



***THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND LANDLESS PEASANTS  
SHALL BE PARAMOUNT !***

## APDUSA CONFERENCE 1997

The 1997 conference of APDUSA was held in Ezibeleni, Queenstown on 26/27 April. Official delegations came from Cape Town, Gauteng, Queenstown, Pondoland, East London, as well as from rural villages in the Eastern Cape. The General-Secretary of the Federation of Catering, Retail and Allied Workers (Fedcrow) attended as an observer. Conference attracted a cross-section of urban workers and rural peasants and all the delegations included a large proportion of youth. The number of young people who attended conference for the first time was significantly higher than in previous years. This brought inspiration and enthusiasm to conference which lasted throughout the proceedings.

The political discussion examined why the government has not been able to solve any of the problems of the majority. The discussions were led by four papers viz., the Presidential Address, on the National Situation, on the Economic Policy of the Government and on the International Situation. A single theme ran through all the papers: The capitalist class has launched a vicious attack on the living standards and the organisations of the labouring classes, using the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as their main agents. They want to exploit us more and squeeze every cent they can out of us. They are so thirsty for profits that they are prepared to close down every opportunity for the social advancement of the working masses. All they can think of these days is how to cut spending on education, health, pensions, housing and other social benefits. The governments of the world are doing their best to help the bosses with this project to increase the misery of the working class. The ANC government is part of this scheme. They have won praise from capitalists the world over for all the work they have done on their behalf. This goes hand in hand with an effort to render the masses powerless by breaking up their organisations like the trade unions. The lack of a

revolutionary leadership makes it easier for the bosses and their agents to disrupt the struggles of the working masses.

The address by the president of APDUSA especially stimulated a wide-ranging discussion. Speaker after speaker interpreted our programme from different angles and applied it to various questions. Issues that came up were the land question, the youth question and others. All those who spoke, including the Fedcrow delegate, showed how the APDUSA programme clarifies these questions and helps the exploited masses to solve them.

While conference-goers will remember this discussion for the high quality of the contributions, what is just as significant is the number of people who spoke. Many more young members than before felt confident enough to interpret our programme in the highest forum of the organisation. And they interpreted it well and truly. This not only points to the growth of the youth but also to the consolidation of our programme.

As the new South Africa unfolds and the political issues become clear our programme receives proof every day. After two years it is proving to be the most reliable guide one can find to steer you through the many issues you must consider every day. It is winning more and more support and becoming part of the life-blood of APDUSA members. So much so that the resolutions could this year concentrate less on political questions and more on practical guidelines for the organisation.

**Conference Resolutions - Page 2**

### **INSIDE:**

- **Mzi Khumalo's Peace** Page 2
- **NUMSA Workshop on Socialism** Page 4
- **The Failure of a Miracle Worker** Page 6
- **A Bloody Nose for Imperialism** Page 6
- **The Fight against Privatisation** Page 7
- **The Basic Conditions of Employment Bill** Page 10

## APDUSA CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

This conference of the APDUSA, meeting on 26 - 27 April 1997 in Ezibeleni, Queenstown, has after careful consideration of both the national and international situations, taken the following resolutions:

We observe:

1. The total failure of the government to address the problems of the people.
2. The intensification of the attack on and exploitation of the labouring masses.
3. The crisis of leadership that is keeping back the advancement of the struggle of the masses.

We expect:

1. An increase in the militancy of the workers and peasants.
2. An exacerbation of both the exploitation and the crisis in leadership of the toiling masses.

We resolve to:

1. Promote our political programme to as wide an audience as possible - specifically in the organisations and struggles of the workers and peasants.
2. Continue with the building of APDUSA as the revolutionary organisation of the labouring masses. This means to consciously sharpen efforts and methods to increase the membership of APDUSA and build programmatic unity between the progressive organisations of the labouring classes.
3. Continue the promotion of the independent organisation of the workers and peasants, as the only way to safeguard their interests.
4. Discuss the problems of the revolution with the masses constantly on the basis of current events. This is the only way to educate the masses in the tasks of the revolution. Our newsletter is our main tool in this regard, together with open discussions, house meetings, public meetings, etc.
5. Step up our efforts to recruit the youth and train them to become dedicated revolutionaries.
8. Establish contact with workers internationally to exchange ideas, to work together industrially and ideologically to promote international interest of workers.

*The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount in the orientation of the APDUSA in both its short term and long term objectives.*

## MZI KHUMALO DECLARES PEACE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR

Addressing an investment conference in Johannesburg, Mzi Khumalo, Chairman of Capital Alliance Holdings, said that the exclusion of blacks from the mainstream of the economy had resulted in a general lack of enthusiasm and an antagonistic relationship between labour and capital. Political change had altered this climate to one of enthusiasm and for the first time labour, capital and business were on the same side. (Business Day 19/2/97).

Khumalo would have us believe that as a result of the political changes since 1994, the class struggle has been resolved. Capital and labour, the lion and the lamb, can now lie down together peacefully. The enthusiasm among the blacks that he talks about is that felt by the rising bourgeois. New opportunities are opening for them to share as partners, albeit junior partners, with the rest of their class in the wealth accumulated through ruthless exploitation of the working class.

