farmers in Natal were to help their workers to vote and to vote for what is right for them, then the farming community has played its part."

Ndlovu's statement confirms the IFP will not hesitate to use white farmers, chiefs and Indunas to intimidate people to vote for them.

ANC activists should monitor the rural areas, and expose every attempt at intimidation. *Imbizos* convened to threaten the rural masses cannot be allowed. We must defend the downtrodden masses by campaigning in the rural areas.

We must explain that each vote is secret. There is no way anyone can find out who you voted for. Chiefs, police and warlords should not be allowed to victimise people into voting against the ANC.



## Cape campaign

Belville ANC branch has held a workshop to plan strategy for our election campaign. Our recent experience is that there is a growing number of undecided coloured voters. The NP cannot now take coloured support for granted. The ANC must boldly take advantage of this opportunity to build African-coloured unity. We can prevent the NP gaining control over the Western Cape region with our votes.

### ● Committee for an ANC Victory

Belville branch has established a "Committee for an ANC victory". The committee will have school, factory and street representation.

Shopstewards of Samwu and Sactwu are involved. These comrades have the responsibility for taking this campaign to other Cosatu affiliates in the neighbouring industrial area. The committee will meet every second week to have reports of work and assess difficulties encountered.

The students wanted to campaign for votes at schools, and play an energetic role in the communities in winning support for the ANC.

At house meetings we have already organised to publicise the campaign, residents wanted to know what the ANC was going to do about their problems: high rents, evictions and the shortage of housing.

Already, we have set up the Belville Commuters and Taxi Association to protest against the fuel price increase.

We are going to assist workers and students to practise elections as widely as possible. This will make people familiar with voting. Most of all, we will study the results and work out a programme of action to increase the vote for the ANC.

In the community, we are setting up ANC information booths. We are planning a very high media profile for the campaign with regular posters, pamphlets, stickers, T-shirts, and buttons.

### ● Challenge the NP to debates

We are challenging the NP, DP and KP to debate with us regarding their programme after the elections.

The success of this campaign and the building of a strong ANC branch depends as much on our ability to fund-raise. On street corners, our stalls are raising R30 a time. We sell beer, vetkoek, curry bunnies. We are going to step this up. We are going to ask local businesses to make monthly donations of R40 per head to our election fund. We have election money boxes at house and workplace meetings and going door to door we ask for a donation.

All the time, we ask our voters to join the ANC and help the campaign.

Belville has a long tradition of organisation and support for Congress. In the tricameral elections, the Labour Party never got more than 4%.

Coloured people have the same miserable lives as Africans and Indians. We are confident that this election campaign can unite all working people against the NP and the bosses.

By Josie Abrahams



## Produce shows

✗ Many service organisations have been producing shops for the community. This information is clear. Find out what is available.

✗ Shows like "Rapping for Democracy" by the J be performed in almost any venue at request.

✗ Our own local ANC media and pamphlets must reach the black masses. People will vote for the ANC to get their citizens. Our pamphlets should point out how the ANC can help.

✗ Contact Matla Trust at: 54 Sauer Street



Implement a socialist reconstruction

# Aluta continua!

The black majority will be voting because they expect that their lives will be improved by an ANC government. Six million people are with no jobs. 18 million South Africans live on less than R750 a month. There are eight million people with no houses.

A massive victory for the ANC in the election will be a great step towards solving our problems. But ANC leaders have agreed to many things in the negotiations that will frustrate their power to implement our demands.

The bosses will still have economic power. They use it to make more profits for themselves by denying us a decent wage, jobs, houses.

The ANC will govern the country together with small reactionary parties. These parties will be used by the bosses to put pressure on the ANC not to legislate our demands.

The struggle against the bosses and their parties will have to continue. We should build our power for when the ANC leaders are in the government.

A socialist reconstruction programme must be implemented. There will be no democracy in this country if we still live in poverty, unemployment, and without all the reasonable necessities of life.

We want equality. Equality means all citizens must be entitled to a job with a decent wage, a proper house, free and dynamic education. This is what our struggle has always been for.

So long as we live in misery and poverty the struggle will continue.

The immediate task is to vote out this white minority regime. Once that is achieved, we will struggle with all our might to make the new government see to our demands. All the oppressed people must now unite against De Klerk and the bosses.

