



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

September 1989

ACTION YOUTH STATEMENT ON THE ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION.

Comrades

We in Action Youth, a Socialist Youth Movement with a presence nationally, endorse and commit ourselves to unite with any genuine attempt to fight against apartheid. We believe that the struggle against apartheid cannot be divorced from the struggle against exploitation of labour- the root cause of all the misery and suffering that confronts us the oppressed people today.

Presently, the majority of people in our country i.e. the working people, are faced with the most repressive laws and attempts to turn back the hard-won gains made in our struggle. The Labour Relations Amendment Act hangs like a sword over the heads of organised labour. Rent, transport and food increases are the order of the day. People and organisations continue to be restricted and banned.

This is the time, more than ever before, where the unity between the oppressed and exploited is vital, in order to confront our common enemy.

This unity is necessary and should be done democratically and in the long-term interest of the Working Class. Various organisations in the Liberation Movement may not agree completely with each other, but this should not stand in the way of a United Front and a common defence against the State and Capital, let us not allow any bosses or collaborators to upset these plans for unity.

In spite of the euphoria created around the question of a negotiated settlement, the lesson of our past struggles teaches us that there are no short-cuts to liberation. We therefore feel that unity amongst organisations of the oppressed and exploited must be created now in order to defend our gains and strengthen us in our battles ahead.

The Secretariat
Action Youth.



BUILD UNITY!

- ANC GUIDELINES
- COSATU CONGRESS
- ANTI-COLONIALIST OR ANTI-CAPITALIST
- PHOLA PARK SQUATTERS
- CHINA
- DIALECTICS
- WORKERS SUMMIT
- UPINGTON

U P S C O

Upington Support Committee

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The success of this campaign is dependent on a UNITED call stretching across all tendencies of religion, ideology, and community organisations and we appeal to you to inform this office of all your activities and publicity campaigns so that we can present a united front.

PABALLELO-UPINGTON

Gruesome events are taking place in the Northern Cape town of Upington. On May 26, 14 residents of Paballelo township were sentenced to hang for the murder of a municipal policeman, Lucas Sethwala, in 1985. The only woman to be condemned is 60 year-old Evelina de Bruin, a mother of ten children. Also among the 14 is her 63 year old husband Gideon Madlongolwane, a former mayor of Paballelo. The 14 were condemned through the "common purpose" doctrine a vicious legal ploy by means of which a whole crowd could be sentenced to death (by association) for a death which occurs in their midst.

POLICEMAN

This agonising trial, which started in October 1986, has called a 153 witnesses, and its the first time so many people have been sentenced to death in a single South African trial. And yet when an Oudtshoorn riot policeman was found guilty of the murder of Sandkraal resident Andile Koba in a police station early this year, he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment! Such is South African justice. In what has been termed an "act of mercy", Mr Justice Basson gave six of the original 26 Paballelo accused suspended sentences with 1200 hours of community service for the next 40 months. Two others were sentenced to eight years



and four to six years in jail. But when the six freed trialists attempted to come to Cape Town to address a public meeting as part of the campaign to free their fellow prisoners, they were stopped by police from leaving the township. And today the schools in Paballelo - where students are united in their conviction that the charges should be dropped - are under siege.

EXPELLED

On May 22 the whole

standard 8 class at Paballelo High was expelled by the DET (Department of Education and Training), and given 14 days to sign conditions to be readmitted. On June 6, the situation got worse, when the whole school, except matriculants, got letters to say they must leave. Last Friday, five matric students were expelled, and a few students were readmitted. "The boycott is on the side of the DET," said one of the students.

SJAMBOKS.

" Police are harrasing us and beating people with sjamboks here in Paballelo. And nine students have been charged with malicious damage to property. They have laid a charge of assault against the police,"he said. Such educational problems are not new to Paballelo. This year, all the matric students who were doing Physics and Geography had to repeat the year. The DET had lost their exam papers!

But the students did not sit back and mope in the face of all these obstacles. " We formed an organisation called Mayibuye, with former students and young workers," said our comrade. " We are closely alligned to SOYA (Students of Young Azania), where we learnt our politics."

Many SOYA and Mayibuye members have been detained, harrassed and tortured in Paballelo, after a community marh and students boycott when the trial reopened.

RESTRICTIONS.

" Edward Prusent and his brother Elliot were given very harsh restrictions when they were released from detention - not being allowed to leave home except to report to the police station twice a day, not being allowed to participate in SOYA activities, or to speak to more than three people at a time. " Daniel Toms another SOYA comrade, was banished from Paballelo and Upington because the police accused him of being the main organiser of the march, even though he was not in Upington at the time."

'STATE TERRORISM' IN CAPE TOWN.

This was the view of some people who witnessed the violence meted out to demonstrators protesting against the elections. Hundreds of people were injured and at least over twenty killed. Among those injured were over thirty children between the ages of 3-13 years who had birdshot and buckshot wounds. A three year old had nine pieces of birdshot in her skull. Here we print eye-witness accounts by relatives, friends and bystanders of the horror surrounding the killings.

1. *Mrs Cornelia Otto of Kalksteefontein*, said her teenage daughter who was five months pregnant had gone to visit her friend. " When she came out of the house, she didn't see the police. One of the policeman walked up to her and shot her dead. The bullet went through her chest, opening up a hole in her back"

2. *Schoolboy Pedro Page (18) of Fairmont Senior Secondary School, Grassy Park*, was visiting relations on Wednesday night with a friend. His friend Farouk Viljoen, said he saw a Casspir in the street discharging teargas and rubber bullets. "I looked at the Casspir to see if they were still firing when a yellow bakkie stopped. A guy jumped out and fired into the

crowd where there were small children and mothers with babies. When I turned around I saw people on the ground. I saw Pedro lying on the ground. I later learnt that he died. He had been shot in the head."

3. *Nomthunzi Moshabelele (5)* was killed in Khayelitsha after a gunman in a car was seen firing indiscriminately by eye witness Iris Jantjies. Mrs Jantjies said she picked up bullets in the road , but these were confiscated by the police."You can't hear the bullets in town, so I wanted to keep the bullets as my witness. There were children lying on the floor like flies."

4. *Leonard Rass (13)*, a mentally retarded boy from Eros school, was killed by a

shotgun. Pastor Isaac Pitt of Kleinvlei said he saw a crowd of people at the polling booth. " I saw police fire at random. The crowd turned and fled in all directions. One person was lying on the ground. He had been shot in the back. A number of people were injured."

5. *Woodlands resident Desiree Anders* said " Several men were standing in the road and wildly firing shotguns at a crowd of people running in the direction of our house. My boyfriend screamed at them to stop shooting because my daughter was standing in the doorway ... my child went down and they continued to shoot."

Workers Summit

Delegates from NACTU, COSATU and unaffiliated unions met on the 26th and 27th of August. The summit was marked by a heavy police presence. Police videoed the meeting and placed restrictions. Nonetheless, the summit continued. The following resolutions were passed:

Resolution 1. Campaign against the LRA.

