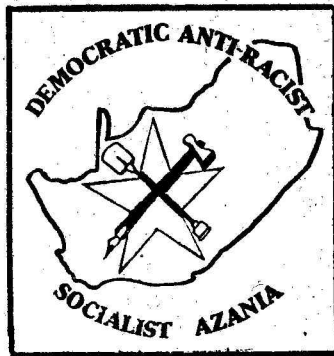




# NATIONAL FORUM



## MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE FOR:

- Anti-racism and Anti-Imperialism
- Non-collaboration with the oppressor and his political instruments
- Independent working-class organisation
- Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties

This document, once amended, was first agreed upon by 300 organisations in June 1983

## Manifesto

Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the historically evolved system of racism and capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of the population, i.e. the capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the middle classes. The struggle against apartheid, therefore, is no more than the point of departure for our liberatory efforts.

The Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle for national self-determination in a unitary Azania. They alone can end the system as it stands today because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania, where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In the socialist republic of Azania the land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. The usage of the land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all exploitation.

It is the historic task of the Black working class and its organisations to mobilise the oppressed and exploited

people in order to put an end to the system of oppression and exploitation by the white ruling class.

### OUR PRINCIPLES

Successful conduct of the national liberation struggle depends on the firm basis of principle whereby we will ensure that the liberation struggle will not be turned against our people by treacherous and opportunistic "leaders" and liberal influences. The most important of these principles are:

- *Anti-racism, anti-imperialism and anti-sexism.*
- *Anti-collaboration with the ruling class and all its allies and political instruments.*
- *Independent working class organization, free from bourgeois influences.*

### OUR RIGHTS

In accordance with these principles the following rights shall be entrenched in Azania:

- *The right to work.*
- *State provision of free and compulsory education*

for all. Education shall be geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all oppression, exploitation and ignorance.

- *State provision of adequate and decent housing for all.*
- *State provision of free health, legal, recreational and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people.*

### OUR PLEDGES

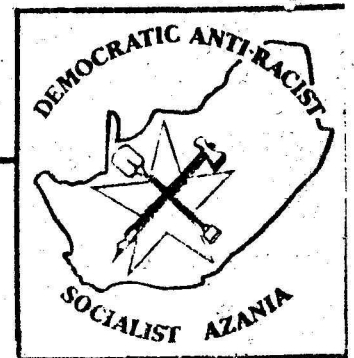
In order to bring into effect these rights of the Azanian people, we pledge ourselves to struggle tirelessly for:

- *The abolition of all laws, institutions and attitudes that discriminate against our people on the basis of colour, sex, religion, language or class.*
- *The re-integration of the bantustan human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania.*
- *The formation of trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness.*
- *The development of one national culture inspired by socialist values.*



# NATIONAL FORUM

## *Unity in Struggle*



# NATIONAL ACTION: 1-4 MAY

The 1st of May is known the world over as May Day or International Labour Day, a day of struggle. It began as part of the struggle by workers for a shorter working day. For the right to have a better quality of life. This struggle continues 100 years after the call for May Day was first made. May Day has become a symbol of working class unity. Workers all over the world remind themselves that the struggle in their own countries is linked to the struggles of workers in other countries.

### WORKERS

May Day is celebrated in almost every country by millions of people who believe in a better world. A world where people who make the good things in life can enjoy them. A world where the workers - the majority of people - control their own lives, make decisions for themselves in the factories and in their communities. A world where there is no hunger, violence and profit. A world where there is work for those who want to work. A world where we share and do not compete with each other.

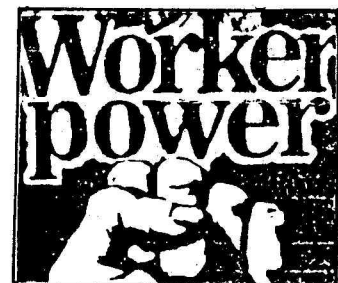
### CAPITALISM

The black working class is under attack from the forces of capitalism and racism. Close to 4 million of our people are unemployed. Rent, GST, electricity, retrenchment, bus fare and food increases are the order of the day. When we stand up for our rights we are jailed and shot at. The rich are protecting their own and making sure they have the weapons to do so. Yet, the more they inflict poverty on us the more they will need weapons to protect themselves. Only when the working class who produce the wealth in our country, also control it and are in charge of distributing it, will there be homes, food and jobs for all.

### DEMANDS

In spite of all the repression, workers are on the march to build a new society. Last year as a sign of worker unity, all major unions decided to join together and hold meetings to celebrate May Day. **These are some of the demands they issued:**

- \* May Day as a paid holiday.
- \* The right to full employment at a living wage.
- \* Adequate and decent housing at reasonable rent.
- \* Adequate and efficient transport.
- \* The right to strike and picket.



