

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

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***Only workers' rule can replace
apartheid dictatorship!***

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Only workers' rule can replace apartheid dictatorship

The President's Council, and the other constitutional changes now being put forward by the government, are being hailed by the capitalist press as "epoch-making" reforms. But, as one worker put it, "dis maar nog net weer 'n bietjie jam in die mond."

These changes offer nothing of value to the working masses.

We want a democratic government of the working people, able to end poverty wages, the pass laws, racial humiliation, and all the other tortures of apartheid—made heavier every day by the economic crisis.

The President's Council is an empty shell.

These manoeuvres by the ruling class are a sign of the developing revolutionary crisis. Under the combined onslaught of the resurgent workers' movement and the world capitalist crisis, the whole political atmosphere is being transformed.

For generations the majority of the people have been whipped into line by the twin sjamboks of national oppression and capitalist exploitation—by the cheap labour system and a dictatorship resting on white support.

Now, under the fierce hammer blows of strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, etc—spearheaded by the battalions of the working class—this whole structure is beginning to crack. The oppressed and exploited are impressing on the minds of the ruling class their refusal to continue to submit.

To maintain profits in the crisis, the capitalists are also compelled to pull away from under the white workers the cushion of privilege on which they have been sitting. The paint with which the class fissures in the white community were concealed has begun to peel off, ex-

posing unease and suspicion towards the intentions of the regime.

The old ways of ruling have failed to stem the tide of black resistance. The President's Council proposals are a pathetic attempt of the capitalists to find a new way to rule. But this frantic attempt to divide the people by seeking the collaboration of Indian and Coloured sections of the tiny and weak middle class is doomed.

The middle class also can see that "representation" is being offered in a "parliament" whose already small powers are being reduced even further. Only a few vain and foolish middle class leaders will want to beat such an empty drum, and parade in "corridors of power" from which power has vanished.

Unable to solve a single basic problem of the workers, the bankrupt capitalist class is also incapable of satisfying the black middle class. More and more, the ranks of the middle class turn towards the revitalised working class movement to find a way forward.

With its support draining away on all sides, the capitalist class grows increasingly divided. For the survival of its system, it is making preparations to root out what little of 'democracy' remains, and concentrate its rule in the military-police machinery of the state.

The real significance of the new proposals lies in the establishment of an Executive Presidency, with almost unlimited power.

The purpose of this is spelled out in the capitalist press itself. One commentator draws an analogy with the dictatorship of Bonaparte (Napoleon III, 1850-1871) in France, established by the

capitalists because "the only way by which they could secure their material interests, their social power and the suppression of the proletarian revolution was to accept someone who pretends to stand above the contending classes." (*Rand Daily Mail* 19/5/1982)

Increasingly the SA capitalists are forced to place their hopes for survival in such a Bonapartist regime—a regime relying on bayonets, while manoeuvring and balancing between the pressures of the opposing classes—attempting to hold down the oppressed and exploited in a reign of terror, and containing the ever-growing discontent of the whites.

The move along this road signals the increasing weakness and decay of the ruling class, and the opportunities that will open up for the transformation of society. This means rooting out the profit system and smashing the military-police dictatorship which defends it.

The methods of guerillaism cannot achieve this. The way forward to victory lies in building the conscious armed organised power of the working class, whose growing confidence and strength terrifies the bosses. Around this pole of attraction can be forged unity in action of all the oppressed.

The struggle for democracy, national liberation and social reforms will be securely won only through the establishment of workers' democratic rule, laying the foundations for socialism.

To build the ANC as the conscious instrument of this struggle, with these perspectives and programme, is the duty of every activist.

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AUGUST 1982

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Introduction

The Chinese Revolution, involving the victory of Mao Tse-tung's Red Army over the bourgeois regime of Chiang Kai-shek in 1944-49, has been the greatest event in human history after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Liberating a quarter of mankind from capitalism and landlordism, it has been a forerunner of many subsequent revolutions that have abolished the rule of private property in country after country of the former colonial world, from Cuba in 1959-60 to Angola and Mozambique in 1974-75.

China's economic growth since the revolution has confirmed the immense superiority of production on the basis of state ownership and planning over the hopeless stagnation of capitalism in the 'third world'. This has been the case even though the regime that developed in China has been bureaucratically deformed from the start, modelled on Stalin's regime in Russia.

In previous Supplements (no's 4 and 5) we have examined the processes that gave rise to the establishment of a workers' state in backward Russia in 1917, and later to the political counter-revolution headed by Stalin, which placed a privileged bureaucratic caste in power on the basis of the planned economy.

To workers and youth in South Africa and the world over, it is equally important to understand the course of the Chinese Revolution. Not only is this necessary for a correct orientation towards developments in China today; the lessons of the Chinese Revolution provide us with essential theoretical tools for analysing the revolutionary struggles that have swept the colonial world since 1949, and drawing from them the correct conclusions as far as our own struggle is concerned.

The Chinese Revolution—unlike the Russian Revolution where for a period workers' democracy was established—gave rise to a deformed workers' state presided over by a Stalinist bureaucracy. To understand why this happened, it is necessary to go into the history of the revolution, in particular the

critical period of the 1920s.

In fact, the revolution of 1944-49 was the third great upheaval in the struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants to rid themselves of the yoke of imperial rule and, later, of the corrupt regime of the bourgeoisie. The first Chinese revolution led to the overthrow of the Manchu empire in 1911; the second revolution of 1925-27, in which the working class emerged as the leading force, is dealt with in this Supplement.

Lessons

The events of the 1920s laid the basis for the course taken by the third revolution (which will be examined in a following Supplement). The fundamental lessons of this period are explained in the document which we reprint here. *Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution* was written by Leon Trotsky in 1928, addressed to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in answer to the ideas put forward by the leadership of Stalin and Bukharin. Unfortunately, for reasons of space, the sections of Trotsky's document headed "Adventurism as the Product of Opportunism" and "The Advantages Secured from the Peasants' International Must be Probed", as well as the opening and concluding paragraphs relating to the circumstances of the Congress itself, have had to be omitted.

The document was written against the background of the defeated second Chinese revolution. During the magnificent struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants in 1925-27, the leadership of the Communist International forced the Chinese Communist Party to subordinate itself to the bourgeois leadership of the Kuomintang nationalist movement, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. This, they claimed, was necessary because in China the task of establishing bourgeois democracy was on the agenda.

In fact, as Trotsky explains, the Chinese revolution was 'bourgeois' only in the sense that the tasks carried through by the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries in

the period of the rise of capitalism—the creation of national unity; the establishment of parliamentary rule; the abolition of feudal relations on the land, etc.—had not yet been carried through in China.

But the point is that the Chinese bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying through these tasks. Weak, economically bankrupt and politically rotten, it was the instrument of foreign imperialist interests and had nothing to offer the working masses in their struggle for social emancipation.

The policy of the Communist International, based on the illusion that the Chinese bourgeoisie could lead the struggle against imperialism and serve as an ally of the Soviet regime, therefore completely disarmed and disoriented the Chinese workers' movement as to the tasks—and the dangers—that faced them. This led directly to the slaughter of the revolutionary workers of Shanghai in April 1927 at the hands of the officially-proclaimed 'revolutionary leader' Chiang Kai-shek (whom Stalin had made an honorary member of the Executive of the Communist International).

But the Comintern leadership, having abandoned the method of Marxism in favour of short-sighted opportunism dictated by the interests of the Russian bureaucracy, were unable to learn the lessons of this catastrophe. They modified their policy only to the extent of instructing the Chinese CP to attach themselves to the 'Left Kuomintang', i.e. the Wuhan government led by Wang Ching-Wei, which temporarily found itself in opposition to Chiang.

Inevitably this led to fiasco, with the 'Left Kuomintang' very quickly breaking with the CP in order to come to terms with Chiang.

Stalin and the Comintern leadership now reacted by jumping from their opportunist policies to an opposite but equally disastrous ultra-left position. In December 1927, with the revolution on the ebb as a result of their own blunders, the CP staged a futile putsch in Canton which was bloodily repressed. (This marked the beginning of Stalinism's

Ke mmuso wa basumi feela wo o ka kgonago go lokalla

"aphartheid" (kgethologanya ya batho)

Mangwalo a makhaphithalisi a tumisa makgothlana a Mopheresidenthe le phethologanya ya melao bjalo kage nke ke dikaonofatso tsa nnete tsa mmuso. Mosumi o mongwe o opile kgomo le naka ge are diphethogo tse bjalo ga di hole lesaba la basumi ka selo.

Re nyaka mmuso wo o tlogo goba ka diatleng tsa basumi, wo o tlogo go kgona go busa setshaba kamoka ka go swana le go lekana; mmuso wo o kgonago go fedisa ditlala, wo o tlogo go lefa basumi ka mokgwa wo o tlogo go fedisa ditlaisego tse di tliswago ke "aphartheid", tseo di thathafalago letsatsi ka letsatsi le mabothata a "ekhonomi".

Mathaithai a re a bonago ke ditaetso tsa gore babusi ba swere mathata a atlogo ka mmetela. Moya wo o mobe wa dipholothiki tsa lehono o ka fetoswa ke ge basumi ka bo bona ba ka kgona go etlamaganya le mabothata a lefase ao atliswago ke makhaphithalisi.

Kgatelelo ya mmuso wa maburu le khulo ya bomenemene (exploitation) Ya batho ke makhaphithalisi ke tsona tse di gapeleditsego melokoloko ya batho ka bontshi go somela ditefo tse di nyenyane. Ditiro tse di tliswa ke go dumelela mmuso wo bothata wa makgowa.

Popego ye yohle ya dipholithiki lehono e thomile go phatlolwa ke "diseteraike", "dipoekhotho" le "ditemonsetereisene" tsa go tiya tsa masole a basumi. Bagatelelwa le bahulwa (oppressed and exploited) ba tswelapele go goptsa babusi ba maburu gore bona ba ka seke ba dumelela go gatelelwapele. Ditshireletso tseo di bego di pipeditse setshabana sa makgowa di thomile go apoga (kgoramologa) gomme go se ipshine le bomenemene bja maburu di thoma go iponatsa.

Makgwa yela ya kgale ya go busa maburu ga se yaka ya kgona go ka thibela kgotlelelo ya batho ba baso go lwela kaonofatso ya bophelo bja bona. Ka lekgotla la "Mopheresidenthe" makhaphithalisi ba leka ka boithagarago go ka hwetsa mekgwa e meswa ya go busa. Eupja teko ye

ya tlaletsego yeo maburu a lekago ka yona go ka tlosalanya batho ba Aforika-borwa ka go goketsa diripanyana tsa go fokola tsa baintdia le bakhalate ga ena tswelapele.

Ba forwa (middle class people) le bona ba setse ba lemoga gore "phalamente" yeo e ba holofetsago kemelelo ka "phalamenteng" (representation) matlana a yona a fokotsega go ya le goya. E tla noba baetapele ba baforetswa ba ditlaela le go hlokakgopolo bao ba tlogo go tsama ba letsa dinakana le go holofela go ka hwetsa puso le moo puso e sa hwetswego.

Makhaphithalisi ao a go phuthagana fase ka dimpa ba palelwa le ke go rarolla bothatale ka botee bja basomi. Ka lebaka leo ga gone kgonagalo ya gore ba ka kgotsofatsa baforetswa ka go ba fa puso yeo ba ba holofetsago yona. Goya le goya baetapele ka magareng a sehlophana sa baforetswa le bona ba rata go ka gomela ka sehlopheng se se ipupilego (movement) sa basumi go tla go hwetsa ditsela tsa go tswelapele.

Kwano ya maburu e thomile go hlohlorega ka Mathoko ohle, ka lebaka leo diphapano tsa megopolo tsa makhaphithalisi di ntshifala goya le goya. Gore ba tle ba kgone go pholosa mokgwa wa puso, babusi ba tukisetsa go tumula le masaledinyana a medu ya "botemokheresi" (puso ya batho ke batho = democracy). Ka mokgwa wo ba rata go ka kgobeletsa maatla a puso ka diatleng tsa masole le "maphodisa".

Segolothata ka mo tshisinyong e mpsha ya maburu ke go leka go bopa maloko-magolo a "Mopheresidenthe" ao a filwego maatla ao a senago mellwane le bofelo ka pusong ya bona.

Dikgopolo tse di laetswa ke mangwalo ao a ngwadilego ke makhaphithalisi ka bo bona. Mongwaledi ("mokhomenthara") o mongwe o swantsa mmuso wo wa lehono le mmuso wa kgatelelo matsatsing a puso ya Bonaparte (Napoleon III, 1850-1871) nageng ya Fora. Makhaphithalisi a ife a kgethe

puso ye ka go leka go sireletsa "diinttherese" tsa bona tsa khumo le bogolo ka setshabeng le go leka go gatelela di phethogo tseo badiidi ba bego ba di hlabanela. Ka Mokgwa wo makhaphithalisi a dumetse go ka sumisana le yoo a itirilego o kare o emela ditumelo tsa baforetswa (Rand Daily Mail, 19.5.1982).

Goya le goya makhaphithalisi a Aforika-borwa le bona ba holofetse go ka somisa puso ye ya Bonaparte ka go leka go ithekga le go dira mathaithai le manyokenyoke go dimo ga dinthana tsa "dipaonete" magareng a mehutahuta ya "diinttherese" (dikgopolo) tseo di sa swanego ka go leka go kokobetsa bagatelelwa le bahulwa ka puso ya bogale le go homotsa makgowa godimo ga dilo tsa bona. Ditiro tse di supa ntshifalo ya bofokodi le go kgwetlepana ga sehlophana sa babusi.

Di bula ditsela tsa phetogo ka setshabeng. Ka go riano ke gore mokgowa wa go bopa "diphorofiti" o tla tumulwa ka medu ya wona le go pshatlaganya puso ya lerumo yeo masole le maphodisa ba lekago go e hlabanela.

Mekgwa ya golwa-o-tshaba (guerrillism) e ka seka ya kgona go fenya mabothata a. Tsela yeo e isago phenyong ya maburu ke go ka bopa le go kgoboketsa ditlhabano tsa basumi godimo ga boitumelo bjo bo tletsego.

Kholofelo le maatla a basumi ao a golago ka mehla le mehla di rorometsa mmuso wa maburu. Tlemegano ya bagatelelwa e swanetse go bopja godimo ga tsela ye. Go lwela puso ya setshaba ka setshaba (democracy) le tokologo ya setshaba le go tliša dimphafatso ka setshabeng di ka hwetswa feela ka go bopa puso ya basumi yeo e tla go go beya motheo wa phedisano setshabeng.

Gore lekgotla la "ANC" le tle le kgone go bopja e le sebetsa sa boitumelo ka mo ntweng, dikgopolo tseo di laetsago bophelo bja ka moso le boitukisetso bja tsona e swanetse go ba boikgafelo bja yo mongwe le yo mongwe yo a itlamilego go hlabana ka mo ntweng.

period of ultra-leftism which continued until 1935.)

This was the final nail in the coffin of the Second Chinese Revolution. Combined with the further decay of the international Communist leadership, this defeat was to have decisive consequences for the subsequent development of the revolution.

The movement of the working class was crushed for a whole period. The remnants of the CP leadership abandoned the towns for the countryside, where they succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the renewed peasant revolt that built up during the 1930s.

As will be explained more fully in a future Supplement, it was the new international balance of forces arising after World War II that enabled the Stalinist leadership commanding this peasant army to take power in 1949—and left them no option but to carry through the expropriation of the landowners and capitalists despite their programme which still called for an alliance with the capitalist class.

Alternative

During 1926 and 1927 Trotsky criticised the Comintern's policies from the posts which he still held in the leading bodies of the Russian CP and the International, and at every stage spelled out the revolutionary alternative. As far as the Stalinists were concerned, these arguments fell on deaf ears. By 1928, Trotsky had been expelled from the Party by the bureaucracy and driven into exile in Siberia (from where he wrote this document). Political debate was now being stifled throughout the Communist movement.

The document reprinted here—part of Trotsky's broader *Critique* of the Comintern's new programme—was itself suppressed. (An English translation fell into the hands of American delegates to the Sixth Congress, who were convinced by its arguments and published it in the US later that year.)

Edward Roux, one of the South African CP delegates to this Congress, recalls in his memoirs: "A typed copy of Trotsky's thesis on the situation in China was circulated among some of the delegates...It

was a damaging attack on Stalin's policy in China. Of this Clements Dutt (a British CP delegate—*Editor*) said to me in all seriousness: 'Trotsky's analysis is of course correct, but I'm sorry to say that Trotsky is no longer a communist' "(!) (*Rebel Pity*, page 63.)

The correctness of Trotsky's fundamental position—that the demands of the workers and peasants could not be satisfied without the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism—was confirmed by the revolution of 1944-49, although, for the reasons that have been outlined, this revolution was carried through in a distorted, bureaucratised form.

Under working-class leadership—as in Russia in 1917 and as called for by Trotsky in China—there can be no doubt that the effects of the revolution would have been earth-shattering, galvanising the working class into revolutionary struggles throughout the capitalist world in this period of crisis and turmoil internationally. In these perspectives, cut across by the policies of Stalinism, the full significance of Trotsky's position can be seen.

South Africa

Although the conditions of China differed in important respects from those of South Africa today, many of the issues discussed in this document are of crucial relevance to our struggle—not least because many of the uncorrected errors of Stalinism which are dealt with here have survived in the official Communist parties, and have been reasserted in the SA liberation movement.

In particular, the notion of a 'democratic stage' of the revolution **preceding** the establishment of workers' rule, which lay at the root of the Stalinist position on China, is being put forward in much the same way by the present leaders of the SA Communist Party and their supporters in the ANC. Trotsky's refutation of this idea will help comrades prepare for the crucial task of *dispelling all illusions of this nature* among the rank and file of our movement.

Likewise, although there is no significant peasantry in SA, Trotsky's criticism of "Workers' and

peasants' parties" deserves careful study. Clearly explaining the need for independent working-class leadership, it provides a revolutionary answer to the more general Stalinist tendency towards policies of class collaboration. Absorbing Trotsky's arguments and method in relation to these issues will assist comrades in fighting for a correct position in the SA workers' movement.

Marxism does not oppose class **alliances**, as our opponents allege; but Marxism understands that in the age of imperialism a **revolutionary** alliance of the workers, peasants and other oppressed layers can only *be built around the programme of the working class for the socialist transformation of society*. With capitalism incapable of providing a way forward, only the workers' revolution can end the oppression of the peasantry, the middle class, etc., by imperialism and its national agents.

Yet CP leaders continue to insist, as stubbornly as in China in the 1920s, that in order to form an alliance with other classes oppressed by capitalism, the working class must **abandon its programme for the overthrow of capitalism**, and link itself to 'all progressive forces' (including 'progressive' sections of the bourgeoisie) on a programme for 'national democracy' **within the limits of capitalism**. What else is this but a recipe for renewed disorientation and defeat of the workers' struggle?

Absorbing Trotsky's arguments and method in relation to these issues will assist comrades in fighting for a correct position in the SA workers' movement, in building the ANC and the independent trade unions on healthy foundations, and ensuring that mistakes of the past are left behind for good.

The analysis put forward in this document and in our following Supplement will show that Marxism alone has correctly understood the nature of the Chinese Revolution in all its different phases. In addition to all the specific lessons, our sense of historical understanding, perspectives, strategy and tactics, as well as our ability to correctly analyse new situations, will be enormously enriched by studying this material.

Ngumbuso wabasebenzi kuphela ongaphelisa ulawulo ngobungqwangang- qwili bocalucalulo ngebala

Iqumru lika Mongameli-Sizwe (Presidents Council), nezinye iingqalelo ngokusemthethweni ezithenjisiwe kutsha nje ngurulumente zibabazwa ngamaphephandaba oongxowankulu ngelithi, ezimbalini, eli likhefu engcinezelwini. Kambe omnye umsebenzi sele eyibeke ngelithi: "dis maar nog net weer 'n bietjie jam in die mond". (Kukosulwa kwakhona ngamafutha emlonyeni inyama ungayindlanga.)

Aba songuqululo balilize kubasebenzi.

Sifuna urulumente ophethwe ulawulwa ngabasebenzi ngokulinganayo ozakuphelisa imirolo yendlala, amapasi, ucekiso ngebala nazo zonke iintshutshiso zocalulungebala, ezenziwa nzima mihla le lunxunguphalo lwendyebo yoongxowankulu.

Eli Qumru lika Mongameli-Sizwe likhoba.

Obubuhokolo boongxowankulu bubonisa ukuzinga kwenyikima yabasebenzi. Phantsi komvatho ombobo-mbini wogquthe, oluvuke kwakhona, lwesitshingitshane sentshukumo yabasebenzi, nenkinge yendyebo yobungxowankulu emhlabeni jikelele, isimo sezombuso wonke siyatshintsha.

Izizukulwana ngezizukulwana umndilili ungonjwe ngemvubu embaxa-mbini, yengcinezelo ngobuzwe nobungxowankulu—ulawulo ngekrele lwekratshi lobulungu nesimo semirolo yendlala.

Kungoku nje, phantsi kwemivatho, etsho kanobom, yogwayimbo (yokutrayika) yokwayo (yobhoyikhothi) nentlaba mikhosi njalo, egalelwa yimikhosi yabasebenzi, sonke esisakhiwo sengcinezelo siqalile ukughekeka. Abacinezelweyo nabancukuthwayo bacacise mhlophe koongxowankulu ukuba abakungeni ukuzinikela.

Ukukhusela iipolofithi zabo kusenkinge, oongxowankulu banyanzelekile futhi ukuba bohluthe nelonqathana lisemlonyene wabasebenzi abamhlophe elikade libenze izimumu zakwamlungu. Le kalika yobulungu ebeyifihle ubundidi-ndidi kuhlana labamhlophe iqalile ukuxwebuka,

kwangena kubasebenzi abamhlophe ukuxhalaba nokungathembi iinjongo zikarulumente.

Ukulawula ngendlel'endala koyisakele ukubhangisa umzabalazo wabamnyama. Le migudu yeQumru lika Mongameli-Sizwe kuku bopha nje inyanda yamathumbu koongxowankulu befunana nandlela yimbi yokulawula. Kodwa elilinge lobutyhakala lokwahlula abamnyama ngenjongo zokwenza inxenye yama-Indiya nabe Bala, bengcuntswana lodidi loophangwana abamnyama, ukuba babe ngamajendevu libhangile.

Oophangwana nabo baya mbona lo 'sozimele' abaqhutyelwa kuye ukuba ngowe palamente engasayi kuba namagunya okulawula. Zinkokheli zoophangwana eziralayo nezizityhakala kuphela eziya kufuna ukum'om'ozela kule fatyi eze, bet-safa iintambo eseziqhawulwe.

Bengenako nokuncombulula nenye ingxaki embala yabasebenzi, ukulambatha koongxowankulu kubenza bangakwazi ukvanelisa noophangwana aba bamnyama. Umndilili woophangwana ujonge ngakumbi, ngakumbi kwintshukumo, ethe vumbu kwakhona, yabasebenzi, befuna indlela eyaphambili.

Ngokupatyalaka kwendlu kanomyayi yobumhlophe, oongxowankulu bangenelwe yintlekele yokughekeka phakathi. Ukusindisa umbuso wabo, benza amalungiselelo okutshabalalisa iingcambu zokugqibela zombuso kamasilingane (wabamhlophe) obusisidodo kakade, beqinisa ukukwakha umbuso wabo oza kuphathwa ngamajoni namapolisa—umbuso wekrele.

Owona mongo wale migudu emitsha usekusekweni ko Mongameli-Sizwe onamagunya angenakuphikiswa.

Injongo yoku ibekwe ebaleni ngamaphepha-ndaba oongxowankulu ngokwawo. Esinye isithethi siyifanekise lemeko nombuso ngekrele kaBhonaphathi (Napoliyoni III, 1850-1871) kwelama Frentshi, apho oongxowankulu bavumela lemeko kuba "inye kuphela indlela abangathi ba-

qinise ngayo ukufukamela ubutyebi babo, negunya lokulawula isizwe, nokudobelela phantsi intshukumo yenguqulo simo yabasebenzi, yaba kukwamkela umntu onga umi ngaphandle kwedabi loongxowankulu nabasebenzi." (*Rand Daily Mail* 19/5/1982)

Oongxowankulu baseMzantsi-Afrika baya benyanzeleka ngakumbi ukuba babeke amathemba okuzisindisa kulorumente wekrele (wobuBhonaphathi), bayatatsalaza, bayanyonyoba bethe ngiciphu phezu kwamakrele, phantsi komfuthokazi wentlaba zahlukane zeenjongo zendidi ezihlabanayo—bezama ukudobelela phantsi abacinezelweyo nabancukuthwayo kwisihogo sombuso wobundlobongela, yaye bezama nokudambisa ukuvungama okuqina ngokuqina kwabasebenzi abamhlophe.

Ngokuthatha le ndlela babonakalisa ngakumbi ubuthathaka nokubola kwabo oongxowankulu, babonalikalisa futhi, ukuvuleka kwamathuba okuguqula isimo sesizwe, Oku kuthetha ukuphelisa isimo sepolofithi, noku phahlaza uburulumente bobuBhonaphathi obu liphiko lesi simo.

Impi yokuphekula (guerillaism) ayinakuliqabelisa elidabi. Indlela-phambili eya ekuphumeleleni ise komelezeni ngengqiqo yokuququzelela umkhosi oxhobileyo wabasebenzi, okuzondelela nokukhalipha kufaka intaka koongxowankulu. Kuphantsi kwale ntsika kuphela ekunga kheka umanyano ngezenzo zabo bonke abacinezelweyo.

Idabi elilwela umbuso wokulingana, lokuphelisa ingcinezelo-sizwe, lokuguqula nentlalo yoluntu, liya kuphumelela xa kuthe kwakhiwa umbuso olawulwa ngabasebenzi ngokulingana oza kuba sisiseko sesoshiyalizim.

Ukwakha iNkongolo (ANC) ngengqiqo ibe yintonga yokulwa elidabi phezu kwale mibono namabango ngumsebenzi womlwele nkululenko ngamye.

SUMMARY AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

1. On the Nature of the Colonial Bourgeoisie

The draft programme states: 'Temporary agreements [with the national bourgeoisie of colonial countries] are admissible only in so far as the bourgeoisie does not obstruct the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants and wages a genuine struggle against imperialism'.

This formula, although it is deliberately tacked on as an incidental proposition, is one of the central postulates of the draft, for the countries of the Orient, at any rate. The main proposition deals, naturally, with the 'emancipation [of the workers and peasants] from the influence of the national bourgeoisie'. But we judge not from the standpoint of grammar but politically and, moreover, on the basis of experience, and therefore we say: the main proposition is only an incidental one here, while the incidental proposition contains what is most essential. The formula, taken as a whole, is a classic Menshevik noose for the proletariat of the Orient.

What 'temporary agreements' are meant here? In politics, as in nature, all things are 'temporary'. Perhaps we are discussing here purely practical agreements *from one occasion to the next*? It goes without saying that we cannot renounce in advance such rigidly delimited and rigidly practical agreements as serve each time a quite definite aim. For example, such cases as involve agreements with the student youth of the Kuomintang for the organization of an anti-imperialist demonstration, or of obtaining assistance from the *Chinese merchants for strikers in a foreign concession, etc.* Such cases are not at all excluded in the future, even in China. But in that case why are *general* political conditions adduced here, namely, '... in so far as the bourgeoisie does not obstruct the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants and wages a genuine (!) struggle against imperialism'? The sole 'condition' for every agreement with the bourgeoisie, for each separate, practical, and expedient agreement adapted to each given case, consists in not allowing either the organizations or the banners to become mixed directly or indirectly for a single day or a single hour; it consists in distinguishing between the Red and the Blue, and in not believing for an instant in the capacity or readiness of the bourgeoisie either to lead a *genuine* struggle against imperialism or *not to obstruct* the workers and peasants. For practical and expedient agreements we have absolutely no use for such a condition as the one cited above. On the contrary, it could only cause us harm, running counter to the general line of our struggle against capitalism, which is not suspended even during the brief period of an 'agreement'. As was said long ago, purely practical agreements, such as do not bind us in the least and do not oblige us to anything politically, can be concluded with the devil himself, if that is advantageous at a given moment. But it would be absurd in such a case to demand that the devil should *generally* become converted to Christianity, and that he use his horns not against workers and peasants but exclusively for pious deeds. In presenting such conditions we act in reality as the devil's advocates, and beg him to let us become his godfathers.