1 This workers summit noting:

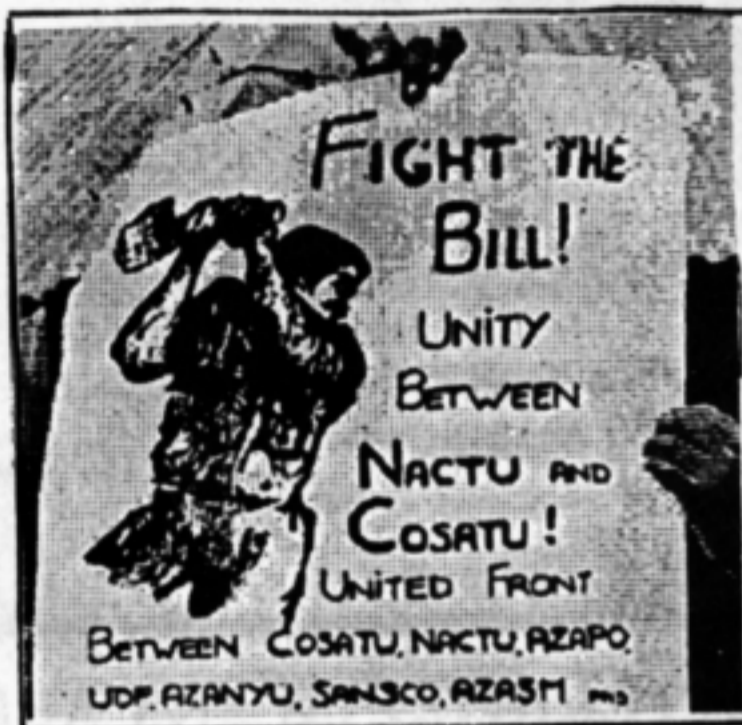
1. The report received on:
 - 1.1. The LRAA Campaign
 - 1.2. The response of the members and the conclusions of the ballots.
 - 1.3. The meetings held with the employers and the recommendations made.

2. Having assessed the reports received in group discussions.

3. That SACCOLA and other employers continue to delay negotiations on the demands of the unions.
4. That employers have continued to use the offensive clauses to undermine the rights workers have negotiated and fought for over the years.
5. That the apartheid state is committed to a campaign to harass the militant trade union movement in an attempt to curb our activities.

**NOW THEREFORE
RESOLVES THAT:**

1. We continue to mount a campaign of non-violent peaceful protest against the LRAA.
2. Summit has formulated a programme of sustained peaceful action against the LRA until our demands are met.



3. Summit agrees to continue negotiations with the employers.
 4. Summit continue report backs to our members at local, regional and national structures of our organisations.
 5. To monitor the progress made with the employer organisations and make appropriate decisions regarding future action from time to time.
- 27th August 1989



Resolution 2. September Elections.

Noting that the 6 September represents the continued repression of the oppressed and exploited.

Noting further that community and political organisations are likely to take action against the racist elections.

RESOLVES:

That constituent members of this workers summit seek an urgent consultation to formulate a joint programme of action in opposition to state repression.

That consultations should be with all political and community organisations.

Resolution 3. Working Class Unity.

This summit commits itself to build working class unity and resolves therefore that:

1. Discussions take place in industrial sectors at local and regional level to discuss building working class unity.
2. That the National Co-ordinating committee set objectives and deadlines and monitor progress to collate the discussions which take place and to call a workers summit focussing on building working class unity.



RESOLUTION 4 STATE REPRESSION AGAINST THE UNION MOVEMENT.

Noting that;

1. The Apartheid regime is committed to a brutal strategy of repression to smash the progressive forces including the trade union movement in our country.
2. The LRAA is part and parcel of this overall strategy of repression against the labour movement.
3. This repression is aimed at denying our people the freedom of association and expression in all spheres of their lives.
4. The notice published and executed against the summit is a blatant example of this action.

Therefore resolves;

1. That our members will continue to intensify our struggle against all forms of repression, exploitation and oppression from whatever source.
2. That workers will continue the campaign to scrap the LRAA, until our demands are met.
3. That we will continue to resist restrictions placed on our right to freedom of political association and expression through non-violent peaceful mass actions in whatever form our members deem fit to use.
4. That we will defend our organisations against all actions by the apartheid state and employers.
5. To campaign for the release of all detainees, political prisoners and the lifting of the state of

emergency and an immediate end to Apartheid execution of our patriots.

6. That the summit fully support all steps to unify the working class in our struggle for a democratic and united South Africa free from oppression and exploitation.
7. Summit declares for the S.A. government and the whole world to know that this regime is still determined to undermine and destabilise our right to speak and meet, and our right to organise.
8. That the organised workers in the unions present condemn the police presence, the monitoring of the summit and the videoing of the proceedings and continue to assert our right to meet and democratically decide on issues which affect our lives on a daily basis.

Action Youth Forums.

Action Youth has held forums where crucial questions and issues of the day are discussed. The topics covered so far were: Namibia- Independence or Neo-Colonialism, Kenny Abrahams from Namibia gave the keynote speech.

Working-class Unity- the struggle for Socialism, comrades from CCAWUSA and FBWU delivered input papers.

The forums have proved popular and lively-many hundreds of people have attended. We intend to have regular forums. We hope it will be a place where comrades can seriously and freely debate the burning issues of our struggle.



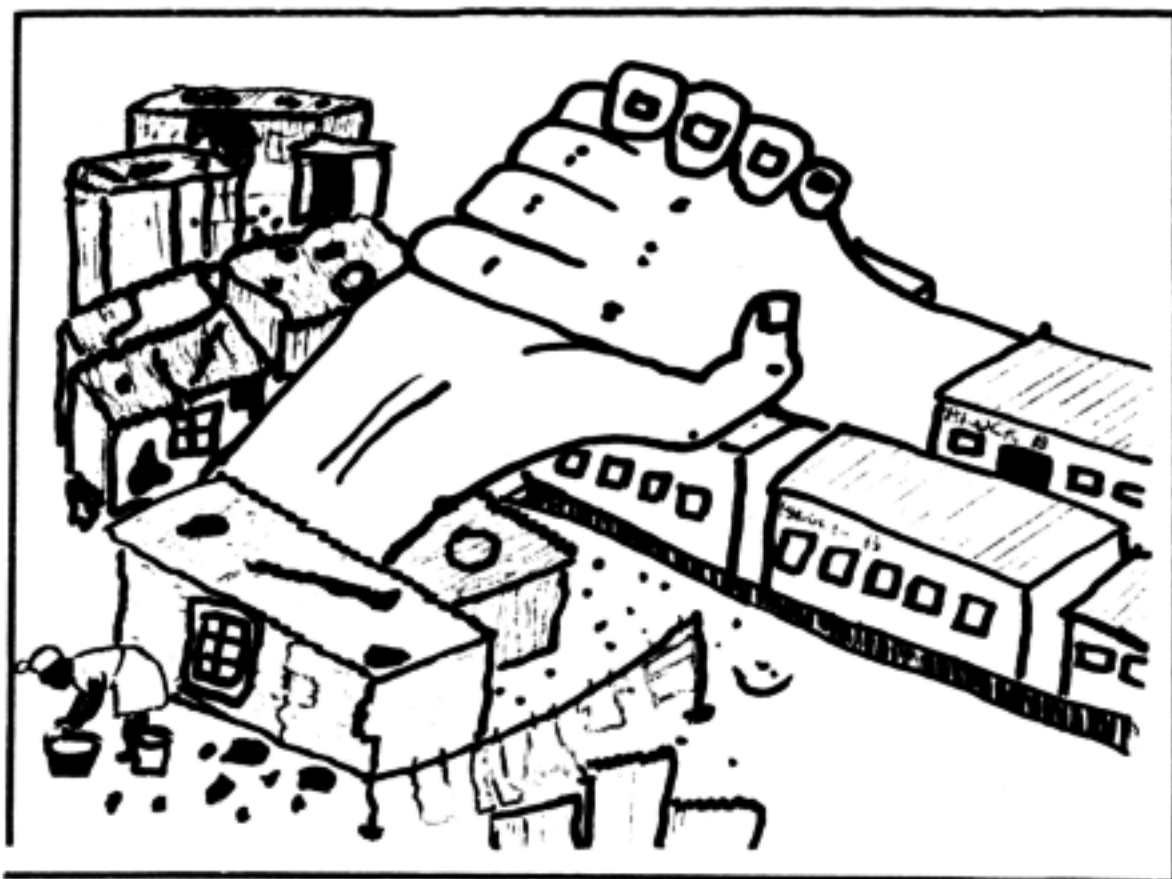
SQUATTER CAMP AND HOSTEL DWELLERS UNITE AND RESIST.

We at Phola Park, a squatter camp in Thokoza near Alberton, with a population of over 20 000, are under attack by the forces of oppression and exploitation.