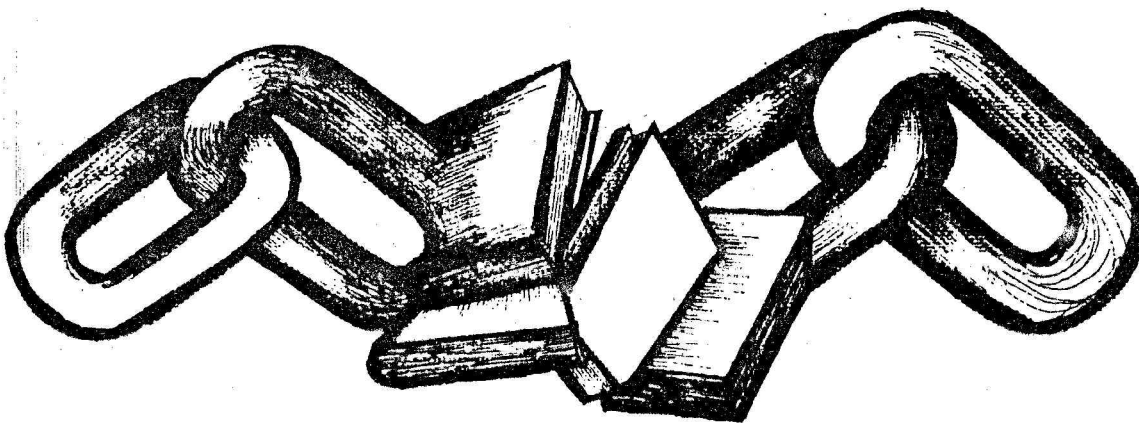
This year over 400 organisations in the National Forum have called for national action from the 1st of May to the 4th, and around June 16th. Our struggle is a long one, we have made many sacrifices. There are still many battles ahead. Let us heed the call for appropriate action.

Give students material to read about our struggle, and the struggles of people in other countries for liberation (articles from magazines, books, newspapers; poems, songs, stories); discuss and answer questions about the ideas in these articles (comprehension work); ask students to write essays, poems and stories about their experiences of struggle and those of their family and friends. Teach students to think critically and independently about what they read, to ask questions about other people's ideas, and to try to relate what they are reading to their own experience. Apart from helping students to understand their situation, and to become independent thinkers, this approach will also satisfy all the basic demands of the syllabus.

Read sections from works by South African authors and other writers; stories, poems, songs and plays by people like Serote, Brutus, Brecht, Ngugi, Victor Jara. Many teachers have already prepared worksheets on this material, which are available at resource centres. Listen to music, act out parts of play, etc. Don't make students treat these works as if they were untouchable High Culture, to be studied uncritically for exams. Encourage them to discuss and criticise what they read, and above all encourage them to make their own culture - to write, act, sing and draw about what is going on in their world.

## ECONOMICS

1. Look with a critical eye for racist remarks and beliefs put forward.
2. Use one period per week (at the least) to discuss actual issues that did occur in practice. Be critical of the ideas put forward, e.g. unemployment.
3. Discussions with pupils about economic systems. Point out and debate the so-called "free-market" of South Africa. Prices are controlled in South Africa to protect producers and their profits and not for the benefit of the consumer. Labour cannot be sold where and how the worker chooses - he or she is exploited.
4. Decentralisation. Show the real political motive behind this policy and the extra expenditure by the state, which results in higher taxes. Videos and other audio-visual material are available for this purpose.
5. Recession. What is the cause of this recession? EXCESSIVE expenditure by the state to maintain its racist policy.
6. Inflation. Maximum profits and wages earned for which no product is generated, puts money in the pockets of whites, which enables them to constitute surplus demand, which pushes up prices.
7. Colonisation by European powers and by the capitalists right now. The effects of this on the economic life of people.



# OD democracy

How can we tell whether an organisation is truly democratic or not?

There are many organisations in society claiming to represent the people's interests and it is often difficult to tell whether they are truly democratic. Below are a number of pointers which can be used to judge whether an organisation is truly democratic or not.

A truly democratic organisation:

- \* allows people to freely choose which organisation they feel will best represent their interests (freedom of association)
- \* allows the people to elect their own leaders (freedom to stand for office)
- \* allows the people to freely discuss their problems and give their leaders instructions or mandates on what to do (freedom of speech and mandates)
- \* makes sure that people get full reports from their leaders so that the members can check whether their mandates have been carried out (accountability of representatives)
- \* makes sure that people get full reports from their leaders so that the members can then decide on the correct course of action for the organisation (factual report backs)

- \* encourages people to be actively involved in matters affecting them so that they develop a clear understanding of all aspects of the struggle. This ensures an ongoing commitment to the struggle for justice and equality (participatory democracy)
- \* enables the people to judge for themselves which groupings and organisations in society are reactionary and divisive and do not further the struggle for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

## UNITY

All black workers and students in South Africa are oppressed and exploited. Some of these workers and students are actively involved in the liberation struggle. They belong to different organisations. The situation therefore demands maximum unity in action. This does not mean that differing ideas should not be tolerated. The slogan "march separately but strike together" is an important principle on which this unity should be based. By this we mean that the body which co-ordinates the different organisations should tolerate various political ideologies, but when a particular form of action is decided upon by the majority, everyone should carry it out.

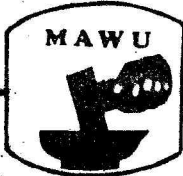
## NON SECTARIANISM

The minority, however, should have the right to continue to raise its point of view, or to propagate its position. Everyone should have the right to criticise the various strategies, tactics and political viewpoints constructively. This democratic way of operating is called non-sectarianism, where organisations advance in a principled and unified way.

## DEBATE

Convincing others of your ideas is an integral and vital component of the struggle for liberation. Debating issues on a course of action should always be allowed. Where unified action needs to be decided upon, it is the duty of every serious activist to convince the minority or majority of his or her views in a principled manner. Those who disagree should not be shouted down, beaten up or forced by the majority persuasion to agree. However, after discussion has been allowed, the minority should abide by the decisions of the majority. Without this, unity in action is impossible. Without unity in action, we are destined for defeat.

