

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!

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**WE WILL NOT
FORGET**

Metal Merger	*	Sharpeville	*	Cawusa
Railway Workers	*	June 16	*	What is
Socialism	*	Azayo	*	Violence
Continues	*	Sacos	*	National Democratic
Struggle	*	Palestine	*	Sayco
			*	Phillips Strike

METAL UNIONS MERGE

On 22-24 May 1987, a new metal and automotive workers union with a membership of 130 000 was launched. The new union is called NUMSA - the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and represents approximately 30% of workers in the relevant industry.

The merger took place between the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union (MACWUSA), the Motor Industry Combined Workers Union (MICWU), the United Mining Metal and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (UMMAWOSA), and some members of the Transport and General Workers Union and the General

and Allied Workers Union (TGWU and GAWU). The South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) failed to respond to requests and invitations by the feasibility committee to be part of arrangements for the launch, and to submit their relevant audited membership figures. They were thus excluded from the merger.

political policy

An important debate as regards the political policy of the new union was the question of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The question of the Freedom Charter dominated the congress and the debate raged for hours. Three resolutions put forward by

delegates are set out below.

procedural problems

The order in which the resolutions were tabled put the GAWU resolution first, the NAAWU resolution second, and MAWU's resolution last. The motivators for the GAWU resolution wanted their resolution to be voted on immediately. Other participants objected: they felt that all the resolutions should be motivated and then voted upon. It would also mean that if the GAWU resolution were adopted, the other resolutions would fall away without being discussed.

After a heated debate, the proposers of the GAWU resolution felt that their resolution was incorporated in the NAAWU one, and that they would drop their resolution in favour of the NAAWU resolution. They then demanded that the NAAWU resolution be put to the vote. Participants once again objected for the same reasons.

Another heated debate raged around the issue, and a proposal was then put forward that both the NAAWU and MAWU resolutions be adopted. This proposal was overwhelmingly accepted.

Below is a summary of the arguments around the issue.

for

It was put forward that the Freedom Charter was a document of great historical importance, and that it was imperative for the organised working class to form an alliance with youth and community organisations. Working class attitude to the Freedom Charter had to be taken from the attitude of these allies to the Freedom Charter.

It was also put forward that one should be careful not to alienate these allies by adopting a different political programme.

"Friendly warnings" were issued to anyone who did not take into account the consequences of possibly alienating one's allies.

TOWARD 1 UNION 1 INDUSTRY

NUMSA



against

Some delegates felt that the Freedom Charter should not be adopted without it being fully discussed on the factory floor, and a mandate obtained from workers there.

Another viewpoint put forward was that delegates had to look at the tasks ahead of them as socialists. While one saw the necessity to form alliances with community-based organisations, this had to be seen in the context of the international and historical experience of the working class. As socialists, it is important to build politically independent working class organisation. Only when the working class takes the lead and organises independently, can true democracy for all the people in S.A. be guaranteed.

In accordance with COSATU's principle of the independence and leadership role of the working class, it is important that when the organised working class enters into an alliance, it does so on its own political programme. The working class is not forced to adapt themselves to the programmes of their allies. Dismay was expressed at the 'friendly warnings' that were

issued in this regard.

analysis

From the above, we can clearly see there was not a simplistic acceptance of the Freedom Charter as has been portrayed in the commercial press. Some socialists in NUMSA see the adoption of both the NAAWU and MAWU resolutions as having laid the basis for the development of a socialist political programme which will go beyond the limited demands of the Freedom Charter.

There are others who see the Freedom Charter as a symbol, but it must be remembered that the Freedom Charter is regarded by its supporters as a political programme. It commits its followers

to a National Democratic struggle. This in itself is not in the long-term interests of the working class. In order to establish the leadership of the working class, make correct alliances and build true socialism and democracy, the working class has to have its own clear political programme.

The Freedom Charter as it stands, can be accommodated by capitalism. Attempts at making the Freedom Charter acceptable, as the NAAWU resolution does by distinguishing between the National Democratic struggle against apartheid and the socialist struggle against capitalism, is both misleading and incorrect. A dangerous trend is also the attempt to stifle debate around the clauses of the Freedom Charter.

A further problem besetting the unity of workers in unions, is that all workers do not support the Freedom Charter. Some workers support the Azanian Manifesto, while others have problems with both documents. The debates around the Freedom Charter are far from over. The urgent task for all of us to build unions like NUMSA, and to fight for working class control based on a clear socialist political programme.

GAWU RESOLUTION

This congress resolves to adopt the Freedom Charter.

MAWU RESOLUTION

Noting that:

- we are committed to building socialism
- we are committed to the leadership of the organised working class in the struggle
- the political policy resolution of COSATU calls for full discussion of all levels of the needs of the workers in the struggle
- worker leaders are increasingly playing a leading role in the community. The lack of initiatives and the confusion that exist within the community itself as political issues arise from the lack of a working class programme
- the Freedom Charter is also a good foundation stone on which to build our working class programme

Therefore resolves that:

- the organised working class can only take the lead in the struggle if it has a clear programme and aims, which clearly indicate what it wants for the working class and what it needs by their demands
- the organised working class can only make correct alliances and build these alliances if it has a clear programme and aims
- the working class and its allies can only build true socialism and democracy if it has clear aims and a clear programme of how to build them
- it should be a priority of the new union and other organisations of the working class to build a clear political programme
- the new union will discuss the aims and programme of the working class at all levels: factory meetings, shop steward meetings, RWAs, CCs, and the National Congress
- the new union will participate fully in all COSATU discussions on the political programme of the workers
- the organised workers should work with their allies, especially the organised youth, in order to build a programme which can bring together as many groups in society as possible

NAAWU RESOLUTION

Noting:

- that the vast majority of the working masses of our country recognise the Freedom Charter as containing the minimum demands for a free and democratic South Africa
- that the Freedom Charter enjoys mass support amongst organised workers in all spheres
- that the Freedom Charter has majority support amongst the national and most reliable, areas of the working class - the workers, the unemployed, the youth and the students

Believing:

- that only the working class masses, under the leadership of organised industrial workers, can truly liberate our country from the chains of capitalist exploitation and apartheid oppression
- that organised workers and their allies have a common interest in the creation of a worker-controlled, socialist society where there will be no exploitation, oppression or discrimination of any form
- that the national democratic struggle against capitalist oppression and the socialist struggle against capitalist exploitation are complementary parts of the uninterrupted struggle of organised workers for control over the industry and government of a liberated South Africa
- that only under the leadership and control of organised workers over the mass democratic struggle of today, and the government of tomorrow, will the demands of the Freedom Charter be fully and completely met in the best interests of the working masses of our country

We therefore resolve:

- to adopt the Freedom Charter as containing the minimum political demands that reflect the immediate interests of the majority of the working masses of a free and democratic, non-Apartheid South Africa
- to develop amongst metalworkers in particular, and the organised working class and its allies in general, a correct understanding that the demands of the Freedom Charter, and all other demands of organised workers, can only be met on the basis of the working class masses through the practical leadership of the industrial working class in the struggle for the liberation of a socialist society where workers control of government and industry will be enforced in the practice of a liberated South Africa
- to struggle to uphold and advance the leadership of the working class in all spheres of society

The Freedom Charter

1 We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

2 The people shall govern!

3 All national groups shall have equal rights!

4 The people shall share in the country's wealth!

5 The land shall be shared among those who work it!

6 All shall be equal before the law!

7 All shall enjoy equal human rights!

8 There shall be work and security!

9 The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!

10 There shall be housing, security and comfort!

11 There shall be peace and friendship!

JUNE 16



It has become part of the Azanian culture to commemorate the 16th June. This day has come to be one of the most important days in our calendar.

On the 16th June 1976, thousands of Soweto students, under the banner of the Soweto Students Representative Council (which was initiated by the South African Students Movement – a black consciousness organisation), staged a peaceful march in protest to the compulsory use of Afrikaans in the schools. Their action was met with teargas, baton charges and bullets. The army and police mercilessly slaughtered hundreds of unarmed students, and thousands in days to follow.

