

Interview: Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of NUMSA

LABOUR BULLETIN spoke to MOSES MAYEKISO after the recent NUMSA congress. Once again in his post as general-secretary of NUMSA, he spoke about the implications of some of the resolutions made at the congress.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of your recent acquittal on treason charges?*

Mayekiso: Firstly we believe trade union members should be involved in community struggles, community organisations, and political organisations. They should be involved in issues that are fought in the communities and join structures like street committees. The judgement is proof that there is nothing wrong with that. It proves that the structures we are advocating in the unions are structures that we can use in the townships.

In the case it became clear that our

aspiration is a socialist society. There is nothing wrong to have socialist aspirations - it proves that we have to be open about our political beliefs and aspirations. The judge commented that blacks don't have political rights, therefore he sees no reason why they can't be involved in peaceful protests like rent boycotts, consumer boycotts and strikes to encourage change and to express our grievances.

This case was a precedent. Should we have been found guilty then many COSATU leaders were going to be found guilty.

Labour Bulletin: *NUMSA was formed through a merger of unions with different*



traditions, styles and political positions. It has grown very rapidly, approximately 43% since it was launched. You have just had your second national congress. What is the actual state of organisation in this giant which is NUMSA?

Mayekiso: We have grown in such a way because we embarked on many campaigns which attracted workers - campaigns like the living wage campaign, political campaigns, and the campaign for my release. People felt they should join this fighting union. They believe in a fighting union. We are the biggest in the metal industry

MOSES MAYEKISO was born in the Cala District in the Transkei in 1948. A member of MAWU when working for Toyota in Wynberg, he joined the union as an organiser after being dismissed during a strike. He played a key role in the November 1984 stayaway, a turning-point in joint community/worker actions. When NUMSA was formed in 1987, he was elected general-secretary, even though he was in jail at the time. He and four others were charged with treason as a result of their involvement in organising the Alex community. They were all acquitted when the judge said that their actions were justified. He has now returned to his post in NUMSA. ☆

because we are the only fighting union, fighting for the aspirations and interests of workers in the industry.

That growth has created problems on the other hand. We've got good structures as far as we are concerned, which encourage accountability and mandates. But because of this growth our structures are not very strong. They are weak. You find that that causes disruption of communication and reportbacks. We still have to strengthen the structures so that we have proper reportbacks and communications.

The three unions brought their expertise, and that also helped our growth. NAAWU brought campaign expertise, MAWU brought organising expertise, and MICWU brought administrative expertise. These different strengths complemented each other. At the moment there is no trace of MAWU, NAAWU or MICWU. I would say we are now stable, the merger has succeeded.

We believe that NUMSA is the most open union politically, open in discussing politics and also open in saying that we can't hide our beliefs about the future society. We believe in a future socialist society. We don't believe that we should hide that.

Labour Bulletin: *Presumably the policy of openness makes it easier to overcome what differences do exist between different traditions in NUMSA?*

Mayekiso: Yes, it does because you discuss things openly.



Mayekiso in Alex - unionists must join community structures, must belong to street committees and get involved in community issues

Photo: Cedric Nunn/Afrapix

The workers were controlling this congress without any interference from officials. Not a single official spoke, except myself giving reports on behalf of the union as a whole. But on resolutions it was just workers. This gives us the belief that working class control is succeeding. Workers' power is succeeding. Worker democracy is succeeding.

Labour Bulletin: *I want to turn to the political policy adopted at the congress. The resolution calls for a centralised structure for the mass democratic movement (MDM), rather than a federal structure. It calls for this to be based on street and area committees. What are the implications of this for the current*

UDF affiliates?

Mayekiso: Current UDF affiliates should exist - the youth organisations, the students organisations, the women's organisations. We do not say there must be no affiliates, no youth organisations and so on - there should be those organisations. UDF affiliates should centralise their structures in order to promote democracy.

When it comes to civic organisations they must be based on street committees, centralised structures and up to the national body. We also believe political organisations should have similar structures. But the UDF is a front so it has to have federal structures. As a front, it should be built of organisations which are based

on centralised democratic structures.

The national civic organisation and COSATU should have a permanent structured alliance. What we envisage is a national student body, a national youth body, a national civic body, a national trade union movement, in alliance with other political organisations.