Over the past few months we have been constantly raided. In the process over 800 shacks have been demolished. Scores of families do not have any shelter. The puppet councillors have said that we must move because the area is swampy. This area is rocky not swampy. We live here, we know. They are conducting their third raid in 6 months. Previously their excuse was that the area has been sold to industrial developers.

The councillors are now charging high rents. In this area with over 20 thousand people there is no water, toilets, streets, health centres, schools or even rubbish bins. What are we suppose to pay rent for? We get water from the nearby hostel toilets. These toilets are blocked and the pipes have burst. We have managed to raise money for a few portable toilets.

In June we recieved notices of rent increases of up to R50 a shack. Through our executive committee we contacted a legal advisor. As the executive was reporting back, the police arrived and arrested seven people. Their names are Meshack Tuswa, John Ndlovu, John



Ntombela, Mbuleli Benase, Simon Mjokwa, Sithembele Batalo and Philemon Zwane. The police claimed they were attending an illegal gathering and committing public violence.

They are forcing us to go and settle 25km away at Tamboekies. This we reject. We will end up paying three times more to reach our workplaces. The only water there, is from a polluted stream. The roads are uneven for a distance of 12km.

We on behalf of Phola Park residents want to thank the following organisations for

combining their forces with ours: Katlehong Youth Organisation, Thokoza Youth Congress, the SACC for providing bail money for the seven arrested comrades and Action Youth for sacrificing one of its legal advisors. Our struggle continues. We want to especially thank the socialist committed movement in the nearby hostels whose leadership is mainly made up of Action Youth members. This is their message:

"We are united as one with our Phola Park comrades.

CONT'D

Like them we live in miserable conditions while we enrich the capitalists. In the hostels, sewerage pipes which have burst months ago have not been repaired, refuse is not collected, there are broken windows everywhere, the water is cold and globes are never replaced. They do not supply coal and expect sixteen people to share a two plate stove after a long hardworking day. During half the week electricity is shut off without us being notified. Now they have increased our rent.

We constantly experience night raids by masked people looking for comrades and their leaders. We suspect these people of being members of a hit squad".



The system tries to divide us from our brothers and sisters in Phola Park. We say that, we, as the working class must unite and fight against our bad situation both where we live and where we work.

PHAMBILI
NGOKUNGAKHOKHI
UNITED WE
WILL BURY DIVISION
TOGETHER
WE WILL BUILD
SOCIALISM.



INDUSTRIAL AREA COMMITTEES FORMED

Over the past few months an encouraging development in the Transvaal has been the serious attempts at forming Industrial Area Committees. The aim of these committees is to initiate unity among working-class groups and co-ordinate their activities, both in the trade unions and in the community. These committees are not directly linked to any trade union federation

Already a few area committees are in operation. The Chamdor- Kagiso - Krugersdorp Area Committee and Dobsonville have had the most success. The Chamdor committee is made up of civic organisations, women and youth groups, as well as trade unions from both federations, Cosatu and Nactu.

Thus far the committee has played a crucial role in mobilising workers against the LRAA. It has embarked on an educational campaign in the township to highlight the dangers of the new LRAA. In addition, it has fought against the recent rent and service charges as well as the lack of electricity in the Kagiso area.

The non-sectarian attempt at uniting workers across federations and linking the problems of workers on the shopfloor with their problems in the community must be supported.



The workers' struggle marches
FORWARD

A.N.C. Guidelines

The A.N.C introduced its own grand plan for a new South Africa in October '88 in the form of its constitutional guidelines. This follows on their "preconditions" for negotiation with the South African government in 1987. During this period, a cross section of organisations and groups from S.A. have trekked to Lusaka for talks with the ANC. The list includes Cosatu and members of the "Mass Democratic Movement", IDASA, DP members, big business and some delegations even included members or supporters of the Ruling Nationalist Party.

On the homefront the situation has been one of continued repression. The state of emergency is extended, organisations and individuals restricted and the Labour Relations Admentment Act has come into effect. The question that begs an answer is why have these guidelines been unveiled against this backdrop. From some quarters it is argued that the working - class needs a respite from the present oppressive measures, and a way of achieving this is to enter into dicussion with a range of organisations - including those who are engaged in parliamentary politics. The purpose of this is to pressurise for a negotiated settlement. The preconditions for negotiations and the constitutional guidelines clearly indicates that the A.N.C is on this course.

To an extent the strategy seems to be working. Big business, the DP, Labour Party and Inkatha amongst other groups - are calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners (one of the A.N.C preconditions for



negotiations) and are presuring for talks with the A.N.C. They have all showed varying degrees of enthusiasm about the constitutional guidelines - as the beginning of a new era in South African politics. Most also applauded the PW - Mandela meeting as a step in the right direction.

What do the guidelines mean for the working class? None of the clauses even suggest an end to the exploitation of labour and a restructuring of society that will benefit all. Instead it calls for the participation in a capitalist state on the terms

of the capitalists. Some of the main clauses for workers are:

1. We shall have a mixed economy with a public sector, a co - operative sector, and a small scale family sector.

A " mixed economy" may sound like a good compromise between (two) opposing class force. Yet most capitalist countries , some more than others have a mixed economy. Britain has a mixed economy, so does South Africa at present .In South Africa some companies are not owned by private capitalists, but by the



state, examples are SATS, ISKOR and ARMSKOR . As we know, this does not mean that workers control these companies. Even if workers genuinely controlled in some companies, there will be immense problems.

Let us look at examples- If some of the economy was "Socialist" and some of it "Capitalist" it would mean, for example, that OK Bazaars and Checkers would be run by democratically elected workers' committees which would decide on wages, what to keep in stock and what to do with profits. Meanwhile Pick 'n Pay and Metro would remain in the hands of capitalists who would continue to exploit those workers and pay them less than a living wage.

It would mean that half the mines in South Africa would be taken over by workers and the other half would still be happily in the control of the chamber of mines, or half the metal factories would be taken over by the metalworkers and the rest owned by Anglo American. Could such a situation last? Would the workers who are still exploited not call on their comrades who have already got control over their workplace for support in their struggle against the bosses? Would these workers not also want to take control like the workers in the socialist 'half' of the economy? And would the bosses sit back and allow the revolutionary example of worker-owned shops, mines and factories to continue with all that wealth out of their reach? Definitely not!

.Given the resources of the capitalist at present, Bosses will be in complete control of a "mixed economy" on the basis of supply and demand, and continued capital accumulation. The working class demand remains, complete control of the means of production, distribution and exchange and not a "section of the economy" as suggested, as this will only lead to a total reclaiming of the economy by the capitalists in the long term.

which help the capitalists to continue to exploit workers. Workers through their struggles have already

won the right to strike, despite the state of emergency and attacks by the state. Workers do not need to be "given" this right by anyone

Conclusion

So we see that these guidelines are not guidelines for the working class,,



2. " A charter protecting worker's Trade union rights, especially the right to strike, and collective bargaining shall be incorporated into the constitution."

In 1979 black workers gained the right to legally form trade unions, as well as the right to strike. We have seen what this has meant for workers. It has not stopped the bosses from firing and victimising workers. There are still many legal controls over strikes

SOCIALISM CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED because the bosses are not going to be talked into kindly giving away their companies to their workers, and their police and army are not going to be talked into quietly going away to look for jobs so that they can be replaced by a workers police and army.

But we should not be surprised that the A.N.C is proposing a capitalist future for S.A. The A.N.C has never

CONT'D

claimed to be a socialist party and has made a big effort to reassure imperialism and South African capitalists that they can save capitalism for them from a workers revolution. That is what they are telling the groups of liberals who are visiting them in Harare, Lusaka and London. That is also why countries like Russia and Western capitalism like Britain and America are in such a hurry for a so - called "negotiated settlement". This is what Oliver Tambo told the British capitalists in 1985 when they asked him if the A.N.C planned to destroy capitalism:

" No we do not want to destroy it. The Freedom Charter does not even propose to want to destroy the capitalist system. All the

Freedom Charter does is to envisage a mixed economy in which part of the economy, some of the

industries, would be controlled, owned by the state (as happens in many countries) and the rest by private ownership - a mixed economy."