All over the country oppressed people rallied spontaneously. The movement gathered force until almost every major grievance and every important demand of the oppressed and exploited was put forward. The uprising of 1976 marked a turning point in our struggle. It swept up almost the entire black population in the most intense revolt ever against apartheid and capitalism.

what caused the uprising ?

It is true that unequal education was one of the reasons for the June 16th uprising. (In the mid '70s, the state was spending 15 times more on white students). However, a number of other factors contributed to the mass struggles both inside and outside of the educational fold.

political situation

In 1976, the government was in a much weaker political position than it had been before. Angola, Guinea - Bissau and Mozambique had freed themselves from Portuguese colonial rule, and in 1975, became independent. The successes of the liberation movements in these countries were a source of inspiration to our people. Also, the intensity of the armed struggle waged in Zimbabwe and Namibia was growing. Numerous pro-Frelimo rallies were held throughout South Africa, contributing to increased political awareness amongst students and youth.

The influence of the Black Consciousness Movement was also important. In a few historic months, the youth showed on the streets of every major city and many smaller towns that they rejected so-called 'racial' prejudice and identity. Through mass struggles for the same demands, under the same banners and slogans, and in the same organisations, the oppressed and exploited youth saw the need for unity in our struggle.

economic situation

After the banning of the PAC and the ANC in the early sixties, foreign capital poured into the country and apartheid – capitalism boomed. The result was obvious: increased hardship and misery for the majority of people in our country. The mood of the urban working people in response to their living conditions

led to spontaneous worker actions. The 1971 Owambo Strike and 1973 Durban Strikes signalled a new era in the South African labour movement, with massive strike waves sweeping the country.

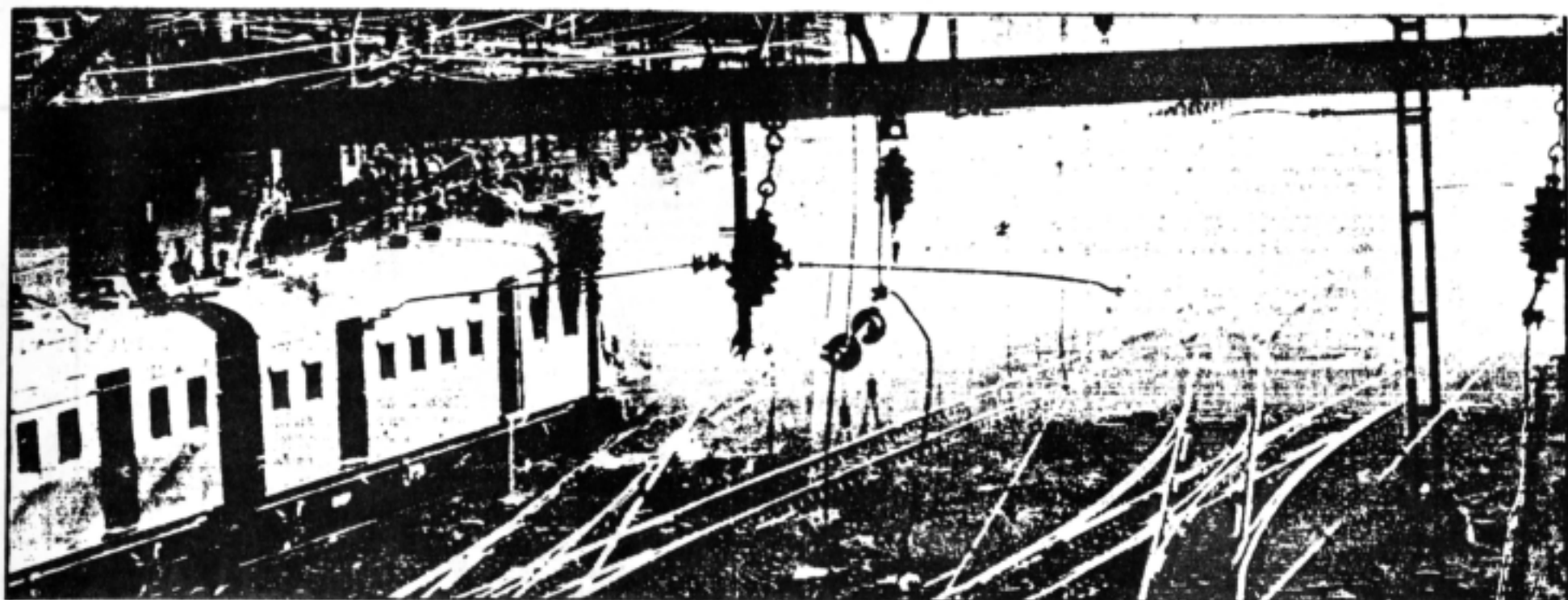
In the period 1973-1976, student and worker struggles occurred regularly and converged in the mass resistance of 1976.

student-worker alliance

Although there was some friction between workers and students (students attempted to coerce workers to stay away from work), the students soon realised that they would have to re-assess their strategy. Students have since displayed a heightened awareness of the struggle in our country, realising that our struggle is not only against apartheid, but against the vicious profit-making system that thrives on it. Many student organisations have also stated firmly that the key to liberation from oppression and exploitation lies in the hands of those who produce the wealth in this country – the black working class.



RAILWAY WORKERS STRIKE



On March 12 1987, a driver at the City Deep Container Depot, Andrew Nenzanda, was dismissed. This dismissal prompted strike action by 16 000 South African Transport Services (SATS) workers. The dismissal of the comrade was a spark which ignited the frustrations and anger of thousands of black railway workers who had for many years experienced bad and racist working conditions and low pay.

This strike has led to tremendous violence. We have witnessed workers being killed, many viciously assaulted and brutalised, hundreds detained, union offices raided, and millions of rands damage to railway property.

background

Black workers in SATS are subject to a hated disciplinary code. This code is used daily for minor offences, and it was under this code that Cde. Nenzanda was fired. On returning from his delivery rounds on 24 October 1986, Cde. Nenzanda forgot to hand in a sum of R40,40. On the following Monday, Cde. Nenzanda on his own initiative, handed in the money. Months later, after an inquiry was held, he was fired.

The treatment of this comrade is not abnormal for black railway workers. SATS employs 105 000 white workers compared to 101 000 black workers. These white workers receive protected employment from SATS – higher wages, better working conditions and many subsidies and benefits.

living conditions and wages

Living conditions of black railway workers are miserable: hostels provide poor food and are overcrowded. In Germiston, for example, 4000 workers are accommodated in an overcrowded single-sex hostel. The majority of black railway workers earn a salary of just over R300 per month.

unionisation

The union recognised by SATS, the Black Trade Union (BLATU), is a "sweetheart" union. Blatu urged workers to return to work during the strike, and said that according to their agreement with SATS, workers had no right to strike! SATS workers have rejected this so-called union, choosing instead unions like the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU), the National Union of Railway Workers (NURAW), and the African Railway and Airway Workers Union (ARAWU).

sats response

SATS management have tried to break the strike in various ways. Many white students and unemployed white workers were recruited during the strike. SATS management also threatened to evict workers. They have also gone on an aggressive advertising campaign. They have tried to discredit the union using the press posters and pamphlets. The SABC

has acted as the mouth-piece for SATS' distortions.

demands:

The main demands of the striking workers are:

1. Unconditional reinstatement of a worker fired unfairly.
2. Workers to be allowed to have representatives of their own choice.
3. Striking workers to be paid for the period on strike.

lessons

What is clear, is that this strike was a spontaneous one. Not enough preparation was made before the strike. As one worker commented: "Our union was caught with its pants down".

The striking workers showed courage and determination despite the hardships they were facing. The unevenness of the level of organisation throughout the country is shown by the fact that the strike has been largely limited to the Witwatersrand. This prevented the strike from being more effective nationally.

Another contributing factor was the fact that the SARHWU leadership has refused to co-ordinate strike action with NURAW and ARAWU, despite the willingness of the latter two unions. It must be remembered that 35% of the striking workers are NURAW members, and that NURAW has strong support in provinces outside of the Transvaal.