Another speaker, Khosa, is reported to have said that the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance had to be seen as positive for the business community. It is certainly true that the petty bourgeois and trade union bureaucrats leading this alliance are rendering yeoman service to the bourgeoisie. They are achieving this through their macro-economic policies of privatisation, deregulation and anti-trade union legislation such as the Labour Relations Act, which they then try to persuade the workers to accept as in their interests. Khumalo heaped further praise on the trade union bureaucrats when he added; "people are not so suspicious anymore - for instance trade unions have started forming companies and investing in big corporations". It is no wonder that the black bourgeoisie are so pleased with the trade unions. It is the funds that the trade unions are placing in investment companies that are used to help the black bourgeoisie to buy into the big corporations. Needless to say, these corporations remain under the control of the big bourgeoisie.

The workers in the trade unions are not unaware that in the case of Johnnic and JCI, the Anglo American Corporation, the largest monopoly corporation in South Africa has bent over backwards to ensure the take-over of these two large companies by "black consortia". This is a repeat of its policy after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, when it facilitated the take-over of General

continued on next page >>

## **MZI KHUMALO'S PEACE** (Continued)

Mining by Afrikaner capitalists. It was this farsighted move by Anglo American which led to a division in the ranks of the Nationalist Party, with the Afrikaner bourgeoisie identifying its interests with those of the English speaking capitalists. The Afrikaner capitalists were able to use their economic power and political influence in helping to push De Klerk to the negotiating table with the ANC.

By welding the interests of the black bourgeoisie to their own, the established local bourgeoisie and imperialism are taking the necessary steps to strengthen capitalism and ensure its survival. They know that unlike the situation in the 1960's, they are confronting a powerful working class organised in strong trade unions. For its part, the working class cannot hope to wage a successful struggle against the bourgeoisie, unless it discards the petty bourgeois leadership of the ANC, SACP and trade union bureaucracy.

## **FROM PEACE TO WAR**

Mr Mzi Khumalo's declared peace has turned out to be rather short lived. One of his first moves as chairman of JCI has been to propose the retrenchment of 8000 workers at Randfontein Estates. This move has met with strong resistance from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The Randfontein branch of NUM has warned the Randfontein Estates Mine management not to touch its workers. (Business Report 29/5/97).

According to a NUM spokesman, in terms of Mzi Khumalo's proposals, black workers can expect retrenchment packages ranging from R2500 to R10 000, while white workers with the same period of service can expect up to R100 000. (Business Report 27/5/97).

This exposes the ANC policy of "Black Empowerment", which is supposed to be in the interests of the exploited majority, as nothing but a sick fraud. As NUM spokesman, Mr Thabani Mngomezulu states: "Capital does not know the colour of the skin ..." (ibid). The tragedy is that the hands of the NUM leadership and leaders of other COSATU affiliates are not clean in this dastardly attack on the workers at Randfontein Estates. In the deals to give Khumalo's consortium control of JCI, investment funds were put up by none other than the Mineworkers Social and Benefit Investment Company and the SACTWU Investments Group (Pty) Ltd.

Unless workers move firmly to take control of their unions out of the hands of their opportunistic and bureaucratic leaders, they must expect to suffer further such blows. **Organisation is the most powerful weapon of the workers. But only if it is fully under their own control.**

## **BLACK EMPOWERMENT**

After running out of excuses for having failed to deliver on any of their grand promises to the people, our political leaders are now placing their faith in a rather silly piece of deception. The reason, we are told, why they have not been able to achieve anything is because the economy is still controlled by whites. The answer to this is the policy of Black Economic Empowerment. We are asked to believe that if more of the big business enterprises are owned by blacks then the workers can expect a better deal. So the workers must be very proud and happy when people like Rhamaphosa, Mzi Khumalo, Sam Montsi etc, become stinking rich businessmen while millions continue to struggle for a miserable living in stinking squatter camps.

To swallow this idea we must firstly believe that all blacks are good and all whites are bad. Such reactionary racialism will get us nowhere. Our newly empowered black businessmen have already shown that they are every bit as greedy and eager to exploit the workers as their white counterparts. The enemy of the working class is the capitalist bourgeois class and it hardly matters whether the self-interested members of this class are white or black. ●

## **WHILE THE COSATU BUREAUCRATS PONDER**

An open meeting of the APDUSA dealing with the tri-partite alliance, held in September 1996, concluded that this alliance exists solely at the behest of the bureaucrats who control the three organisations constituting it. It is a formal alliance only in name. Newspaper reports of the COSATU executive meeting held in the second week of April 1997, sheds some interesting light on this viewpoint. The Transport and General Workers' Union and the SAMWU apparently oppose the privatisation moves currently being undertaken by the government. On the other hand, Sam Shilowa, Secretary General of COSATU, is said to endorse the ANC's policies of "restructuring of state assets" as they euphemistically call this privatisation program. (Business Report, 11 April 1997). Add to this the position of the NUMSA on this question and we end up with more and more affiliates of the federation OPPOSING the privatisation plans of the government.

One is bound to ask whether elected officials such as Shilowa are representing a narrow, and increasingly contradictory, party political position rather than that of the thousands of workers whose interests they supposedly represent. ●

## **APDUSA ADDRESSES NUMSA WITS CENTRAL WEST REGIONAL POLICY WORKSHOP**

The National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (WCW Region) invited APDUSA to lead a discussion at a workshop on the way forward to socialism. The workshop took place on 21 April at Crown Mines Shaft 17. Between twenty and twenty-five shopstewards were present.