Labour Bulletin: *There is a federalism, in that the national sectorial organisations are affiliated...?*

Mayekiso:to the alliance. Yes. You can't just get rid of it. What do you do with the students? The students cannot just be merged in that central body. They have got their own problems and they have to have their own organisation to deal with those problems.

The MDM would consist of the alliance of national sectorial organisations plus any political organisation.

Labour Bulletin: *When you say political organisations what sort of organisations are you thinking of?*

Mayekiso: We are thinking of organisations that are close to the working class organisations, that really see eye to eye to with working class organisations, and organisations that believe in non-racialism.

Labour Bulletin: *To come back to this stress on building a centralised civic structure. What prompts NUMSA to think along those lines?*

Mayekiso: You can't depend on organisations that have got loose structures. You find that some organisations exist in name - for example some civics are just a civic of two people. Like the old civic in Alexandra which had no structures at all, but they were affiliated.

UDF would think that they had a strong affiliate, but it was an affiliate of only two people! That is a problem. That is why we believe that organisations - especially civics - should depend on centralised structures, structures that can be accountable to the masses, structures that encourage democracy.

Also, we were encouraged by the centralised structures of COSATU.

The control of the organisation should be with the people themselves, the masses. You find in these loose structures that there is no control, and when it comes to issues they dish decisions to the people. There is no democracy at all. This breeds political and financial corruption and autocracy.

We'll just find pamphlets that there is a boycott, and people know nothing. There was no meeting at all. This creates problems.

I think the structure in Alex encouraged the union a lot. Such centralised structures unite people and people act together because they feel the organisation is ours. That's what is important - they feel the ownership of the organisation. Then they tend to trust it and support it on whatever issues it tackles, whether with the local authorities or the bosses.

Those are good structures for the future society. We don't want a society where there is no accountability of the leadership to the masses. If there are no centralised structures it will be difficult to talk of democracy. There should be structures that can really give mandates to the leadership and control the leadership.

Labour Bulletin: *The political resolution calls for alliances with other sectors of the community. What sort of alliance does NUMSA envisage with these sectors?*

Mayekiso: The taxi owners and some small traders, like the corner shops, we can't take those people as bosses or capitalists. They are part and parcel of the working class, they are organisations like taxi associations, that are closer to the working class. What we are saying is that we must unite those people with us, we must have alliances with them. Those are working class alliances.

I am an individual running this taxi. It feeds my family and I don't get any labour from anybody - it is my labour. These traders - it is just himself and his family, he is not exploiting anybody. They are part and parcel of the working class, they are a sector of the working class.

Labour Bulletin: *What about when you get to someone who is running a fleet of taxis and employing about 30 taxi drivers or someone who has got a chain of supermarkets? How do they fit in?*

Mayekiso: A person who owns a chain of shops employing people is different. The difference is that once you employ a stream of people that you underpay, people who are waking up in the morning working for you, reaping profits from them, you are now a bourgeois. You belong to another class though you are black. We can bring you to the anti-apartheid conference as a bourgeois.

The same applies to the person who has a stream of taxis, who is a tycoon employing a lot of people. He is no longer working, people are working for him. He doesn't belong to the working class, he belongs to a sector of the bourgeois class.

Labour Bulletin: *So he is no longer an element in the MDM?*

Mayekiso: As far as we can define the MDM, no.

Labour Bulletin: *One of the key issues that has been debated over the last year is the issue of a broad anti-apartheid alliance, specifically in the form of the Anti-apartheid Conference (AAC). How does NUMSA see that at this stage?*

Mayekiso: We believe in the AAC. We believe that it will be difficult to get rid of apartheid if we haven't got any such alliances. We must have those broad alliances with people who are anti-apartheid. They may be bourgeois but with the interest of getting rid of apartheid. We must bring in all the forces to fight the common

enemy, apartheid.

Labour Bulletin: *There was an article in Business Day today that said that the differences in COSATU are over broad alliances. It says that some unions such as NUMSA are pushing for a narrow working class alliance, while unions such as NUM are pushing for a broad anti-apartheid alliance.*

Mayekiso: That is not true for NUMSA. NUMSA wants a working class alliance, which I think is what is happening between COSATU and UDF. They are the core - organisations that are the sectors of the working class, or who are very close to the working class and are not antagonistic to the working class, coming together. We are for these organisations coming together, uniting the class itself. We are also for that broad alliance. The person who says that we are not for that is wrong.