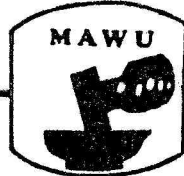




Metal & Allied Workers Union

# METAL WORKERS

## 'AS HARD AS STEEL'



Metal & Allied Workers Union

Since its birth, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) has been at the forefront of the struggle of workers for better wages and working conditions. The large majority of its members are unskilled migrant labourers, who eke out an existence in the compounds, foundaries and factories of the ruling class. They are vulnerable - their jobs are not secure and so is their right to live in the cities. Township dwellers face a daily life of uncertainty and fear in the face of massive state repression and violence, high rents and high prices of food and other goods.

The MAWU strike wave of 1985 was characterised by a high degree of self-discipline, a willingness by workers to sacrifice life and

limb, and a sophisticated strategy of bargaining from a position of strength

In Pretoria, 900 workers at four factories under Asea were on strike for over three weeks. Two thousand workers of Haggie Rand in Germiston and Johannesburg were on strike. They demanded that wages be at least R3.50 per hour. The present minimum wage set by the Industrial Council is only R1.96 an hour. Workers at Haggie Rand occupied the factories on 4 February 1986. They feared that if they left for home other desperate unemployed workers would take their jobs. They were determined to sit-in, despite having little food or money. Workers at Haggie Rand were re-instated on March 24th. The company agreed to begin

negotiations before April 15th.

At Asea Cables, the bosses are taking a hard line. At one factory the bosses are insisting that the union first sign a recognition agreement. This despite having been involved in negotiations with the union before the strike. At Kent Metres, however, workers were given the key to the factory!

Despite hunger, boredom, bosses scuttling for eviction orders from courts, morale was high amongst workers involved in the sit-ins. MAWU was confident throughout the proceedings, given the backing of whole communities (as in Pretoria and Bophuthatswana Asea), and the residents in Katlehong (for Haggie), as well as the support from the Johannesburg MAWU Support Group.

### MAWU WORKERS ON THE MARCH



## NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE

The National Education Crisis Committee will be having a Conference on Saturday and Sunday (29 + 30 March) at the University of Natal. The N.E.C.C. said that delegates will consist of black parents, teachers and pupils. Organisations at the conference will include Azapo, U.D.F and progressive trade union federations (COSATU, AZACTU + CUSA). The conference will assess government progress in meeting the demands made at an education summit held at Wits University by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee last year.

## NATIONAL FORUM

The third National Forum meets on 21 March in Durban. The National Forum has appealed to all left wing forces to attend. The forum will look at what it terms the "national crisis in



the country." Deliberation will cover labour, the rent crisis, police and SADF presence in the townships and the controversial call for a National Convention.

## POLICE VIOLENCE

On 19 March, police brutally evicted scores of workers at Pan African Outfitters near Germiston. These workers, members of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) and the Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union (PWAWU), were on a sit-in strike. Seven workers were seriously injured. The vicious response of the police prompted one worker to angrily remark: "The police are the shop-stewards of the bosses."

# Our response to Botha!

That almost 1000 people died in less than one year of conflict is the responsibility of the state alone. The cruel and merciless whipping of children in the streets, in their schools, and even in their homes, to say little of the torture and terror given to them in the jails, could only have been ordered and executed by barbarians. Emergency regulations served only to legalise the murder, mayhem and terror that poured on the heads of the oppressed.

There is no relief whatsoever to the ugly effects of apartheid-capitalism. They rub salt into the wounds of 27 million oppressed people; what with widespread unemployment with few unemployment relief benefits, low wages and rapidly rising costs of food, rents, transport and fuel, homelessness combined with township terror, police raids, ill health, a lack of the most basic facilities, the inhuman shunting around of millions of the oppressed, the continuing breakdown of crisis-ridden school systems, the dismal world of hopelessness and certain unemployment that face young people and the tensions this causes in the family.

These are some of the factors that has caused the explosion which rocked the educational arena last year. People can no longer endure the harshness and brutalities of South African life. That is the reality. Pee Wee's speech doesn't fool us. The man doesn't understand, or deliberately abuses the word reality. What a pathetic and ridiculous spectacle they make of themselves by spending thousands of rands on full-page ads just to tell us what we see and experience is not real.

When Ebrahim Carelse, a father of three from Salt River went to visit a neighbour across the street from where he lived, a policeman for no reason ran up the road after him, kicked open the door of the neighbour's house, rushed through the house and shot Mr. Carelse at point blank range, cracking his skull in seven places. Is that not reality? All of us are potential targets for this apartheid-capitalist machine, this monster. The reality is a child in a "bantustan" eating sand to stop her hunger pangs while fat, rich businessmen gorge their mouths with fancy food in the Carlton Hotel. The reality is 4 million people without jobs. The reality is three-year old Mita Ngubeni shot in Atteridgeville while playing in her parents' yard and 21-year old factory worker Susan van Wyk killed in Bellville, Cape Town. That is the reality.

## THE WRITINGS ON THE WALL

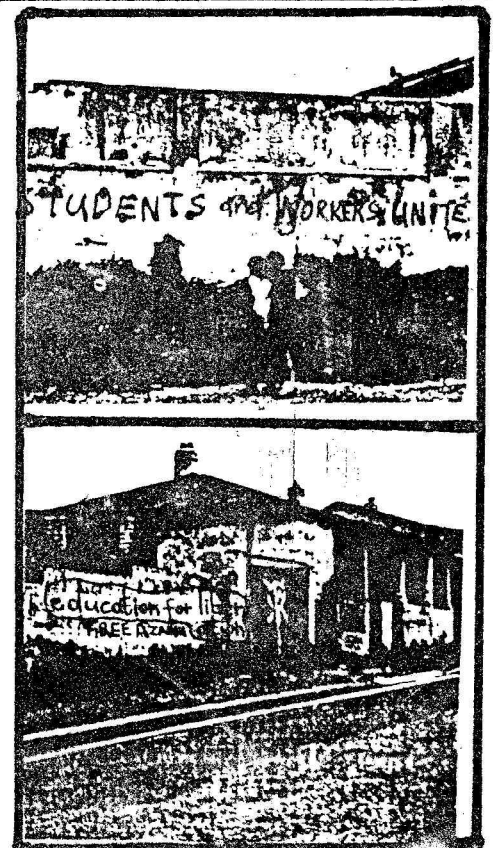


We are the young ones, the learners,  
the readers, the writers,  
the copiers, the reciters,  
We are the young and strong  
And we are the writings on the wall