FOCUS ON PALESTINE

PART 1

In May 1948 the state of 'Israel' was formed. The establishment of Israel required the destruction of Palestine. The majority of the Palestinian people were forcefully expelled from their land by the fascist forces of Zionism.

Geographically, the small country of Palestine (10 000 square miles) was broken into pieces, the largest of which became Israel, or rather Occupied Palestine.

Jewish occupation

The Palestinian population was systematically expelled and replaced. Jewish immigrants from Europe and elsewhere flooded the country and the Jewish population swelled from less than 1/10 in 1918 to 1/3 of the total population by 1948. In 1948, this immigrant minority waged war against the indigenous Palestinian majority. Palestinian society was dismantled, displaced and scattered. The Palestinian people were presumed to no longer exist.

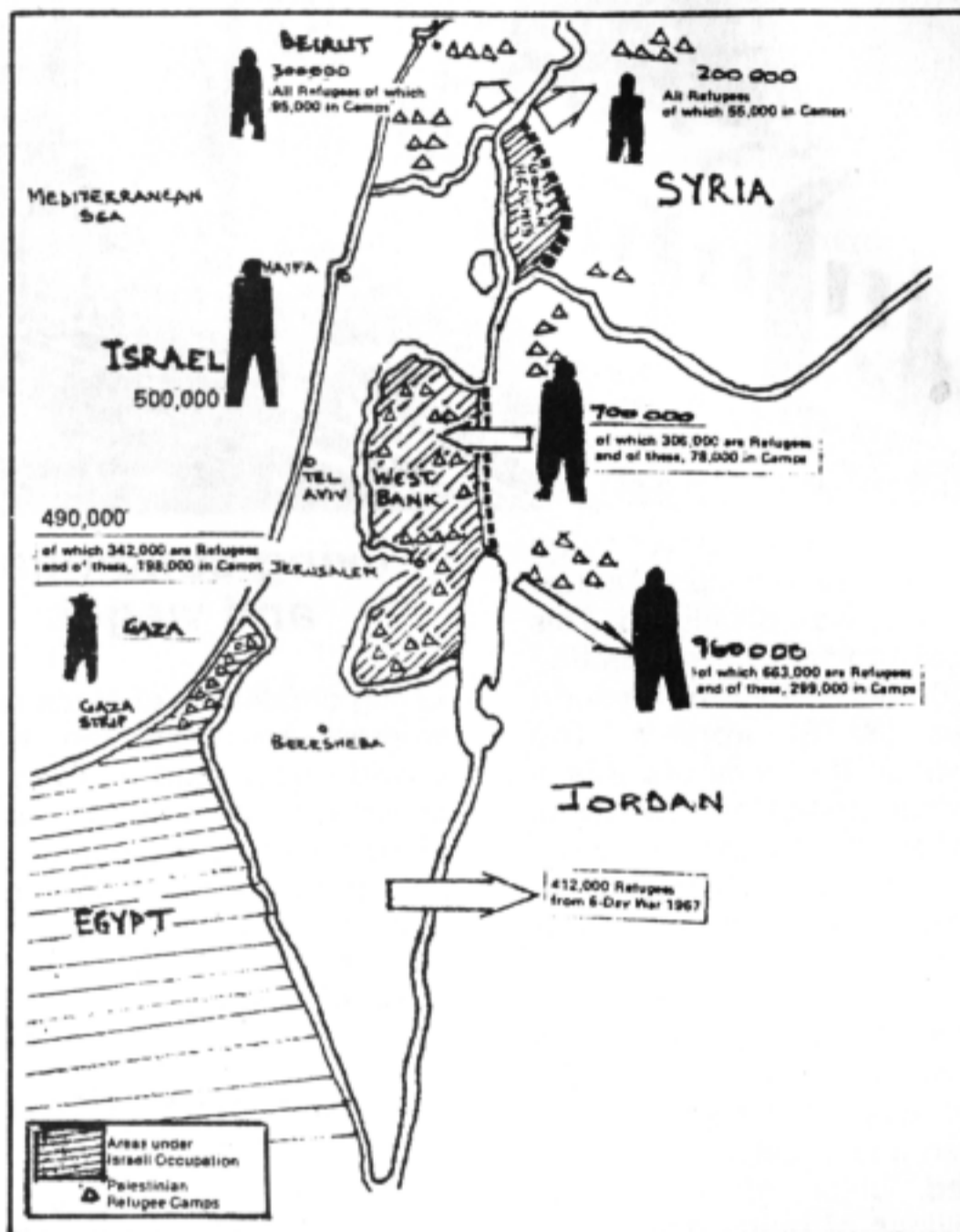
"There was no such thing as Palestinians . . . they did not exist"

Golda Meir, Israeli Prime Minister (1969)

a nation destroyed

The about 400 Palestinian towns and villages were completely destroyed, the names of others were changed from Arabic to Hebrew. While these were repopulated with Jewish immigrants, Palestinians languished in refugee camps throughout the Middle East. Even the names of mountains, rivers, lakes and streets were changed and Palestinian foods and clothes marketed as Israeli ones. This complete change of cultural character meant the destruction of a nation.

" . . . no other country has been confronted with a plan to liquidate its national identity, as has happened in the case of Palestine, nor confronted a Man to empty a country of its people as has



happened in the case of the Palestinian people. It goes beyond anything previously recorded in modern history".

Yassar Arafat : PLO



The Palestinian masses have since been involved in a struggle to assert their self-respect and basic human dignity as a people, and to return to their homeland. Their

struggle, and our solidarity with it, is against Zionism.

what is Zionism

Firstly, Zionism is a political philosophy. The first Zionist Congress met in 1897 and agreed on the colonization of Palestine by Zionist settlers. In 1917 the British Cabinet (which had no legal authority over Palestine), according to the "Balfour Federation" promised the Zionist movement the establishment in Palestine of a 'national' home for the 'Jewish people':

Zionism propagates that Jews are a separate and special "race". Hence, it calls for the establishment of a separate state with a Jewish majority - even at the expense of the massacre and the terrorizing into mass exodus of the Palestinian people.

ثورة حتى النصر

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY

To be anti-Zionist does **not** mean that one is anti-semitic (anti-Jewish). In fact Zionism and anti-semitism have one thing in common – they **both** agree that Jews are a "race" apart and cannot be integrated into non-Jewish society. Zionism, therefore, is racist !! One of the greatest hypocrisies of this world remains the indisputable fact that Zionism thrives on anti-semitism.

victim of imperialism

Palestine had been under Turkish Ottoman rule for about 400 years. When Palestinians expressed Arabs nationalism they were ruthlessly suppressed by Jamal Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Syria. During World War 1, Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany. Through a series of secret agreements between the imperialist countries, especially Britain and France, the Arabs were assured an independent Arab state in return for an Arab rebellion against the Ottomans. By the end of the war, Britain was granted a mandate over Palestine in order to decide what is to happen to the former Ottoman territories. At this time the population consisted of

644 000 Palestinian Arabs and 56 000 Jews.

The mandate period lasted until 1948. During this time mass illegal Jewish immigration took place.

The dreadful slaughter and persecution of Jews under the Nazis gave fresh sympathy to the Zionist movements' claims. This resulted in a flood of illegal Jewish immigration so that the Jewish population stood at 700 000 by 1948 and Palestinian Arabs at 1 380 000.

In 1947 the UN recommended dividing up Palestine. This gave the Zionists (1/3 of the total population) about 60% of the land, including the most fertile and rich areas. In 1948 civil war broke out and 960 000 Palestinians were made homeless while the Zionists were in control of an even larger area. Other major Zionist wars took place in 1956, 1967 and 1973. The first two resulted in mass destruction and an expansion of occupied territory. The 1973 war, however, showed that the Palestinian people were capable of fighting back.