Even in that broad alliance, if there is somebody who is very antagonistic to the working class then we would not meet with such a person. Just as we don't want Gatsha next to us in that alliance, we don't want Inkatha in that alliance. The resolution shows that we are for the anti-apartheid alliance, because we say that we can meet with opposition parties in Venda as long as they are not antagonistic to the working class, we can meet with the Transkei Democratic People's Party as long as they are not antagonistic. That is a big broad alliance. They don't have to agree

completely with our policies and principles, but as long as they are not antagonistic, like Inkatha.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the relation between the struggle for socialism and the national democratic struggle?*

Mayekiso: There is apartheid in this country, we can't ignore that. The MDM has to answer how we get rid of apartheid, and also forge ahead towards a better future society. That is why we have alliances.

In that battle for socialism we believe as NUMSA that we are now involved in a MDM, in a mass democratic struggle fighting that apartheid must be abolished. We also believe that it is not a single struggle, this struggle against apartheid. We can't say that I must get rid of apartheid first and then I can think of socialism tomorrow. No. Our struggle is a process. In that process you get rid of apartheid, you get rid of this and that, and in that process you introduce an understanding of socialism.

You also make gains towards socialism in fighting apartheid. Getting rid of apartheid, that's another gain towards socialism. You can't say when you are fighting to get rid of apartheid you are not fighting for socialism. That's ignorance. You can't get socialism if apartheid is still there. Getting rid of apartheid is part and parcel of stages. I believe there are stages. There is no one stage, there is no two stage, there are *stages* towards socialism.



The Freedom Charter - a basic document which unifies

Photo: Labour Bulletin

Labour Bulletin: *The resolution mentioned a working class political programme. What does one mean by a working class political programme, and what is its role?*

Mayekiso: We believe that we always talk of socialism and it has become an empty slogan. We have got our organisations, socialist organisations, but there is no analysis of how are they going to approach the future. And the Freedom Charter, we can't say it is a working class political programme, it is not. It is a document that is unifying.

The working class has got an organisation in South Africa, but we have not seen what programme the working class is to follow to make the socialist dream a reality. We believe

that if we are to succeed in our struggle for socialism we have to be open. The workers and the working class generally have to discuss that programme, have to discuss their future society. They have to build that political programme to give answers to the economic, political and social ills of the capitalist system.

We believe that the Freedom Charter contains the minimum demands and the minimum answers. It is a basic important document to start with. We believe that that programme should contain the maximums and it should be built by all the sectors of the working class.

Some people say, 'Don't talk of class struggle or socialism now, because the workers are not ready.' Or sometimes they say, 'Because it is

dangerous now, our allies will run away from us.' I think that is very, very dangerous, if we talk that language as members of the working class. Yes, members of the bourgeois class can say don't talk of socialism, because they are going to benefit from the ignorance of the working class. If we as the working class say that we should not allow the workers to talk about socialism, that is a crime and hypocrisy against the working class.

If we want the working class to be a clear working class that is going to lead the struggle to the future society, then we shouldn't hide and say that the workers aren't ready to discuss socialism or the class question. We believe that a clear working class will be able to lead. But an unclear working class will never be able to lead and socialism will be from the top to the masses, instead of from the masses upwards. Our openness, organisationally and politically, is paving the way to create a clear political direction.

When you talk of class and socialism some people label you as a workerist. That is nonsense as far as I am concerned, that is not workerism. We should discuss these things, we should be clear. We mustn't be caught up by the situation that caught the Zimbabwean working class, where they are now expecting Mugabe to bring in socialism, not them bringing in socialism themselves.

If socialism is going to come from the bottom, from the masses, they must discuss socialism, they must throw things around and shape up their programme and shape up what

they believe is needed in the future society. Unless we believe as leadership that we are going to impose socialism, which is wrong. Socialism in South Africa will be different, because each country has its own approach. So our own approach will be shaped by the working class itself. I think also SAYCO is also clear on that - we should discuss socialism, we should discuss these things.

Labour Bulletin: *The constitutional guidelines of the ANC are not referred to in the resolutions, but you did mention them in your report to congress. How would NUMSA see the relation between the guidelines and a working class political programme? How do you see the guidelines?*

Mayekiso: There would be a relation between the guidelines and the working class political programme. If the workers discuss their programme they have to discuss that in reality. They must establish their stand from the realities up to the future society they want. The constitutional guidelines are answering the realities of the present.