**Exit De Klerk Exit!**

**By Nkululeko Nomji**

"constitutional court". Although it will have a few black judges, this unelected group of people will have sovereign power to decide on constitutional questions. Its job is to ensure that the government abides by the constitutional principles that have been agreed.

## Strong provincial governments

**Federalism** has been entrenched in the interim constitution. In addition to the National Assembly there will be **nine Provincial governments**.

Each province will have its own assembly and be governed by a prime minister and a provincial executive. They will also be able to draw up their own constitutions.

They have been given extensive powers over education, health, housing and agriculture. They will also have control over the police. In some fields a region can override the power of the central government.

In the Interim Constitution and other agreements made at the World Trade Centre many obstacles have been created to prevent majority rule. After the election people will have to struggle against these undemocratic restrictions. The struggle for majority rule and a democratic socialist constitution will go on.

## What kind of government will we be voting for?

The first one-person-one-vote elections will take place under agreements already reached between the ANC, the NP and other parties at the World Trade Centre negotiations.

### National Assembly

The tricameral parliament will be replaced by a **National Assembly** of 400 delegates. 200 will be elected from a national list and 200 from regional lists.

The number of seats a party gains will depend on the number of votes they win: 60% of the national vote will give the ANC 120 national delegates.

Then the nine regions will have the other 200 seats distributed among them. The percentage of the vote the ANC wins in each region will determine how many regional delegates we will have.

### Coalition government

Even though the ANC will be the majority party in the National Assembly there will be a compulsory **coalition government** of all main parties which will run South Africa.

Every party winning over 5% of the vote will get cabinet representation.

In addition to the President (almost certainly Nelson Mandela) there will be two deputy presidents, at least one of which will come from a defeated party. It is most likely that De Klerk will be one of the deputy presidents.

### Constitution Making Body

The National Assembly will govern the country. But it will also operate as a **constitution making body (CMB)**. But the CMB will not have unrestricted power to write the constitution in accordance with the wishes of the majority.

There are 43 **constitutional 'principles'** which have been agreed already. These principles are like laws that determine what may be written in the 'new' constitution. They are intended to protect the interests of the ruling class against the demands of the majority.

Until 1999 the **Interim Constitution** written by negotiators will operate. Then a two-thirds majority of delegates in the National Assembly will have to agree on a new constitution. Failing this, a referendum will be held. If less than 60% support the constitution in the referendum new elections will be held and only a simple majority of the new National Assembly is needed to pass the constitution.

### Constitutional Court

Very important powers have been given to a special

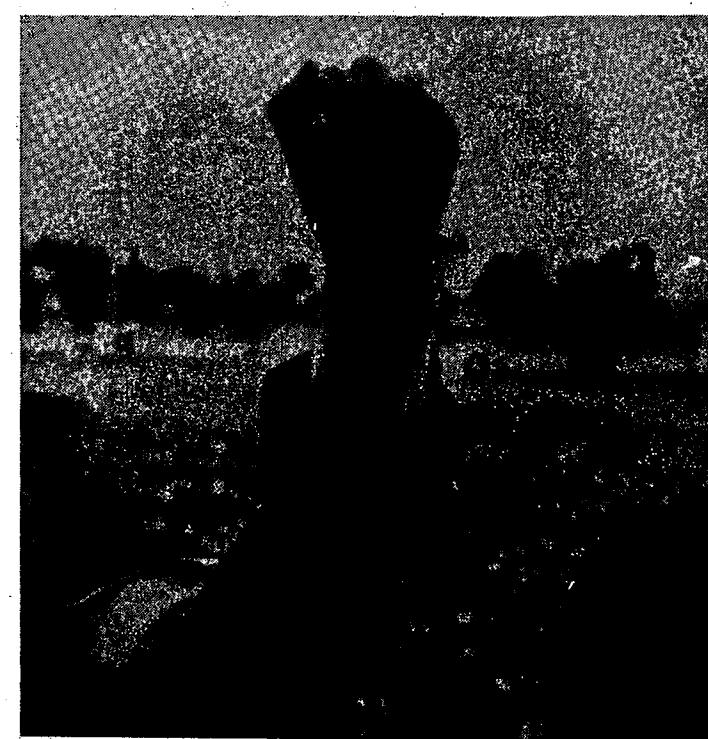


## and pamphlets

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*Prophets of the City* and plays by *Matla Trust* can test. Voter preparation has to be exciting.

