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ARISE! VUKANI

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

Magazine of Action Youth

Review of '86 / January '87

Vol. 2 No. 1

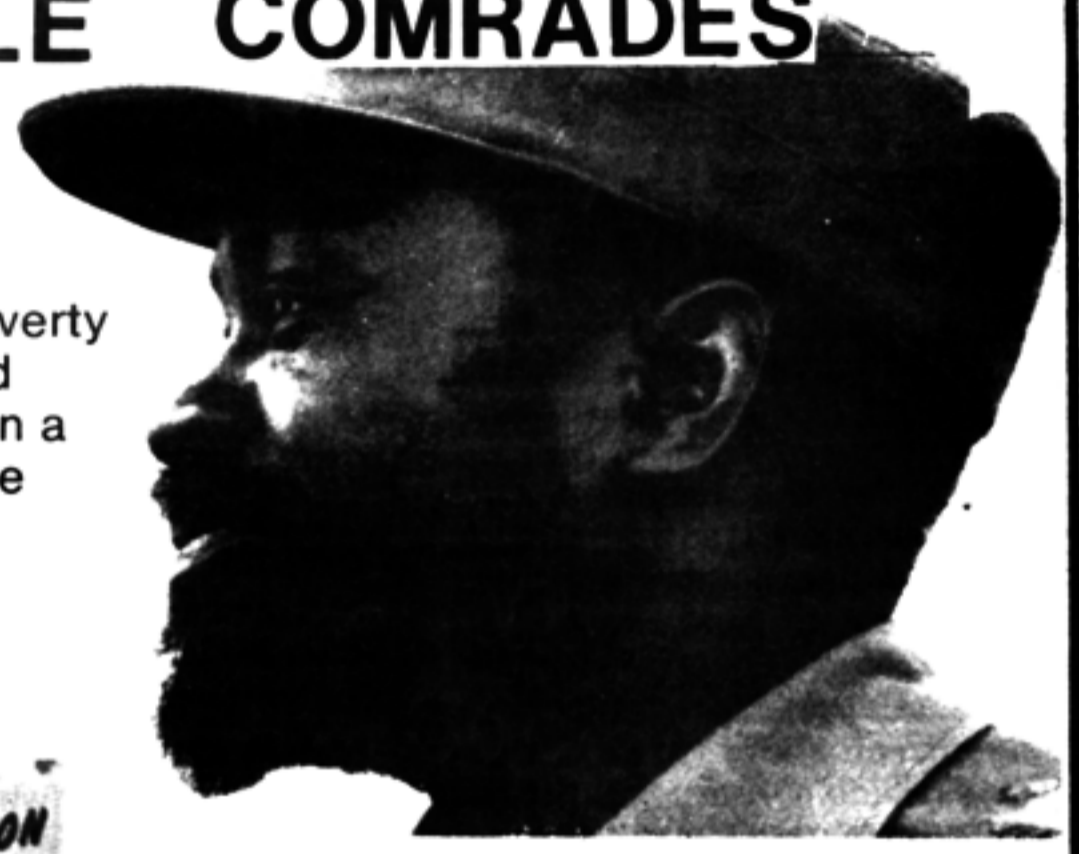
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HAMBA KAHLE COMRADES

On children and youth

'We want them not to know hunger, poverty and war, not to face wretchedness and unemployment. We want them to live in a society where the only yardstick for the human being is dignity, labour and dedication to the people and country.'

Comrade Samora Machel



SOCIALISM WILL TRIUMPH! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Two dismissed SARMCOL workers and members of MAWU, Phineas Sidiya and Simon Ngubane, murdered by Inkatha supporters on the 6/12/86 in mPhophomeni, Pietermaritzburg, seen here presenting their play 'The Long March'.

OK strike Soweto massacre Mozambique

Mawu congress Biko day Socialism

Construction union launch Azanyu

congress Return to school Tembisa strike

Railway workers United vs Popular front

EVERYTHING'S NOT O.K.

For over 5 weeks now, 10 000 OK Bazaars workers in 137 stores, warehouses and hyperamas throughout the country, have been on legal strike. This is the longest and largest in the history of the retail industry in South Africa. Despite the vicious attacks by OK's security guards and the S.A.P., workers remain determined and united.



demands

The frustrations experienced by OK Bazaars workers, brought about by poor working conditions, unfair dismissals, low wages and racist behaviour, has reached breaking point.

The workers are demanding:

- * an increase of R160 per month, backdated to April 1986.
- * a minimum wage of R450 per month.
- * a 20% staff discount.
- * women on maternity leave to get the same increase when they return to work.
- * workers in the bantustans to get the same benefits.
- * reinstatement of those unfairly dismissed.

facts

Over a two-year period, OK has dismissed almost 2000 workers, decreasing the number of workers at the company from 25 000 to 23 000. Yet, the number of OK stores have increased from 180 to 200. This means there are less workers doing more work. OK must not use the economic situation as an excuse. The company's operating profits for 1986 stood at R35.3 million. OK says that their profit after tax was R12.97 million. The average income of each of OK Bazaars' directors is R138 500 per year, and this without the massive bonuses and benefits they receive

starvation wages

The average salary workers receive at OK is below R300 per month. This is hardly enough to live on. Many of the workers at OK are breadwinners. They have children to feed, shelter and clothe. Workers have totally rejected OK's offer of an R85 increase on an anniversary date system starting April 1987 (i.e. workers get the increase on different months depending on when they started with the company). This means that some workers would only get the increase in 1988.

Last year, according to an agreement with OK, workers were promised a review of their salaries if OK's profits increase. In spite of their increase in profits, the worker's salaries remain low.

racist behaviour

It has emerged that OK in some branches resorts to racism in order to divide the workers. At OK Carlton Centre for instance, a shop steward, Poppie Davis, was victimised because she was so-called 'coloured' and, according to management at that store, should not represent so-called 'African' workers. Yet, Poppie Davis was elected by all the workers.

hypocrisy

The South African Breweries and Premier Milling have substantial shares at OK bazaars. These two companies are in turn largely controlled by Anglo American. The directors of these companies, e.g. Tony Bloom and Gavin Relly, have strongly pronounced anti-apartheid sentiments. These capitalists have also travelled to Lusaka where they met the ANC to discuss the future of South Africa. We are telling these forces that the workers are not deceived. They will decide the future of this country. Workers increasingly are not deceived by mere anti-apartheid statements anymore.

pickets

Workers have embarked on picketing at many OK stores to publicise their demands. Although the pickets are carried out in a very disciplined fashion, they have been provoked, intimidated, assaulted, arrested and even shot at.

OK

AT THE O.K.

abuse of power

We condemn in the strongest terms OK's abuse of power and their collaboration with the police. OK has resorted to brute and naked force to put down a peaceful, legal, just and disciplined strike by underpaid and discriminated workers.

By their high-handed handling of the strike, OK has shown it does not have the interests of the public at heart. By their wanton actions they have risked the lives and limbs of both customers and workers. The intimidatory and illegal actions of OK will not be lost on all reasonably minded people.

negotiations

After consistently blocking all sincere attempts at resolving the dispute, management finally gave in during the fourth week of the strike. They agreed to mediation. Negotiations are continuing, but management remains stubborn. The dispute will in all likelihood not be resolved soon.

support work

An interesting feature of the strike has been the massive and continuing support of the oppressed community. Organisations at loggerheads with each other have rallied together to support the workers. The support committees are made up of organisations such as Azapo, Cosatu,



people before profits

The OK workers have for many years suffered much misery and hardship. They are determined to hold out until OK sees reason and, for a change, puts people before profits. The workers and their union, CCAWUSA, need all the support we can give them.

