



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

Vol. 1/No.5

SEP. - OCT.'85

35c



A youth sets alight a makeshift barrier made of tyres. RIGHT: Students at the University of Western Cape, disguised with masks and armed with bricks

STATE OF EMERGENCY FOR REGIME



MINERS STRIKE



FREEDOM CHARTER-FOR & AGAINST

METALWORKERS

CHILE

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

SCHOOL BOYCOTT

WOMENS' OPPRESSION

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE STATE

BRIEFS.

ANTI/NON-RACISM

MINE WORKERS

The gold mines have been the heart of South African capitalism for the past century. Even today they account for two-fifths of the country's export earnings. Between them, gold and coal mining employ nearly a tenth of the entire workforce. The 550 000 black miners are mostly migrant labourers employed on short-term contracts and housed in all-male compounds attached to the mines where they work. They often sleep twenty to a room on steel triple-bunks.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Usually housing is on 'tribal' lines, supervised by stooge workers called 'indunas' and patrolled by 'tribal representatives' armed with truncheons. One of the many problems is the food they have to eat. One miner said, "We often have to eat raw porridge, fish with scales, and vegetables that are not properly cooked. Workers have to spend their entire time underground without a meal break.

WHITE FOREMEN

Set above black miners are the white employees who have had a legal monopoly of skilled work, and have therefore been able to earn more than twenty times as much as black miners. In practice, white miners play the role of very privileged foremen.

A black worker from Kloof Mine describes the whites' behaviour under-

ground: "When we start the 3.00am shift we are up well before 2.00am. When we go down we are tightly packed like sardines. The whites come down in the last cage but leave with the first. Many of them bring their newspapers along and sit around reading while we work. When our shift is over, we have to wait hours for the cage while they are gone. Often we work well over ten hours."

STRIKE

During the unrest surrounding the strike at Vaal Reefs in April, white miners went underground with loaded pistols and brandished them at black workers.

For the first six months of this year, more than 100 000 miners have taken strike action over wages, bad and unsafe working conditions and the harassment of shaft stewards.

In many of these strikes, violent action by police and mine security has left many workers dead and hundreds injured.

NUM

At the head of the black mine workers struggles is the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) - South Africa's biggest and fastest growing union. In September last year more than 70 000 miners were involved in the country's first legal mine strike when workers rejected the Chamber of Mines' wage offer. Although there were eleventh hour attempts at a settlement, this did not prevent a strike. This strike left

ten people dead and hundreds injured. Since then the union has grown rapidly and enjoys support of over 150 000 workers in the gold, coal, copper and diamond mines of South Africa.



For Manoko Nchwe, NUM's publicity secretary, the miners' struggle is part of the wider struggle against apartheid/capitalism: We are not only fighting against apartheid. Our struggle is also about decision-making and self-determination. Power lies entirely with the black working class. If the working class leads the struggle, they can unite all people against the South African state."



This year NUM rejected the Chamber's final wage offer of between 14% and 19%. Instead the union has demanded a 22% increase across the board, paid leave of 21 days, a 75% leave allowance, and a 6-hour reduction in the working time per fortnight. In addition, the union has demanded participation in the negotiations for the removal of job reservation, and May Day as a paid holiday.

STRIKE BACK!

PROFITS

The mining houses have made huge profits this year. Gold Fields, for example showed a record aggregate after tax of R229 million, despite the lower earnings caused by the decreased gold production. Workers underground, however, are earning as little as R166 per month and those above ground are earning even less than this. According to Manoko Nchwe, some of these workers are earning only R135 per month.

The negative response of mine owners to the demands of NUM led to a dispute arising and strike preparations being made by NUM. This strike was to encompass all mining houses in South Africa, and was to be launched on the 25th August.

As the strike day neared, mining houses panicked and called for urgent meetings with NUM. These meetings took place on the 21st and 27th August. Interesting developments occurred at the meetings. Most sig-

nificantly, mine owners' unity succumbed to worker pressure as individual mining houses scurried to settle with NUM.

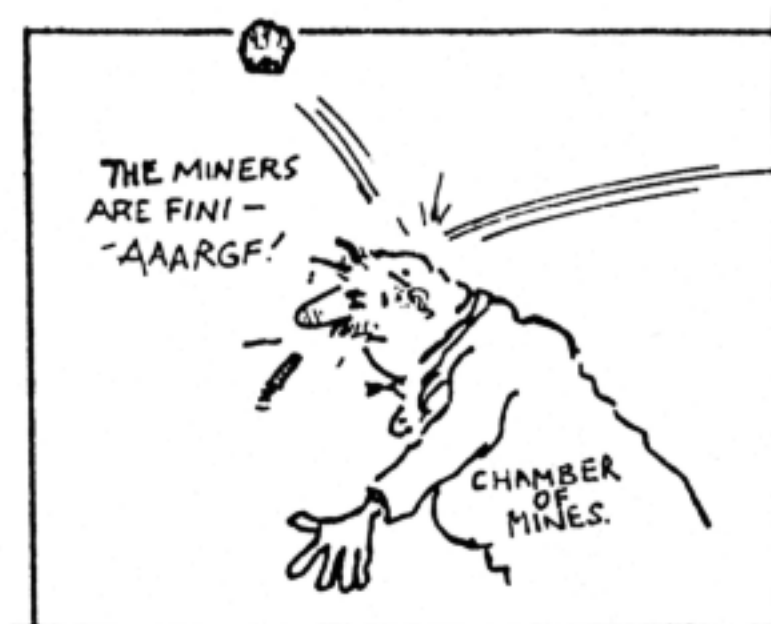
The split in the Chamber of Mines clearly reflected the effects of worker power - those that succumbed are mining houses where NUM is at its strongest (eg. Anglo American settled for between 17% and 19%) and those that did not, are those where NUM is weaker (eg. Gencor offered 14% and 19%).

THE STRIKE

On the 1st September, 28 000 miners came out on strike at Transvaal Navigation Collieries, Matla, Marievale, Beatrix, Blinkpan and Deelkraal. Harassment by the bosses and the state was stepped up immediately. The telephones at NUM's headquarters were cut. Although the strike was legal, unionists were not allowed access to the mines. There was a heavy

police presence on the mines and surrounding areas. Miners were forced to work at gunpoint. Hundreds were injured by rubber bullets, sjambokking and teargas. Thousands of mines were denied food and water.

By the second day of the strike, about 6500 workers were dismissed, many forcibly transported to the human dumping grounds - the homelands. The National Executive Committee of NUM decided to suspend the strike in order to protect workers from dismissal and evictions. (See briefs for NUM Strike Support Committee)



METALWORKERS

*PLANT LEVEL BARGAINING

- * a minimum "living wage" of R3,50 per hour and a 50c across the board increase;
- * May Day to be a paid holiday;
- * employers to double their contribution to the industry's pension fund. This to be invested in black housing;
- * four weeks paid holiday (presently 3 weeks);
- * maternity leave.

The following demands were made in response to mounting retrenchments:

- * increased overtime rates to curb overtime working
- * a reduction of 5 hours on the working week to 40 hours
- * retrenchment pay calculated on the basis of 4 weeks wages for every year of service.



DEMAND

School Boycott - W.Cape

by a SOYA MEMBER

The class boycott by oppressed students in the Western Cape was called in protest against the State of Emergency, the nation-wide killings and detentions, the victimisation of community leaders and also to demonstrate their total rejection of this country's oppressive educational system.