How should we go about moving our feet forward? It is just like the Freedom Charter, we have to start from the realities. Here is the Freedom Charter, how do we develop now, how do we move to the maximum demands?

If people discuss the guidelines they will be able to say the guidelines should be like this and like that.

That's what we mean by working class leadership, where we comment on the guidelines and then the leadership that drew up the guidelines can be guided. It will be clear how the trade unions or the working class see the guidelines, or how the MDM see the guidelines. The voice of the MDM must be heard. I think the ANC has also encouraged that people must discuss them. So therefore we should.

It depends on us, because we may feel that this amendment is for today and this one is for tomorrow, for maximums. There will be minimums - now let's concentrate on the minimums, and then tomorrow we want this. That's why we talk of a programme - not a programme to be implemented immediately. But there should be a guide towards the future.

Labour Bulletin: *I want to refer again to the Business Day article, because it stated that the issue of a workers' charter divides the unions in COSATU. It refers to the NUMSA call for a working class programme and says that NUMSA is in the workers charter grouping. Is that so?*

Mayekiso: I think this is important. When we as NUMSA talk of a political programme we are not talking of the workers' charter. The workers themselves can't build political programs - that would be workerism. If you say workers' charter that means that workers themselves should have their own political programme. We believe that is not true. We believe that the working class must have a politi-

cal programme, not the workers.

If sometimes we talk of the workers' charter, we talk of the workers' charter as something that can just answer the workers' problems like trade union rights, not broad political questions. The workers' charter can answer things that trouble the workers - like the right to strike, the right to negotiate, a living wage. Then the working class political programme must answer the question, what is the future society? What is the political set-up of the future society? So there are two different things.

Labour Bulletin: *That conception of the workers charter is explicitly catered for in the constitutional guidelines.*

Mayekiso: I agree with the guidelines on that score. Definitely.

Labour Bulletin: *You did have a resolution on negotiations. Do you see negotiations as potentially occurring in the near future? What should the trade unions and the MDM be doing to prepare for such a possibility?*

Mayekiso: Firstly, I believe that the solutions to our country's problems will finally come through negotiations. I don't believe that we will be able to get to Pretoria and oust Botha from those buildings.

But I also don't believe that negotiations are near. There will be a negotiated settlement at some stage, but at the present moment those chan-



ANC stalwart and newly-elected NUMSA honorary president, Harry Gwala, listens with COSATU's Jay Naidoo and Sydney Mafumadi at NUMSA's congress

Photo: Labour Bulletin

Labour Bulletin: *That being the position, what should trade unions and the MDM do to prepare for the time when negotiations do occur?*

Mayekiso: We must build our organisations and strengthen the MDM. We must build democratic structures and engage in campaigns on political and economic issues that are facing our society, in order to build power.

ces are nil.

We still have the State of Emergency. We still have the people's organisations banned, the ANC, the SACP. Leaders are incarcerated, Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and others. People are still in exile, Tambo and others, not able to come back because of the violence of the apartheid regime. Our townships are occupied by the police and the army. There is no freedom of speech. There is apartheid and group areas and all apartheid legislation. As long as those things exist I don't believe negotiations are nearer.

As NUMSA we have stated clearly if those minimum conditions are not met we don't think that we should engage in any negotiations.

We must build our organisations so as to have power and control. The political initiative towards negotiations, the concept of negotiations, must come from us. We must control that initiative so as to dictate the conditions. We must not be dictated to by the Americans, the Europeans or the De Klerks.

We should discuss the constitutional guidelines and come up with answers. We must encourage the working class to discuss their future aspirations so that when we get to that position we know the aspirations of all the sectors of society. Then it will be easier to come up with a solution.

The solution may be a mixed economy, but how do you get to that situation if you haven't got the pulse

of the society as a whole? That's why I say those people who are blocking the discussions on class politics and socialism are criminal. How are you going to know how the working class thinks if you don't want to get what they think? How are you going to go for negotiations, on what mandate? People should discuss these things so that the leadership will have a mandate.

We don't say that such aspirations are going to be met. We don't believe socialism must be there tomorrow when we finish negotiations. It won't be like that. But what we are saying is that to arm the leadership, to arm the organisations, the people must be free to discuss the constitutional guidelines. If they want to discuss a political programme they must discuss it, so that everything is open and we will come up with a solution.