By its absurd conditions, which serve to paint the bourgeoisie in bright colours in advance, the draft programme states clearly and definitely (despite the diplomatic and incidental character of its thesis) that involved here are precisely long-term political blocs and not agreements for specific occasions concluded for practical reasons and rigidly confined to practical aims. But in such a case, what is meant by demands that the bourgeoisie wage a 'genuine' struggle and that it 'not obstruct' the workers? Do we present these conditions to the bourgeoisie itself, and demand a public promise from it? It will make you any promises you want! It will even send its delegates to Moscow, enter the Peasants' International, adhere as a 'sympathizing' party to the Comintern, peek into the Red International of Labour Unions. In short, it will promise anything that will give it the opportunity (with our assistance) to dupe the workers and peasants, more efficiently, more easily, and more completely to throw sand in their

eyes — until the first opportunity, such as was offered in Shanghai.

But perhaps it is not a question here of political obligations exacted from the bourgeoisie which, we repeat, it will immediately agree to in order thus to transform us into its guarantors before the working masses? Perhaps it is a question here of an 'objective' and 'scientific' evaluation of a given national bourgeoisie, an expert *a priori* 'sociological' prognosis, as it were, of its capacity to wage a struggle and not to obstruct? Sad to say, as the most recent and freshest experience testifies, such an *a priori* prognosis makes fools out of experts as a rule. And it would not be so bad, if only they alone were involved . . .

There cannot be the slightest doubt on the matter: the text deals precisely with long-term political blocs. It would be entirely superfluous to include in a programme the question of occasional practical agreements. For this purpose, a matter-of-fact tactical resolution 'On Our Current Tasks' would suffice. Involved here is a question of justifying and setting a programmatic seal of approval upon yesterday's orientation toward the Kuomintang, which doomed the second Chinese revolution to destruction, and which is capable of destroying revolutions in the future.

According to the idea advanced by Bukharin, the real author of the draft, all stakes are placed precisely upon the general evaluation of the colonial bourgeoisie, whose capacity to struggle and not obstruct must be proved not by its own oaths but in a rigorous 'sociological' manner, that is by a thousand and one scholastic schemas adapted to opportunist purposes.

To bring this out more clearly let us refer back to the Bukharin evaluation of the colonial bourgeoisie. After citing the 'anti-imperialist content' of colonial revolutions, and quoting Lenin (without any justification whatever), Bukharin proclaims:

The liberal bourgeoisie in China played an objectively revolutionary role over a period of a number of years, and not months. Then it exhausted itself. This was not at all a political 'twenty-four hour' holiday of the type of the Russian liberal revolution of 1905.

Everything here is wrong from the beginning to end.

Lenin really taught us to differentiate rigidly between an oppressed and oppressor bourgeois nation. From this follow conclusions of exceptional importance. For instance, our attitude toward a war between an imperialist and a colonial country. For a pacifist, such a war is a war like any other. For a communist, a war of a colonial nation against an imperialist nation is a bourgeois revolutionary war. Lenin thus *raised* the national liberation movements, the colonial insurrections, and wars of the oppressed nations, to the level of the bourgeois democratic revolutions, in particular, to that of the Russian revolution of 1905. But Lenin did not at all place the wars for national liberation *above* bourgeois democratic revolutions as is now done by Bukharin, after his 180 degree turn. Lenin insisted on a distinction between an oppressed bourgeois nation and a bourgeois oppressor nation. But Lenin nowhere raised and never could raise the question as if the bourgeoisie of a colonial or a semi-colonial country in an epoch of struggle for national liberation must be more progressive and more revolutionary than the bourgeoisie of a non-colonial country in the epoch of the democratic revolution. This does not flow from anything in theory; there is no confirmation of it in history. For example, pitiful as Russian liberalism was, and hybrid as was its Left half, the petty-bourgeois democrats, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, it would nevertheless hardly be possible to say that Chinese liberalism and Chinese bourgeois democracy rose to a higher level or were more revolutionary than their Russian prototypes.

To present matters as if there must inevitably flow from the fact of colonial oppression the revolutionary character of a national bourgeoisie is to reproduce inside out the fundamental error of Menshevism, which held that the revolutionary nature of the Russian bourgeoisie must flow from the oppression of feudalism and the autocracy.

The question of the nature and the policy of the bourgeoisie is settled by the entire internal class structure of a nation waging the revolutionary struggle; by the historical epoch in which that struggle develops; by the degree of economic, political, and military dependence of the national bourgeoisie upon world imperialism as a whole

Slegs werkersregering kan apartheid-diktatorskap vervang



Daar word groot ophef gemaak in die kapitalistiese pers oor die Presidentsraad en alle grondwetlike veranderinge wat voorgestel word deur die regering. Dit word beskryf as "tydvakskeppende" hervorminge. Maar, soos een werker dit stel, "dis maar nog net weer 'n bietjie jam in die mond".

Vir die arbeiders is hierdie veranderinge waardeloos. Ons nodig 'n demokratiese regering van die werkende mense—'n regering wat slaaflike, paswette, vernedering op grond van ras en alle marteling onder apartheid—wat elke dag swaarder gemaak word deur die ekonomiese krisis—tot 'n einde kan bring.

Die Presidentsraad is 'n leë dop.

Hierdie knoeiery deur die heersende klas is 'n teken van die revolusionêre krisis wat begin ontstaan. As gevolg van die herlewing in die arbeidersbeweging en die wêreldwye krisis van kapitalisme word die hele politieke atmosfeer verander.

Die meerderheid van die mense is al lank aangedryf deur die twee swepe van kapitalistiese uitbuiting en onderdrukking as 'n volk deur die sisteem van goedkoop arbeid en 'n diktatorskap gegrond op die steun van blankes.

Hierdie hele struktuur begin nou kraak onder die haelstorm van stakinge, boikotte en demonstrasies gelei deur die bataljonne werkers. Die onderdrukte massa weier om langer nederig te wees teenoor die heersende klas.

In die poging om hul profyt te beskerm, word die kapitaliste verplig om die gemakstoel van voorreg onder die blanke arbeiders uit te trek. Die verf wat jare lank die skeure in die blanke gemeenskap weggesteek het, dop 'nou af en verdenking onder blanke arbeiders

word nou blootgestel.

Die ou metodes van beheer kan nie meer die stroom van swart weerstand in toom hou nie. Die voorstelle van die Presidentsraad is 'n swak poging om 'n nuwe manier van beheer uit te werk. Hierdie wanhopige poging om die swartmense te skei deur die medewerking van middelstand kleurling- en Indiërs te kry, is hopeloos.

Die middelklas kan ook sien dat die 'verteenvoordinging' aangebied word in 'n 'Volksraad' wie se gesag al min is en nog verder verminder word. Dis net dwase en verwaande middelklasleiers wat so 'n leë, stukkende drom wil slaan, en wat wil pronk sonder vere.

Nie een enkele probleem van die werkers kan deur die bankrot kapitaliste opgelos word nie—hulle kan selfs nie die swart middelstand tevrede stel nie. Die lede van die middelklas kyk al hoe meer na die geïnspireerde arbeidersbeweging om die pad vooruit te vind.

Hoe meer blanke ondersteuning links en regs verlore raak, hoe meer word die kapitaliste verdeel. Om hul stelsel te red, berei hulle hul voor om watoorbly van 'demokrasie' uit te roei, en om hulle regering op die masjienerie van die leer en polisie te grond.

Die ware betekenis van die nuwe voorstelle is te vinde in die aanstelling van 'n 'Uitvoerende President' met geen beperking op sy gesag nie.

Die doel van hierdie stappe is duidelik beskryf in die pers van die kapitaliste. Een woordvoerder het 'n vergelyking getref met die diktatorskap van Bonaparte (Napoleon III, 1850-1871) in Frankryk, waar die kapitaliste so 'n regering toegelaat het omdat "die enigste wyse waardeur hulle hul materiële belange, hul gemeenskaplike gesag en die onderdrukking van die arbeidersrevolusie kon

volhou, was om iemand te aanvaar wat voorgee dat hy bo die teenstrydige klasse staan". (*Rand Daily Mail*, 19/5/82).

Die kapitaliste in Suid-Afrika word al hoe meer gedwing om hulle hoop op oorlewing in so 'n Bonapartistiese regering te plaas. 'n Regering wat staatmaak op bajonette, wat balanseer en heen en weer swaai onder die druk van teenoorgestelde klasse, in 'n poging om die onderdrukte en uitgebuites met 'n skrikbewind in toom te hou, en ook die groeiende ontevredenheid onder die blankes te beheer.

Stappe in hierdie rigting dui aan 'n verswakking en verrotting onder die heersende klas, en bewys dat groot moontlikhede vir 'n verandering van ons samelewing aan die kom is. Dit vereis dat die winsstelsel uitgeroei moet word, en dat die militêre-polisie diktatorskap wat die verrotte stelsel beskerm, verpletter moet word.

Die metode van guerillastryd is nie voldoende nie. Die pad vorentoe en na oorwinning kan alleenlik gevind word in die opbou van die georganiseerde gewapende mag van die arbeiders, wie se toenemende selfbewustheid en sterkte alreeds die base laat skrik. Eendrag in aksie deur al die onderdrukte kan rondom hierdie aantrekkingskrag gesmee word.

Die stryd vir demokrasie, nasionale bevryding en gemeenskaplike hervorminge kan alleenlik met sekerheid bekom word deur die bevestiging van 'n demokratiese arbeidersregering, wat die grondslag vir sosialisme kan aanlê.

Die plig van alle aktiviste is om die ANC doelbewus op te bou as die instrument van hierdie stryd, op die basis van hierdie program en perspektief.

or a particular section of it; finally, and this is most important, by the degree of class activity of the native proletariat, and by the state of its connections with the international revolutionary movement.

A democratic or national liberation movement may offer the bourgeoisie an opportunity to deepen and broaden its possibilities for exploitation. Independent intervention of the proletariat on the revolutionary arena threatens to deprive the bourgeoisie of the possibility to exploit altogether.

Let us observe some facts more closely.

The present inspirers of the Comintern have untiringly repeated that Chiang Kai-shek waged a war 'against imperialism' whilst Kerensky marched hand in hand with the imperialists. *Ergo*: whereas a ruthless struggle had to be waged against Kerensky, it was necessary to support Chiang Kai-shek.

The ties between Kerenskyism and imperialism were indisputable. One can go even still further back and point out that the Russian bourgeoisie 'dethroned' Nicholas II with the blessings of British and French imperialism. Not only did Miliukov-Kerensky support the war waged by Lloyd George-Poincaré, but Lloyd George and Poincaré also supported Miliukov's and Kerensky's revolution first against the Tsar, and later against the workers and peasants. This is absolutely beyond dispute.

But how did matters stand in this respect in China? The 'February' revolution in China took place in 1911. That revolution was a great and progressive event, although it was accomplished with the direct participation of the imperialists. Sun Yat-sen, in his memoirs, relates how his organization relied in all its work on the 'support' of the imperialist states — either Japan, France, or America. If Kerensky in 1917 continued to take part in the imperialist war, then the Chinese bourgeoisie, the one that is so 'national', so 'revolutionary', etc., supported Wilson's intervention in the war with the hope that the Entente would help to emancipate China. In 1918 Sun Yat-sen addressed to the governments of the Entente his plans for the economic development and political emancipation of China. There is no foundation whatever for the assertion that the Chinese bourgeoisie, in its struggle against the Manchu Dynasty, displayed any higher revolutionary qualities than the Russian bourgeoisie in the struggle against Tsarism; or that there is a principled difference between Chiang Kai-shek's and Kerensky's attitude toward imperialism.

But, says the ECCI, Chiang Kai-shek nevertheless did wage war against imperialism. To present the situation in this manner is to put too crude a face upon reality. Chiang Kai-shek waged war against certain Chinese militarists, the agents of one of the imperialist powers. This is not at all the same as to wage a war against imperialism. Even Tang Ping-shan understood this. In his report to the Seventh Plenum of the ECCI (at the end of 1926) Tang Ping-shan characterized the policy of the Kuomintang centre headed by Chiang Kai-shek as follows:

In the sphere of international policy it occupies a passive position in the full meaning of that word ... It is inclined to fight only against British imperialism; so far as the Japanese imperialists are concerned, however, it is ready under certain conditions to make a compromise with them. (*Minutes of the Seventh Plenum, ECCI, Vol. I, p. 406*)

The attitude of the Kuomintang toward imperialism was from the very outset not revolutionary but entirely opportunist. It endeavoured to smash and isolate the agents of certain imperialist powers so as to make a deal with the self-same or other imperialist powers on terms more favourable for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is all. But the gist of the matter lies in the fact that the entire formulation of the question is erroneous.

One must measure not the attitude of every given national bourgeoisie to imperialism 'in general', but its attitude to the immediate revolutionary historical tasks of its own nation. The Russian bourgeoisie was the bourgeoisie of an imperialist oppressor state; the Chinese bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie of an oppressed colonial country. The overthrow of feudal Tsarism was a progressive task in old Russia. The overthrow of the imperialist yoke is a progressive historical task in China. However, the conduct of the Chinese bourgeoisie in relation to imperialism, the proletariat, and the peasantry, was not more revolutionary than the attitude of the Russian bourgeoisie

towards Tsarism and the revolutionary classes in Russia, but, if anything, viler and more reactionary. That is the only way to pose the question.

The Chinese bourgeoisie is sufficiently realistic and acquainted intimately enough with the nature of world imperialism to understand that a really serious struggle against the latter requires such an upheaval of the revolutionary masses as would primarily become a menace to the bourgeoisie itself. If the struggle against the Manchu Dynasty was a task of smaller historical proportions than the overthrow of Tsarism, then the struggle against world imperialism is a task on a much larger scale; and if we taught the workers of Russia from the very beginning not to believe in the readiness of liberalism and the ability of petty bourgeois democracy to overthrow Tsarism and to destroy feudalism, we should no less energetically have imbued the Chinese workers from the outset with the same spirit of distrust. The new and absolutely false theory promulgated by Stalin-Bukharin about the 'immanent' revolutionary spirit of the colonial bourgeoisie is, in substance, a translation of Menshevism into the language of Chinese politics. It serves only to convert the oppressed position of China into an internal political premium for the Chinese bourgeoisie, and it throws an additional weight on the scale of the bourgeoisie against the scale of the trebly oppressed Chinese proletariat.

But, we are told by Stalin and Bukharin, the authors of the draft programme, Chiang Kai-shek's northern expedition roused a powerful movement among the worker and peasant masses. This is incontestable. But did not the fact that Guchkov and Shulgin brought with them to Petrograd the abdication of Nicholas II play a revolutionary role? Did it not arouse the most downtrodden, exhausted, and timid strata of the populace? Did not the fact that Kerensky, who but yesterday was a Trudovik, became the President of the Ministers' Council and the Commander-in-Chief, rouse the masses of soldiers? Did it not bring them to meetings? Did it not rouse the village to its feet against the landlord? The question could be posed even more widely. Did not the entire activities of capitalism rouse the masses, did it not rescue them, to use the expression of the *Communist Manifesto*, from the idiocy of rural life? Did it not impel the proletarian battalions to the struggle? But does our historical evaluation of the objective role of capitalism as a whole or of certain actions of the bourgeoisie in particular, become a substitute for our active class revolutionary attitude toward capitalism or toward the actions of the bourgeoisie? Opportunist policies have always been based on this kind of non-dialectical, conservative, tail-endist 'objectivism'. Marxism on the contrary invariably taught that the revolutionary consequences of one or another act of the bourgeoisie, to which it is compelled by its position, will be fuller, more decisive, less doubtful, and firmer, the more independent the proletarian vanguard will be in relation to the bourgeoisie, the less it will be inclined to place its fingers between the jaws of the bourgeoisie, to see it in bright colours, to over-estimate its revolutionary spirit or its readiness for a 'united front' and for a struggle against imperialism.

The Stalinist and Bukharinist appraisal of the colonial bourgeoisie cannot stand criticism, either theoretical, historical, or political. Yet this is precisely the appraisal, as we have seen, that the draft programme seeks to canonize.

* * *

One unexposed and uncondemned error always leads to another, or prepares the ground for it.

If yesterday the Chinese bourgeoisie was enrolled in the united revolutionary front, then today it is proclaimed to have 'definitely gone over to the counter-revolutionary camp'. It is not difficult to expose how unfounded are these transfers and enrolments which have been effected in a purely administrative manner without any serious Marxist analysis whatever.

It is absolutely self-evident that the bourgeoisie in joining the camp of the revolution does so not accidentally, not because it is light-minded, but under the pressure of its own class interests. For fear of the masses the bourgeoisie subsequently deserts the revolution or openly displays its concealed hatred of the revolution. But the

TRADE UNION UNITY-

Which way forward now?

In mountaineering, the dangers in a false step become the greater the higher up a cliff one succeeds in going. So it is in the class struggle, where all kinds of unforeseen barriers, crumbling footholds and sudden high winds imperil the unwary climber.

The growing power of black workers organised in the independent unions—now 300 000 altogether—is the single most important advance in the past ten turbulent years. The ability of the workers to build their own strong organisations through repeated militant struggles establishes the working class, not in theory but in visible fact, as the decisive force that can challenge the power of the ruling class and show a way forward to all the oppressed.

This very fact gives the question of trade union unity a significance that goes far wider than the union members and immediate union issues. With the economic climate worsening sharply, with the bosses and the state preparing new attacks, the breakdown of efforts to unite the unions in a single independent federation endangers the progress of the entire movement.

Union leaders bear a responsibility as never before to all oppressed and exploited people to ensure that the obstacles to unity are overcome.

207 strikes and stoppages in 1980; 342 in 1981—the bald official statistics show something of the rising scale of workers' actions, but not the courage, tenaci-

ty and changed psychology of the working class which in fact they represent.

Already this year more than 200 strikes have taken place: among them

**By Rocco Malgas
and Paul Storey**

the nationwide stoppage by 100 000 workers to protest Neil Aggett's murder; the metal and engineering strikes which brought 120 000 out in the East Rand; the unprecedented wage strikes involving possibly 70 000 mineworkers on nine gold mines; and now the hard-fought strike in the motor assembly plants of the Eastern Cape.

Workers have begun to sense the immense potential power in their own hands, if only they can combine in full strength against the bosses and the state. This is the basis of the tremendous enthusiasm of the rank-and-file workers for trade union unity.

When the first unity conference took place in Cape Town in August last year, such was the pressure of the ranks that not a single leader of any union seriously involved in struggle



Delegates at this year's FOSATU Congress

bourgeoisie can go over 'definitely to the counter-revolutionary camp', that is, free itself from the necessity of 'supporting' the revolution again, or at least of flirting with it, only in the event that its fundamental class aspirations are satisfied either by revolutionary means or in another way (for instance, the Bismarckian way). Let us recall the history of the period of 1848-1871. Let us recall that the Russian bourgeoisie was able to turn its back so bluntly upon the revolution of 1905 only because the revolution gave it the State Duma, that is, it received the means whereby it could bring direct pressure to bear on the bureaucracy and make deals with it. Nevertheless, when the war of 1914-1917 revealed the inability of the 'modernized' regime to secure the basic interests of the bourgeoisie, the latter again turned towards the revolution, and made its turn more sharply than in 1905.

Can anyone maintain that the revolution of 1925-1927 in China has at least partly satisfied the basic interests of Chinese capitalism? No. China is today just as far removed from real national unity and from tariff autonomy as it was prior to 1925. Yet, the creation of a unified domestic market and its protection from cheaper foreign goods is a life-and-death question for the Chinese bourgeoisie, a question second in importance only to that of maintaining the basis of its class domination over the proletariat and the peasant poor. But, for the Japanese and the British bourgeoisie the maintenance of the colonial status of China is likewise a question of no less importance than economic autonomy is for the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is why there will still be not a few leftward zigzags in the policy of the Chinese bourgeoisie. There will be no lack of temptations in the future for the amateurs of the 'national united front'. To tell the Chinese communists today that their alliance with the bourgeoisie from 1924 to the end of 1927 was correct but that it is worthless now because the bourgeoisie has definitely gone over to the counter-revolutionary camp, is to disarm the Chinese communists once again in face of the coming objective changes in the situation and the inevitable leftward zigzags of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The war now being conducted by Chiang Kai-shek against the North already overthrows completely the mechanical schema of the authors of the draft programme.

* * *

But the principled error of the official formulation of the question will doubtless appear more glaringly, more convincingly, and more incontrovertibly if we recall the fact which is still fresh in our minds, and which is of no little importance, namely, that Tsarist Russia was a combination of oppressor and oppressed nations, that is of Great Russians and 'foreigners', many of whom were in a completely colonial or semi-colonial status. Lenin not only demanded that the greatest attention be paid to the national problem of the peoples in Tsarist Russia but also proclaimed (against Bukharin and others) that it was the elementary duty of the proletariat of the dominant nation to support the struggle of the oppressed nations for their self-determination, up to and including secession. But did the party conclude from this that the bourgeoisie of the nationalities oppressed by Tsarism (the Poles, Ukrainians, Tartars, Jews, Armenians, and others) were more progressive, more radical, and more revolutionary

than the Russian bourgeoisie? Historical experience bears out the fact that the Polish bourgeoisie — notwithstanding the fact that it suffered both from the yoke of the autocracy and from national oppression — was more reactionary than the Russian bourgeoisie and, in the State Dumas, always gravitated not towards the Cadets but towards the Octobrists. The same is true of the Tartar bourgeoisie. The fact that the Jews had absolutely no rights whatever did not prevent the Jewish bourgeoisie from being even more cowardly, more reactionary, and more vile than the Russian bourgeoisie. Or perhaps the Estonian bourgeoisie, the Lettish, the Georgian, or the Armenian bourgeoisie were more revolutionary than the Great Russian bourgeoisie? How could anyone forget such historical lessons!

Or should we perhaps recognize today, after the event, that Bolshevism was wrong when — when in contradistinction to the Bund, the Dashnaks, the P.P.S.ers, the Georgian and other Mensheviks — it called upon the workers of *all* the oppressed nationalities, of all the colonial peoples in Tsarist Russia, at the very dawn of the bourgeois democratic revolution, to dissociate themselves and form their own

autonomous class organizations, to break ruthlessly all organizational ties not only with the liberal bourgeois, but also with the revolutionary petty-bourgeois parties, to win over the working class in the struggle against these parties, and through the workers fight against these parties for influence over the peasantry? Did we not commit here a 'Trotskyist' mistake? Did we not skip over, in relation to these oppressed, and in many cases very backward nations, the phase of development corresponding to the Kuomintang?

As a matter of fact how easily one could construct a theory that the P.P.S., Dashnak-Tsutiun, the Bund, etc., were 'peculiar' forms of the necessary collaboration of the various classes in the struggle against the autocracy and against national oppression! How can such historical lessons be forgotten?

For a Marxist it was clear even prior to the Chinese events of the last three years — and today it should be clear even to the blind — that foreign imperialism, as a direct factor in the internal life of China, renders the Chinese Miliukovs and Chinese Kerenskys in the final analysis even more vile than their Russian prototypes. It is not for nothing that the very first manifesto issued by our party proclaimed that the further East we go, the lower and viler becomes the bourgeoisie, the greater are the tasks that fall upon the proletariat. This historical 'law' fully applies to China as well.

Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, the workers must support the bourgeoisie — say the worthless politicians from the camp of the liquidators. Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, say we who are Marxists. The workers must open the eyes of the people to the fraud of the bourgeois politicians, teach them not to place trust in promises and to rely on *their OWN* forces, on *their OWN* organization, on *their OWN* unity, and on *their OWN* weapons alone. (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XIV, part 1, p. 11.)

This Leninist thesis is compulsory for the Orient as a whole. It must by all means find a place in the programme of the Comintern.

2. *The Stages of the Chinese Revolution*

The first stage of the Kuomintang was the period of domination of the national bourgeoisie under the apologetic label of a 'bloc of four classes'. The second period, after Chiang Kai-shek's *coup d'état*, was an experiment of parallel and 'independent' domination of Chinese Kerenskyism, in the shape of the Hankow government of the 'Left' Wang Ching-wei. While the Russian Narodniks, together with the Mensheviks, lent to their short-lived 'dictatorship' the form of an open dual power, the Chinese 'revolutionary democracy' did not even reach that stage. And inasmuch as history in general does not work to order, there only remains for us to understand that *there is not and will not be* any other 'democratic dictatorship' except the dictatorship exercised by the Kuomintang since 1925. This remains equally true regardless of whether the semi-unification of China accomplished by the Kuomintang is maintained in the immediate future or the country is again dismembered. But precisely at a time when the class dialectics of the revolution, having spent all its other resources, clearly and conclusively put on the order of the day the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, leading the countless millions of oppressed and disinherited in city and village, the ECCI advanced the slogan of a *democratic* (i.e., bourgeois democratic) dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The reply to this formula was the Canton insurrection which, with all its prematurity, with all the adventurism of its leadership, raised the curtain of a new stage, or, more correctly, of the coming *third* Chinese revolution. It is necessary to dwell on this point in some detail.

Seeking to insure themselves against their past sins, the leadership monstrously forced the course of events at the end of last year and brought about the Canton miscarriage. However, even a miscarriage can teach us a good deal concerning the organism of the mother and the process of gestation. The tremendous and, from the standpoint of theory, truly decisive significance of the Canton events for the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution is conditioned precisely upon the fact that we have here a phenomenon rare in history and politics, a virtual *laboratory experiment on a colossal scale*. We have paid for it dearly, but this obliges us all the more to assimilate its lessons.

One of the fighting slogans of the Canton insurrection, according to the account in *Pravda* (No. 31), was the cry 'Down with the Kuomintang!' The Kuomintang banners and insignia were torn down and trampled underfoot. But even after the 'betrayal' of Chiang Kai-shek,

could oppose it. The few that stayed away felt obliged at least to declare support for unity "in principle".

The path from the first conference posed before the unions the problem of how to **organise** unity: how to meet together, build together, discuss and decide together in a democratic and disciplined way the appropriate **actions**.

The inter-union solidarity committees formed as a result of the conference took shape in only a few areas. This reflected no lack of support for the idea by the union members, but more the uncertainty over how to use these committees and where they should lead.

In the months that followed, the unions continued to chew over the unity question, while all the time being stretched in action as strikes brought thousands of new recruits into their ranks.

Growth

All the major independent unions have grown rapidly, some on firmer foundations than others, with vigorous factory committees and a developed system of elected shop stewards.

By November 1981, for example, FOSATU—the biggest of the independent federations—reached 95 000 members, up 35 000 in a single year.

Of this increase, nearly half was provided by the growth of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union.

This militant union, whose Transvaal branch alone is now 26 000 strong, shows that the backbone for a fighting labour movement comes from the heavy battalions of the industrial workers.

This changing composition of FOSATU, combining with the stormy struggles of the period and the heightened confidence of the membership, has produced a shake-up of leadership within the federation—encouraging it to begin to address the tasks of the workers' movement not simply in their narrower economic ambit, but also in the wider struggle for a state and society controlled by workers.

While the development in FOSATU shows it most clearly, all

“...tremendous enthusiasm of the rank-and-file workers for trade union unity.”

the mass organisations with genuine roots in the factories have been under increasing pressure of the workers either to evolve towards the left, or to hold firmly to that course.

