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ARISE! VUKANI

ARISE! YOU PRISONERS OF STARVATION
ARISE! YOU WRETCHED OF THE EARTH
FOR JUSTICE THUNDERS CONDEMNATION
A BETTER WORLD IN BIRTH
NO MORE TRADITION'S CHAINS SHALL BIND US
ARISE! YOU SLAVES NO MORE IN THRALL
THE EARTH WILL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS
WE HAVE BEEN NAUGHT
WE SHALL BE ALL!

Magazine of Action Youth

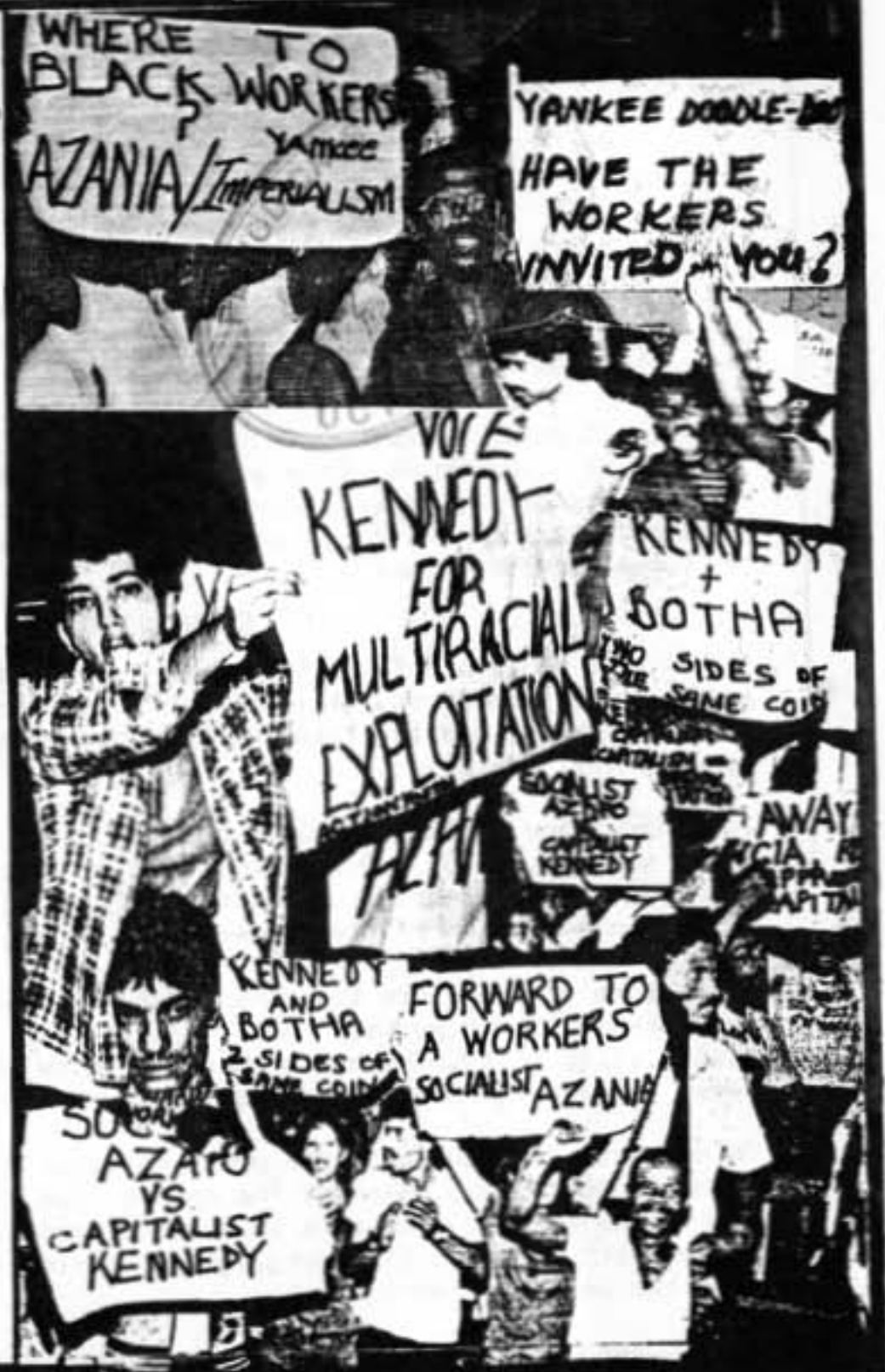
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'YANKEE GO HOME!'

(Excerpts from the poem "VO NGUYEN GIAP- a tribute to Vietnam" by Mafika Pascal Gwala)

Vo Nguyen, I think I heard you say,
with Fidel and Che: 'Cuba si, Yanqui non!'
You led the people of the Third World
through the trenches of Dien Bien Phu
You showed the paths
leading to the Sierra Maestra
You hoisted the revolutionary heritage
of the long March
You reminded us, Chu Teh lives
You reminded us, Che lives
You demonstrated how Contradictions
are handled in a People's struggle
You fused courage
into the fighting sons of Guinea-Bissau
You said Go! to the sons and daughters
of Mozambique
You taught the children of America:
Lies cannot buy the Truth.
And you, you sons of the United States of America,
What more brave did you seek
in the marshes and the mountainsides of Indochina?
What machismo did you find
when facing the Women's Liberation Corps of the
NLF?

What oomph did you steal out of defiling
the innocent, impoverished bodies of the daughters
of Vietnam...in your Saigon brothels?
Yankee, the world will be more than happy
to see you go home.
Go home, Yankee.
Yankee, go home.
Go home to your hotdogs and hamburgers
Go home to your TV slops
Go home to Walt Disney and Mickey Mouse
Go home to the plastic syphilization
of your town and countryside(Continued on back cover.)