The APDUSA speaker began his address by discussing the position of the black middle class since the 1994 elections, comparing it to that of the working class and the landless peasantry. Whereas the black middle class could now escape from the terrible conditions of township life to decent housing and Model C schools in white suburbia, the workers and peasants were promised jobs and houses via the RDP and land reform program. But these promises were exposed as cheap tricks to win votes. The RDP Office was closed down and the ANC-led government presented us with a new policy called GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution). This policy entails the privatisation of public enterprises, cutting government spending in health, education and other social services. It is also intended to promote labour market "flexibility", leading to more contract labour and casualisation. These policies can only give rise to more unemployment and increasing profitability for the bosses.

The speaker briefly discussed other reactionary legislation enacted by the Government of National Unity. The Labour Relations Act, with its lockout clause and its limits on the right to strike, poses a great threat to the working class, as does the Employment Standards Bill with its "flexibility" in the labour market, to create a lower wage structure for the work force. The 1996 Schools Act entrenches inequality in education by using the ability of parents to pay as a criteria for whether a child shall receive a good education or not. Turning to the negotiated settlement and the 1994 elections, the speaker emphasised that the new constitution protects private property rights. This means that the white minority, which owns 87% of the land, the mines, most of the factories and farms, will retain control of the wealth of the country. All in all, the ANC leadership is committed to the agenda of the bourgeois class.

In the following part of his address, the speaker focused attention on key demands in the programme of the APDUSA as expressed in its constitution. APDUSA believes that the completion of the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, which includes the resolution of the agrarian problem, rests squarely on the leadership of the working class. The proletariat must complete these

tasks in the fight for socialism and it will be assisted in this fight by the landless peasantry. The constitution of the APDUSA calls for the convening of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution which is governed by the interests of the workers and the landless peasantry. Unlike the present constitution which protects private property and minority rights, the new constitution must be based on the interests of the majority. For the resolution of the land question all existing tribal and feudal relations must be abolished and the land must be nationalised without compensation. A new division of the land and its management must be undertaken by committees that are democratically elected by and answerable to the people. All major industries and banks must be expropriated and they must be managed by the state and representatives of the workers, in the interests of the population as a whole. The right to work must be implemented by cutting the working week without a reduction in wages. The speaker pointed out that these demands could not be achieved in the framework of capitalism and that they formed a bridge between the present demands of the people and the programme for a socialist revolution.

In the discussion that followed on the APDUSA address, attention centred on the convening of a new Constituent Assembly and how it would differ from the present one. Further discussion dealt with the landless peasantry and why, although they constituted a migratory labour force, their aspirations were still for more land. Finally, the struggle of the workers to achieve socialism and the necessity for the formation of a Workers International in the fight for international socialism was emphasised ●

### **HAVE YOU NOTICED?**

■ The miserable R15000 housing subsidy for poor families, promised by the government three years ago, is steadily being eaten away by inflation. At an average rate of about 9% inflation, the subsidy now has the same value as R11 300 three years ago. We don't hear of any proposed increase, do we?

■ When workers go on strike it is said that they are selfish and that they are damaging the economy, while our wonderful bosses are doing the best to build the economy for the benefit of all! Whose economy? Since when have the bosses been unselfish and willing to share their riches with all? Why don't they admit that it is only the labour of the workers that creates wealth. The money that the bosses want to invest in business "to build the economy" is for profit for themselves and not the workers.

## **A WAR OF WORDS AMONGST ECONOMISTS**

A representative of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Guy Standing, recently made the following two points on the conditions of the workers in this country: (1) South African workers work more overtime than anywhere else; (2) a huge army of temporary or casual workers exists in this country.

Extremely embarrassed by these revelations, Prof. Frank Horowitz from UCT, a leading spokesperson for the capitalists in South Africa, had to attack them as lies and falsehoods. He hit out at both these statements, saying amongst other things, that Australians and New Zealanders work more overtime than South Africans. On the second point Horowitz thought it was enough simply to reject it out of hand. Indeed a neat way to divert attention away from the hardships to which the labouring majority are subjected. For the capitalist overtime is a method to intensify exploitation; to squeeze more profits out of a smaller number of workers; to throw more workers onto the streets. Workers all over the world are exploited by the capitalists.

Let the facts speak for themselves. Facts from the Centre for Policy Studies indicate that over the past two years more than 80% of companies in this country employed temporary or casual workers. The UCT Graduate School of Business revealed that as much as 20% of the labour force consists of temporary or casual labour.. (Business Day, 31/1/97, and F&T Weekly, 7/2/97). (This offers to the exploiters fat benefits in terms of profits). The article in the F&T Weekly concludes:"... temporary employment and outsourcing are expected to gain momentum in South Africa."

In the APDUSAN (vol. 2 no 2 June 1996), the editorial unmasks contract labour as another attack on the conditions of the workers. In opposition to these attacks of the bosses APDUSA raises in its programme the following minimum demand, inseparable from the others:

"4. The revision of labour legislation for the liquidation of all discrimination against the worker. This also means: (i) The right to work, which must be implemented both via the institution of necessary adjustments to the length of the working week to provide employment for all, without a reduction in wages, as well as the institution of a progressive public works program with the full representation of the unemployed in its management".