CARES FOR PROFIT NOT PEOPLE!



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SOWETO MASSACRE

August 28, 1986, White City Jabavu: Workers return home from work to find their belongings thrown out into the streets by the Blackjacks (municipal police). They try to hold a peaceful meeting to discuss the situation, but the police open fire. A pitched battle begins with residents putting up barricades and eventually driving away the municipal police. They return, however, with reinforcements from the regular police. In the fierce fighting that follows, 32 people are killed.

rent increases

In April of 1986, municipal councils announced a rent increase of R5,00. Residents in the affected townships found the increase ridiculous. They were not prepared to pay an extra cent towards the lot they already had - blocked drains, untarred streets, unhealthy sewerage systems, houses which needed painting and other repairs.

boycott

Realising that they shared similar problems, residents came together and in June, began a campaign not to pay rent. The boycott started in White City Jabavu, Soweto and soon spread to about 53 other townships. White City is an extremely low-income area where small, two-roomed houses are often occupied by over 16 people.

Ultimatums were sent to residents demanding rent payment. If they failed to pay, they would face eviction.

unity

Faced with increasing repression, residents began organising themselves into street committees with the assistance of the civic association. They had come together realising that their strength lies in their unity. Together they said, "Enough is enough". Up till today, rent is still not being paid.



massacre

The people of White City staged peaceful marches to the rent office in protest to the unfair increase. They were met by teargas on each occasion. The situation remained unchanged, and on August 28th, the evictions started.

restrictions

The anger and frustration of the people was further increased when restrictions were placed on funerals. These included: restricting the number of people who could attend, no freedom songs, banners or marching, no political speeches etc.

At the funeral the police teargassed mourners. The president of AZAPO, Nkosi Molala, lost his eye when a teargas canister hit his face.

lessons

When we engage in struggle, we learn good things about the way we organise, but we also learn about things which we must avoid to make our struggle successful. Undisciplined "comrades" have during the rent boycotts behaved undemocratically - they have often acted without mandates and consultation. They sometimes use "necklaces" and beatings on workers and others who do not agree with them. We must convince them that the methods they use are wrong and that they are playing into the hands of the state.

The use of violence against our people will not put an end to our struggle. On the contrary, we will be even more determined.



A youth sets alight a makeshift barrier made of tyres.

Written by members of Action Youth living in White City Jabavu, Soweto.

MAWU FOR SOCIALISM

The Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) has come out in favour of building Socialism in a struggle led and controlled by the workers. This commitment was made by the union's first National Congress held in Johannesburg on 3-5 July 1986 attended by over 300 factory delegates. The Congress felt that workers must not only control their union - they must also lead the struggle for liberation in South Africa. "If workers are not at the head of the struggle, then there is no guarantee that the Botha Government will be replaced by Socialism."

MAWU said that socialism cannot be built without democracy.

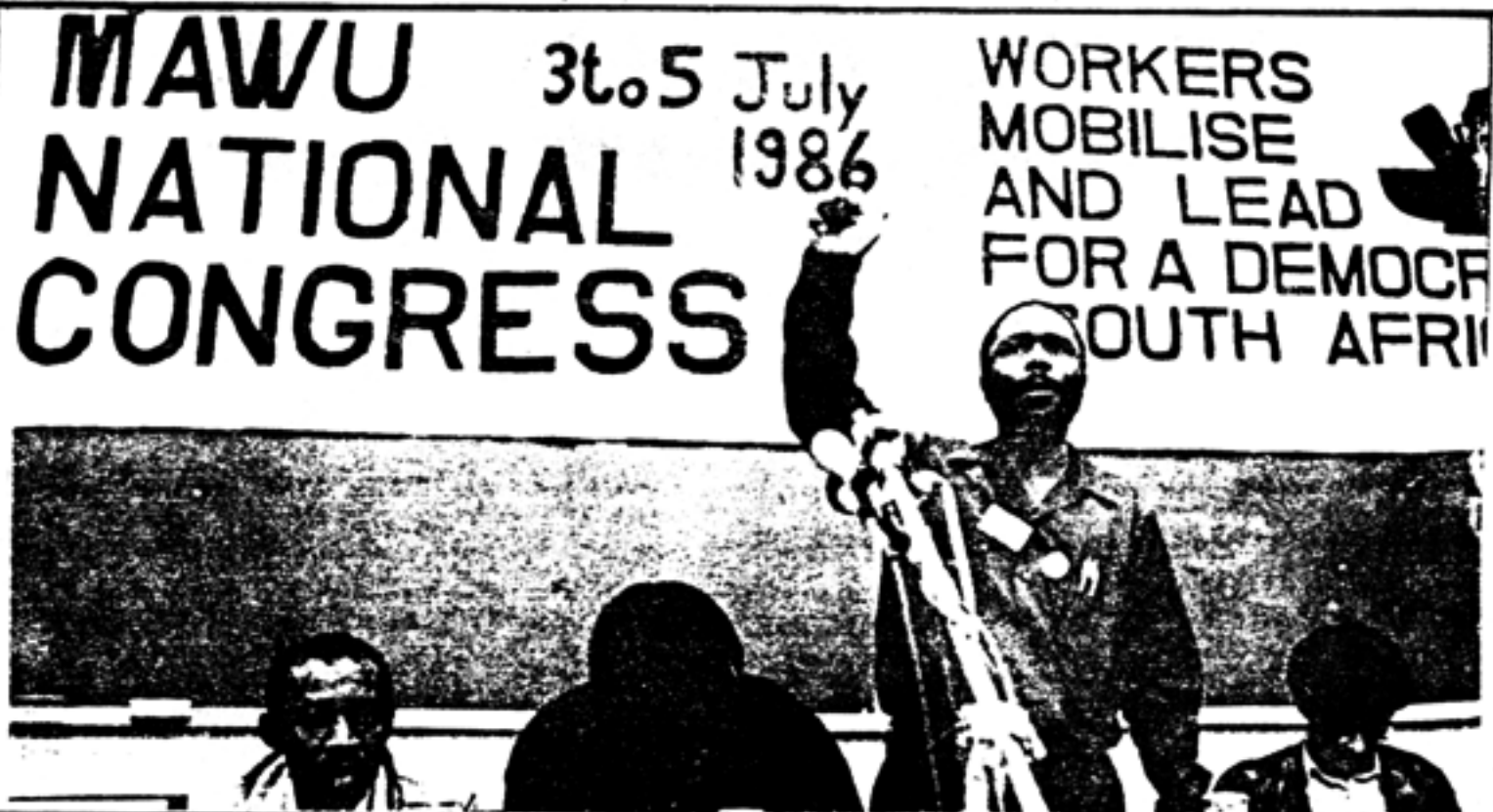
Democracy means that all must have freedom of speech and association, the right to recall leaders and government by majority.

Democratic practices must be established now. For this reason, MAWU insisted it will not dictate to its members which political parties they should belong to and MAWU will co-operate with all groups committed to the national liberation struggle and to the transformation of the economy.