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THE STAY-AWAY

The deepening crisis in South Africa resulted in increased black worker and student militancy during 1984. The year was marked with an upsurge in strikes, resistance against rent increases in the Vaal triangle, anti-election campaigns and country wide student boycotts. It was also in 1984, the year of the new constitution and its supposed "reform" that 7000 soldiers and police invaded the township of Sebokeng on 22 October. It is against this backdrop that the fourth stay-away of the year, on the 5th and 6th of November, was called.

The stayaway was called to support demands for:

- The withdrawal of the army and the police from the townships,
- The resignation of community councillors,
- The release of detainees and political prisoners,
- A stop to rent and busfare increases,
- The reinstatement of all dismissed workers,
- The withdrawal of "unfair" GST and other taxes, and
- Democratically elected SRC's at black schools and the abolition of educational age restrictions.

About 500 000 workers stayed away, making it the most successful Stayaway in the 35 years that it has been used as a political weapon. The greatest response came from the Vaal triangle where 90% of workers stayed away, and on the East Rand where the stayaway was 80 to 90% effective.

This particular stayaway was the most effective and widespread because of the involvement of progressive trade unions. Yet, there were limitations and some valid criticisms of the stayaway. Some critics felt that the stayaway should have had a broader basis by incorporating more progressive organisations thus making the decisions more democratic.

CONDITIONS AT SASOL

The SASOL2 and 3 plants, situated near Secunda in the Eastern Transvaal, is controlled by 11 directors, at least 7 of which are state appointed. In June '82 - June '83 group profits after taxation from the Sasol2 and 3 plants rose from R176,7 million to R197,2 million.

The SASOL2 and 3 plants employ 6500 "african" workers. By December 1983 over 50% of these workers, 2200 in Sasol2 and 1300 in Sasol3, had been organised into the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), a FOSATU affiliate. Managements attitude to the unionisation of the workers was, as can be expected, negative.

Conditions at Sasol are bad. The plant hostels are like a military camp. There is heavy security and workers feel oppressed. In places like the coal and ash handling plants it is dirty. The masks that they give the workers don't prevent chest problems. Wages are also generally very low, some as low as R1.18c perhour.

In November 1984 another very pressing issue was the workers struggle with the Highveld United Bus Company. The company had increased fares from R23 to R25 per month. The company also acts in a racist manner by cramming black workers into busses with hard plastic seats. Buses carrying white workers arrive sometimes with only two people on board.

A Commuters Committee was set up by workers with support from people living in the township. The workers had already decided to boycott the buses on the same day that the Stayaway was called.



Shopstewards and organisers from the Sasol workers' union plan the fight back.

SASOL WORKERS VICTIMISED!

On Monday 5th November army hippos,armoured cars and police in camouflage started to invade the hostels.Management dropped leaflets from a Landrover and,by helicopter warning workers to be at work by 10-00 on Tuesday morning.The general feeling of the workers was to ignore the ultimatum and to walk to work on Wednesday morning. On Tuesday morning at 11.30a.m. the General Manager,Mr.De Waal,informed the Union that the company had no more dealings with them.Management also announced that all the boycotting workers had been dismissed and that the hostels had to be vacated by 6.00p.m. that same day.



This ultimatum,too,was ignored by workers.When the workers tried marching to work on Wednesday morning,they were confronted by the police and the army.A general meeting was held where workers decided to stay on unless forcibly removed by the army. According to the workers,the army was provocative in many ways for instance by insulting workers and openly preparing for attack by brandishing shields,batons,shotguns and putting on gas masks.Workers were forcibly removed from the hostels and transported back to the 'homelands' by the same bus company.Tsidiso Mothupi (a CWIU organiser) was detained that day.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK!

Since the dismissals,the Union has struggled to keep the workers informed.The workers were scattered - in homelands,such as Qwa-Qwa,Venda,etc. where there are no telephone facilities close at hand.Some workers however,have kept in touch by phoning the Union officials and by forming groups so that they can be briefed regularly by Union officials.

The Union has fought back in many different ways.Some of these are,as Tsidiso Ntaopane (Chief Shop Steward and Vice Chairperson of the Sasol 2 Shop Stewards Council) explains, "We are looking for support from other unions and organisations.We look for support from the international labour organisations.We are looking at a boycott of Sasol products.Maybe we can hold campaigns in the homelands - explaining the mass dismissals and affecting Sasol's recruitment.Also we still have members inside."

Sasol has since announced that they would selectively re-employ the dismissed workers. Returning workers have been called in individually for an interview in which they are asked the following questions:

1. Why did you stay away from work on the 5th and 6th?
2. Why did you not heed the return to work deadline?
3. Were you intimidated?
4. Who were the organisers/intimidators-name them.
5. If there is another such stay-away will you participate?
6. Did you have a record, i.e. warnings?
7. What is your relationship with your superiors or fellow workers?

Over 20 unions with a combined total of over 300 thousand workers have decided to support the CWIU and to call for a national strike if Sasol does not give in. Partly as a result of this Sasol has agreed to negotiate. In the meantime, dismissed workers and their families are starving in the homelands.Finding work has been made more difficult because the workers reference books bear the stamp that they are dismissed Sasol workers. It is appropriate to end this article with a quote from Tsidiso Mothupi (CWIU organiser): " The irony is that Sasol itself is contributing into making people into radicals. As it is said, A hungry man is a angry man"



mass meeting of Sasol workers



Tsidiso Mothupi organiser for CWIU with FOSATU logo in the background

NATIONAL FORUM

Over 250 delegates and many hundreds of observers were present at the National Forum Workshop in Athlone Cape Town on the 16th December 1984.

The workshop was held to assess the boycott of the New Deal elections held for the tri-racist parliament and to discuss the future of the National Forum.