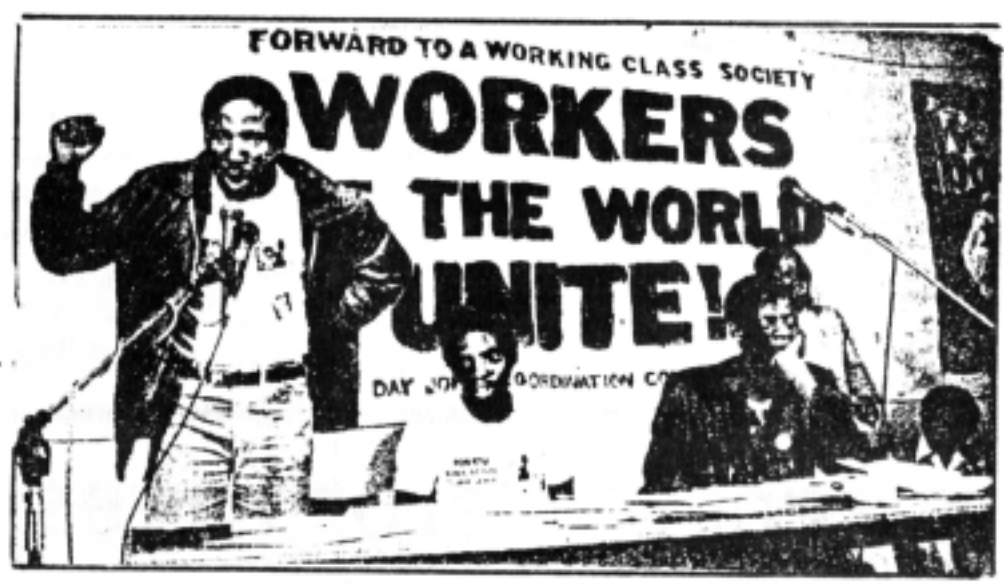


Israel and South Africa

Having said that Zionism is a form of racism it is necessary to find out in which way Zionism and Apartheid are different and similar to each other. One of the founders of Zionism described it as a movement of "a people without land" in search of "a land without people". Not unlike the settler colonialist that came to South Africa, Zionists also claim that they found the land uninhabited.

In our next issue we will look at the Israeli-South African alliance, and the different liberation movements presently engaged in the Palestinian struggle.

MAY DAY



On Friday, May 1st, workers all over the world celebrated May Day. In S.A., Botha has tried to confuse workers by making the first Friday in May a "workers day". Black worker power has forced Botha to give in to the workers' demand that May Day be a paid holiday. Now he is trying to "save face". P.W. is trying all these tricks because in

reality many unions have already won this holiday from the bosses. Workers have rejected Botha's offer. We say that May Day is not just a holiday. It is about Socialism and the struggle for the working class against Capitalism (exploitation) and apartheid. Workers also say that May Day encourages solidarity of the workers in all

countries against capitalism. In South Africa, many workers have begun calling for Socialism. May Day has seen this struggle for Socialism advancing. Workers in S.A. displayed solidarity and unity with their comrades from other countries in the battle for workers' control.

DECAY OF CAPITALISM: PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is becoming frequent in the urban areas of South Africa. This is a result of the economic crisis prevailing. Young men and women are forced into prostitution because of economic hardships and bad living conditions.

Some people forced into prostitution spoke to Action Youth about what had led them into this situation.

Mandy

Mandy is 17 years old and lives in Riverlea. She left school in Std. 6 because her family could not afford to continue her education. She has 6 brothers and sisters, of whom only 2 work. Her parents are both unemployed and Mandy also has her own child to support. The only work that she could find was in a factory for slave wages. When Mandy was retrenched from her job, she was kicked out of her parents' home by her father because she could not pay him rent, any longer. Alone on the streets with a small baby, prostitution seemed the only way out for her.

Mandy says, "This kind of work only made me bitter, hard and unfeeling in life; alcohol and drugs makes me feel happy only for a short while, but I cannot run or hide from my shame forever."

Mercia

Another person forced into the degrading life of prostitution is Mercia, who tells us part of her life story.

I lived in a poor area just down from District Six in Cape Town. I didn't like where we stayed, so I left school in Std. 4. I didn't know how life really works, so I believed my friends' lies when they told me that prostitution was a quick way of making money. I also wanted to be able to buy a house and live comfortably.

Mercia was soon caught up in this way of life and spent three years selling her body on the Cape Town docks. She needed protection from violent sailors and asked a pimp for protection. This pimp soon controlled Mercia and her money, giving her drugs and alcohol.

She ran away to Johannesburg to discover that the streets were not lined with gold, and was forced to move into a brothel for protection.

Themba

Women are not the only victims of this dehumanising way of life.

Themba was born in Soweto and was forced to leave school in Std. 6, as there was no money to further his education. He has 10 brothers and sisters and he had to find work to help support them. His eldest brother was the only other person in the family working. Themba earned R20 per week as a delivery assistant. He was retrenched and now works at a white school in Parktown, cutting grass. He earns R30 a week.

Of this money, he gives R20 to his family to help buy food. This money, together with his brother's wages, is clearly not enough to feed, clothe and provide shelter for eleven people.

Themba sees prostitution as a necessity or else his family will suffer. He also has a wife and child to support.

capitalism

The racist - capitalist system we have in South Africa today allows for only limited employment. In this way, workers desperate for work will accept low wages. The capitalist system does not provide work for all those able to work.

The more the capitalist produces goods, the more he needs workers/consumers to buy his product. Once the consumers cannot afford to buy these extra goods, the capitalist fires workers. The bosses act in this way because they are solely motivated by the need to make profits. If the capitalist cannot make profits, the workers suffer. This suffering is worsened every day by increased taxes, the rising cost of bread, milk, bus fares etc.

In a society where the state does not provide full employment and adequate services to cater for the basic needs of all the people, where workers are oppressed and exploited from birth to death, desperate people like Themba, Mandy and Mercia will always be around.

STOP PRESS * STOP PRESS * STOP PRESS

A settlement has been reached between SATS and the striking railway workers. It was agreed:

- that all workers would be reinstated
- that SATS would establish procedures which apply equally to all workers, and involve the recognition of democratically elected worker representatives
- that all benefits will be reinstated. No striking worker will lose pension, long service and other benefits.
- no worker will be victimised for having been on strike.

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AZAYO LAUNCH

The Azanian Youth Organisation, Azayo, was launched in Durban on the 28-29 May 1987 at a meeting attended by over 1000 delegates.

There were **branch** representatives at the launch from all over the country. The launch of Azayo received very little press coverage in comparison to the recent launch of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Azayo has committed itself "To propagatate the ideology of socialism among the youth". Azayo had adopted the socialist Azanian Manifesto as its political programme. Among the resolutions adopted were - support for the people of Kwandebele in their struggle against "independence"; upholding the principles of anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and to fight for a socialist - run country. In an interview, the newly elected president of Azayo, Comrade Thabo Mafihla stated: "We see socialism as the only solution to end racial and capitalist exploitation. The youth in a socialist Workers' Republic of Azania will enjoy the benefits of that socialist society. These benefits include the right to education and the right to work.

Azayo's National Executive Committee is:

Thabo Mafihla - President

Jabulani Makhathini - Deputy President

Kenny Mampondo - General Secretary

Brutus Manana - National Organiser

Ellen Mokhine - Minute Secretary

Tsepo Sebusi - Political Commissar

Mbulelo Ketye - Publicity Secretary



AZANIA
shall be free



EAWTU
CONGRESS

On April the 4th the 35 000 strong Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Union (EAWTU) union held its first national conference in Johannesburg. The union decided to affiliate to the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU - formerly Cusa - Azactu). Posters lining the wall summed up the tone of the conference: 'Fight to end cheap labour', 'Unite for a better life' and 'Fight inflation, fight capitalism'.

Wearing T-shirts proclaiming 1987 'The Year of the Worker. Organise and Mobilize', conference delegates discussed issues such as worker control, unemployment and mergers.

EAWTU Chairperson, Cde. Raymond Khoza, said, "This conference is to aim and prepare ourselves for the

workers struggle". The general secretary of EAWTU, Cde. Tommy Oliphant, launched a scathing attack on apartheid and capitalism.