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In the community, we are setting up ANC



## Produce shows and pamphlets

X Many service organisations have been producing voter education material and running workshops for the community. This information is clear and simple and much of it in African languages. Find out what is available, read and distribute it.

X Shows like "Rapping for Democracy" by the Prophets of the City and plays by Matla Trust can be performed in almost any venue at request. Voter preparation has to be exciting.

X Our own local ANC media and pamphlets must express the social and political expectations of the black masses. People will vote for the ANC to get houses, jobs, and equal rights as South African citizens. Our pamphlets should point out how the ANC in government could bring about real change.

X Contact Matla Trust at: 54 Sauer Street, Johannesburg. Tel. (011) 836 8061.

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# Zulus are not Inkatha

Thulani Ncwane, an ANC member from Natal, who has stood against Inkatha for many years explains that: "Ukukhuluma isiZulu akuchazi ubulugu be-Nkatha."

Eighty thousand Zulu people attended the ANC Sonke rally in Durban. Can Buthelezi still claim that Zulus are represented by Inkatha? Even the children of the king could not miss the day. Ordinary Zulu people have shown us where their allegiance is.

Buthelezi has managed to transform Transvaal from a place of work to a killing field. He has used conservative adults against youth, Zulus in the hostels against those in the townships, brothers against brothers, and sisters against sisters.

He claims that Inkatha is a Zulu organisation. This is a total lie. Look at what Inkatha has done in Natal.

We the Zulus in Natal disagreed with Inkatha's politics. We wanted Congress. We were the first to be killed.

## Thugs

In 1983 Inkatha thugs slaughtered students at the University of Zululand simply because they did not toe the line.

Then Msizi Dube was brutally killed by them.

Thereafter many comrades and trade unionists followed.

In 1985 Indians were driven out of Inanda, walls were written "Usuthu", not "Viva UDF". UDF wanted to unite the oppressed, Gatsha wanted disunity, tribalism and confusion.

Throughout 1986 Inkatha was slaughtering students, youth and ordinary Zulu working people in Natal. This so-called Zulu organisation was at war with the very same Zulus it claimed to represent.

The violence was referred to, as a Natal violence, that is before it spread to Transvaal.

By the time the ANC was unbanned Natal was Congress. Gatsha's new strategy was to incite Zulu migrant workers on the Reef.

For the last three years Inkatha has been a national

problem for our movement.

It is very disturbing then to hear reports that in Transvaal, there are comrades who see all Zulus as a problem. All Zulus are Inkatha as far as they are concerned. They are hunting down any Zulu-speaking person.

We have no problem with you fighting to defend the communities against the IFP hostel dwellers. But not every Zulu is IFP.

I want to call all those comrades who think that all Zulus are IFP to order. Slogans like "kill Zulus" that are written on the walls in Transvaal must be washed away as soon as possible.

Lest you forget, let me remind you that Zulu people have a proud history of struggle. King Cetshwayo ka DiniZulu fought fearlessly against the English colonialists in



Allies of Inkatha, but certainly not friends of the mass of Zulu speaking people

the *Battle of Isandlwana*. He was amongst the earliest Robben Island prisoners.

Bhambatha Ka Mancinza fought the English on poll tax to death rather than submitting to their oppression. Baba Seme founded the Inanda ANC.

*Ilanga*, the first independent black newspaper was edited by John Mafukuzela Langalibalele Dube. He was also the first president of the ANC. He strongly encouraged unity among Africans.

There were also Zulus among the earliest African communists, abo-Josiah

Gumede, Moses Mabida and many others.

It was the Zulu working class that spearheaded the revival of today's militancy. Remember things were quiet before the 1973 Durban strikes.

## Reactionaries

It is true that Zulus have produced reactionary opportunists like Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi as well. Therefore we have a special task to bring him down. And this is what we have been doing.

This is not a tribal war between Zulus on one hand and Xhosa and

everybody else on the other. Anybody that believes that is wrong. Why would the Zulus fight Inkatha in Natal then? It is a war between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries.

Inkatha is led by the Zulu middle class that dreams and aims to rule over the Zulu working people in Natal.

It is a mistake to try and find common ground with the IFP. They are opposed to everything progressive that is demanded by the masses. The election will give Zulu people the chance to throw Inkatha into history.