We need our own guide to action, a **SOCIALIST PROGRAMME OF ACTION** and our own **METHODS OF STRUGGLE** - mass meeting, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations etc. But all our criticism of populism is useless, unless they take an organised form. To carry our struggle forward we need our own leadership and not just in our own union.

We need to unite socialist workers in all unions as well as outside the unions.



Communist Party Members Reinstated.

In 1937 three members of the Communist Party of South Africa were charged with "counter revolutionary" activity and called Trotskyites. These comrades went to Russia to argue their case. Here, two of them were executed in 1938 and the third sent to a labour camp where he died in 1941. The two who were executed were cde P Richter and cde M Richter. Cde Lazar

Bach was reported to have died in a labour camp of "natural causes". Today the Soviet authorities say the executions and the banishment to a labour camp was a mistake. They say it was as a result of false evidence extracted from them.

The South African Communist Party, at its 7th congress earlier this year, agreed with the Soviet authorities and decided to reinstate the three as members of the SACP.

This sad incident exposes the brutal, undemocratic nature of Stalinism. It does not help these comrades to be reinstated in their death. Like them thousands of genuine socialists throughout

the world were slandered and murdered by these Stalinists. What is worse, is that these murders were committed in the name of Socialism! We want to know how the "false evidence" was extracted! If those who were responsible, as well as their heirs, want to come clean, they must tell us.

Was it really natural causes that cde Lazar died of, three years after his arrest? The South African regime also

claimed that a number of political prisoners have died of "natural causes", but we have our suspicions.

We are encouraged by the SACP's self criticism, even if it is over 50 years after the incident and even if they still haven't provided all the facts. The lesson must be learnt, history will catch up with those inside or outside the liberation movement who use undemocratic methods in their work.

OUR STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

UNITY AMONG COMMERCIAL AND CATERING WORKERS?

The Cosatu leadership has seemingly acknowledged that its support for the minority Chaterist group in Ccawusa, also called the Papi Kganare group, worsened rather than resolved the disunity in Ccawusa. Cosatu at its recent congress allocated the Kganare group 47 delegates out of a total of 148 delegates for this sector. The Cosatu congress also decided that an interim unity executive of 6 people from each group should be formed in this sector. Four people from Cosatu should mediate with the understanding that they should maintain strict neutrality.

National conference

This situation will last until a national conference is called in November. It is not clear whether the national conference would be held along democratic propotional representation or it will be equal representation. This has been a bone of contention in the past. Meanwhile HARWU (Hotel and Rest Workers Union) and the Papi Kganare group are locked in serious conflict. According to newspaper reports at least one HARWU executive member was severely assaulted. HARWU has accused the Papi Kganare group of thuggery, stalinism, misuse of funds and theft of equipment. HARWU feels that Cosatu should recognise the catering industry (Hotels and restuarants) as a separate industrial sector and all catering workers from different unions should form a new industrial union in Cosatu.



MOBIL and CWIU

The 2 month old disinvestment dispute has been resolved. Mobil has agreed upon a R6,5 million payout to the workers. Each worker will be granted R2000. Local Mobil management also undertook to set up a meeting with a senior Mobil Corporation (US) executive to discuss CWIU's remaining demands for a copy of the agreement of sale in Gencor and for the setting up of a trust fund to finance social project.

The union said it did not regard the settlement as a perfect outcome, but that it did, however, represent a major advance in its attempts to have a say over terms of disinvestments.

It was noted that there would be no retrenchments for one year and no adverse changes to conditions of employment and that Gencor had undertaken to uphold Mobil's agreement with the union.



VICTORY FOR JOSHUA DOORE WORKERS !

The recent spate of strikes by Ccawusa largely in the Transvaal region clearly shows that Ccawusa members remain among the most militant workers in the country.

By far the longest and most vicious strike in terms of police harrasment was the Joshua Doore furniture group strike. The strike by over 2000 workers was around the retrenchment of close to 500 workers. While management on the one hand relied heavily on the police (close to 100 workers arrested) they have also been caught out in the use of Trevor Tutu and Yusuf Surtee.

Yusuf Surtee a director of Surtee's clothing stores shot into prominence by being accused of assisting the UDF, securing money from Chris Ball a former director of the First National Bank. Surtee tried to persuade a union organiser to stop the strike. Surtee showed the unionist letters from Cde Mandela and others in the liberation struggle. The union correctly viewed this as intimidation.

J.D. group made up of Bradlows, Price 'n Pride, Score and Joshua Doore last year had a turnover of R400 million and operating profits of R50 million. The union believe the group is large enough to absorb the

retrenched workers. They point out that since the retrenchment J.D. has employed many white staff. Besides the use of the police J.D. has also tried other dirty tricks - they have tried to declare the strike illegal at the industrial council but failed, they have now locked out workers from many stores taking advantage of the cold weather. This action places the pickets which are limited to 2-3 per store (according to the strike rules) under strain. As soon as there are more than 3 workers outside the store, management summons the police and cries intimidation. Despite the harrasment workers remain determine. A support committee has been formed. The union has encouraged organisations and individuals to attend the support committee meetings at 142 Kerk street J.H.B. In a pamphlet issued about the strike the union says in their words "turn adversity into fortune". Initially the company patronisingly gave workers a chance to start their own businesses by getting them into contact with organisations like Get Ahead

Foundation Job creation and the Small Business Development Foundation. This attempts to channel workers to support 'Free Enterprise' was rejected by the workers and the union.

Besides creating untold misery for the 500 workers the retrenchment is also a great insult to the black community which constitutes a major market for the furniture sold at Joshua Doore.

We call on the workers at Joshua Doore, Price 'n Pride, Bradlows and Score to remain united through our difficult times. We call on the community to support our fight against retrenchment.

**CAPITALISM CREATES
RETRENCHMENT !!
PHANSI CAPITALISM
FORWARD TO SOCIALISM**

As we go to print Ccawusa and the Joshua Doore. Groups have reached an agreement. All 500 workers will be reinstated at a rate of at least 25 per month. This is a victory for the workers brought about through hard work and militancy.

We salute the members of Ccawusa.

**WORKERS VICTORY IS
CERTAIN.**

COSATU Congress

Cosatu held its third National Congress between the 12th and 15th July. There were 1875 delegates representing 921 497 workers from 16 unions. The major issues discussed at the Congress were the L.R.A. campaign, peace in Natal, the negotiated settlement, and an anti-apartheid coalition.



In this article we focus on the last two issues which generated the most discussion. Even before the issue of negotiations was discussed Cde Barayi began his presidential address the previous day by giving De Klerk "six months to negotiate with the ANC". This remark was given prominence in the capitalist media. A delegate from Numsa questioned Cde Barayi about his statement and asked that it be retracted as the issue of negotiations was not yet discussed. Cde Barayi responded by saying that he does not feel obliged to retract as it was a personal remark made in his personal capacity.