Key MAWU shop Stewards and officials were not present because they were either detained or in hiding. In spite of this, every organised factory was represented which resulted in thorough debate on important issues facing MAWU, especially in the light of the State of Emergency.

MAWU is determined more than ever to achieve a living wage in the metal industry and to fight for economic and political justice.

Delegates stressed that in order to lead the struggle for socialism, workers need to have a clear programme of their demands and aims. This programme, according to MAWU, is very important if workers were to build "correct alliances" and "true socialism and democracy."



AZAPO CONGRESS

Azapo's Congress, attended by 2000 delegates and observers, was held on the 13-14th of December 1986, at Port Elizabeth. Despite the heightened attacks against Azapo, the organisation remains committed to fight for a socialist society.

Some of the members elected onto the executive are: Comrades Nkosi Molala - President, Lybon Mabasa - Deputy President, Phambili Ntloko - National Organiser, George Wauchope - Secretary General, Mandla Nkosi - Political Education, Haroon Patel - Finance, Mtsweni-Transvaal President, Muntu Myeza - Publicity Secretary and Molaone Mqui - Projects Co-ordinator.

On October 29 almost the entire black workforce at General Motors in Port Elizabeth downed tools and began a sit-in after management refused to accept worker demands, drawn up in the wake of GM's decision to disinvest.

saving profits

For 60 years the General Motors bosses have been happily making profits from workers' labour. For 60 years, these bosses have been happily living with the laws of the apartheid government. But suddenly these bosses have started to put themselves forward and act like "workers' friends" by starting to take their investments out of the country to protest against apartheid, they claim. But when these bosses start taking their investments from South Africa, their first concern is not workers oppression under apartheid, but rather their worry of how to save their profits.

GM WORKERS' STRIKE



The truth is that in times of general uprising, the bosses are frightened that their investments are unsafe, not knowing how the situation will develop. In these times of economic recession, not as many people are buying their cars and their profits are falling. Also the struggle waged by workers in their trade unions have forced the capitalist bosses to increase workers wages making South Africa not the paradise it used to be for the bosses.

secret meetings

The workers, in an area of massive unemployment, felt insecure over their jobs, fearing the same fate as the Ford workers who were made redundant.

The General Motors workers went on strike when they realised that their bosses were having secret meetings with the big bosses of General Motors in Detroit, USA, on disinvesting.

demands

The workers demanded that two elected members of their union, the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), should be part of the new directorship of General Motors so they can make sure that they have some say over the decisions that affect their lives. In this way, the workers could make sure that the bosses' disinvestment plans do not mean that they must pay with their jobs to save the profits of the bosses.

DOMESTIC WORKERS LAUNCH NATIONAL TRADE UNION

Domestic worker organisations came from all over S.A. on the 29 and 30th of November to launch the South African Domestic Workers Union, SADWU, in Cape Town.

After nearly two years of talks, the following five unions have decided to form one domestic workers Union:

1. South African Domestic Workers Union.
2. The East London Domestic Workers Union.
3. The Port Elizabeth Domestic Workers Union.
4. Domestic Workers Association, Cape Town.
5. The National Domestic Workers Union, Durban.



Over 600 delegates and observers from different parts of the country, representing over 50 000 domestic workers, attended the launch.

One of the main tasks of the new union will be to fight for some form of legal status for domestic workers. The launching of a united national union for domestic workers, sets the stage for a major campaign to get recognition for one of the most exploited sections of the work force in this country.

There are about 1 million domestic workers in South Africa at present. Of these, only about 60 000 are unionised. The majority of the domestic workers are therefore still to be organised.

The launching of SADWU is to be welcomed. Sadwu has affiliated to Cosatu.

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NATIONAL FORUM



During the Easter weekend of 1986, the National Forum met for the fifth time. Over 1 600 delegates and observers representing 457 organisations met to consider major questions confronting the liberation movement.

The two most important issues considered were the National Convention and the Education Crisis. However, issues surrounding the consumer and rent boycotts, disinvestment and sanctions were

also given some attention by the conference commissions.

The Forum unanimously resolved to oppose the national convention as a sellout solution and propagate the Constituent Assembly instead. On the Education Crisis, the Forum resolved to advocate the return to class by boycotting students, making the school a vital terrain of struggle rather than sacrificing the schools to the ruling class. The National Forum will be reassessing

the education situation at its next conference.

The position of the National Forum has been either subjected to a total news blackout in the liberal press, or a campaign of distortion. We can only assume that its strong socialist commitment and the attempt to find unity and common ground within the liberation movement is seen as a major threat to the profit-making system.

THE PEOPLE'S ADVICE OFFICE (RIVERLEA)

A FREE PARA-LEGAL SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY.

Many people are faced with the problem of hire purchase, unemployment claims, eviction from their homes, unfair dismissals, labour disputes, consumer abuse, workmans compensation, and pension, but cannot afford high legal fees. We will assist you with your problems, where ever we can.

URGENT CONTACT No's
27-5707 & 724-0656

Room 2
2nd Floor
Dija Centre
143/144 Bembesi Street
Riverlea

OPEN FROM 8:30 a.m. TO 4:30 p.m. MONDAY TO FRIDAY

PEOPLE'S CULTURAL PROJECT

The PCP is a cultural/educational organisation operating from Johannesburg. Realising that the problems in education cannot be removed from the greater political and economic crises in this country, and that therefore the very basis of the education system requires restructuring, the PCP has committed itself to working towards an alternative educational system with the interests of the most oppressed and exploited people at heart.

In Johannesburg recently, the PCP gave tuition classes to about 560 pupils affected by the closure of schools. Due to a lack of funds, the few classrooms available were overcrowded, and pupils were charged 20c a day for tuition.

CONTACT No. (011) 838-5845

RAILWAY WORKERS ON THE TRACK

COSATU is the biggest federation of labour in South Africa, and has united half a million workers across a broad spectrum of political views. It has had an enormous task in creating national industrial unions – having to triumph over past hostilities, differences and rivalry.

The struggle for working class unity can only be enhanced if democratic debate is encouraged. It is important that unions inside federations and other independent unions work hard towards the realisation of operating under a single worker-controlled federation. A divided trade union movement can only serve to benefit the bosses and their political and economic system of oppression and exploitation, and in so doing, delay our struggle for total liberation.

Bearing the above in mind, we print a statement by the then National Interim Committee of Railway Workers (N.I.C.R.W.) and encourage a response from either the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (S.A.R.H.W.U. – a COSATU affiliate), or the African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (A.R.H.W.U. – an independent trade union.



NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAY WORKERS



Railway workers have long been severely oppressed and exploited. The different staff organisations are dummy institutions and are in the effective control of the state. They are of no assistance to oppressed workers.

Working on May Day and June 16th for example, many of us will not forget in a hurry. We were treated like social outcasts by the communities we live in. Various trade unions intervened, but they exploited the situation and made false promises.

With not a single union representing our demands and grievances, we decided to take matters into our own hands. We established steering committees in various regions throughout the country and have now reached a point whereby we can launch a National Union of Railway Workers on the 29-30th November 1986 in Johannesburg.