WECSAC

The Western Cape Students Action Committee (WECSAC) was formed to co-ordinate the actions taken by students during the boycott as increased repression by the state and its machinery caused increasingly intense responses from students. WECSAC consists of approximately 40 schools and educational institutions as well as two student organisations, Students of Young Azania (SOYA) and the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO).

250 000 ON STREETS

The closing down of almost 500 educational institutions in the Western Cape, meant that over a quarter of a million students were out on the streets. Botha's army had already invaded the townships, brutally murdering our comrades.

The dynamism of the boycott action taken by students had been provided by a series of mass rallies and marches where students from various schools, tertiary institutions and student organisations came together to demand with one voice the unconditional re-opening of all schools, the resignation

of all community councillors, dummy MP's, and that the harassment of teachers and students by principals and school inspectors be stopped immediately.

GAINS

Some of the most important gains made by the boycott had been an upsurge in the awareness of students, the development of democratically elected SRC's at schools where none previously existed, and the realisation by students that mass participation in the decision-making processes within the organisations of the oppressed and exploited is essential.

The boycott was characterised by alternative educational programmes, but these were difficult to sustain due to a serious lack of resources. An important development however, was the formation of a structure for progressive teachers and academics sympathetic to the demands made by students. Progressive teachers made their stand by downing tools for two days and assisted in the conducting of awareness programmes at the schools.

SOYA

SOYA, as ONE of the oppressed student organisations in the

Western Cape, is in my mind playing a significant role in shaping and giving content to the struggles being waged there. It has been instrumental in the setting up of united front structures of oppressed students. WECSAC is one example of this. SOYA believes that non-sectarianism is important in the building of unity and democracy in the liberation struggle. As comrades fighting a common enemy, we should as far as possible find ways of working together in spite of our differences.

EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

What is evident is that students alone cannot defend themselves against the violence of the state, nor can they alone bring about fundamental change in this country and achieve their long-term demand for a free and compulsory educational system geared towards the needs of working people.





The crowd of about 4 000 besieged the police in the school grounds after they arrested about 100 teachers, pupils and parents who had entered the school.

Policemen cut through the fence at the back of the school to allow the besieged police out. The clash began when pupils and parents decided on an unofficial back-to-school movement, defying the Government closure of 464 schools in the Cape Peninsula.

The boycott we had is not a rejection of education. We realise that education can be either an instrument of capitalist domination or socialist liberation. We must turn our schools into centres of liberation. We realise that liberation does not lie in the hands of one or two leaders, but can only be achieved through long, hard struggle by the majority, led by the working class. The boycott, we know, is only one weapon and cannot on its own bring about fundamental change.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER - for & against.

The Freedom Charter is a very important document in South Africa. Many people believe that the demands in the Charter can bring about a society free of oppression and exploitation. Others among the oppressed doubt this. Some people are of the opinion that the Charter does not address issues such as class exploitation and is not an adequate programme for ending all oppression and exploitation.

Unfortunately, a debate among the oppressed on the Charter is almost always conducted in an emotional, sometimes even physical manner. Some adherents of the Charter have been accused of elevating the document into gospel, where criticism is seen as sacrilege. In Action Youth, we hold that comradely debate among those involved in the struggle should be encouraged, and is both healthy and necessary.

In March this year a group of organisations issued a statement commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Charter. They said, "Nothing short of the demands in this document (the Charter) will satisfy the people". The argument put by the state in 1956 that the Charter was a communist document was overturned last year. A former Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr. Justice Rumpff, could find no truth in this argument. In dismissing the prosecution case, he said the Charter was a moderate document and that it is now legal to distribute the document.

Recently a debate was held between an executive member of UDF and an organiser from MAWU, an affiliate of FOSATU. Generally, the speaker from MAWU felt that the Charter cannot satisfy the aspirations of the majority in South Africa - the workers. We print below a part of the debate and then Action Youth's own assessment of the Charter.

(1) What sort of document is the Charter?

Executive member of UDF: The Charter is a popular document, it keeps with democratic principles and represents the aspirations of the majority of the people. The Charter expresses both anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiments as can be seen from the clause on nationalisation.

Organiser for MAWU: The Charter is a popular document but the domination of the middle class can clearly be seen. The Charter makes important demands like 'freedom of speech', but these are limited as they do not address the primary conflict in society - the conflict between capital and labour. The Charter talks for the 'people' but are there not different class interests among these 'people'? The Charter is not anti-capitalist as the clause on nationalisation does not equate socialism. Production relations are not addressed.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

(2) Of what relevance are the demands of the Charter to the working class?

UDF: The Charter has relevance for the working class in every respect. When the Charter was drawn up, the South African Congress of Trade Unions existed. We must understand that in South Africa, capitalism has taken on a racist form. Black people are oppressed as a nation and as a class. The clause in the Charter "The people shall govern" therefore shows that working class interests are primary. The Charter embodies working class interests, not petit-bourgeois interests because it is anti - imperialist.

MAWU: Some demands in the Charter are relevant to the working class but they are limited. Organisations like the UDF, which support the Charter are dominated by the middle class, and cannot ensure the liberation of the working people.

(3) What role has the working class to implement the demands in the Charter?

UDF: In South Africa, the working class is in the majority. The central role of the working class must be fought for. Because of repression, the Charter had to be couched in a certain manner. The Charter is representative of all the strata in South Africa.

MAWU: Bourgeois democratic rights are addressed in the Charter but not working class emancipation. Capitalism is the problem - the Charter does not address this. With the Charter, working class dominance is not guaranteed.

(4) Are class alliances in the Charter still viable?

Class alliances are important. The working class cannot hope to take the struggle up alone. We must broaden our base and include the black middle class. For example, the Western Cape Traders Association must be included in the struggle. They are denied certain opportunities by apartheid.

MAWU: Alliances are vital but the working class must establish its hegemony.

(5) Is a future society envisaged in the Charter compatible with capitalism?

UDF: Because of the nationalisation clause, the Charter is not compatible with capitalism. The Charter is not a socialist document, but neither is it a capitalist document. Society is in a state of transition and the Charter reflects this. It is adventuristic to talk of a single stage to socialism and this is not in the interest of the working class.

MAWU: The Charter can be accommodated by capitalism. At best it is social democratic, but not socialist. Nationalisation clause does not equate socialism. In Britain, for example, key sectors of the economy are nationalised but one cannot say Britain is socialist.

After these questions a general discussion followed, the better part of which focused on Poland and Solidarity - the workers movement there. The UDF spokesperson referred to Solidarity as 'undermining elements' that have to be 'dealt with'. In answer to this, we refer readers to a speech delivered by FOSATU General Secretary, Joe Foster, to the FOSATU Congress in April 1982. He said, "Solidarity was not struggling to restore capitalism in Poland; its struggle was to establish more democratic worker control...".

a critique.

The first problem we have with the Freedom Charter is its ambiguity - that is, it can be interpreted differently by different people. For instance, the clause "The people shall govern" and the clause dealing with the nationalisation of banks, mines and the land has been taken to mean that the society envisaged by the Charter is anti - capitalist. But as the comrade from MAWU pointed out, nationalisation or state control of sections of the economy does not equal socialism. Many countries have nationalised key aspects of their economies but the sufferings of the workers continue. Workers still don't have control over decisions. The position of workers in Britain and Poland shows that even though the state in these countries control much of the economy, the

workers still lead miserable lives. A respected leader who supports the Charter, stated the following when writing about those clauses : "It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks , the gold mines and the land , the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold mining monopolies and farming interests. The breaking up and democratisation of these monopolies will open up fresh fields for the development of a prosperous Non-European bourgeois class. For the first time in the history of this country the Non - European bourgeoisie will have the opportunity to own in their own name and right mines and factories, and trade and private enterprise will boom flourish as never before".