ELECTIONS

Neville Alexander from the Cape Action League (C.A.L.) delivered a paper on the August elections. His paper also touched on ethnic consciousness, the liberal response to the New Deal and the achievements of the National Forum thus far. According to Dr Alexander the elections were undertaken as part of the larger plan of co-opting the black middle class in order to give medium term stability to the S.A. state. A mutually reinforcing task was to get middle and working class whites to accept the idea of 'power sharing'. The elections were also an element in the grand design of neo-apartheid strategy to divide and trap the black workers by creating and reinforcing a number of ethnic identities. For this reason even the elections were held on different days in spite of the inconvenience thereof. This was (and remains) the reason why we insisted on putting forward the slogan of ONE AZANIA ONE NATION. This is the answer of the black working class to the divisive ethnic slogans of the ruling class and of the conservative middle classes." said Dr Alexander.

After Dr Alexander's paper, the gathering broke up into four groups where the topics: "Ways and means of destroying the New Deal and advancing the struggle toward a Socialist Azania" and "The future structure of the National Forum".

WORKING CLASS MILITANCY



Alexander also alerted people to the fact that the destination of liberal shapes and colours is a national convention. He said "They are creating a climate in which people are made to believe that peaceful methods of negotiations and talking between 'real leaders' are going to solve our problems. This is the way in which the radical militancy of the working class is to be defused. Needless to say, every imperialist agency and symbolic individual from the Nobel Committee to senator Edward Kennedy and a host of smaller, lesser known names are being inspired to get the supposed juggernaut to this destination of the national convention."

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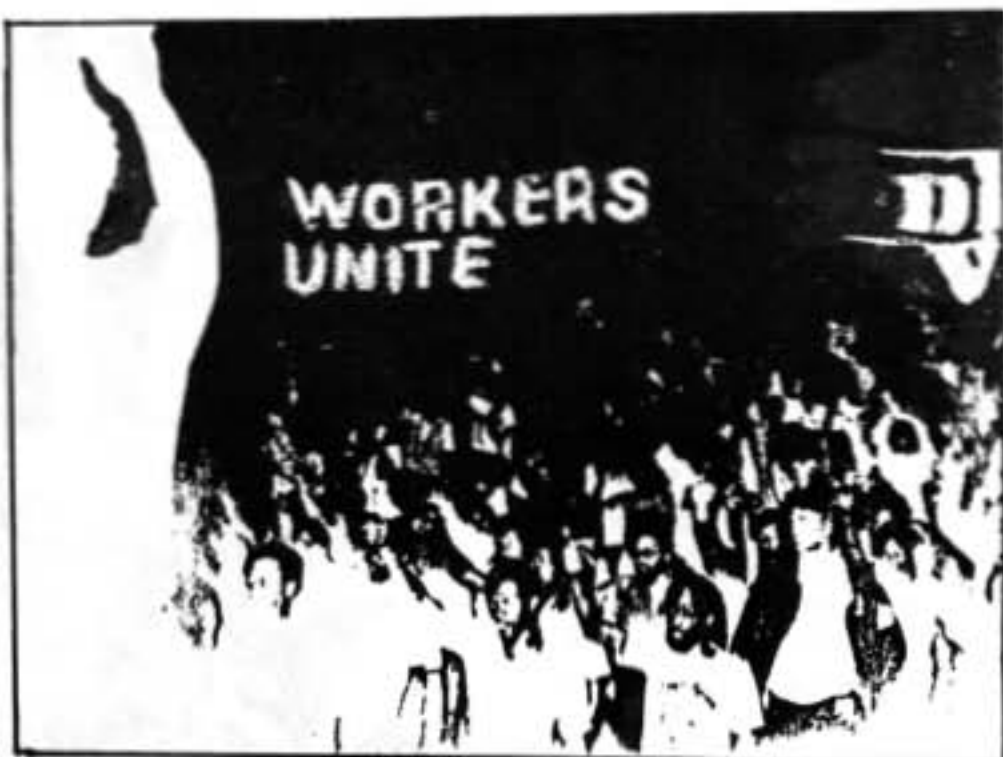
- 1) There should be more concrete grassroots level organising.
- 2) Stronger links with trade unions should be established.
- 3) Organisations in the N.F. should continue working with individual working class organisations with a view to win these over to the principles of the N.F. and the Azanian Manifesto.
- 4) Firmer student/worker alliances should be encouraged and that students from different organisations should work towards this end.

BREAKTHROUGH

Discussion involving the second topic became bogged down on the question of white participation in the N.F. Various organisations put forward their views on this question. It was finally decided by all organisations that all members of any organisations participating in the N.F. should be accorded the same status. This decision has been seen by many as an important breakthrough as this question (white participation) has previously plagued the N.F.

It was also felt that transforming the N.F. into an organisation at this stage would be premature as unity should not be amorphous, unprincipled and from above.

WORKSHOP



N.F. STRUCTURE AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Instead of an unprincipled unity of organisations such as the UDF (a popular front) we should rather work towards a necessarily more difficult but imperative United Front.

The Forum structure will now consist of a national working committee of three people and 30 representatives from the regions (Southern and Northern Transvaal, Natal Western and Eastern Cape and O.F.S.) elected by

organisations from these regions (five from each region).

The Workshop ended on a high note with the knowledge that the Forum has helped to create a strong and sophisticated core of activists who have been steeled in struggle through clashes with the machinery of the state. Also, we have produced the Manifesto of the Azanian People a document that sets us

clearly on the road to a socialist Azania. This document has given rise to one of the most creative debates in the public history of our country and has forced people to look again at older political programmes. Finally, the organisations that adhere to the position of the National Forum, can take much of the credit for torpedoing the August elections even if their efforts were largely ignored in the media.