***DOWN WITH CONTRACT LABOUR !***

## **THE TRC - THE DECEPTION CONTINUES**

Is it not strange how people can get themselves entangled in all sort of contradictions? Desmond Tutu appeals to the business community for contributions to a fund from which compensation for victims of human rights violations under the previous government will be paid. He is asking the bosses, who make billions of rands in profit from the labour of the workers, to donate some of their ill-begotten wealth to the welfare of the very people whom they treat like dirt every working day. Have the bosses suddenly become our benevolent social partners? Certainly not! Perhaps Mr Tutu will be open to the suggestion that he and each of his fellow commissioners donate some of their R23 000 monthly salaries to this fund.

While on the topic of funds; the committee responsible for compensation to victims is at pains to explain why the funds allocated to it are wholly insufficient for its intended purpose. R3 billion is what the government will apparently make available for the purpose of compensation to victims of human rights violations. They have calculated that, upon completion of the TRC's duties, a total of 30 000 victims will be eligible for compensation payments. (Mail and Guardian, 11/4/ 97). How on earth can the suffering of millions over a period of close to a century be reduced to such a simple mathematical calculation? One only has to go back to statistics compiled by human rights groups, or even that of the government itself, to see what a monstrous injustice is being perpetrated here. It turns out that it is not only the bosses that treat the suffering majority with contempt, but the government itself. To this the long suffering workers and landless peasants can readily attest.

## **"LET US FORGET THE PAST"**

This is but one of the many phrases being bandied about by the present day government officials - including the state president himself. With closer examination, however, it reveals a very sinister attempt to conceal the true history of the liberation movement in South Africa.

One only has to look at what the proposed history syllabus for high schools. The ANC and the Congress Alliance is portrayed as being the only movement involved in the liberation struggle. In this they have the wholehearted support of the liberal news media and its manifold educational agencies, who played, and still plays no small part in fostering this untruth.

Strangely enough, the ANC is now in the process of establishing a political school for members, which according to ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa represents "an organised attempt to inculcate members with the history and spirit of the organisation." (Cape Times, 8/4/97). Is this perhaps a response to the fact that the experiences of many members in this organisation, have revealed political realities of which they were previously unaware? ●

## **EDITORIAL**

### **THE FAILURE OF A MIRACLE WORKER**

Long before his release from prison, Nelson Mandela was hailed as a great leader. After he led the ANC into a negotiated settlement and donned the mantle of presidency of South Africa, he was acclaimed internationally as a hero of our time, a man possessed of great statesmanship and diplomacy. With these glorious credentials, President Mandela, urged on and backed by America, confidently embarked on the task of bringing about a negotiated political settlement in Zaire. It did not matter to him that he had rejected foreign mediation in the South African political settlement. All that seemed to matter was that the Zairian people should be the beneficiaries of the means and methods of Mandela's "great triumph" in South Africa.

The first step was to bring "President" Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila, leader of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo/Zaire" (AFDL), to the negotiating table. To dress this proposed "South African style" compromise in honourable colours, Mandela saw fit to describe the obnoxious tyrant Mobutu, as "one of Africa's greatest sons". But Kabila was not impressed. He and the AFDL saw no reason or value in entering into a compromise with Mobutu and his hangers-on. They had no wish or need for a hollow political triumph like that of the ANC in South Africa. Their view was simple - Mobutu must go and go unconditionally. When Kabila failed to honour Mandela by rushing to his negotiating table, he received an "angry phone call" from the great statesman. "he shouted at him ... he was very angry" (Cape Times 5/5/97). It is indeed very interesting to note the political level to which Mandela has sunk. A notorious and tyrannical dictator, who not only robbed the nation of billions of dollars but also caused the people of Zaire untold suffering, is hailed as one of Africa's greatest sons. But a leader of a liberatory movement, acclaimed by the whole population, is treated as a recalcitrant rebel who must be shouted into toeing the imperialist line.

In the ensuing period, the bourgeois media did its best to convince us that Mandela was achieving a great miracle of negotiation in Zaire. But every new day saw yesterday's magic bubble bursting into nothingness. The AFDL pressed on with its revolutionary political and military programme regardless. Mandela, his Vice President, Thabo Mbeki, his Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad and the whole highly acclaimed South

African entourage - the "facilitators of peace and compromise", refused to accept the message. But Mobutu Sese Seko did get the message and he has run off with his tail between his legs, without the blessed cloak of honour that Mandela sought to bestow on him at the negotiating table.

Today the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been liberated from over 30 years of tyranny under the hand of a dishonourable stooge of American and European imperialism. The AFDL has taken over political power, but we are still asked to believe that Mandela, the miracle worker, has a say in how the people of this liberated nation should plan its political future.

Mandela's attempted "miracle" in Zaire could only have favoured imperialism. This, the people of Zaire rejected outright. Imperialism has suffered a severe blow. In a mere 36 years it has lost all that it achieved and more, in engineering the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, who has truly been honoured by all oppressed people as one of Africa's greatest sons. The AFDL is the historic successor of the party led by Lumumba. It has achieved victory without negotiation and without compromise. It serves to expose the hollowness of the "victory" of Mandela and his ANC in South Africa, where the tyrants and oppressors of yesteryear live happily, with all their privileges intact, under a "government of national unity", secure in the knowledge that the ANC-inspired Truth and Reconciliation Commission will exonerate them of all their crimes against the still suffering labouring masses of South Africa. The "Madiba Magic" becomes harder to sell with every passing day.

