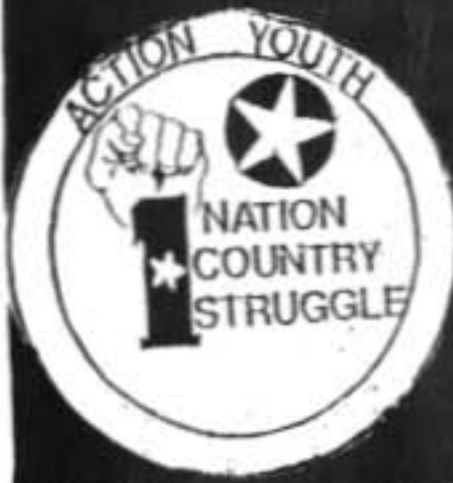


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ARISE! VUKANI

FORWARD TO
A WORKERS'
REPUBLIC OF
AZANIA.

Magazine of Action Youth

Vol. 1/No.4

APRIL - MAY '85

20c

HAMBA KAHLE COMRADE RADITSELA Sizokukhumbula njalo

He who would not give in
Has been done to death
He who was done to death
Would not give in.

WORKER - LEADER
DIED SHORTLY
AFTER
DETENTION

The warner's mouth
Is stopped with earth.
The bloody adventure
Begins
Over the grave of one who loved peace
Slog the battalions.

Was the fight in vain, then?
When he who did not fight alone is done to death
The enemy
Has not yet won. bertolt brecht.



may day meeting

IN THIS ISSUE :

| | PAGE/S |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| UNEMPLOYMENT | 2-3 |
| BRIEFS | 4-5 |
| EDITORIAL | 6 |
| MAY DAY | 7 |
| ISOLATING THE SELL-OUTS! | 8-9 |
| ALL BLACKS TOUR | 9 |
| ETHIOPIA/ERITREA | 10-12 |
| COMPANIES MADE BIG PROFITS! | 12 |
| NOTES ON THEORY | 13 |
| TWO STAGE THEORY | 14-15 |

UNEMPL OYMENT

This article is the first in a series of three in which we will attempt to explain (1) The causes of unemployment (2) Its unique features in South Africa and (3) The response of the Black working class and unions to this problem.

FAMILIES STARVE

In South Africa and the rest of the world millions of workers are unemployed. The results of unemployment are well known. Families starve, they lose their homes, babies die at a young age and people are forced into crime. What has caused this large scale unemployment?

Each day we experience or read about retrenchments, strikes, short time being introduced. Each time the words "recession", "the downturn in the economy", "high inflation rates" are being offered by the bosses as the reasons for unemployment. But are these the real reasons?

CAPITALISM

Under capitalism workers do not produce things to satisfy their own needs. They produce things for the capitalists to sell to others. The things they produce or make are called commodities. These commodities (clothing, sugar, radios, cars etc.) are sold on the market, that is in shops, supermarkets and firms. The capitalist system is concerned with the production and exchange of these commodities on the market.



The bosses own the means of production that is, they own the labour power of the workers, the land, factories and machines, etc. The bosses buy the labour power of the workers like any other commodity.

The workers earn their living in one way only - by hiring their labour power out to the bosses for wages. Wages are a cost to the bosses just as electricity and buying of raw materials are. It is in the interest of the bosses to keep wages low - in order to keep profits high!

PROFIT

For the bosses the highest motive is the profit motive. To keep their profits as high as possible they have to do a number of things. One of these things is mechanisation - or the replacement of workers by machines. In this way ever new and improved machinery enables the capitalist to produce more goods more cheaply. In this way he reduces his costs. One of these costs is wages.

The capitalist therefore accumulates more capital, buys more machines, retrenches more workers and lowers wages even further. It is a never ending cycle.

RESERVE ARMY OF LABOUR

This cycle of accumulation and mechanisation and the resultant unemployment allows the bosses to have even greater control over the workers. Machines don't complain or join unions. The bosses in this way also increase their profits.

When the bosses retrench workers they increase the "reserve army of labour". This is the large number of unemployed workers already created by capitalism. The bosses use this "reserve labour army" to threaten those workers who do have jobs, that is, they force workers to accept bad working conditions and low wages by telling them that there are thousands of people who can replace them. The workers are at the mercy of the bosses. The bosses' control of the workers is increased because of the ever existing threat of unemployment hanging over the workers heads. In this way the bosses also weaken trade unions.

We have seen how capitalism deliberately creates unemployment to:
* keep wages low
* increase profit
* control the working class
* create the NEED for new and better machinery (which leads to further unemployment).

RECESSION

In order to make as much profit as possible, the bosses pay the workers low wages BUT in order for the capitalist to sell their products on the market the population (of which the working class is the majority) must have money to buy these products. Because of low wages and unemployment, the workers are unable to buy these products. There is an over-abundance of goods but only the rich can afford many of these goods. There is hunger in the midst of plenty! These factors lead to a recession.

TO OBTAIN PROFITS, THE CAPITALIST MUST PAY AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE TO HIS WORKERS BUT TO SELL HIS PRODUCTS THE CAPITALIST MUST PAY AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO HIS WORKERS.

He can't do both! This contradiction can't be solved by capitalism.

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

This contradiction has two effects: (1) The individual capitalist goes out of business and (2)

A few giant companies dominate one sector of the economy. These giants - monopoly capitalists - backed by finance capitalists (banks etc) corner one particular market and force out capitalists who want to compete with them. This shows that there is no such thing as "free enterprise". This competition between capitalists causes more workers to lose their jobs.