While we were adding two and two  
You were counting rands,  
While we were learning chemistry  
You were making bombs  
While we were learning medicine  
You were digging graves,  
And now you have the nerve to tell us  
how we should behave

We don't believe in profits  
We don't believe in shares  
We're old enough to see that your  
world is very thin  
We young enough to tear it down  
and build it up again.

We bold enough to question  
We brave enough to fight  
We strong enough to challenge you  
for what we know is right.



# TRADE UNION

## COSATU

The state of emergency, where thousands of our comrades were detained and killed, could not prevent a significant victory. This was the birth of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

After four years of painstaking discussions, 33 unions representing almost half a million workers launched COSATU. The launch took place in Durban, from the 30 November to the 1 December 1985.

### POLITICS

COSATU has repeatedly said it wants to develop working-class orientated policies which eventually it will make the politics of the oppressed people of South Africa. Such a politics is long overdue in a country where racial oppression co-exists with a developed capitalism.

The political potential of COSATU is great. The fact that COSATU is not affiliated or subordinated to any political organisation means that it is able to unite workers across a broad spectrum of political views. Democratic debate within COSATU on its political direction must be encouraged and not stifled. Members must not be prevented or intimidated from putting across their views.

### PRINCIPLES

Five major principles are contained in the constitution of COSATU. These are:

- (1) one industry, one trade union
- (2) worker control over trade unions
- (3) democratic internal representation
- (4) non-racialism within trade unions
- (5) national co-operation of trade unions



Over the past four years of "unity talks" (from August 1981 to June 1985), no less than thirteen meetings were held. Debates ranged over issues of registration, industrial demarcation, participation in industrial councils, when the federation should be formed, its form and voting structure, financing, affiliate voting strength, the role of paid officials, relations with political organisations and the international trade union movement, and the position of so-called "whites" in the trade union movement.

At one of the last unity talks the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions' (FOSATU) affiliate the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), staged a walkout over a suggestion by the UDF unions that in the new federation unions should have one vote each. This, as one commentator explained, would have meant that a small union with 50 members would have an equal say with a union as strong as the 250 000-member NUM or 70 000-member MAWU. Later a compromise position incorporating proportional representation was reached.

Although COSATU has brought many unions together, tensions still exist. Now it has the enormous task of welding these unions into a powerful and effective federation. Fundamental to this task is the merging of unions to create one union per industry. The Secretary General stressed: "It's absolutely essential that we achieve the mergers as soon as possible. We can only be a powerful force on the shop floor and in the struggles outside if we are based in national industrial unions."

### MERGERS

COSATU's inaugural congress demarcated industrial sectors and set March 1986 as the deadline for mergers. If progress is not satisfactory by then, a special mid-year congress will be convened to assess developments in this regard. The mergers will have to triumph over past hostilities and differences in organisational methods, structures, politics and personalities.

We salute the formation of COSATU. But the road to unity is not yet at an end. COSATU is only a beginning, even if a major breakthrough on

## ONE COUNTRY ONE FEDERATION



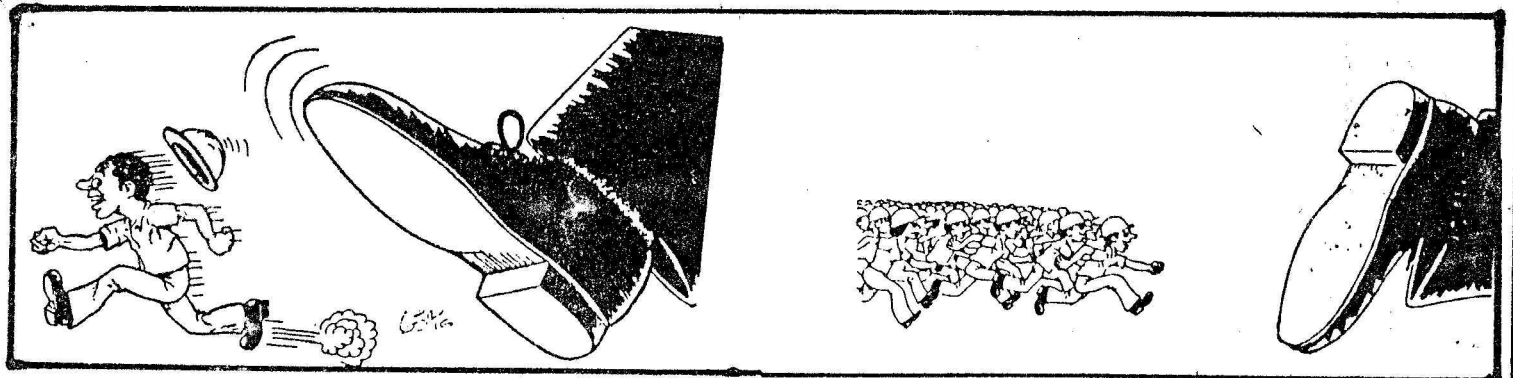


# UNITY

that road. There are two major tasks which remain to be accomplished. Firstly, outside COSATU are other independent black trade unions, some of them powerful. (CUSA and AZACTU claims to have 250 000 signed-on members) The rivalry between unions and union federations can only cease if all independent unions

operate under a single federation. It is important that all these unions inside and outside COSATU work strenuously for all the unions to link together. A divided trade union movement can only serve to benefit the bosses and their political and economic system of oppression and

exploitation. Secondly, COSATU although the biggest federation of labour in South Africa, only represents a small proportion of the total workforce - 560 000 out of nearly 10 million. Thus an urgent task for the unions is to organise greater and greater numbers of black workers into unions.