**ANC = 1200**  
**NP = 60 (minus 20)**

In the run up to elections I have been annoyed when people say with confidence and a hint of venom that coloured people will vote for the NP. They say coloureds still side with whites. Some even say that they fear being "swamped" by blacks.

In Newclare and Westbury (an ex-Labour Party stronghold in Johannesburg) these feelings are often expressed.

At the beginning of October we started organising for an ANC mass meeting. Posters went up. House meetings were held. Door to door campaigning was initiated.

The response of the community was positive. But as the event drew nearer all the old doubts returned. But on the night the sceptics bit their tongues as hundreds and hundreds of people streamed into the hall.

The crowd of over 1000 was inspiring. Never before had this area seen such a political gathering. It was as though for the first time the message of peace, freedom and democracy was reaching the people of Westbury and Newclare.

Three weeks later the NP organised a mass meeting. It seemed as if nobody had told them about the successful ANC meeting.

They did no campaign work, and with Jack Rabie, Minister of something or the other, as their drawcard things were bound to turn out badly. With tunes like "Daar kom die Alibama" I was not at all surprised that these windbags knew nothing about the area and its problems.

Their simplistic smart-ass answers on important issues like housing, health and unemployment did not endear them in the hearts of their tiny audience (only 60 people, including 20 from the ANC!)

The ANC won the high ground when Rabie lost his cool under questions from the floor and promised in a most threatening tone that the NP would deal with us (the ANC) after elections.

Does this sound like a party that coloured people need - absolutely not. Like all other freedom loving South Africans we want peace and prosperity for all.

By Genevieve Kieser

## Facts from election frontline...

1. An ANC canvassing blitz in Soshanguve covered 8 031 people. 7 622 of these said they would vote ANC.
2. The ANC PWV region grew by 60% in 1993. The region is recruiting 900 new members a week, including 10 whites a day.
3. Violence is intended to weaken the ANC. But in the PWV amongst the 5 fastest growing branches are the four townships worst affected by the violence: Katlehong; Sebokeng; Tembisa and Evaton.
4. In towns like Rustenburg, close to Bophutatswana, 800 people a day are registering for South African ID documents in defiance of Mangope.
5. Until a few months ago it appeared that the NP had significant support amongst coloureds. 51% said they would vote NP in the elections. But according to recent polls 57% of coloureds now say they do not know who they will vote for.

**Don't relax. Organise!**

Cosatu's call for a General Strike to oppose the inclusion in the Bill of Rights of a clause giving bosses the right to lock-out was totally correct.

20 000 workers marched on the World Trade Centre to show their anger at this attack on their rights.

The bosses' argument that the right to lock-out workers is fair is nonsense. Unfortunately this idea was originally supported by the ANC, SACP and even some Cosatu leaders.

As the owners of the means of production the bosses have the 'right' to exploit workers. Under capitalism they have the 'right' to pay starvation wages, retrench hundreds of thousands and victimise trade unionists.

The bosses' "rights" are now being entrenched in the interim constitution, with the guarantee of the right to private property.

As a compromise Cosatu and the ANC agreed that the right to lock-out will be restricted to collective bargaining issues. But the same restriction will apply to the right to strike.

Unfortunately this not only limits workers' rights to strike but still concedes

the right to lock-out to the bosses.

This will strengthen the bosses' resolve to attack workers' rights further in future. For example, they are already talking of the need for wage restraint after elections.

### Weapon

Striking is our main weapon of defence against exploitation. Workers fought for many years to win this right. It is right for it to be included in the Bill of Rights - without qualifications.

The bosses are trying to use the negotiations to roll

back gains made by Cosatu in the 1980's, as they tried to do with the Labour Relations Act.