The decision to launch this independent union was made neither easily nor thoughtlessly. We had, for example, decided to approach COSATU for moral and financial assistance, since we are supportive of the aim to organise and unite as many workers as possible into one union per industry. A problem arose, however, in that SARHWU had been admitted by the Credentials Committee of COSATU as the authentic repre-

sentative of railway workers. We reject this claim of authenticity, since this union was not formed in consultation with workers, and their constitution was not drafted by workers. Until recently (the situation has since changed), the executive committee of SARHWU consisted of people who had never even worked for the railways, and who knew nothing about our grievances and problems which face us in the work-place.

It is our duty as serious, committed fighters in the liberation struggle to smother and destroy any undemocratic practice that rears its head. We urge the COSATU Central Executive Committee to look into this very grave matter, and recommit ourselves to fight for united, truly democratic, worker-controlled trade unions.

Amandla!

FEDERATION LAUNCHED

The merger between the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), two previously separate trade union federations into a single one, is warmly welcomed by all of us who believe that unity in struggle is all important to achieve victory over the oppressors and exploiters. Although this is a vital step forward, divisions still exist within the trade union movement. We see the formation of Cusa-Azactu as another obstacle removed on the road to a single, united trade union federation in our country. What is required for this goal to be realised, is much hard work, perseverance and non-sectarian attitude.

Excerpts from Policy Document



Preamble

The philosophy, policy and ideological orientation of the federation will be based exclusively on the broad democratic aspirations of the most oppressed and exploited. The Federation shall forever strive to interpret on-going struggles of the working class in terms of a principled working class ideology, and committing itself to the emancipation of labour, taking note of the peculiarities and uniqueness of our situation from time to time.

We believe in the principle of worker unity based on the material conditions workers are exposed to. Furthermore we believe in the principle of worker control based on anti-racism/non-racialism to build a non-exploitative, democratic society, based on the leadership of the working class. Our concept of a new Federation is a Federation which would unite the majority of organised workers in our country and express the true aspirations of workers.

The Federation therefore adopts the following principles:

1. Worker control
2. Black working class leadership
3. Non-affiliation to political organisations
4. Financial accountability within unions
5. Independent internal actions of unions within the framework of the federation policy.

Nationalisation

We the victims of continued oppression and exploitation in our daily lives commit ourselves to fierce opposition to these twin evils. The Federation, as part of this broad opposition, believes that these evils can only be replaced by a democratic society founded on the non-existence of any form of discrimination.

Further, the Federation recognises the fact that the entire country, balkanised or not, belongs to the indigenous people of our country.

To this end, the Federation believes that the most oppressed and exploited are the only ones capable of bringing about the desired transformation, armed with the following principles:

- anti-capitalism
- anti-imperialism
- anti-racism
- anti-sexism

National and international relations

The Federation recognises the existence of other organisations committed to the same and similar goals as itself, both nationally and internationally. In its relations with other organisations, The Federation will maintain its autonomy and shall not seek to affiliate to any international confederation, but shall reserve the right to relate to any of them so long as such relations shall be governed by, or in furtherance of our ideological orientation.

Foreign Investment

The Federation recognises that foreign investment support and maintain the economic system in this country and that this system is geared at the maximum exploitation of the working class. Further, the Federation notes that the Black working class which is responsible for creating the wealth of the country does not benefit from the natural and material resources which rightfully belongs to it. Therefore, the Federation believes that foreign investment in our country is a further perpetuation of exploitation and oppression, and that its continued presence in our country is not in the interest of the working class. Further the Federation is committed to a full sanctions program for as long as the racist capitalist minority regime exists.



international struggles
number 6

FOCUS ON MOZAMBIQUE



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

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

Was the fight in vain, then?

When he who did not fight alone is done to death
The enemy
Has not yet won.

bertolt brecht

We dedicate these pages to one of the most valiant leaders of Africa. The tragic death of Comrade Samora Machel has deprived the world of one of its greatest working class leaders. Comrade Machel dedicated his life to fight against the colonisation and exploitation of his people.

Together with his comrades in the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO), they defeated the superior military might of imperialist Portugal. It was this victory that changed the course of the Zimbabwean struggle and led to the downfall of the Smith regime.



Graffiti on Vladimir Lenin Avenue, Maputo, reads:
'Death to the Bandits'

While trying to rebuild after centuries of European plunder, the Mozambican people are faced with enormous difficulties. Severe drought and other natural disasters have ravaged the country, resulting in a widespread shortage of essential goods. The Botha government has played a major role in the economic instability of Mozambique through boycott, a reduction in goods shipped through Mozambican ports, a cut in the number of miners working in South Africa, and other devices.

Coupled to this, the Frelimo government has to also deal with armed aggression waged against it. Supported by South Africa and the United States of America, the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (Renamo) engage in terrorist activities intent on destabilising the country even further.

We share the pain experienced by the people of Mozambique, but are certain that the struggle in defence of their revolution will be victorious. Socialism will triumph in southern Africa!

quotations taken from speeches
delivered by comrade machel



on criticism

on the nation

"It is not the personal fight of one man wrapped up in himself. It is a mass struggle in which we accept criticism and self-criticism, purifying ourselves in their fire, which makes us conscious of the path to be followed . . ."

"Our struggle killed the tribe. It was the first thing we killed because the enemy's strength is tribalism. So we had no hesitation in acting against tribalists, racists and regionalists. We killed the tribe to give birth to the nation".



on women

"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 emancipation arises".

on democracy

"Our decisions must always be democratic in both content and form. "Content" means that they must reflect the real interests of the masses. "Form" means that the broad masses must take part in arriving at the decision, feeling that it is theirs and not something imposed from above".

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"Our decisions must always be democratic in both content and form. "Content" means that they must reflect the real interests of the masses. "Form" means that the broad masses must take part in arriving at the decision, feeling that it is theirs and not something imposed from above".

on children

"We want them not to know hunger, poverty and war, not to face wretchedness and unemployment. We want them to live in a society where the only yardstick for the human being is dignity, labour and dedication to the people and country".



editorial.

We take this opportunity to apologise to our readership and subscribers for the irregular appearance of Arise/Vukani this past year. The general dislocation of life in a South Africa in turmoil has inevitably affected the operations of our magazine. Some of those involved in the production of Arise/Vukani have, like so many others, had to spend time behind the bars of the apartheid regime. We have been forced to undergo a process of reorganisation to deal with these problems, and our collective now feels confident that we will be able to publish a regular journal.

on violence

(Our position first mentioned in Arise/Vukani in *early 1985*).

Over the last few months, the repressive wave of state violence has been tragically punctuated by killings of political activists. There is much evidence to suggest that organisational disputes and sectarianism have in many cases become the main reason for these deaths. The idea of regarding political alternatives in the movement as "obstacles" that have to be physically removed needs to be urgently addressed by all progressive forces.

Such actions, without a doubt, can only strengthen the enemies of the black working class and its allies, and weaken the liberation movement. It is a well-known fact that the state has embarked on a systematic programme to remove opposition who are part of the liberation movement. Political activists have been brutally murdered whilst many in exile have been killed openly by the SADF. Under these conditions, to engage in any form of violence within the liberation movement is both counter-revolutionary and reactionary. Such activity makes one nothing but an agent of the state.

Violence is a means of self-defence against the capitalists, not a means of settling disputes within the revolutionary movement. Those who perpetrate violence against people in the movement must be treated with the utmost contempt, and their actions exposed at every turn. It is vital that the democratic right of all tendencies to exist, organise and constructively criticise be protected by all revolutionary socialists.