The line of march of the working class brings it inevitably into bigger and more decisive confrontations with the combined forces of the bosses, and with the state which shelters them.

This makes united trade union organisation imperative—while simultaneously making it all the harder to achieve.

The toughest obstacles to unity are not so much the specific differences between union leaderships over tactical and organisational questions, but rather the conflicting political directions—or tendencies—which these differences are known to express.

Underlying the disputes over registration, industrial councils, non-racialism, demarcation, etc., is the question of the tasks and strategy of the working class in the struggle to overthrow the regime, eliminate apartheid, and destroy the dictatorship of the capitalists.

Because the SA workers have no mass party of their own; and because the ANC is not yet the mass force of organised workers which in time it will become—the unions themselves have inevitably become the forum in which the political tasks of the class are most directly confronted and argued out, in open and veiled ways, within the movement.

Neither the industrial nor the political tasks of the workers' movement can be carried forward by a multiplicity of small organisations pulling in different directions—and even a hundred thousand members is really a tiny organisation in a labour force of 9 million and compared with the immense power of the enemy.

That is why the speech of FOSATU general secretary Joe Foster, endorsed by its Congress in April this year, was correct to acknowledge the political character

of the trade unions' existence—and to link this to a call for **the formation of a single, united trade union federation.**

The Wilgespruit conference of 15 unions and federations, which met two weeks later, was thus presented with an unavoidable choice: begin to translate the earlier, tentative moves and talks about unity into concrete organisation—or crystallise the differences into rival federations and groupings.

What was on the one hand a tremendous opportunity for common advance, thus carried within it on the other hand the chemical elements for a **crisis of disunity** if the opportunity was not grasped.

The walkout by the MACWUSA delegation—not in itself crucial because of the very small size of this union—was nevertheless a very important symptom. For, by the time of the July 'summit', it was clear that a major rift had opened up.

Discussions broke down with a number of union leaders, among them the representatives of the vitally important SAAWU, refusing to participate in common organisation with unions which are either registered or take part in industrial councils.

Essentially, this means a refusal to unite with FOSATU.

It must be stated without mincing words that this standpoint is a mistake.

Intransigence

An intransigent attitude against political compromise with the bosses and the regime is the greatest quality of strength in a workers' leadership.

But 'intransigence' hides a weakness when it manifests itself in defiant postures, hasty splitting and ultimatums directed towards other organisations in which large bodies of our fellow workers are organising to

and the subsequent 'betrayal' of Wang Ching-wei (betrayals not of their own class, but of our . . . illusions), the ECCI had issued the solemn vow that: 'We will not surrender the banner of the Kuomintang!' The workers of Canton outlawed the Kuomintang party, *declaring all of its tendencies illegal*. This means that for the solution of the basic national tasks, not only the big bourgeoisie but also the petty bourgeoisie was incapable of producing a political force, a party, or a faction, in conjunction with which the party of the proletariat might be able to solve the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution. The key to the situation lies precisely in the fact that *the task of winning the movement of the poor peasants already fell entirely upon the shoulders of the proletariat*, and directly upon the communist party; and that the approach to a genuine solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution necessitated the concentration of all power in the hands of the proletariat.

Pravda carried the following report about the policies of the short-lived Canton Soviet government:

'In the interests of the workers, the Canton Soviet issued decrees establishing . . . workers' control of industry through the factory committees . . . the nationalization of big industry, transportation, and banks'.

Further on such measures are mentioned as: 'The confiscation of all dwellings of the big bourgeoisie for the benefit of the toilers . . .'

Thus it was the Canton workers who were in power and, moreover, the government was actually in the hands of the communist party. The programme of the new state power consisted not only in the confiscation of whatever feudal estates there may be in Kwantung in general; not only in the establishment of the workers' control of production; but also in the nationalization of big industry, banks, and transportation, and even the confiscation of bourgeois dwellings and all bourgeois property for the benefit of the toilers. The question arises: if these are the methods of a bourgeois revolution then what should the proletarian revolution in China look like?

Notwithstanding the fact that the directives of the ECCI had nothing to say on the subject of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist measures; notwithstanding the fact that Canton is more petty-bourgeois in character than Shanghai, Hankow, and other industrial centres of the country, the revolutionary overturn effected *against the Kuomintang* led automatically to the dictatorship of the proletariat which, at its very first steps, found itself compelled by the entire situation to resort to more radical measures than those with which the October Revolution began. And this fact, despite its paradoxical appearance, flows quite lawfully from the social relations of China as well as from the entire development of the revolution.

Large and middle-scale landed estates (such as obtain in China) are most closely interlinked with city capital, including foreign capital. There is no caste of feudal landlords in China in opposition to the bourgeoisie. The most widespread, common, and hated exploiter in the village is the kulak-usurer, the agent of finance capital in the cities. The agrarian revolution is therefore just as much anti-feudal as it is anti-bourgeois in character. In China, there will be practically no such stage as the first stage of our October revolution in which the kulak marched with the middle and poor peasant, frequently at their head, against the landlord. The agrarian revolution in China signifies from the outset, as it will signify subsequently, an uprising not only against the few genuine feudal landlords and the bureaucracy, but also against the kulaks and usurers. If in our country the poor peasant committees appeared on the scene only during the second stage of the October revolution, in the middle of 1918, in China, on the contrary, they will, in one form or another, appear on the scene as soon as the agrarian movement revives. The drive on the rich peasant will be the first and not the second step of the Chinese October.

The agrarian revolution, however, is not the sole content of the present historical struggle in China. The most extreme agrarian revolution, the *general division of land* (which will naturally be supported by the communist party to the very end), will not by itself provide a way out of the economic blind alley. China requires just as urgently national unity and economic sovereignty, that is, customs autonomy, or more correctly, a monopoly of foreign trade. And this means *emancipation from world imperialism* — imperialism for which China remains the most important prospective source not only of enrichment but also of actual existence, constituting a safety valve

against the internal explosions of European capitalism today and American capitalism tomorrow. This is what predetermines the gigantic scope and monstrous sharpness of the struggle that faces the masses of China, all the more so now when the depth of the stream of the struggle has already been plumbed and felt by all of its participants.

The enormous role of foreign capital in Chinese industry and its way of relying directly in defence of its plunder on its own 'national' bayonets, render the programme of workers' control in China even less realizable than it was in our country. The direct expropriation first of the foreign capitalist and then of the Chinese capitalist enterprises will most likely be made imperative by the course of the struggle, on the day after the victorious insurrection.

Those objective socio-historical causes which pre-determined the 'October' outcome of the Russian revolution rise before us in China in a still more accentuated form. The bourgeois and proletarian poles of the Chinese nation stand opposed to each other even more irreconcilably, if this is at all possible, than they did in Russia, since, on the one hand, the Chinese bourgeoisie is directly bound up with foreign imperialism and the latter's military machine, and since, on the other hand, the Chinese proletariat has from the very beginning established a close bond with the Comintern and the Soviet Union. Numerically the Chinese peasantry constitutes an even more overwhelming mass than the Russian peasantry. But being crushed in the vice of world contradictions, upon the solution of which in one way or another its fate depends, the Chinese peasantry is even less capable of playing a *leading* role than the Russian. At present this is no longer a matter of theoretical forecast, but a fact verified completely in all its aspects.

These fundamental and, at the same time, incontrovertible social and political prerequisites of the third Chinese revolution demonstrate not only that the formula of the democratic dictatorship has *hopelessly outlived its usefulness*, but also that the third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China, or more correctly, because of this great backwardness as compared with Russia, will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918); but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village.

To be sure, this perspective does not harmonize with the pedantic and schematic conceptions concerning the interrelations between economics and politics. But the responsibility for this disharmony so disturbing to the prejudices which have newly taken root and which were already dealt a not inconsiderable blow by the October Revolution must be placed not on 'Trotskyism' but on the *law of uneven development*. In this particular case this law is especially applicable.

It would be unwise pedantry to maintain that, had a Bolshevnik policy been applied in the revolution of 1925-27, the Chinese Communist Party would *unfailingly* have come to power. But it is contemptible philistinism to assert that such a possibility was entirely out of the question. The mass movement of workers and peasants was on a scale entirely adequate for this, as was also the disintegration of the ruling classes. The national bourgeoisie sent its Chiang Kai-sheks and Wang Ching-weis as envoys to Moscow, and through its Hu Han-mins knocked at the door of the Comintern, precisely because it was hopelessly weak in face of the revolutionary masses; it realized its weakness and sought to insure itself. Neither the workers nor the peasants would have followed the national bourgeoisie if we ourselves had not dragged them by a rope. Had the Comintern pursued any sort of correct policy, the outcome of the struggle of the communist party for the masses would have been pre-determined — the Chinese proletariat would have supported the communists, while the peasant war would have supported the revolutionary proletariat.

If, at the beginning of the Northern expedition we had begun to organize Soviets in the 'liberated' districts (and the masses were instinctively aspiring for that with all their might and main) we would have secured the necessary basis and a revolutionary running start, we would have rallied around us the agrarian uprisings, we would have built *our own* army, we would have disintegrated the enemy armies; and despite the youthfulness of the Communist Party of China, the latter would have been able, thanks to proper guidance from the Comintern, to mature in these exceptional years and to assume power, if not in the whole of China at once, then at least

carry on a genuine and determined fight.

Every union activist rightly and jealously guards the achievements of his or her own organisation built at the cost of lives and livelihoods under the constant menacing pressure of the bosses and their police state. In South African conditions, differences over policy—even differences of detail—can be felt as life-or-death issues affecting possibly the whole future of the unions.

But the vital struggle for correct policies must be carried on as a struggle to win the conscious support of the mass of workers, first and foremost the organised workers. To do this successfully—to avoid the mountaineer's false step—a clear perspective of the path ahead of the movement is necessary.

The current breakdown of the efforts towards trade union unity results most of all from an insufficiently thought-out perspective: a vision that is too narrow and too short-term.

Main task

With only a fraction of industrial workers organised (hardly one-tenth of African industrial workers), the main task of building the trade unions still lies before us. Millions of workers remain to be recruited and united in struggle—not in the dim and distant future, but in the years immediately ahead.

The incapacity of capitalism to ease the yoke of exploitation and poverty on the shoulders of the working people; the inability of the regime to concede reforms of any real significance to workers—these inescapable facts guarantee a fiery future for the independent trade union movement and will frustrate the hopes of reformist elements within the union leaderships to achieve a stable accommodation with the ruling class.

Placed in this context, the attempt of some militant unionists to preserve seemingly 'correct positions' in the splendid isolation of little organisations is obviously absurd. Correct positions must be fought for and won within the broadest ranks of the workers organising for action.

By its nature, every trade union

strives to include all workers employed in the industry or area where it chooses to organise, and not just those who agree precisely with the politics of the union leaders. This is necessary for effectiveness in industrial action, just as a strike committee has to try to bring out all workers regardless of their differing viewpoints.

Unions have to have clear policies, democratically decided by the membership—but unions are not themselves revolutionary parties or cadre organisations. It would lead to fatal mistakes and the fragmenting of the trade union movement if union leaders were to treat 'their' respective organisations as an exclusive preserve of the adherents of this or that political standpoint within the movement.

To galvanise unorganised workers for the struggle, to maintain confidence, to achieve and sustain leadership by the working class at the head of all the oppressed, it is necessary for the trade union movement to march as a united army of labour, and not sink its forces in the quicksands of disunity.

This is not at all to suggest that differences should be shelved.

It is an essential part of trade union democracy that the holders of differing views among the workers—not only on occasional, specific issues, but also contending political tendencies—must be able to put their case freely within all the unions; subject only to the practical necessity that the will of the majority prevails when decisions are made, and minorities abide loyally by the discipline of such decisions while continuing, if they wish, to argue for a change.

Provided democracy is to be scrupulously upheld within the proposed new federation, what possible argument could there be for any union leadership, genuinely fighting for the interests of the working class, to refuse to join?

To take a specific example: SAAWU, GWU and MAWU have arisen from different origins, have followed different methods of organisation, and their leaders adhere to differing policy positions on some issues. But it would be impossible to find a single sound reason why the fighting ranks of these unions should be kept separated.

In fact, looking to the future, is it not clear that the workers of these unions, perhaps more than any others, once organised together, would provide the central dynamo of a militant united federation capable of drawing the workers of all sectors into it?

Initiative

The initiative being taken by the GWU towards practical co-operation in the metal and engineering industry with MAWU deserves the fullest support. It ought to be made clear throughout the movement that this, and the other 'demarcation' arrangements decided on, are intended as a move towards the single federation of industrial unions, so setting an unambiguous example to others.

In the 1970s when the building of the new unions began, the choice between forming general unions and unions confined within single industries seemed an important issue of strategic difference. But the successful growth of the unions along both these lines (for example, GWU on the one hand; FOSATU unions on the other) has brought us willy-nilly within a few years to the practical solution of the matter.

Marx loved the saying of Goethe, "Theory is grey, but the tree of life is evergreen."

All should now be able to see the need for one united organisation within each industry, combining in one national organisation of all workers. What would be the real difference between one 'general union' with developed industrial sub-structures, and a 'tight federation' of industrial unions with strong inter-union councils for discussion and decision-making at local and national levels?

By the end of last year FOSATU already had 17 functioning inter-union 'locals', while both SAAWU and GWU have recently indicated that industrial-based unionism would no longer be a problem for them.

One of the obstacles raised against entry into the 'tight' federation proposed by FOSATU is the expressed desire of individual unions to retain their 'autonomy'.

The trade union movement requires both autonomy and cen-

in a considerable part of China. And, above all, we would have had a *party*.

But something absolutely monstrous occurred precisely in the sphere of leadership—a veritable historical catastrophe. The authority of the Soviet Union, of the Bolshevik party, and of the Comintern served entirely, first, to support Chiang Kai-shek against an independent policy of the communist party, and then to support Wang Ching-wei as the leader of the agrarian revolution. Having trampled underfoot the very basis of Leninist policy and after breaking the spine of the young Communist Party of China, the ECCI predetermined the victory of Chinese Kerenskyism over Bolshevism, of the Chinese Miliukovs over the Kerenskys, and of British and Japanese imperialism over the Chinese Miliukovs.

In this and in this alone lies the meaning of what took place in China in the course of 1925-1927.

3. *Democratic Dictatorship or a Dictatorship of the Proletariat?*

But how did the last Plenum of the ECCI evaluate the experiences of the Chinese revolution, including the experience of the Canton insurrection? What further perspectives did it outline? The resolution of the February (1928) Plenum, which is the key to the corresponding sections of the draft programme on this subject, says concerning the Chinese revolution:

It is incorrect to characterize it as a 'permanent' revolution [the position of the representative of the ECCI]. The tendency to skip [?] over the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution while simultaneously [?] appraising the revolution as a 'permanent' revolution is a mistake analogous to that committed by Trotsky in 1905 [?].

The ideological life of the Comintern since Lenin's departure from its leadership, that is, since 1923, consisted primarily in a struggle against so-called 'Trotskyism' and particularly against the 'permanent revolution.' How is it, then, that in the fundamental question of the Chinese revolution not only the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, but also the official delegate of the Comintern, i.e., a leader who was sent with special instruction, happen to commit the very same 'mistake' for which hundreds of men are now exiled to Siberia and put in prison? The struggle around the Chinese question has been raging for some two and a half years. When the Opposition declared that the old Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Chen Tu-hsiu), under the influence of the false directives from the Comintern, conducted an opportunist policy, this evaluation was declared to be 'slander.' The leadership of the Communist Party of China was pronounced irreproachable. The celebrated Tang Ping-shan declared amid the general approval of the Seventh Plenum of the ECCI that:

'At the very first manifestations of Trotskyism, the Communist Party of China and the Young Communist League immediately adopted a unanimous resolution against Trotskyism'. (*Minutes*, p. 205)

But when, notwithstanding these 'achievements', events unfolded their tragic logic which led to the first and then to the second and even more frightful debacle of the revolution, the leadership of the Communist Party of China, formerly flawless, was re-baptized as Menshevik and deposed in the space of twenty-four hours. At the same time a decree was promulgated that the new leadership fully reflected the line of the Comintern. But no sooner did a new and a serious test arise than it was discovered that the new Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was guilty (as we have already seen, not in words, but in actions) of swerving to the position of the so-called 'permanent revolution'. The delegate of the Comintern took the very same path. This astonishing and truly incomprehensible fact can be explained only by the yawning 'scissors' between the instructions of the ECCI and the real dynamics of the revolution.

We shall not dwell here upon the myth of the 'permanent revolution' of 1905 which was placed in circulation in 1924 in order to sow confusion and bewilderment. We shall confine ourselves to an examination of how this myth broke down on the question of the Chinese revolution.

— paragraph of the February resolution, from which the 1 passage was taken, gives the following motives for its

negative attitude toward the so-called 'permanent revolution':

The current period of the Chinese revolution is a period of a bourgeois-democratic revolution which has not been completed either from the economic standpoint (the agrarian revolution and the abolition of feudal relations), or from the standpoint of the national struggle against imperialism (the unification of China and the establishment of national independence), or from the standpoint of the class nature of the state (the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry)...

This presentation of motives is an unbroken chain of mistakes and contradictions.

The ECCI taught that the Chinese revolution must secure for China the opportunity to develop along the road to socialism. This goal could be achieved only if the revolution did not halt merely at the solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks but continued to unfold, passing from one stage to the next, i.e., continued to develop uninterruptedly (*or permanently*) and thus lead China toward a socialist development. This is precisely what Marx understood by the term 'permanent revolution'. How then can we, on the one hand, speak of a non-capitalist path of development for China and, on the other, deny the permanent character of the revolution in general?

But — insists the resolution of the ECCI — the revolution has not been completed, either from the standpoint of the agrarian revolution or from the standpoint of the national struggle against imperialism. Hence it draws the conclusion about the bourgeois-democratic character of the 'present period of the Chinese revolution'. As a matter of fact the 'present period' is a period of counter-revolution. The ECCI doubtlessly intends to say that the new resurgence of the Chinese revolution, or *the third Chinese revolution*, will bear a bourgeois-democratic character because the second Chinese revolution of 1925-1927 solved neither the agrarian question nor the national question. However, even thus amended, this reasoning is based upon a total failure to understand the experiences and lessons of both the Chinese and the Russian revolutions.

The February 1917 revolution in Russia left unsolved all the internal and international problems which had led to the revolution — serfdom in the villages, the old bureaucracy, the war, and economic debacle. Taking this as a starting point, not only the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks, but also a considerable section of the leadership of our *or n party* tried to prove to Lenin that the 'present period of the revolution is a period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution'. In this, its basic consideration, the resolution of the ECCI merely copies the objections which the opportunists raised against the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat waged by Lenin in 1917.

Furthermore, it appears that the bourgeois-democratic revolution remains unaccomplished not only from the economic and national standpoint, but also from the 'standpoint of the class nature of the state (the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry)'. This can mean only one thing: that the Chinese proletariat is forbidden to struggle for the conquest of power so long as no 'genuine' democratic government stands at the helm in China. Unfortunately, no instructions are forthcoming as to where we can get it.

The confusion is further increased by the fact that the slogan of Soviets was rejected for China in the course of these two years on the ground that the creation of Soviets is permissible presumably only during the transition to the proletarian revolution (Stalin's 'theory'). But when the Soviet revolution broke out in Canton and when its participants drew the conclusion that this was precisely the transition to the proletarian revolution, they were accused of 'Trotskyism'. Is the party to be educated by such methods? Is this the way to assist it in the solution of supreme tasks?

To save a hopeless position, the resolution of the ECCI (without any connection whatever with the entire trend of its thought) rushes in post-haste to its last argument — taken from imperialism. It appears that the tendency to skip over the bourgeois democratic stage, 'is all the more [!] harmful because such a formulation of the question eliminates[?] the most important national peculiarity of the Chinese revolution, which is a semi-colonial revolution'.

The only meaning that these senseless words can have is that the imperialist yoke will be overthrown by some sort of non-proletarian dictatorship. But this means that the 'most important national peculiarity' has been dragged in at the last moment in order to paint the



Striking Ford workers, 1980

tralism. It requires autonomy in the sense that, within each industry, each area, indeed each factory, there should be the greatest possible self-management by the organised workers of their own immediate affairs.

A fighting, democratic labour movement depends on initiative, and nothing stifles this more than the bureaucratic mentality that everything of the slightest significance must be referred for decision 'somewhere else'.

But 'autonomy' should not be used to justify freelancing. The workers' movement stands or falls by its ability to mobilise the greatest numbers in all areas in action together, with united demands, a common strategy and at times also a single line of tactical command. Thus a democratic structure of central worker leadership and decision-making is essential to the advance of the trade union movement—and those who stand against this on the argument of 'autonomy' would be standing against the very need of the workers to deploy against the enemy their full strength.

Undeniably it will be difficult, even with the best will on all sides, to

achieve complete agreement on a constitution for the founding of a united federation. But it would be a mistake to allow this to become the main focus of attention, exaggerating the obstacles to a working compromise.

Practical need

Over and over again it will be shown that no important question in the life of the workers' movement is finally settled by formulas and rules. In every organisation genuinely run by workers, **it is the workers' practical need for effectiveness in action which ultimately governs everything.**

Thus, for example, FOSATU's constitution recently had to be amended to recognise the area shop stewards' councils, which have arisen to play an increasing role of leadership within the federation, and to establish democratic regional congresses.

In the same way, within a new united federation, democracy and a correct balance between autonomy and centralism would depend far

more on the strength and militancy of the workers organised within it than on its constitution.

The tragedy today is that differences between union leaders are being turned into a gulf between unions at the very moment that the movement is facing a period of greater hardships and uphill battles even to defend its previous gains. The working class has never needed trade union unity more.

The recent quick growth of the unions, accompanying the mounting waves of strikes, took place against a background of sharp expansion of the capitalist economy—reaching an unprecedented growth of production of 8% in 1980/81. The anxiety of the bosses not lose output at such a time; their ability more easily to afford wage increases and other concessions; the hiring of additional labour—all gave rise to a heightened confidence and combativity of the workers, which spread and was reinforced through successful action.

Since the last part of 1981, however, the economy has begun to slide again into recession. By the second quarter of this year, the squeeze was visible in all branches of produc-

Chinese national bourgeoisie or the Chinese petty-bourgeois 'democracy' in bright colours. This argument can have no other meaning. But this only 'meaning' has been adequately examined by us in our chapter 'On the Nature of the Colonial Bourgeoisie'. There is no need to return to this subject.

China is still confronted with a vast, bitter, bloody, and prolonged struggle for such elementary things as the liquidation of the most 'Asiatic' forms of slavery, the national emancipation, and the unification of the country. But as the course of events has shown, it is precisely this that makes impossible in the future any petty-bourgeois leadership or even semi-leadership in the revolution. The unification and emancipation of China today is an international task, no less so than the existence of the USSR. This task can be solved only by means of a desperate struggle on the part of the downtrodden, hungry, and persecuted masses under the direct leadership of the proletarian vanguard — a struggle not only against world imperialism, but also against its economic and political agency in China, against the bourgeoisie, including the 'national' bourgeoisie and all its democratic flunkys. And this is nothing else than the road toward the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Beginning with April, 1917, Lenin explained to his opponents, who accused him of having adopted the position of the 'permanent revolution', that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was realized partially in the epoch of dual power. He explained later that this dictatorship met with its further extension during the first period of Soviet power from November 1917 until July 1918, when the entire peasantry, together with the workers, effected the agrarian revolution while the working class did not as yet proceed with the confiscation of the mills and factories, but experimented with workers' control. So far as the 'class nature of the state' was concerned, the democratic-S.R.-Menshevik 'dictatorship' gave all that it could give — the miscarriage of dual power. As to the agrarian overturn, the revolution gave birth to a perfectly healthy and strong baby, but it was the proletarian dictatorship that functioned as the midwife. In other words, what the theoretical formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry had combined, was dissociated in the course of the actual class struggle. The hollow shell of semi-power was provisionally entrusted to Kerensky-Tseretelli, while the real kernel of the agrarian-democratic revolution fell to the share of the victorious working class. This dialectical dissociation of the democratic dictatorship, the leaders of the ECCI failed to understand. They drove themselves into a political blind alley by condemning mechanically any 'skipping over the bourgeois-democratic stage' and by endeavouring to guide the historical process in accordance with circular letters. *If we are to understand by the bourgeois-democratic stage, the accomplishment of the agrarian revolution by means of a 'democratic dictatorship', then it was the October Revolution itself that audaciously 'skipped' over the bourgeois-democratic stage. Should it not be condemned for it?*

Why is it then that the historically inevitable course of events which was the highest expression of Bolshevism in Russia must prove to be 'Trotskyism' in China? No doubt owing to the very same logic which declares to be suitable for China the theory of the Martynovs, a theory fought by Bolshevism for two decades in Russia.

But is it at all permissible to draw here an analogy with Russia? Our answer is that the slogan of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was constructed by the leaders of the ECCI exclusively and entirely in accordance with the method of analogy, but a formal and literary analogy and not a materialist and historical analogy. An analogy between China and Russia is entirely admissible if we find the proper approach to it, and Lenin made excellent use of such an analogy. Moreover he did so not after but before the events, as if he had foreseen the future blunders of the epigones. Hundreds of times Lenin had to defend the October Revolution of the proletariat that had the audacity to conquer power notwithstanding the fact that the bourgeois-democratic tasks had not been solved. Precisely because of that, and precisely in order to do that, replied Lenin. Addressing himself to the pedants, who in their arguments against the conquest of power referred to the economic immaturity of Russia for socialism, which was 'incontestable' for him (*Works*, Vol. XVIII, part 2, p. 119), Lenin wrote on January 16, 1923:

It does not even occur to them, for instance, that Russia, standing on the

border between civilized countries and countries which were for the first time definitely drawn by this war into the vortex of civilization, all Eastern countries and non-European countries — that Russia therefore could and should have manifested certain peculiarities which fall, of course, along the general lines of world development but which make its revolution different from all preceding revolutions of the Western European countries and which introduce certain partial innovations in approaching the countries of the Orient. (*Ibid.*, p. 118).

The 'peculiarity' which brings Russia closer to the countries of the Orient was seen by Lenin precisely in the fact that the young proletariat, at an early stage, had to grasp the broom and sweep feudal barbarism and all sorts of rubbish from its path toward socialism.

If, consequently, we are to take as our starting point the Leninist analogy between China and Russia, then we must say: from the standpoint of the 'political nature of the State,' all that could have been obtained through the democratic dictatorship in China has been put to the test, first in Sun Yat-sen's Canton, then on the road from Canton to Shanghai, which culminated in the Shanghai *coup d'état*, and then in Wuhan where the Left Kuomintang appeared in its chemically pure form, i.e., according to the directives of the ECCI, as the organizer of the agrarian revolution, but in reality as its hangman. But the social content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution will fill the initial period of the coming dictatorship of the Chinese proletariat and the peasant poor. To advance now the slogan of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry after the role not only of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but also of Chinese 'democracy' has been put to a thorough test, after it has become absolutely incontestable that 'democracy' will play even a greater hangman's role in the coming battles than in the past — to advance this slogan now is simply to create the means of covering up the new varieties of Kuomintangism and to prepare a noose for the proletariat.

Let us recall for the sake of completeness what Lenin tersely said about those Bolsheviki who insisted upon counterposing to the S.R.-Menshevik experience the slogan of a 'genuine' democratic dictatorship:

Whoever now talks only about the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' has lost touch with life, has, in virtue of this circumstance, gone over, in practice, to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; and he ought to be relegated to the museum of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiquities (or, as one might call it, the museum of 'old Bolsheviki'). (*Works*, Vol. XIV, part 1, p. 29).

These words ring as if they were actually spoken today.

