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AFRICAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC UNION
OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

50c

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

THE PROPOSED JOB SUMMIT A GLORIFIED NEDLAC

The proposed job summit is supposed to tackle the problem of unemployment in this country. The idea of this summit was agreed upon as long ago as August last year at a meeting of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. But afterwards the government showed itself rather reluctant to commit to a firm date for the summit and it has been postponed time and time again. Now finally, it is supposed to be held at the end of July.

The delays in convening the summit has made the COSATU leadership rather unhappy. In the mean time the bosses are actively pursuing their own agenda made possible through the GEAR policy of the government.

How the bosses and the leaders of the workers can possibly find common ground in this summit to solve the problems of the workers, only they will know. The very system of the bosses that causes the problems for the workers is now suddenly supposed to produce solutions for the workers.

But what about the government's position? Too many times has it been shown that it is acting more as a partner of the bosses - against the workers. The goings on in NEDLAC and labour legislation up till now, has clearly shown that the working class cannot rely on the government to act in its interests. Previous issues of the "APDUSAN" as well as articles in the newspapers of the bosses have clearly shown how unemployment, instead of decreasing, has in fact been increasing. It is perhaps due to these facts and figures that the government has been hesitant to commit itself to the summit - knowing that the outcome of such a summit will further expose the hollowness of its promises and the inability of its GEAR economic strategy to create jobs. We are thus bound to ask and pose the following questions and demands.

★ Who is setting the agenda for the summit and how has it been agreed upon?

- ★ Will COSATU's demand for a public works programme be entertained, and if so, how will decisions arrived at, actually be implemented?
- ★ Will the outcome of the summit help to strengthen the unity between the organised working class and the unemployed millions?
- ★ Will the plight of the millions of destitute land hungry peasants, who in many cases are former migrant workers, be addressed?

Unless the representatives of the workers and landless peasants force these issues to the forefront at this proposed job summit, it will just amount to an extended plenary session of NEDLAC - that body where the mystical "social accord" between government, labour and the bosses is supposed to be worked out.

If any one thinks that this proposed jobs summit can bring about more jobs for the unemployed it must be understood that the bosses will only go with it if the workers are prepared to accept the lowest wage - far lower than the starvation wages that the majority of the employed are receiving today. If we demand jobs at a living wage then we cannot depend on making deals with the bosses in this kind of job summit. We must look to pushing our own demands in our own organisations with goals that are independent of the interests of the bosses. There can be no progress towards our demands by collaborating with our enemy.

NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE BOSSES!.

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AND MUCH MORE!

RACISM AND CLASS

In an article in the Saturday Star, March 14th 1998, headed 'Racism is alive and well in South Africa', Dr Ashwin Desai of the University of Durban-Westville, sets out to prove this is the case and contends that government policies are entrenching racialism. He cites a number of examples from various walks of public life that racialism is rife in South Africa. The disturbing feature about the examples he gives is that there is little or no public criticism of blatant racialism.

He correctly asserts that the political economy the government is sponsoring is entrenching racial and class divides. He emphasises the failure of the government to redistribute "the wealth and - productive resources in the country". He believes the real beneficiaries of affirmative action and the Employment Equity Bill are "the lucky few black corporate climbers" but that these token measures are far outweighed by the thousands of retrenched mine, metal and textile workers who are the victims of the ANC's neo-liberal economics.

One begins to take issue with the writer when he states that the "trouble with the ANC's racialisation of the labour market is that it does not go far enough. It does not robustly protect the jobs of black workers at the expense of white profits nor does it enable a better life for the disadvantaged by increasing social spending". How, one asks the writer, can the affirmative action plan go further and protect the jobs of the mass of black workers when as he himself states earlier in the article it was designed to protect the interests

of the few black high flyers? He himself has stated quite categorically that it is the adoption by the government of neo-liberal economics and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy (GEAR) that has led to thousands of blacks losing their jobs. He seems to imply that there is a conflict between the government's affirmative action programme and its neo-liberal economic policies, which there is not. Both are designed to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie as against those of the workers. The white bourgeoisie have energetically promoted the incorporation of a few blacks into the bourgeois class as a bulwark against the working class and landless peasantry. The big corporations also support affirmative action and are falling over themselves in their efforts to appoint blacks into top and middle management posts. They may be critical of some aspects of the programme, such as the pace of its application, but they support it in principle.

The writer, because he does not think consistently in class terms, gets entrapped in the very racial thinking that he warns his readers to guard against. Having earlier in his article stated that the jobs of black workers are not being protected at the expense of white profits, he later on points out that Motlana dresses up his entry into the business world as "black empowerment". But that this does not deter Motlana from dismissing thousands of black workers from the mine he owns. It should be understood that it is not only the jobs of black workers being sacrificed at the altar of "white" profits but also of "black" profits.