So what we see here is a denial that that the Charter implies the overthrow of capitalism. In fact , it is positively interpreted as a programme of reforming capitalism.

The second major problem with the Charter is that it accepts the government - imposed criteria of 'national groups' and 'races'. The supporters of the Charter agree that there are four 'nations' or 'races' in South Africa - so-called "Coloureds", "Africans", "Indians" and "Whites". We believe this is dangerous for many reasons. Firstly , this kind of thinking plays into the hands of the government and collaborators like Hendrickse , Buthelezi and Rajbansi. These sellouts claim to represent different 'nations' and we are giving them an opportunity to do this. It is true that many ordinary people see themselves as 'indian', 'zulu', etc. and it is easier to organise people in this manner because of geographical separation. But divisions have been forced onto our people for a reason : in order for the state to maintain easy control. It might be more difficult to organise across colour boundaries, but it is necessary. We must fight divisions in the process of struggle and not wait for after the revolution. We have to build a single nation under the leadership of the working class. Failure to realise this will result in a situation where opportunistic 'leaders' like Gatsha Buthelezi manipulate 'ethnic symbols' for their own reason. What happened in Inanda where so-called 'Zulu' workers were pitted against so-called 'Indian' workers for the benefit of Gatsha and Rajbansi, teaches us the danger of the concepts 'national groups' and 'races'. It is difficult to see any difference between the 'national groups' envisaged in the Charter and the 'national groups' of today's apartheid structures. Certainly the development of "own languages, folk cultures and customs" (Charter clause) ties in neatly with what the National Party has implemented.

Thirdly, there is no attempt in the Charter to explain how working-class leadership of the struggle is compatible with the idea of several 'nations' each consisting of antagonistic classes. Among the so - called "Indian national group" for instance , there are different classes. A minority in this group are businessmen, even big businessmen, but the vast majority are working people. The interests of these working people are more in line with the interests of so - called "African" and "Coloured" working people, and not with the businessmen in question. The Charter does not explain this.

Some people who support the Charter call themselves socialists but believe that we must first unite people against apartheid (the first stage) , and then fight for socialism (the second stage). We in Action Youth oppose attempts to separate the struggle for democracy and the struggle for workers power. A great deal has been written and said concerning the 'democratic' way the Charter was adopted. Yet none other than Chief Albert Luthuli , then president of the ANC, mentioned in his autobiography that the Charter was never circulated for amendments to affiliates of the Congress Alliance. The man who chaired the meeting which adopted the document, Dr. Wilson Conco , actually said that he saw the document for the first time at Kliptown (where the Charter was adopted). The various congresses which made up the Congress Alliance had exactly the same vote. In other words, the miniscule white Congress of Democrats had the same vote as the ANC. This is not our idea of democracy!

Instead of the Freedom Charter, we stand by a socialist programme which reflects the class struggle and will act as a guide in our fight to end both class exploitation and national oppression.

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

The consumer boycott has been applied with great success at the height of the struggle in the Eastern Cape. The consumer boycott was coupled to the demand for the withdrawal of the army from the townships.

The Eastern Cape's success proved that the consumer boycott **CAN** be a powerful weapon in the hands of the oppressed and exploited although it does not necessarily follow that any successful action can be transplanted from one area to another without giving thought to the kind of conditions which prevail in other areas.

HOW CAN THE CONSUMER BOYCOTT BECOME AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON?

What should the aims of such a boycott be?

It is an **ECONOMIC** boycott, therefore to be successful:

★ The **FIRST AIM SHOULD BE TO MOBILIZE PEOPLE** in every home to become part of the struggle. That means **UNITY** is essential. We cannot achieve **UNITY** if students or other groups have to be used to 'police' such a boycott. We cannot condone coercing housewives or forcing a mother of a poor and starving family to drink up the bottle of cooking oil she can barely afford. The oppressed themselves must be prepared to be part of the boycott.

If we are **SERIOUS ABOUT UNITY** then we must think of the many ways to **CREATE** that unity, not destroy it.

HERE ARE SOME EXAMPLES:

EXAMPLE:

The **CIVICS** could become dynamic co-operative centres of the community if they could organize to buy food or other basic articles at wholesale prices and sell it at prices everyone can afford. The smaller shopkeepers who eke out a living could be drawn into the scheme.

Which housewife would oppose such an idea?

EXAMPLE:

The **SPORTING MOVEMENT (SACOS)** could mobilize its sportspersons by focussing the boycott on those firms who give millions of Rand each year for multinational, racial sport, as well as boycott those who refuse to sponsor SACOS codes or who give token sums compared to the thousands they offer racist sport. That should knock them for a six!!

EXAMPLE:

COLLABORATORS should be boycotted. Not only those who serve in the tricameral parliamentary structures and who have business interests, but also those who have been living off the misery of the poor, with their liquor outlets and shops in 'own affairs' group areas. Exploiters, after all, come in all colours. **CAPITALISM** is colour-blind when it suits the rulers' purpose.

EXAMPLE:

MULTINATIONALS - Let our students do the research work to find out how much of the economy is controlled by overseas Imperialist Multinationals and which of them can be effectively boycotted.

EXAMPLE:

TRADE UNIONS could inform us of the firms which do not allow representative worker bodies or independent trade unions; which shops treat their workers with contempt and are particularly racist or exploitative. The campaign could then be linked with the trade union demand for a **LIVING WAGE**.

These firms and their products could be concrete targets, linked to specific aims which are realistic in the short term. In this way we link the consumer boycott to the worker's struggle and the contradiction between **CAPITAL** and **LABOUR** can be sharpened. Workers are not just consumers. They are in the first instance producers of wealth and the wholesale robbery of workers of the value of their labour must be brought to the fore.

★ **THE SECOND AIM:**

Forging **UNITY** will enable us to work in **ORGANIZED, DEMOCRATIC, PERMANENT** structures created either well before the boycott or which are formed during the struggle.

In these structures **COLLECTIVE** decisions must be taken to ensure disciplined collective action and **COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP** under the banner of the **WORKING CLASS** so that the workers can take control of every aspect of their lives.

The boycott cannot continue indefinitely. The fruit must be the permanent structures, defended by those who built them during the struggle and which are there to survive the boycott to carry the struggle **FORWARD!!!**

★ **THE THIRD AIM** is to make us aware of the **ENORMOUS POWER** we have as workers. We produce in the factories thousands of dresses or in the bakeries - millions of loaves of bread, and they pay us **LOW WAGES** in order to make **HUGE PROFITS** for the rich. Then we have to buy back the dresses and loaves at **HIGHER PRICES**. We are thus **DOUBLY EXPLOITED** - as workers and as consumers!

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

By disciplined and united mass action, both in the short and long term we can bring about: Removal of GST from all basic goods! Lower prices for all commodities! Better working conditions and benefits for all! A living wage for all! Unsegregated housing, healthcare services and education for all!! Substantial sponsorships for non-racial sport codes!! Abolition of the instruments and agents of our Oppression and Exploitation!!