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### **A BLOODY NOSE FOR IMPERIALISM**

On top of the rumblings of extreme discontent in the ranks of European workers, within the past few months Imperialism has been dealt some crunching blows. The revolt in Albania leaves the corrupt puppet regime hanging on to power by the skin of its imperialist teeth. In South Korea there has been a volcanic eruption by disenchanted workers in response to attacks on their rights by their capitalist government. In Mongolia, the Peoples' Revolutionary Party has swept the boards in democratic elections. Mongolia, one of the breakaway states of the former USSR, does not feature prominently in our news. From the skimpy reports however, it transpires that the stated aims and objectives of the PRP is to utilise the country's resources to alleviate the plight of the deprived masses. Coupled with this is a complete rejection of

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imperialist reformist policies imposed on what's left of the USSR and its former satellite republics. Whatever the objective intent of the leadership, these policies reflect the mood of the people who voted it into power, in no uncertain terms. Not surprisingly, the election results came as an extreme shock to Imperialism.

Of much more significance to us in South Africa, are the compelling events in Zaire, now renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo. Imperialism propped up the Mobutu regime for 30 years. It was a regime of mindboggling corruption and orchestrated brutality against the Zairean masses. In return for its support, Mobutu allowed Imperialism a free hand in plundering the country's rich natural resources and exploiting its labour power. His regime blemished the reputation of Zaire by letting it be used as a base for Imperialist intervention and naked aggression against the peoples struggles in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia, hitting against our own struggle in S.A.

What is of significance is that over a period of more than 30 years since the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Imperialism and Mobutu have not been able to erase the ideas and the spirit of liberation from the hearts and minds of the Congolese people.

Imperialism suffered a crushing defeat. The efforts of those "Human Rights" agencies: Amnesty International, World Food Aid and the World Health organisation, etc, to brand the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-

Zaire as a bunch of bloodthirsty thugs, failed miserably. To their consternation, these bodies were exposed as nothing but advance agents to create pretexts for Imperialist intervention and aggression.

Then there was the belated assembly of a sell-out enterprise, spearheaded by Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. But in a masterly exhibition of delaying tactics the ADFL headed by Laurent Kabila evaded the Imperialist noose which Mandela and Thabo Mbeki were instructed to pull tight. Much to their anger and frustration, Kabila used their Outeniqua trap to gain valuable time in the ultimate objective of toppling the Mobutu monster from his Kinshasha perch.

For the people of the D.R.C. negotiations with an evil regime was never on the cards. They were not going to allow their interests to be compromised by a Camp David/Lancaster House type agreement. By their uncompromising stand they have dealt a major blow to the Imperialist plan of creating a network of puppet regimes and client states from Cape to Cairo. We salute the people of the D.R.C. for their conduct of a valiant struggle against overwhelming odds. They have shown the deprived masses throughout the world, as did the people of Vietnam, that Imperialism is not invincible. We pledge them our moral support and the sincere wish that their victory in battle will be translated into fundamental change in the interests of the people of the D.R.C.

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## THE FIGHT AGAINST PRIVATISATION

All over the world workers are fighting against privatisation and cut-backs in social services. The main reason for such struggles is not hard to find. These measures rapidly increase poverty and suffering amongst ever larger sections of workers. Yet many of yesterday's freedom fighters, who are today's servants of the bosses, now want to lecture us on the benefits of privatisation.

### BACKGROUND

To understand privatisation we have to understand how capitalism works. Capitalism rests on private ownership of the means to produce the necessities of life. (South Africa's new constitution firmly protects this). Theft, plunder and war include some of the methods

used by capitalists to concentrate the wealth of society in their hands.

With their labour, workers have the power to increase wealth. But with the land and industries in private hands, a worker must sell his labour power to a boss for a few pennies. Capitalists cannot exist without the workers and the source of their profits remains the exploitation of the worker.

All capitalists want to grow richer. They try to slash to the barest minimum the share of society's wealth that must go to workers and the rest of society. They constantly strive to squeeze maximum profits out of an ever decreasing number of workers, who are enslaved by the most modern machines.

### AN ECONOMIC FUNCTION FOR THE STATE

In order to build themselves up capitalist businesses adopt different methods at different times. During phases of weakness and economic difficulty the government, which is in charge of a large social fund, is roped in to accelerate capitalist expansion. It is called upon to finance the construction of major industries. Iscor, Eskom, Armscor and so on were all built up out of state funds.

Through organised and consistent struggle, the oppressed classes make tremendous gains. Victories include the financing of education, health, unemployment insurance, etc out of the social

continued on page 8

## **PRIVATISATION (Continued from page 7)**

fund managed by the government. While the capitalists can increase profits, they reluctantly concede to such welfare services. But as conditions for making profits become more difficult, they hit back to reclaim what they conceded to the poor yesterday!

### **RESULTS OF A DECLINE IN PROFITS**

Today capitalism is in a state of decline. The rate of return on investments is dropping steadily. Wealth is concentrated in the hands of fewer but larger businesses. Larger profits are required to survive.

The major business corporations now see that they are big enough to manage those industries that they formerly needed the state to run on their behalf. They demand control of these industries to increase their shrinking profits. They start off by winning the right to pay less taxes. This makes it more difficult for the government to manage state industries under its control. At the mercy of the capitalists, governments face accusations of bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption in managing these industries. It is charged with being guilty of consuming rather than creating wealth, etc. There is a cry for the share of the government in total economic wealth to be reduced. Social services must be cut. "If you want a good education, go to the market," they shout. It is the same with health services! So industries built up through the state budget are privatised (handed over to the capitalists) at breathtaking pace.