### Cosatu's power

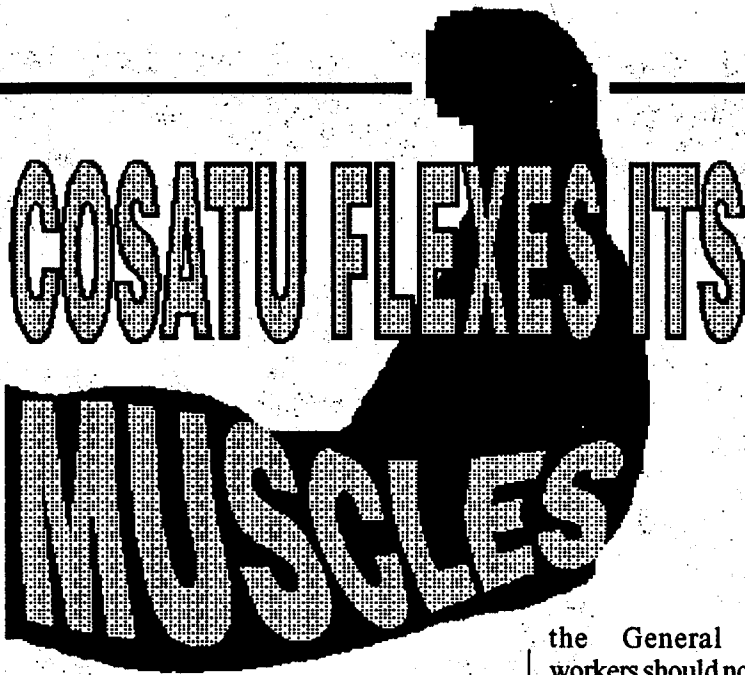
The government, bosses and the liberal press accused Cosatu of being spoilers for protesting the lock-out clause. They fear the involvement of organised workers in politics. But Cosatu's action was a timely warning that workers will fight to defend - and advance - their rights.

Even though the Cosatu leadership retreated from

the General Strike, workers should not end the struggle to defend their rights. Mobilisation must continue.

The bosses and the right-wing are attempting to frustrate plans to bring about fundamental changes in the country. Cosatu has the power to mobilise millions behind the ANC's banner to break through these obstacles.

The most effective way Cosatu can support the ANC in the election is to continue campaigning for jobs, houses, decent education and a National Minimum Wage. The ANC government, in turn, must remove any guarantees to the bosses.



## Letters

Send your letters to:  
Congress Militant,  
P.O. Box 596, Newtown,  
2113, Johannesburg

### No special power for chiefs

Dear comrades

I attended a mass meeting in Venda on 17 October called by the civics to discuss the interim constitution. I must say our leaders at Kempton Park are lagging behind the people.

The people questioned the role of chiefs in government. They said it was not good for the ANC to agree that chiefs should have a place in parliament at national or regional level.

Who was going to elect the chiefs there? The people would not elect them. Would the chiefs elect themselves to these bodies. People felt the chiefs should stay at home, in their "royal houses", to be available for consultation 24 hours a day, and to address the needs of the people. People said that Bantustan chiefs were used as conveyor belts for the regime. They became corrupt. The people are afraid this will happen again.

Cosatu has called for action to oppose guaranteeing jobs for the old civil servants. People in the bantustans support this. I agree with Lenin that all state officials should be paid no more than workers, and be elected and subject to recall at all times.

Yours comradely  
Sam Maputle

### Petrol price rise leads to conflict

Comrades,

The petrol price increase was another attack on the working class. We must pay the price of greedy bosses for more profit.

The taxi drivers showed their feelings against the increase by blocking the main entrances to the city in Cape Town. The important part of this action was the fact that African and Coloured workers were united. Of course there were loopholes in their actions like swearing workers who drove to work.

But there are serious consequences following this problem, which I think ought to be condemned. The killing of the Golden Arrows bus driver in Khayelitsha concerns me. I have seen taxi drivers chasing bus drivers out of the township and making physical threats.

I am a student at St. Francis evening classes and cannot afford to take the taxi every night to Khayelitsha. Students get a bus subsidy and can only get home by this means of transport.

Taxi drivers should realise

that the bus drivers are their fellow workers. They must rather unite in action for a better transport service for all the people.

Sizwe Nonjila  
Khayelitsha

### Gay and Lesbian Pride March

Comrades

The fourth gay and lesbian pride march took place on October 9 in Johannesburg. The march was supported by hundreds of people of all races and sexes, who participated actively at will, despite some sporadic disturbances from Christians who still maintain a belief that homosexuality is an ungodly activity that has to be banned, without recognition of human rights.

The keynote address was delivered by Zinzi Mandela, who is not a lesbian, but remains supportive of their cause. She said every person has a right as well as freedom, to make choice.

Homosexuals do exist and they shouldn't ask permission from anybody to exist. No person should try to isolate or deny their will. That won't be democratic.

They continue to suffer like all the oppressed and exploited. They should be supported in their struggle for total emancipation.

Viva non-homophobia!  
Mafika Mathata,  
Alexandra,

### Students on the move

One of the main struggles this year was by the students against exam fees. The government tried to ignore the issue but through our mobilisation nationally we forced them to respond and suspend the fees.