★ **THE FOURTH AIM** is to ensure that we know who the **REAL ENEMY** is. The fight is not just against "white" business. It is against the **SYSTEM**. If one of our ideals is to establish a **NON-RACIAL** society then we must struggle to build precisely that!

Exploiters come in all colours. Let us not cloud the issue with "race" and "colour". Let us not mobilise people to exert pressure on "white" businessmen or their chambers of commerce to put pressure on their government. Let us mobilise the people so that we may fight the real enemy relentlessly. Let us not confuse the masses about the real nature of the struggle in South Africa where **APARTHEID** only hides the ugly face of **CAPITALISM**. Our struggle must be **PRINCIPLED** and **PROGRAMMATIC**. We must be fearlessly clear in **THEORY** and firm in **PRACTICE**.

Let us focus the flame of the struggle like a surgical torch to eradicate the cancer of exploitation from our society - not like a flame-thrower which burns up everything in its path.

★ **THE FIFTH AIM** must be to learn important **POLITICAL LESSONS**, so that the next time a boycott is called the involvement of people will be on the basis of their **UNDERSTANDING** rather than their **FEAR!** Then all the oppressed and exploited will be willing to make the sacrifices demanded of them and go forward united. Let us tell the people the truth about where we are going and what we hope to achieve. Let them know that the consumer boycott alone cannot bring the government to its knees.

THERE ARE NO SHORT-CUTS TO LIBERATION.

If well planned, the boycott will leave us stronger in spirit and stronger organisationally, united and ready for the next battle. We can then achieve our short-term goals like lower prices, sponsorships and exposure and isolation of traitors and collaborators.

A vague ill-defined boycott can only spread confusion, demoralisation and division among the oppressed and exploited. It may in the short-term assist to make this or that area **UNGOVERNABLE** or to get this or that capitalist to get the government to **NEGOTIATE**. **BUT IT WON'T BRING TOTAL LIBERATION!**

MESSAGE
FROM
MAWU

Metal workers are determined to fight for what they believe is a living wage. The metal workers want enough money to be able to support their starving families and their brothers, sisters and neighbours - those that were retrenched and those that are unemployed. We are in a very bad position. The government does not support these people. So we are forced to. We need a living wage. The metal bosses have made a lot of profits, they must share those profits with us instead of misusing them by buying more Mercedes Benz's and on Apartheid.

On working shorter hours and no overtime - We want to get enough money by working reasonable and normal hours without killing ourselves. We want to create job opportunities for those who are unemployed and to lessen retrenchments. We want jobs for all. We must have enough time with our families and friends, not only with the bosses' machines. More than 3 million people are unemployed, they must get jobs.

On extra weeks leave - The migrant workers work very hard throughout the year without seeing their families. They are entitled to spend time with their families. We want May Day to be a paid public holiday. The workers have decided to take the 1st of May as a holiday and the bosses should pay.

On retrenchments - We want the employers not to retrench any more workers and to negotiate the retrenchments and severance pay with the representatives of the workers. The bosses must stop being interested in the workers whilst they are able to produce and then discard them like dirt into the dustbin of poverty when workers are no longer useful to the bosses.

MAWU and the metal workers as a whole are sick and tired of the employers who do not want to negotiate at plant level but prefer hiding behind SEIFSA (Metal bosses organisation).

The demands of the workers include (besides those mentioned on Page 2)
1. rest period for workers who are working in hot places;
2. long service increases or benefits.

The metal workers are determined to fight the bosses up to the bitter end. FOSATU as a whole has decided to support the metal workers and the proposed strike. SEIFSA has given 14c across the board at the bottom and pushed the minimum to R1.90 per hour. This is not acceptable and SEIFSA has ignored the other MAWU proposals. SEIFSA has also refused its member companies to negotiate at plant level.

The bosses must stop thinking that they can fool us and play around with our lives. The employers must accept plant level bargaining, must negotiate fairly with workers and not ask for police involvement as they often do.

MAWU is presently holding a referendum to see if its members want to go on a legal strike after the bosses refusal to bargain at the factory level. The decision to go on a national strike was already taken by the MAWU shop stewards councils. The shop stewards represent more than 200 metal factories.

MOSES
MAYEKISO

editorial.

The declaration of the State of Emergency immediately leads one to ask why this was done. There are already a battery of security laws which allow indefinite, arbitrary detention without access to lawyers, families or even to the State's own courts. Granted that it does give sweeping powers of press censorship and a wider indemnity to agents of the system. The press, however, by its reporting of the situation prior to the declaration of the State of Emergency, has shown that it clearly is on the side of the system in maintaining the status quo. Furthermore, the deaths, injuries and detentions by the agents of the system before the State of Emergency is sufficient evidence to show that they certainly felt they already had a free hand to act as they wished. As it has crisply been put by a black youth, "Is it any worse than teargas?" Thus one can deduce that the State of Emergency is a gesture to the white constituency that the government has not lost control and to the black militants a signal of its resolve to intensify its repress. In addition, the government wants to remove black militants from the scene by all means at their disposal to clear the path and usher in their widely rejected sham reforms.

The increased repression certainly has not in any way dampened the militancy in the townships. There is no doubt that the elaborate systems of control have broken down. Whilst the government always has had, and still presently appears to have military power to crush resistance, its ability to maintain control and implement its own laws in the townships is seriously in doubt. All the mechanisms of control such as community councillors, black policeman, and informers are under constant attack. It has reached a stage whereby the only way the system can maintain a presence in the townships is by a massive show of naked and brutal force. It is increasingly more difficult to find collaborators - the instruments of reform and repression - to maintain control in the townships as these collaborators are more frightened of the people than they are of the system.

There is an urgent need for the broad liberatory movement to take stock of our gains and losses during this period of intense resistance and state of emergency. The growing anger of a rapidly rising unemployed population, the increasing number of strikes and stayaways, the collapse of local township authorities, the effective and growing consumer boycotts in support of political and economic demands, the revolt against so-called 'Bantu', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' education all threaten and destabilise a retreating regime. Most of these activities, while showing incredible courage, are still largely spontaneous, episodic and neither regionally nor nationally co-ordinated.

The owners of South Africa - the capitalists at home and abroad - are very worried about what is happening here. They know that the 1985 revolts are rapidly radicalizing the progressive forces inside South Africa. They know that a radical unified liberatory movement spells doom for their profits. They know that if South Africa is liberated, the rest of Southern Africa will be liberated. Botha and company's stranglehold on the region will then be broken down.

The imperialists therefore want to defuse the situation as soon as possible - they want the situation to return to their 'normality' and 'order'. 'Order' and 'normality' for us means oppression, exploitation, poverty, starvation and ignorance. On the one hand, Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl support Botha's and Gatsha's brutal methods masked in token reform. On the other hand, international liberalism

(Kennedy and the like) support parliamentary and extra-parliamentary black and white liberals, who they see as their saviours. What all these forces have in common is to ensure the continuing exploitation of the people of our country, and none of them are above using death squads against those who challenge them. Their strategies differ, but their goals are the same. All of them want to use dialogue, negotiation, constructive engagement, national convention, etc., to entrench capitalism. We must continue to reject and bury all ideas of negotiated settlements or national conventions.

We believe that it will require more than popular mobilization and the anger of the oppressed to bring about a new society. What is required is grassroots structures rooted in democratic procedures, collective leadership, and a principled programme against apartheid AND capitalism.