Of course it is not at all a question of calling the Communist Party of China to an immediate insurrection for the seizure of power. The pace depends entirely upon the circumstances. The consequences of defeat cannot be removed merely by revising the tactic. The revolution is now subsiding. The half-concealing resolution of the ECCI, the bombast about imminent revolutionary onslaughts, while countless people are being executed and a terrific commercial and industrial crisis rages in China, are criminal light-mindedness and nothing else. After three major defeats an economic crisis does not rouse but, on the contrary, depresses the proletariat which, as it is, has already been bled white, while the executions only destroy the politically weakened party. We are entering in China into a period of reflux, and consequently into a period in which the party deepens its theoretical roots, educates itself critically, creates and strengthens firm organizational links in all spheres of the working class movement, organizes rural cells, leads and unites partial, at first defensive and later offensive, battles of the workers and the peasant poor.

What will turn the tide in the mass movement? What circumstances will give the necessary revolutionary impulsion to the proletarian vanguard at the head of the many-millioned masses? This cannot be predicted. The future will show whether internal processes alone will be sufficient or an added impulsion will have to come from without.

There are sufficient grounds for assuming that the smashing of the Chinese revolution, directly due to the false leadership, will permit the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie to overcome to a lesser or greater degree the frightful economic crisis now raging in the country. Naturally, this will be done on the backs and bones of the workers and peasants. This phase of 'stabilization' will once again group and fuse together the workers, restore their class self-confidence in order subsequently to bring them into still sharper conflict with the enemy,

“A campaign of united action will help to raise the pressure within all the unions for lasting organisational links.”

tion. This has meant reduction of overtime; redundancies; and the hardening of the bosses' attitude in dealing with workers. Mass dismissals again become their first weapon against strikes.

Economic growth for 1981/82 could fall to about 1%, with an actual drop in production expected for 1982/83. **The downturn is thought likely to last at least two years, and possibly much longer.**

Because the ruling class confront a more organised and determined working class than ever before, they have to calculate more carefully before launching a major assault against the unions. **But for the same reason the crackdown, when the ground for it has been prepared, is likely to be all the more savage.**

One sign of the preparations is the power taken by the state to treat industrial action as 'sabotage', with striking punishable by 20 years imprisonment. Another sign is the use of the Intimidation Act, probably as a test, against strikers at Richards Bay.

A sense of the change in the period has been creeping into the marrow of all the union activists over much of the past year. Tensing themselves for the harsh confrontations ahead, they have tended to become more rigid towards other unions in which opposing policies prevail.

Divisions

Taking a resolute stand on 'principle'—today, in fact, even tactical differences are being awarded this title—we can forget that the bosses' own first 'principle' of struggle is to manipulate divisions and drive wedges into the workers' ranks. In this way they single out groups of workers for step-by-step attack, something which can be prevented

only by determined unity of the workers for mutual self-defence.

Therefore it is vital to pursue with patience, and with all possible speed, the unification of the independent unions in one federation.

The leaders of FOSATU should not, out of a feeling of exasperation, now limit their approach only to "those unions whose actions have to date shown serious commitment" to unity—apparently "satisfied" to leave the rest (their leaders and their rank-and-file alike!) to the judgement of "history". History is capable of being equally ruthless with all parts of a divided labour movement.

Also, just because a united federation has been proposed, there is not the slightest reason to throw out of the window the idea of a trade union united front. **It is necessary as never before to have a programme of basic demands agreed by the unions and a joint campaign of action on this basis.**

Even in the midst of a heated argument, don't two neighbours instantly join forces against a robber's attack? That is exactly the approach that the workers of all the independent unions will take to the matter, if it is posed without ultimatums and preconditions.

Workers are not interested in paper unity, but in unity for purposes of action. A campaign of united action will help to raise the pressure within all the unions for lasting organisational links.

Moreover, it will provide the workers with the means to test out in practice all policies, principles and leaderships, and should be welcomed by all sides in the current disputes within the union movement.

The arguments against industrial councils and registration can be driven home, not simply by theory, but by bringing to light in the practical struggle the obstacles to effectiveness which they are designed to impose.

Already, as a result of the current motor industry strike, NAAWU has withdrawn from the Industrial Council for the motor industry because the workers refused to be crippled by the arbitration procedure which membership of the IC made compulsory.

A campaign of united action would serve to test before the workers the correctness of the policy of non-racialism and show that it is not—as some allege—a sign of weak-kneed liberalism in the unions, but a vital part of class-consciousness; a determination of workers to unite with their class brothers and sisters against all the divisive racial barriers erected by the apartheid state.

A campaign of united action would serve to drive from their hide-outs and expose before the workers the reformist, compromising elements within the union leaderships—elements which exist not only in non-racial unions but also in unions with an exclusively black leadership.

Practical agreement

There should be no obstacles to reaching practical agreement on

*** Joint measures to fight redundancies;**

*** A mutual defence pact against victimisations and arrests of trade unionists, which would immediately serve as a warning to the state;**

*** A joint campaign for a national minimum wage to mobilise the unorganised into the unions.**

A national conference to discuss these issues should be urgently considered.

Success in implementing a national programme of action, and the building from this of a national federation of all workers, would be a stride forward not only for the workers presently organised in the independent unions. It would advance the struggle of the whole working class and of all the oppressed.

but on a higher historical stage. It will be possible to speak seriously about the perspective of an agrarian revolution only on the condition that there will be a new mounting wave of the proletarian movement on the offensive.

It is not excluded that the first stage of the coming third revolution may reproduce in a very abridged and modified form the stages which have already been passed, presenting, for instance, some new parody of the 'national united front'. But this first stage will be sufficient only to give the communist party a chance to put forward and announce its 'April' thesis, that is, its programme and tactics of the seizure of power, before the popular masses.

But what does the draft programme say on this?

'The transition to the proletarian dictatorship is possible here [in China] only after a series of preparatory stages [?] only as a result of a whole period of the growing over [??] of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution'.

In other words, all the 'stages' that have already been gone through are not to be taken into account. The draft programme still sees ahead what has already been left behind. This is precisely what is meant by a tail-endist formulation. It opens wide the gates for new experiments in the spirit of the Kuomintang course. Thus the concealment of the old mistakes inevitably prepares the road for new errors.

If we enter the new upsurge, which will develop at an incomparably more rapid tempo than the last one, with a blueprint of 'democratic dictatorship' that has already outlived its usefulness, there can be no doubt that the third Chinese revolution, like the second, will be led to its doom.

5. Soviets and Revolution

In the February resolution of the ECCI the representatives of the Comintern, 'Comrade N. and others', are made responsible for the 'absence of an *elected* Soviet in Canton as an organ of insurrection'. (Emphasis in the original). Behind this charge in reality lies an astounding admission.

In the report of *Pravda* (No. 31), written on the basis of first-hand documents, it was stated that a Soviet government had been established in Canton. But not a word was mentioned to indicate that the Canton Soviet was *not an elected organ, i.e., that it was not a Soviet* — for how can there be a Soviet which was not elected? We learn this from the resolution. Let us reflect for a moment on the significance of this fact. The ECCI tells us now that a Soviet is necessary to effect an armed insurrection, but by no means prior to that time. But lo and behold! When the date for the insurrection is set, there is no Soviet. To create an elected Soviet is not an easy matter. It is necessary that the masses know from experience what a Soviet is, that they understand its form, that they have learned something in the past to accustom them to an elected Soviet organization. There was not even a sign of this in China, for the slogan of Soviets was declared to be a Trotskyist slogan precisely in the period when it should have become the nerve centre of the entire movement. When, however, helter-skelter, a date was set for an insurrection so as to skip over their own defeats, they simultaneously had to *appoint* a Soviet as well. If this error is not laid bare to the core, the slogan of Soviets can be transformed into a strangling noose of the revolution.

Lenin in his time explained to the Mensheviks that the fundamental historical task of the Soviets is to organize, or help organize, the conquest of power so that on the day after the victory they become the organ of that power. The epigones — and not the disciples — draw from this the conclusion that Soviets can be organized only when the twelfth hour of the insurrection has struck. Lenin's broad generalization they transform *post factum* into a little recipe which does not serve the interests of the revolution but imperils it.

Before the Bolshevik Soviets in October 1917 captured power, the S.R. and Menshevik Soviets had existed for nine months. Twelve years before, the first revolutionary Soviets existed in Petersburg, Moscow, and scores of other cities. Before the Soviet of 1905 was extended to embrace the mills and factories of the capital, there was created in Moscow, during the strike, a Soviet of printers' deputies. Several months before this, in May 1905, a mass strike in Ivanovo-Voznesensk set up a leading organ which already contained all the essential features of a Soviet of workers' deputies. Between the first

experiment of setting up a Soviet of workers' deputies and the gigantic experiment of setting up a Soviet government, more than twelve years rolled by. Of course, such a period is not at all required for all other countries, including China. But to think that the Chinese workers are capable of building Soviets on the basis of the little recipe that has been substituted for Lenin's broad generalization is to substitute impotent and importunate pedantry for the dialectic of revolutionary action. Soviets must be set up not on the eve of the insurrection, not under the slogan of immediate seizure of power—for if the matter has reached the point of the seizure of power, if the masses are prepared for an armed insurrection *without a Soviet*, it means that there have been other organizational forms and methods which made possible the performance of the preparatory work to ensure success of the

uprising. Then the question of Soviets becomes of secondary importance and is reduced to a question of organizational technique or merely to a question of denomination. The task of the Soviets is not merely to issue the call for the insurrection or to carry it out, but *to lead the masses toward the insurrection through the necessary stages*. At first the Soviet rallies the masses not to the slogan of armed insurrection, but to partial slogans, so that only later, step by step, the masses are brought towards the slogan of insurrection without scattering them on the road and without allowing the vanguard to become isolated from the class. The Soviet appears most often and primarily in connection with strike struggles which have the perspectives of revolutionary development, but are in the given moment limited merely to economic demands. The masses must sense and understand while in action that the Soviet is *their* organization, that it marshals the forces for a struggle, for resistance, for self-defence, and for an offensive. They can sense and understand this not from an action of a single day nor in general from any single act, but from the experience of several weeks, months, and perhaps years, with or without interruptions. That is why only an epigonic and bureaucratic leadership can restrain the awakening and rising masses from creating Soviets in conditions when the country is passing through an epoch of revolutionary upheavals and when the working class and the poor peasants have before them the prospect of capturing power, even though this is a perspective of one of the subsequent stages and even if this perspective can be envisaged in the given phase only by a small minority. Such was always our conception of the Soviets. We evaluated the Soviets as that broad and flexible organizational form which is accessible to the masses who have just awakened at the very first stages of their revolutionary upsurge; and which is capable of uniting the working class in its entirety, independent of the size of that section which, in the given phase, has already matured to the point of understanding the task of the seizure of power.

Is any documentary evidence really necessary? Here, for instance, is what Lenin wrote about the Soviets in the epoch of the first revolution:

The Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia [the name of the party at that time] has never refused to utilize at *moments of greater or smaller revolutionary upsurge* certain non-party organizations of the type of Soviets of Workers' Deputies in order to strengthen the influence of the social democrats on the working class and to consolidate the social democratic labour movement. (*Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 215).

One could cite voluminous literary and historic evidence of this type. But one would imagine that the question is sufficiently clear without them.

In contradistinction to this the epigones have converted the Soviets into an organizational parade uniform with which the party simply dresses up the proletariat on the eve of the capture of power. But this is precisely the time when we find that the Soviets cannot be improvised in 24 hours, by order, for the direct purpose of an armed insurrection. Such experiments must inevitably assume a fictitious character and the absence of the most necessary conditions for the capture of power is masked by the external ritual of a Soviet system. That is what happened in Canton where the Soviet was simply appointed to observe the ritual. That is where the epigone formulation of the question leads.

During the polemics on the Chinese events the Opposition was accused of the following alleged flagrant contradiction: whereas from 1926 on the Opposition advanced the slogan of Soviets for China, its

Black miners, organise!

The violent struggles which erupted at five gold mines in July testify to the burning readiness of black miners to fight, despite overpowering odds, against the system which oppresses them.

30 000 miners (including workers in coal and platinum mines) struck for a living wage, threatening the jugular vein of the apartheid economy—the flow of gold and valuable minerals produced by cheap black labour.

Boiling discontent on the mines was set off by the annual wage 'increases' announced by the Chamber of Mines, in April of 3% for white miners, and in July of 12% for black miners. For black miners, this would have meant an increase of R14 per month, bringing starting wages to R129 per month. Inflation now runs at over 17% and the threat of retrenchment grows daily.

The reaction of a section of white miners was to begin the process of legal strike action to enforce their wage claim of 15%. In contrast, the reaction of black miners was almost instantaneous. Within hours there was a wave of strike action un-

By Alan Green

precedented in recent years.

The response of the Chamber of Mines and the state was equally decisive. A police rampage left 10 miners dead, hundreds arrested and thousands endorsed out to the rural areas.

Soon afterwards, with blood on its hands, the Chamber promptly settled the white miners dispute with a 12% offer—an increase four times higher than they were prepared to pay initially.

The vigour of the black miners' struggle and its impact on white miners' claims was even acknowledged by Arrie Paulus, ultra-right racist leader of the Mine Workers' Union. He sounded an advance warning to the Chamber of Mines of the risk they were running in holding out on white miners' claims: "What do you think is going to happen if the white mine workers strike and the blacks hear it is about wages? Don't you think they'll take

action? The mines will be completely paralysed." (*Rapport* 3.7.82).

The rapid settlement with the white miners is in ironic contrast to the long battle for a better deal they would have had before them given the reliance of their leaders on state-enforced arbitration procedures, their disunity and their isolation from the workers' movement.

Thus the black miners showed their enormous potential power. Given their strategic position in the economy, where mining accounts for 60% of exports, they have the capacity to lead the struggle for a better deal for all.

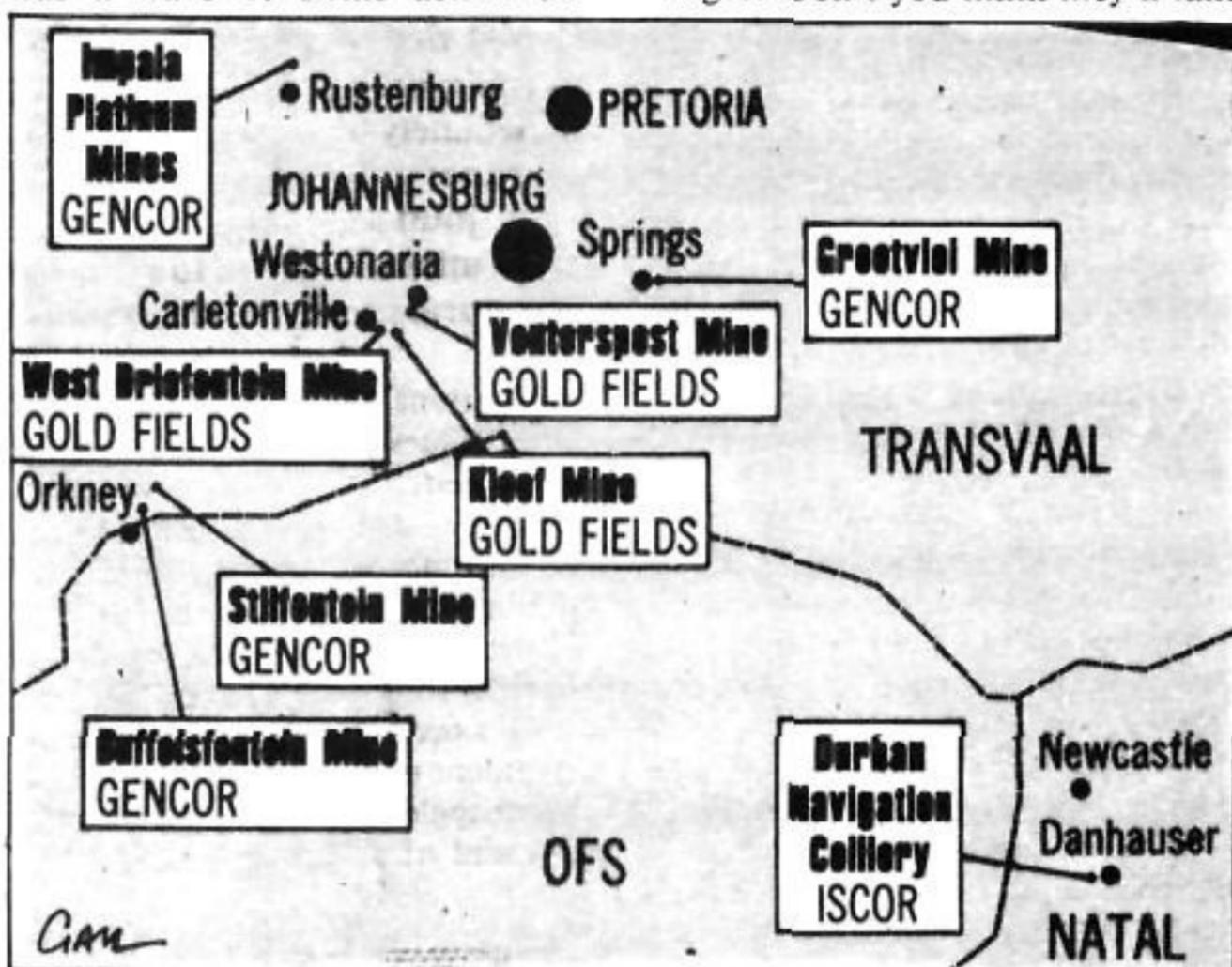
In the coming months that capacity will be tested again and again as the bosses attempt to overcome problems in the mining industry at the expense of the workers.

It is true that the mining bosses in South Africa, like those internationally, face problems of falling prices and rising costs. The gold price has fallen from an average of US \$613 per ounce in 1980 to around \$346 at the present time. Working costs have risen from R35.53 per ton milled in 1980 to R41.53 in 1982, an increase of nearly 18%. The cost of producing an ounce of gold in 1976 was R64—by 1981 it had risen to R178 (*Financial Times*, 15.7.82). International inflation will continue to push working costs up.

What the Chamber of Mines fails to emphasise, however, is that while costs are going up, and the dollar price of gold is falling, the rand price of gold has in fact gone up, because of the fall in the value of the rand against the dollar. As a result, in the last quarter many mines declared record profits (Buffelsfontein, for example, of 82%).

But in spite of this the relentless battle to keep working costs down will continue. The mine bosses are showing this in their present merciless three-pronged attack on the work force.

Firstly, they are reducing the size of their operations. Most strikingly, at West Rand Consolidated, 3 400 men are to be laid off. A represen-



The mines in Transvaal and Natal where workers moved into struggle.

representatives spoke against the slogan of Soviets for Germany in the Autumn of 1923. On no other point perhaps has scholastic political thought expressed itself so glaringly as in this accusation. Yes, we demanded for China a timely start for the creation of Soviets as independent organizations of workers and peasants, when the wave of revolutionary upsurge was mounting.

The chief significance of the Soviets was to be that of opposing the workers and peasants to the Kuomintang bourgeoisie and its Left Kuomintang agency. The slogan of Soviets in China meant above all the break with the suicidal and infamous 'bloc of four classes' and the withdrawal of the communist party from the Kuomintang. The centre of gravity consequently lay not in bare organizational forms, but in the class line.

In the autumn of 1923 in Germany it was a question of organizational form only. As a result of the extreme passivity, backwardness, and tardiness of the leadership of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Germany, the moment for a timely call for the organization of Soviets was missed. The factory committees, due to pressure from below and of their own accord, had occupied in the labour movement of Germany by the Autumn of 1923 the place which would no doubt have been much more successfully occupied by Soviets had there been a correct and daring policy on the part of the communist party. The acuteness of the situation had in the meantime reached its sharpest point. To lose any more time would have meant definitely to miss the revolutionary situation. The insurrection was finally placed on the order of the day, with very little time left. To advance the slogan of Soviets under such conditions would have been the greatest pedantic stupidity conceivable. The Soviet is not a talisman with omnipotent powers of salvation. In a situation such as had then developed, the hurried creation of Soviets would only have duplicated the factory committees. It would have become necessary to deprive the latter of their revolutionary functions and to transfer them to the newly-created and still utterly unauthoritative Soviets. And when was this to be done? Under conditions in which each day counted. This would have meant to substitute for revolutionary action a most pernicious game in organizational gew-gaws.

It is incontestable that the organizational form of a Soviet can be of enormous importance; but only at a time when it furnishes a timely reflection of the correct political line. And conversely, it can acquire a no less negative meaning if it is converted into a fiction, a fetish, a bagatelle. The German Soviets created at the very last moment in the autumn of 1923 would have added nothing politically; they would only have caused organizational confusion. What happened in Canton was even worse yet. The Soviet which was created in a hurry to observe the ritual was only a masquerade for the adventurist putsch. That is why we discovered, after it was all over, that the Canton Soviet resembled an ancient Chinese dragon simply drawn on paper. The policy of pulling rotten strings and paper dragons is not our policy. We were against improvising Soviets by telegraph in Germany in September 1923. We were for the creation of Soviets in China in 1926. We were against the masquerade Soviet in Canton in 1927. There are no contradictions here. We have here instead the profound unity of the conception of the dynamics of the revolutionary movement and its organizational forms.

The question of the role and significance of the Soviets, which had been distorted and confused and obscured by the theory and practice of recent years, has not been illuminated in the least in the draft programme.

6. The Question of the Character of the Coming Chinese Revolution

The slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which leads behind it the peasant poor, is inseparably bound up with the question of the socialist character of the coming third revolution in China. And inasmuch as not only history repeats itself but also the mistakes which people counterpose to its requirements, we can already hear the objection that China has not yet matured for a socialist revolution. But this is an abstract and lifeless formulation of the question. For has Russia, taken by itself, matured for socialism? According to Lenin — NO! It has matured for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only method for solving unpostponable national tasks. But the destiny of

the dictatorship as a whole is determined in the last analysis by the trend of world development, which, of course, does not exclude but rather presupposes a correct policy on the part of the proletarian dictatorship, the consolidation and development of the workers' and peasants' alliance, an all-sided adaptation to national conditions on the one hand, and to the trend of world development on the other. This fully holds true for China as well.

In the same article entitled 'On Our Revolution' (January 16, 1923), in which Lenin establishes that the peculiarity of Russia proceeds along the lines of the peculiar development of the Eastern countries, he brands as 'infinitely hackneyed' the argument of European social democracy to the effect 'that we have not matured for socialism, that we lack, as some of these 'erudite' gentlemen say, the objective economic prerequisites for Socialism'. But Lenin ridicules the 'erudite' gentlemen not because he himself recognized the existence of the economic prerequisites for Socialism in Russia but because he holds that the rejection of the seizure of power does not at all follow, as pedants and philistines think, from the absence of these prerequisites necessary for an independent construction of socialism. In this article of his, Lenin for the hundred and first time, or, rather, for the thousand and first time replies to the sophisms of the heroes of the Second International: 'This incontrovertible consideration [the immaturity of Russia for Socialism] . . . is not decisive for the evaluation of our revolution'. (Works, Vol. XVIII, Part 21, pp. 118f). That is what the authors of the draft programme refuse and are unable to understand. In itself the thesis of the economic and cultural immaturity of China as well as Russia — China, of course, more so than Russia — is incontrovertible. But hence it does not at all follow that the proletariat has to renounce the conquest of power, when this conquest is dictated by the entire historical context and the revolutionary situation in the country.

The concrete, historical, political, and actual question is reducible not to whether China has economically matured for 'its own' socialism, but whether China has ripened politically for the proletarian dictatorship. These two questions are not at all identical. They might be regarded as identical were it not for the law of uneven development. This is where this law is in place and fully applies to the interrelationship between economics and politics. Then China has matured for the dictatorship of the proletariat? Only the experience of the struggle can provide a categorical answer to this question. By the same token, only the struggle can settle the question as to when and under what conditions the real unification, emancipation, and regeneration of China will take place. Anyone who says that China has not matured for the dictatorship of the proletariat declares thereby that the third Chinese revolution is postponed for many years to come.

Of course, matters would be quite hopeless if feudal survivals did really dominate in Chinese economic life, as the resolutions of the ECCI asserted. But fortunately, survivals in general cannot dominate. The draft programme on this point, too, does not rectify the errors committed, but reaffirms them in a roundabout and nebulous fashion. The draft speaks of the 'predominance of mediaeval feudal relations both in the economics of the country and in the political superstructure. . . . This is false to the core. What does *predominance* mean? Is it a question of the number of people involved? Or the dominant and leading role in the economics of the country? The extraordinarily rapid growth of home industry on the basis of the all-embracing role of mercantile and bank capital; the complete dependence of the most important agrarian districts on the market; the enormous and ever-growing role of foreign trade; the all-sided subordination of the Chinese village to the city — all these bespeak the unconditional predominance, the direct domination of capitalist relations in China. The social relations of serfdom and semi-serfdom are undeniably very strong. They stem in part from the days of feudalism; and in part they constitute a new formation, that is, the regeneration of the past on the basis of the retarded development of the productive forces, the surplus agrarian population, the activities of merchants' and usurers' capital, etc. However, it is capitalist relations that dominate and not 'feudal' (more correctly, serf and, generally, pre-capitalist) relations. Only thanks to this dominant role of capitalist relations can we speak seriously of the prospects of proletarian hegemony in the national revolution. Otherwise, there is no making the ends meet.

The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country is infinitely growing



Kloof Gold Mine on 7 July. Police surrounded 1 500 striking miners and drove them onto a soccer field. Company officials then told them to accept the wage 'increase'....

tative of the Chamber has said that "several other mines are vulnerable". As many as a third are in difficulty as the bosses protest an insufficient level of profitability to continue their operations.

Secondly, they are moving as fast as possible to bring black workers in to do white jobs at lower rates of pay. This year, the first black indentured apprentices were engaged on the mines.

Thirdly, as the strikes indicate, they are doing their utmost to hold miners' wages down.

Even so some still claim to be in the dark. *The Star* editorial asks: "Does anyone know why miners riot?" (9.7.82).

The utter hypocrisy of this question is entirely in keeping with the media treatment of the unrest. The words 'rampage' and 'riot' sit uneasily on their snake-like tongues when the grievances which led to these outbursts, of which they profess blind ignorance, are a product of the very system they uphold.

It was in a vain attempt to bolster that system that some mining companies broke ranks with the Chamber this year and offered 16%

to their black employees with a view to defusing militant action.

Despite this, the crisis on the mines will continue to boil as the bosses, with the support of the regime, tighten the clamps on the workers. The whole South African economy, after all, depends on the 'peace and prosperity' of the gold mines and the capitalists will strive by all means to retain it. For them gold is the engine of prosperity and they will allow no spanner to get in the works.

Enormous potential

The black miners, however, will continue to be hampered in their struggle for better wages and conditions so long as their actions are disunited. The building of a national mine workers union to harness and direct their energies is the task of the day. The potential for a fighting trade union to organise and unite the black mine workers is enormous.

Does the Black Mine Workers Union, which claims some 800

members, measure up to this perspective? Its decision to apply for registration was a step in the wrong direction; as are its reported attempts to raise funds from employers whose profits rest entirely on the brutal state-enforced system of cheap labour. Nor did it play any role in the recent strikes.

All this will mean it will be mistrusted by the vast mass of miners.

To enforce the black workers' demands, mass trade union mobilisation and uncompromising struggle will be needed. The development of a union which can forge links between the black miners themselves, and other sections of oppressed workers can also show a lead to the white miners, who have no future in isolation from the black miners.

The building of a genuine union among the black miners demands the utmost support of all independent unions. The trade union unity discussions need to put on the agenda the urgency of a **national organisation** of mine workers. It is from them that the initiative should come for setting up a trade union

than the proportion of the proletariat in the total population. This is due to the fact that the proletariat is in economic command of the central points and nerve centres of the entire capitalist system of economy, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the *real* interests of the vast majority of the toilers under capitalism.