Although deciding to affiliate to NACTU, EAWTU committed itself to co-operate and support COSATU affiliates as it had done in the past.

Resolutions passed at the conference call for:

- the promotion of unity among rank and file members.
- the adoption of a national education programme.
- job creation, reduction of working hours and job security for all
- health and safety programmes
- protection for women workers against any form of exploitation.
- worker control
- links with community struggles
- the establishment of a strike fund

SAYCO LAUNCH

The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) was launched under tight secrecy recently. This was necessary under the repressive State of Emergency.

A number of resolutions were passed. Some of these are listed below:

- to form defence and propaganda committees
- to actively oppose all forms of imperialism - economic, political and cultural
- to broaden and strengthen the anti-imperialist process that is haunting Reagan, Thatcher and Köhl, by fighting apartheid and capitalism in South Africa.
- to educate the youth about the effects of this dying system by taking up campaigns at local, regional and national levels.

Some of SAYCO's objectives and aims are:

- to channel the militancy and resourcefulness of the youth to benefit the whole national and class struggle
- to promote and deepen amongst the youth the outlook of the most progressive class - the working class.
- to encourage the working youth to join progressive trade unions which form part and parcel of the struggle for total economic and political liberation.



NOTES ON THEORY No. 6

THE SOVIET UNION-SOCIALIST OR NOT ?

In our previous article we showed that socialism is the only system in which the problems of the working class and other oppressed groups will be addressed.

Yet, many socialists are faced with the question: "But is there any country which exists today that can be called Socialist?" This is an important question. Many countries claim to be socialist - but are they? This question is also important because we can learn from the problems and successes nations have had while attempting a change to socialism, the mistakes made, and failures not to be repeated.

In this article we discuss Russia or the Soviet Union. This is the first in a series of articles which will include Eastern European countries, China, Vietnam, Cuba, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

How did the revolution in the Soviet Union begin ?

Russia before the revolution was ruled by a Tsar or King. The Russian people were tired of poverty, war and corruption. They demanded a new society. On 22 January 1905, 200 000 striking workers in St. Petersburg marched to the Tsar's palace. Here the workers were met by the Tsar's troops who shot at the demonstrators.



Throughout 1905 the workers unsuccessfully challenged the

Tsar in a series of mass strikes. The workers paid dearly for their failure to defeat the old order. During 1905 and after, there was mass imprisonment, shootings, poverty and police terror - but workers learned from their defeat. They discovered from their own experience of organising strikes that they were able to manage the day-to-day running of society better than the rulers. In Petrograd (one of the major industrial cities of Russia) a workers council or Soviet was formed.

workers councils/soviets

The workers council was the first appearance of democratic power in Russia. How did it work? Workers would elect their representatives at workplaces and communities to discuss and decide plans for production, distribution and on political issues. Representatives had to be accountable to people who elected them. Workers had the right to recall their representatives at any moment.



The chairperson of the Petrograd Soviet explained: "The soviet is in reality an embryo of a revolutionary government. It organises street patrols to secure the safety of the citizens... It takes over... the post office, the telegraph and the railroads . . . It made an effort to introduce the eight-hour day . . . The first wave of the next revolution will lead to the creation of Soviets all over the country".

Kerensky

There were two revolutions in Russia in 1917. The first occurred

in February. It must have been very like the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in our own times. The Tsar's regime had lost the support of virtually the whole population, and was swept away by a vast uprising of workers, peasants and soldiers. Even many from the privileged class es wanted the Tsar to go.

To the new prime minister, Kerensky, the aim was the kind of society existing in Britain today - let the masses vote for whoever they will; let them have their toothless parliaments; let them have their one person vote; the real power would still rest with those who were born to wealth and privilege. Kerensky wanted to make Russia safe for the bosses to make their profits. The workers and peasants had other ideas. They hadn't fought and died in order to suffer more of the same only under another name.

For months there was this uneasy balance of power. First the huge workers' demonstrations and strikes would paralyse the government. Then that same government would be prodded by the bosses into putting the workers in their place with gun and baton. Victory had to fall to one side or the other.



socialist republic

In October, the breaking point came. Kerensky's government was by now totally discredited. On the 17th October armed workers stormed the Palace. The government which took power through the revolution of October 1917 was of a kind the world had never seen before - a workers' socialist republic.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM

PART 2



The peasants wanted to own the land and farm as they liked, free from landlords who demanded rents, taxes and produce.

The workers sensed their power and learned a new philosophy very different to the centuries-old ideas their peasant forefathers had accepted in the unchanging villages. They learned socialism. They wanted to decide how to use what they made. They wanted to elect their own managements. They wanted the marvellous new technology which was rising everywhere around them to be put at the service of every man, woman and child in Russia, not just the miserable, money-grabbing, employing class. The October Revolution was based on the Workers councils or Soviets which were formed throughout Russia. National decisions were made by delegates from local soviets to the "All Russian Congress of Soviets".

The October Revolution raised the hopes of workers and oppressed all over the world. Overnight the success of the revolution changed the size of the audience for socialist ideas. Before this, socialism only appealed to a small section of intellectuals and workers. After 1917 it appeared as a practical possibility to millions of people across the world. Empires felt threatened. Capitalism everywhere trembled!

bolsheviks

The party which led the revolution

was called the Bolshevik Party. How was it formed?. At a congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) in 1903 in London, there occurred a split. One group led by Lenin was called the Bolsheviks (majority-ites) the other group the Mensheviks (minority-ites). The split was about how the revolutionary party should be structured. Later the disagreements were bigger. From May to October 1917, an intense struggle developed between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky (who in May 1917 joined the Bolsheviks) argued for socialist or permanent revolution.

The Mensheviks argued that the Russian Revolution must first pass through stages. The Mensheviks argued that alliances must be formed with the liberal bourgeoisie (capitalists). Trotsky had this to say to the workers: "**Remember 3 commands : distrust the bourgeoisie; control your own leaders; and rely on your own revolutionary strength!**"



the revolution threatened

The new Socialist Republic was invaded by capitalist armies from many countries. These forces

joined up with some military generals of the Tsar. The Red Army was organised to defend the revolution. This war lasted from 1918-21.

The war proved very costly. It killed off a generation of the most politically conscious workers. It ruined Russia's economy. Apart from war deaths, some 9 million people perished from starvation alone.



stalin

In March 1922, Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party. Slowly Stalin planted his allies as secretaries throughout the Party organisation in order to gain control over it. Stalin worked at changes in the government structure.

Before Lenin's death in 1924, Lenin wrote a "Last Testament" which made one important demand: **Stalin must be removed as General Secretary.** The testament was suppressed.

bureaucracy

What is the bureaucracy? The bureaucracy were the factory managers, technicians, officials in the party and the various government departments, and military officials in the new state who had power, privilege and more money than the workers. These people had an interest in favouring change only if necessary to preserve their power. Stalin got most of his support from these bureaucrats.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM -

Lenin saw this growing bureaucratization as a potential cancer to the new workers' state. Stalin's entire strategy from 1923 to 1930 was built around developing alliances which could isolate Trotsky and his supporters inside the party, army and youth organisations.

party democracy

In October 1923 the struggle for party democracy had begun. Many Bolsheviks demanded democracy, freedom of criticism, debate and better economic planning. They formed the Left Opposition. Late in 1927, the leaders of the Left Opposition including Trotsky were expelled from the Central Committee. Others were expelled from the Communist Party or arrested for circulating Oppositional literature. On 7 November 1927, the Left Opposition attempts to appeal to the masses on the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Stalinist strong-arm gangs break-up the demonstrations. Trotsky was exiled.

with the Kuomintang Party. With some hesitation, the Chinese Communist Party accepted this. The Kuomintang Party later turned on the Chinese Communist Party and massacred tens of thousands of workers. Stalin and leaders after him advised many Communist Parties throughout the world to form such Popular Front alliances with disastrous consequences for the workers. The Soviet Union's foreign policy was not to help socialists the world over. It was to strengthen the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Stalin wanted socialism in one country.

the revolution betrayed

Inside the Soviet Union the working class were too exhausted after the wars and famine to adequately defend the Left Opposition. In the early 30's, Stalin launched a reign of terror against people who disagreed with him. By the end of

once said, "Stalinism is the syphilis (sexually transmitted disease) of the workers movement and it occurs everywhere."