It is necessary to emphasise that the fundamental struggle in society is the class struggle, not racism. Racism remains entrenched in South African society because the socio-economic position of the mass of oppressed black workers and landless peasantry is unchanged.

The writer calls for "redistribution the wealth and productive resources in the country". But he does not show how this can be achieved. It is because he still looks to the ANC-led government to lead society forward that he cannot provide the answer to the fundamental questions facing society. He asks for the government to increase social spending. But even if the government were prepared to reform its policies and slightly increase spending and save a few jobs, this would not have any meaningful effect on the condition of the working class.

With the bourgeoisie, white as well as black, in control of the economy the exploitation and impoverishment of the workers, black as well as white will continue. It is only the proletariat that can lead society out of the morass in which it finds itself.

The proletariat and its ally, the landless peasantry are faced with the task of wresting power, political as well as economic from the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the petty bourgeois leadership of the ANC. When it is in control of the mines, factories and banks and has nationalised the land, it will be able to use the wealth created for the masses and not just for the benefit of a tiny privileged minority of the population. ♦

INSIDE COSATU: *The election pact with the ANC*

COSATU spokesperson Nowetu Mpati confirmed that the union will not field candidates on an ANC ticket in the 1999 elections. Many workers are accusing former unionists like Jay Naidoo, Alec Erwin and Marcel Golding of betrayal. The decision to 'deploy' them to parliament is considered a failure. The fact is, all of them have accepted the ANC's project of strengthening capitalism in South Africa. In parliament not a single voice for socialism is heard. As a result militants like John Apollis of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union have been calling for the end of the tripartite alliance. But, as Mpati points out, the top leadership of COSATU remains committed to an ANC victory in 1999. During May and June this year they were to meet the ANC leadership to discuss what COSATU wants in the ANC's election manifesto.

The historical truth is that the problems of the working masses cannot be solved by a capitalist parliament such as ours, no matter who gets elected. What is necessary is to break the power of the capitalist class through a worker-led revolution. The ANC leadership sees its main task as saving and defending capitalism in this country. They are the worst enemies of workers' struggles and revolution. Election agreements with them can only further deceive the working masses whose problems will not and cannot be solved by an ANC government. The Mpatis, the Shilowas, the Dexters are deceivers whose function is to tie the workers to parties loyal to capitalism.

Militants who accept this truth will realise the central task is not to try improve the lot of workers through deals with the capitalistic ANC. That will fail as it failed in 1994. People like John Apollis and the militants in NUMSA must cooperate with APDUSA in trying to get a revolutionary socialist voice in parliament. This voice will not plead for concessions. No, it will use parliament as a platform to call the masses to an uncompromising struggle for their demands. It will expose the everyday deceptions of the capitalist parties. It will promote the revolution from the highest rostrum in the land. For that to happen, a struggle must be waged within COSATU. The top leadership is intent to bind the union to the ANC. They must be exposed and stopped.

Sharpeville Day Commemoration 1998 **Held at AWOSA Offices, Johannesburg**

The massacre of the people at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960 and the reaction of the population to that massacre marked a turning point in the history of the oppressed black masses in South Africa. Dealing with that period and the encounters of the masses with the police and their behaviour during the political trials that followed, the late Mr I.B. Tabata in his pamphlet "The Pan African Congress Adventure in Perspective" had this to say "The slaves of yesterday had suddenly dropped their humility and presented themselves before the disconcerted magistrates like men who have sloughed off their chains".

Not only in the towns but in the countryside, the peasantry were in revolt against the racist regime and in that year, the Pondoland rebellion took place, which was ruthlessly suppressed by the racists with many deaths and thousands brought on trial. A peasant giving evidence before a Commission of Enquiry into the Pondoland revolt said "When the vote was taken away from us, the African people were not allowed to sit side by side with the white man in Parliament. This unrest has come to stay as long as the African people have not got representatives in Parliament to voice their grievances". The demand for full political rights by

the oppressed and the sacrifices they were willing to make, even the loss of life, constituted a challenge to the whole herrenvolk system.

Thirty-eight years after Sharpeville we can now look back to that period and realise that it marked the beginning of the end of the apartheid system. Now in 1998, four years after the negotiated settlement, we as a nation are entitled to ask ourselves, where are we and where are we going? In 1994, the racist regime, following the heroic resistance of the population, were forced to give political rights to the oppressed but would not grant them majority rule. Hence the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU). The racists also succeeded in obtaining the agreement of the ANC to enshrine in the constitution, the protection of the property rights of the privileged minority, mainly white, who controlled the wealth of the country.