At a certain stage in its development monopoly capitalism has to find new markets. This leads to the export of capital (money) and the creation of a world market. This world market is dominated by big companies (from the U.S.A. and the so-called "Free World") who FIX PRICES amongst THEMSELVES. In this way they can control the economies of many countries. When these capitalists invest in another country they take out millions of rands from these countries in the

form of super - profits by exploiting workers in these countries. Monopoly capitalism has brought misery and pov-

erty to millions of workers and peasants throughout the world. Monopoly capitalists always want a bigger slice of the cake. They even fight each other for greater control of the world market.

We have shown how capitalism deliberately creates unemployment in order to keep wages low and control the working class, how monopoly capitalism causes concentration of economic power in a few hands and how their mechanisation causes widespread unemployment. We have also seen how the export of capital and the creation of the world market in turn leads to imperialism.

It is in the interest of the working class and all other people who believe in a just society and a rational economy to replace capitalism and once and for all eradicate the evil of unemployment.

In our next issue we will specifically deal with unemployment in South Africa and the problems it has caused.



fs... briefs... briefs... briefs

UNEMPLOYED

WORKERS'  CO-OP

APPEALS TO THE COMMUNITY TO SUPPORT OUR SELF-HELP PROJECT.

WE OFFER TO WASH YOUR CAR ON SUNDAYS FROM 9.00 am AT EXT. 5 SHOPPING CENT. FOR ONLY R3.00.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE CAUSES + CONSEQUENCES (BY ESCALATING OUNCE RATE) OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN OUR COMMUNITY IS DUE TO THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM UNDER WHICH WE LIVE AND NOT DUE TO PEOPLE'S RELUCTANCE TO WORK. WE FURTHER BELIEVE IN A SYSTEM WHERE THERE WILL BE EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL.

The high unemployment rate in the country has prompted the formation of Unemployed Workers' Co-operatives by unions and individuals. This effort to bring unemployed workers together in order to raise money and create an understanding about their condition, has proved beneficial to all those who have been involved in the co-operatives.

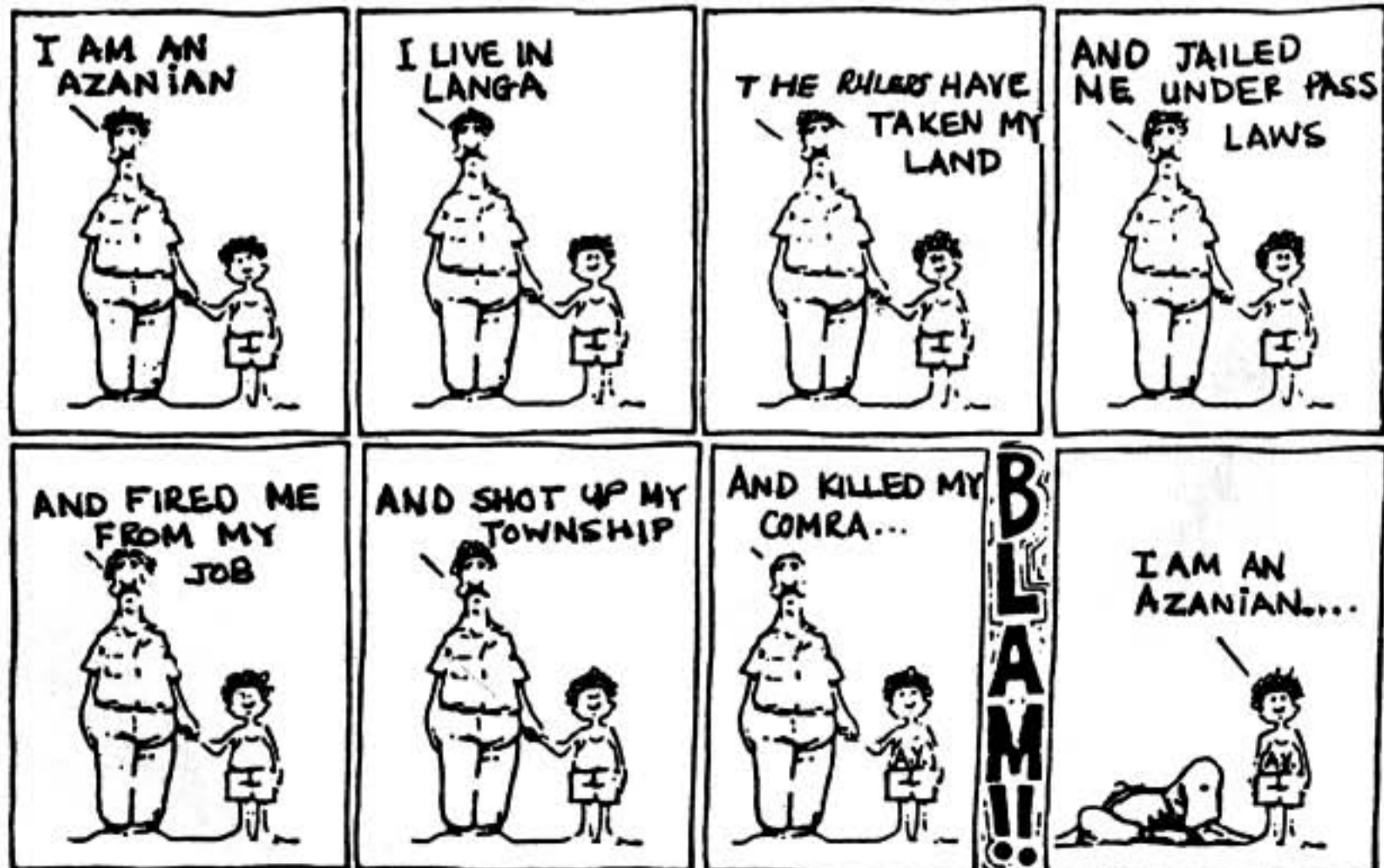
Certain members of Action Youth are involved in the organisation of co-operatives in Eldorado Park and Western Township. All interested persons are to contact the secretary, Action Youth.