Stalin believed that socialism could be won in one country. He believed that the **state** should plan and run all the factories and farms like one big, country - wide business. This has sometimes been called state-capitalism; others have called the situation a deformed workers' state.

Stalin believed that the state must make sure that the economy was run efficiently enough to compete with other industrialised countries. The plan to radically increase the number of farms and factories in a very short time was made by a few people in the party Head-Office. Workers' organisations, like independent unions were brought under party control and so became vehicles to carry out state policies. Unions became bodies to carry out party directives. All opposition was smashed ruthlessly.



foreign policy

Meanwhile, Stalin's bureaucratic policies gained ground, even internationally. In Britain a General Strike took place. Stalin instructed the trade-union leaders who support him to end the strike. In China, Stalin instructed the Chinese Communist Party to have an alliance

1938 the Stalinist Terror had claimed 3 million victims. In order to stabilise his regime, Stalin was to kill more socialists than the Tsar and all capitalist states put together. Tens of thousands of supporters of genuine socialism were put into prison or labour camps.

In 1940 Trotsky was killed in exile by an agent hired by Stalin. Trotsky

The Soviet Union today

Today in the Soviet Union the standard of living is higher than before. Education and health care is freely available. Every worker is guaranteed the right to work and mass unemployment that exists in many countries is not present in

SOVIET UNION CONTINUED

the Soviet Union. The labour camps is a powerful but distant memory for most Soviet people. Leaders after Stalin like Krushchev have condemned some of the excesses of Stalin.

Besides these positive changes, we see that the Soviet Union still put pressure on the Polish state to crack-down on workers there. Soviet society remains undemocratic and continues to be ruled by a bureaucratic elite which jealously safeguards its power and privileges. As far as democracy is concerned, the Soviet Union has not returned to the stage which existed during Lenin's lifetime.

LESSONS FOR US

The Russian Revolution and its aftermath provides us in South Africa with many rich lessons. Among the most important are:

1) Democracy

Democracy is inseparable from socialism. What happened in the

Soviet Union is something we must avoid. The dangers of Stalinism is always present. Even now we see that democratic debate is not tolerated in some quarters of the liberation movement. The most extreme example of this is the use of the necklace method against some comrades involved in the liberation struggle. Different points of view on the road forward is healthy and differences must be debated and solved in a democratic, comradely way.

Decisions must not be taken from the top down. The leadership must be accountable to its members. Trade unions and community organisations must not become transmission belts for carrying out directives from elsewhere

2) Two-stage Struggle/National Democratic Struggle

The debates between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks before the revolution is relevant for us. We remember that the Mensheviks argued for a 2-stage struggle: first the struggle

for national democracy and then for socialism. The Bolshevik answer to this is also true for our situation. It is dangerous to separate the struggle into two. The question that can be asked is: What would prevent a group of people coming into power in the first phase from preventing the next phase occurring?

We remember also that Stalin argued for a Popular Front alliance in China and other countries, like Spain. This kind of alliance resulted in disastrous consequences for workers in those countries.

3) Level of Development of Productive Forces

Many of the problems in the Soviet Union resulted because of the small number of workers and the small number of industries at the time of the revolution. In South Africa, on the other hand, the majority of the people are the working class. The level of production is also high. We have an abundance of goods and resources. **Therefore genuine socialism is a real possibility.**

INTERNECINE VIOLENCE CONTINUES

Political killings have become an everyday occurrence in our society. Activists are being killed daily by reactionary groups and organisations. Tragically, there are also numerous instances in which political activists within the liberation movement are being killed in the *name of our struggle!*

Over the past few months, the majority of attacks have been made on members of the Azanian People's Organisation, the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian Students Movement and the Azanian National Youth Unity. The homes of these comrades have been petrol-bombed and various other attacks have been made on their lives. On the 3/5/87, Sandile Leeuw, an Azayo member, was on his way home in Soweto. He was accosted by so-called 'Comrades', who stoned him, stabbed him with a garden fork, shot him and then

'necklaced' him for no reason other than that he was a member of Azayo. This barbarism, together with many other such horrifying atrocities committed, is a clear statement that the broad liberation movement in our country has failed to control, discipline and give clear direction to the youth.

The Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea (Cambodia) are an example of youth who had fought and achieved liberation, but who were misdirected and went on to inflict mass murder on their own people. This was a direct result of a lack of accountability and internal democracy under the control of the working class and peasants. The youth are a powerful force for change, but they have to be guided and disciplined by political organisation totally committed to the principle of democracy and socialist practice under the leadership of the working class.

The way in which we see our struggle, the different strategies and tactics which we employ, are difficult questions which all of us have to address. Solutions are not easy, and can only be achieved through democratic debate and socialist practice. With this in mind, no one organisation can hold that they are the sole bearers of truth. All political organisations within the broad liberation movement have a right to exist.

If these crimes are being committed now, one dreads to consider what would happen once the revolution takes place. The leadership of all political organisations in the liberation movement must take a public stance as well as practical steps to end this internecine violence. Failure to do this will assist the repressive machinery of the state, and will sow the seeds of a future civil war.

SHARPEVILLE

In spite of the intensified repression of the State of Emergency, people throughout the country commemorated Heroes Day on March 21st. We commemorate Heroes Day in recognition of all those who have fallen in our struggle against racism and capitalism.

On March 21st 1960, 21 years ago, 69 people were killed and 180 wounded when police gunned down large groups of unarmed demonstrators in Sharpeville, when they offered themselves up for arrest in protest against the hated Pass Laws. The call for a peaceful anti Pass campaign came from the P.A.C. Exactly 25 years later in 1985, Sharpeville Day was etched more bloodily into our history of resistance when mourners on their way to a funeral in Langa in the Eastern Cape were gunned down, resulting in 49 deaths.

After the Sharpeville massacre, thousands of people from all progressive organisations were arrested and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) banned. Only after their banning did these liberatory movements take up the armed struggle.

influx control and pass laws.

Influx control and pass laws were introduced after the indigenous people were dispossessed of their land. These laws allowed the state control over workers' lives and laid the basis for capitalist development.

For the past century, successive governments have been trying to keep the black working class under their thumb by keeping and modifying the apartheid controls that exist.

The capitalists control the South African economy; they benefit from the Influx control and Pass-laws since these laws ensure them of massive profits through the maintenance and control of a vast pool of cheap black labour in the bantustans. Although the Pass laws



have been abolished, the state is using other laws to maintain influx control. The state through its reform policies try to soften its more overt racist tendencies, but the underlying racist and exploitative structures remain, and there is no change of substance.

forced removal

Workers forced into the dry, dusty homelands where their families die of starvation, will accept low wages and unhealthy working conditions which keep the bosses' profits high. The Botha regime says that pass laws have been scrapped—we know that this is a lie: people are still being asked to show their ID's by police. The state still forcibly removes people into rural ghettos. They still control



the movement of workers. The system still removes people far away from their work places.

state violence

The Sharpeville event marked a turning point in our history. It marked the end of a long period of non-violent struggle and brought in a period of direct confrontation with the state machinery. The majority of exploited and oppressed people believed for a long time that full political rights would be given to them through protestations, negotiations and petitions. This belief has been shattered by government violence and state repression. By the start of the 1960's thousands of our comrades had been imprisoned, exiled, murdered and banned. Today in

DAY

1987, thousands more are facing worse repression.

In this climate of direct violence against our people, the blood-stained events of Sharpeville, Langa, Uitenhage and many others have proved to the oppressed and exploited black working class that principled unity and nothing less

than a decisive victory over the racist, capitalist regime and its collaborators, can bring the working class economic and political freedom.

Let us struggle for a socialist society where we will be in control of our own lives, where we will make decisions for ourselves.