In 1994 the ANC deceived the population into voting for them by promising that they would build a million houses in five years through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and provide them with lots of jobs and

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equality in education. Within a year or two of assuming office, the ANC-led government ditched the RDP and introduced the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR). At the core of the GEAR policy is the facilitation of greater profits for the capitalists such as flexibility of labour, to enable capitalists to hire labour more cheaply and to fire workers more easily. Then there is privatisation, selling off major state enterprises like TELKOM, built with public money, to foreign and local capitalists, who will employ the latest technology and get rid of as many workers as they can in these enterprises and pay lower wages to the workers that remain. By concentrating on cutting budget deficits, the government is spending less on welfare, education and health.

When the government is attacked for neglecting the interests of the workers and peasants and pursuing capitalist policies, it proudly proclaims that blacks are benefiting from its policy, which is one of "black empowerment". What is actually happening is that a tiny group of blacks is being incorporated into the capitalist class. Ramaphosa, who in the late 1980's as secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), led a strike of mineworkers, is today director of a big conglomerate, which exploits the workers. The fact that he is black and a former secretary of the NUM does not in any way minimise or alleviate the exploitation of the workers employed by his companies. The rubber bullets that were fired by the police and injured striking transport workers were not any softer or less likely to cause injury to the workers, because they were fired by police employed by the ANC-led government. That government was acting in the interests of the capitalist class against the workers. That same ANC-led government in the field of education pays lip service to equality but in practice provides an inferior education in the ghetto schools, where the unskilled labourers for the mines, factories and farms will get their education.

The former Model C schools in the rich areas provide a high standard of education for the future managers and skilled labour force required by the economy. Some black children, whose parents can afford the fees are now allowed into these schools, so that the type of education you now receive is being determined by class not race. While the high fees charged by these former Model C schools acts as a barrier to mainly impoverished blacks and poor whites entering them, the problems faced by black pupils at Vryburg High School is somewhat different. There the school administration and governing body cannot tolerate black and white

pupils receiving an equal education and they have been harassing the black pupils. The fearlessness of the black pupils in the face of intimidation by racist parents and the police shows that the young generation of blacks growing up is not prepared to accept inferiority. They are demanding equality in education and will take on the school authorities and government if they do not receive it.

The masses, following Sharpeville and the period up to the negotiated settlement did not clearly understand that the class struggle and not the colour bar was the fundamental struggle in society. Thus they accepted the petty bourgeois leadership of the ANC as their representative. This petty-bourgeois leadership, which led the GNU, then pursued policies in the interests of the bourgeoisie and its own class, not those of the workers and peasantry.

Since the 1994 elections, it has been much easier for the workers and landless peasantry to understand that the fundamental struggle in society is the class struggle. Armed with this new knowledge, they will now be in a position to take steps to discard the leadership of the ANC in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Having carried this out, they will be able to create their own independent leadership, guided by a vanguard party in the fight for socialist democracy.

(Contribution by APDUSA, 21st March 1998.)

FOR SALE

APDUSA

- * 1995 Conference Speeches and Resolutions
- * 1996 Conference Speeches and Resolutions

BY I.B.TABATA

- * Education for Barbarism
- * Imperialist Conspiracy in Africa
- * The Boycott as Weapon of Struggle
- * Letter to Mandela (1948)
- * Apartheid: Cosmetics Exposed

UMSA

- * The Revolutionary Road for South Africa

THE GOLD SUMMIT

The gold summit that was held between the A.N.C, LABOUR and BUSINESS was heralded as the solution to the mining crisis. In the past year the closure of mines resulted in 100,000 workers losing their jobs. This has had repercussions beyond gold mining itself. Parallel industries which serve and rely on gold mining have also had to cut back on their labour force. All these job losses also mean a shrinking of the capitalist market and we all know that capitalism can only survive if there is a market to sell its products. On the other hand, the National Union of Mineworkers is faced with a shrinkage in membership which has reduced both its income from subscriptions and its bargaining power.

The sacked workers were trained for specific jobs in mining and few if any other mines will be able to employ them. With general unemployment standing at 33% at the lowest, these workers are doomed to try and make a living in the hell of the informal trading sector.

Since most were migrant workers their housing in the

hostels has come to an end, and they are forced to go and live in the ever extending squatter camps. The A.N.C. government is sitting with an ever increasing unemployment sector that is depleting the UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND, and it exposes the fraud of their GEAR economic policy. This macro-economic policy guaranteed a million jobs in a few years. It starts to look more like a few jobs in a million years.

RESULTS

The summit concluded that the recruiting agency THEBE should be used to retrain these miners to find other employment. This in fact means that Thebe will train workers to become unemployed semi-skilled workers. This is not a new thing. We have seen people in some communities trained in basic skills to complete RDP projects. After completion of these projects the workers found themselves with a certain amount of skills but no jobs.

At the summit the government supported the demand of the

mining bosses to use rotating work shifts that can only result in more job losses. A moratorium on further retrenchments was brokered by the petite bourgeois leadership of the NUM that has since been broken by the mine bosses. The president of NUM was appointed as a director of ANGLO. So much for the gold summit.