Ccawusa which could not put forward any resolutions unless there was consensus from all sides in the commercial and catering sector (this decision was made by the resolutions committee of Cosatu) nonetheless took part in the debate. A delegate from the "Mtwawing" (the Mtwawing had 80 delegates while the Papi Kganare or "Charterist" wing had 47 delegates) received wide support from rank - file

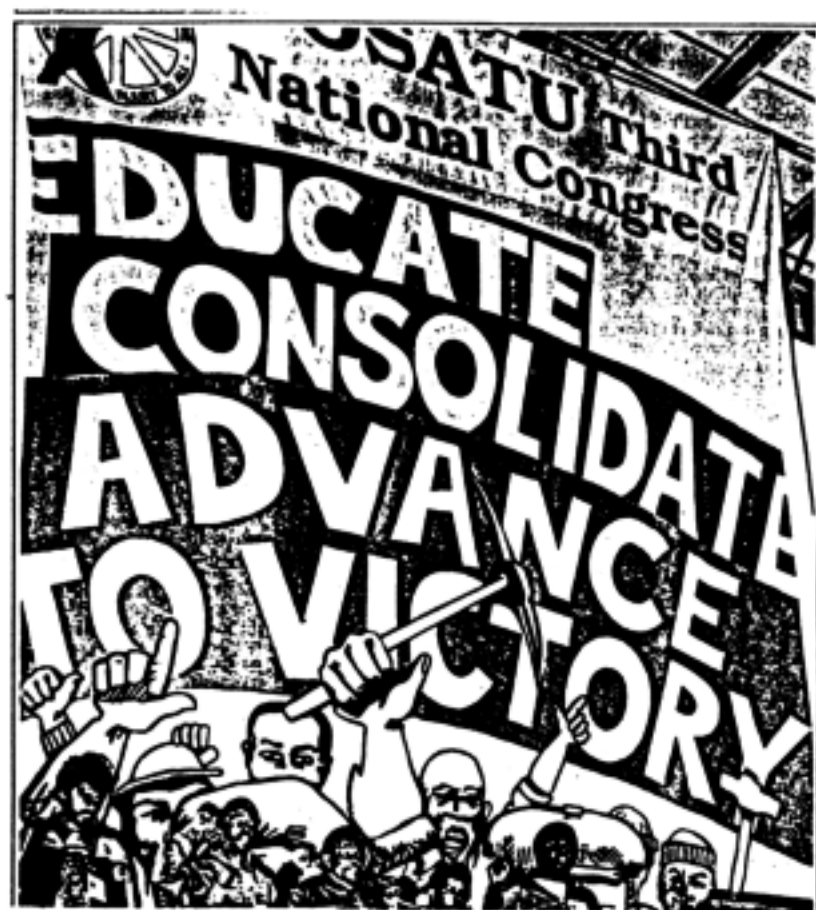
delegates when he put forward his position. The following is a summary of what he said "

"The interest of the capitalists and the interest of the working-class are irreconcilable. The move towards a negotiated settlement is a strategy to ensure the survival of the capitalist system in South Africa. Socialism cannot be achieved through any negotiated settlement with capitalism and the regime. A negotiated settlement will result in a major defeat for the struggle for Socialism led by the working-class"

The CCAWUSA delegate called on the congress to oppose any secret or open negotiations with capitalists and the regime. "Rather" he said "what is needed is to formulate and practically implement a programme for Socialism.",

A number of unions notably CAWU, NUM, NEHAWU and FAWU responded by saying that they had no problems with negotiations as long as certain conditions were laid down. The following day a speech was read out by Cde Mohamed Valli Moosa ex-executive member of the UDF. This speech emphasised the need for a negotiated settlement but stressed that the anti-apartheid forces must be strengthened across class lines in order for them to be in a bargaining position. He also called on the regime to create the right climate for negotiations.

During the debate on resolutions a Numsa resolution was passed with amendments from CWIU. The resolution reads:



NUMSA Resolution on political settlement.

1. To reject any attempt to impose reformist solutions which do not address our fundamental social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa.

2. That there can be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to such negotiations is unilaterally created by the S.A. regime by fulfilling the following conditions;

2.1 Unconditional unbanning of all banned organisations.

2.2 Unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners.

2.3 Unconditional return of all exiles.

2.4 Confinement of SAP/SADF to barracks.

2.5 Lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of security legislation.

2.6 The end of all political trails and executions.

3. To call upon frontline states, OAU and all international forums to increase pressure on the regime to meet the above requirements so that a climate conducive to negotiation prevails.

4. To ensure in the event of negotiations taking place that the masses of our people are involved in shaping the process so that no negotiations can take place

without the democratic participation of the people.

5. That only a sovereign body mandated by the people as a whole can have the authority to develop a new constitution and decide on the method of implementation.



6. To avoid any settlement being imposed on the masses the MDM should initiate discussion aimed at developing a common position.

7. To reiterate our demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa based on one person one vote.



ANTI- APARTHEID COALITION

This debate was kicked off by a Numsa delegate who passionately put forward a position that an anti-apartheid coalition is a necessity but that such a coalition should not include the likes of Gavin Relly from

Anglo American, Zac de Beer from the Democratic Party and Van Zyl Slabbert from IDASA.

He went to on to call for a united front of working class forces across ideological lines. Comrades from FAWU, CAWU and the unemployed committee objected by stating that we are involved in a two stage struggle and at this point we are in a national democratic phase where we need to build a broad front against apartheid, regardless of class. CWIU disagreed and questioned those who talked of inviting a capitalist like Gavin Relly. The curious response that was given by none other than Cde Cyril Ramaphosa from NUM was that in Relly's capacity as a representative from big business he should not be invited but perhaps if he belongs to a church structure and if he is sent as a delegate then he should be welcomed.

A delegate from the MDM (mostly ex- UDF comrades who were granted speaking rights) was called to give the MDM's position. This position corresponded with the view given by FAWU, NUM, CAWU and the unemployed workers union. A Cawusa delegate felt that capitalists and liberal are the working classes enemies. He stressed that they have shown no weakness in using every weapon handed to them by the state in bashing unions. He said that the first loyalty of capitalists is to the maintenance of a society where the accumulation of capital is guaranteed, where profitability is high.



cont'd



That is why the delegate said " attempts to use the bosses against the government's labour bill proved such a failure ". The Ccawusa member recalled Jay Naidoo's report which called for creating divisions amongst the ruling class but took issue with the view that these divisions can be created through alliances. It will be by largely increasing the struggle against apartheid-capitalism that real divisions amongst the ruling classes will appear. The delegate rounded off by calling for alliances with all those who are anti-capitalists and who are not part of

government structures. He felt that the convening of such coalition should be none-secretarian, along the lines of the workers summit.

NUM resolution on the Anti-Apartheid Conference.

Therefore resolves:

1. To reconvene the AAC by not later than October this year;
2. That such a Conference draw in all forces that are opposed to apartheid.
3. To develop a unifying perspective around the demands for:
 - 3.1 one person one vote in a democratic and unitary South Africa free from racism;
 - 3.2 the unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations.

3.3 an end to the State of Emergency and all other forms of repression.

3.4 freedom of press, political association and other political expression.

4. While COSATU and the UDF are to play a leading role in such a coalition we must draw in and involve from the beginning all major forces.

5. To this extent, we should establish a convening committee representing the major social forces who shall immediately start making plans for the process leading to the Anti-Apartheid Conference and after.

6. That all organisations in such a AAC shall retain their own autonomy and decision making structures but be united by the perspective arising out of the Conference.

SCHOOLS - ACTION AGAINST THE ELECTIONS

A week before the September 6th General elections, a meeting was held where representatives from schools in the Johannesburg area decided on a one week protest action against the elections.

On Monday 4th high school students staged a placard demonstration along Maraisburg road in Bosmont, calling for a no vote. This action was repeated along Main Road, Eldorado Park.

Two teachers and a number of students were arrested. In both Bosmont and Eldorado Park, police used tear-smoke to disperse the demonstrators. All the students were released on the same day, and the teachers were released on Friday the 8th. In Lenasia demonstrations went ahead

with minimal police intervention.

This action by thousands of students is a clear indication that they are once again consolidating and organising themselves after State repression took its toll on student's structures over the past few years. It is only consistent follow-up by activists in the schools that will ensure that the basic awareness achieved through the anti-election actions is transformed into solid gains. This show of unity by students is an important

foundation on which to build stronger SRC and solid Parent-Teachers-Student associations. Students must also continue to link struggles nationally, as is the case with the Uppington Support Committee (UPSCO). Once again, it is vital to stress that students must support, in a disciplined way, working class struggles and campaigns. This can be done in a number of ways. Immediately, what comes to mind, is strengthening support committees which assist striking workers.