Forward to a Workers' Republic of Azania

Notes on Theory No 3

The capitalist class, through its exploitation of the working class, is handsomely rewarded with wealth, power and prestige, while the working class is plagued with insecurity, poverty and miserable living conditions.

Private property - the private ownership of mines, factories, and land, gives the capitalist class which owns, power over the classes which do not own private property. It enables those who own not only to live without working, but also to determine whether the non-owners shall work and under what conditions. Understandably then, there is a perpetual conflict between the two classes.

Now there must be some method whereby this set of property relations - so advantageous to a few and so disadvantageous to many - is maintained. There must be something with power to see to it that this system of social and economic domination by the capitalists over the workers is preserved. This is the state. It is the function of the state to uphold the system of oppression and exploitation.

Some people have separated the state into two parts. These two parts co-operate with each

other. One is called the Repressive State Apparatus - this includes the police, the army and the courts. The other is called the Ideological State Apparatus - the educational system, the newspapers T.V., etc. We can see how the two aspects of the state work together. For example, when oppressed students question the gutter education that is forced on them, the police or army are called in.

The state pushes the ideas of the capitalists. These are ideas like private property, competition, obedience to authority, etc. This is done through the schools and the media. When this fails, the police, army and courts are called to do the job.

The class that rules economically, that is, those who own the means of production - the capitalists, also rule politically - they control the state.

But we can ask the question: If the machinery of the state is controlled by the capitalist class and functions in their interest, then

why is it that laws which favour the workers sometimes get passed? It is true that a few decisions made by the Industrial Council (part of the state machinery in South Africa) favour workers over capitalists. This is because the state acts on behalf of the workers and against the capitalists when it is forced to do so. It will yield on particular points of conflict because pressure from the working class is so great that concessions MUST be made, or 'law and order' will be endangered, or worse still (from the point of view of the ruling class), revolution may ensue.

The important point to remember is that whatever concessions are won in such periods are confined to the existing property relations. The framework of the capitalist system itself is left untouched. It is always within that framework that concessions are made. The aim of the ruling class is to YIELD A PART IN ORDER TO SAVE THE WHOLE.



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UNEMPLOYMENT

In this, the second of our series of articles on unemployment, we will focus on the causes of unemployment in South Africa. It will be remembered that we concluded our first article on unemployment by finding that the system of capitalism, that is, the system where one class owns private property and the other class lives by working, is the root cause of unemployment. In South Africa we have a racist capitalist system. It is based on the super-exploitation of cheap black labour.

MIGRANT LABOUR

After the wars of conquest - that is, after the rape, plunder and defeat of the indigenous people - and with the discovery of gold, the capitalist class needed cheap labour to work on the mines. The black peasants who lived by farming were forced by a series of laws (e.g. hut and poll tax laws) to work in the cities and mines to obtain MONEY to pay these taxes. In this way, the peasant economy was ruined, and a money economy created. Millions of people who had subsisted off the land became landless and were forced to work in the cities and on the mines. In this manner was born the South African black working class. Out of this process evolved the system of migrant labour - the bedrock of South African capitalism.

The migrant labour system has helped the racists and capitalists in our country to control the vast majority of our people as a voteless, dehumanised and super-exploited 'wretched of the earth'.



MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

South Africa has entered the stage of monopoly capitalism. Companies like Anglo American have through the concentration of capital, mergers and takeover, exercised a decisive influence on the economy. Monopolies create unemployment by destroying jobs and replacing workers with machines - to increase profits and lower costs. It is a general trend of monopoly to replace living labour (workers) with dead labour (machines).

South Africa can only remain a competitor (very weak in relation to say the U.S.A.) on the world market by the super-exploitation of the black working class. South African capitalism depends largely on the production and sale of gold on the world market. The mines depend entirely on cheap labour. Cheap labour is provided for through the migrant labour system.

BANTUSTANS

This system ensures that millions of blacks are confined to the homelands, a minority selectively recruited by labour bureaux, and the rest left to starve as a huge army of unemployed in the 'bantustans'. This huge, starving reserve army of unemployed is used to keep the wages of workers as low as possible, and to control the labour force on the mines. For instance, if miners go on strike for higher wages, they can easily be fired and replaced by others from this reserve army.

In South Africa, the state has intervened heavily on the side of the capitalist class. The pass laws, influx control, and job reservation laws have ensured a controlled and cheap labour force. Influx control laws prevent so-called "Africans" from coming to the cities where work is available. The 'law' therefore forces people to be unemployed. Skin colour determines whether a person can find work and live in the cities. The object of this evil system is to control and exploit the working class. People who are willing to work are legally prevented from doing so, and from living with their families. Heavy state spending on the army, police, institutions of repression and the homeland system, have meant less money for investment in job creation.

MILLIONS WITHOUT WORK

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that even ruling class economists have admitted that unemployment cannot be solved within a racist/capitalist system. At present over three million workers (including 100 000 so-called 'whites') are unemployed. It is conservatively estimated that before the year 2000, millions more would be PERMANENTLY unemployed - the economic system would not be able to create ANY employment for workers. This is a chilling and horrible prospect.

In our next article, we will look at the responses of the South African working class and its organisations to the question of unemployment.

HAMBA KAHLE..

We lower our flags for Comrade Benjamin Moloise, a freedom fighter hanged at Pretoria Central on 18 October 1985, and three Azapo comrades, Julie Verden, Themba Buthelezi and Siva Chetty (all from Natal) who died in a car crash on 10 October 1985. We will remember all our martyrs ; they have not given their lives in vain.

Miners Strike Support Committee

The NUM Strike Support Committee was formed to support the miners on strike. It is comprised of different organisations, individuals and trade unions. Action Youth is part of this committee and has done a great deal in support work for the miners. To date, the Support Committee has printed and distributed T-shirts, pamphlets and stickers, provided medical and legal help, assisted with transport and held numerous cultural events to highlight the mine workers struggle and to generate funds.

Action Youth's Cultural Evening

Action Youth held a cultural evening at the Bosmont Hotel on 17th Aug. Attendance was good with close to 200 people present. This, despite people being invited a mere three days before the event. The evening went very well - a film on Chile was shown and material relating to Chile distributed. There was also music and poetry which was received by an appreciative audience. Participation from the floor was enthusiastic and criticism was invited. In the end there was agreement by all present that cultural evenings of this nature should be encouraged and held on a regular basis.

Banning of COSAS

The banning of COSAS is a blow to the student movement. We recognise the blow dealt to COSAS as an injury to all oppressed students. We are firm in our belief that students will continue to fight for a free and democratic Azania. The banning of the PAC and the ANC did not silence the resistance of our people against oppression and exploitation.

Likewise, the banning of COSAS will not deter students from continuing to demand a unified edu-

cation system for all - from resisting the repressive and desperate measures of this apartheid / capitalist regime, and from mobilising students into democratic structures and furthering the struggle for the day when the working people of this country shall govern.

It is important that all student organisations reject direction which propagate negotiation with the oppressors.

Action Youth rejects the PFP, Buthelezi and collaborators' plan to sell out the movement of our students, parents and workers around a negotiating table. We fully support Nelson Mandela's affirmative statement that the time for a National Convention has long passed, that we will not sit down with the oppressors and exploiters to negotiate our freedom. Now, more than ever before, students need to build their SRCs, parent-teacher - student associations, and involve themselves in community organisations.