- ★ WORKERS ASSAULTED BY WHITES AND RACIAL INSULTS MADE BY SUPERVISORS
- ★ WORKERS DOWN TOOLS IN SUPPORT OF THEIR COLLEAGUES
- ★ 107 WORKERS DISMISSED IN FEBRUARY 1984
- ★ FOOD BEVERAGE WORKERS UNION INVOLVED THE COMPANY
- ★ SCAB LABOUR RECRUITED BY THE COMPANY
- ★ DISPUTE TAKEN TO THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL ENDS IN DEADLOCK
- ★ WORKERS COMMITTEE HAS IDENTIFIED NEARLY 70 UNFAIR LABOUR PRACTISES
- ★ UNION NOW TAKING MATTER TO THE INDUSTRIAL COURT
- ★ WORKERS SUPPORT COMMITTEE NOW CALLS FOR A TOTAL BOYCOTT OF ALL DAIRYMAID

BOYCOTT CALLED OFF. STRUGGLE SUCCESSFUL. WORKERS REINSTATED AND PAID R70 000.

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND IMPERIALISM

It has taken the deaths of at least 2540 people and the possible poisoning of a further 200 000 people in Bhopal in India to draw attention to the operations of multinational corporations in third world countries. Union Carbide is a case in point. It is a U.S. based multinational that manufactures, in addition to chemicals, Eveready batteries and plastic bags (In South Africa it uses the trade name Glad Bags).

WHY DO MULTINATIONALS EXIST?

Multinational corporations exist precisely because capital must grow and move to wherever it can make the highest profits. Production and investment are shifted to the neo-colonial countries where labour is cheap, and is often kept so at the point of a gun. Safety measures in industries in these countries are insufficient or non-existent.

LACK OF SAFETY MEASURES

That industrial accidents are a necessary, though unfortunate by-product of industrialisation is the argument used by Union Carbide. However the evidence clearly points to the contrary. A computerised safety system installed in a sister plant in the United States was not



MULTINATIONALS AND IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

Installed in Bhopal. In the U.S. plant methyl isocyanate is stored in small stainless steel drums, while in Bhopal it was stored in tanks of at least 15 ton capacity. Workers in Bhopal complained about the lack of safety measures, but were ignored. In a Union Carbide factory in Indonesia, out of a workforce of 750, at least 402 were suffering from some kind of kidney disease. Union Carbide successfully led the lobby to exempt "Rhodesian" chrome from sanctions in 1972.

CONCLUSION

banned in Europe, U.S. and S.A. is still manufactured in these countries and exported to third world countries. This is in spite of the fact that at least 60000 people were killed in the third world as a result of pesticide poisoning. According to the World Health Organisation, at least 10 million people have died from waterborne or water associated diseases, yet only the U.S. vetoed the ban on marketing milk powder in the 3rd World.

There is no doubt that workers and peasants in the third world live in extreme poverty. Unemployment is chronic, wages are low and rates of inflation high. As a result malnutrition, high mortality rates, disease and all features of impoverishment are widespread. Natural causes have very little to do with this state of affairs. It is the direct result of a global economic system in which wealth and power have become increasingly concentrated in the hands of multinational corporations in alliance with local capitalists at the expense of the working people. The social cost of this system is most acute in underdeveloped or neo-colonial countries.

What is needed is a political and economic system which is in the interest of all the working people.

a short lesson on exploitation

A worker once explained in a simple manner the situation workers find themselves in.

He told us:

" Comrades, the 10 000 workers at our mine produce 300 or 400 tons of iron ore in a month" He took out a sheet of paper and continued : " This represents what we produce , this whole sheet. This is all the profits we have produced in a month. How is this distributed?"

Then he tore the sheet into five equal parts. Of these five parts, he said , " Four go to the foreign capitalist" Thats his profit. "Only only one part stays in

the country. Now this fifth part is also distributed according to the system in which we live, right ? So , from this the government takes almost half for transportation and export expenses, which is another way for the capitalists to make profit, no ? The ore is exported overseas and it is used to manufacture the things which are sold back to us at tremendously high prices. With all this ,the capitalists once again gets almost half of this fifth of the profit that was ours.

Then of the half that remains ,the government again grabs some for

its own benefit and for the following groups: the armed forces , for the salaries of its ministers in the three parliments , to pay for their trips abroad and to pay for its bantustans , etc.

Of the little bit that is left over , the government takes another part for hospitals, for rent and to pay for the system to maintain pass laws etc.

And so they take and keep taking. "From all the money that iron ore brings in, just a little bit remains , a little bit for the wages of the 10 000 workers who mined the iron ore."



THE WORKERS DEMAND A LIVING WAGE

The capitalist class is gaining at the expense of the working class. This is not an accident. It is not something like bad weather. It cannot be explained by the word 'recession'. It is the policy of capitalists to get as much labour power from workers and to return as little as possible in the form of wages. They pay just enough to cover the cost of survival, sometimes less.

SUPPORT SACOS!!

The newly formed TRANSVAAL AMATEUR VOLLEYBALL ASSOCIATION with clubs from Soweto, Wattville, Lenasia, Bosmont and Fordsburg invites you to attend a Tournament and meeting on Sunday 24th February 1985, at the DAVEY SOCIAL CENTRE ACTONVILLE, BENONI.

(For further information contact R. Badat - Phone 852-7047)

WHY WE OPPOSED KENNEDY'S VISIT!

HOW WE UNDERSTAND THE STRUGGLE

In South Africa the struggle is against capitalism together with National oppression. Capitalism is a system which does not satisfy the needs of the majority of the people such as proper food, proper clothing, decent shelter, etc. It only satisfies the making of profits for a few. The capitalist system has created two main classes, the WORKERS and the BOSSES.

The bosses, small in number, own the land, farms, mines and factories.

The workers, large in number, only own their labour power. They have to sell this labour power to the bosses in order to survive.

In other words one class lives by owning, the other class lives by working. The interest of these two classes are opposed.

It is in the interest of the bosses to increase their profits and to keep their privileges and power.

It is in the interest of the workers to fight against their poverty and to bring in a society free of oppression and exploitation.