For this reason the proletariat, even if it constitutes the minority of the population (or in cases where the conscious and truly revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat comprises the minority of the population), is capable both of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of attracting subsequently to its side many allies from among the masses of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois, who will never come out beforehand for the domination of the proletariat, who will not understand the conditions and tasks of this domination, but who will convince themselves solely from their subsequent experiences of the inevitability, justice, and legitimacy of the proletarian dictatorship. (Lenin, *Works, The Year 1919*, Vol. XVI, p. 458).

The role of the Chinese proletariat in production is already very great. In the next few years it will only increase still further. Its political role, as events have shown, could have been gigantic. But the whole line of the leadership was directed entirely against permitting the proletariat to conquer the leading role.

The draft programme says that successful socialist construction is possible in China 'only on the condition that it is directly supported by countries under the proletarian dictatorship'. Thus, here, in relation to China, the same principle is recognized which the party has always recognized in regard to Russia. But if China lacks sufficient inner forces for an *independent* construction of socialist society, then according to the theory of Stalin-Bukharin, the Chinese proletariat should not seize power at any stage of the revolution. Or it may be that the existence of the USSR settles the question in just the opposite sense. Then it follows that our technology is sufficient to build a socialist society not only in the USSR but also in China, i.e., in the two economically most backward countries with a combined population of six hundred million. Or perhaps the *inevitable* dictatorship of the proletariat in China is 'inadmissible' because that dictatorship will be included in the chain of the world-wide socialist revolution, thus becoming not only its link, but its driving force? But this is precisely Lenin's basic formulation of the October Revolution, the 'peculiarity' of which follows precisely along the lines of development of the Eastern countries. We see thus how the revisionist theory of socialism in one country, evolved in 1925 in order to wage a struggle against Trotskyism, distorts and confuses matters each time a new major revolutionary problem is approached.

The draft programme goes still further along this same road. It counterposes China and India to 'Russia before 1917' and Poland ('etc.?) as countries with 'a certain *minimum* of industry sufficient for the triumphant construction of socialism', or (as is more definitely and therefore more erroneously stated elsewhere) as countries possessing the 'necessary and sufficient material prerequisites . . . for the complete construction of socialism'. This, as we already know, is a *mere play upon Lenin's expression 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites*; a fraudulent and an impermissible jugglery because Lenin definitely enumerates the *political and organizational prerequisites*, including the *technical*, cultural, and international prerequisites. But the chief point that remains is: how can one determine *a priori* the 'minimum of industry' sufficient for the complete building of socialism once it is a question of an uninterrupted world struggle between two economic systems, two social orders, and a struggle, moreover, in which our *economic* base is infinitely the weaker?

If we take into consideration only the economic lever, it is clear that we in the USSR, and all the more so in China and India, have a far shorter arm of the lever than world capitalism. But the entire question is resolved by the *revolutionary struggle* of the two systems on a world scale. In the political struggle, the long arm of the lever is *on our side*, or, to put it more correctly, it can and must prove so in our hands, if our policy is correct.

Again, in the same article 'On Our Revolution', after stating that 'a certain cultural level is necessary for the creation of 'socialism', Lenin adds: 'although no one can tell what this certain cultural level is'. Why can no one tell? Because the question is settled by the struggle, by the rivalry between the two social systems and the two cultures, *on an international scale*. Breaking completely with this idea of Lenin's, which flows from the very essence of the question, the draft programme asserts that in 1917 Russia had precisely the 'minimum technology' and consequently also the culture necessary for the building of

socialism in one country. The authors of the draft attempt to tell in the programme that which 'no one can tell' *a priori*.

It is impermissible, impossible, and absurd to seek a criterion for the 'sufficient minimum' within national states ('Russia prior to 1917') when the whole question is settled by international dynamics. In this false, arbitrary, isolated national criterion rests the theoretical basis of national narrowness in politics, the precondition for inevitable national-reformist and social patriotic blunders in the future.

7. On the Reactionary Idea of 'Two-Class Workers' and Peasants' Parties' for the Orient

The lessons of the second Chinese revolution are lessons for the entire Comintern, but primarily for all the countries of the Orient.

All the arguments presented in defence of the Menshevik line in the Chinese revolution must, if we take them seriously, hold trebly good for India. The imperialist yoke assumes in India, the classic colony, infinitely more direct and palpable forms than in China. The survivals of feudal and serf relations in India are immeasurably deeper and greater. Nevertheless, or rather precisely for this reason, the methods which, applied in China, undermined the revolution, must result in India in even more fatal consequences. The overthrow of Indian feudalism and of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and British militarism can be accomplished only by a gigantic and an indomitable movement of the popular masses which precisely because of its powerful sweep and irresistibility, its international aims and ties, cannot tolerate any half-way and compromising opportunist measures on the part of the leadership.

The Comintern leadership has already committed not a few mistakes in India. The conditions have not yet allowed these errors to reveal themselves on such a scale as in China. One can, therefore, hope that the lessons of the Chinese events will permit of a more timely rectification of the line of the leading policy in India and in other countries of the Orient.

The cardinal question for us here, as everywhere and always, is the question of the communist party, its complete independence, its irreconcilable class character. The greatest danger on this path is the organization of so-called 'workers' and peasants' parties' in the countries of the Orient.

Beginning with 1924, a year which will go down as the year of open revision of a number of fundamental theses of Marx and Lenin, Stalin advanced the formula of the 'two-class workers' and peasants' parties for the Eastern countries'. It was based on the self-same national oppression which served in the Orient to camouflage opportunism, as did "stabilization" in the Occident. Cables from India, as well as from Japan, where there is no national oppression, have of late frequently mentioned the activities of provincial 'workers' and peasants' parties,' referring to them as organizations which are close and friendly to the Comintern, as if they were almost our 'own' organizations, without, however, giving any sort of concrete definition of their political physiognomy; in a word, writing and speaking about them in the same way as was done only a short while ago about the Kuomintang.

Back in 1924, *Pravda* reported that: 'There are indications that the movement of national liberation in Korea is gradually taking shape in the form of the creation of a workers' and peasants' party'. (*Pravda*, March 2, 1924).

And in the meantime Stalin lectured to the communists of the Orient that:

The communists must pass from the policy of a united national front . . . to the policy of a revolutionary bloc between the workers and petty-bourgeoisie. In such countries this bloc can assume the form of a single party, a workers' and peasants' party, akin to the Kuomintang . . . (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 264).

The ensuing tiny 'reservations' on the subject of the independence of the communist parties (obviously, 'independence' like that of the prophet Jonah inside the whale's belly) served only for the purpose of camouflage. We are profoundly convinced that the Sixth Congress must state that the slightest equivocation in this sphere is fatal and will be rejected.

It is a question here of an absolutely new, entirely false, and thoroughly anti-Marxist formulation of the fundamental question of the party and of its relation to its own class and other classes.

South Africa's Impending Socialist Revolution



Perspective of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress

A major pamphlet of 159 pages, this is intended as a practical introduction to the ideas of Marxism and their importance for our struggle.

It analyses the crisis developing in South Africa, showing the connection between the struggle against the racist regime and the struggles of working people throughout Southern Africa, and all over the world.

It explains why the battle to overthrow apartheid cannot be separated from the need to overthrow the capitalist system.

It examines strategic and tactical questions of the struggle. It sets out the basic ideas of Marxism on economics, politics and history by applying them concretely to the modern world situation, and draws lessons from other revolutions for the SA liberation struggle.

While most relevant to the black workers and youth in South Africa, it will also be useful for comrades in the labour movement in all countries who are fighting for an end to exploitation and oppression.

Copies are circulating clandestinely inside South Africa. The document is also available to readers outside South Africa who can order them by post.

Price: R1,50 or equivalent for orders from Africa. Please add postage and packing costs: £0,35 for surface mail, £1,75 for airmail.

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enquiry into the shootings.

At the same time the independent unions must stress their unbending rejection of the foundations of oppression: the migrant labour system on the mines.

In the period ahead, the mine owners will continue to use the tac-

tics of divide, rule and repression to maintain profitable production. The only way to resist them is with unity and strength.

As the struggle on the mines unfolds, and the unity and organisation of the workers is built on an open and underground level, the

more central as a focus of struggle will become the Freedom Charter's demand for the nationalisation of the mines under workers' control and management. Only when this is finally achieved can job security, decent conditions and a living wage be secured for all workers.



...with those who refused being immediately packed off to the reserves.

The necessity for the Communist Party of China to enter the Kuomintang was defended on the ground that in its social composition the Kuomintang is a party of workers and peasants, that nine-tenths of the Kuomintang — this proportion was repeated hundreds of times — belonged to the revolutionary tendency and were ready to march hand in hand with the communist party. However, during and since the *coups d'état* in Shanghai and Wuhan, these revolutionary nine-tenths of the Kuomintang disappeared as if by magic. No one has found a trace of them. And the theoreticians of class collaboration in China, Stalin, Bukharin, and others, did not even take the trouble to explain what has become of the nine-tenths of the members of the Kuomintang — the nine-tenths workers and peasants, revolutionists, sympathizers, and entirely our 'own'. Yet, an answer to this question is of decisive importance if we are to understand the destiny of all these 'two-class' parties preached by Stalin; and if we are to be clarified upon the very conception itself, which throws us far behind not only of the programme of the RCP of 1919, but also of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847.

The question of where the celebrated nine-tenths vanished can become clear to us only if we understand, first, the impossibility of a bi-composite, that is a two-class party, expressing simultaneously two mutually exclusive historical lines — the proletarian and petty bourgeois lines; secondly, the impossibility of realizing in capitalist society an independent peasant party, that is, a party expressing the interests of the peasantry, which is at the same time independent of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Marxism has always taught, and Bolshevism, too, accepted, and taught, that the peasantry and proletariat are two different classes, that it is false to identify their interests in capitalist society in any way, and that a peasant can join the communist party only if, from the property viewpoint, he adopts the views of the proletariat. The alliance of the workers and peasants under the dictatorship of the proletariat does not invalidate this thesis, but confirms it, in a different way, under different circumstances. If there were no *different* classes with *different* interests, there would be no talk even of an *alliance*. Such an alliance is compatible with the socialist revolution only to the extent that it enters into the iron framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our country the dictatorship is incompatible with the existence of a so-called Peasants' League precisely because every 'independent' peasant organization aspiring to solve all national political problems would inevitably turn out to be an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Those organizations which in capitalist countries label themselves peasant parties are in reality one of the varieties of bourgeois parties. Every peasant who has not adopted the proletarian position, abandoning his proprietor psychology, will inevitably follow the bourgeoisie when it comes to fundamental political issues. Of course, every bourgeois party that relies or seeks to rely on the peasantry and, if possible, on the workers, is compelled to camouflage itself, that is, to assume two or three appropriate colourations. The celebrated idea of 'workers' and peasants' parties' seems to have been specially created to camouflage bourgeois parties which are compelled to seek support from the peasantry but who are also ready to absorb workers into their ranks. The Kuomintang has entered the annals of history for all time as a classic type of such a party.

Bourgeois society, as is known, is so constructed that the propertyless, discontented, and deceived masses are at the bottom and the contented fakers remain on top. Every bourgeois party, if it is a real party, that is, if it embraces considerable masses, is built on the self-same principle. The exploiters, fakers, and despots compose the minority in class society. Every capitalist party is therefore compelled in its internal relations, in one way or another, to reproduce and reflect the relations in bourgeois society as a whole. In every mass bourgeois party the lower ranks are therefore more democratic and further to the 'Left' than the tops. This holds true of the German Centre, the French Radicals, and particularly the social democracy. That is why the constant complaints voiced by Stalin, Bukharin, and others that the tops do not reflect the sentiments of the 'Left' Kuomintang rank and file, the 'overwhelming majority,' the 'nine-tenths,' etc., are so naive, so unpardonable. That which they represented in their bizarre complaints to be a temporary, disagreeable misunderstanding which was to be eliminated by means of organiza-

tional measures, instructions, and circular letters, is in reality a cardinal and basic feature of a bourgeois party, particularly in a revolutionary epoch.

It is from this angle that the basic arguments of the authors of the draft programme in defence of all kinds of opportunist blocs in general — both in Britain and China — must be judged. According to them, fraternization with the tops is done exclusively in the interests of the rank and file. The Opposition, as is known, insisted on the withdrawal of the party from the Kuomintang:

'The question arises', says Bukharin, 'why? Is it because the leaders of the Kuomintang are vacillating? And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere 'cattle'? Since when is the attitude to a mass organization determined by what takes place at the 'high' summit!' (*The Present Situation in the Chinese Revolution*).

The very possibility of such an argument seems impossible in a revolutionary party. Bukharin asks, 'And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere cattle?' Of course they are cattle. The masses of any bourgeois party are always cattle, although in different degrees. But for us, the masses are not cattle, are they? No, that is precisely why we are forbidden to drive them into the arms of the bourgeoisie, *camouflaging the latter under the label of a workers' and peasants' party*. That is precisely why we are forbidden to subordinate the proletarian party to a bourgeois party, but on the contrary, must at every step, oppose the former to the latter. The 'high' summit of the Kuomintang of whom Bukharin speaks so ironically, as of something secondary, accidental, and temporary is in reality the soul of the Kuomintang, its social essence. Of course, the bourgeoisie constitutes only the 'summit' in the party as well as in society. But this summit is powerful in its capital, knowledge, and connections: it can always fall back on the imperialists for support, and what is most important, it can always resort to the actual political and military power which is intimately fused with the leadership in the Kuomintang itself. It is precisely this summit that wrote laws against strikes, throttled the uprisings of the peasants, shoved the communists into a dark corner, and, at best, allowed them to be only one-third of the party, exacted an oath from them that petty-bourgeois Sun Yat-senism takes precedence over Marxism. The rank and file were picked and harnessed by this summit, serving it, like Moscow, as a 'Left' support, just as the generals, compradores, and imperialists served it as a Right support. To consider the Kuomintang not as a *bourgeois party, but as a neutral arena of struggle for the masses*, to play with words about nine-tenths of the Left rank and file in order to mask the question as to who is the real master, meant to add to the strength and power of the summit, to assist the latter to convert ever broader masses into 'cattle', and, under conditions most favourable to it to prepare the Shanghai *coup d'état*. Basing themselves on the reactionary idea of the two-class party, Stalin and Bukharin imagined that the communists, together with the 'Lefts', would secure a majority in the Kuomintang and thereby power in the country, for, in China, power is in the hands of the Kuomintang. In other words, they imagined that *by means of ordinary elections at Kuomintang Congresses power would pass from the hands of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat*. Can one conceive of a more touching and idealistic idolization of 'party democracy' . . . in a bourgeois party? For indeed, the army, the bureaucracy, the press, the capital are all in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Precisely because of this and this alone it stands at the helm of the ruling party. The bourgeois 'summit' tolerates or tolerated 'nine-tenths' of the Lefts (and Lefts of *this sort*), only in so far as they did not venture against the army, the bureaucracy, the press, and against capital. By these powerful means the bourgeois summit kept in subjection not only the so-called nine-tenths of the 'Left' party members, but also the masses as a whole. In this the theory of the bloc of classes, the theory that the Kuomintang is a workers' and peasants' party, provides the best possible assistance for the bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie later comes into hostile conflict with the masses and shoots them down, in this clash between the two real forces, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, not even the bleating of the celebrated nine-tenths is heard. The pitiful democratic fiction evaporates without a trace in face of the bloody reality of the class struggle.

Such is the genuine and only possible political mechanism of the 'two-class workers' and peasants' parties for the Orient'. There is no other and there will be none.

WORKERS ORGANISE!**Build international union links!**

Workers at Wattville Stadium on their way to MAWU's Annual General Meeting

In June the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF), representing millions of workers world-wide, expelled two white-led SA trade unions, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the SA Electrical Workers' Association.

Also the Radio, Television and Allied Workers' Union and the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union were given a year to "get rid of apartheid in their organisations" or face expulsion.

These steps were taken following MAWU's and NAAWU's allega-

tions that the unions were racist and had obstructed them. They show that every section of the vast labour movement is being forced to recognise unions like MAWU and NAAWU as representatives of the SA workers. This is a tribute and encouragement to the struggles and sacrifices of all MAWU and NAAWU members.

After the April IMF world automobile workers' congress held in Japan, SA delegate Roy Msiza (NAAWU chairman at Sigma) said: "The congress was important in

showing how important international solidarity between workers is. Workers in all countries face the same problems, and increasingly with the development of the multinationals, the same employers".

NAAWU, MAWU and all the independent SA unions need links with workers internationally at all levels in order to turn this solidarity into concrete common struggle.

By S. Freedman

Bosses try to divide skilled workers

With the economy in downturn, there is a big movement to the Transvaal from Natal and the Cape, particularly of artisans and clerical workers. Squeezed by rising prices and lack of jobs, these people—especially "Coloureds" and "Asians"—are hoping that the Rand will provide better opportunities (such as those that have existed in the building of the new SASOL complexes).

But there is no escape from the economic crisis on the Rand either, where prices are rising too and jobs

being slashed.

The bosses are taking advantage of this movement to replace workers, undercutting existing wages on the Rand.

In some cases it seems that construction workers are being paid below the legal minimum wage.

While clerical workers used to start at R680-R700 a month, now the bosses are able to take on staff at R450-R500 a month—and use any excuse to sack workers with longer service.

In this way the bosses hope to

stimulate divisions on regional lines—setting Cape and Natal people against those on the Rand.

The only answer is trade union organisation. Through this, unity can be strengthened, and wages and jobs defended against the attacks of the bosses.

Organising workers in areas like office work and construction faces difficulties. The existing registered unions have conservative leaderships, and restrictive entry. In some cases unorganised workers are scattered, coming and going in jobs.

Although the idea of the two-class parties is motivated on national oppression, which allegedly abrogates Marx's class doctrine, we have already heard about 'workers' and peasants' ' mongrels in Japan, where there is no national oppression at all. But that isn't all, the matter is not limited merely to the Orient. The 'two-class' idea seeks to attain universality. In this domain, the most grotesque features were assumed by the above-mentioned Communist Party of America in its effort to support the presidential candidacy of the bourgeois, 'anti-trust' Senator LaFollette, so as to yoke the American farmers by this means to the chariot of the social revolution. Pepper, the theoretician of this manoeuvre, one of those who ruined the Hungarian revolution because he overlooked the Hungarian peasantry, made a great effort (by way of compensation, no doubt) to ruin the Communist Party of America by dissolving it among the farmers. Pepper's theory was that the super-profit of American capitalism converts the American proletariat into a world labour aristocracy, while the agrarian crisis ruins the farmers and drives them onto the path of social revolution. According to Pepper's conception, a party of a few thousand members, consisting chiefly of immigrants, had to fuse with the farmers through the medium of a bourgeois party and by thus founding a 'two-class' party, insure the socialist revolution in the face of the passivity or neutrality of the proletariat corrupted by super-profits.

This insane idea found supporters and half-supporters among the upper leadership of the Comintern. For several weeks the issue swayed in the balance until finally a concession was made to the ABC of Marxism (the comment behind the scenes was: Trotskyist prejudices). It was necessary to lasso the American Communist Party in order to tear it away from the LaFollette party which died even before its founder.

Everything invented by modern revisionism for the Orient is carried over later to the West. If Pepper on one side of the Atlantic Ocean tried to spur history by means of a two-class party then the latest dispatches in the press inform us that the Kuomintang experience finds its imitators in Italy where, apparently, an attempt is being made to foist on our party the monstrous slogan of a 'republican assembly on the basis [?!] of workers' and peasants' committees'. In this slogan the spirit of Chiang Kai-shek embraces the spirit of Hilferding. Will we really come to that?³

* * *

In conclusion there remains for us only to recall that the idea of a workers' and peasants' party sweeps from the history of Bolshevism the entire struggle against the Populists (Narodniks), without which there would have been no Bolshevik party. What was the significance of this historical struggle? In 1909 Lenin wrote the following about the Socialist-Revolutionaries:

The fundamental idea of their programme was not at all that 'an alliance of the forces' of the proletariat and the peasantry is necessary, but that there is no class abyss between the former and the latter and that there is no need to draw line of class demarcation between them, and that the social democratic idea of the petty bourgeois nature of the peasantry that distinguishes it from the proletariat is fundamentally false. (*Works*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 198).

In other words, the two-class workers' and peasants' party is the central idea of the Russian Narodniks. Only in the struggle against this idea could the party of the proletarian vanguard in peasant Russia develop.

Lenin persistently and untiringly repeated in the epoch of the 1905 revolution that:

Our attitude towards the peasantry must be distrustful, we must *organize separately from it*, be ready for a struggle against it, to the extent that the peasantry comes forward as a reactionary or anti-proletarian force. (*Works*, Vol. VI, p. 113. Our emphasis).

In 1906 Lenin wrote:

Our last advice: proletarians and semi-proletarians of city and country, *organize yourselves separately!* Place no trust in any small proprietors, even the petty ones, even those who 'toil' . . . We support the peasant movement to the end, but we must remember that it is a movement of another class, *not the one* that can or will accomplish the socialist revolu-

tion. (*Works*, Vol. IX, p. 410).

This idea reappears in hundreds of Lenin's major and minor works. In 1908, he explained:

The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry must in no case be interpreted to mean a *fusion of the different classes or parties* of the proletariat and the peasantry. Not only fusion, but even *any sort of lasting concord* would be fatal for the socialist party of the working class and *weaken the revolutionary democratic struggle*. (*Works*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 79. Our emphasis).

Could one condemn the very idea of a workers' and peasants' party more harshly, more ruthlessly, and more devastatingly?

Stalin, on the other hand, teaches that:

The revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc . . . must, though not always [!] necessarily [!], assume the form of a single workers' and peasants' party, bound formally [?] by a single platform. (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 265).

Lenin taught us that an alliance between workers and peasants must in no case and never lead to merger of the parties. But Stalin makes only one concession to Lenin: although, according to Stalin, the bloc of classes must assume 'the form of a single party', a workers' and peasants' party like the Kuomintang — *is not always obligatory*. We should thank him for at least this concession.

Lenin put this question in the same irreconcilable spirit during the epoch of the October Revolution. In generalizing the experience of the three Russian revolutions, Lenin, beginning with 1918, did not miss a single opportunity to repeat that there are two decisive forces in a society where capitalist relations predominate — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

'If the peasant does not follow the workers, he marches behind the bourgeoisie. There is and there can be no middle course'. (*Works*, Vol. XVI, 'The Year 1919', p. 219).

Yet a 'workers' and peasants' party' is precisely an attempt to create a middle course.

Had the vanguard of the Russian proletariat failed to oppose itself to the peasantry, had it failed to wage a ruthless struggle against the all-devouring petty bourgeois amorphousness of the latter, it would inevitably have dissolved itself among the petty-bourgeois elements through the medium of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party or some other 'two-class party' which, in turn, would inevitably have subjected the vanguard to bourgeois leadership. In order to arrive at a revolutionary alliance with the peasantry — this does not come gratuitously — it is first of all necessary to separate the proletarian vanguard, and thereby the working class as a whole, from the petty bourgeois masses. This can be achieved only by training the proletarian party in the spirit of unshakable class irreconcilability.

The younger the proletariat, the fresher and more direct its 'blood-ties' with the peasantry, the greater the proportion of the peasantry to the population as a whole, the greater becomes the importance of the struggle against any form of 'two-class' political alchemy. In the West the idea of a workers' and peasants' party is simply ridiculous. In the East it is fatal. In China, India, and Japan this idea is mortally hostile not only to the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution but also to the most elementary independence of the proletarian vanguard. The workers' and peasants' party can only serve as a base, a screen, and a springboard for the bourgeoisie.

It is fatal that in this question, fundamental for the entire East, modern revisionism only repeats the errors of old social democratic opportunism of pre-revolutionary days. Most of the leaders of European social democracy considered the struggle of our party against S.R.s to be mistaken and insistently advocated the fusion of the two parties, holding that for the Russian 'East' a two-class workers' and peasants' party was exactly in order. Had we heeded their counsel, we should never have achieved either the alliance of the workers and the peasants or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The 'two-class workers' and peasants' party of the S.R.s became, and could not help becoming in our country, the agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., it tried unsuccessfully to fulfil the same historic role which was successfully played in China by the Kuomintang in a different and 'peculiar' Chinese way, thanks to the revisionists of Bolshevism. Without a relentless condemnation of the very idea of workers' and peasants' parties for the East, there is not and there cannot be a programme of the Comintern.

SATS must recognise GWU

The dispute between South African Transport Services (SATS) and the General Workers' Union (GWU) is regarded by the bosses' press as a time-bomb. "If it explodes, the economic and political consequences could be awesome" (*RDM*, 14 June).

Stevedores working for private companies are already organised by the GWU in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, and have won recognition from the bosses. This industry-wide agreement has been achieved through the power of workers' organisation, without the union succumbing to registration.

Now GWU has organised 1 100 SATS workers in the docks—out of 8 000 SATS employees nationally—in PE and East London. The idea came from the GWU stevedores themselves who, out of hard learnt experience, have realised the importance of solidarity.

SATS refuses to negotiate with the GWU, and will recognise only their in-company Black Staff

Association. Their tactics are to try to sow divisions among the workers, while crushing the GWU.

SATS has come out with a so-called "job security deal" which reclassifies "casual" (migrant) labour as "regular" labour—but refuses to give these workers the same "permanent" status as their white, Coloured and Asian employees. With job cutbacks looming, this is a divisive trick.

On the other hand, the railway police are conducting what the GWU has described as a "reign of terror" against union members. Dozens have been 'held for questioning', intimidated, and even tortured. The chairman of the workers' committee in PE, after working for SATS for 13 years, was fired on 24 hours' notice.

All workers must support the building of organisation among transport workers nationally. The recent statement of support for GWU dockworkers by FOSATU must be taken up in practice by all

trade unionists.

The militant mood is shown by the 3 000 workers who went on strike at SATS's Kazerne yard in the Transvaal for a 5-day working week. With strong national organisation, the bosses would not have been able so easily to fire 300 of these strikers.

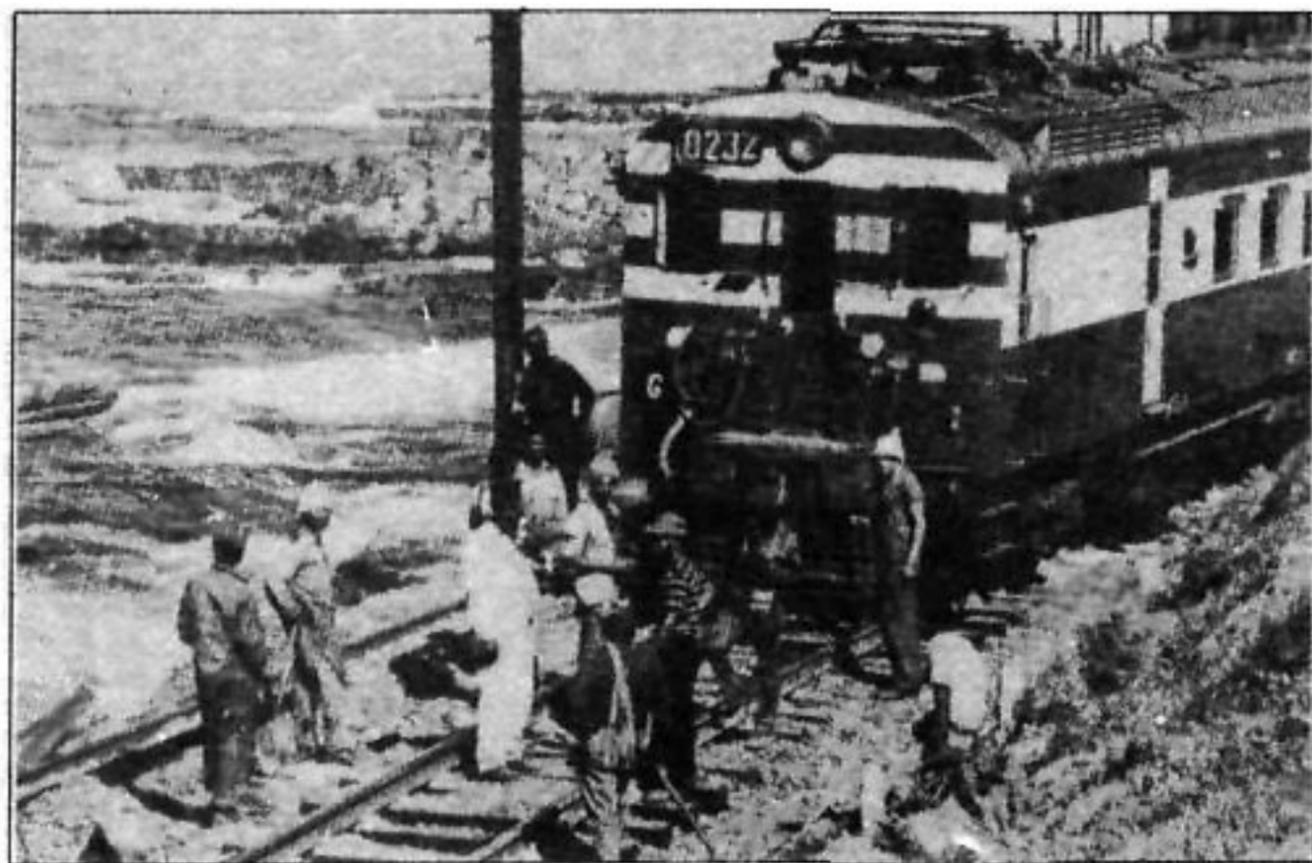
Organisation of the transport workers is vital not only to further their own struggle, but also that of the whole working class. Workers on the docks and the railways have the power to control the flow of goods.