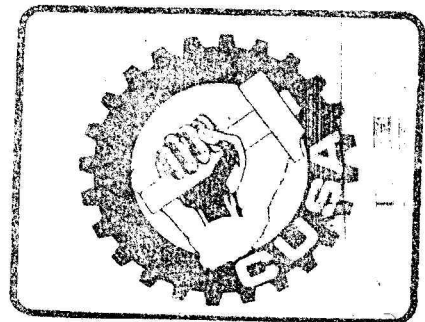


## cusa/azactu

The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions met a while ago to discuss the formation of COSATU. We print here a part of the statement issued afterward.

"Noting the formation of COSATU, CUSA and AZACTU wish to place on record the following:

- \* We believe in the principle of worker unity based on the material conditions workers are exposed to.
- \* 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.
- \* CUSA and AZACTU remain committed to discussing the basis of working class unity with truly worker - controlled organisations.
- \* CUSA and AZACTU have agreed to the following and therefore invite all organisations of students, parents, community, civic, political and workers, including COSATU, to join us in:-
  - establishing trade union regional solidarity committees,
  - develop a worker manifesto,
  - begin an unemployed workers' project,
  - form solidarity alliances in the community,
  - establish national May Day Committees."



# ALIENATION AND WORK

of them are builders. Architects design houses for people. Bees build wax-cells. So what makes human labour different from the work of bees? One difference is that bees can't think about what they do. They work by instinct. Human beings on the other hand, think about what they are doing. They can imagine all sorts of things before they actually make them - the architect before building a house thinks of its size, the material he's going to use, its shape, which direction the house is going to face, etc. Bees can't do this. They are programmed to use the same material and build the cells in the same way.

So basically, human labour has two parts: a thinking part and a doing part. Under capitalist organisation of the economy, the thinking part and the

doing part are also called conception and execution. We have shown how these become separated. People who execute tasks - factory workers, for example - have no opportunity to think about or conceive of these tasks. They



are deprived of that aspect of work which is special and unique to human beings: thinking!

## COMMODITIES

It is important to note that workers are seen by the capitalists in the same way as goods or commodities. Commodities are bought and sold on the market. In a similar way,

workers are hired and fired in the "labour market". If there exists too much of a particular commodity, the price of it decreases or much of it is destroyed to keep the price up. We have seen that if there are many workers for the same job, bosses can reduce and keep wages down. We also have to remember that in a capitalist society, there will always be unemployment. So workers will always compete with one another. In this way, human beings in a capitalist society are seen in terms of how they can be used to make profits for a few capitalists.



## REPRESSION IN THE TRANSKEI

On 24 September 1985, in Cala, Transkei, a law student and health worker Bantandwa Ndongu was shot and killed in broad daylight by the Transkeian police.

The killing was witnessed by Lungesile Ntsebeza, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Godfrey Silinga, Victor Ngaleka and Monde Mvimvi. These five witnesses were detained by police shortly after the killing, and banished to remote villages in the Transkei. The banishment orders were temporarily lifted, but by the end of January, all five were re-detained.

Kaiser Matanzima, "President" of the Transkei bantustan, condoned the murder of Ndongu by blaming him for a bomb blast which destroyed a fuel depot in Umtata. Addressing a public meeting in Idutywa, Matanzima said: "I want the whole world to know that here in the Transkei we know the people who are causing trouble."

# FOCUS ON

Education can't be seen as separate from the wider society. In South Africa, education is part and parcel of, a racist capitalist society. This is a society where a minority own the mines, the factories and the land. This minority, the capitalists (largely "white"), also own the labour power of the workers.

But where does education fit in? Schools are part of this unequal racist-capitalist system. Schools continue colour and class differences. In South Africa, people are forced to attend separate schools. The educational system prepares some people to become managers and owners, and others to become workers. So, in fact, schools help to keep society unequal.

## SCHOOLS

Education under capitalism creates and perpetuates inequalities. It is not by chance that people from working class families usually have less education, and poorer quality education. This education prepares people for the jobs they do once they have completed schooling.

In schools people learn writing, reading, maths and other subjects, but also beliefs about what is good and right, and what is wrong and bad (values), rules and ways of behaviour. People acquire not only the knowledge but also the attitudes that are necessary to fill their future places in society. Education has a different function

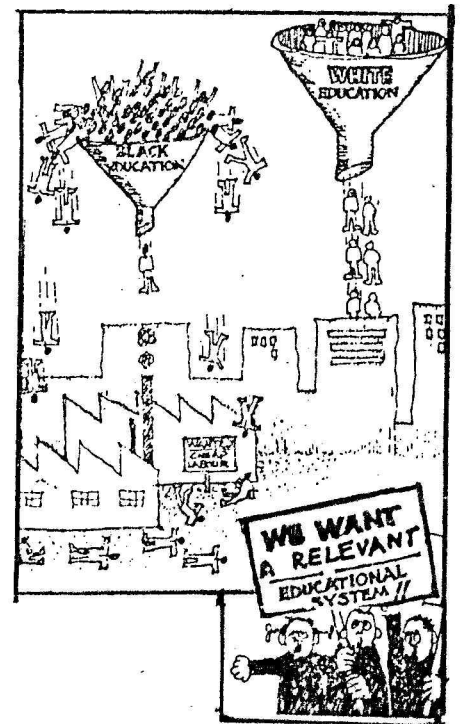


for different classes in society. For the wealthy, attending private schools, education is a training ground in leadership, an experience in exercising authority and making decisions. For most black students, the children of the working class, education is about the acceptance of the society, obedience, hard work, and an understanding of routine (doing the same boring thing over and over again - see article on alienation).