Death of comrade POKELA

On 30 June 1985 Comrade Pokela, chairperson of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, passed away at Parienyatwa Hospital, Zimbabwe, after a short illness. He had had problems with his chest from his days of detention after he had been kidnapped in the

then Protectorate of Basutoland by the security police of South Africa.

He was given a state - assisted funeral. The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe was there, as were Vice Premier Simon Muzenda,

members of the ZANU (PF) Politburo and cabinet ministers. Members of APDUSA - Tabata and Honono, BCM president - Mangena, ANC and SWAPO representatives in Harare were all there.

A basic problem for women is that of involvement in the struggle. Working class women are potentially more revolutionary than men and are certainly more militant. Ours is a problem of feeding large families, of making ends meet, of keeping a home together against incredible odds.

liberation

Women's position in society will not change automatically after the revolution, as can be seen in countries which have had revolutions already. In fact, the liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution and not an issue that should be pushed to the sidelines because of the mistaken belief that it will deflect from the main purpose of national liberation or radical social transformation.

If we are committed to changing the society we live in, we must start with our own lives - where oppressive laws do not have to determine the quality of our relationships ; where there is nothing to dictate our actions. Revolutionary ideas must become a part of our thinking and commitment to life and other people. Paying lip - service to non - sexism is not enough, nor is tokenism in selected areas.

Revolution means change at the deepest level. A commitment is needed from both men and women to rectify the position of women in society at a grassroots level - in the realm of private lives first, then of society in general.

changing society

The present organisation of the family holds women in bondage both physically and psychologically. Her actions are dictated since childhood.

The legal structure of society must be altered as well as our ideas on sexuality. The nature of work for the accumulation of profit (of which women are the worst victims either directly or indirectly) must be changed radically to benefit all human beings. This means changing society at its most fundamental level and which would go much deeper than the elimination of exploitation at the workplace. People's consciousness has to be changed so that they not only identify exploitation at the workplace, but cease to be exploiters and oppressors of women.

As an organising idea, women's liberation has to be seen as a revolution within a revolution. As stated before, even a socialist revolution does not by necessity change women's status as it could change control of the means of production, for example.

Attitudes of men towards women and the acceptance of a subservient role by women is a result of psychological conditioning of a lifetime and of many generations. This conditioning has to be eroded not only in theory but also in PRACTICE.

organisation

The question now arises as to whether women have to organise independently - so that in an organised form they can guarantee that freedom for women is not neglected - or whether they have to fight alongside men - where in the process of struggle they can change both themselves and their male comrades. Divisions have obvious and not-so-obvious dangers, but the ideals of the new society must be promoted and advanced in the form of practical struggles. If this is accepted as a practical precondition, then the struggle for the freedom of women will not be subsumed in the general struggle.

We have to guard against the situation where after liberation, women, some of whom were actively engaged in the liberation movement, are forced back into subservient roles as housewives, mothers, etc. We can obtain countless examples of this from revolutions that have taken place.

Women's liberation should encompass a revolution for women's equality, participatory democracy and an assurance that the interests of the working class remain paramount, in or-



OPPRESSION No 3

der to end all forms of exploitation.

personal and political

Whether we decide to organise ourselves separately or not, we should incorporate into our actions and organisational planning ways and means to end the subjugation of women. Fighting oppression should extend to all levels of our lives, be it personal or political. We have to learn to express a sense of self-confidence in our abilities as essential political experiences of the oppressed and doubly exploited.

"When women massively become political the revolution has moved to a new stage"

Let us, both men and women, thus liberate ourselves in the process of liberating society. After all, a society is only as free as its women are!



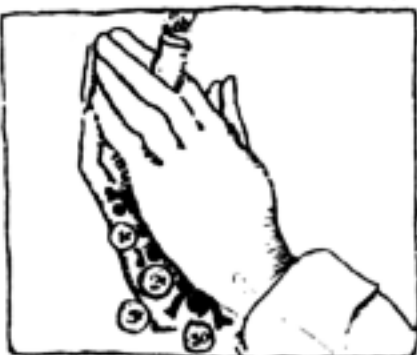
The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory. The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentiality of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's liberation arises.



The Popular Democrats have finally taken up the workers' cause



One day, in alliance with big business and money...



They'll press and pray for social harmony!

Fahmida Isaacs 18yrs, a student at Nivana High who lived in Riverlea died tragically with her father in a car accident on the 26th of October. Fahmida was a close friend of some Action Youth members and active in the Inter High School Coordinating Committee in 1984. We will remember her. The struggle continues.

Twelve years ago on 11 September 1973, the Chilean Popular Unity Government under President Salvador Allende, was overthrown by a military coup. Allende himself was murdered and as many as 50 000 Chilean socialists, communists, trade unionists, youth, workers, and peasants were tortured and killed. This bloody coup was led by General Pinochet and supported by American imperialism, the Chilean army and the Chilean bourgeoisie.

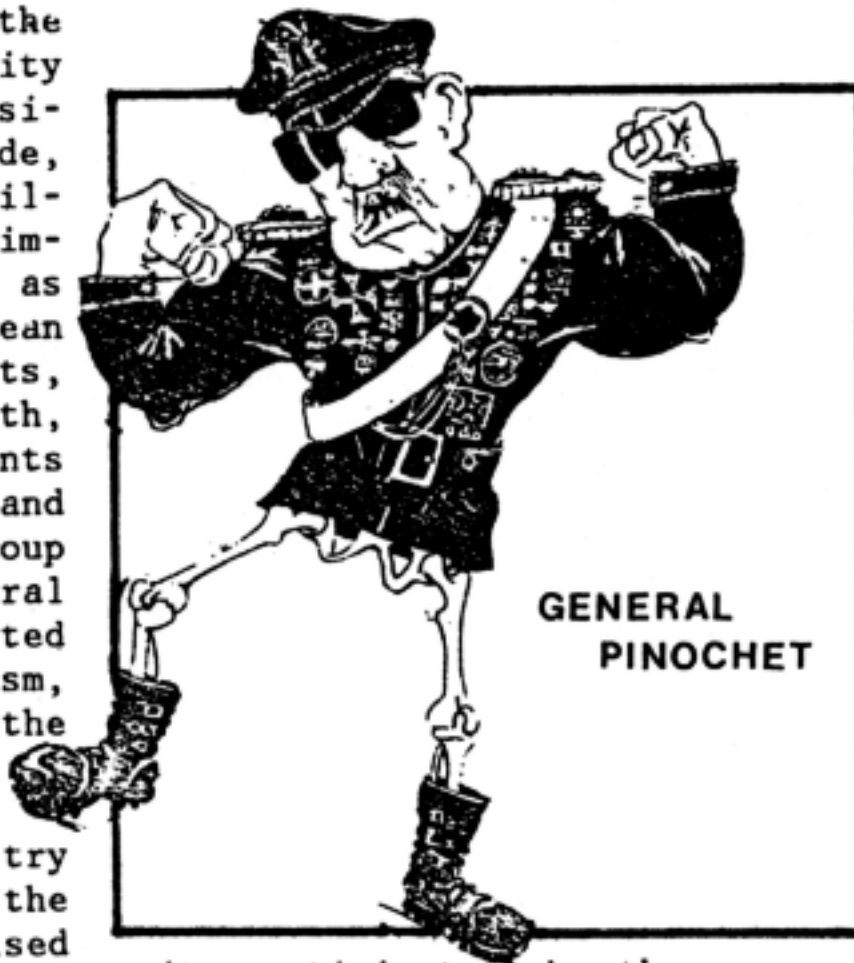
In this article we try and answer the questions: Who comprised the Popular Unity Government? Why was the military takeover successful? Most importantly, what lessons does this tragic episode in the history of international resistance to oppression and exploitation hold for our struggle in Azania?