This fact in one way or another effects all our ideas or values in life. This is true of all classes that make up society. Conflicts in most cases relate then to the spoils of labour.

CAPITAL

Secondly one needs at all times to view the world, conflicts, problems from the points of view of the whole. In much the same way we look at a painting. One stands back from it and gains an overall impression of the artist's work. One may then go closer and look at some aspect which has caught our eye, realising however that it is still part of the picture. In this manner we look at the whole world and see that Capitalism dominates everywhere. From this view it is easy to see that all problems such as wars, poverty, racism, sexism, destruction of the environment, relate back along one path or another to the system of Capitalism.

EVERYTHING CHANGES

Thirdly everything is in process of change, nothing stays the same. People are born, experience youth, maturity and finally death. Likewise hunter gatherer society gave way to class society, in which, feudalism gave way to capitalism. Capitalism which had a beginning will by the same logic sooner or later have an end.

CONTRADICTIONS

Many people, the world over are involved in opposition to their rulers and are seeking change. In South Africa this opposition is to Apartheid - Capitalism. People seek to change their present

conditions of life to a better one. Dialectics is an understanding of the general laws which govern this process of change or potential for change.

In the language of dialectics the essence of these laws is "Development through Contradictions".

Society only changes as a result of contradictions inside it. It is these contradictions surfacing in conflict between people and classes that moves history forward. Looking now at a concrete example one will be able to see the three aspects of dialects at work in understanding the forces at work in moving history forward.

(1) SIMPLE UNITY

This is when we see the objects or society before any change takes place.

For example Apartheid-Capitalism. This is a class society in which one class exploits another. These two classes are inseparable under Capitalism./In other words you cannot have a racist capitalist without a black worker and likewise black workers created the power of white capital. They are locked together in one system.

(2) THE NEGATION

Now the opposite of a racist capitalist is a black worker in every sense of the word. This is when we see the object or society give rise to its opposite or contradiction. The capitalist is rich the worker is poor. The capitalist are few in number, the black working class is large in number. The capitalist exploits, the worker is exploited. The capitalist uses the rod of racism; Apartheid, the black worker has

consistently fought against Apartheid and all forms of oppression. The South African system produces its own gravedigger the Black working class. The fact that the capitalist and the worker are the opposite of one another continually throws them into conflict with each other. From the workers side, conflict is expressed in terms of Trade union activity, strikes, demonstrations etc. The conflict is called class-truggle and is the motor of history.

(3) THE NEGATION OF THE NEGATION.

This is when we see the opposites, or contradiction resolved into a greater unity. This is then in terms of our example is when the heart of the matter, exploitation which is the root of conflict is done away with. In other words when workers through revolutionary social changes create Socialism. The greater unity in this sense is the unity of the means of production created under the law of capital but now controlled by the workers themselves.

The last point of the dialectical process stresses that quantity changes into quality. In the course of struggle the working class is in the process of emancipating itself. It is changing from a downtrodden mass, full of divisions, to a collective in full command. When this happens the future of Humankind liberated, can fully partake in determining its future.

In understanding how things can change, we are in a much better position to fight against the oppression and exploitation we experience.

CHINA

For almost three months this year, China, where one fourth of the world's population lives, shook the world. We heard of a million people in the streets protesting against corruption and the Chinese Communist Party. Slogans carried by protestors demanded democracy and an end to the rule of the CCP's 84 year leader Deng Xiaoping. In June the army tanks moved in to smash the protestors. Amidst the singing by the protestors of the Internationale (the international workers song) hundreds of students and workers were shot, bayoneted or run over by the tanks. Estimates of the number killed varies from a few hundred to a few thousand. After this massacre, one young woman remarked "The government has won this battle, but they have lost the hearts of the Chinese masses".



What are we to make of these momentous events? Is it as some people claim in S.A. a struggle by a few students misled by Western Imperialism against Socialism? Is it a struggle against Socialism as the Capitalist press claim, or is it a genuine movement by the masses (with contradictions) for greater control over their own lives and against a bureaucracy who use the ideology of socialism as a religion to mask their privilege, power and bureaucracy?

Capitalist media

The first point we need to make is to show the hypocrisy of the international capitalist media. Deng Xioping the leader of the CCP who not so long ago was praised in the media for allowing capitalists to flourish in China, is now regarded as the butcher of Peking. The capitalist media does not want to admit that the uprising is a direct consequence of the capitalist policy of Deng and the CCP.



Demonstration in Peking, Mai 1989

How it began

The movement in China began with a few hundred students making demands in the support of Hu Yaobang who died. Ho Yaobang a past leader of the CCP was known as a reformist who years back supported the students demands for democracy. For this he was dropped from the leadership thus making him a hero in the students eyes

.On April 27 students marched from their

campuses into the centre of the capital Beijing. On the way workers and unemployed joined them. The crowd now more than 300.000 marched to Tienamen Square (the main square in China). On May the 4th, the 70th Anniversary of the 1917 students demonstrations against imperialism a large contingent of workers joined the students with their own demands. In the large industrial centre of Changsha 1000 workers joined 6000 students.

Gorbachev

On May the 14th demonstrations began gathering in the Square for Gorbachev's (the leader of the Soviet Union who was on a visit) arrival. A thousand students began a hunger strike. Gorbachev's visit was delayed, diverting and generally disrupted by the mass actions in the cities. The demonstrators' admiration for the Russian leader did not last long. His remark for the CCP general secretary Zhao Zijang was widely reported. "We also have our hotheads who want to renovate socialism overnight. But this does not happen in real life, only in fairy tales." By now there were 3000 hunger strikers. Two days after Gorbachev's arrival over a million people took over the city of Beijing. They demanded the resignation of Deng Xioping who had wanted them put down by force. They demanded the resignation of the premier, Li Peng who had criticised their motives.

Workers

Banners identified workers from the Beijing Watch factory, Electronic factories 1, 2 and 3 & the Brewery amongst others. The Beijing central steel mill with 200,000 employees, probably the largest work place in the world was on strike. On the 20th May martial law was declared in Beijing 300,000 troops (one tenth of the entire army) began moving on the city. By barricades, force of numbers and sheer determination the population of Beijing stopped the army. On May