## JOBS

Students from working class families are expected to show correct attitudes and behaviour. They are expected to be obedient to authority and their place in the school hierarchy. They are made to be punctual and to wait until the end of the year before they get their rewards - that is, being promoted into the next standard. If students do not abide by the rules, they are punished. All these aspects of

schooling prepares or socialises students into accepting their position as workers after school, since workers too are expected to be polite, punctual, and expected to wait till payday for their rewards. Like students are punished, workers are fired



# EDUCATION

The highpoints in the heroic struggles of oppressed students (1976, 1980, and 1985), have shown the courage and determination of students in rejecting the present educational system.

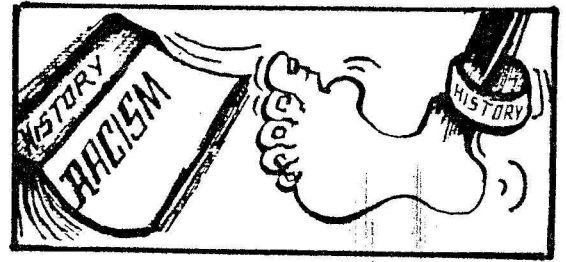
## RESISTANCE

Important lessons, however, have been learnt. The first is that the class that is capable of effectively transforming society is the working class. Student struggle must link up and support the leading role of workers. This can be and has been done in a number of ways. Students have taken up support work for unionised workers, they have also worked jointly with their parents on issues like high rents and high transport costs. Strong grassroots organisations, whether they are unions, civics, youth organisations, parents-teachers-student associations (PTSAs), must be built and strengthened.

Secondly, many students have realised that resistance must be carefully planned. We must use our weapons wisely. The boycott, used indefinitely ("until liberation"); can become destructive.

Serious people in the liberation struggle have also realised that they should work democratically and not impose views and actions onto their fellow oppressed. We can't afford sectarianism and in-fighting.

Finally, students must grapple with political theory and use it as a guide to action. We must understand the nature of South African society and then we will know what to replace it with. This can be accomplished through study groups and alternative education.



## ALTERNATIVES

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, 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 labour market.

*An example of alternative education during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.*



### Nouns:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
comrade	comrades	gun	guns
enemy	enemies	colonialist	colonialists
people	people	home	homes
party	parties	jail	jails
soldier	soldiers	tax	taxes
war	wars	policeman	policemen
government	government	weapon	weapons
law	laws	leader	leaders

### Adverbs:

- Sometimes the colonialists arrested the people.
- We must always remember the heroes who died at Simons.
- Everyday I think about the war of liberation.
- Tomorrow I shall go home.
- Last year we killed many enemy soldiers.
- Yesterday we fought a fierce battle.
- Now I am a good soldier.

### Adjectives:

mugh	more	most
good	better	best
poor	poorer	poorest
happy	happier	happiest
cruel	more cruel	most cruel
brave	more brave	most brave
many	more	most

1986 marks 100 years of capitalist exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg. The people who have built this city - the black workers - do not benefit from celebrations around Johannesburg's centenary. Workers are paid starvation wages and their unions and organisations are constantly harassed by the very people who support the celebrations.

## 1976

1986 also marks a decade since the heroic uprising of black youth in 1976. We will not do justice to the memory of hundreds of our slain brothers and sisters if we soil our hands by celebrating. The Johannesburg Centenary Festival Association (JCFA), intended spending R275 million on wasteful projects and celebrations. Much of this money was to come from big - business.



Yet, these very companies do not give workers a living wage. These companies have also laid off thousands of workers thus increasing the high number of unemployed people in our country (close to 4 million).

## PROJECTS

Consider the projects already under way: R60 million on a model gold mining village (largely for tourists), R10 million renovations to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, and a staggering R26 million for the Small Street Mall Project. The JCFA also intended spending millions on extensions to the Market Theatre and the Johannesburg Zoo.

The Community Support Committee (COSCO) has been largely responsible for exposing these celebrations and calling for a "centenary" boycott. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) sponsored a resolution at the COSATU launch which resolved to "ensure that all unions under the banner of COSATU organise an alternative programme to highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg, and in particular the mining industry".

Together with COSCO and NUM, we in Action Youth condemn the authorities for spending millions on celebrations - yet they cannot provide proper and decent housing, recreational and schooling facilities in our areas. We say NO to celebrating 100 years of our own oppression.

# THE FACTORY BELONGS TO US! THE SIT-IN STRIKE

Strikes legal or illegal are always a problem because of dismissals. Police are usually called in when strikers are dismissed. Management can usually rely on the large numbers of unemployed workers to fill the strikers' places.

Once workers leave factories it becomes difficult to win a strike. The tactic of the sit-in overcomes both these problems. New workers - scabs - are kept out by

strikers guarding the factory gates. When workers are in the factory, management are reluctant to call in the police. The bosses fear that their machines will be destroyed. In addition, the rest of the community becomes involved. Workers inside the factory depend on them for material support. The consciousness of non-workers is raised and links are forged between them and the workers.