OUR DEMANDS

We in the APDUSA state that the mining industry must be nationalised so that the whole population can enjoy its benefits. The appointment of worker representatives in the control of mining is a prerequisite. These representatives must be paid at no more than the salary of a skilled worker. They must be accountable to their constituency subject to recall. Workers should be cross-trained to enable them to do other work if their jobs become redundant.

THE ANC-SACP-COSATU ALLIANCE WHERE TO NOW?

Numerous books and articles have been written on the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. In a previous edition of the 'APDUSAN' the point was made that the continued existence of this alliance only serves the interests of the bureaucratic foundations that underpin it. The proposed job summit is the latest major issue on which the alliance partners are supposed to find common ground to try and sort out the terrible economic and social mess which is present-day South Africa. It does not take a prophet to predict that this "Alliance" job summit will bring absolutely no relief to the suffering working class.

So what developments do we anticipate if and when the alliance is broken up? The remnants of the ideological outlook of the SACP is bound to linger on in the leadership ranks of COSATU. The political positions that elevate parliamentarianism the be-all and end-all of political struggle, is bound

to still smother the fighting potential of the rank and file membership of the organised working class. The proposed establishment of a worker's party under the leadership of COSATU will, in the same way, serve the purpose of shifting the attention away from the SACP of old. But what the content and intent of the political programme of this initiative will amount to, is still obscure.

APDUSA in its programme advances the promotion of the self-organisation of the labouring masses, and stresses the need to build the greatest ideological and organisational unity between the workers in the urban centres and the peasants in the rural areas. This, in essence, is the type of alliance which the present day situation demands. As for the tripartite alliance, its demise and what is needed to replace it, will be measured in terms of this demand. ◆

EDITORIAL

Clinton's Visit

Bill Clinton's visit to Sub-Saharan Africa was bound to create a lot of interest. Now that it is over and all the publicity has ended, most ordinary people are left wondering what it was all about. Here in South Africa, Clinton made a pretty speech in parliament, he visited one or two poverty stricken areas, shook hands with a few people and dished out some small change in charity and that was about it, or so it seems.

A 'NEW DEAL' FOR AFRICA

The main purpose of Clinton's visit was to promote the idea of what he calls a new trade partnership between the United States and Africa. To facilitate this new United States economic program Clinton is at present pushing a through new bill at home called "the African Growth and Opportunity Act". This law will provide African countries new opportunities to sell their products on the American market provided they also lift all restrictions against American businesses trading in their own markets. The key argument that Clinton is using is that America wants to deal with the African states as equals and not just to dish out charity in the form of economic aid, as that puts the African states in an inferior position. This sounds very noble but the truth is that Africa is indeed in an inferior economic position precisely because its resources have been systematically raped by American and western imperialism for centuries. In the struggles for national and political independence in Africa, America

and its allies stepped in at every turn whenever these struggles took on an anti-imperialist direction. America has a stinking history of backing tyrants and all manner of reactionary forces against the struggles of the African peoples for self-determination and independence. This resulted in Sub-Saharan Africa being devastated by a series of terrible civil wars, leaving chaos and destruction and starvation in their wake.

Today America sees some political stability building up in Africa under a leadership that is either unable to push for true independence or otherwise quite happy to serve Imperialism. This simply means that the American bosses of finance, trade and industry see fresh business opportunities in Africa. The collapse of the South East Asian economies, the "Asian Tigers" has made their search for new and profitable places to invest their capital that much more urgent. Already investments in Africa give American businesses an average of 31% return in profits, which is almost twice as much as anywhere else in the world.

AMERICA FIRST!

We can be sure that the interests of American business in Africa are purely selfish and it is not in the least concerned about the welfare of the people of our continent. Despite the fact that the Sub-Saharan African states suffer under a foreign debt burden of well over \$200 billion (more than one trillion rand), Clinton had precious little to offer when every African country

he visited called upon the US to provide relief from this crippling debt. "Trade not Aid" is his slogan.

Clinton's new proposal of a free trade agreement between the United States and Africa is no different to the North America Free Trade Agreement which recently left the Mexican economy in ruins while the US investors rushed off with their capital and booty at the first sign of problems leaving the Mexican people to wallow and suffer in the mess. It is the old story of the lion making a deal with the lamb which can end up in only one way.

ANC DUPLICITY

So how does our own government feel about the matter? Though President Mandela openly expressed his dissatisfaction with Clinton's proposals and America's new economic deal for Africa and vice-president Thabo Mbeki's goal of an "African Renaissance" may seem to be worlds apart, the truth is that they are not that different. It is the policy of the ANC-led government not to rebuild our economy by placing its resources in the hands of the people but by opening it up to foreign capitalist investors with as little strings attached. Like other African states, we may have won our political independence but our people remain the victims of capitalist-imperialist economic domination and the effects are painfully obvious to all. The struggle continues. ♦

USE CONGO'S WEALTH TO DESTROY POVERTY!