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

'We also have hotheads': The Gorbachevs with Deng

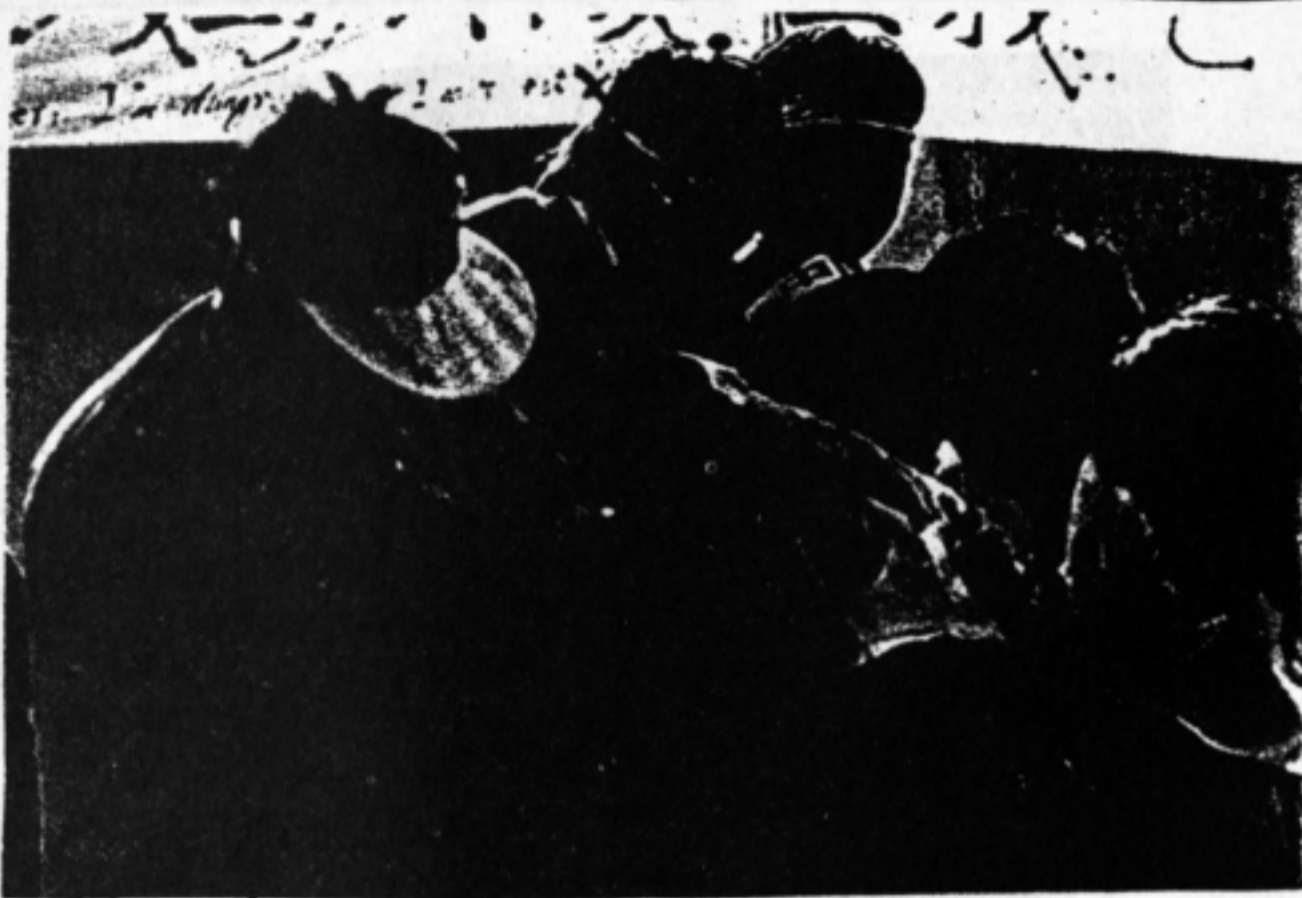
22nd it was reported that the workers had formed a union independent of the party and were threatening a mass strike. (Independent unions are illegal in China.)

After a single day, it was very clear that ordinary soldiers refused to take action against the protestors. One entire unit the 38th Army, refused to carry out its orders, and had to be replaced by the 27th army from Shanxi province. The 27th army through a full scale military assault cleared the square. In the process hundreds of people were killed.

Brief History of CCP.

In 1921 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formed. This had been inspired by the victory of workers in the Russian Revolution of 1917. At its second Congress the party voted to propose an alliance with the Nationalist of the Kuomintang (KMT) a growing movement of the day. The common enemy was Imperialism. The alliance was to be a United Front of the two parties, each holding their own independence in organisation and methods of struggle.

This United Front outlook was overturned by the emerging Stalinist block in the Communist International. This block argued instead that the CCP should not see itself as an independent force. The CCP should rather put all its energy into building the Nationalist forces. The revolution was to be seen in stages, first the Nationalist, then the Socialist revolution. The Nationalist later used this to insist that the communist hand over their membership lists and cease to be critical of the Nationalist leadership. The crisis in China reached a breaking point in March 1927, in the industrial city of Shanghai. Hundreds of thousands of workers came out in a general strike against the oppression and exploitation they experienced. Workers formed councils in preparation for a showdown with the Imperialist and local capitalist. Plans were made for an insurrection. This new turn of events severely upset the Nationalist. They were worried that the self activity



of the workers would sweep away both the Nationalist and the Imperialist and institute worker control as the way forward.

The Communist Party acting with its two-stage outlook argued with workers not to antagonise the Nationalist and started to demobilise the worker structures that had been formed in the heat of the strikes.

The Nationalist seeing this, regained their confidence and with the aid of imperialist guns and gangs viscously attacked the worker organisations. Within days thousands of fighting workers and CCP members were massacred, unions smashed and factories re-occupied by the Nationalist forces.

The Nationalist, when faced with the threat of either worker control or Imperialist control, chose to turn on workers as the greater evil. They viewed worker as threatening their (Nationalist) chance to be the new bosses in China.

The Communist Party under the influence of Stalin's Two-stage theory, acted in a criminal manner in undermining the working class's ability to act and defend its position independently of the Nationalist.

After the massacre most communists left the cities. In 1939 the majority of communists, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, went on the Long March, establishing themselves in the rural areas of China. The social character of the CCP changed, the CCP was overwhelmingly composed of peasants and not workers any longer.



Sympathizer: Police officer's sign calls for a student victory

Imperialism

China had for years been carved up between various imperialist powers with zones controlled by the British, the American, the French and so on. Whole sections of the country were under control of local

warlords. To add to the misery the Japanese had invaded in 1931 and the Kaumintang government had proved to be completely incapable of stopping their advance.

Mao's guerrillas set themselves the task of throwing out the imperialists, suppressing the local warlords and building a strong, united and independent national economy. The peasantry supported the Communists because most of them lived in poverty, going deeper and deeper into debt each year. Famine and draught were regular occurrences, but the landlords always insisted on their rent. Even death was no escape because the debt was transferred to the next generation.

Gradually the CCP extended the rural areas which they controlled. After the 2nd World War, fighting between the nationalists and the communists became a full scale civil war which the CCP finally won in 1949. The revolution brought progress to China.

Mao

Despite this progress tremendous problems lay ahead. Mao chairperson of the CCP and his supporters argued against Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xioping about the best way to build socialism. Liu and Deng argued that the party must put economics in command.

China should build factories and modernise. Mao argued that political consciousness and the mobilisation of the masses was more important than economic incentives. Over the years these differences resulted in deep struggles with the CCP. Mao died in 1976 and this opened the way for his opponents led by Deng. The CCP central committee announced reforms which they called "The Four Modernisations". This is a programme which replaces mass mobilisation and politicisation with industrialisation too.

Market Socialism

According to Deng China needed "market socialism" where state owned enterprises competed with each other. Factories would have to make profits, workers must work harder, where there are too many workers in a factory, some will have to be retrenched. Foreign companies would be allowed to invest in China and take out profits. The social benefits - pensions, unemployment benefits etc minimised and agriculture to be owned in private hands. This "market socialism" has led to food prices being greatly increased, a new layer of rich peasants and businessmen treated, inflation has risen as well as unemployment.

In Guangdong province, a government check of 200 rural businesses found over forty employing women as young as 10, working 14 hours a day in incredibly bad conditions. This is how one worker described the



Deng Xiaoping—scared rigid

conditions in the Special Economic Zones set up to attract foreign capitalists:

" We work more than 13 hours a day, overtime everyday, but have never received overtime pay. The boss doesn't allow us to drink water during working hours, we are body searched when we go off work. Our living dormitory is crowded beyond imagination. How can we bear this life."

Wages are so low that 80% of Hong Kong's garment industry is relocated in China to take advantage of the cheap labour.

For the new businessmen in China things are different. China now has its own millionaires. An example Zhang Guoxi: based in Jiangxi province, Zhang owns 32 factories, 7 commercial companies and a whole network of cottage industries. He employs nearly 3000 workers & has offices in Hong Kong, Japan, West Germany and the US. Zhang is not only a member of the CCP, he is also Party secretary for his enterprises.

Lessons

China is a lesson for those involved in the liberation struggle in S.A. The A.N.C today talks of a mixed economy in the future S.A. We see what this means in practice in China.

There is no doubt in our minds that the struggle in China by the masses for the moment drowned in blood, is a just struggle, a struggle that any one who calls him/herself a socialist must support.

The ageing Chinese leadership have won a battle but not the war. The biggest problem for the regime is the development of the biggest working class in the world, presently around 135 million. These workers are paid low wages, they have no democratic rights, they can't form independent unions and their living standards are being lowered. This continues while profiteering and corruption rule at the top.