The sit-in tactic places control of the strike directly into the hands of the workers. Depending on the extent and the form of the sit-in, workers gain a vision of how a new, worker-controlled society might function.

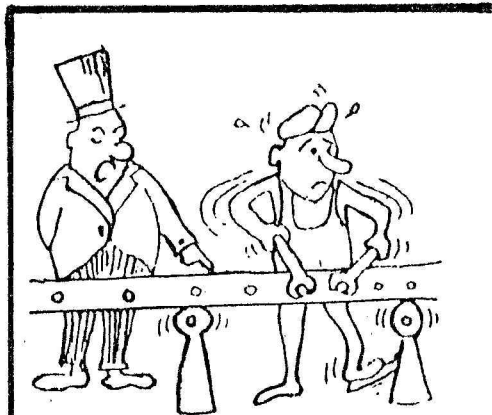
# Notes on Theory No 4

In previous issues of Vukani we've seen how bosses make profits at the expense of workers (Surplus Value, Vukani No.2). We've also discussed how some capitalists grow bigger and make more money by competing with other capitalists in the exploitation of workers so that increasingly, wealth is concentrated into the hands of fewer and fewer people (Accumulation of Capital, Vukani No.3). In the last issue of Vukani we've shown how the class that rules economically, that is, those who own the means of production (land, mines, factories) - the capitalists, also rule politically: they control the State. The state includes the police, army, courts, education system and media. These parts work together. We've concluded that in a capitalist society, the function of the state is to uphold the system of oppression and exploitation. In this issue of Vukani we examine the concept "alienation".

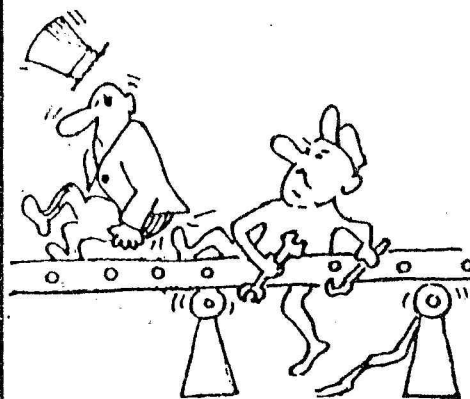
## DIVISION OF LABOUR

Alienation basically means being cut off or isolated from oneself, the work one does, and from society.

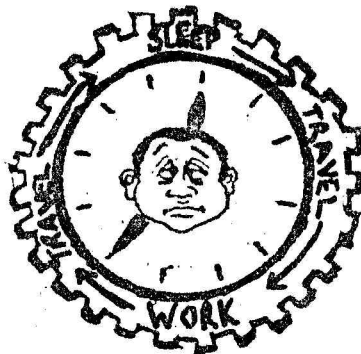
Jobs for most factory workers are divided up or fragmented into a number of smaller tasks each done by different workers. This is called the technical division of labour. For example, single workers in a car factory don't build a car from start to finish alone.



1. Can't you do something with your right foot as well?



2. Yes, this!



Individual workers build one part of a car over and over again. Different workers build different parts. Most workers do the same work day in, day out for years.

## NO CONTROL

With this division of labour, a worker only needs to know one part of the whole job. This is boring and repetitive work. Workers are forced to do this kind of unsatisfying work in order to survive. The word "alienation" is used to describe how this work affects people. Alienated workers feel unfulfilled and cut off from themselves. They also feel cut off from the products they produce, which belongs to someone else (the capitalists), and not to themselves. Workers have no control over their jobs and the goods they make.

They have no say in what kind of goods must be made to benefit society and how these must be distributed. Workers have no opportunity to think about the goods they make. They cannot give suggestions about how a product can be improved or changed. Their capacity to think must stop, but their bodies must work. There is no creativity involved when they work. Workers, one can say, are then reduced to the level of animals.

Think of this example. You can compare a bee with an architect. Both

At the end of February this year Ferdinand Marcos, the dictator of the Philippines for twenty years, was forced to flee the country. A million people took to the streets of Manila, the capital city, to confront his columns of troops and tanks. The masses had had enough of poverty and undemocratic government.

An American imperialist puppet, Marcos has been faithful to only one thing - the lining of his and his friends' pockets with the profits of misery and death.

In September 1972, Marcos declared martial law to "save the Republic and to reform it". Martial law put all power in the hands of Marcos. Thirty thousand people were arrested and Marcos himself admitted to holding 50,000 political prisoners in 100 detention camps in 1975.

## Elections

Last year Marcos announced that "fair and free" elections would take place on February 7. The elections were intended

on the shoulders of Cory, the widow of Benigno Aquino. She was popular with the people and could command the confidence of the ruling class. Cory Aquino's decision to stand for elections was

made after discussions with the U.S. ambassador and the archbishop of Manila. Cory, together with Doy Laurel, stood for elections under the banner of the "People's Party" and campaigned under the slogan "People's Power".



A demonstration last year to protest at the acquittal of the alleged murderers of Benigno Aquino—the main opposition leader. Now his widow is standing against Marcos in the election

In 1969, Marcos was "re-elected" president after he spent millions of dollars to win support and crush political dissent. The country was plunged into chaos. Inflation soared, the money (Peso) lost 60 percent in value and there were major food shortages. Marcos tried "reform" through the Constitutional Convention, but this was rejected. Fighting increased on the streets, with every demonstration ending with deaths. In the countryside, the army had to deal with the National People's Army (NPA), the military wing of the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines.

to allow Marcos to legitimise his dictatorial rule, which was being questioned more and more inside and outside the Philippines. Marcos tried hard to win - bribery, fraud, assassinations.