SEE YOU THERE!!

(A PAMPHLET DISTRIBUTED IN ELDO. PARK)

ERRA CONDEMNS MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The residents of Ennerdale, a township 35km from Jhb, held a mass meeting on Wednesday 8 May 1985. Two hundred residents complained about their problems : high rent and electricity rates, lack of recreational facilities and the atrocious transport service. The Management Committee was strongly condemned by the residents for their false promises and powerlessness.



briefs...

briefs...



Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU)

"I CAN'T BEAR THE PAIN ANYMORE.

I AM WAITING TO DIE."

- Asbestos mineworker

The Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU) operates in the mining, construction, building, cementation, quarry and related industries. BAMCWU has launched a national anti-asbestos campaign since October 1984. BAMCWU's position paper on asbestos reads :

"Our campaign shall not be geared at petitioning the government and mining houses. It shall be geared at alerting the entire community to the dangers they are subjected to in their daily toil for the enrichment of the capitalist minority."

Asbestos has created a health hazard due to the inhalation of fine asbestos dust. The devastation of the notorious diseases (asbestosis, bronchogenic carcinoma) caused by asbestos inhalation was summed up by MR. Winnas Mashigo, a long-serving employee of Penge Asbestos Mine (who is also vice-president - Mining of BAMCWU) when he said, "I can't bear the pain anymore. I'm waiting to die."

BAMCWU plans to have a conference on asbestos in the first week of June.

BOYCOTT OF SPAR

The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa's dispute with Spar began in December 1984 when 150 workers were dismissed in Natal after a one-day work-stoppage. The workers stopped work to demand recognition of their union (CCAWUSA) by Spar, an R80-00 wage increase and the re-instatement of two unfairly dismissed workers. Management called in the police and workers were arrested.

DON'T BOYCOTT SPAR!

SUCCESSFUL
RECOGNISED
REINSTATED

BOYCOTT UNION WORKERS 143 FIRED WORKERS

by CCAWUSA, 202 Oldwell House, off Smith Street, Durban.

RCA CAMPAIGNS FOR ELECTRICITY.

Riverlea Extension, a ghetto situated in the shadow of a gold mine dump just outside Johannesburg, is facing its twentieth winter without electricity.

The Riverlea Extension Civic Association (RCA) said that,

"As a result of the lack of electricity people have been forced to use candles, paraffin lamps and refrigerators, gas stoves and petrol-driven generators. The use of fuel-operated items is causing people respiratory and other health problems. In addition to the health problems, students find it extremely difficult to study under these conditions. The older residents of the townships paid a deposit towards the installation of electricity, but nothing has come of it."

The Jhb City Council has said it doesn't have funds to electrify Riverlea Extension. We say electricity is a RIGHT and not a privilege. Recently millions of Rands has gone into the Showgrounds close to Riverlea Extension. The Jhb Centenary Association has also spent millions on a model 'mining village'. Where is the priority?



MAY DAY

The 1st of May is known all over the world as May Day. May Day is the day of international solidarity in the struggle for all workers' rights and needs. May Day started in Australia over 130 years ago. Australian workers held a work stoppage and meetings to try and win an 8 hour working day. At that time workers everywhere were working 12, 14, 16 and sometimes even 18 hours a day. By 1886 the idea spread to America. On May 1 1886, workers in the U.S. staged a general strike for the 8 hour day. But when 2 days later police and agents of a security agency attacked demonstrators outside a Chicago factory, a mass demonstration was called. Unknown people (believed to be police provocateurs) threw a bomb and the police opened fire on the crowd. Eight radicals and labour leaders were framed on conspiracy charges, four were executed and one died mysteriously in his cell. Since then May Day has become a global symbol of working class solidarity and struggle.

the south african working class

The Black working class in S.A. is under siege from the forces of capitalism and racism. Workers are dealt vicious blows every day. Millions of workers are unemployed. Retrenchment, G.S.T., rent electricity, bus fare and food increases are the order of the day. Unionists and workers are attacked all the time. The rich are protecting their own and making sure they have the weapons to do so. The irony is that the more they inflict poverty on the mass of society the more they need weapons to defend themselves! Only when the working class who produce the wealth in society, also control it and are in charge of distributing it, will there be homes, food and jobs for all.

may day in south africa

In spite of all the repression, workers are on the march to build a new society. This year as a sign of unity, all unions have joined together and held meetings to celebrate May Day all over the country. These are some of the demands they issued:

1. May Day as a paid public holiday.
2. The right to full employment at a living wage.
3. Adequate and decent housing at reasonable rent for all.
4. Adequate and efficient transport for all.
5. Proper social security providing for unemployment, medical and insurance benefits for all.
6. Free and compulsory universal education for all.
7. No taxation of workers under any capitalist system.
8. Full democratic rights for all, that uphold the interest of the working class as paramount.
9. Price freeze for the next 12 months.
10. Banning of all meetings should be scrapped.
11. Creation of jobs and free transport for the unemployed.



may-day!