### **EARLY RESULTS**

Let us repeat their well-known sermon: "Leave all the wealth in the hands of the private sector. They create economic growth which can then be redistributed to the previously disadvantaged..." It is amazing to see how many people can repeat this rubbish by heart in defence of capitalism.

Margaret Thatcher's regime in Britain was hailed as the pioneer of privatisation. The privatisation of British Telecom resulted in the cutting of jobs from 227 000 to 130 000. Here at home, Iscor was one of the first to be privatised. In 1995 and 1996 alone, 12 000 jobs were destroyed at Iscor and there are signs of more job cuts to come.

### **THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIVATISATION**

"But privatisation is crucial for increasing productivity. It eventually lower prices on the market," our defender of capitalism will reply. Under capitalism raising productivity means simply overworking a smaller number of workers and the ballooning of the army of unemployed. A person earning no money cannot buy anything on the market, even at the lowest prices. No capitalist in the business of giving away products free of charge. That will spell his end!

In order to make privatisation more appealing they say: "Privatisation will provide the much needed cash to repay government debt and more money for social upliftment."

We wonder what say workers have in how the capitalist government spends its revenues. Is the largest portion of government income used to finance the machinery to suppress the workers in the interest of the capitalists? Workers had no say or benefit in creating the government debt! What social upliftment are they talking about if education and public health services are cut and homelessness and unemployment is on the increase?

### **PRIVATISATION IS GOVERNMENT POLICY**

Only a small group of people still foster the illusion that the ANC government will change in the future. Restricting ourselves to ANC history of the past few years we see the pattern and direction in which it is moving. . In 1990, before his release, Mandela wrote

from prison to the MDM : "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views, in this regard, is inconceivable." He could not disappoint the millions of militant youth fighting in the townships of South Africa who were raised on these ideas. In January 1992, at the World Economic forum in Davos, capitalists applauded him for the pragmatic shift he had taken in saying: "we visualise a mixed economy in which the private sector play a central and critical role to ensure the creation of wealth and jobs." Mandela is certainly confusing us. Capitalist are stealers of wealth and today they are kicking masses of workers out of jobs.

Stella Siggau, ANC Minister of Public Enterprises, came closer to revealing the actual policy in 1995. She stated: "Our government has moved sufficiently forward to abandon a policy of nationalisation. It is unlikely that we would adopt a position that is inflexible and to the detriment of SA." When Mandela returned from Germany in May 1996 the fact that privatisation was the policy of their government was no longer mentioned in a tongue in the cheek fashion.

### **CLASS WAR HEATING UP**

Tito Mboweni's hammering on the inevitability of privatisation at the fifth national congress of SACCWU on 11/7/96, is further proof of government policy. He openly here called upon workers to embrace privatisation - this tool to raise profits of crisis-ridden capitalists. This man further said: "The time for unions opposing everything the Government implements should be over, as the realities of the global economy demand that Government takes

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certain drastic measures." Tito clearly speaks on behalf of the exploiting class. We wonder what drastic action Mboweni will be taking against workers who oppose the interest of the bosses.

The class war is heating up and the battle lines are drawn. A

plan to guide the forces of the labouring class is demanded. APDUSA's programme for socialist democracy carries the demand for:

"The expropriation of all major industries, banks and institutions of credit and their management by

the state and representatives of the workers in the interests of the population as a whole."

There is a fundamental difference between the goals and operation of a workers' state and those of a capitalist state! ●

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## SHARPEVILLE DAY COMMEMORATION

A meeting to commemorate the massacre of Sharpeville was held in Johannesburg on the 21st March under the auspices of AWOSA. The meeting was attended mainly by members of this union.

The first speaker was from the Students-Intellectuals Socialist League, whose address was on the significance of Sharpeville Day. He spoke of the brutal massacre perpetrated by the racist regime against unarmed defenceless people on that day in 1960. Twenty five years later, on the same day of the year at Uitenhage, the racist regime carried out another massacre on unsuspecting marchers.

The speaker then turned to the present situation in our country. The ANC-led government has replaced the racist regime. But the white bosses and the imperialists still control the economy of the country as well as every important aspect of the lives of the population. When the heroic struggle of the people against racist oppression threatened the investments of the imperialists, they put pressure to bear on the racist regime to hand over power to a government led by the ANC, which included the racists. The ANC, having betrayed the masses by implementing policies against their interests, now have to disarm them ideologically. This is the background to replacing Sharpeville Day by Human Rights Day. The people have to forget their history and their heroic struggles against the oppressor. Instead, they must now celebrate the wishy-washy "Human Rights Day" with their oppressors, in the spirit of "reconciliation". The ANC also wants them to forget that this day is associated with the Anti-Pass Campaign led by the Pan Africanist Congress and Robert Sobukwe. They must also forget heroes in the struggle belonging to organisations other than the ANC, like Steve Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement. The speaker ended by calling on the people to remember the fallen heroes of Sharpeville.