CAPITALISM IS WASTEFUL

- To maintain high prices and profits milk, eggs, fruit, etc are destroyed or dumped while people are starving.
- It does not provide work for all those who want to work.
- It is wasteful because millions must be devoted to war, the senseless destroyer of all that is good in life, as well as of life itself.

CAPITALISM IS IRRATIONAL

- It is irrational in its very nature because, instead of basing its production needs on the basic needs of all, it bases production on the profits of the few.
- It is irrational because instead of a harmonious nation we have conflicting interests of the bosses and the workers.

CAPITALISM IS UNJUST

- Its foundations stone is inequality with the good things in life flowing in a never ending stream to a small privileged rich class; while unemployment, degrading poverty and starvation are part of the lot of the large unprivileged class. This is true of the United States, the strongest, richest capitalist nation on earth. This is also true of South Africa, but in addition the majority of the people also face national oppression in the form of apartheid.

WHOSE INTEREST DOES KENNEDY SERVE?

Senator Kennedy is a representative of Foreign Capitalism - Imperialism - which has over \$60 000 million invested in South Africa. Imperialism owns or controls most of the mines, factories and banks in South Africa eg., Ford, General Motors, Caltex, Consolidated Goldfields, Barclays and a host of other



companies. The "white" ruling class, Botha and Co., together with the local capitalists (such exploiters in their own right), manage and protect these investments in South Africa on behalf of Imperialism. Senator Kennedy is a member of and spokesman for the foreign capitalists who siphon \$1 000 million every month (\$35 million every single day) out of South Africa in the form of SUPER PROFITS. They are able to reap such big profits because they pay black workers in South Africa slave wages. This is the main reason for the poverty and homelessness of the majority of people in South Africa.

The imperialists will never completely disinvest from South Africa because they make enormous profits from this system of oppression and exploitation. In addition, the South African state acts as a policeman protecting the interest of Imperialism, in the whole of Southern Africa.

Senator Kennedy is attempting to strengthen and support liberal organisations and individuals, both 'black' and 'white' who want the same sham reforms in South Africa as the imperialists do. These people want to set up a NATIONAL CONVENTION. (see article on national convention page), to negotiate a deal with the ruling class. The deal will result in more "black" faces in parliament and will ensure poverty, oppression and exploitation is perpetuated.

The imperialists and their allies are worried that the black workers in South Africa are seeing through the evil capitalist system. Senator Kennedy is attempting to trick the oppressed into believing that the "FREE" enterprise system of capitalism is beneficial to them. They want to fool the oppressed and exploited people with gimmicks like the Sullivan Code and financial support for liberal organisations and certain educational institutions. This is done to protect their (imperialism's) interests in South Africa and not the interests of the black workers who will continue to be exploited.

We, the people of South Africa, cannot embrace the representative and supporter of a policy that has raped, murdered, invaded and exiled our fellow oppressed in countries like Vietnam, Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba and occupied Palestine (Israel). They are also intervening and wreaking havoc in Namibia, Mozambique and Angola in collaboration with the South African ruling class.

WHY WAS KENNEDY HERE?

Kennedy comes to South Africa at a time when the consciousness of the exploited and oppressed and especially that of the black working class is increasing. The evils of capitalism are being identified and confronted.

To misdirect these struggles there have been calls by Kennedy and his local liberal allies to fight apartheid, while ignoring its root - Capitalism. The struggle is one against racial capitalism for a new society without national oppression and class exploitation.

NATION WIDE DEMOS.!

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NATION WIDE DEMOS.!

A NATIONAL CONVENTION OR A

'CALLS FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION'; 'GOVERNMENT TALKS TO ANC'; 'PFP MP CALLS FOR TALKS WITH ANC'; 'KENNEDY VISITS S.A.';

These recent headlines in the newspaper are the signs of the times.

Gatsha Buthelezi, P.F.P., Black Sash and the U.D.F. (Transvaal and Natal regions) have all called for a NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WHAT IS A NATIONAL CONVENTION?

According to the National Forum the basic characteristics of a National Convention are:

- a) It is a solution by the ruling class to save the situation, that is the system of capitalism.
- b) It brings about reforms or other changes always in the interests of the of the ruling class. It never brings about fundamental change ie change in the interest of the majority - workers.
- c) It is used to tell the world that consensus has been arrived at in South Africa and that there is no longer any need to fight.

The system is presently making second-level arrangements and white South Africans are being geared to accept the idea of a National Convention. A survey by the Human Sciences Research Council revealed that 43% of whites were in favour of negotiations with the ANC while 44% were against.

In the City Press (January 1984) we read:

"Bishop Desmond Tutu, at a press conference upon his return from overseas, intimated that the ANC would be prepared to talk to the government.

This news comes at a time when there has been much publicity about the possibility of releasing Mandela and in the wake of a report on white attitudes towards the ANC.

WHY A NATIONAL CONVENTION ?

The ruling class will opt for a convention when it feels the internal situation cannot be controlled any longer. This is becoming a greater reality with the increased consciousness and militancy of the black working class.

In a National Convention the ruling class always calls the tune. This can be witnessed in Namibia where South Africa and its Imperialist allies want a negotiated settlement on their terms. How, thus, can we expect the South African regime to agree to a settlement on our terms when they have failed to do it in Namibia?

Oppressive regimes always start a process whereby they study the liberation movements against them and decide which are cooptable when the crunch comes. For example, as the conflict in Zimbabwe sharpened, Smith met Nkomo's ZAPU several times. Smith had Nkomo in mind as the best alternative to Muzorewa.

In the liberation movement people are developing strategies in order to change S.A. into a society free of oppression and exploitation.

The strength of the liberation movement to carry these strategies through depends a lot on the

leadership that is built - they must not be easily corrupted or seduced by liberals and other agents of the system who try to wean the struggle away from its revolutionary direction. More importantly, democratic organisations based among the black working class and dominated by revolutionary working class theory and practice can make the National Convention a misnomer.