We in Action Youth fully support initiatives to stop further killings. Our membership fully endorses the campaign begun by the Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Union as a first step to bringing discipline to our struggle. We therefore reiterate their call to all organisations to commit themselves to the following pledges:

- (1) all organisations must defend each other against state violence.
- (2) all organisations must engage in joint unity-building campaigns and activities.
- (3) violence in the settlement of disputes or differences between progressive organisations must be outlawed, and those undisciplined elements should be exposed as working in the interests of the state's plan to create a South African Lebanon.
- (4) the right of all progressive organisations to exist must be respected, no matter how small they may be, because there is room for all in the broad liberatory movement.

We also commend the Eastern Cape region of COSATU for recently sponsoring the peace talks between AZAPO and the UDF in the Eastern Cape.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Cosatu launched its Construction and Allied Workers Union (CAWU) on the 31st January 1987 after months of organising and preparations.

It is the construction workers who have helped in literally building our country. They have built the shops, factories, houses, highways and skyscrapers. Yet many construction workers live in hovels. Construction workers work under bad conditions and earn miserable wages. In the rural areas construction workers earn as little as 97c an hour.

The unity of construction workers is therefore vital. Unity is not easy but is essential if we intend to make real and lasting gains. We believe it is in the interests of CAWU, all construction workers and the working class in general, if a single construction union comes into being. CAWU exists alongside the Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU) with a paid up membership of 25000 members, and the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU) with a paid up membership of 75000. The latter two unions are affiliated to CUSA/AZACTU and are in the process of merging. We hope that the three unions will work towards a greater unity.

While we fight for better conditions of work and higher wages we must not forget our goal. This goal is to build a new society, a society controlled by workers, in the interests of workers and for the benefit of all. A socialist society.

CAWU, BCAWU and BAMCWU have a crucial role to play in this struggle.

THE 11 WEEK TEMBISA STRIKE

The state and government are there to see that the system of racial capitalism runs smoothly and profitably. It enforces the same or worse anti-worker policies of this system in the industries that it controls. *These industries form part and parcel of the whole capitalist system.*

State workers, (those who work in hospitals, municipalities, schools, forestry departments, etc.), are as exploited as any other workers. In fact, state workers are subjected to extremely oppressive conditions at work and, in most cases, are denied basic rights like the right to strike. They have to undergo security checks and unions have no ready access to these workers.

nationalisation

In many countries, not only South Africa, the state has been forced to nationalise (take over) industries which the bosses cannot afford to run profitably. For example, the Leyland motor company and the coal mines in Britain are owned by the state. Yet the workers have no say in the running of these industries or companies. They are run according to the principle of making profits and not according to the needs and benefits of working people. This is totally in conflict with socialism which stands for the democratic control of the means of production by workers.

tools down

The story of the Tembisa strike is as follows:

Tembisa is the second largest black township after Soweto and is situated between Kempton Park and Olifantsfontein. In May 1986 more than 1 200 workers from 11 municipal departments downed tools and demanded:

- a minimum wage of R700,00 per month
- the dismissal of certain seniors
- the right to observe stay-aways without the loss of wages or fear of victimisation.



Malibelineye

(SABMAWU)

An ultimatum by the "mayor", Lucas Mothiba, for the workers to return to work while he looked into their problems or be dismissed, was rejected by the strikers. They were subsequently dismissed and started preparing the community for the struggle which was to follow with door-to-door pamphletering and discussions.

On three occasions, the workers were teargassed and baton-charged by the police and army, but they could not be crushed. Seventy families were evicted and several strikers arrested, leaving many families stranded. The union, SABMAWU, looked after the families at Wilgespruit and started a campaign to assist the children.

1200 detained

The entire workforce of 1200 was arrested by the security forces. This was the biggest single mass detention under the State of Emergency. The significant feature here, was that although the workers were in detention, the bosses still could not get scabs to replace them, indicating the level of support for the strike. At the same time a rent boycott and a consumer boycott of the Councillors' businesses continued in support of the strikers.

workers' power

When the workers were released from detention, they continued their struggle and pressure was put on the Councillors to resign. By the time the councillors had resigned, the writing was already on the wall. The Council was collapsing through the power of the workers. In order to try and save the Council, the deputy minister of Law and Order flew by helicopter to encourage the 'mayor' but to no avail - Mothiba resigned and the Council collapsed. An official from the Department of Constitutional Development pleaded with the workers to return to work, giving in to all their demands. The workers returned to work, victorious after eleven weeks of intense struggle.

significance

The eleven week strike was significant in that:

(a) In a high unemployment area, bosses found it almost impossible to recruit scabs due to the support won from the community for the strike.

(b) The rent boycott was used correctly as a tactic rather than a principle, and was given a proper perspective of being related to the struggle against exploitation.

(c) The struggle against the puppet Town Councillors was supported by all sections of the community, i.e., the students, youth, etc., under the direction and control of the workers themselves.

(d) The collapse of the Town Council, as well as the successful rent struggle, is accredited by all in Tembisa to the power of the workers' struggle.

At the end it can be said that another small battle had been won by black workers in the overall war against the apartheid-capitalist state.

In this article, we will try to broadly explain the most important features of socialism. We will in all future articles, have to continue to try and explain how socialism works in its different aspects.

our struggle

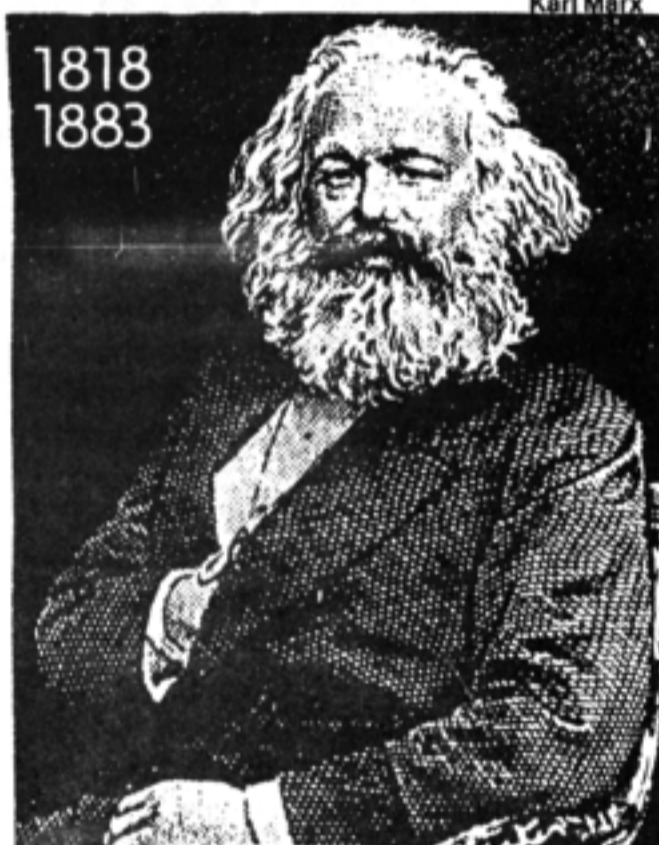
We all know from bitter experience that the system under which we live causes enormous hardships, poverty, unemployment, famine, disease, ignorance, homelessness, etc. In our country, racism together with capitalism ensures the most effective and rapid way of making enormous profits through the super-exploitation of black workers. Out of the intense struggles that have arisen from this unjust and unequal system, oppressed people are considering what system should replace the present racist-capitalist one.