The crisis which led to the election was sparked off by the assassination of Benigno Aquino in August 1983. This incident split the Filipino ruling class. Opposition to Marcos became widespread. It cut across all classes! United States imperialism and the local bourgeoisie had to find a replacement if they wanted to keep the Left out. This fell

The left was divided. Bayan, a militant organisation of radicals, trade unionists, students and community organisations, initially boycotted the elections, but the right wing split and supported Aquino.

After the fraudulent election results were announced, the people once again took to the streets. Important sections of the military refused to support Marcos, instead supporting Aquino. Marcos was forced to flee. The People's Party took office.

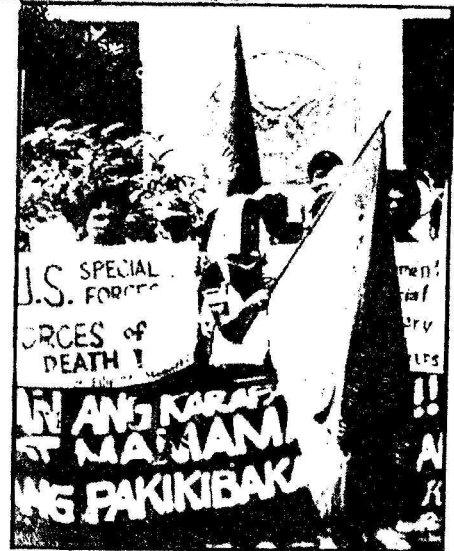
# PHILIPPINES



MARCOS

Cory Aquino is a very rich landowner and is surrounded by a "mafia" of upper class intellectual advisers. Many of them have been loyal supporters of Marcos and have a vested financial interest in stability in the Philippines. These friends of Aquino have been courted by the U.S. which has over 2 billion dollars invested in the Philippines. Aquino has dropped her commitment to get rid of U.S. military bases, and to redistribute the land.

get rid of Marcos will have their aspirations met. Yet the ordinary Filipino people have felt their power in the factories and on the streets. What is heartening for socialists the world over is to see the embryo of a workers' power that can get rid of not just Marcos, but the Americans, and ultimately, every single one of the bosses and bureaucrats who run and ruin our lives.



Anti-government and US demo

Doy Laurel, who is now Prime Minister, was for years one of Marcos's henchmen. He is also the owner of some of the biggest mines in the north of the country. One of Aquino's closest economic advisers, Jamie Ongpin is president of one of the Philippines' largest mining corporations, the Banquet Corporation. Lieutenant General Fidel Ramos, a distant cousin of Marcos and the Acting Chief of Staff of the Filipino armed forces, is now a key figure in Aquino's government. He complained two years ago that he didn't have enough power to crush the "communist insurgents".

With leaders such as these, we doubt whether the Filipino peasants and workers who sacrificed so much to

★ Marcos's personal wealth runs to billions of dollars. The majority of the 43 million Filipinos earn less than £2.50 a day—less than it costs to feed them

The Americans de-colonised the conglomerate of 7,000 islands in South East Asia in 1945.

Over half the population live in

rural areas.

In the mid 1970s the Army, the navy and the air force were doubled from 31,000 to 78,000 and the para-military Philippines Constabulary grew from 23,000 to 35,000.

In four years defence spending leapt from \$92 million to \$410 million and real wages dropped 30 percent.

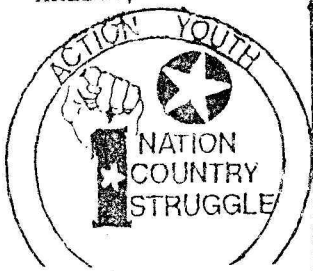
## LESSONS FOR US

We have seen the treachery of the bourgeoisie in the Philippines. In South Africa, we also have the liberal bourgeoisie who are anti-apartheid. But what they want to replace apartheid - capitalism with is a reformed capitalism. Exploitation will

continue. The imperialists, around the world are also looking at South Africa. They also want reforms, but reforms where the capitalist system will remain. We must not be fooled. Only a socialist society will bring in a society we all desire.



ARISE!/VUKA



ARISE!/VUKA

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

ARISE!/VUKA

is the newspaper of ACTION YOUTH. the principles of ACTION YOUTH are:

- anti - racism
- anti - imperialism
- anti - ethnicity
- anti - collaboration
- anti - sexism
- paramountcy of working-class interest and ideas
- democratic criticism - self-criticism

ACTION YOUTH participates in the National Forum.

ARISE!/VUKA

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

ARISE!/VUKA

while focusing its coverage mainly on South Africa nevertheless give 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 give critical support to Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and all other third world countries in which the ruling parties are engaged in the process of socialist reconstruction.

ARISE!/VUKA

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



## WHERE DO YOU FIT IN?

Some keep their organisations strong  
 While others join, just to belong.  
 Some volunteer and do their share,  
 While some there are who barely care.  
 On meeting days, some always show,  
 While some there are who never go.  
 Some always pay their dues ahead:  
 Some get behind for months instead.  
 Some do their best, some build,  
 some make.  
 Some never do — just sit and take.  
 Some lag behind, just let things go,  
 And never help their, group to grow.  
 Some drag, some pull. Some don't,  
 some do.  
 Consider: which of these are you?



any

COMPLAINTS?

any  
IDEAS?



any  
LETTERS?

any  
HELPING-HANDS?

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