There can never be a transference of actual power to the working class via a National Convention because power is wrested and NEVER transferred.

The road to building a society free of exploitation and oppression does not lie through the negotiating table. This type of society can only be achieved if the oppressed and, in particular, the exploited (black working class) are organised in organisations dominated by revolutionary working class theory and practice. What is needed is hard work to organise and mobilise the entire country in new forms of organisation and methods of struggle if necessary.

Large alliances and federations of all the organisations of the oppressed and exploited must be formed. No single grouping or organisation can claim to represent all the oppressed people. The call of the day is unity - organised united action of all workers. Alliances must be formed on principles such as anti-imperialism, anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-

WORKERS' REPUBLIC OF AZANIA?

liberalism, non-colaboration with the oppressor and most important of all : INDEPENDENCE of WORKING CLASS ORGANISATIONS from the bosses and reactionary middle-class, and that the struggle for a new society

must be LED BY THE BLACK WORKING CLASS.

The alternative to a National Convention is a CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY i.e. when the oppressed and exploited are about to take power they call an assembly

to hammer out how to take power. A Constituent Assembly is called when the ruling class is unable to contain the situation and the oppressed and exploited can literally invade the corridors of power.

Notes on Theory No 1



The workers by transforming raw material into a finished article bring new wealth into existence. They create a new value. The difference between what the workers are paid in wages and the amount of value they have added to the raw material is what the employer keeps.

THATS WHERE THE CAPITALISTS PROFITS COME FROM!

When workers hire themselves out to an employer they don't sell what they produce ; the workers sell their ability or capacity to produce. The employer does not pay the workers for the

product of eight hours work; the employer pays them to work eight hours.

The workers sell their labour power for the length of the whole day-say eight hours. Now suppose the time necessary to produce the value of the workers' wages is four hours. They do not stop working and then go home. Oh no! They have been hired to work eight hours so they continue to work the other four hours. In these four hours, they are working NOT FOR THEMSELVES, but FOR THEIR EMPLOYER. Part of their labour is PAID labour; part is UNPAID labour. The empl-

oyers profit comes from the unpaid labour.

There must be a difference between what the workers are paid and the value of what they produce, else the employer would not hire them. The difference between what the workers get in wages and the value of the commodity that they produce is called SURPLUS VALUE.

Surplus value is the profit that goes to the employer. The employer buys labour power at one price and sells the product of labour at a higher price. The difference - surplus value - the employers keep for themselves.

SURPLUS

VALUE

11

The assassination of MRS INDIRA GANDHI by her Sikh body guards and the tragedy at Bhopal has once again turned the world spotlight on India, that unhappy land beset with endless strife and suffering.

State dignitaries from over 90 countries paid glowing tribute to INDIRA GANDHI as the prime minister of the "WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY", as a leading member of her sex and as a charismatic leader. Some of her followers paid their tribute in a less orthodox manner, namely, by slaughtering over 2 000 Sikhs (10 000 according to Maneka Gandhi) and by inflicting grievous bodily wounds on many times that number.

Even white South Africa, through P.W. Botha, sent condolences. Expectedly, the Natal Indian Congress, an affiliate of the UDF held a memorial meeting and asked "INDIAN" merchants to close their businesses for a few hours. Others wrote lengthy newspaper articles extolling MRS GANDHI'S virtues.

ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN HISTORY

We, in Action Youth, judge individuals, organisations and governments with the inflexible yardstick of their relationship with the workers and peasants and with the the weakest and most helpless sections of the population i.e. the aged, the children, the sick, the crippled and the destitute.

An individual is either FOR the oppressed and exploited or AGAINST them. There can be no fence sitting on this score. Further, if a person is FOR the oppressed and exploited, then that commitment must be universal. In other words the commitment must apply to ALL the oppressed and exploited all over the world.

GANDHI - CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED?

It is common knowledge that Mrs Gandhi has been held in high esteem by a section of the S.A. oppressed because of her anti-apartheid statements and because of her financial and other assistance to certain organisations. That, however, is insufficient to honour her as a champion of the oppressed. The real test is the treatment by Mrs Gandhi and her ruling party of the over 600 million workers and peasants and their families in INDIA.

We need to look at the position of workers and peasants of India after almost 40 years of political independence from British rule. Relevant questions to be asked are: Is the wealth of India being equitably and fairly distributed amongst its people so that none starves and is ill-clad? Are all its people provided with decent housing and proper medical care? Are basic human rights strictly enforced so that its people can live, work and prosper in peace?

STRUGGLE OF THE POOR IN INDIA

The wretched of the Indian earth rose time and again to bring about radical change in Society. But each time they rose, they were crushed by the might of the Indian Army. There was the revolt in Telangana, Hyderabad in 1950 and there was the rise and spread of the Naxalite Movement in West Bengal in 1967. Both these uprisings were peasant based with land redistribution as their main objective. Both were ruthlessly crushed.

The various governments of India, without exception, made their standpoint very clear. Any attempt by the workers and peasants to redistribute the wealth and natural resources of India would not be tolerated. The wealth of the factory owners and landowners must be protected even if it means bloody massacres.

THE ART OF DECEPTION

The Indian Rulers have perfected the art of deception.

They eloquently say the right thing but do the opposite. They profess to be socialists and in the name of socialism uphold capitalism and feudalism. Bribery and corruption are condemned but those who condemn, practice these vices on a grand scale.

INDIA

THE TOOLS OF DECEPTION ARE WORDS - SEDUCTIVE WORDS OF A BRIGHT FUTURE, OF A LAND OF MILK AND HONEY. THE POWER OF WORDS IS SUCH THAT THE DARK DEEDS ARE FORGIVEN BUT NOT FORGOTTEN. IT IS BUT A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE MAGIC OF WORDS WEAR OUT. WHEN THAT HAPPENS ASIA'S SECOND GIANT WILL SHAKE THE WORLD!