Socialism is being put forward as an alternative. In trade unions, in our community organisations, in our programmes and publications, people are all talking about socialism. So what is socialism and how will it solve the problems faced by the majority of people in this country?



review

In previous issues of Vukani, we have seen how capitalism is the system that ensures enormous wealth, power and privilege for a few, while the working class, the vast majority, are forced to live lives of misery, poverty and insecurity. In other words, the main conflict in our society arises from the division of human society into **classes** whose interests clash in production, i.e., where one class lives off the labour of another.



All of us need clothes to wear, food to eat, housing to survive and hundreds of other things which we consume and use in our daily lives. These are created through the labour of workers. The land, factories, mines, machinery, tools etc., are also needed to ensure the production of commodities. We refer to all of this as the *means of production*.

Under capitalism, the capitalist class rules economically, and thus politically. It controls the state, an instrument of power that maintains this unequal system.

To put an end to this inequality, *the working class must become the leading class in society, and must create the conditions for the ending of class divisions, exploitation and oppression.*

BOSSSES AND WORKERS HAVE OPPOSING INTERESTS!

ONLY THE EXPLOITED CAN FIGHT THEIR OWN OPPRESSION



socialism

Modern day understanding of socialism is based on the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, Mao Tse Tung, Leon Trotsky, and other socialist revolutionaries. It is also based on an analysis of the experiences of existing countries claiming to be socialist. **By socialism we mean a system whereby society is controlled by workers in the interest of workers for the equal benefit of all in society.**

workers' state

Once power is seized by the working class, the previous state and its machinery is smashed, and is replaced by a workers' state.

The working class state has to ensure the defence of the revolution against the old ruling class, as well as the ruling classes of other countries who will gather together armed forces to carry on open warfare against the socialist revolution. This is what imperialist countries and South Africa (via Renamo) are busy with against the Mozambican revolution, and the United States (via the Contras) against the Nicaraguan revolution.

classless society

When the working class takes power, it does not do so to exploit another class or group of people; instead it does so to bring about a classless society. Socialism is the process through which a classless society can be established.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM

PART 1

ending poverty

In comparison to previous societies, enormous development and expansion of the productive forces in capitalist society has taken place. However, it is limited and distorted by the capitalist goal of profits. So while a small group of people live lives of luxury, we still find millions of people threatened by starvation, living in appalling conditions and unable to obtain the most basic necessities of life.



Che

society is to expand the levels of production as rapidly as possible, and create an abundance of goods for all.

democracy

Under socialism, **workers' participation** is required at **every** level. The army will be made up of armed workers, the judges will be elected by the people, the production in the factories will be determined in every aspect by the workers themselves. In this way, democracy is part and parcel of the socialist system and is extended far beyond capitalism.

planned control

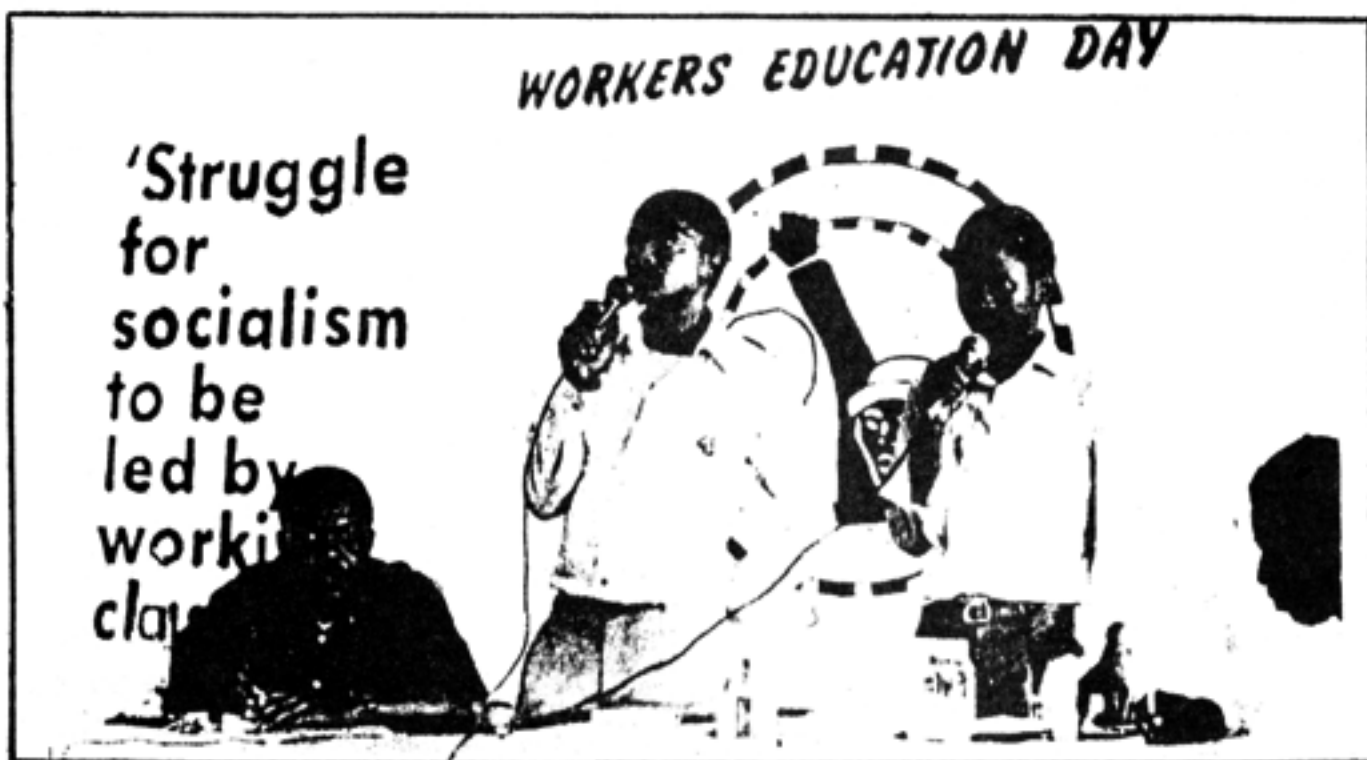
By placing the means of production, their distribution and the process under which goods are exchanged under workers' planned control, an enormous expansion of production can occur. For instance, the dumping of food to ensure high prices under the capitalist system would not occur under socialism.

One of the aims of socialism is to raise the standard of living of all people, thereby putting an end to poverty and misery.

expansion

Thus the first objective of socialist

° In our next issue, we will examine those countries which claim to be socialist.