This is why the bosses see this sector as explosive. In an unprecedented move, a spokesman of the Ford bosses pleaded for SATS to negotiate with GWU, hoping to stave off a confrontation in which the workers would sense their own power. But the bosses will not be able to escape the drive of the workers to organise and fight against falling living standards and repression.

A statement in support of the GWU dockworkers has also come from the International Transport Workers Federation, representing six million workers. Their affiliates in West Germany (Public Services and Transport Workers Union) and in the US (International Longshoremen's Association) have also demanded of the SATS bosses that they recognise the GWU.

Dockworkers around the world can play a vital role in strengthening organisation of SA dockworkers and the whole struggle for workers' rule by taking up the call of their International and rendering every possible assistance to the GWU.

By Monde Mlamoli



Some may mistakenly feel they can achieve security without a union.

An aspect of this struggle will be to transform the registered unions into fighting democratic independent unions—or in cases where this

is impossible, turn to the existing independent unions or form a new union. This involves linking up with the growing non-racial trade union movement. All our resources must be combined in the fight for union

democracy, organising the unorganised, and building workers' unity for the transformation of society.

By Farouk Dawood

Explanatory Notes

Page 4

Menshevik ('minority')—the reformist wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, formed into a separate party in 1912. In 1917, with their mistaken 'two-stage' theory of the Revolution, Menshevik ministers helped prop up the capitalist Provisional Government, supported its imperialist policy and fought against the proletarian revolution.

Kuomintang—Chinese bourgeois-nationalist movement which looked for support to the peasantry, urban middle class and workers, but with its leadership completely in the hands of the bankrupt bourgeoisie.

Peasants' International—formed in Moscow in 1923 in a period of peasant struggles in many parts of the world, the Peasants' International was described by Trotsky as "an experiment ... to test the new relations between the proletariat and the peasantry and between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie". However, no revolutionary peasant parties developed to adhere to its banner and the organisation collapsed.

Comintern—Communist (Third) International, formed in 1919 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky as a new centre for the revolutionary working-class struggle internationally in place of the discredited Second International which had collapsed in 1914. Following the Stalinist counter-revolution in the USSR, the Comintern itself degenerated, becoming a tool of the Russian bureaucracy, until it was officially dissolved in 1943.

Red International of Labour Unions—formed in Moscow in 1921 as a revolutionary alternative to the reformist International Federation of Trade Unions (the "Yellow International"), but like the Comintern, undermined and discredited by the policies imposed on it by the Russian bureaucracy from the mid-1920s onwards.

Shanghai—the reference is to the massacre of Communist workers by Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai in April 1927 (see also **Introduction**). In February 1927, reacting to the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants, Chiang had begun banning strikes and suppressing trade unions and peasant leagues. On 21-22 March the Shanghai workers took control of the city through an insurrection, but were instructed by the Comintern leadership to

receive Chiang as a revolutionary leader. As a result the workers were completely unprepared when Chiang moved against them, with only a handful—in defiance of Party orders—resisting.

Bukharin (1888-1938)—leading member of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet regime after the October Revolution. Moving from the extreme left of the Party, Bukharin became a leader of its right wing by the mid-1920s and entered a bloc with Stalin against the Left Opposition. After 1928, Stalin attacked the right wing in order to gain complete control over the Party apparatus. Bukharin was murdered by the Stalinist regime in 1938 following the fourth of the notorious 'Moscow Trials'.

1905 revolution—the forerunner and 'dress rehearsal' for the Revolution of 1917, the 1905 Revolution exposed the reactionary role of the liberal bourgeoisie and clearly established the working class as the leading force in the struggle, giving rise to the first soviets (councils of workers' delegates) before it was eventually crushed.

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Chiang Kai-shek (1882-1975)—leader of the Kuomintang from 1926, defeated by Mao Tse-tung's Red Army in 1949 and expelled to the island of Taiwan with the remnants of his Nationalist regime.

Kerensky (1881-1970)—radical petty-bourgeois politician in Russia and Trudovik (see note below) member of the Tsarist Duma (parliament), who headed the bourgeois Provisional Government from July to October 1917.

Nicholas II—last Tsar (emperor) of Russia, ruling from 1894 until his overthrow by the February 1917 revolution.

Miliukov (1859-1943)—leader of the Cadet Party (see note below) in Tsarist Russia and foreign minister of the Provisional Government after the February 1917 revolution.

Lloyd George (1863-1945)—British Liberal prime minister, 1916-1922.

Poincaré (1860-1934)—bourgeois President of France, 1913-1920, and prime minister, 1922-24 and 1926-29.

Sun Yat-sen (1867-1925)—Chinese bourgeois-nationalist leader, founder of the Kuomintang in 1894, and President of the Chinese Republic following the revolution of 1911.

Entente (cordiale)—alliance between British and French imperialism formed in 1904.

Manchu Dynasty—imperial house that ruled China from 1644 to 1911.

ECCI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Northern expedition—military campaign led by Chiang Kai-shek from July 1926, with Russian support, to conquer central and northern China from the feudal warlords, but also to curb the mass revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. The campaign culminated in the Shanghai massacre (see note above).

Guchkov, leader of the 'Octobrists' (see note below), and **Shulgin**, pro-monarchist Duma member, negotiated Nicholas II's abdication in February 1917 in the hope of placing a more popular member of his family on the throne, and thus saving the monarchy.

Trudovik—petty-bourgeois grouping in the Tsarist Duma (parliament) in Russia.

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Bismarckian way—a reference to the peculiar course of the bourgeois revolution in Germany under the authoritarian leadership of the Prussian Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). Capitalism had developed later in Germany than in the western part of Europe. Thus, as Marx explained, the German bourgeoisie "saw itself threateningly confronted by the proletariat ... at the very moment of its own threatening confrontation with absolutism". To avert a revolution from below the bourgeoisie sought compromise with the landowners and the monarchy. The landowning - *Junkers*, their interests intertwined with capitalism, from their side sought a deal with the bourgeoisie. The result was the Prussian constitutional model, in essence the denial of democratic rights to the masses.

Cadets—The Constitutional-Democratic Party of the liberal pro-monarchist bourgeoisie in Tsarist Russia, supported by liberal landowners and sections of the intelligentsia.

Octobrists—the "Union of October 19", a party of capitalists and landowners to the right of the Cadets.

Bund, Dashnaks, P.P.S.—the Bund was an organisation of Jewish workers in

THE INDIVIDUAL GUN...



SA LABOUR



OR THE ORGANISED MIGHT OF THE WORKING CLASS



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Tsarist Russia which took up a nationalist position. The Dashnak-Tsutun and the Polish Socialist Party played a similar role within the Armenian and Polish population groups of the Russian empire.

Hankow government—also referred to as the “Wuhan government” of the ‘Left Kuomintang’ (see **Introduction**). Hankow is one of three cities that amalgamated to form the city of Wuhan.

Narodniks—a liberal-democratic movement that arose among radical Russian intellectuals in the mid-19th century. Regarding the peasantry as the revolutionary class in Russia, they believed that Russia could advance to a form of socialism, based on peasant collectives, without undergoing a capitalist development. After 1900 various Narodnik groups combined to form the Socialist-Revolutionary Party which, after the February 1917 revolution, helped to prop up the capitalist Provisional Government. By the time of the October Revolution, the right wing sided openly with the counter-revolution while the left wing formed a short-lived coalition with the Bolshevik government.

Dual power—after the February 1917 revolution in Russia, the Provisional Government formally held power; but real power lay with the Soviets (Councils) of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies. “Dual power” thus existed because the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, having control of the Soviets at first, failed to take state power into the hands of the Soviets and instead supported the bourgeois Provisional Government. After August this situation was reversed: the Bolsheviks gained a majority in the key Soviets and, raising anew the slogan “All Power to the Soviets”, led the October insurrection to victory.

Canton uprising—launched in December 1927, the uprising was a disastrous adventure engineered by the Comintern leadership recoiling from their own opportunist policy of the previous period. 3 000 poorly-armed workers and 1 200 military cadets, isolated from the masses of Canton itself, were thrown against 50 000 Kuomintang troops amongst whom no political propaganda had been conducted by the CP. The uprising was crushed within 50 hours at a cost of 5 700 workers’ lives, among them the best remaining cadres of the revolution.

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Kulak—‘fist’, Russian nickname for rich peasant.

‘National’ bayonets—to protect their massive interests in China, the imperialist powers maintained their own military garrisons in key Chinese ports and patrolled the coasts and rivers with their navies. Furthermore large foreign police forces were present in the “foreign concessions” (areas administered by the imperialist powers).

Six month period—Trotsky is referring to the period when the Russian Revolution advanced from the initial struggles to smash Tsarism and landlordism to the expropriation of the capitalists and the propertied classes in general. Lenin emphasises that this was a **continuous** movement: “To attempt to put artificially a Chinese wall between the two stages, and to separate them by any other factor than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and of its unity with the village poor, means completely to pervert and vulgarise Marxism and to replace it by liberalism.” (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 1918.)

Law of uneven development—In his *History of the Russian Revolution* Trotsky explains: “A backward country assimilates the material and intellectual conquests of the advanced countries. But this does not mean that it follows them slavishly, reproduces all the stages of the past ... Savages throw away their bows and arrows for rifles all at once, without travelling the road which lay between these two weapons in the past ... From the universal law of unevenness thus derives another law which, for the lack of a better name, we may call the law of *combined development*—by which we mean a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms.”

Hu Han-min (1879-1936)—right-wing Kuomintang leader who attended the Sixth Plenum of the ECCI in February 1926, and was elected to the Presidium of the Peasants’ International.

Bolshevik Party—revolutionary wing of the RSDLP, formed into an independent party in 1912, which under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky headed the working class in taking power in Oc-

tober 1917.

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Comrade N.—Heinz Neumann, a German CP member who, together with the Russian Lominadze was given responsibility for planning and directing the Canton insurrection.

Germany in the autumn of 1923—With the invasion of the Ruhr area of Germany by French troops in early 1923, Germany was thrown into deep economic and political crisis. The taking of power by the working class, led by the mass-based German CP, was on the agenda. However, the inexperienced Party leadership, following the vacillating position of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev at the head of the Comintern, failed to prepare the working class for this. Although an insurrection was formally planned for October, it was called off at the last moment. Only in Hamburg the workers went into action, and were crushed by government troops. This debacle of the German revolution marked a setback for the workers’ struggle internationally, with a period of ebb setting in, and the demoralisation of the Communist workers enabling the bureaucracy to strengthen its grip in Russia.

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Hungarian revolution—In March 1919, following the revolutionary overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian imperial regime, a Soviet Republic was proclaimed in Hungary placing the newly-formed CP in power. The inexperienced CP leadership committed many errors. Alienating the peasantry and missing all opportunities of consolidating workers’ rule, they paved the way for a victorious invasion by a Rumanian army of counter-revolution. Finally they handed back power to the ruling class without firing a shot. A reign of terror by the ruling class followed.

Hilferding (1877-1941)—reformist theoretician of the German Social-Democratic Party, who during the German revolution of 1918-1919 put forward the constitutional plan for ‘legalising’ the workers’ revolutionary councils and making them subordinate to the bourgeois parliament. This helped to resolve the period of dual power in favour of the ruling class.

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Armed struggle and workers' power

In the present period, the struggle for power between the forces of capitalism and the forces of the working class is opening up in countries around the world.

**By D. Sikhakhane
and D. Hugo**

In South Africa over the last decade, the workers and youth have surged forward in wave after wave, only to find themselves confronted with the guns of the police. Many hundreds have fallen victim to the regime.

Since well before Sharpeville it has become clear to many workers that there is no peaceful way of removing the apartheid regime.

After Sharpeville there was a massive, spontaneous strain towards the use of armed force against the state which induced the leaders of the ANC and the SA Communist Party to abandon their policy of non-violence.

Marxism has always combatted the illusion that the ruling class can be persuaded to peacefully surrender its power. Violence is daily used by ruling classes against the oppressed, in countries throughout the world.

The state power of the capitalists depends on armed bodies of men—the army, police, etc.—defending their privately-owned factories, mines, banks and land against the workers' struggle to take over that property in order to organise production for the common benefit.

Every struggle should therefore be approached as a step towards building the organised strength of the workers for the ultimate exertion—the seizure of power and the total destruction of the capitalist state.

Guerillas

In the wake of the Durban strikes and the Soweto uprising there has been a re-emergence of actions by ANC guerillas. In the past year there has been a 200% increase in the number of attacks. In June 1982 alone, nine attacks were reported in

virtually all centres of SA.

There is widespread sympathy and support for the guerillas. But despite their bravery and their determination to fight the regime, guerillas are no answer to the need to protect the mass movement against police attacks, to prevent arrests or killings, to free political prisoners and drive back the forces of the state.

The most serious crisis for the whole strategy of guerilla struggle arose with the struggles in Soweto. The massacre of schoolchildren provoked calls among wide sections of the youth and workers for the means of armed resistance against the regime.

But it was unprepared and unarmed that they were obliged to confront the forces of the state. Again in Cape Town in 1980 the youth died with sticks and stones in their hands, without means or training to defend themselves. Most recently in July 1982, black miners found themselves defenceless against the guns of the police.

Clearly, the question of **how** to build the armed force capable of defending our struggle, of defeating the regime and placing the working people in control of society has still to be resolved in our movement—over twenty years after the turn to 'armed struggle'.

Rural struggle

At the Morogoro conference in 1969, the ANC leaders in exile declared that "general strikes as a method of mobilisation, suppressed with the utmost vigour at the end of the fifties, could no longer be effectively employed as an instrument of mass struggle" (*Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*).

The struggle, they went on to say, should be fought as a "guerilla struggle", initially "outside the enemy's stronghold in the cities, in the vast stretches of our countryside" (though, it was added,

"guerilla activity in the urban areas of a special type is always important as an auxiliary").

The Central Committee of the SACP in 1970 pledged "unqualified support for the liberation army in its aim to recruit and train guerilla fighters, to spread the area of guerilla war to the heart of the Republic" (A. Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*).

But the perspective of rural guerilla war spreading to the cities has failed to materialise. **In fact, the social conditions for a struggle of this nature are completely absent in SA.**

In countries such as China, Vietnam, Mozambique and Angola, the victories of the heroic guerilla armies were the result of specific conditions created by an extremely low level of capitalist development and, internationally, by the relative weakness of imperialism since the Second World War.

The class basis for guerilla armies has always been the peasantry. With the capitalists a puny force, a mere pawn of imperialism and incapable of developing the economy; with the working class correspondingly small; and with the state apparatus weak and unstable, the armed peasant masses have been able to defeat the regimes of the capitalists and landlords.

(However, in the absence of a Marxist leadership of the working class with a programme for workers' democracy, power fell into the hands of the leadership of the guerilla armies, giving rise to bureaucratically deformed states. These questions are discussed more fully in *Inqaba* no. 5.)

In comparison with these countries, SA has undergone a powerful development on a capitalist basis. Massive foreign investment, and the growth of a national bourgeoisie, have built up an industrialised economy and called into existence a powerful working class.

The ruling class has been able to develop mass support among the white middle class and workers. Out of white conscripts they have built a military machine equipped with the most deadly weapons, which is comparable in its ruthless ferocity to the Israeli army in Lebanon. This is in sharp contrast to former colonial countries where guerilla forces have been able to wear down and defeat unstable, weak regimes.

Capitalism in SA has also transformed the countryside. The bulk of agricultural production is in the hands of big capitalist farmers and even international monopolies. A peasantry, to the extent that it ever existed, has largely disappeared.

The rural areas are inhabited by agricultural workers and impoverished masses whose liberation depends on the expropriation of urban industry and mining, as well as the huge agricultural enterprises, in order to replace capitalist ownership with democratic working-class control and management.

Thus in SA the future of the

whole population lies in the urban centres. The cities are not only the capitalists' stronghold but are also the central battleground in the liberation struggle. Society is polarised between the capitalist class, relying on the guns of the state, and the mass force of the working class.

Only the working class is able to defeat the regime, to smash the capitalist system and thereby to liberate all the oppressed. All other sections of people in struggle must throw in their lot with the workers' movement to ensure the enemy's defeat.

As this has become more and more clearly understood in the ranks of the working class, the youth and all militants, renewed debates have opened up as to when, where and how to use arms in the battles that lie ahead.

Urban targets

Unable to base themselves in the

countryside, the guerillas—drawn by the magnetic power of the workers' renewed upsurge—have turned increasingly towards urban and industrial targets.

This becomes clearer if we look at the guerilla actions carried out last year (this breakdown is based on press reports and is not necessarily complete):

Bomb attacks	21
● electricity installations	6
● railway lines	5
● government offices	5
● business property	3
● other	2
Shooting attacks	8
● police stations	6
● military base	1
● individuals (C. Sebe)	1

These actions, involving great personal danger, show a high degree of courage and commitment on the part of the guerillas. Even so, the sum total of what was achieved in the course of a year's struggle, measured in terms of damage suf-



Young ANC guerillas—willing to face death in their resistance to the regime.

ferred by the regime, is minimal.

The intended strategy has been to strike at the material resources of the regime and bring about a breakdown of the system. But SA's developed economy has been able to absorb the destruction of facilities, and replace them, on a much greater scale than the guerillas have been able to inflict.

The damage to railway lines etc. can be repaired sometimes within hours. Even the spectacular Sasol bombing in 1980 meant no serious setback for the ruling class. The production of oil from coal has continued.

Even the bold assaults on police stations (totalling 12 between October 1976 and December 1981) have been little more than symbolic challenges to the authority of the state. There is no prospect of seriously weakening the regime's armed power by this means.

On the contrary, it is the guerillas, with their small numbers and limited resources, who would risk being weakened and ultimately destroyed in a drawn-out military struggle against the police and army. This has been the fate, for example, of the ERP in Argentina and the Tupamaros in Uruguay.

Limitations

The limitations of the current armed actions were recognised by the ANC President, Comrade Tambo, in his recent statement in Zimbabwe that "sabotage attacks alone would not bring South Africa to its knees" (reported in the *Herald*, 21 June). Less clear, however, was the alternative he put forward: "We are moving from sabotage acts to attack the enemy face to face".

Does this mean a serious offensive by MK against the SADF? If so, MK would find itself isolated and outnumbered by enemy forces with an overwhelming superiority in terms of weapons, equipment and morale.

The mass of the workers would be overwhelmingly sympathetic to the guerillas. But the workers' movement, greatly matured after ten years of struggles, will not easily commit itself to bloody battles led from outside its own ranks, with no

control over its programme and no clarity as to where it will lead. There can be no prospect of military victory under these conditions.

More likely, Comrade Tambo meant a stepping up of sporadic raids on police stations, military installations etc. But such attacks would amount to no more than pin-pricks against the regime (a point conceded by Comrade Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, in a TV interview in Britain) which would goad it to greater fury and rally the forces of white reaction, while the decisive struggles are fought out in the factories and mines.

A hint of the real implications of increased guerilla attacks has been given by ANC leaders who have pointed at the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as an example of the murderous reprisals the SA regime would be capable of launching against the countries where the guerillas are based.

The crushing defeat of the PLO and the savage slaughter of Lebanese civilians should stand as a tragic monument to the consequences of trying to fight a guerilla war under conditions where no basis exists for its success. For the masses of Southern Africa, the military programme of the ANC leadership holds out the deadly danger of turning the region into a new and bloodier Middle East.

The writing is already on the wall—Kassinga; Matola; Chimoio; the assassination of more and more activists in neighbouring countries.

The conclusion needs to be clearly drawn: to launch armed attacks against the regime **at a stage when the workers' movement has not yet decisively weakened its social and material base** is to challenge the enemy at his **strongest** point—which is also, at this stage, the **weakest** point of our own movement.

The ANC leadership itself has correctly recognised that "to ignore the real situation and to play about with imaginary forces, concepts and ideals is to invite failure. The art of revolutionary leadership consists in providing leadership to the masses and not just to its most advanced elements ... Untimely, illplanned or premature manifestations of violence impede and do not advance the prospect of revolutionary

change..." (*Strategy and Tactics*).

These remarks also sum up the weaknesses of the guerilla strategy in SA, and identify the mistakes which the workers' movement must avoid in preparing for the armed struggle that will be capable of smashing the regime.

Mobilisation

The central task in SA is the mobilisation of the workers' movement to end apartheid, abolish capitalism and carry through the socialist transformation of society. Urban guerilla action, by its very nature, can provide no basis whatsoever for carrying forward this struggle.

This has been implicitly recognised in *Strategy and Tactics*: "when armed actions begin they seldom involve more than a comparative handful of combatants whose very conditions of fighting-existence make them incapable of exercising the functions of all-round political leadership".

Twenty years after the founding of MK, armed actions have not yet progressed very much beyond this 'beginning' stage. Nevertheless, proponents of guerilla war continue to argue that the guerillas' isolated mode of operation—which is inevitable under the conditions of a powerful police state—is only temporary. Increasingly, they believe, the masses will be mobilised and turn the scales against the forces of the state.

These arguments, based on the experience of peasant wars, are dangerously misleading in the context of an industrialised country.

The guerillas may attempt in every way possible to link up with the workers. In some cases—e.g. the bombing of Leyland showrooms during the Leyland workers' strike—the intention was clearly to support the workers.

Similarly, blowing up the Soweto railway line can prevent workers from going to work; and bombing the Rosslyn electricity sub-station can shut down factories in the area, thus bringing about a 'strike'.

But the method of guerilla struggle cannot serve to mobilise the mass of workers.

On the contrary—if the Leyland

bosses can be forced to make concessions by a bomb placed in their building by a single activist, why should the workers have to organise and strike? If a stay-away can be 'organised' by placing explosives on a railway line, what need is there for political leadership to unite the workers behind a programme of action?

But in reality, no armed individual or group of individuals can take the place of the collective organisation and power of the workers as a class in the struggle to defeat the apartheid regime and replace it with a system of workers' democracy.

The guerilla method cannot contribute to the building of a revolutionary leadership among the workers and youth. In fact, more often it has the opposite effect.

This applies very clearly at the level of human resources. Thousands of the bravest and most dedicated youth, recruited for military training abroad, are in practice unable to return. Confined to military camps, they have been effectively removed from the struggle on the ground and are even prevented from supporting the workers' struggle actively in exile.

For those who return on missions, the rate of casualties is high, not only to themselves but to the movement as a whole.

Every guerilla action is followed by intense police reaction, roadblocks, house to house searches, detentions of known activists, etc. Solomon Mahlangu became the first freedom fighter to die at the hands of the apartheid hangman since the early 1960s. **There can be no doubt that in future the regime's reaction will harden, with a spiralling increase of hangings and long-term imprisonment.**

At the same time, the regime's vicious weapons for smashing guerilla action are pointed against the movement as a whole. Measures such as the 'Sabotage Act' and the Terrorism Act were originally intended for crushing armed insurgency. But in practice they have been used against all opponents of the regime.

Thus conditions have been created for even more vicious attacks against the movement of the workers, which have only been held

at bay by the strength and militancy of the workers' organisations themselves.

Conversely, the regime's own support among the whites has undoubtedly been strengthened by what is seen as 'external attack'.

Bombings, raids on police stations, etc., point out no alternative to the present system. **Their main effect is to harden white reaction and divide the working class still further.** This prepares the ground for the militarisation of white youth, and to divert attention of the whites from the hopeless failures of state policy.

Carried to their logical conclusion, these methods would serve to confront the working class with a united enemy, with armed forces hundreds of thousands strong, which could only be defeated at the cost of a bloodbath that would leave the revolution nothing to inherit except the smouldering ruins of the cities and the farms.

All these aspects have to be taken into account in drawing up a sober balance sheet of the gains and losses of twenty years of guerilla struggle.

There remains only one force potentially strong enough to liberate SA: the revolutionary movement of the working class. It is that force which must be built and armed.

Armed mass insurrection

Armed struggle aimed at the taking of state power cannot take place separately from the mass movement of the workers. The power of the capitalists can only be dismantled by the organised power of the workers, linking the day-to-day struggles to the organised seizure of power.

The need for the workers to develop the means of armed struggle is experienced by the workers themselves through their confrontation with the armed forces of the state.

The armed police at the factory gate, driving away striking workers and letting the strike-breakers through; the baton charge which breaks up a mass meeting—it is these turns in events which lay down the limits of unarmed struggle and

make it clear that to carry the struggle further, it is necessary to beat back the forces of the state.

But simply putting rifles into workers' hands, or organising guerilla support, will not solve the problem.

Any use of arms by the oppressed inevitably triggers off the most vicious state reaction. To seriously put up armed resistance, the workers' movement must be able to withstand the attacks that will follow and sustain the struggle at a higher, more intense level.

For this, a massive degree of organisation and unity will be essential—trade unions able to unite the key sections of workers in action on a country-wide scale; and political leadership able to coordinate the struggle as a whole, open and underground, armed and unarmed.

Such a leadership can only be developed out of the ranks of the oppressed working class itself, and can play an effective role only to the extent that it remains rooted among the active sections of the workers.

Therefore it is necessary to build the ANC not for the purpose of recruiting youth for guerilla training, but to engage in the mass struggle of the workers and provide a revolutionary lead.

We must build branches of the ANC (initially as an underground network) in every factory, mine and township and link them together regionally and nationally. We must mobilise in every district on the basis of the workers' most pressing demands, and link these to the struggle for power. We must fight for trade union unity as the backbone of working-class power, and link the trade unions of the workers with the workers' ANC.

In the course of this struggle all questions of policy, strategy and tactics, including the question of armed struggle, have to be addressed.

In the early stages armed struggle is likely to have the character of **armed self-defence** against the terror tactics of the state. But as the masses gain strength, confidence and skills, and as the camp of the enemy gets divided, the basis will be laid for passing over onto the offensive.

Only armed detachments of workers, feeling the support of 'hundreds of toilers behind them,



In Spain in 1936 the armed working class took control of much of the country.

can successfully prevail against all the pressures of the state, the ruling class and the agents of capitalism warning against 'going too far'. These detachments would be able to protect the picket lines outside factories on strike, the homes of people threatened with eviction, mass meetings, etc.

How will the workers' movement become armed?