"The ADFL is the historic successor of the party led by Lumumba. It has achieved victory without negotiation and without compromise.", we wrote in our editorial following the revolution establishing the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). In another article, in that issue, the APDUSAN stated: "We pledge them (the ADFL) our moral support and the sincere wish that victory in battle will be translated into fundamental change in the interest of the people of the DRC." (The APDUSAN, vol. 3 no 2, P7). Since that time the capitalist press all over the globe stepped up their mudslinging camping against the progressive revolutionary forces in the DRC. Behind the anticipated imperialist slanders, many other developments occurred in the DRC.

At a press briefing in November 1997, Ministers outlined the priorities of the new Kinshasa government. "Our principal preoccupation is the welfare of the people ... ending misery of people in the country side, who should benefit from the riches of this country...", echoed Pierre Lokombe Kitele, the Energy Minister then. Using Congo's wealth to eliminate poverty and raise the living standards of its people, is indeed a progressive goal; the intent is to tackle the primary post-revolutionary duty head-on!

Now deceased imperialist puppet, Mobutu Sese Seko, looted this rich country and left a ruined economy behind. Apparently he regularly earned around US\$6 million per month from diamond deals alone. At least nine properties owned by the Mobutu-clan in Belgium, have been estimated at between US\$15.5 million AND \$17 million: one mansion on 4 hectares of land (valued at around \$11 million was recently auctioned to a Belgian tycoon for less than half its estimated value. The largest share of Mobutu's booty has been invested in Switzerland. His yacht, now abandoned in Kinshasa, used for the lavish entertainment of his friends (conspirators), has been described as a "floating palace".

On the eastern side of Congo, rich deposits of minerals like diamonds, copper, gold and magnesium are embedded in the earth; the worlds largest hydro-electricity dams are at Inga on the Congo River. Congo's west-side is rich in crude oil. French and American oil multinationals are

engaged in a dogfight over 'unallocated oil block rights'. Anglo American, South Africa's mining monopolist, is at war with capitalists from Canada and America for 'property rights' over the Kolwezi copper mine. These exploiters are shedding crocodile tears because their preying on Congo's riches under the Mobutu-dictatorship has now been curtailed!

Congo-Kinshasa has a population of 55 million people. Under the old government, its per capita income was less than one American dollar per day. Inflation was counted in thousands and the debt amounted to \$14 billion. (May 1997, 1\$US = 180,000 N-Zaire and 1\$US = R4.60)

A new currency, the Congo Franc, is now circulating and inflation was slashed to 14% within six months. Against the wishes of creditors, the DRC government demands that all debt accumulated under the Mobutu regime be written off, these finance hawks want to strike a deal for the repayment of \$1.4 billion. The government says "NO!".

Included in the economic rebuilding plan of the government, are listed, amongst other priorities:

- Reconstruction of the 13 000 miles strategic road network
- Buying tractors and other supplies to revive and improve agriculture, etc.
- Electrification projects and provision of drinking water; expand the availability and quality of health care to the poor.
- Repatriation of assets accumulated by Mobutu, purchased with state funds and kept in countries like Belgium, Switzerland.

Imperialism is not at all happy with the efforts of the ADFL government to cut its control of the resources of the Congo and use it for the benefit of Congo nation itself. It will do all in its power to undermine and limit such plans. Besides this threat the workers and peasants of the Congo stand to gain very little from their victory over the tyrannical rule of the imperialist puppet Mobutu while they are still ruled by capitalist bourgeois democracy. Only a socialist revolution can consolidate these gains and carry them forward.

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!
WORKERS OF AFRICA UNITE!**

THEIR POLITICS - OR OURS ?

To know your friends from your enemies is always useful. When it comes to politics this becomes even more important. As the 1999 elections loom near, the working class will once again be called upon to vote for the ANC. In the Western Cape this call will be coupled with the call to remove the NP from office in the provincial government.

Throughout its history, the NP has shown itself to be a deadly enemy of the working class. The recent election of Gerald Morkel as their new leader and thus premier-elect of the Western Cape serves only one political objective - to secure votes and so retain a measure of control for itself. To those members of the working class who are prepared to vote for the NP, the APDUSA says that the political programme of the NP has not changed one bit, despite its pretence of non-racialism. The NP is committed to serve and protect the interests of the minority white section of the population. In fact, their control of the Western Cape in effect gives them their own Volkstaat. We therefore call upon the workers to reject the NP as it is no friend of the working class.

But what about the ANC? In the Western Cape, we recently witnessed the initiative of desperate and homeless workers to build temporary homes (shacks) on vacant land in Tafelsig. To these workers and the millions of homeless in South Africa we ask: Which political party in government today came to your defence and advanced your so-called constitutional right to decent housing? In fact, the Honourable Salim Mowzer, an ANC MP actually condemned this land occupation as illegal and threatened these workers with eviction.