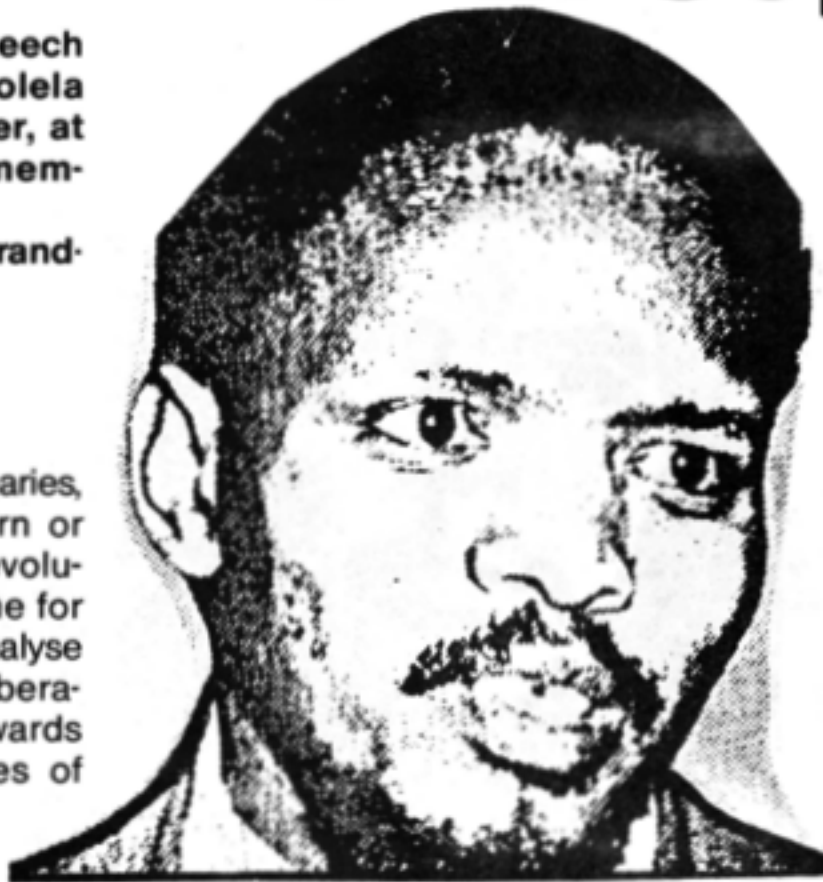
BIKO DAY: 11th September

Below are extracts from a speech delivered by Comrade Xolela Mangcu, an Azasm member, at a meeting held in commemoration of Steve Biko. (University of the Witwatersrand-11 September 1986).

Comrades and fellow revolutionaries, this is not the time to mourn or weep over the death of a revolutionary. This is rather the time for revolutionaries to correctly analyse the struggle in the course of liberation, and act decisively towards the elimination of the forces of oppression and exploitation.

big business

Whilst these forces come in different hues with different solutions to the problems of the oppressed, they all seek the maintenance of the system, albeit in a modified form. However, a true revolutionary cannot be deceived. We have seen for instance, big business representatives in the likes of Gavin Relly, Raymond Ackerman, Tony Bloom calling for the dismantling of apartheid. We have continually heard from representatives of rich, white urban constituencies like the PFP calling for the extension of the franchise to black people and the creation of a unitary state in a "non-racial democratic South Africa".



imperialism

Regimes like America and Britain have also joined the queue waiting for the end of apartheid. Characterising all these agents of capitalism is an underlying liberalism. A liberalism that calls for greater co-operation between black and white whilst emasculating the liberation struggle and safeguarding capitalist interests.

Steve Biko came along in the seventies, arguing that you are either part of the problem or part of the solution, and called for black self-reliance. It is only those who had power to subjugate people on the basis of 'race' who could be racist, and black people did not have this power.

liberalism

Liberalism was to re-emerge after the murder of Steve Biko and the banning of black consciousness organisations in 1977. Liberal-bourgeois alternatives like a national convention and negotiations have become acceptable to the reactionary petit-bourgeoisie and businessman.

workers' power

It is only when workers' hegemony is established in this country that peace can prevail. It is only when the majority of people in this country, the black workers who have made this country what it is, enjoy the benefits of their labour that justice can prevail.

It is time for us as students, to emerge from our cocoons and forge working links with worker organisations, hold meetings and conscientise each other about the working class struggle.



RETURN TO SCHOOL

We in Action Youth wholeheartedly support the call made by all progressive organisations including the UDF, National Forum, Azasm, NECC, Sansco, Azapo, Azanyu, ANC, PAC and BCMA for a return to schools by boycotting students.

In the Vol. 1 No. 6 issue of Arise/Vukani of March 1986, we stated our position on the boycott of schools clearly:

"We realise that it is only in the long-term, in a post racial-capitalist



South Africa, that we will have a genuine education. Yet in the short term, we can attempt to turn the classrooms into centres of liberation. Schools are a site of struggle. We must not surrender this area to the enemy without a fight.

If we boycott indefinitely, we'll be giving up the schools which belong to us, up to the enemy. Together with progressive teachers, we can challenge the authoritarian teaching methods and the content of the present educational system which is aimed at preparing our youth for the cheap labour market".

Under the motto: **Courage, Unity and Action**, the first national Congress of the Azanian National Youth Unity took place in Soweto on 27 and 28 September 1986. Claiming a membership of over 16 000, the Congress committed itself to scientific socialism as the only solution to the problems of the Azanian masses. Furthermore, the Congress took important policy decisions on the following:

1. Education and the Student Struggle 2. Sports and the Liberation Struggle 3. Trade unionism and the liberation Struggle. On Education and the Student Struggle the Congress realised that student strikes and boycotts should be conceived only as a means towards an end, but not an end in themselves. It was also stressed that there can be **no meaningful and qualitative change in education unless the economic and political super-structure of capitalism and imperialism is**

AZANYU CONGRESS



completely overthrown. The Congress committed itself to the policy of **non-racialism in sport**, and firmly held that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society, and that non racial sport should serve the interest of the liberation struggle. On Trade Unions and the Liberation Struggle, the Congress urged trade unions to be schools of socialism, called on all progressive trade union movements to be at the forefront of **political, social and economic change**, and committed itself to support workers in their life-and-death struggle against the capitalists. At the Congress, a resolution rejecting "necklacing" as barbaric and counter-revolutionary was adopted. It also viewed the prevailing violence amongst the oppressed and exploited as reactionary and counter-revolutionary, and called on all forces opposed to the apartheid-capitalist regime to commit themselves to the formation of a National United Front.

KINROSS MINE DISASTER

On 16/9/86 an accident in Gencor's Kinross mine set alight an insulating foam known as polyurethane. This incident resulted in the death of 177 miners who inhaled the toxic fumes resulting from the fire. Even 2 days after the accident had occurred, mine management instructed workers to re-enter the affected shafts.

'JUST' AN ACCIDENT?

Polyurethane is still used in South African mines despite evidence of its hazardous nature. It is known internationally to be dangerous and its use is banned in Britain and

America. The history of Gencor's relationship with trade unions in the mining industry reveals more of its anti-working class position. Last year, Gencor held firm in denying workers a wage increase which had been negotiated with other members of the Chamber of Mines. In the subsequent strike, Gencor, despite an undertaking not to dismiss or evict miners, forced workers (some at gunpoint) to leave the compounds.

IS THIS UNUSUAL?

While this is one of the worst dis-

asters, about 2 miners lose their lives everyday in occupational accidents. In fact this trend can be found in every major industry in South Africa. The Kinross 'accident' is simply an extreme case of what happens EVERYDAY on the battlefield of labour. We pay tribute to the Kinross miners and thousands of workers who have become victims of capitalism. These are true martyrs because the working class is the only class under whose leadership we can obtain democracy and socialism. Down with apartheid and capitalism.

FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!