An eyewitness report by journalist Humphrey Tyler:

"The crowd seemed to be loosely gathered around the Saracens (armoured cars) and on the fringes people were walking in and out. The kids were playing. In all there were about 3,000 people. They seemed amiable. Suddenly there was a sharp report from the direction of the police station. There were cries of 'izwelethu' (our land) - women's voices, I thought. The cries came from the police station and I could see a small section of the crowd swirl around the Saracens.

Hands went up in the Africanist salute. Then the shooting started. We heard the chatter of a machine gun, then another, then another. There were hundreds of women, some of them laughing. They must have thought the police were firing blanks. One woman was hit about ten yards from our car. Her companion, a young man, went back when she fell. He thought she had stumbled. Then he turned her over and saw that her chest had been shot away. He looked at the blood on his hand and said: 'My God, she's gone!'

"Hundreds of kids were running, too. One little boy had an old blanket coat, which he held up behind his head, thinking, perhaps, that it might save him from the bullets. Some of the children, hardly as tall as the grass, were leaping like rabbits. Some were shot, too. Still the shooting went on. One of the policemen were standing on top of a Saracen, and it looked as though he was firing his sten gun into the crowd. He was swinging it around in a wide arc from his hip as though he was panning a movie camera. Two other police officers were on the track with him, and it looked as if they were firing pistols."

"Most of the bodies were strewn on the road running through the field in which we were. One man who had been lying still, dazedly got to his feet, staggered a few metres then fell in a heap. A woman sat with her head cupped in her hands. One by one the guns stopped. Before the shooting, I heard no warning to the crowd to

Anniversary of Sharpeville



Action Youth hosted a cultural evening on the 20th March in commemoration of Sharpeville Day. Close to 150 people attended. A video, tape and slide show, music and poetry was received by an appreciative audience. Speakers from youth organisations, trade unions and sports organisations all contributed to making the evening a success.

disperse. There was no warning volley. When the shooting started it did not stop until there was no living thing in the huge compound in front of the police station. The police have claimed they were in desperate danger because the crowd was stoning them. Yet only three policemen were reported to have been hit by stones - and more than 200 people were shot down. The police also have said that the crowd was armed with 'ferocious weapons' which littered the yard after they fled.

"I saw no weapons, although I looked very carefully, and afterwards studied the photographs of the death scene. While I was there I saw only shoes, hats and a few bicycles left among the bodies. The crowd gave me no reason to feel scared, though I moved among them without any distinguishing mark to protect me, quite obvious with my white skin. I think the police were scared though, and I think the crowd knew it."

SOCIALISM UNDER ATTACK:

Introduction

There is an organised ideological attack on socialists presently being undertaken by National Democratic elements. This has been under the cover of the struggle between 'populists' and 'workerists'. There is no doubt that syndicalism (the ideology to which workerists subscribe), which holds that trade unionism is the main or even the only basis for political involvement, must be rejected as being incorrect.

"Populists" are people who subscribe to the National Democratic struggle. This is the struggle against apartheid and includes members of all classes (including capitalists) who oppose apartheid. In fact, capitalists are not prevented from taking a leadership role in the struggle against apartheid (i.e. the national democratic stage).

There are some persons involved in the National Democratic struggle who believe that this is the first stage, the second stage being the struggle for socialism. However, no time limit is set for this stage. In fact, we may arrive at a situation where persons who were leaders in the National Democratic struggle will lead the fight **against** socialism. However, the strategy used by the 'populists' of labelling all socialists as 'workerists' is an attempt to tar them with the syndicalist brush.

Populist Strategy

The label 'workerist' has been used against socialists by those critical of their refusal to be aligned to the UDF. As a 'Work in Progress' contributor neatly put it: "These critics appear to mean that unions who have remained outside the UDF have adopted a position that workers should go it alone without allying to other popular forces. But insistence on a clear definition of where the working class begins and ends is not 'workerism'. It is sound socialist practise, and of concern to all organisations of the working class."

Why should socialists subscribe to an organisation which does not have the interests of the working class, as a class, at heart? There is no indication of this, either in the

UDF's express policy statements or in its strategy and least of all in the public statements by its leaders. It ignores basic principles of democracy like mandates, accountability and working class control. By calling people "workerists", the populists are attempting to coerce them into an alliance where they can be dominated and manipulated. One can almost detect a fear on their parts of workers being in control of their own democratic organisations, and making decisions for themselves. The 'workerist smear' is no more than a tactic by National Democrats to isolate and neutralise socialists. Even their earlier socialist rhetoric has died away.

National Democrats and Liberals

We see more and more appeal by the UDF and its allies to liberals and their representatives in the racist parliament, the PFP. They are willing to share platforms with these liberals, yet refuse to do so with other organisations in the liberation movement such as Azapo, National Forum, and with worker organisations such as the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU - previously Cusa-Azactu).

The UDF publicity secretary stated recently, "We have a special message for PFP supporters: Turn away from the racists, look towards the majority." (Sunday Star 19/4/87). Yet there has been no call from either the UDF or from any of its affiliates for a boycott of these elections. By implication, one must conclude that effectively they are saying: If you are going to vote, vote for the PFP. Why the contradiction and ambiguity when successful boycott campaigns against other racist elections like the tricameral system and the Black Local Authorities were mounted? What is interesting is that the UDF sees itself as having the same constituency as the PFP. Winnie Mandela actually called for whites to vote for the PFP! (Weekly Mail and Business Day).

National Democrats and big business

The ongoing discussions between

the largest liberation movement and big business are worrying because of the exclusion of an internal working class perspective to ensure that the latter's interests are not ignored. Tony Bloom, when asked whether he would operate in a nationalised industry, expressed reservations and said that he was assured there would "only be a change of shareholders".

Recently, we have had the controversy of the First National Bank (Barclays) providing the finance for UDF advertisements. Without going into who knew what, UDF's position as regards the Managing Director of Barclays, Chris Ball, is enlightening. The UDF treasurer has been quoted as saying that if the bank took any action against Ball, "the UDF will certainly take a very dim view of it, and the bank can expect wide reaction". (Weekly Mail 30/4/87). Can we in future expect the UDF to ask worker organisations to support one capitalist over another in their internal disputes?

A basic feature of capitalism is the conflict between the working class and the ruling capitalist class. True freedom through socialism will only triumph with the victory of the working class over the capitalists. Yet, when one points out this basic truth, one is accused by the National Democrats of being **divisive** and 'workerist'. We are called upon to work together with capitalists, the

**Bailing
out
the
system**



THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

very people who gain the most from the present racist-capitalist structure.

Winnie Mandela, in a recent speech to the congress of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), said: "All responsible South Africans have a duty to save our country from the lunacy of apartheid. It is in this area that the importance of NUM, COSATU and all other relevant labour movements, in joint consultation with business sector cannot be overemphasised; even though only until recently the business sector has been part and parcel of the status quo and will be viewed with suspicion for a long time by the worker who has suffered just as much under business apartheid". She goes on in the same speech to say: "Hand in hand with true business patriots of this land, we shall ensure that the wealth of the country increases significantly and continuously and that it is shared equitably by all the people to ensure their democratic material and spiritual upliftment and well-being".

It was at this congress that NUM adopted the Freedom Charter, which is acknowledged even by its supporters to be no more than a national democratic document.



National democrats and socialists within its ranks

A criticism of proponents of the two-stage theory i.e. first the National Democratic struggle and then the socialist struggle, is that certain elements would hijack the National Democratic struggle, and ensure that the socialist revolution would not come about, even if it was through brutal repression.

In S.A., however, the witch-hunt has begun even before the attainment of the first stage. In the UDF's own publication, 'Isizwe', in an article entitled "Errors of Workerism", they refer to "Workerism in National Democratic clothing". They are critical of these "workerists in National Democratic clothing" who would like to see the UDF become a socialist worker's party". One is tempted to ask what is wrong with this. Surely it would be something every socialist should strive for? Reading on, one again sees that they are more concerned with the liberals within their ranks than with the workers: "There are also other patriotic democrats who are not necessarily socialist making a large contribution to the struggle. While encouraging debate and discussion about the nature of change in a future S.A., we must also safeguard and deepen our unity".