Why would Mr Mowzer, a leading member of the ANC, which is supposedly committed to the interests of the working class, condemn this action by the workers? In the past the ANC and its allies in the leadership of COSATU and the SACP criticised

the free-market ideas of the former government. The ANC said that once in power, it would tax the rich to provide services like education, housing and health. It promised to nationalise industry to ensure that the state could have the resources to address the inequalities caused by Apartheid and Capitalism. Let us now judge the ANC on its track-record since they came to power.

On many occasions, before and since the elections of 1994, the ANC warned its supporters against having too high expectations. The government budgets since 1994 appears to show social spending apparently increasing at a steady rate. However, this disguises real cutbacks in services such as education, health housing and welfare. The government talks of a lack of resources to meet our needs. But we are also witness to the wealth lavishly wasted on so-called Black economic empowerment schemes and through bureaucratic corruption.

The ANC / COSATU / SACP leadership claims that only a capitalist, free-market system can provide the basis for rebuilding the economy of our country. In order to do this, they want to attract foreign capital by offering investors opportunities to make massive profits by paying workers lower wages than they would have to pay elsewhere. These financial parasites are also guaranteed special low taxes and the right to take their profits out of the country. It also means that local bosses of industry, mining and agriculture must be assisted to produce goods at prices low enough to sell on the international market. By implication therefore, the ANC guarantees a welfare state only for the rich. As in the past, when the NP served the interests of the local and foreign capitalists, the ANC is now doing the same job.

The working class must not be fooled by the promises of the ANC. Promises that are not kept, combined with cost increases, unemployment, low wages and poor services will inevitably force

the working class to recognise who are its enemies and who are its allies. Many workers realise this and are prepared to fight for their demands by conducting the class struggle against the capitalists. To those workers who still believe in the promises of the ANC, we in the APDUSA say: All the political parties in government today share one common interest - to serve and protect the interests of the bosses at the expense of the majority in this country i.e. the working class.

The elections of 1994 were a step forward. But the fact that workers have to occupy land in order to raise the demand for housing, proves that we are not free yet. The bosses are the same old bosses, despite the addition of a few black faces. Our fight for education, health, housing and the right to employment must be combined with the fight for full political rights under the majority rule of the working class.

The APDUSA counterposes the promises of the ANC with our transitional programme:

- We call for a Constituent Assembly which will draw up a new constitution which will have as its primary objective the interests of the majority i.e. the working class.
- We call for the nationalisation of all banking institutions of credit, mines, factories and agriculture.
- We also call for the nationalisation of all land and thus the confiscation of private property which rightfully belong to the working class by virtue of the fact that we create all the wealth in this country with our labour power.

However, unlike the ANC the APDUSA does not make promises which it cannot fulfil. None of these demands can be met within the framework of the Capitalist system. The working class will have to organise itself with a leadership that is under its full control. It is only through a Socialist revolution that we will accomplish real freedom from Capitalist slavery. ◆



APDUSA CONFERENCE 1998

On 25/26 April members and delegates from across the country gathered in Johannesburg for the seventh national Conference of the APDUSA. Also in attendance were guests from the Johannesburg Tenants Association (JOTA) and the Amalgamated Workers of South Africa (AWOSA).

Highlights of conference were the papers and discussions reviewing the national and international situations and our organisational tasks. The president, Mr. K.A. Tshangana set the tone in his opening address in which he showed how important it is in these times for workers to understand the processes by which they are exploited in the Capitalist system. He emphasised the important role that trade unions must play in organising the working class and defending their interests. He explained how this role was being subverted by a bureaucratic and self-interested leadership in the major trade union federations who are committed to a policy of compromise.

The speaker introducing discussion on the national situation expanded on this theme. He showed how the technological revolution in industry, instead of improving the lives of everyone, under capitalism it only served to push more and more people into a permanent state of unemployment. All over the world capitalists businesses are facing a crisis of falling profits. To counter this the bosses of finance and capital are demanding that governments cut down on social welfare spending and limit the rights of workers to defend their living standards. This is seen in the GEAR policy being pushed by our own government and its devastating effects in health and education. He further showed how the tri-partite alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU only served to keep the workers helpless in this growing onslaught on their rights.

The paper on the International situation paid attention to the economic developments in China and the collapse of the so-called Asian Tigers. The speaker showed that

narrow nationalism was no counter to the economic devastation that capitalist imperialism with its neo-liberal policies was bringing about across the world. The struggle for the power of the working class majority through an international socialist revolution was the only alternative.

In discussing the forthcoming general elections conference noted that while the ANC will again command the majority vote, there is growing disillusionment and dissatisfaction with its inability to answer the basic needs of the masses. There is at the same time no political party in parliament that can offer the population anything better. While the APDUSA itself is not in a position to intervene directly in parliamentary politics it shall support the right of the people to exercise their democratic voting rights but it shall call on the people to place the basic demands for meaningful political and socio-economic change as expressed in the programme of the APDUSA.