POPULAR UNITY

The Popular Unity (UP) government was dominated by the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist Party (CP). Both had considerable support among the working class and the youth.

The SP was founded in 1933 by Salvador Allende, amongst others. The party was founded because socialists felt that the CP was incapable of responding to the needs of the Chilean working class. The SP represented an attempt to build a working-class party based on Marxism, but not under the domination of the Soviet Union.

The CP was since the late 30's a party of class collaboration. In 1954



GENERAL PINOCHET

it participated in the government of right-wing Radical Party leader, Gonzales Videla. The CP excused this participation by quoting the pre-election rhetoric of Videla, which promised the working masses everything that they wanted in addition to the moon. But the Radical Party as a major bourgeois party could not in any way serve the interests of the working class. Videla used the CP support to contain the rising working class upsurge (there were three CP leaders in Videla's cabinet) and when this task was completed, he banned the CP and unleashed a ferocious repression against the workers.

ALLENDE

The UP was elected in 1970. Salvador Allende was elected President on the basis of a minority vote. The Chilean bourgeoisie could not agree on one candidate and instead, put two in the field. This ensured the victory of Allende.

But the UP was in a minority and dependent on Christian Democratic support. In order for Allende to be confirmed in office, he had to give certain guarantees to Parliament, which were embedded in the constitution and which gave an undertaking that the UP would not destroy the system of liberal democracy and the state apparatus.

MIR

This compromise was strongly attacked by the MIR (revolutionary left movement not part of the UP) and the SP youth. Both groups contended that to achieve office under these conditions would be like putting one's head on the chopping block. The overwhelming majority of the UP, however, supported the concessions as tactical' and Allende assumed power in November 1970.

The first year of the UP saw the Allende administration carrying out a number of important reforms as had been promised in the UP



AFTER THE COUP: Hundreds of thousands of Popular Unity supporters and opponents of the Junta were herded into cells in the Santiago stadium immediately after the coup. They suffered systematic torture - hundreds died and others are incarcerated in the Junta's prison camps.

CHILE



programme. Certainly, there can be no doubt that many of these measures were immensely popular with the oppressed strata of Chilean society and that it had made a big impact. Beginning with the free distribution of half a litre milk for all children, a number of new laws were passed to increase and develop the existing social services, a ceiling was placed on all government salaries, political prisoners were released, and the riot police was disbanded.

NATIONALISATION

Major nationalisation was also begun. In many cases, workers occupied factories thus forcing the UP government to nationalise them in order to maintain production. This upset the Chilean bourgeoisie and imperialism. In spite of the CP's attempts at trying to reach agreement with the Christian Democrats and the bourgeoisie, the UP as a whole was forced to give in to some of the demands of the militant working class. If they did not, large sections of the working class would have moved to the MIR and the revolutionary left in general.

The UP was in a dilemma - it could not satisfy imperialism by containing the mass movement

and neither was it able to satisfy the hopes and aspirations which its victory had aroused in the broad working class and peasant masses. Why was this the case? Fidel Castro expressed it clearly in his speech on Chile in Havana on 28 September 1973: "In the first place there was an intact bourgeois apparatus. There were armed forces that called themselves apolitical, institutional, that is apparently neutral in the revolutionary process. There was the bourgeois parliament where a majority of members jumped to the tune of the ruling classes. There was a judicial system which was completely subservient to the reactionaries."



PEASANTS' SELF DEFENCE: Before the coup many groups of workers and peasants spontaneously organised to defend themselves. Others did so under the MIR. The Popular Unity not only failed to support such moves but took action to suppress them.

STATE

The key problem, therefore, was how to smash the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie. There was a complete failure to understand the nature of the Chilean army and its functions. There was a failure to see that the creation of an alternative apparatus based on

the workers and peasants was of vital importance if the bourgeoisie was going to be defeated.

BOURGEOISIE

By the autumn of 1972, the bourgeoisie had mounted its offensive. It went on strike against the UP. Within a week, roads were blocked, production centres were abandoned, and transport was withdrawn. Faced with the life and death question of the organisation of production and distribution, the working class developed those organisations by which it could organise activities itself - the *Comités Industriales* (local workers action committees)

The owners' strike saw their development as an apparatus existing alongside the state, and capable of taking on more and more of the functions of the state and the ruling class. It was this increasing radicalisation that was posing problems for the right-wing inside the UP (i.e. the CP and the SP right), who wanted to return to the bourgeoisie the factories taken over by the workers during the 'strike of the bourgeoisie'.

DILEMMA

Faced with growing inflation, the public workers staged a strike for higher wages. The government branded them as 'agents of the right', like those who took part in the illegal occupations of the factories and the land. The left SP paper wrote: "It is us or the rich... There is going to be another bosses' strike, and the government is handing back the plants to the fascists

so that they can make another try... Either the drones are going to leave the honeycomb or they will come back to rule the country with blood and fire. The big problem is that we are in the plants and we are not going to give them back. The government said for us to make those plants produce, and we did, and now we are not going to give them back. What is the government going to do? Shoot us? They didn't drive the rich out of the enclaves where they were holding the trucks. Are they going to drive us government - supporters out of the plants? What a dilemma, Companero Presidente!"

The dilemma was answered by the UP : The leading naval and military chiefs were brought into the cabinet in an attempt to create stability and no doubt 'unify the nation'!

WORKERS DEFEND

On 29 June 1973, a coup was attempted. The most important feature of this abortive coup was the reaction it aroused in the working class. Factory occupations and a strengthening of the Cordones Industriales greeted the abortive uprising. Defence committees were strengthened and partially armed. However, it is important to note that the Chilean Workers' Union (CUT), dominated by the SP and CP, did not call a general strike and prepare the workers for struggle. While some independent initiatives outflanked the trade union and CP leaders, they were few and far be-

tween. Nearly a million workers marched on the evening of 29 June and demanded that Allende dissolve parliament and execute the plotters. This was not done. The government adopted a fatalistic attitude coupled with a naive belief in the armed forces.

COUP

On 11 September, the Chilean military with the backing of all the ruling parties of the rich and the fascists, launched a coup d'etat. At the Moneda Palace, Salvador Allende refused to surrender or resign and chose to fight. His last message, dictated as he was firing at the attackers was : "That is how we write the first page of this history. My people and Latin America will write the rest." A few minutes later he was machine - gunned to death.