Having taken certain positions on socialism, debate is actively discouraged. The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), having adopted the Freedom Charter, stated through an executive

member: "We consider it in its entirety and refuse to debate its socialist or bourgeois nature".

National democrats and trade unions

Any trade union outside the COSATU structure which does not submit itself to the control or manipulation of the National Democrats is labelled as reactionary. There are no serious attempts at looking at the policies of NACTU, a federation representing over 600 000 workers. This arrogance is compounded by refusing to share any platform with any worker from NACTU.

The strategy within COSATU is to apply the 'workerist' label to any trade union that holds a socialist as opposed to a national democratic position. A debate in the Witwatersrand Regional Congress of COSATU on the 12/4/87, is an indication of the strategy of the National Democrats: In a motion in connection with the white elections, there was a clause calling for "a non-racial, democratic S.A." The Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) proposed an amendment calling for "a non-racial, democratic, socialist S.A." A vice-president of COSATU objected to including 'socialist' in the clause as certain religious groups and sangomas would object!

The position taken by the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU) was that the amendment would undermine the 2-stage struggle and that socialism was 'a secret



THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE CONTINUED.

weapon". Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA) delegates pointed out that NUM had a banner at its congress proclaiming socialism. For workers, socialism meant workers' control of the means of production, distribution and exchange and asked whether the congress accepted this. Furthermore, historically, many religiously-inclined people have supported socialism.

After much discussion, whilst it was felt that the delegates arguing for socialism won the debate, the block vote of NUM was carried and socialism was dropped from the clause. Thus, the National Democrats are so confident of their position that they are even going so far as to drop the socialist rhetoric they initially proclaimed.

The Socialist Alternative

The ideological battle is far from lost. More and more socialists both within and outside of the national democratic movement are realising that to ensure victory

for the working class and socialism, the attacks by the National Democrats on socialists must be resisted.

In a political seminar on the 20/2/87, MAWU concluded that alliances with political organisations should be based on the following criteria:

1. The working class can only enter strategic alliances with:
 - (a) progressive anti-capitalist organisations
 - (b) organisations that agree with and advance the principles of the working class struggle for socialism
 - (c) organisations that are reliable – they cannot on the one hand support the working class and at the same time align themselves with capitalist organisations and institutions.
2. The alliance should be based on the following principles:
 - (a) political and organisational independence
 - (b) working class leadership

- of the alliance
- (c) the right to criticise and freedom of speech
- (d) mandates and accountability of leadership to a clearly defined constituency
- (e) worker control and active participation
- (f) socialism

Conclusion

All socialists should bear in mind what Marx said: "As soon as it becomes necessary to fight such a (common) enemy directly, the interests of both parties fall together for the moment And then, as soon as victory has been achieved, the petty bourgeoisie will endeavour to annex it for themselves. They will call upon the workers to keep the peace and return to their work in order to avoid (so-called) excesses, and then proceed to cut the workers off from the fruits of victory."

This is a lesson all socialists should remember. Our actions today will determine our future society. **The future lies in the present.**

SACOS CONFERENCE

The South African Council on Sport held its biennial conference on the 4-5 April in Newclare, Johannesburg.

Among the resolutions taken were:

- * the lifting of the banning on the use of so-called 'multinational' hotels
- * to mark June 16th, no sport will be played from the 13-17 June
- * to give support to the National Union of Mineworkers, which intends taking control of sporting activities at the mines
- * to support COSATU in its demand to establish a 40-hour working week
- * to enter into dialogue with all progressive political organi-

sations

At the conference, an attempt was made to oust president of SACOS, Frank van der Horst, and replace him with Rev. Arnold Stofile, a UDF leader in the Border Region. Later though Rev. Stofile's nomination was withdrawn. Rev. Stofile is on trial in Ciskei. Frank van der Horst retained the presidency of SACOS.

A delegate from NACOS stated at the meeting that the UDF was not happy with the present leadership of SACOS because of their non-aligned political stance. He went further to say that the UDF would take over SACOS. This attempt clearly failed.



Mr van der Horst presenting a sports trophy

STOP PRESS * STOP PRESS * STOP PRESS * STOP PRESS

Rev. Stofile has been found guilty of terrorism by the fascist Ciskei courts and sentenced to 11 years imprisonment. We would like to express our solidarity with Rev. Stofile and all the other comrades languishing in detention and imprisonment.

PHILLIPS WORKERS STRIKE BACK

a threat to profits

During the latter part of '86, workers at S.A. Phillips in Newlands, Johannesburg, organised themselves into a Workers Union (MAWU), a COSATU affiliate. Realising that strong worker organisation would pose a threat to their profits, S.A. Phillips soon tried to move against the union.



shop steward retrenched

In January '87, management notified a MAWU shop steward that he would be retrenched. The shop steward was prevented from entering the company premises the following day. Management then sat back to watch the reaction of the rest of the workforce. **The workers were not intimidated: they immediately downed tools and forced management to reinstate the shop steward.**

workers' demand. They gave the supervisor a warning instead. Workers rejected this and threatened to go on strike if the supervisor set foot on company premises. Management challenged the workforce by allowing the supervisor back on the premises.



tools down

All MAWU members downed tools on Thursday 14/5/87, with management refusing to listen to the workers' proposal of independent arbitration.

multinationals in general, and Phillips in particular. They are united and prepared to fight to advance and defend their interests.

assault continues

In May '87, the same shop steward was beaten up by a supervisor for using the telephone without permission to arrange a union meeting. Workers went on strike and demanded that the supervisor be dismissed.

The strike continues.

worker power

An inquiry was held, with management refusing to give in to the

The workers of S.A. Phillips have demonstrated that they are not divided by the sweet-talk of

S.A. Phillips is owned by the Dutch multinational 'Phillips'. The company works hard to maintain and promote a very liberal image. Within this liberal coating lies cold and calculated exploitative interests, where basic democratic rights and economic needs of workers are not met with. Phillips workers are paid starvation wages. It is also not very widely known that Phillips supplies a large part of the electronic systems used in the SADF.

WESTBURY ERUPTS

On Saturday 7 March this year, an inter-high school sports meeting held at Union Stadium, Westbury, Johannesburg, was violently disrupted by police.

According to an eyewitness, an argument had taken place between an off-duty policeman and a spectator. The policeman had shot the spectator, fatally wounding him. The crowd then started assaulting the policeman.

Police reinforcements were called in. They surrounded the stadium and fired teargas into the crowd. As people tried to leave the stadium, the police fired live ammunition into the defenceless crowd. Many people were wounded, two children fatally.

Youths went on the rampage, stoning cars and buses. A number of youths were detained when they went to Coronation Hospital for treatment of gunshot wounds.

We condemn the callous, brutal actions of the police. All over the country, people are realising that they cannot be passive recipients of state brutality, and that we have to defend ourselves against these atrocities.

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.

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE IN GERMANY

Marx and Engels, London, 1850

The relation of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything whereby they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests.

Far from desiring to revolutionise all society for the revolutionary proletarians, the democratic petty bourgeoisie strive for a change in social conditions by means of which existing society will be made as tolerable and comfortable as possible for them.

At the present moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer it their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the democratic party, i.e. they strive to entangle the workers in a party organisation in which general social-democratic phrases predominate, behind which their social interests are concealed in which the particular demands of the proletariat may not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously achieved position and once more sink down to being an appendage of official bourgeois democracy.

... the mass of the petty bourgeoisie will as long as possible remain hesitant, undecided and inactive, and then, as soon as the issue has been decided, will seize the victory for themselves, will call upon the workers to maintain tranquility and return to their work, will guard against so-called excesses and bar the proletariat from the fruits of victory.

During the struggle and after the struggle, the workers must, at every opportunity, put forward their own demands alongside of the demands of the bourgeois democrats.

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to us

any

COMPLAINTS?



any
IDEAS?



any

LETTERS?



any

HELPING HANDS?



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