APOLOGISTS

There have been and still are many apologists for Mrs Gandhi. They will all tell us about the enormity of India's problems, its vast population, the deep roots of the caste system, the ignorance of its population and the backwardness of the people. To us this is nothing less than a COVER-UP for the oppression and exploitation of the workers and peasants.

What of those movements like the Naxalites and DALIT PANTHERS who attempted radical change in India? Why were such organisations crushed and their members killed or thrown in prison?

The truth of the matter is that Mrs Gandhi and her governments have shown that their true commitment was to defend, protect and uphold the exploiters and oppressors of the millions of down trodden workers and peasants.

Those persons and organisations who have sung Mrs Gandhi's praise whilst concealing the other side of the picture have themselves practiced a deception on the people of this country.

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES .

From the documentary film "BEFORE THE MONSOON" we learn that :

- (1) 46% of agricultural land in India is owned by a mere 6.8% of the landowners.
- (2) ₹12 million of public money was lost by the Late Sanjay Gandhi in an enterprise to manufacture the "peoples' car". Only 7 cars were produced.
- (3) Before "Independence" 40% of the population lived below the poverty datum line. 30 years later 70% of the people live below the poverty line.
- (4) During the state of emergency in the state of Kerala ALONE, there were:
8021 detained
1618 tortured by the police while in detention.
28 died of torture.

From the book "INSIDE INDIA TODAY" by DILIP HIRO, we learn that:

- (1) Rural labourers earn as little as ONE RUPEE (about 10 cents) a day plus a meagre breakfast and lunch.
- (2) Urban labourers earn about THREE RUPEES a day.

This is the picture of real India - a system maintained, upheld and defended by all governments of India including those led by Mrs Gandhi.

- (3) Businessmen and company directors earn from 5 000 to 50 000 rupees a month.

From the journal RACE and CLASS (XVI, 4 1975) we learn that:

- (1) There were 35 000 political prisoners in 1975, most of whom were members of the Marxist Naxalite Movement and who were brutally treated in prison.
- (2) During the great Railway Strike of 1974, over 50 000 strikers were detained. Later 10 000 were dismissed and 100 000 were demoted.

From the publication of the Minority Rights Group called "THE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA" we learn that:

- (1) 90% of the "untouchables" live in rural India where they are mercilessly exploited.
- (2) Whole families and neighbourhoods have been murdered.
- (3) In 1978 reported cases of these atrocities was 15 053. Many other cases remained unreported.

Hey, Indira

When I heard you call 'Abolish poverty,' my heart was filled to bursting, hey,
Running I voted for your symbol, the cow and calf nursing, hey!
When will your promises be fulfilled?
When will happiness reach our homes, Indira?
The chaos of inflation lies before us now.

The rich are rolling on their sofas, luxuriously lounging, hey,
We are starving, half-exhausted, bitterness abounding, hey!
If you have any love, let it flow out,
Take a look and think about it, Indira,
The chaos of inflation lies before us now.

The landless now are organizing, building unity anew, hey,
If capitalism is not destroyed, we'll see that it's your funeral too,
All now say, no more can we stand -
Then take revolution's flag in hand . . . Indira,
The chaos of inflation lies before us now.

Song of the

United Women's Anti-Price-Rise Committee

THE BRITISH MINE WORKERS' STRIKE

In Britain on 12th March 1984 the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) called a strike against the National Coal Board's plan to close 20 'uneconomic' pits which would result in the loss of 20 000 jobs. An estimated 80% of Britain's 175 000 miners rallied to the strike call, closing two-thirds of the industry.

According to the miners, this dispute hasn't happened overnight.

The history of uneconomic pits goes back over 8 years. Management has made the pits uneconomic by reducing the number of workers and by not investing in new machinery in order to reach the coal. The workers believe the policy of the board and the government is to run down their pits and then sell off the good ones to private enterprise. What the government calls uneconomic offends the miner's morality code. The miners do not believe in economic individuality.

The past 10 months have been a living hell for the striking miners who have had to face continuous police brutality, increasing poverty and the unremitting, unflinching Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher. She refers to the striking miners as the enemy within. Hatred for the police is immense. People of the mining communities see the police and the courts as the tools of the employers. The police often surround mining villages and conduct house-to-house searches for pickets. In some villages defence committees have been set up to resist the militarisation of police tactics.

tics. There are striking parallels here in South Africa with regard to the role of the police. During the recent Vaal triangle (S.A.) rent uprising a national two day strike was called after which, the armed forces of the S.A. government launched a massive house-to-house search for so called agitators. The violent clashes between workers and the armed forces of the ruling class are common to all struggles where workers are striving for a just, anti-exploitative society.

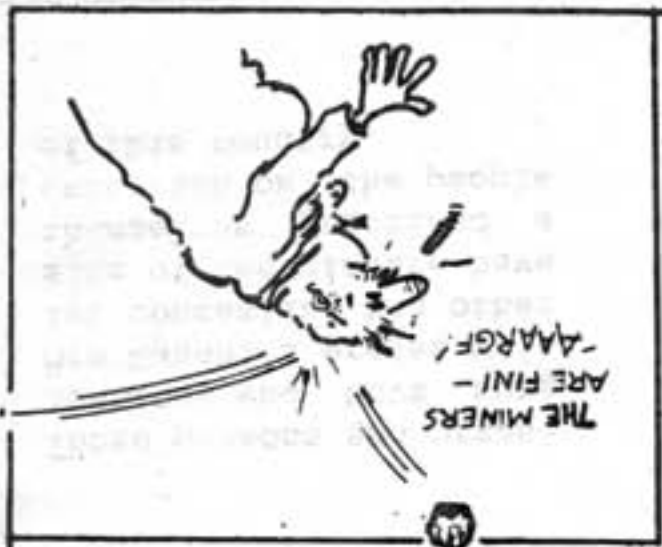
Despite the many battles and difficulties the striking miners have had to face, they have maintained a high morale throughout. According to the NUM president, Mr Arthur Scargill, the strike has entered "an entirely new dimension not of the Union's choosing." People have discovered themselves, their talents and abilities, and their understanding and compassion. They have discovered a community spirit and a link with each other that has frightened the living daylight out of the opposition.