Dealing with its own organisational programme it was observed that despite reports of a growth of support and membership in various areas, this had not been accompanied by a growth in the effectiveness of the organisation. It was concluded that it is imperative for the APDUSA to tighten up its internal structures and mechanisms, even if this meant the non-acceptance of members who made no contribution to the functioning of the organisation. Conference ended with a spirit of greater determination to prosecute the programme of the APDUSA and to build its links with the workers and landless peasants to the highest possible level.

At the end of its proceedings conference was treated to an entertaining and inspiring presentation of working class poetry by two members of the Rishile cultural group who gave this performance for the APDUSA despite a heavy schedule of other engagements.

APDUSA MARCHES ON!

The workers, who create the wealth of this land, must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labour

Letters

THE N.S.C. CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST

Comrade Editor

In 1989, at an open SACOS conference in P.E., the N.S.C.'s Mluleki George was trapped into an open admission that the main objective of the N.S.C. was the total elimination of SACOS as the sports wing of the liberatory struggle.

Based on the principle that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society, it was SACOS that was mainly instrumental in bringing about an international boycott of Apartheid White sport. The lifting of this international boycott, as one of the inducements to drag the Apartheid regime to the negotiating table, was a task entrusted to the NSC by the ANC. To this end the NSC was provided with enormous sums of imperialist funds and in SA, a virtual monopoly in the use of public facilities and sporting venues. At the same time S.A. big business quickly transferred their sponsorships from SACOS to the NSC.

In Harare an agreement was reached between an ANC delegation, including NSC representatives Mluleki George and Steve Tshwete, and a SARB delegation led by Danie Craven and Louis Luyt. Since naturally, no account of the horse trading at that meeting could be made public, we can only draw our conclusions from what transpired subsequent to the negotiations at the World Trade Centre in 1992. In that same year White South African rugby was rewarded with full internationals against New Zealand and Australia. The NSC had kept its part of the Harare bargain. Up to then the only White South African rugby concession to international criticism has been the inclusion of one Black player from the stooge rugby federation of Multi-racialism. This trend continued unabated until the present day. In fact on the last tour of Europe a Black player was taken along just for the ride. Throughout all this there was not a murmur from the NSC. In 1995 the Springboks, now fondly rechristened the Amabokoboko, won the World Cup. Steve Tshwete and Mluleki George was ecstatic, while Mandela, his arm across Luyt's shoulder, hailed the event as one of the greatest contributions toward nation building.

It must be recorded that by 1992 SARU was comprehensively a spent force. Its officials and sports administrators were lured into the NSC fold with lucrative financial enticements. Left in the cold without administrators, facilities or sponsorships

most of the senior SARU players were lost to rugby. The schools and a trickle of senior players defected to the NSC fold. The schools were easy prey to the marauding NSC juggernaut, as the teachers and intellectuals have always been susceptible to compromise.

Today SACOS is only a shell of its former self, but it is important that it be maintained as a focal rallying point for the inevitable time that the economically excluded masses fully comprehend that the fundamental conditions on which its principles were based remains unchanged. Quite recently this fact was corroborated by Nick Mallet, the Springbok coach.

To return to the NSC and the Amabokoboko. What then occurred in the interim since 1995 to change the NSC perception of Louis Luyt from the fair haired hero to arch villain? It is simply that since then Rugby Union has gone professional involving staggering sums in sponsorships. While up to then the NSC was quite content to play along with the façade of relegating Black players to the development programmes, this financial bonanza introduced a new dimension to the relationship between them and SARFU and Louis Luyt in particular. In a nutshell their quarrel with Luyt has nothing to do with omission of Black players from the Springbok team but everything to do with avarice and greed.

Louis Luyt, an astute hard-liner Afrikaner capitalist, had manipulated himself into a position of unassailable control of the influx of rugby sponsorships. This situation became absolutely untenable to the NSC officials whose greed to get their hands in the honey jar could not be satisfied by the crumbs fed them by Luyt. All their attempts to storm the citadel of Afrikaner dominance, including a commission of inquiry and Mluleki George's ridiculous attempt to wrest the SARFU presidency from Luyt, were miserably repulsed. It is only after all attempts to infiltrate via the backdoor failed that they resorted to public sentiment and their accomplice in the alliance, COSATU. Their calls for international sanctions were mere bluffs as they have no intention of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. In fact the role that COSATU had to play was to lend a measure of credibility to this boycott call. COSATU, Sam Shilowa's fiefdom, which remains curiously unruffled in the face of

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massive retrenchments of mineworkers and teachers, now has no hesitation in threatening to mobilise all its affiliates to back up the NSC call for international sanctions against SARFU.