The next speaker was from APDUSA, who spoke on the New Schools Bill. He first discussed the iniquitous system of Bantu Education and of its function to provide unskilled labour for the mines, factories and farms; how the black parents were expected to operate the machinery of their own

oppression by managing "Bantu School Boards" for "Bantu Schools." He then turned to the Model C Schools set up by De Klerk in the dying days of apartheid to protect the privileged position of the white school community. The schools and land were handed over to the parents and high fees could be charged for maintenance and improvement of the schools. This precluded the majority of black parents from sending their children to these schools.

He said the New Schools Bill introduced by the ANC government states on paper, that pupils in South Africa will be treated equally. The parents will be in the majority in the School Governing Body, which will determine the admissions policy of the schools and decide on the level of school fees. All schools will be treated in the same way. On examination, it was patently obvious that the ghetto schools in the townships would not be able to provide an education, which could match that on offer in the rich schools serving the mainly white communities. The rich schools could employ extra teachers and finance this from school fees. The speaker gave as an example, Glenhazel Primary School, which demands R3000 per year from parents as fees. Among the items of expenditure in its budget is a sum of R400 000 for extra teachers. These fees are enough to frighten most poorer parents away. In the case of the ghetto schools, the government has taken steps to ensure that "proper management structures" were in place. As under apartheid, the government has set up a machinery to implement an education policy that would provide differing qualities of education depending which school the child attended. The function of the rich schools was to train the skilled labour force for the economy, while the ghetto schools would continue to train unskilled labour for the mines, factories and farms.

The speaker concluded by stating that the government was committed to cutting expenditure on education, health and social welfare in accordance with its Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy. He urged the United Front Forum to play its part in mobilising the population against these policies. ●

# THE BASIC CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT BILL

At present Labour Minister Tito Mboweni is locked in talks with COSATU and the business community on the proposed Basic Conditions of Employment Bill. Key issues under discussion are maternity leave, job creation, employment guarantees and the reduction of the 60 hour working week to 45 hours. Both COSATU and the Business Community have been presented with draft proposals to which they are expected to respond.

In an SAFM interview with a spokesman for the business delegation, a Mr Smith expressed grave reservations and objections to these proposals. According to him these proposals are not conducive to stimulating job creation. On the contrary, he says that it will force business to become more reliant on industrial technological applications. This option, according to Mr. Smith, will lead to further job losses, quite the opposite of Mr Mboweni's stated objectives.

Now Mr. Smith and the business community are simply being hypocritical in expressing their concern about this supposed impediment to job creation. New and advanced industrial technology evolves in response to social, economic and productive requirements. Surely Mr. Smith is not telling us that big business will shun these technological advances for the sake of job creation? The very fact that Mr. Smith stresses the need for global competitiveness already implies the full scale introduction of advanced industrial technology. In that sense Mr. Smith is merely seizing on the proposals as justification for impending job losses.

The problem of Mr Smith and big business is their distorted application of technological industrial development. Their

view is blinded by self-motivation and profiteering at the expense of the workers and the deprived majority. It is a perception based on the misappropriation of these advances and the use of possession as a licence to absolve themselves of all social responsibility. They see these industrial developments as their exclusive property, to be applied or rejected according to their dictates. This is a totally warped and socially immoral perception.

The reality is that industrial advances are the products of universal social needs. As such they should be welcomed and employed to serve the best interests of human society as a whole and not to be used as a bargaining chip in the hands of a privileged business minority. It is only when these developments are applied in their proper context that their universal benefits and full potential will be realised. It is only from this perspective that issues of a shorter working week, maternity leave, job creation and a decent living wage can be constructively addressed.

The workers and the economically deprived masses must realise that such a social application of advanced industrial technology can only be achieved by breaking the industrial stranglehold of big business and by eradicating the choking weeds of the Capitalist system. In that sense the route of negotiation, compromise and partnership with the government, that COSATU is advocating *as the only way forward*, is a recipe for failure. It is based on the illusion that the Capitalist System can be reformed to become humanitarian. This ignores the fact that in over three hundred years of existence, capitalism has failed utterly to solve the problems of poverty, unemployment, disease, crime and

homelessness. On the contrary, under capitalism all those problems have become more acute.

In the face of the attack of big business, it would be a mistake for workers to believe that the Mr Mboweni's Basic Conditions of Employment Bill is motivated by a fundamental concern for their position. It is not simply, as COSATU argues, that the proposals are basically correct but they don't go far enough. At this time it is simply a sop to keep workers quiet. Mr Mboweni is firstly a proponent of Capitalism, which places him on the side of big business and not the workers. That is why, for example, his proposals offer the workers no protection of their wages if the working week is reduced.

Workers must realise that Min. Tito Mboweni's white papers will in no way alter their basic position. Real transformation is only possible through the total destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by socialism. Instead of using all their time and energy in frustrating negotiations with Mr Tito Mboweni, for limited and short term gains only, workers should use more of that precious time and energy to mobilise their resources and organisations to rid the world of the barbaric Capitalist system and its proponents.