We don't want the organisations and leaders to come with a solution that is still going to be opposed at some stage, where you find there is still conflict after such a solution. We have been fighting for 300 years, we don't want to fight again. We want to have proper political rights so that we can change society as we go along.

Labour Bulletin: *What will the role of mass organisations be during actual negotiations?*

Mayekiso: Those organisations will be belonging to an alliance. Through that alliance they will be very influential. If we want a proper solution, then all those organisations with a mass

base have to be represented at those negotiations. They will be trying to control the pace and strategy of negotiations. They will be trying to set out what is the answer for this country, what are the political, economic and social answers for this country.

Labour Bulletin: *What is the significance of the sanctions resolution adopted at the congress?*

Mayekiso: We believe that South Africa must be pressurised to get rid of apartheid. We have tried all sorts of pressures and the South African regime doesn't want to listen. Therefore we believe that the international community should apply sanctions against South Africa.

Labour Bulletin: *Is there any re-think in relation specifically to disinvestment? Many of the disinvestments have the consequence of strengthening South African companies, often weakening the position of workers in this country. Doubts have been expressed, that disinvestment has not really contributed much towards damaging or isolating apartheid. So the question has been raised isn't it time to reconsider our position on disinvestment?*

Mayekiso: I don't think it is time. I think that's why South Africa is trying to get answers - although they are afraid of facing the true answers. Workers do suffer because of disinvestment, because they lose jobs. But workers are prepared to sacrifice - they

have been sacrificing for years, dying in the mines, dying everywhere, being retrenched. There were millions and millions unemployed whilst these multinationals were around making apartheid thrive. We believe disinvestment is going to hamper the apartheid regime and capital in this country. Well, equally it is going to hamper us as workers, but it will hamper us for a just cause, a good cause. We believe that we can sacrifice such things.

Labour Bulletin: *How does NUMSA view the workers summit? What are the prospects of unity with NACTU? Specifically how do you view the formation of the new metal union affiliated to NACTU?*

Mayekiso: We have heard of the formation of this union and we regret there should be another union cropping up instead of bringing the metal workers together. But we are open to meeting that union to at the end of the day form one metal union in this country. We will co-operate with it in order that we may succeed in having one union in the metal industry.

We as NUMSA are going to encourage summits, encourage co-operation between COSATU and NACTU. We believe that at the end of the day NACTU and COSATU should come together and form one giant federation. We will do all that we can to make that a success. I think the first summit was a success though no significant decisions were made. But the mere fact that unions could come together and discuss the LRA

and other problems - it was the first time in the history of the workers movement in this country.

Labour Bulletin: *Although at the workers summit half of NACTU wasn't there. In the light of that what are the prospects of developing unity?*

Mayekiso: Some people in NACTU want this unity, judging by their attendance even after NACTU had decided against attending. Also people in NACTU say that we have got a problem here and there - but there are no significant problems. The leadership is still not sure that this is the right move. We should convince the leadership of both COSATU and NACTU that it is in the best interests of the workers to come together so that there are no suspicions. I am optimistic. I think there are prospects.

Labour Bulletin: *In your report as general secretary you mentioned several problems in COSATU that made NUMSA members pessimistic, and people withdrew from some structures. You also said that the situation had improved and the people are more optimistic. Could you expand on this issue?*

Mayekiso: Before and since the formation of COSATU there were a lot of suspicions. The merger brought together unions from different political backgrounds and different traditions. Also, there was no openness. What you found in the meetings was just people attacking each other.

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No open debates were encouraged, with the result that there was a lot of antagonism.

NUM and NUMSA were at loggerheads. That was uncalled for. NUM would go there thinking we would get

sues, participating in structures, and suspicions are really dwindling. People are becoming one. They are understanding that they belong to one federation. They've got the same interests and aspirations as workers.



Unity is crucial in the struggle to achieve common goals - a section of a huge NUMSA banner at the congress

Photo: Labour Bulletin

NUMSA, NUMSA would go there thinking we would get NUM. That antagonism was unnecessary. Because there was no political openness inside COSATU, it was our fault, the leadership's fault.

That situation made many people withdraw from the structures, withdraw from shopsteward councils, just criticising organisations unnecessarily. That was bad. Things have improved a lot, because there is openness up to a point. People are discussing is-

Not that then there were such big problems that there could be a split in COSATU - no. But there were tensions and and fights. Also we as leadership were not handling issues wisely enough, which sometimes causes splits in the unions. I think that the leadership of the unions in COSATU is developing and they are careful of creating splits, and they handle issues in a mature way.