But obviously the NSC never had any intentions of allowing the situation to develop that far. By calling on the general public and COSATU they were openly admitting that South African society and in particular sport has undergone no fundamental change from the Apartheid years. Nick Mallet put it into words by his frank confession that in order to develop a squad of Black rugby players he has to take them out of their social environment for an indefinite period. Their abject economic and social conditions makes it virtually impossible to compete with their White counterparts. In other words it is an open admission that the principles on which SACOS based its calls for international

isolation of White South African sport remains as valid today as when it was first expressed in 1973.

Despite all their sanctimonious utterings the NSC officials have no concern about the economic and social transformation of the underprivileged Black masses. However they are well aware that in South African sporting circles, rugby and cricket are the barometers by which national integration is measured. Thus while the NSC never had any intention of promoting the interests of Black sports men and women, Louis Luyt never had any intention of sharing the spoils of professional rugby with his NSC co-conspirators. To this extent the resignation of Louis Luyt from the presidency of SARFU can surely not be the end of this sorry saga of intrigue and betrayal. One by one the NSC chickens are coming home to roost.

Mr. J

A WORKERS' MARCH IN THE USA

(an extract from a letter written by an Apdusan studying in the United States of America)

Comrade

I attended a protest march in Manhattan on Saturday, March 28. My main reason for attending was to extend my contact with socialist groups here. This was also an event to learn more about worker struggles in this country. The march was organised by the United Farm Workers of America, an affiliate of AFL-CIO. This demonstration was part of a long and continuing battle of California strawberry workers against a giant American agribusiness, Driscoll. These workers demand the right to organise, better working conditions and wages, an end to sexual harassment, etc.

Fordham's Rosehill campus was flooded with leaflets and other forms of publicity for this march. Students involved in Amnesty International here did the advertising at the campus. Eventually, less than ten Fordham students participated in the march. (The basketball tournament at campus meanwhile attracted crowds!)

You can picture what happened at the march. It was a standard form of those "carnivals of the people". One or two so-called trade union leaders addressed the crowd. Workers engaged in the specific battle presented a background to their fight and updated supporters on the current morale of the fighters, etc. There may be deviations from this norm, but they were not critical here. (In the pamphlet the UFWA and AFL-CIO distributed, they stated what the ten speakers on the platform repeated incessantly.) About 500 workers marched.

Let me proceed to other more relevant issues. The language and national question in the USA struck me again. Most of the slogans and songs were in Spanish. In fact, the two workers from California strawberry fields spoke in Spanish via an interpreter. Today, most menial jobs in this country are performed by Afro-Americans, as well as Latino-Americans and Asian-Americans. Each section has however been classified as a so-called minority group. This is how divide and rule is practised here! Currently a major struggle is taking place in California state for the recognition of bilingual (Spanish and English) education. Massive migrations from poverty stricken South America is taking place. So called illegal Mexicans are naturally welcomed as toilers, not only in the South, but through the States. Unity between these oppressed groups of working peoples is crucial for the future of revolutionary struggles in this country. The Afro-American middle class, fostered by means of the outgoing affirmative action, today echoes the slogans of their class brethren! (There is also the issue of Puerto Rican liberation. Should this US colony be annexed as the 51st state or be granted full independence?)

Back to the march! It really educated me about trade unionism in the US today and the diversity among "left" groups. A wide spectrum of socialist groups descended on this march, distributing their pamphlets, appealing to individual marchers to support their political standpoint, etc. It was such a

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nice contrast. While the Communist Party, the International Socialist Organisation(ISO), and the International Revolutionary Feminists(IRF) permeated the crowd with their teachings, the trade union officialdom shouted from the makeshift platform. It was a carnival. We were even entertained by a traditional Mexican band! Union officials introduced virtually every union leader with a string of VIVA's! Some of these leaders were given a chance to whip up the emotions of the crowd. You know, each bastard just repeated the set of empty slogans of the previous fool, with a little variation! No serious and clear ideas came from them.

What struck me was when the Congressmen started appearing on the platform. Yes, the Democratic Party of the bourgeoisie is given the platform to pull wool over the eyes of the workers. They preached to the masses about how hard they

are fighting in the White House for better wages, working conditions and organising rights for workers! Unbelievable! Bourgeois senators saying they are fighting for the workers! Identical to how the bourgeoisie works in SA - trade union bureaucrats foist the politics of the bourgeoisie onto the workers. The bourgeoisie had a field day at this march for worker rights.

Most papers of the left groups gave reports with little analysis and guidance on the crucial questions, for example, uprooting the bureaucrats and bourgeois political programme from the unions. The ISO had a good article on this. They were the most prominent group present. There was no sight of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP). There is so much work to be done in this country!

Greetings

Chilly



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 address below.

The interests of the workers and landless peasants are paramount!

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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MALTA ROAD
SALT RIVER
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