As yet, the workers of China have not used their industrial muscle. But when they do, when they discover the power they have, China's rule and the capitalists throughout the world have every reason to tremble.



Anti-Colonialist or Anti-Capitalist

Most organisations and liberation movements in one form or another continue to believe that in South Africa we are dealing with a colonial situation. What is worse is that for many activists and strategists, this notion is not simply rhetorical support when one has to address mass meetings; many of our comrades actually believe this and act on this belief.

Ranging from the description of the S.A. ruling class as a 'settler colonial bourgeoisie' through the 'colonialism-of-a-special-type' view, to notions of 'internal colonialism, the analysts and the poets of our liberation movement continue to be trapped in the confines of the colonial analogy. This results in them coming up with faulty tactics and strategies.

It must be stated clearly that S.A. is a relatively advanced but dependent capitalist country. The racial-capitalist system that has evolved in our country is indeed a legacy of its colonial past, but it is a confusion of history to maintain we are still a 'colony'.

In this article, we look more closely at the description of S.A. society by the South African Communist Party (SACP) as an 'internal colonialist' society, or alternatively 'colonialism of a special type' (CST). It must be noted that it is not only the ANC/SACP who see the struggle in terms of colonialism; the Africanists view the struggle as one against 'settler colonialism'.

Beginning from the basis that the primary contradiction in the world is between imperialist and colonial countries, the theory argues that S.A. is dominated by a similar contradiction. Thus, it sees two societies in S.A., one black and one white. However, the difference between S.A. and other examples is that this imperialist-colonialist relationship occurs in one country. Thus the title of the theory - colonialism of a special type, or internal colonialism.

CST has two implications. Firstly, it argues that because black people are experiencing colonial oppression and exploitation, they are largely unable to experience a class consciousness. Black workers, it is argued, see their social selves in racial and not class terms. The second implication is that all classes within the black community are opposed to the maintenance of apartheid, further promoting national consciousness over class consciousness. This, according to CST theory, prevents the emergence of the necessary subjective conditions for socialist revolution. The direct consequence of this analysis is that there would be no question of the transition to socialism being direct. It must be preceded by a national democratic struggle leading to a national democratic revolution. But is CST a correct analysis of South African society?

South Africa does not have the economic and political system that imperialist/colonial situations have. Colour oppression in S.A. cannot be separated from the class struggle - it the curtain of capitalist development in South Africa. The system of apartheid was shaped to tailor the needs of S.A. capitalism.

BUILDING SOCIALISM: THE WORKER'S ANSWER

This is clearly evident in the mining industry where black workers have traditionally been deprived of decent wages, family life and safe, healthy working conditions on the basis of the colour of their skin. The mining industry is dependent on this cheap labour and, if apartheid is to be removed, the viability of the mining industry and S.A. capitalism as a whole would be threatened. The problem with CST is that it draws a line of separation between the national question and the social question. But the relationship between colour and class is a much more complex one, with colour masking the class struggle, and so cannot simply be divorced from each other.

**WORKERS & TENANTS IN YOUR FACTORIES & TOWNSHIPS
UNITE TO DEFEND YOUR LIVING STANDARDS**

Colonialism cont.

This takes us to the second problem with CST. The theory argues that the black working class in this country is unable to transcend its so-called 'race' consciousness. But the 1984-1986 period has shown us that this is not true. The class consciousness of the black working class has developed to a large extent. This is shown by the mass appeal for socialism, the emphasis on democracy in township and trade union struggle, the emergence of organs of proletarian democracy (shop-steward councils and street committees).



Through their everyday lives, workers have realised that capitalism satisfies the interests of a few. Out of these grassroots experiences the mass of organised workers have gravitated towards socialism, a system which they broadly see as operating in the interests of the majority. Moreover, the educational and propaganda work which the independent trade union movement and other small socialist groups undertook throughout the 1980's, is now paying dividends. There exists a significant layer of advanced workers in both community and trade union organisations that are committed socialist cadres.

A question that also needs to be addressed is how the ANC/SACP/Congress Tendency responded to criticisms of it having abandoned the struggle for socialism. In the main, it still holds on to the two-stage conception of revolution, as can be seen from Joe Slovo's words: "...the main content of the immediate struggle is to achieve complete national liberation for the racially dominated and racially exploited black communities." Yet at the same time he argues that "if...the liberation struggle should bring to power a revolutionary democratic alliance dominated by the proletariat and the peasantry, the post-revolutionary phase can surely become the first stage in a continuous process along the road to socialism: a road that ultimately can only be charted by the proletariat and its allies." In this way, the CST theory seems to disarm its critics. But the question that is still of concern is how is the dominance of the proletariat in the alliance to be achieved?



Remember these comrades: *don't let bourgeois control your own issues, and rely on your revolutionary comrades!*



For the Congress Tendency, this would be done by the involvement of the organisation of the working class, namely the SACP. But this is not enough. To quote Lenin, "the party cannot substitute for the class." In South Africa, the presence of the SACP is not enough guarantee for the process of the struggle into the socialist phase. After all, the revolution must be created from below, not above. Just as important, is the fact that the Congress movement

has not shown its commitment to the dominance of the working class in the alliance. In fact, the contrary is true. At the COSATU Congress in 1987, SACTU and the SACP appealed to workers not to place socialism on their agenda. If this is not done, how will the working class ever achieve dominance in an alliance. In fact, the major danger in such an alliance is, rather than the working class neutralising the middle class elements, the opposite could occur.



The incorrect theoretical description of South African society then leads the SACP to argue for the incorrect strategy of two-stage revolution. When this was attempted in China in 1925, the nationalists turned around and murdered tens of thousands of socialist militants. To avoid this fate in South Africa, we have to engage ourselves in a single struggle for socialism.

The ruling class today, made up of Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites are indigenous to S.A. (and Africa) as are the 'white' Americans or 'white' Australians. We do not have the space to go into the particular details of S.A. history in which large parts of the country were conquered and subjugated in the wake of the mercantilist phase of capitalist expansion in the late 19th century. The important point is that the vast majority of white inhabitants of S.A. are indigenous to our

CONT'D



country; the majority, in their support for PW Botha and the politics of apartheid, are racists not colonialists - even if they are the descendants of colonialists. Their privileged socio-economic, political and cultural positions have been determined by the peculiar racial character of capitalist development in S.A.

There is not a single feature of S.A. that is not adequately described by means of the concepts of racial-capitalism or apartheid-capitalism. These concepts draw attention strongly to both the class and national aspects of our liberation struggle, without either tempting us to confuse our struggle with an anti-colonial one or with a civil rights struggle (as in the USA).

If we believe our struggle is against settler colonialism or internal colonialism, besides being historically incorrect, it will result in not knowing the real enemy of the majority in our country - the capitalists (both white and black, both Rellys and Tshabalalas) and their state. It will result in dulling the class consciousness of workers and result in fighting for socialism in stages. This stages approach to the struggle will clearly lead to the betrayal of the working class. Against the nationalist rhetoric which serves to blind workers to their class aims, and dulls their sense of class power, we stand uncompromisingly for the class consciousness and class unity of the black working class, the struggle against apartheid-capitalism, and for democratic socialism.

ARISE/VUKANI!

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

ARISE/VUKANI!

is the newspaper of ACTION YOUTH.

ARISE/VUKANI!

in its coverage and analysis will focus on actual struggles taking place inside South Africa. To all the organisations involved in the struggle and black trade unions, we give our critical support.

ARISE/VUKANI!

while focusing its coverage mainly on S.A./Azania, nevertheless gives support to the struggles of the oppressed and exploited worldwide.

ARISE/VUKANI!

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

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gives expression to the principles of ACTION YOUTH. These principles stand in opposition to racism, imperialism, ethnicity, sexism and collaboration. We urge all those who agree with our principles to join with us in building a strong, national and united socialist movement.

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