The unity of the working-class shall crush starvation and disease
ORGANIZE for FREEDOM!

On May Day high school students in the Western Cape and a few schools in the Transvaal, e.g. C.J.B., boycotted classes in solidarity with the workers and those people killed in the unrest.

IT IS ONLY THE BLACK WORKING CLASS THAT IS ABLE TO CONSISTENTLY LEAD THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL CAPITALISM. THIS IS THE CLASS WHICH CREATES THE WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY BUT IS NOT ABLE TO ENJOY IT. THIS IS THE CLASS THAT HAS EVERYTHING TO GAIN FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF RACIAL CAPITALISM AND THE USHERING IN OF A SOCIALIST AZANIA.

editorial.

We in Action Youth note with growing concern and disgust the reactionary actions of members of certain organisations. These actions can only strengthen the enemies of the black working class. In revolutionary organisations we believe, there is a need for workers' democracy. The revolutionary movement is strengthened when there is an internal situation where different opinions on the road forward are accepted as being differences WITHIN the movement.

The idea, or even worse, the action of seeing political alternatives in the movement as 'obstacles' that have to be physically removed should be banished to the Stalinist dungeons from where they come. Violence is a means of self-defence against the capitalists, not a means of settling disputes in the revolutionary movement. Those who perpetrate violence against people in the movement must be treated with the utmost contempt and these actions must be exposed at every turn. They are sowing the dragon's teeth of future civil wars as people and organisations at the receiving end defend and retaliate.

According to the editorial in the Sowetan Sunday Mirror (May 12) :

"Not all the attacks can, of course, be blamed on the agents of the system. We know that there has been a campaign by certain elements within the UDF to attack AZAPO members. There were several of such specific attacks. For these, UDF must take full blame and be big enough to accept responsibility. Whether or not these actions were sanctioned by the UDF senior executive is not the issue."

FOSATU have also been victims of such behaviour. In the May Day issue of FOSATU WORKER NEWS we read...

"They ("opportunistic" affiliates of UDF) have hijacked funerals and have used them as a platform to attack FOSATU and NAAWU leaders as enemies of the people.

More recently they have attempted to smear FOSATU by saying that it was responsible for the Langa massacre!"

There are numerous other incidents, too many to catalogue, which we feel reflects the disregard for democracy and spurs on sectarianism. Recently the resources of the Screen Training Project (members of whom are in UDF) was withheld from Action Youth. Among the reasons for refusal was Action Youth's participation in the Kennedy demonstration.

The problem we are discussing is not limited to S.A. We have to face an unpalatable but nevertheless true reality when considering the recent history of the international revolutionary movement. Ana Maria of El Salvador, Maurice Bishop and Jacqueline Croft of Grenada, were not killed by the CIA or the Rapid Deployment force. The hundreds of Palestinian fighters killed in the war between supporters of Yasser Arafat and Abu Musa were not murdered by Israeli cluster bombs or the Massad (Israeli Secret Service). The same could be said of hundreds of revolutionaries killed or imprisoned during the struggle for liberation in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These freedom fighters are not with us today because of the mistaken belief of some. In S.A. we have lost comrade Tshisa Marekisi and the 2 children of comrade Gerald Mayekiso. Their revolutionary ideas and aims remain. Let the perpetrators of these dastardly deeds one day understand the harm they have done to the struggle. They will be brought to book. History will point its accusing finger at them.

ISOLATING THE SELL-OUTS!

Local government has collapsed in the face of a determined struggle by the masses around issues such as high rents, high busfares, high electricity charges, unemployment etc.

Only the armed might of the state stands between the complete physical and structural destruction of Black Local Councils. But Black Local Authorities - part of the state and capitalism's answer to the crisis in S.A. was always doomed to failure from the start.

UNPOPULAR

The mere fact the poor (largely working class) residents have to spend a large slice of income, in the form of higher rents, for instance, to finance these extremely unpopular Councils, have led directly to the collapse of these bodies. With the total collapse of Urban Bantu Councils during 1976-1977, the State desperately attempted to revive them in a new guise: the so-called Community Councils. The Community Councils proved to be as toothless, powerless and unpopular as its predecessor the Urban Bantu Councils.

DIVIDE

Koornhof initiated the now discredited Black Local Authorities under a trilogy of Bills, the so-called "Koornhof Bills". One of the now abandoned Bills was the Orderly Movement and Settlements of Black Persons Act.

The main purpose of this bill was to further divide the African section of the Black working class into 'rurals' and 'urbans', 'legals' and 'illegals'. The Bill was abandoned in the face of a concerted mobilization of the Black working class by community organisations. However, its practical effects are still being felt because of the administrative coercion practiced by Dept. of Co-operation and Development officials.

OPPOSITION

When the Black Local Authorities was foisted on township tenants despite severe opposition from working class and community organisations during 1983, the State was warned that: a) these structures were unworkable, both in its intention and form b) working class tenants would refuse to pay for their own exploitation and oppression through higher rents, electricity, taxes, etc. c) these so-called "City Councils" are an attempt to cut off the working class from the wealth it has produced in the "white" metropolitan areas.