In SA there is no shortage of weapons. A workers' ANC, based in every district, would find the ways of transferring these into the workers' hands and teaching workers how to use them, as and when this becomes possible.

An important part will undoubtedly be played by those comrades who have already received military training as guerillas. Once they become fully involved in the day-to-day struggles of the masses, they will be able to assist in the training and arming of the movement. The supplies of weapons which they have brought into the country can then be used for this purpose.

What will be decisive, however, will be the development of the ANC as a revolutionary mass organisation putting forward a clear programme for the dismantling of apartheid, the smashing of capitalism and the socialist transformation of

society. While rallying the overwhelming mass of the oppressed, such a programme can also present an alternative to the most advanced sections of white workers, thus beginning to drive a wedge into the social basis on which the regime depends.

No one must underestimate the difficulties which this process will involve, or the patience and firmness with which black workers will need to explain the advantages of a revolutionary workers' South Africa to those among their white fellow-workers who are prepared to listen. The alternative, however, is to prepare for racial civil war that would devastate the country and inflict a terrible toll on our movement.

Even sections of the existing police and armed force, not only blacks but also some whites—especially conscripts—could be won to the side of the workers' movement on the basis of a genuine socialist programme. They could bring with them not only their own guns but also the keys to the armouries of the state.

Correctly, an ANC statement on 16 June encouraged young whites who find themselves in the SADF to form clandestine groups and start operations against the government. **But such a call could only be heeded by significant numbers of soldiers if**

it is linked to a programme for the complete transformation of society and the establishment of workers' democracy, in which working-class whites could recognise their interest.

The weakening and division of the capitalists' white support; the power, unity and determination of the workers' mass movement; the clarity of the revolutionary leadership provided by the ANC—these are the basic elements that will determine the ripening of a revolutionary situation in SA. When that situation arises the armed insurrection of the oppressed masses, under the leadership of the working class, will be on the agenda.

Under these conditions the armed workers will be able to take by storm, disarm, and conquer the armed forces of the state.

The capacity of the working class to do this was shown by the Paris workers in 1871, the Russian workers in 1917, the Spanish workers in 1936, the Iranian workers in 1979, etc. These revolutions—their victories and defeats—should be carefully studied today.

The task of all comrades is to help prepare our movement for the battles that face us by building the ANC and the trade unions, and explaining the need for a socialist programme that can show the way to national and social liberation. ●

The liberation struggle in EL SALVADOR

The whole of Central America is a boiling pot of revolt. Brutally oppressed, the people suffer the lowest living standards in Latin America.

In El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras, life expectancy is only 56 years. Seven people out of ten cannot read or write; 58 out of 100 have no access to education. Child mortality is over one in ten live births. Seven out of every ten children under the age of five suffer from malnutrition.

But for US imperialism and its local puppets, the area is full of huge profits and cheap raw materials, based on cheap labour.

In all these countries there is a huge gap between rich and poor. In El Salvador the economy is dominated by 14 families. 10% of the population own 90% of the wealth; 2% own 60% of cultivable land. At least half the workers are unemployed. Nine-tenths of the working population earn less than \$100 per year.

Against the privileges and power of the ruling land-owning parasites, the peasants and workers have waged dedicated, heroic battles. The best and bravest fighters have been prepared to die in the struggle to overthrow landlordism and foreign domination.

The military dictatorship has been prepared to trample democratic rights underfoot. In 1972 the elected government was prevented through fraud from taking office. Power remained with the military junta.

With the parliamentary road closed off, many groups resorted to guerilla struggle. The youth in particular, burning to change society, and the peasants struggling for land, supported what seemed to be a quick and practical way of fighting the dictatorship.

The victory of the Nicaraguan guerillas had an enormous effect on the masses in El Salvador and Guatemala, strengthening the belief that the problems of the country

By Lesley Reed

could be solved by following this example.

Today, at least 20% of the land area of El Salvador, containing possibly a greater proportion of the population, is controlled by the FDR/FMLN, the guerillas' political party and army.

Working class

The working class in El Salvador is relatively strong, with a history of militancy. In the struggle of the past few years, however, its power has not been fully mobilised.

In 1979-80 an unprecedented wave of workers' struggles showed the ability and the willingness of the working class to change society. In response to calls from the guerilla leadership, massive general strikes took place in June and August 1980.

The ruling junta, in fear of this powerful movement, announced the nationalisation of the banks, including foreign banks. Enormous possibilities existed at this stage for the building of a mass revolutionary party, based on the workers' movement, and the overthrow of the junta.

The general strike poses the question of power. With industry, transport etc. brought to a standstill, the working class can clearly see it has the power to run society.

By generalising and extending the workers' councils which had sprung into existence to include peasants, housewives, soldiers, community organisations and students, the revolutionary movement would have become unstoppable. But the guerilla leaders, tragically, only used the workers' movement as an appendage to their main strategy of rural guerilla warfare.

The FDR, the political wing of



the guerilla movement, was formed in 1980 when left-wing groups combined with representatives of the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and the "popular fraction" of the Christian Democrats (including people who had served in the government under the junta).

The programme of the FDR reflects this compromise between the guerilla leaders and the anti-junta capitalists. It contains many radical demands of the working people, including nationalisation of the banks, foreign trade, electricity and "monopolistic enterprises in industry, trade and services".

But its muddled formula on the crucial question of the class character of a revolutionary government reveals illusions in the possibility of achieving democracy within the framework of capitalism. The programme says that the new government should "rest on a broad political and social base, formed above all by the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers. Intimately linked to the latter forces will be ... small and medium-sized industrialists ..., democratic parties such as the MNR (the social-democrats—*Editor*), advanced sections of the Christian Democracy".

The left groups in the FDR, in order to maintain their 'broad front' with the capitalists, have refused to put forward a clear revolutionary programme. The pro-capitalist elements in the FDR, on the other hand, have had no corresponding inhibitions.

Backed by Western European governments and the reformist leadership of the 'Socialist International', they have constantly pressurised the left groups to com-

mit themselves to the maintenance of capitalism.

Thus in February the FDR came out in favour of a coalition government that would guarantee "an assured role for private enterprise in El Salvador".

In March a new peace plan being launched by the FDR president was announced. It called for a "broad based interim government" which would include politicians of the left and right, army officers "not involved in atrocities", church leaders, businessmen and trade union leaders.

Such a government would be incapable of carrying through the revolutionary changes that are necessary to meet the basic needs of the workers and peasants.

Under revolutionary pressure from the masses, the guerilla leadership could be pushed further than their existing programme lays down. What is clear, however, is that they are taking no action to mobilise the working people for the armed seizure of power and for democratic control over production and society as a whole.

This will have inevitable and serious consequences for the future of the struggle.

Guerilla war

The long drawn out guerilla war, despite enormous sacrifices by the peasantry and youth, has not yet succeeded in defeating the Junta. Armed to the teeth by US imperialism, the regime is using the most vicious means in its efforts to keep power.

The army and ultra-right death

squads terrorise and torture the people, murdering thousands. Bombs made of pesticides, defoliants and white phosphorus are used against the people.

Four years of guerilla warfare have so far led to a toll of 32 000 dead—in proportion to the total population of the country, this would have meant over 200 000 dead in South Africa.

At the same time, the failure of the FDR/FMLN leadership to base themselves on the working class and their concentration on rural guerilla warfare has seriously cut across the development of the workers' revolutionary movement.

Under the conditions of a prolonged rural struggle, the working class can become passive, filled with a feeling of impotence, and wait for the guerillas to liberate them. At the same time, the most ferocious repression is unleashed by the regime.

Undoubtedly, a victory for the guerillas in El Salvador would be a giant step forward and a driving force in the mass struggles in all Latin America. But for a real solution to the problems of the people, the class-conscious movement of the working class must play the leading role.

No matter how sincere or heroic the guerilla leaders may be, or how overwhelming their support at present, even if they were to defeat the Junta and bring about the collapse of capitalism and landlordism, it could not lead to genuine democracy and socialism.

A fundamental problem of guerilla warfare is that the leadership, isolated from the workers and

not subject to their collective discipline, inevitably tend to become an uncontrolled force leading by military command.

Thus in countries such as China, Cuba etc., where capitalism and landlordism have been overthrown by guerilla armies, this has not led to workers' control over production and workers' democracy in society as a whole. Instead, the guerilla commanders have placed themselves in control of society as a new ruling elite.

Although enormous progress is possible on the basis of the state-owned and planned economy, the concentration of power in the hands of a military-bureaucratic ruling caste will increasingly stand in the way of the building of socialist democracy.

Our movement needs to be guided, in El Salvador as in South Africa, by the clear slogan of Marxism: "the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself".

The workers' movement needs to be armed for the overthrow of the regime. Only democratic control over society by the working people can prevent the development of a new bureaucratic elite and prepare the way for a socialist society of freedom and abundance.

Linked to the working class in the neighbouring countries and internationally, the workers' revolution in El Salvador would spread through Central America, including the key state of Mexico. Not only would it be a guiding light to the revolution in South America; it would hammer at the doors of US imperialism itself.



BCM, the struggle for democracy and the workers' movement

Large numbers of today's struggling youth have had their political baptism of fire under the banner of the black consciousness movement. For over a decade BCM was the vehicle through which successive classes of youth, in ever growing numbers, from the bush colleges down to the primary schools, expressed their unanimous opposition and burning hatred towards oppression and exploitation.

With black consciousness as their inspiration, the youth threw themselves into the battle against the armed might of the state in 1976 and after. Their unmatched courage and almost reckless revolutionary determination shook the capitalists to their bones.

Yet over the last year, with increasing momentum—and often in the same organisations that spearheaded black consciousness—a different rallying cry has emerged: that of the struggle for non-racial democracy.

What is the concrete meaning of

By
Basil Hendrikse

this programmatic change? Programme—a common understanding of the tasks and methods of the struggle—is the key to political organisation. A revolutionary programme for solving the daily problems of the oppressed workers and youth is essential if we are to suc-

ceed in rallying to rid society of the vicious regime of apartheid and the bosses' system which it defends. In what ways does the debate which has taken place in the movement serve to clarify our tasks?

The form that the youth movement took when it re-emerged ten years ago—the form of BCM—was a result of the political experience the black masses had gone through in the 1950s and 1960s, and in particular the conclusions that the youth had drawn about the policies of the leadership of these struggles. BCM represented, in many ways, an effort not to repeat the mistakes of the earlier period.

The ANC

In the early 1960s the independent trade unions organised in SACTU were brutally suppressed, the ANC and PAC were banned, and the leaders of the mass movement were arrested, put on trial and imprisoned (or went into exile).



The 1970s: the youth movement re-emerges in the form of BCM.

All this brought to a close a period of political turmoil similar in many respects to the one we have now entered—a period in which every sector of society was affected by the atmosphere created by strikes, demonstrations, rent protests and azikhwelwa.

The post-war years, in fact, had witnessed one of the most serious and lengthy periods of class confrontation in SA history.

The capitalists could not survive except through maintaining the black workers as a cheap labour force. Thus the struggle of the workers to defend and improve their living standards rapidly transformed itself into a political struggle.

The black workers realised that the redress of their social grievances—the pass and influx control laws, the denial of trade union rights and the vote—could be obtained only through a political transformation: the bringing to power of a government of their own. They gave their support to the organisation which had begun to emerge, from the time of the Defiance Campaign, at the head of the struggle as the focal point for mass unity—the ANC.

Yet, because of the lack of clarity of programme and perspectives of the ANC leadership, the mass movement contained within it the seeds of its own disunity.

The leadership based itself on the view that the responsibility for the sufferings of the masses, for the denial of the franchise, for the whole machinery of racist oppression and the exploitation of the workers, was to be laid simply at the door of the racist policies of the Nationalist Party government.

In his presidential address at the annual ANC conference in 1953 Chief Luthuli said: "We are now in a position in Union politics when we have two main opposing forces: AFRIKANER NATIONALISM and AFRICAN NATIONALISM." (Luthuli's emphasis). The ANC, argued Luthuli, was the vehicle of African nationalism, and around it could become grouped all forces opposing the Nationalist government.

The practical nature of some of these "forces" was spelled out, for example, at the annual ANC conference in 1958. The NEC lamented the fact that the liberation movement had failed to bring about the

co-operation of all the "anti-Nationalist" forces—among whom it listed the United Party, the Liberal Party, and the editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* (L. Gandar).

Similarly, the NEC report to the 1959 ANC conference (its last before being banned) welcomed the "formation of the Progressive Party" because of its "rejection of racial discrimination and the colour bar."

But what practical unity in action could be expected between the working masses in the ANC and these "forces"—all of them, including the Liberal Party, defending the capitalist system, and unable therefore consistently to oppose its basis in cheap labour and national oppression?

The Progressive Party—as the *Financial Mail* has recently confirmed—was financed at that time to the tune of R250 000 annually by none other than Harry Oppenheimer, in whose mines millions of black migrant workers have sweated blood. When these workers have protested against their exploitation, they have been shot down by the police sent in by that same government whose policies Oppenheimer allegedly opposed.

Without cheap labour, South African capitalists, however 'progressive', would find it impossible to withstand the cutthroat competition of their rivals in the world market.

Therefore the ruling class has little room to manoeuvre: it can bring about neither a substantial lasting improvement to the living standards of the working class, nor make any meaningful political concessions—the black working class would immediately use democratic rights to struggle for a change in their conditions.

Walter Sisulu, also in 1953, put Luthuli's argument in a different way: "The immediate task of the people of SA is to win the right to determine what sort of society they are going to live in. When democratic rights have been won, we can discuss what type of social system we are going to have. Meanwhile democrats of all shades must unite to win political equality."

But the working people cannot achieve the ability to "determine what sort of society they are going to live in" without dismantling the

machinery of repression protecting the capitalist system. So long as the capitalists and their political representatives are defended by their army and police, they will "discuss" types of social system only by force.

The interests of the working class and those of the capitalists are irreconcilable. Against the consistent democracy of the working class, the capitalist class can afford to be 'democratic' only so long as its system is not challenged. Thus between those democrats on the side of the working class and the 'shades' of pro-capitalist democrats there can be no unity.

Only the working class, struggling for democracy, national liberation, and material welfare by struggling to establish workers' rule, can act as a magnet for the unity of all the oppressed.

The Liberals

The so-called 'liberals', representatives of big business, could therefore play no other role in the liberation movement except to sow disunity, by persuading the organisations of the oppressed to moderate their stance, to try to attain their objectives step by step.

The 'liberals' fully exploited the lack of a clear revolutionary programme on the part of the ANC leadership, and involved them in secret meetings. Jordan Ngubane, a right-winger who broke with the ANC in 1955 and would have no reason to exaggerate the conservatism of its leaders, revealed that at one particular meeting (organised by the Institute of Race Relations, to which he had been invited together with Chief Albert Luthuli and two former ANC Presidents): "the majority on the white side wanted us to pursue a course so moderate our people would promptly lynch us." (*From Protest to Challenge*, Vol 3).

The Role of the SACP

The leadership of the SA Communist Party, banned in 1950 but then regrouping underground, gave uncritical support to the programme of the ANC leadership.

Thus in 1956—barely a week before being arrested by the SA



The 1950s: the ANC emerges as the focal point for mass unity.

government with numerous other leaders on charges of treason—Moses Kotane, general secretary of the SACP, wrote that this was not the time for restricting the ranks of unity to those supporting the Freedom Charter. The opportunity existed “to bring the overwhelming majority of anti-Nationalist South Africans together with a common programme of struggle against the Government.” (Brian Bunting, *Moses Kotane*, pp.226-7)

Only in 1962 did the banned SACP publish a complete programme, *The Road to SA Freedom*. This both confirmed and sought to provide an explanation for the positions taken by the SACP in the 1950s—and still stands as the SACP programme today:

“The immediate and imperative interests of all sections of the South African people demand the carrying out of...a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa. The main content of this revolution is the national liberation

of the African people...

“It is in this situation that the Communist Party advances its immediate proposals before the workers and democratic people of South Africa. They are not proposals for a socialist state. They are proposals for the building of a national democratic state.”

This is the policy of ‘two-stage’ revolution. Every worker and activist would be quite happy to divide the struggle into two, 20, or even 20 000 stages if needed, if only at the end of it all the chains of oppression and exploitation could be snapped...if it could be done that way!

In fact however, it is quite utopian to believe that “national freedom” can be won, that race discrimination and privilege can be completely abolished, while the power of the capitalist class is unbroken. Marxism explains the need for the overthrow of capitalism by the working class, not because it seems a ‘good idea’, but precisely because it is the only way in which national liberation itself will be realised and all the concrete demands of the struggle achieved.

In putting forward its erroneous

position on the character and tasks of the revolution, the SACP disarmed many workers who had turned towards it for a lead.

Militant workers, distrustful of the open pro-capitalist reformism of the nationalist section of the ANC leadership, and sensing behind this the influence of the ANC’s capitalist “allies”, sought from the CP a clear class answer to the questions thrown up by the struggle. Many of these workers, bitterly disappointed by a “Marxism” that was itself indistinguishable from white “liberalism”, turned to the radical-sounding alternative of Africanism.

The PAC

The failure of the ANC and CP leadership to provide a clear way forward created conditions for a split and the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress, which sought the solution to mass oppression in a programme of African nationalism. Even when it used the language of ‘class’, this programme sought to deny the class basis of society.

In January 1959 Robert Sobukwe

(in an interview in *The Africanist*) declared that the PAC differed from the ANC in holding that "we are oppressed as a subject nation—the African nation....Those of the ANC maintain....That ours is a class struggle. We are, according to them, oppressed as WORKERS, both white and black. But it is significant that they make no attempt whatsoever to organise white workers. **Their allies are all of them the bourgeoisie.**"(Our emphasis)

In these accusations there was, as many workers were well aware, more than a grain of truth. But the middle-class PAC leadership took advantage of this fact in an opportunist fashion in seeking to swing the black workers behind them.

In the same way as the ANC and CP leadership, they put forward the task of national liberation without explaining that this could be achieved only through the struggle for workers' rule. Despite its radical polish, their programme was no different from the bankrupt reformism of the 'two-stage' theory.

In addition the PAC leadership, criticising the ANC for paying lip service to the vital (though difficult) struggle for workers' unity, themselves threw it out of the window altogether. Their programme could offer to the black working people only the perspective of struggling for victory against a solid reactionary mass of whites, with white workers permanently abandoned to serve as the instrument of the ruling class.

The ruling class took advantage of the confusion created among the workers by the reformism of the ANC-CP leadership, and by the emergence of the PAC 'alternative'. With the movement divided and weakened, the state stepped up its repression. Instead of conceding reforms, it proceeded to smash the organisations of the masses.

Why BCM?

The crushing of the black workers' movement, together with the political consolidation of "white unity" around the bourgeoisie, provided the ruling class with the political conditions to take full advantage of the period of economic expansion that followed.

In the 1960s the post-war boom of

world capitalism hitched the SA economy to its train, albeit as one of the coaches at the rear. Foreign and local capitalists reaped huge profits and white workers' living standards soared, in a period of relative class peace which the ruling class succeeded in imposing for almost a decade.

BCM was born towards the end of this period, calling to battle a new and refreshed generation of youth. Its birth was a signal to the bourgeoisie that the class 'peace', and the brief honeymoon of unhindered exploitation of the masses, had come to an end.

The youth, as Trotsky once said, act like the topmost leaves of the trees, rustling first to the gusts of an impending storm. The rise of BCM took place in parallel with the first renewed stirrings of the working class.

The enormous expansion in the 1960s of the productive forces (the number, size, and mechanisation of the factories, mines and farms) massively increased the size and strategic placement of the black working class. While grappling with repression the black workers healed their wounds, reflected on the lessons of past defeats, and prepared for a renewed onslaught on oppression and exploitation.

The youth, sons and daughters of the working class, responded with revolutionary enthusiasm to the spirit of defiance and hatred which, as BCM, spread like wildfire throughout the bush colleges, schools, and townships. But at first the youth marched separately from the working class.

BCM arose without a legacy of Marxism to draw upon, without the guidance of an experienced underground cadre steered in the Marxist method. The youth had to confront afresh the problems of developing a revolutionary movement and sewing together the disunity of the past.

The youth were faced with the ostentatious wealth of the whites contrasted against the stark poverty of the blacks. They were provoked by the racist arrogance of the government, police and the army, and also of white supervisors on the factory floor.

At the same time the main forms of open, organised 'opposition' to the government were the feeble reeds of white liberalism—uttering

weak echoes of the reformism of the 1950s, and seeking to stifle the new voice of the youth.

It was inevitable and understandable that the youth would, in an attempt to salvage the national pride of the oppressed, develop an ideology of intense and defiant black nationalism.

Limitations of black consciousness

The youth felt it their task to mobilise the black people as a whole behind the radical slogans of black consciousness. Until 1976 BCM grew alongside, but separate from, the movement of the workers. The strike wave of 1972-74, and the birth of the independent union movement, touched the youth only indirectly.

1976 proved to be a watershed in the development of the youth movement. The struggle in the schools was suddenly confronted with the unleashed barbarity of the regime—a greater force in practice than even the most intense nationalism had anticipated in theory.

Barely two months after they had hurled themselves against the state in June, the youth were forced for the first time to call on the workers for support. Instinctively at first, but later with far greater understanding, the youth appealed to their parents, brothers and sisters to join them in the battle to overthrow oppression and exploitation.

The events of this period etched into the consciousness of the youth the lesson that their own forces in isolation were incapable of bringing the state, and the society which it defended, to its knees. Burned into their understanding by bullets and teargas grenades was also the realisation that baasskap was the means of defending the capitalist system of the bosses, local and foreign.

These lessons sowed the seed in their minds for the beginnings of a reassessment of the programme of *black consciousness*.

Calling their parents to action the youth discovered, in the workers' struggle, a force immeasurably more powerful than themselves alone.

Yet the political general strikes of that period, mobilised from 'out-

side' rather than by the workers' own organisations, left many questions of strategy and programme unresolved. How should the revolutionary energy of the youth movement relate to the immense potential power of the workers' movement?

Because even the workers' political struggle in 1976-77 led to no decisive victory against the regime, because the workers' industrial movement entered a period of lull in the economic downturn between 1975 and 1978, because the banning of BCM organisations in 1977 necessitated a period of regroupment for the youth, these questions receded to the background for a while—only to re-emerge in 1980-81.

By that time the resurgence of the workers' movement, fuelled by the temporary economic upturn, had begun to transform the whole political atmosphere. In strike after strike the working class was showing its power to smash back at the bosses and serve as a militant pole of attraction for all sections of the oppressed—and this when only the first regiments of the working class army had entered onto the battlefield.

As the youth threw themselves again into struggle, the previous instinctive and spontaneous cooperation with workers was replaced by a more conscious drawing together. First the education struggle, and later community struggles, brought together the youth and their parents. The youth mobilised active support for workers' action, as in the Fatti's and Moni's, the meat workers' and the Rowntree strikes.

Democracy

The unprecedented militancy and high level of organisation of the workers' movement has set in motion among the youth a lively discussion in search of the ideas and methods of organisation which can consolidate a unity rooted in the workers' movement.

What the development of the struggle has revealed is the impossibility of working out a programme and perspective within the framework of black consciousness. The problems posed, and incompletely resolved after 1976-77, are now urgently demanding prac-

tical answers.

This is reflected in the overwhelming turn among the youth towards a class approach to the struggle, and towards an understanding that the problems of the society will not be solved until the working people have a government of their own.

This understanding has been expressed in the turn to the slogan of 'non-racial democracy'. Yet this slogan is only a general formula, which needs to be filled in by struggle rooted in an understanding of the class forces that can achieve it.

For the working class, the struggle for non-racial democracy represents no concession to capitalist reformism or liberalism. For the working class, democratic organisation is the essential means for building its own self-confidence and power; democracy in society is the indispensable guarantee of its welfare and security.

Non-racialism expresses the vital intention of creating the strongest unity of the working class across all the racial divisions imposed by the ruling class.

For the workers' movement, the struggle for non-racial democracy in SA is waged inch by inch against the implacable enmity of the capitalist class, its regime, and their supporters, and can be victorious only through replacing the capitalist state by the democratic rule of the working class.

Yet the huge uplift of the mass struggle in the recent period, underpinned by the workers' movement, has also allowed onto the stage those middle-class 'democrats' who peddle illusions in the possibility of the democratic reform of SA capitalism. Posing the struggle for 'non-racial democracy' in the abstract, they consciously or unconsciously seek to dilute the class thrust of revolutionary nationalism, as well as the struggle of the working class to take power.

These old liberals in new dress will take advantage of any lulls in the workers' movement to sow confusion among the masses. In this they will serve the interests of the ruling class.

Nor is any solution offered to the problems faced by the workers, the youth (and the middle class itself) by those middle-class elements who cling or revert to exclusive black na-

tionalism. **The battle against liberalism and reformism can be won only by strengthening the struggle for workers' unity and workers' power.**

The youth have a vital role to play in the workers' movement in sustaining and developing the struggle for consistent democracy and national liberation, and exposing and defeating the democratic and nationalist 'diluters'. Absorbing the lessons of the 1970s and the recent period must go hand in hand with guarding against the mistakes of the 1950s and 1960s.

Programme

For forging unity in the struggle for a government of their own, the working class is turning increasingly towards the ANC. With the workers, the youth also have turned their support more and more to the ANC.

To achieve non-racial democracy and national liberation, the ANC will need to be built on a conscious socialist programme. The turning of the workers towards the Freedom Charter reflects the quest for a programme that can serve both to meet the demands of the everyday struggle, and as a rallying point around which to consolidate the unity of the movement in action.

This can only be done if the immediate demands of the Charter are concretised into a **programme of action**. They can serve as a basis for further consolidating the unity of the oppressed by bringing together the community organisations and the trade unions in campaigns to enforce those demands.

In these struggles it is the task of Marxists to explain that the struggle of the working people for a democratic government of their own cannot be separated from **the struggle for socialism**. Those who support democracy consistently have no choice but to support this struggle.

Thus the key demand of the Charter is the demand for the nationalisation of the banks, mines and monopoly industry. This can be realised, under workers' control and management, only if the capitalist state is smashed and replaced by a workers' state, which will fulfill not only the aspirations of the working class, but of all the oppressed. ●

Health workers must unite!



In Baragwanath Hospital patients are put on stretchers, couches, chairs or even floors—while wards are empty in the 'white' Johannesburg Hospital.

South Africa's hopelessly inadequate health care services are falling into even deeper crisis. Over the past year this has been highlighted by the epidemic of cholera. By mid-1982 there were over 200 dead and more than 60 000 victims in Natal alone (according to Dr Fred Clarke, MEC in charge of Natal hospital services).

There is almost no safe open water in Natal. Even seafood is contaminated. There have also been outbreaks of pink-eye and bubonic plague in SA.

TB, now a rare disease in Europe and North America, results in an average of 10 deaths a day in SA. Blindness and deaths caused by measles are accentuated by malnutrition, particularly in rural areas.

Polio, almost non-existent in most advanced capitalist countries, recently caused 10 deaths in the Northern Transvaal. It could easily be eliminated with a planned immunisation campaign, while providing clinics with adequate facilities to refrigerate the vaccine.

By Rose Tyler

In the urban areas hospitals for black patients, like Baragwanath, are grossly overcrowded. Baragwanath has 2 713 beds, but frequently 60-80 patients are crowded into a 40-bed ward. The new Johannesburg hospital for whites, built at fantastic cost, has wards which have never been opened because of the staff shortages.

In the Transvaal (according to the government's racial categories) nearly 40% of posts for white nurses

are vacant, 51% for white assistant nurses, 17% for African nurses and 38% for Indian nurses.

The reason for these shortages at a time of increasing unemployment for blacks and whites is simply the bad working conditions—long hours, night duties and very low wages.