The question now is whether they are going to resume the exam fees. We'll strengthen our student structures to fight this.

In my school we organised the PTSA to campaign for the renovation of the school. We marched to the DET offices and as a result the government agreed to renovate.

The different student organisations should unite to fight for better education. Our big march this year proves what can be achieved with unity.

Thabo Moeketsi,  
Cosas and SRC member,  
Dobsonville, Soweto

# WORKPLACE STRUGGLES

## Hospital strike

Murder and death threats have sparked a strike by about 700 workers at Prince Mshiyeni Hospital in Durban. This follows a week-long strike in October against management corruption.

The IFP came in to support management. One worker was killed and IFP supporters threatened to kill the Nehawu organiser, Obed Zuma.

Fearing for their lives the workers' committee resigned and management went on the offensive. They reinstated corrupt staff members and at the end of October only half of the workforce received salaries.

Workers' had enough. On November 1 there was a spontaneous walk-out. Management then employed armed scab labour. But they could not do the job properly and patients had to be moved to other hospitals.

The new workers' committee offered to organise a skeleton staff to attend to the ill, but

management ignored this. They are still refusing to negotiate. We appeal for support to stop management and the IFP from smashing our union.

Interview with Nehawu members, Durban

## GAME

Our strike started on October 13 in support of our demand for a living wage. We demanded R200 a week. We now earn R120.

When the strike started we called for a boycott of the store. The community gave us good support. When management saw this they called the ISU to arrest us. They even sent spies to our meetings. Game has opened 5 stores in Botswana with profits made from us, but they refused to give us an R80 increase. We went on strike because we are not prepared to work like this.

Game workers,  
Alberton

## Sanlam

Discrimination is still strong at Sanlam. It is a big shame that workers still

earn between R400 and R700 after deductions at one of the biggest companies in the country. White workers earn up to R700 more than Coloured workers for the same job.

Hostels which were previously for whites only were opened for all three years ago. But then they put up the costs and now it cannot be afforded by the majority of Coloured workers. Discrimination lives on!

In the last year some of us decided to build the union to fight for better conditions. We have recruited more than 100 workers to Saccawu. We are confident that many more will join us because with a strong union we will be able to voice our grievances as a united force.

Organise or starve!

Sanlam workers,  
Cape Town

## TMSA

At Telecommunication Manufacturers of South Africa in Springs Numsa has about 600 workers. But there are six unions

which keeps our strength divided. Uwusa is banned. We do not want killings as at Scaw-metal.

Retrenchments has been a big problem here. 200 lost their jobs in 1989. But Numsa was able to prevent all retrenchments in 1990 by going on strike. Last year a moratorium on retrenchments was agreed.

But management has found a way to bypass this. They opened a new department where card-telephones are manufactured. They recruited 250 workers on a contract basis. Many of these were scabs brought in during our strike. Now 200 will lose their jobs.

Some joined Numsa to defend their jobs. We demanded that ex-Tmsa workers, who were retrenched, should get these jobs. We are still fighting for this.

Whites want to join but are scared to lose their jobs. They say we should just sit down and discuss with management. Are they blind? It is because we do not just talk that we are able to win benefits.

TMSA shopsteward



# Disband the Instability Unit Now!

This year Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus have experienced violence on a massive scale. Since October 1992 more than 1 500 people have been killed, thousands have had to flee from their homes, and sections have been declared no-go areas. More than a million people live in constant fear of violence and death.

The violence started in 1990 when Inkatha took over the hostels and then launched violent attacks on the community. Residents fought back and forced Inkatha to retreat. But in 1993 De Klerk's Internal Stability Unit moved in – supposedly to bring peace, but in reality to support Inkatha.

On November 10th the ANC organised a mass march to the World Trade Centre to demand that the ISU be removed from the townships. *Congress Militant* reports the stories of some of the demonstrators.



## Demands to the TEC

Opponents of majority rule know that after the election they will be exposed as a tiny minority.

The so-called Freedom Alliance cannot force people to vote for them. So their strategy is to try and reduce the size of the vote for the ANC by creating a climate of fear and intimidation wherever they can deploy their forces.

At the ANC PWV region's annual conference in October delegates passed a resolution putting forward a plan to combat the violence.