For example, if you work in Joburg, the rates and taxes paid by the company you work for, and also the shops you buy goods from, goes to the Joburg City Council. This council provides transport, housing, education and recreational facilities for mostly White areas. d) that ethnic local authorities were but further attempts to

divide and rule the black working class. It is also an attempt to co-opt certain sections of the black middle class. The more property you own the more votes you get. e) that taken together, the black local authorities, "coloured" and "Indian" management committees, the tri-racist parliament and ever deepening political and social crisis, would produce a climate of ever increasing militancy and revolt f) that the creation of separate and ethnic local government structures for so-called "Africans", "Coloureds" and "Indians" and the tri-racist parliament would never serve the interests of black people.

CRISIS

In the townships and ghettos ethnic, unpopular and undemocratic local authorities structures ("Black" City Councils, "Coloured" and "Indian" Management Committees) has meant; - a national increase in rents - massive housing shortages - deterioration of services (electricity, sewerage, waste disposal, roads, etc.) - the education crisis has deepened and escalated



These factors coupled with the political and economic crisis of capitalism - declining gold price, ever increasing unemployment, massive price rises, rampant inflation, increasing militarisation, has led to an explosion of anger by the oppressed and exploited masses.

The black working class have isolated the

collaborators in a concrete way!

From Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape to Alexandra Township in the Transvaal the forces of collaboration - policemen, councillors, puppets and sell-outs are under siege.

The ruling class and their allies have responded by massacring

unarmed workers and students, turning townships into occupied, no go areas with the assistance of the army.

As black policemen and councillors flee the townships, the black working class is sending out a clear signal: Nothing less than a socialist republic would satisfy their demands!

Together with Sacos we say...

NO!

to the

ALL BLACKS!

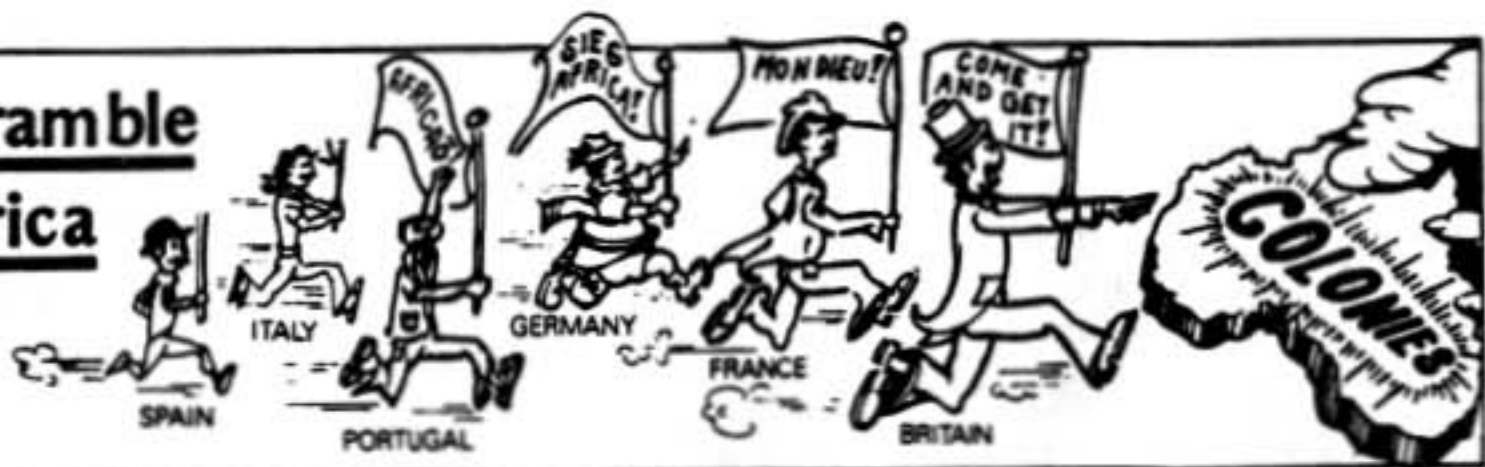
SACOS statement

SACOS is opposed to the All Blacks tour as it believes that there should be no sports tours to and from South Africa while oppressive and exploitative laws and institutions exist.

In a climate of government-created recession, mass unemployment and the rising cost of living, we are faced with police repression and the foisting of the tricameral government onto us.

The intent of this ruling class and its multi-national sports organisations, is to maintain the system of white domination and cheap black labour.

It is this evil system that the All Blacks want to give recognition and credibility to by wanting to play rugby here. Organisations throughout the world and the mass of the oppressed and exploited reject this tour and call on the All Blacks not to tour the land of apartheid exploitation.

**The scramble
for Africa**

The war in Eritrea is now in its twenty third year. Hundreds have been killed or disabled or have fled their homes. Over a third of the population is now facing a major famine. Africa's longest liberation struggle has been fought against successive Eritrean regimes, backed and heavily armed first by the U.S.A. and now by the U.S.S.R. The Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (E.P.L.F.) who administer 80% of the Eritrean countryside are now winning major victories which may prove to be the turning point of the war. The EPLF have not only been

fighting for Eritrea's right of self-determination, but also for the transformation of traditional social structures which have served to perpetuate poverty, famine and oppression. They have introduced land reforms, have established a network of services providing the population with basic health care and education and have implemented practical measures to ensure women's rights not given to them in feudal society.