UDF under attack

Gunmen burst into the home of Cde. Victor Ntuli, a member of a UDF-affiliated youth league, in kwaMakhuta township, Durban, on the 21/1/87. They sprayed automatic rifle fire through the home, killing 13 people, including 7 children. Mr Ntuli was not at home at the time.

According to UDF officials, there was no doubt at all that the attack was launched by Inkatha.

At the funeral of 8 of those killed in the massacre, youths masked their faces as they marched through the streets of the township.

Together with the UDF, we condemn the Inkatha thugs for the brutal killing of our comrades.

THE UNITED FRONT VS THE POPULAR FRONT

what is an alliance

An alliance means that different classes and their organisations work together because they have a common goal. For example, sometimes the working class and middle class are both oppressed by the same government or ruling group. They will both want to get rid of this government. So they might come together in an alliance to try and do this.

who leads the alliance

But the differences between the classes will still be there, even if they are working together in an alliance. The workers will carry on their struggle to improve their wages and conditions. The businessmen will carry on trying to increase their profits, at the expense of the workers. And "the educated people" will often be more interested in getting better jobs for themselves than in the problems of the workers.

So there will be a lot of struggle and fighting in an alliance between these two groups or classes. Sometimes the middle class will be stronger, and will use the alliance to improve their position. Sometimes the working class will be able to lead in the alliance and put the workers' interest first.

two types of unity

There are two types of unity or alliances between organisations and classes. These are the "United front" and the "Popular front". The popular front includes an alliance with a section of the capitalist class, usually liberals. Such an alliance for instance, an anti-apartheid alliance does not address capitalist exploitation properly. In this popular front there will be those who are prepared to fight against apartheid but not capitalism. The PFP and NAFCOC (an organisation

of black businessmen) are examples.

united front

When organisations are united in a principled way it could lead to a united front. Here organisations take the slogan "March separately, but strike together", seriously. The principled unity is usually an anti-capitalist one. The leadership of the working class, democracy and non-sectarianism in this type of alliance is respected and the aim is to bring in a society under worker control.



BUILDING SOCIALISM: THE PEOPLE'S ANSWER

THE WAY FORWARD

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE NEVILLE ALEXANDER AT CCAWUSA AGM

JHB - 21 SEPTEMBER 1986

Comrades!

Thank you very much for inviting me to speak with you on this important occasion. We are all aware that we are living through the most critical moments of our history. We all know that we are moving forward to a socialist South Africa where there will be no exploitation and no oppression.

tactics

But the road ahead of us is still a long one and it is terribly important that we understand this properly. Because, if we do understand this it will influence our tactics, i.e., the ways in which we conduct our struggle, what we do from day to day in our factories, our shops, our mines, our farms and in our townships, in our homes and in our schools. And for the same reason, if we do not understand this it will influence our tactics, i.e., the ways in which we conduct our struggle, what we do from day to day in our factories, our shops, our mines, our farms and in our townships, in our homes and in our schools. And for the same reason, if we do not understand this, we can make the most terrible tactical mistakes in our struggle. A soldier that sets out on a long march will have a very different training programme from an athlete preparing to run in a 100 metre sprint!

Just two days ago, P.W. Botha was telling his faithful supporters at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party that they are not prepared to talk to radicals, Marxists and revolutionaries. That is a clear message to us! Let us not allow anyone to fool us into believing that they will talk to us in order to bring about some kind of "negotiated settlement"! Make no mistake: Botha and Co. consider the progressive trade union movement and all other independent organisations of the working class to be on the side of the radicals, the

Marxists and the revolutionaries. They are going all out to destroy these organisations or to tame them.

Their main purpose is to find among the oppressed and exploited people those "moderates" from the black middle class whom they can use in order to prolong their rule. They will do anything in order to divide us, to make us believe that there is some hope for peaceful change as long as we foreswear the use of violence.

differences

Comrades, we live in dangerous times. There are amongst us people who - to our shame and disgrace - go out of their way to divide us and even to make us kill one another. I am speaking about those of us in the liberation movement. What is done to people who oppose the liberation movement is not my business. But within the liberation movement, we must learn to live together even though we have differences of opinion or differences in ideas amongst ourselves. We are one family and one people and we must learn to accept that in any family there are disagreements. But this does not necessarily mean that the members of the family become deadly enemies who must kill each other! Whether one of us belong to AZAPO and another to the UDF, this should not prevent us from uniting in action against the common enemy, even if we disagree on important questions.

working class leadership

Only the leadership of the organised working class can stop this madness. For it is a madness in more ways than one! The belief that you can simply wipe out an ideology by killing people is a madness! The belief that only one organisation can represent all of

us in this complex country with its many different organisations and ideas, is a madness. We shall get to victory all together or not at all! Unity is our greatest and most powerful weapon in the struggle.

In prison, whether you were Mandela or Pokela, Mlambo or Sisulu, that did not matter. When it came to opposing the prison regime, we had to learn to act together. There were dark and terrible days when all the contradictions, all the prejudices of the different groups came to the surface. For weeks and even months, no proper communication took place. But, always we had to come back to the realisation that unless we acted together and planned together we were simply creating openings between ourselves which the enemy could exploit.

socialism

Let us remember that we are fighting for socialism and democracy. There is no socialism without democracy and no democracy of and for the working people without socialism. Within the liberation movement, we must learn to accept our differences, allow ourselves to discuss and organise, accept democratically reached decisions of the working masses. This is the way forward. And we must help to free our women. In CCAWUSA, especially, this is an all-important question, because the majority of your members are women. We are not free unless our women are also freed from slavery of sexism and male dominance. The emancipation of the working class, the liberation of the oppressed people and the liberation of women: these three are aspects of one and the same process in South Africa. We have to make conscious efforts not to allow them to be separated by those who have ulterior motives. Freedom is indivisible: it cannot be divided into different parts!

ARISE! / VUKA



ARISE! / VUKA

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

ARISE! / VUKA

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

ARISE! / VUKA

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

ARISE! / VUKA

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

ARISE! / VUKA

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



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!

ARISE! VUKANI

HAMBA KARLE OMRADÉ RADITSELA Nizakakhumbula njalo



21 MARCH

SHARPEVILLE 1960 LANGA 1985



ARISE! VUKANI



STATE OF EMERGENCY FOR REGIME



MINERS STRIKE

WORK DOWN MAY DAY

IN THIS ISSUE

FOCUS ON EDUCATION COSAU CUSA AZACU JHR CENTENARY SIT-IN STRIKES DEMOCRACY PHILIPPINES MAWU

FREEDOM CHARTER FOR & AGAINST METALWORKERS CHILE CONSUMER BOYCOTT SCHOOL BOYCOTT WOMENS OPPRESSION UNEMPLOYMENT THE STATE BREFS ANTIHOYRACISM

ARISE! VUKANI

YANKER GO HOME!



IN THIS ISSUE

ARISE! VUKANI

OUR RESPONSE: EX HOU MY? MR AZANA? YOU KEEP MY? FOR A FREEDOM

IN THIS ISSUE

Some articles covered in previous issues:

Unemployment, Women's Oppression, Anti-Racism/ Non-Racialism, Consumer Boycott, Freedom Charter - for and Against, Focuses on Chile, El Salvador, Philippines, Ethiopia/Eritrea, National Convention and much more.

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write to us

any COMPLAINTS

any IDEAS?

any LETTERS?

any HELPING-HANDS?

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