There is now respect for democracy. Whereas before if one believed

the position was wrong he just fought and fought, with the result that in the end he had to walk out because his views were not accepted.

Labour Bulletin: *In the past the union has felt a tension between negotiating at industrial council level and company level. In practice company in-house agreements threaten to weaken united action at the industry level, because people felt that they had their own agreements and their own wages and so on. Is there a way of overcoming that and was it discussed at the congress at all?*

Mayekiso: Not directly. We reaffirmed that national negotiations are the best, because we have got mass strength backed by all the sectors and workers in the industry. But also we believe you can't get rid of company negotiations. There are issues not covered by the industrial council that should be negotiated at company level. Conditions in factories are also sometimes different, so some things have to be negotiated at plant level.

There are difficulties, because the companies negotiating at industrial council level don't want negotiations at plant level and company level. You find that some companies negotiate at company level and sometimes they pull out of industrial council negotiations.

We can't run around with all these factories, negotiating factory by factory. That is time consuming and crazy. We want to consolidate the national negotiations in order to bring

together the workers en masse.

We want to negotiate at all these levels, we don't want restrictions. The best level is the national level, because you establish minimums for the industry. You are able to negotiate for the unorganised and the weakly organised. If you negotiate at the company level you can negotiate with the strong companies but not with the weak ones. In plants also, you can negotiate with the strong ones but not the weak ones. With national bargaining, then organised plants boost the unorganised and the weakly organised with their strength.

Labour Bulletin: *In the actual congress there was a delegation from Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU). What is the relation between NUMSA and MANWU?*

Mayekiso: There is a close relationship. We have had many meetings and we are co-operating with each other. There will be an exchange of organisers, there will be an exchange of experienced shopstewards. Because we believe they are our comrades and they are still trying to stand up. We believe they are fighting a just struggle. They are trying to introduce democracy. We believe that we are faced with one apartheid regime and one capitalist class, and therefore we should fight together for change. Their battles are our battles, our battles are their battles.

Labour Bulletin: *The independence of Namibia, what effect*

will that have on South Africa?

Mayekiso: Spiritually, emotionally and in reality it will be a political gain, also democratically. But economically I think Namibia is going to depend 80% or 90% on South Africa. When I visited that country many things I saw there are products from South Africa. So I think it is going to depend on South Africa. Their future is linked with our future, that's why we should build these links. By them getting the vote they are not going to be free until we are free. It shows the importance of the slogan, "Working class of the world unite!"

Labour Bulletin: *What are the most urgent tasks facing NUMSA, facing the working class and facing the anti-apartheid struggle?*

Mayekiso: As NUMSA we are faced with the present negotiations. We want to get as much as can. Another task is to push our political understanding to influence COSATU. As a big union we believe that we should be of influence. We should be able to sell our resolutions to other unions in COSATU.

As the working class we should concentrate on building democratic structures, just as in NUMSA we believe we should strengthen our structures. We have had good campaigns - the Living Wage Campaign, the anti-LRA campaign. We expected to have high success in those campaigns, but because of weak structures we could not. We should build structures anew,

and get the community to also build structures and introduce democracy.

A problem facing the working class is that if you talk of class and socialism you get labelled workerist. Yes, if you preach that the trade unions or a workers' charter are going to liberate us, that is workerist. But if people believe that there should be alliances, there should be struggles in the townships and in the factories and so on, you can't tell me that person is a workerist. We should clarify these things. Because people are not clear.

We should support all the progressive organisations that are trying to thrash out answers to the future of this country. Not to point fingers in saying that they are populists or whatever. Some people term the organisations that are involved in community struggles and political struggles as populist organisations. Ultra-leftism is always saying that the populists this and that. That is wrong. We should work together. We should be in one pot and destroy apartheid and go further. Labels control debates and delay progress. That is why we say, Down with sectarianism!

We are involved in the anti-apartheid struggle as part of the whole working class struggle, therefore we should be clear in that struggle where we are going. We are getting rid of apartheid and after that what is going to happen? People should grapple with those questions themselves, not leaders wanting to impose their views. Leaders must give leadership.

Those are the tasks that we are faced with, political tasks. ☆