The only time we in S.A. hear about Eritrea / Ethiopia and the Horn of



Africa in the commercial press and on T.V. is when we are showed starving people as a result of the famine there. Is this the complete picture? Is the Eritrean struggle a genuine one? What is the nature of the Ethiopian regime? Is it really socialist as it claims? The answers to these questions are rooted in historical development of Eritrea / Ethiopia.

**ETHIOPIAN
HISTORY**

During this same period Ethiopia underwent a very different process. Emperor Haile Selassie -of Rasta fame-with the help of British and American imperialism ruled over the area. Class struggle in Ethiopia continued to be characterised by isolated sporadic peasant revolts against feudal lords until the mid'60's. British and Ethiopian interests conspired to subject Eritrea to an Ethiopian

controlled "federation". This did not happen to other Italian colonies in Africa. In 1952 through a U.N. mandate, Eritrea was federated to Ethiopia. The deal provided land-locked feudal Ethiopia with two major Red Sea ports, highly

**ERITREAN
HISTORY**

productive agricultural highlands and Eritrea's growing industrial development. The U.S. received formal rights to establish military bases throughout Eritrea. In March 1958 Eritrean workers, supported by other patriotic classes, staged a militant four day general strike in protest against Ethiopia's colonial powers. The Ethiopian government called out its troops killing 88 workers and wounding 455 others. The bitter outcome of this peaceful protest led to the beginning of the armed struggle with the formation of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in 1961. By 1966 internal contradictions began to surface as the Front's more progressive elements began agitating to end class privilege within the movement. Some people left the E.L.F. and formed the EPLF in 1970.

son gas , incidents of rape , physical mutilation and torture. Hundreds of villages throughout the country have been wiped out. Soviet supplied planes have carried out these continuous bombings.

SUPPORT FOR ERITREA

Internationally, EPLF's closest ties is with the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman. Guinea - Bissau and Algeria have expressed public and private support. Mocambique has expressed private support for the struggle. It is one of history's bitter ironies to find Cuba and the U.S.S.R. alongside the U.S. and Israel supporting the Ethiopian Dergue.

One of the best measures of revolutionary

progress under EPLF is the social gains achieved by women. Under the slogan "Equality through equal partic-



ipation in the Revolution and Social Production", sectors of the Association of Eritrean Women (AEW) are being organised by EPLF women cadres

throughout the liberated areas and in the underground cells in enemy territory. The AEW's highest priority is political education and mobilization to fight both the traditional feudal culture and imperialist-colonial

control that have enforced it, maintaining repression of Eritrean women for centuries. Today, women from all parts of the country are participating in every aspect of the revolution. 50% of EPLF fighting forces are women. According to the EPLF there is no work for men or women. They must do the same work. A conscious effort to eradicate the economic underpinnings of sex discrimination is resulting in the mixing of women into virtually every sector of the economy, from machine design and repair to public administration.

Companies made Big Profits!

Management always tells workers:

FROM A MAWU PUBLICATION

- they are not making any money
- they are struggling to keep the factories open
- they are losing customers
- the workers must be reasonable.

IT IS A LIE. Look at these results for 1983.

| COMPANY | PROFIT (after tax) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Dorbyl | R60,4 million |
| Haggie | R50,4 million |
| Siemens | R12,7 million |
| Highveld | R23,3 million |
| Metkor | R64 million |
| Altech | R31,2 million |
| Barlow Rand (Engineering) | R80 million |

And remember- there are many ways of hiding profits. Companies employ many accountants to hide profits so that they won't have to pay tax. Workers make these profits for management. So we have a right to see your books. Let us see how much profit you really made.

Companies say to workers: don't be irresponsible. Don't demand such big increases. We say to companies : It is you who are irresponsible. It is you who make Super- profits. It is you who throw even more people out of work by putting in more machines. If you want us to be responsible- **SHOW US YOUR BOOKS!**

These few companies control most of the output in the engineering industry.

Last year all the companies told the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU)

that they would be lucky to make any profit at all. But that was not true.

They still made HUGE PROFITS.

Notes on Theory No 2



The capitalist begins with money. He buys the means of production and labour power. The workers, using their labour power on the means of production, produce commodities. The capitalist takes these commodities and sells them for money. The amount of money he gets at the end of the process must be greater than the amount of money he started with. The difference is his profit.

If the amount of money at the end of the process is not greater than the amount of money he started with, then there is no profit and he stops producing. Capitalist production does not begin or end with people's needs. It begins and ends with money.

Money cannot become more money by standing still, by being hoarded. It can only grow by being used as capital, that is by buying the means of production and labour power and thus getting a share of the new wealth created by work-

ers every hour of every day of every year.

It's a real merry-go-round. The capitalist seeks more and more profits so he can accumulate more capital (means of production and labour power), so he can make more and more profits, so he can accumulate more capital, so he can etc. etc.

Now the way to increase profits is to get the workers to turn out more and more goods faster and faster at less and less cost.

Good idea, but how to do it? Machines and scientific management, that was (and is) the answer. Greater division of labour. Mass production. Speed-up. Greater efficiency in the plant. More machines. Power-driven machines that enable one worker to produce as much as five did before, as much as ten did, eighteen, twenty

The workers who are made "superfluous" or useless by machinery become an

"industrial reserve army" which can slowly starve, or by its very existence force down the wages of those who are lucky enough to have jobs.

And not only do machines create a surplus population of workers, they also change the character of labour. Unskilled, low-paid labour with a machine can do work that required high paid labour before. Children can take the place of adults in the factory, women can replace men.