This resolution should not just remain a piece of paper. A public campaign against violence is vital for securing a massive majority in the election.

The regional ANC leadership has to mobilise ANC branches to make sure that the most important demands of the resolution are carried out.

### As soon as the TEC is in place it should:

- Disband the Internal Stability Unit.
- Confine the SADF to barracks.
- Authorise the formation of community Peace Corps, with licensed firearms, to ensure that election Code of Conduct is followed by all parties.
- Recognise Popcru.
- Policing should be carried out by police resident in an area.
- Hostels that have been identified as bases for terrorist attacks on the community should be demolished and replaced with family units.
- Release all those arrested in connection with genuine self-defence unit activities, including the seven East Rand policemen who have been in prison for more than two months without being charged.

## Inkatha and the ISU – two sides of the same bloody coin

*Miriam: The ISU are hijacking youth—even from school. When parents retaliate they kill and harass us.*

*Others are involved in raping women. They enter our houses without consultation, especially in Everest. They destroy everything, even children's bicycles. They swear through loudhailers and write "AWB" on walls.*

*Last Saturday a casspir overturned because the driver was drunk. They were with two white women. Then they started shooting.*

*This week we buried one comrade called Mfuthi. He was shot by the ISU. After they shot him they took the bullet out of his head, because they didn't want to*

*leave the evidence of their killing.*

*Meshack: They allow Inkatha to attack us. Why is it that Inkatha can move 5 kms from the hostel? But when we fight back, the ISU comes behind and we get killed in the crossfire.*

*If there is to be peace the hostels must be demolished. These hostels are for bachelors. If people want to live without their families they must go elsewhere. Many are not workers.*

*The IFP use the hostels as their base. They train inside, then come out and shoot us. Many people lost their houses. Police and SADF don't protect them, they only help them to get out.*

*Sipho: The ISU wants to interrupt the elections. The ANC says all parties must be free. We agree with this. Inkatha can be here, but they mustn't kill people. I can convince a person to be a member of the ANC, but not with a firearm.*

*The ISU wants people to be afraid. They are killing the ANC's voters. Our people are in a hurry for democracy. The ISU wants to stop that.*

*Thobile: We don't want to fight with white people. But racists must be stopped. I worked for a hairdresser in Alberton. My boss was AWB. She told me "I hate blacks." That's why I left that job. Some businessmen are protecting Inkatha*

*in factories.*

*We want to be together, not against a person because of their colour. But the ISU kill us just because we're ANC. We're calling for justice.*

*Alfred: Many comrades have been arrested and tortured. Some SDU members get taken to the hostel by the ISU. They ask the IFP if they want us.*

*We want black soldiers to patrol. They are more disciplined. We are sick of whites in the ISU. Since they came here the violence is worse even than the time of apartheid.*

*MK and Popcru should be in charge of policing. We want community policing.*

## The ANC must campaign in defence of our lives – by B. Khumalo

I would like to let you know what is going on in Katlehong. We are having a fight between residents and the IFP hostel dwellers. This has claimed many lives. People staying next to the hostel have moved away. Hostel dwellers now occupy their houses.

The fight has also gone into the taxis. Last week people were shot by Inkatha taxi drivers waiting under a bridge between Wadeville and Katlehong. That meant that the non-Inkatha taxi drivers had to stop ranking and sit down.

But our biggest problem is the Internal Stability Unit. When we summarise this war the cause is the Stability because they stand with the IFP. If there is something wrong they don't come. They will just roam around, and then after many people have died they appear when there's no need for them.

They are destroying many things, many things, many things. People who patrol at night say they have heard them say that they will not leave the location without killing the residents.

A woman who works at the ISU base was told by them "When we go to the elections a lot of blacks must be dead. Black on black violence is just a waste of time. The big boys (ISU) are coming to the location and then you'll see something." They say there's still a big war coming.

Recently in Monaheng section the youth were attacked by the Stability. They did not knock. They just bash the door, get inside and pick up any boy living there. Fortunately they got only 12 boys because they were disturbed by shooting which made them afraid.

The comrades went with lawyers to the leader of the ISU in Katlehong and asked him to release the boys. He agreed. But he says to them that from Skhosana section up to Shongweni section the area is too silent. There is no violence. Therefore he is going to take the Inkatha people and come and deliver it to these sections so that they can hear what is violence. He said this in front of the human rights lawyer!

**Congress Militant**  
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