Roy Jones, a striking miner, who visited S.A. as guest of NUM (S.A.) during November and December 1984 had a lively discussion with ACTION YOUTH where he explained the role of the strike committee:

"The strike committees are based on the local union branches, but anybody wanting to work on the committee. Women are playing a prominent role in the strike committees. The committees organise transport, put out

press releases and ensure distribution to the food centres. The strike committee deals with all the problems that arise for strikers and their families: At the food centres we keep in touch with the 'stay-at-home' strikers and combat government propaganda and try to get everyone involved in the strike. As far as support for the strike is concerned, the miners have the active backing of the railway workers, power workers and the dockworkers. Roy Jones also told us that workers from other progressive unions in the Trade Union Congress (TUC) have also realised that the time has come, not only to express moral support, but to stand united and to actively struggle in the interest of all workers.

On the question of working class leadership, it is clear that the workers have taken the lead in the strike. They will not be controlled by bureaucrats or careerist politicians. Many miners now see the fight as one against CAPITALISM and not just against a particular employer. If final victory against the capitalists is sought, the need to build international solidarity between rank and file trade unionists in different countries, becomes absolutely essential.



WOMENS' OPPRESSION NO2

In our previous issue we dealt with black working women's oppression and exploitation. In this issue we take a look at the biological and historical aspects of women's oppression. In our forthcoming issues we shall focus on: The Nuclear Family and capitalist society, women's liberation movements, women activists and middle class women.

In this article we attempt to answer the question: Does women's oppression stem from a biological difference with men or from the historical development of society?

BIOLOGICAL ASPECT

Women's physical weakness' has never prevented her from performing work as such. The volume of work performed by women has always been considerable. Far from women's physical weakness removing her from productive work, in most cases her weak social position has made her the slave of it.

It is also suggested that biological differences such as the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children lead to social roles out of sheer practicality. However, the sexual division of labour (wife and mother versus father and breadwinner) in western society is not universal. In some societies biology appears to have had little or no influence on women's roles. For example, the Mbuti pygmies in the Congo rain forest, a hunting and gathering society, where there are no specific rules for

the division of labour, both men and women hunt together. In some Asian and Latin American countries, a quarter of the labour force in mines is female.

HISTORICAL ASPECT

During primitive times men and women were occupied as full-time hunters and warriors. Women developed most of the basic tools, skills and techniques at the base of social advancement. Out of the variety of crafts they practised pot-making, leather-making, house-building, etc.

Women were thus the producers of new life and and the material necessities of life. They were able to accomplish this because they worked together as a collective community of producers. This explains why the earliest societies were matriarchal, with women occupying the central place of the clan. Hence we have a refutation of the myth that women have always been the inferior sex and that her place has always been in the home.



HOW THEN DID THIS DRASTIC REVERSAL COME ABOUT?

It began with changes in the structure of society. The appearance of private property led to the downfall of women. The disintegration of communal societies began 6 to 8 thousand years ago, with agriculture and cattle farming being practiced on a large scale. This in turn brought about material surpluses required for an efficient economy and a new way of life.

The old sprawling tribal communes began to break down; first into separate clans then into separate families and finally into the nuclear family. In the new society man became the principle producer and proprietors of private property and of women. Women were relegated to the home and her family.

Only in a socialist society will the discrimination against women and the exploitation of workers, both men and women, end.

Next issue:
The Nuclear family and the Capitalist Society.

ARISE!/VUKA



ARISE!/VUKA

is an initiative by working, unemployed and student youth residing in Soweto, 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.

ACTION YOUTH MEMBERS' POETRY

SOMEDAY BROTHER

Someday the Revolution will liberate you and I
You from your Aryan thoughts and deeds
Me from your Exploitation

Yes, my white brother,
One day your hands will be toughened
and your back browned,
As we toil together
Under the beautiful Azanian sun

(High school student - Bosmont)

THE FOWL RUN

The chickens are at it again
Scratching and pecking each other
Trying to see who can crow the loudest
And the cock with the biggest following is the proudest

They are all fighting for that favourite place in the sun
Safely esconced in their fowl run
While the boer looks on contentedly
At his chickens' ceaseless activity
Fighting back his laughter
As he fattens them for the slaughter. (Student - Fordsburg)

IF

If freedom can't come to me
i will go to it
If my blood is the price
i'm ready to pay
If my country is dirty
i will cleanse it free
If my voice is very low
my pangā shall do it for me
If they say no
pandemonium shall reign
If....

(Worker - Soweto)

(continuation from front cover)

Go home to the boredomed U.S.
-where Malcolm X is true prophet
Go home to the All Mightiness U.S.
-where the soul of George Jackson is yet to breed
the new man

Sing to Vo Nguyen Giap:
Giap who humbled McNamara's bombs
Giap who challenged napalm
Giap who caused Senator Fullbright to shout out
the truths of murder to the U.S. congress
Giap, you bolstered the world's Liberation Fronts
You gave weak knees to Kennedy's Special Forces

I choose to concede: I may be bound hand and foot
under the southern sun; but my spirit is liberated
-like the sun of Saigon.

Those who taught me one and one makes three have
failed

My one and one is two.
I know my Black heroes: Lumumba, Franz Fanon,
Amilcal Cabral.

The future is NOW.
Until there will be no more master and slave
in the four corners of the earth.
And you Vo Nguyen, you make me hope

This way I am able to shout: Victory!
Long live the People's Revolution.



write
to us

any
COMPLAINTS?

any
IDEAS?

any
LETTERS?

any
HELPING-HANDS?

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