CHILE TODAY

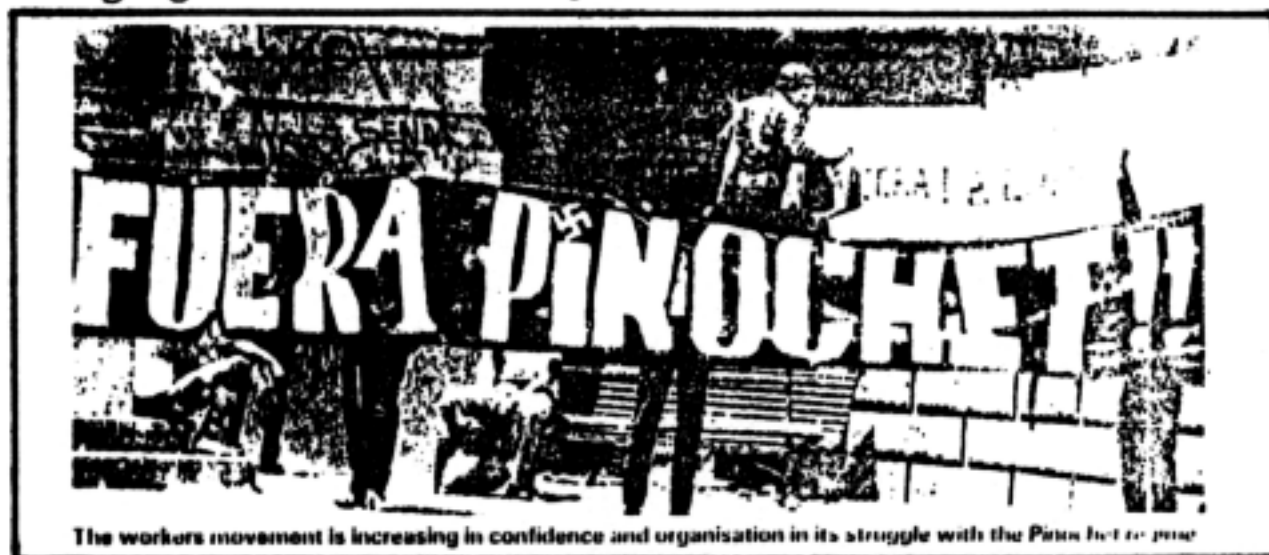
Today, Chile shows all the symptoms of a society in terminal decay. Homelessness has now reached a staggering one third of the population. There are three or four families living in one small shack. Diseases such as typhoid that were supposedly eradicated at the end of the last century have re-appeared. There has even been an outbreak of gangrene in the hospi-

tals. In the shanty towns, the level of poverty has reached tremendous proportions. Unemployment among the youth sometimes reaches 90% in certain areas. The willingness to struggle by the workers and youth in Chile continues. Very often barricades are set up, and demonstrations occur. In the past year, 750 000 people have been arrested.

LESSONS

The fatal mistake the UP made was to believe that socialism could be brought about through parliament. The old state machinery - in particular the army - was left intact when the UP came into power. Independent workers' organisations were discouraged. Thus when the rich and powerful in Chile felt that Allende's reforms had gone far enough, a vestive military was ready to unleash the bloodbath of 11 September 1973.

In our country, people under the guise of a broad anti - apartheid front are leaving the door open to an alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie. We have seen the treachery of the capitalists over and over again. Let us not also learn the hard way!



The workers movement is increasing in confidence and organisation in its struggle with the Pinochet regime

anti-pacism·DOD·pacism

"Words are like money. They can easily be counterfeited. We must distinguish the true ones from the false."

The recent debate caused by the terms 'non-racialism' and 'anti-racism' in the new trade union federation unity talks has prompted the writing of this article. We emphasise from the outset that we believe that the words or terms used are not as important as the political content that is given to them and the practical manner in which they are implemented.

Those organisations within the liberation movement who used to put forward the view that South Africa is a 'multi-racial' country composed of four 'races' no longer do so for the same reasons as the conservative and liberal ruling-class theorists. They have begun to speak more and more of building a 'non-racial' South Africa. The term 'non-racial' however, has a multiplicity of interpretations and has been widely used by organisations in the broad liberatory movement. On the one hand, an organisation like the UDF, purporting to be 'non-racial', asserts the existence of four so-called 'races' or 'nations' and actually organises on an ethnic basis, hence TIC, NIC, etc. It has become fashionable to intone the words 'a non-racial democratic South Africa' as a kind of open sesame that permits one to enter the 'hallowed' portals of

the 'progressive democratic movement'. It would thus be correct to say that the two terms, 'non-racial' and 'multi-racial' could be said to be synonymous. On the other hand, the term 'non-racial' is also used by organisations like SACOS for example, whose interpretation is acceptable in that it involves the total rejection of the concept 'race', denies the existence of 'races' and in turn opposes all actions, practices and policies based on the concept of 'race'.

It is clear then that if in practice and in theory, we believe that South Africa is inhabited by four so-called 'races', we are still trapped in multi-racialism and thus in racialism. We make it clear that we believe in the existence of only one race - the human race.

Non-racialism, meaning the denial of the existence of 'race', leads on to anti-racism which goes beyond this in that it not only involves the denial of 'race', but also opposes the capitalist structures for the perpetuation of which the ideology and theory of 'race' exist. In other words, we are living in an exploitative society and apartheid or racism exists merely to enhance greater exploitation.

There are, however, certain organisations in the liberation movement who view the concept 'anti-racism' as being exclusively black i.e.

that the struggle for liberation can only be waged by black people (in the South African context, black people are those who are politically, economically and socially oppressed). Anti-racism is clearly not the equivalent of black and serious dangers are posed by 'black exclusivity' in that it focuses primarily on national oppression. Class exploitation which is at the root of the system, is not given the priority it deserves. It is not correct to say that all blacks are workers, similarly it is not correct to say that all whites are oppressors.

However, one CANNOT ignore national oppression in our country. The reality is that we do presently have a system of racial capitalism, and that the majority of workers are black. It is also a reality that the majority of white workers in the country do have a vested interest in the status quo and as such, cannot be viewed as allies of the revolutionary working class in the short or medium term.

Thus when we emphasise the leadership of the black working class, we are merely relating to the most oppressed and exploited sector of the working class. By virtue of their class and national position, they are the class who have the most to gain and the least to lose in a socialist revolution. This is why they must be the vanguard of the struggle, and not for any romantic or racist reasons.

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, 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.

For Susan van Wyk, a twenty-one year old factory worker killed by a shotgun blast fired by a soldier in Kasselsvlei Road, Bellville, Cape Town - August 1985.

They are not only roots beneath the bloodstained stones, not only do their poor demolished bones definitively till the soil, but their mouths still bite dry rock and attack like granite mountains, and still their upraised fists deny death

Their lives and pride remain:
Her laughter flashed in the sweaty workshop
Her steps going to work sounded at my side each day
I have seen her heart flame with fire and energy.

There is in our hearts so much mourning and so much death
that it is like a forest
drenched by the blood that killed our sister's smiles.



Susan van Wyk

Put aside your mantles of mourning, join all your tears until you make them metal: for there we strike by day and by night, there we kick by day and by night, until the doors of hatred fall!

And you the carrion crow, the murderers, the carriers of misery and wholesale merchants who peddle grief, Jackals that the jackal would spurn, stones that the dry thistle would bite spitting, vipers that vipers would abhor!

Facing you I have seen the blood of Azania rise up to drown you in a single wave of pride and knives.

Look at our dilapidated homes
look at our broken lives
from each raging house comes burning metal
instead of flowers
from each dead child comes a gun with eyes,
from each crime are born bullets that will one day seek in you where the heart lies

You have dared to ruffle my sister's hair
You will pay!

write to us

any COMPLAINTS?



any IDEAS?



any LETTERS?



any HELPING-HANDS?



Issued and Published by ACTION YOUTH

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2017