Competition forces each capitalist to look for ways whereby he can produce goods more cheaply than others. The lower his "unit labour cost" (the capitalist term for human beings who work) the more possible it is to undersell his competitors and still make a profit. With the extension of the use of machinery, the capitalist is able to get the workers to produce more and more goods faster and faster at less and less cost.

ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL 13

A TWO STAGE STRUGGLE OR

In order to change the system we live under, we must understand it. It is only then that we can plan our programme and strategy. The present exploitative and oppressive system we live under is the system of racial capitalism. It is the root of our exploitation and oppression.

TWO STAGE STRUGGLE

There are a number of political movements who still base their programmes and tactics on the 2 stage theory, that is first the national democratic struggle where all anti-apartheid forces get together then the struggle for a workers' democracy. However, true democracy cannot arise and survive on the foundation of capitalism. How will it be possible to end unemployment, low wages, poverty, hunger and homelessness until the state of racist and capitalist dictatorship is dismantled.

The democratic aspirations of the working people cannot be accommodated in a "separate" stage of "national democracy". The reality of our struggle is inescapable, whether certain people choose to accept it or not. Capitalism, as is inevitable, is in a state of decay. Indeed, we are suffering the consequences of this decay. It rests on the relentless action of class forces upon each other which can no more be ordered to halt than the wind and the waves.

It has been argued that the people using the two stage theory are taking objective conditions into account: The consciousness of the class is not yet developed enough to strive for a workers' democracy. We certainly do not believe in political adventurism. The mass of the working people learn from the experience of life and struggle. It is through struggle that all illusions in alternatives to a workers' democracy fall away. It is through patient and persistent work in every struggle of the workers and of all the oppressed that revolutionary tendency can gain majority support for its ideas.

DANGER OF 'STAGES'

A very real danger exists in propounding the 2 stage theory. The probability of nationalists and so-called leaders "representing ethnic groups" together with capitalists attempting to halt the struggle at the first "stage". People who have power do not give it up voluntarily. Thus, as we can see from history, the stage is set for another confrontation and once again, the workers and their allies will bear the brunt of the repression. People who say that the consciousness of the Black working class is not developed sufficiently to discard the 2-stage theory are being contemptuous of the Black working class. The inseparable connection between racism and capitalism are patently obvious to the Black workers. Among

our people there is a burning class hostility towards the capitalists. The daily struggle for survival; the conflict with the bosses in the factories; mines and on the farms; the obvious dependence of the bosses on the state; the direction of state repression more and more against the organisations of the workers; the stark gulf between rich and poor; the ostentation of the black business elite (whose wealth is no less conspicuous for being small); the growing awareness of revolutions in other countries and the rise of the workers' movements of West and East - all these raise the consciousness of the Azanian working class and give confidence in the possibility of its victory.

The mass of our people, including the overwhelming majority of workers, at the same time attach enormous importance to the struggle for the vote and other democratic rights, which have been gained in some form in other capitalist countries.

This is not, as Stalinism asserts, because the workers cannot identify the capitalist enemy. The point is that most workers believe that the attainment of democratic rights will make it possible both to end racist oppression and to get rid of the tyranny and exploitation of the bosses - thus allowing the material conditions of life to be transformed.

ONE FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC?

OUR TASKS

If trust is placed in too abstract a conception of democracy; if it is not yet clearly seen that for democracy to be made concrete the working class will have to establish its own democratic state power - this is because direct experience of bourgeois democracy has been denied to the majority in South Africa.