**THE DEMAND FOR A SHORTER WORKING WEEK MUST NOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE DEMAND FOR A LIVING WAGE.**

**PRODUCTION MUST BE CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK SHOULD SUIT THE WORKERS AND NOT SELFISH PROFITEERS.**

## **THE TRC HEARING ON THE 1960'S PONDOLAND UPRISING**

In line with their deliberate suppression and distortion of the true history of the liberation struggle, the newspapers of the big capitalists and even the national television broadcaster, found it necessary to report only very fleetingly on the TRC hearing held in Lusikisiki during the last week of March of this year. No reference to the detail of this historical development was made whatsoever, including the fact that the APDUSA achieved widespread influence in this area. What this proves is that, as so many times in the past, the suffering majority must be denied the benefit of knowing what historical organisational gains have been made, and that the APDUSA is an organisation which clearly sets the interests of the workers and landless peasantry apart from the interests of those who wish to continue enjoying their position of privilege and comfort at the expense of the labouring majority. ●

### **LETTERS:**

#### **THE ANC LEADERSHIP SHOWS ITS TRUE COLOURS**

Ever since the oppressed masses have voted the ANC leadership into power, they have been rewarded with nothing but disappointment. Those who still persist in vain hopes are having to resort to flimsy excuses to justify this leadership's preoccupation with promoting and protecting the interests of the Capitalist ruling class. Inevitably this commitment to the capitalist class carries a price tag, which calls for further inroads into the conditions and living standards of the already overburdened oppressed. There is no need to dwell on the various aspects through which this Alliance Government has proved its utter failure to resolve the problems which fuelled the liberatory struggle. The masses experience the full effect in their every day lives.

In these circumstances it is especially the younger generation which is extremely perplexed by this hundred and eighty degree turn from the promises of the Freedom Charter. It is precisely because they were never afforded the opportunity of examining the credentials of the ANC. If they had they would have realised long ago that since its inception it has been in the unrelenting grip of a petti-bourgeoisie leadership. Contrary to the aspirations of the oppressed masses this leadership

is motivated solely by selfish ambition to use the frustrations, anger and militancy of the masses as bargaining chips to secure a partnership with their Capitalist role models. Such a leadership is never revolutionary in outlook. On the contrary, they are opportunists and the enemies of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the national oppression and capitalist exploitation.

Joe Modise's outburst over the weekend of the 15,16/2/97 proves this contention beyond a shadow of a doubt. In defending the contemplated arms sale to Syria, Mr Modise, inadvertently perhaps, let the cat out of the bag. He revealed that unbeknown to the general public, South Africa is supplying the Israeli State with arms. If we consider that Israel will be using those arms to brutally suppress the just struggles of our Palestinian and Lebanese comrades, then this provision of arms to Israel must be viewed as a dastardly act of betrayal of all those engaged in the international struggle for liberation, including ourselves. This is especially unscrupulous considering the Israeli government's past support for the Apartheid regime during the eighties. Not only did it help the apartheid regime to survive the force of economic sanctions but it was actively engaged in supplying it with military assistance and know how.

Of course Mr. Modise was never in the firing line inside the country. Unlike the people at home, he did not have to face the terrible consequences of the arms arrangements between Israel and the former South African government. But was he not aware that Israel provided the apartheid regime with sophisticated communications and electronic equipment for use against guerrillas? So what this sale of arms to Israel means is that Mr. Modise and his cronies in Government are in fact repaying apartheid's debt to Israel. That is precisely why the wily bishop and his Commission of Truth and Reconciliation is preparing the bed for the consummation of the marriage of the ANC leadership and the class enemies of the masses. It means that, swept along on the euphoria whipped up by the ruling class media since 1990, we have relaxed our guard and allowed wolves to infiltrate into our ranks.

Even through our mistakes we learn valuable lessons. One is, never to put our trust in individuals or leaders. Our struggle must be guided by the fundamental interests of the labouring majority. Secondly, we must learn to distinguish our friends from our foes. Lastly, we must not be afraid to face the truth, even when it hurts.

N. Jacobs (Cape Town)

## **MORE SUPERFICIAL PROMISES FROM THE ANC GOVERNMENT?**

In a recent discussion at the University of the Western Cape with a youthful bureaucrat in the National Education Department, it was striking to observe the deft footwork and unashamed political duplicity of one of the "liberators of the nation". When the ANC was criticised and exposed for what it really is, this young man repeatedly argued that the population will once again vote for the ANC in the 1999 national elections, and because of that, the ANC is the organisation which represents the interests of the majority. This was just about the sum total of what he could say in defence of the

ANC. That it will be voted back into power may very well be the case, but one must ask, on the basis of what new set of promises? Remember the Freedom Charter, the Constitutional Guidelines, the promises made in 1994, the RDP?

The ANC may still be able to dupe the suffering majority to vote for it, in the same way as New Labour called upon the workers in Britain to vote for it on May 1st, but these bourgeois democratic elections are only to choose the party whose duties are set out by the big businesses who are their political masters. In the capitalist system it is the capitalist class that truly holds power.

*APDUSA MEMBER*

**IF YOU WISH TO RECEIVE MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE APDUSA AND IF YOU WISH TO BE PLACED ON OUR MAILING LIST FOR PAMPHLETS, ETC. , PLEASE COMPLETE THE FORM BELOW AND POST TO :**

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- The Revolutionary Road for South Africa
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### **NOTICE TO ALL CORRESPONDENTS**

Please note that the APDUSA postal address at PO Box 615 Eikefontein has been closed. All correspondence should be directed to our Cape Town Office address:  
*1A Palace House, Malta Road, Salt River, 7925  
( Phone: 021-477853 )*

It is the aim of The APDUSAN to publicise the efforts of the long-suffering workers and peasants of South Africa, to unite in struggles for a better life and equality for all. If you are involved in a struggle that you believe others should know about, please write to us at the above address.

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