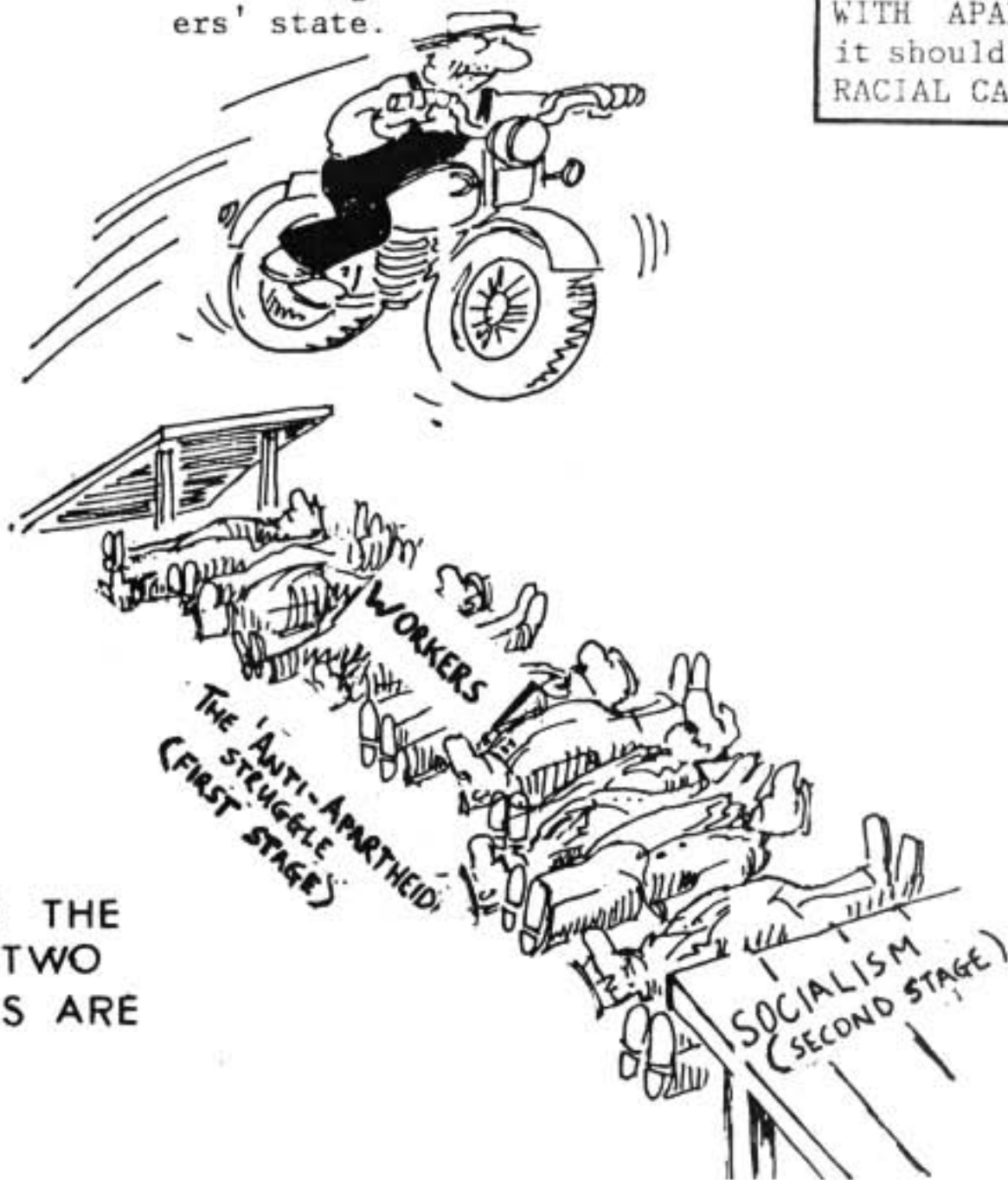
We have to criticise the illusions represented by the liberals and the reformists. Together with politically advanced workers we must carefully examine ideas and strategies and if necessary strip away illusions and expose false ideas. Once the workers are armed with this knowledge, they will not easily be betrayed and defeated.

The "progressive democrats" assert that the path to a revolutionary working-class consciousness requires that the workers should first achieve bourgeois-democratic rights, in order to discover the inadequacy of these in the fullness of time.

Nine-tenths of a revolutionary consciousness is already provided in the experience of life of the oppressed working people. The remaining one-tenth - so far possessed by only fairly small forces of cadres in the movement - is a clear grasp of the necessity to dismantle the entire machinery of the capitalist state and replace it with democratic organs of a workers' state.

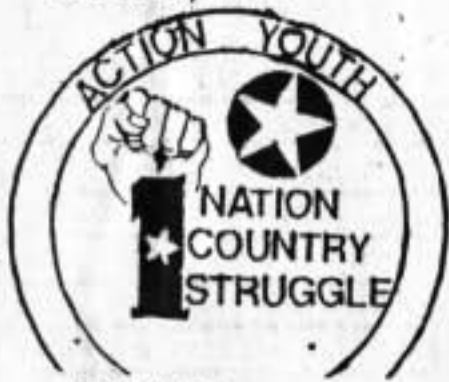
Whatever awakens the consciousness of the working class of their own power to change society is progressive; whatever dulls the consciousness is reactionary. It must be made clear that we must not posture and raise false hopes of liberation from above. Rather it is to strive among the working people in struggle for the taking of power into their own hands. Against the nationalist rhetoric which serves to blind workers to their class aims and dulls their sense of class power, we stand uncompromisingly for the class consciousness and class unity of the Black working class.

Our slogans should be more than just "DOWN WITH APARTHEID!" rather it should be: "DOWN WITH RACIAL CAPITALISM!"



IF WE SEPARATE THE STRUGGLE INTO TWO STAGES, WORKERS ARE AT RISK

ARISE!/VUKA



ARISE!/VUKA

is an initiative by working, unemployed and student youth residing in Soveto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Riverlea, Bosmont and Fordsburg.

ARISE!/VUKA

is the newspaper of ACTION YOUTH. the principles of ACTION YOUTH are:

- anti - racism
 - anti - imperialism
 - anti - ethnicity
 - anti - collaboration
 - anti - sexism
 - paramountcy of working-class interest and ideas
 - democratic criticism - self-criticism
- ACTION YOUTH participates in the National Forum.

ARISE!/VUKA

in its coverage and analysis will focus on the actual struggles taking place inside South Africa, to all the organisations of the people, and independent black trade unions which are leading the struggles in our country we give our critical support.

ARISE!/VUKA

while focusing its coverage mainly on South Africa nevertheless gives support to the national and class struggles in Grenada, El Salvador, Eritrea, Palestine, Poland, Namibia, Guyana and all other struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples, and gives critical support to Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola Mozambique, China, Zimbabwe and all other third world countries in which the ruling parties are engaged in the process of socialist reconstruction.

ARISE!/VUKA

believes support for us must be critical in order to be meaningful and constructive.

“THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM CANNOT REPLACE CRITICISM BY WEAPONS, MATERIAL FORCE MUST BE OVERTHROWN BY MATERIAL FORCE; BUT THEORY ALSO BECOMES A MATERIAL FORCE AS SOON AS IT HAS GRIPPED THE MASSES...”

REMEMBER



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JUNE 1978

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