The shortages mean nursing staff are overburdened, and patients suffer as a result. Or at least the workers, their families and the unemployed who need these services suffer. The wealthy capitalists and rulers and those on medical aid insurance have private doctors and hospitals to turn to. Here the nursing staff are better paid and working conditions are better.

At times the wealthy need the specialist treatment that only the state hospitals can provide and then they get VIP treatment with the shortages hidden. They have private wards—while sick workers sleep on stretchers or blankets on the floor or two in a bed.

In these overcrowded conditions

sometimes diseases are passed from one patient to another, for example a malnourished child getting polio from another child, and so ending up with paralysed arms and legs.

But as the economic crisis of capitalism deepens in SA and internationally, cut-backs have been made in the health budget.

The state budget for health of R1 000 million for 1982, with R2 500 million for military spending, is an insult to the workers, who produce the wealth of the country.

Disability grants have been cut for anyone under 16 years of age. Disabled people are also shunted out to the Bantustans where no assistance at all is given.

A proportion of the health budget also supplements military spending by providing medical services for the military.

Modern, well-equipped military hospitals have been built in Voortrekkerhoogte and Wynberg. Their wards are filled with those who can still be useful to the state to carry out its dirty work. Those who are no longer considered useful are shunted aside. So now many paraplegic ex-soldiers can be found in Durban's hospitals getting inadequate treatment.

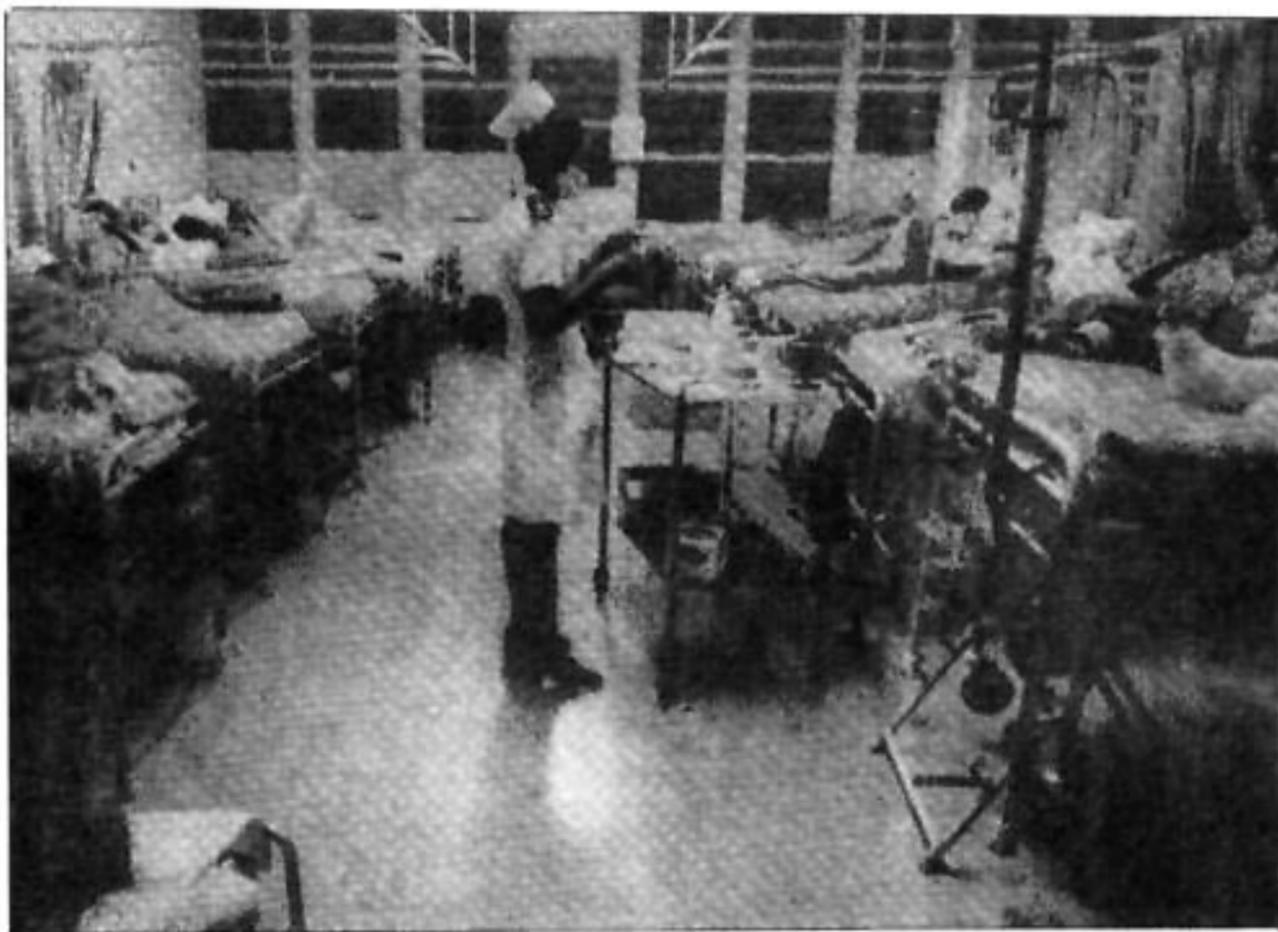
Cost of treatment

With the economic crisis the cost of admission to hospital has also been increased. At Baragwanath the rate for an in-patient is R5 a day, with persons in higher income brackets paying R35 a day. Even out-patients must now pay R2 a visit. Unfortunately the suggestion by the Orlando community to boycott this fee didn't work as organisation was weak and the trade unions were not involved.

Health workers must organise to demand good health facilities for the working class while improving our own working conditions.

In all areas of SA health workers are beginning to organise. For about two years the Transvaal Medical Society (TMS) has been raising the question of an organised opposition to the racist administered health services.

Formed initially to campaign on the issue of medical ethics to expose



“All those involved in the running of the health care services must be embraced in a single union...firmly rooted in the less skilled workers...and on the basis of full union democracy.”

the complicity of white district surgeons in the death of Steve Biko, the TMS has worked within a professional framework, attracting black nurses and doctors. It adopted a black consciousness ideology and limited membership to blacks.

Pressures from the wider labour movement and within the TMS has brought about a change and the TMS now calls itself the Health Workers Association (HWA) and has a non-racial approach to membership.

In 1981 the health service crisis came to a head in mass resignations by radiographers. They complained that they were not being paid the rate for the job after a new examination was introduced.

Since they had better job opportunities and pay with private doctors or in the mines, they tended to resign rather than start a long struggle against the Transvaal Hospital Administration.

Conditions in state hospitals for patients needing X-rays deteriorated badly. Only the student radiographers remained, and were loaded with excessive work. In desperation doctors took over some of the X-ray work.

TMS called a meeting of community organisations and hospital

workers. A petition was drawn up and presented to the administration. This was ignored and nothing more happened. This was largely because the TMS leadership did not rally the hospital workers, or even involve the radiographers themselves.

Recently there have been meetings at Baragwanath to protest against the victimisation of health workers, in particular a student midwife who was refused a job because she had fought for the right of student nurses to have study leave.

These issues reveal the urgent need for a strong and united trade union for health workers in the face of the hostile provincial administration. The HWA can only develop if it organises all health workers in the struggle for better conditions.

All those involved in the running of the health care services must be embraced in a single union; cleaners, clerks, gardeners, security staff, porters, technicians, paramedics, secretaries as well as ambulance drivers, nurses, radiographers, physiotherapists and doctors. In Baragwanath itself there are some 10 000 health workers, and probably several times that number on the Reef alone.

Organisation into a single union will undoubtedly face problems in

uniting the struggles of workers with differing levels of skill, especially those considered 'professionals'. The 'professionals' have the benefit of long education, in some cases up to six years university training, but doctors form only a small minority of health workers. At Baragwanath for example doctors are only 5% of the workers.

The relative privilege of their situation makes it more difficult for them to reflect the interests of the majority of ordinary workers. A trade union top-heavy with such professional leadership will always face the danger of slipping into an association increasingly isolated from the wider labour movement.

Thus when two porters were fired at Baragwanath for organising among the porters, the HWA did not take up and fight against this victimisation.

Organisation of health workers must be firmly rooted in the less skilled workers, who form the great majority, and on the basis of full union democracy (where needed, separate branches of the same union can be formed for higher level or supervisory personnel—as is sometimes done in other countries).

This has been the approach at Woodstock Hospital in Cape Town where the workers' committee has been recognised by management.

Single health union

The advantages of a single health union can be seen from the difficulties caused by divisions in other countries. In Britain, for example, there are at least six major unions with members in the health sector. Some are professional associations, and others have mushroomed in recent years among the unskilled and low-paid workers.

This causes division at the very time there needs to be united organisation and struggle. The present industrial action in the National Health Service in Britain is compelling the different unions to work more closely together. This would be much easier if there was one union.

Health workers must also recognise their relative weakness in comparison with other sectors of the

working class. Withdrawing their services causes immediate increased suffering for other workers, and does not hit the bosses directly—although in the long run organisation by health workers is the only way to force improvements in services for the working class as a whole.

Industrial muscle

Other organised industrial workers must use their muscle to support the health workers. In the present industrial action in Britain, miners and other sections of workers are actively supporting the health workers. This must be the aim in SA too. The HWA and also others working towards organising health workers must link up with the moves towards trade union unity.

The health workers' organisation will give important additional power to the labour movement as a whole. The workers of SA are desperate for improvement in health services and the health workers are able to put forward many demands which can become incorporated into the general demands of the workers' movement.

Every effort has now to be made to organise all health workers—

* to campaign for a comprehensive and free national health service to take the place of private practice;

* to struggle to eliminate all racial and class discrimination in health care without distinction between urban and rural areas;

* to struggle for a national minimum wage of R100 a week rising automatically in line with the cost of living, on the basis of a negotiated agreement between an independent health union and employers of health workers;

* to combine with other workers to achieve a socialist South Africa where all workers will enjoy health, full employment, and social security.

INQABA NEEDS CASH!

To step up the campaign for socialist policies in the workers' movement, resources are needed.

The cost of printing *Inqaba* and distributing it is paid for completely out of sales and donations from readers and supporters.

Within South Africa, *Inqaba* supporters should ensure that our journal always changes hands in return for money, no matter how little.

Many demands are made on workers' inadequate pay packets. But for an independent workers' press to develop, it must be reliant on the rands and cents of workers themselves.

Free distribution would mean having to look to rich benefactors for support, who inevitably would try to exchange their money for a say in policy.

From sales of *Inqaba* at home, local funds should be built up to finance photocopying, distribution and the necessary travel costs of comrades in each area.

It is essential also for comrades to set aside and contribute weekly as much money as possible into a 'fighting fund' for political activities. *Cash-consciousness is part of political consciousness.*

Supporters who organise discussion groups round *Inqaba* should take regular collections for the journal.

To our readers and supporters abroad we appeal for regular donations to enable us to expand our work.

Help the ideas of Marxism gain a mass hearing in the labour and youth movement.

Letters and donations from outside South Africa should be sent to:

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MONONO'A BONA — MASAPO A RONA

Al dra 'n aap 'n goue ring bly hy nog steeds 'n lelike ding.

Pik Botha recently appeared at a press conference dressed as colonel in the SAAF. Pik's problem is, though, that no one but himself can remember giving him the rank. The SADF denies he holds it.

This isn't the first time Pik has impersonated an army officer (for which he could get 5 years in prison or R1000 fine!) Once before he appeared with a strange badge of rank which someone described as looking like "a cross between a garden and a car accident".

The South African regime made great propaganda over the antics of Idi Amin, who promoted himself to various ranks in the Ugandan Defence Force. They had better watch out for Pik.

The bosses are telling the workers that because of the recession they will have to tighten their belts. What kind of example are the bosses setting? "Spending by the rich has taken on record proportions...Money is power. Money is security. Money is, above all else, freedom," declares the *Financial Mail* survey, "The rich at play".

Got housing problems? Harry Oppenheimer's Johannesburg home is on an 18 hectare estate in Parktown. According to rumour David Lurie spent R100 000 on altering his home. Natie Kirsh even more.

Tired of crowded trains and buses? One car dealer sells over 20 new Rolls Royces every year. The Camargue costs R275 000, the Silver Spur only R210 000.

Feel like freshening up? Try the most popular of the prestigious lines of men's toiletries, Paco Rabanne's 'Pour Homme'. The shaving foam costs R13,50; and the soap R8.50.

Have you got the time? Join the waiting list of over 60 people at one jeweller for the R12 000 Piaget Polo watch.

Are the kids getting under your feet? Send them to a private boarding school at anything between R2 500 and R4 500 a year per child.

But even the *Financial Mail* knows this can't last. Could it be, it asks, that the rich are "worried that the curtain is finally coming down on the West (especially

SA) and are having a good time before Rome starts burning!"

The working class, building its own means of achieving freedom, security and power, knows the answer to this.

It doesn't matter which party the bosses support; when it comes to profits, they all act the same way.

French workers in a Toulouse wine factory discovered this when the managing director of the Sica-Vin wine company sacked 14 workers including 3 officials of the CGT, the trade union federation led by the CP.

The managing director, millionaire Monsieur Dumeng, has been a member of the French Communist Party for almost fifty years!

In April, *Golden City Press* reported an attack by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi against people who, he claimed, were trying to discredit him as a leader of the working masses. They were people, he complained, "who are not in the struggle for liberation."

Those he referred to were four Marxists suspended from the ANC. In the course of a document published in 1979, *The workers' movement, SACTU and the ANC* they cautioned the ANC leadership against talks with Buthelezi.

"It is necessary to underline" said the document, "that, despite his pretences, Buthelezi is no friend of the working class. He is a defender of capitalist interests, and as our struggle mounts he will be used by big business in an attempt to restrain the movement of the workers from carrying out its revolutionary tasks."

A week earlier, the Chief found himself in better company. To his fellow-speaker at a public meeting he said "I want here publicly to share a platform with you and say that SA blacks are deeply grateful for what you have done for us". Who was this benevolent figure? None other than Harry Oppenheimer.

Of course Gatsha is not a "defender of capitalist interests". Of course Harry Oppenheimer must be "in the struggle for liberation". And pigs can fly...

Southern African notes

Zimbabwean workers' struggle continues

The workers of Harare have scarcely had time to tidy up after the second anniversary of independence before the country has had to face a number of shocks.

'Bandit' attacks (many by former ZIPRA guerrillas) have increased during the last few months as buses have been looted and motorists and farmers shot. Many state welfare and veterinary programmes in Matabeleland have ground to a halt. Most recently six hostages were seized; and an airforce base at Gweru blown up (although it is possible the South African regime was behind this rather than 'dissidents'.)

These futile activities have been met with a clampdown by the military and police in Bulawayo and surrounding areas, resulting in a growing number of detentions.

The deteriorating security situation reflects the crisis in Zimbabwean society. While independence has undoubtedly been a big stride forward for the people, the land, the factories and the mines remain in the hands of the power-seeking big bosses. Land grabbing continues.

Drought

The plight of the peasants and workers has been aggravated by the worst drought experienced in 30 years. It could result in 2 million Zimbabweans facing starvation and long term damage to the national herd and agriculture.

The decline in the economy continues to strike at the urban masses. After a three-month price freeze (which ended on 30 April) prices have continued to rise steeply. Even during the price freeze the price of sugar and beef was raised sharply!

For the first time in many workers' experience they have had to queue for necessities, including paraffin and bread. Cooking oil has not been available, despite the

availability of raw vegetable seeds.

Faced with declining profits, the capitalists are squeezing the government to remove even the weak controls over prices. Despite legislation prohibiting companies from firing workers, almost 2000 workers have already lost their jobs through the closure of 177 small mines. In many cases workers' leaders are singled out for sacking.

Bourgeois economists are now pointing to a downturn in the Zimbabwean economy, with the growth rate declining from 12.9% last year to 3% or less this year. The balance of payments deficit is now estimated to run at around \$400 million for 1981.

Hit by the world economic downturn, plagued by drought, and constantly reminded by the masses of the promises made by ZANU before independence, the Mugabe government is struggling to consolidate its rule.

The more banditry in the rural areas develops, the more the workers resort to strike action to enforce their demands, the greater will

the pressure be to move towards a one-party state. This would cut away many of the democratic gains made by the masses in the independence struggle.

The workers and peasants are learning through experience that every move the government is forced to make to alleviate their conditions, the capitalists proceed to undermine. The real way forward lies in overthrowing capitalism and carrying through nationalisation of the monopolies under workers' control and management. Only then can planned production and distribution be instituted in the interests of the whole people.

Fierce battles lie ahead, as the workers organise to defend themselves against growing unemployment, price increases and falling wages. Strengthening the trade unions and the struggle for a socialist programme within the ranks of ZANU and ZAPU are urgent tasks in the next period.

By Sam Parkin



Women workers on a tobacco farm. The picture was taken before independence—but the same bosses are still in control.

Southern African notes

No to Botha-Swazi land deal!

The decision by the SA government to hand over KaNgwane and the Ingwavuma district of Kwazulu to Swaziland, and the dissolution of the KaNgwane toy 'government', has left the Bantustan collaborators wailing with powerlessness.

The matter has been taken to the courts in an attempt to stop what the apartheid regime is doing. But in spite of these protests and legal wrangles, the SA government seems poised to bulldoze ahead.

That the land deal is motivated by the government's desire to "bring together those whom history has set apart" (a former Natal MP, Botha) is a deliberate lie. The SA ruling class and its apartheid government have always set themselves against democracy and national unity.

What is the real purpose of this deal? Faced with the swelling movement of the SA workers and oppressed, the SA government is trying to speed up 'Bantustanisation'—and turn it in new directions.

For the people of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma the deal will mean the loss of SA citizenship, and as Swazi citizens they will face greater difficulties when seeking employment in SA industries and farms. The SA government wants to shift the responsibility for these people onto the Swazi government, where serious unemployment problems already exist.

Already the fear is being expressed that, once the land deal is through, the people of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane will be treated as second-class Swazi citizens, and may even lose jobs they are holding at present. In this way the plan is designed to divide the working class in order to escape the political problems which will arise out of widespread unemployment and poverty.

It may also be an attempt at rejuvenating tribal conflict to divert the attention of the masses from their appalling conditions.

The new feature of this action is

the attempt to draw Swaziland more closely under the Bantustan umbrella. In part this is to cover over the absurdities in giving 'independence' to the tiny remaining non-independent 'homelands'. Already rumours are circulating of a future deal with Lesotho over Qwaqwa—and even of a link up between Bophuthatswana and Botswana.

Moreover this is an attempt by the SA government to gain international recognition for its Bantustans. Swaziland is a member of the UN and the OAU—and the SA government hopes it will serve as the thin edge of the wedge to gain recognition for Transkei, Bophuthatswana, etc.

Swaziland's acceptance of the deal will certainly add to the confusion and division within the OAU. Its charter demands that old artificial colonial borders imposed by

imperialism be respected(!)—but its next chairman, Gaddafi, has already supported the land deal!!

Sobhuza and his government have accepted the deal because it adds to their territory, gives them access to the sea, and has been sweetened by promises of financial and technical development assistance by the SA government.

But none of this offers any way forward for the people of Swaziland. The increasing crisis of the SA capitalist economy will gradually sap the ability of the SA government to prop up the Swazi rulers with 'aid'. The economic dependence of Swaziland on SA will mean that any new port in Kosi Bay will have to compete for trade with Durban, Richards Bay and Maputo.

In fact the new deal is likely to lead only to tightened SA political control over Swaziland. If an attempt is being made, as is suggested, to create a buffer against guerilla



Protest in KaNgwane against the land deal

Southern African notes

incursions, then this will inevitably come to involve increased SADF activity in Swaziland itself. This will in turn allow the SA military to be used against the Swazi working class as it reawakens to carry forward its history of militant struggle.

Already Koornhof has secretly promised Mabuza, the KaNgwane puppet, the deputy premiership of Swaziland!

The workers' movement vehemently opposes this land deal and any further fragmentation of SA by the regime.

Southern Africa has already been made into one economic whole, with one working class enslaved by the domination of the SA capitalists. At the same time, the political fragmentation of the sub-continent has thrown up barriers to the development of production.

Capitalism is incapable of the unification of Southern Africa.

The only way forward for the working people of Swaziland, South Africa and the whole of the sub-continent lies in joining together under the leadership of a unified

and organised working class to overthrow capitalism, create conditions for genuine self-determination, and rid society for ever of the rule of feudal remnants like Sobhuza and modern dinosaurs like P.W. Botha.

On the basis of a federation of **socialist states** of Southern Africa, the resources of the entire region could be used also for the benefit of the impoverished masses in backward areas like KaNgwane, KwaZulu and Swaziland.

By Gerald Desai

Mozambique

The reactionary 'Movement of National Resistance' in Mozambique has been stepping up what even the capitalist press calls its "terror campaign" (Star, 4 June).

Vital projects like the Cabora Bassa dam and the oil pipeline to Zambia have been set back by MNR activities. Rail traffic to Beira has been attacked.

The defeat of Portuguese colonialism in 1974 meant the collapse of capitalism and the establishment of a planned, state-run economic system. But the poverty and underdevelopment which Mozambique has inherited cannot be overcome as long as it remains the economic prisoner of SA and world imperialism.

Thus thousands of rural people, unable to make a living on the land, are flooding to Maputo. But the government, with no prospect of providing enough new jobs and housing, has resorted to measures of 'influx control' that will require all citizens over the age of 16 to carry a "residence card" showing if they are employed in the city.

The MNR is being used by the apartheid regime to exploit these grim conditions. It is callously indifferent to the suffering of the people. At a time of serious food shortages it has turned its attention to disrupting the harvesting of crops in the central provinces, trying to stoke up more anger against Frelimo.

These cold-blooded manoeuvres will fail to bring about a counter-revolution. The majority of workers and peasants realise that the MNR and its imperialist backers have nothing to offer the Mozambicans, and they will defend the gains of the revolution.

To a limited extent, the Mozambican economy has begun to recover from the collapse brought about by Portuguese withdrawal.

But Mozambique on its own does not have the means for a rapid development of the economy that can satisfy the people's aspirations. Nor, with capitalism as well as Stalinism in deepening crisis internationally, can it hope for adequate development aid from either West or East.

Only the victory of the SA workers' revolution, bringing the powerful SA economy under workers' control and management, can lift the burdens which imperialism imposes on the people of Mozambique and other independent states.

Mauritius

The Mauritian elections on 11 June showed an unprecedented landslide vote for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Standing for radical change in the eyes of working people, the Mauritian Militant Movement and its partner, the Socialist Party, won every single one of the 62 elected

parliamentary seats!

The reason for the massive swing to the left has been the devastating effects of capitalist crisis on Mauritian working people. With a slump in the world price of sugar—the island's main export—the economy has been crippled. Purchasing power has fallen by 40% since 1978; one in five workers is unemployed.

Only socialist policies can lift Mauritius out of the poverty trap, by abolishing capitalist exploitation and bringing the economy under working-class control. But for this small island-state, everything will depend on a correct internationalist standpoint. Its development needs to be linked to the advance of the workers' movement in India, France, South Africa and elsewhere.

The MMM leadership, unfortunately, have set out in an opposite direction, toning down their radical policies in seeking to compromise with capitalism. For example, only two of the 20 private sugar estates are to be nationalised. "We can best be compared with the Socialist Parties of France or Spain", MMM leader Berenger has assured the capitalists.

The road of reformism will prove disastrous for working people in a country where capitalism can afford no significant reforms. Either the rule of capitalism must be ended, or the capitalists will eventually move to crush the workers' expectations.

Revolutionary battles lie ahead of the Mauritian workers to defeat this danger.

KAUNDA AND BOTHA - talks will not help them



On 30 April President Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Botha met, at Kaunda's request, in a mobile caravan carefully placed on the Botswana-SA border.

What made Kaunda want to talk to Botha, and what made Botha accept the request? After all, in doing this, Kaunda 'broke ranks' with the front-line states—although from these states there was only muted criticism of his actions.

Kaunda is reported to have told Botha that if the SA government wants "racial peace" it will have to release from prison the black leaders such as Mandela, Sisulu and others, and negotiate with them.

It was, he claimed, "as a result of my meetings with John Vorster in 1975 and with Mr Ian Smith" that Mugabe and Nkomo were released from prison in Zimbabwe—"the essential first step to Rhodesia becoming independent Zimbabwe."

In fact the release of Mugabe and Nkomo was forced on Smith by the pressure of the peasants and workers who had overthrown capitalism in Mozambique and Angola and were becoming radicalised in the war situation in Rhodesia itself. The imperialists

After the Kaunda-Botha meeting, the Zambian press stopped referring to SA as 'racist'.

feared for the destruction of capitalism in Rhodesia, and escalating working-class struggle throughout the region.

In SA too it will not be fine words by black leaders, but only the organised movement of the working class, that can compel the release of all political prisoners.

Thus Kaunda exaggerates his personal magnetism. His real concerns are shown by the report that he told Botha that unless SA's rulers withdrew from Namibia and made reforms in SA, "the resultant explosion would make the French revolution look like a Sunday school picnic." Kaunda fears that such an "explosion" would affect the whole of Southern Africa—including Zambia itself.

When black states like Zambia attained independence the workers and the poor masses thought that they were going to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

Instead, under capitalism, they

have found themselves being forced to struggle against the very same people they put into power, waging strikes and demonstrating to register their complaints and grievances.

The protest of the masses is met with brutal force by the armies, the police and the courts. In these countries as well as South Africa the workers are chained to the factories and have the police and army to force them to produce more wealth, thus prolonging the survival of capitalism and its defenders.

In Zambia as in SA trade union leaders have been arrested and detained. In most of the Southern African countries the trade unions are strictly controlled by the government, and strikes are illegal.

Today Zambia is troubled, with gigantic strikes by the workers and bitter opposition to the regime. This is as a result of Zambia's economic problems, fuelled by the world capitalist crisis.

Thus Kaunda, with his dream of "humanism" faded, runs from his problems to Botha, using Namibia and SA to divert the attention being focussed on him by the Zambian masses. He hopes Botha can bring an end to the explosive tensions in Southern Africa and save him the trouble of having to face the Zambian workers who are already on the warpath.

Hoping vainly to buy time

No doubt Botha told Dr Kaunda of the so-called "reforms" he is promising to bring about in SA. With such meetings, and his talk of reform, Botha hopes vainly to buy time and convince the Southern African black working class he is driving closer to change.

Because of Zambia's economic dependence on SA, the SA ruling class hopes to draw Kaunda and other such leaders into active defence of the capitalist system in SA. This is the meaning of the state-

ment by Colin Eglin, former leader of the PFP, when welcoming the Botha-Kaunda talks, that "despite hostile rhetoric and understandable hostility to apartheid many people in Africa displayed a very real and even understanding interest in SA and would like to see circumstances change so that the people of Southern Africa could benefit from SA's inclusion in a wider community of African nations".

But the problems facing the working people of South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and the whole of Southern Africa cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism. Under capitalism the workers will

always remain poor, live in horrible conditions, and work endlessly for the capitalists who depend on the police and the army for their rule.

Gravediggers

But the capitalist system in Southern Africa is day by day creating its gravedigger, the working class, which is forced by its misery and poverty to see the need to unite and struggle for democracy and an end to exploitation.

The working class in SA and Zambia must unite in the struggle to

rid South Africa of racism and capitalism. In the same way the South African workers must build their links with the workers struggling in Zambia, and throughout Southern Africa, to carry out the socialist transformation of the region.

Time is running out for Kaunda and Botha and they must know that their talks will not help them. It is the working class that will free South Africa's political prisoners and call on them to take their full part in the struggle.

By Headman Sasa

Letter

"Youth movement must integrate into the workers' movement"

Dear comrades,

The recent debate in the black consciousness movement about the way forward reflects the growing strength of the black workers' movement during the past 2-3 years. The numerous strikes, militant struggles and gains that the workers' movement has made could not fail to hammer home certain conclusions about who are and will increasingly be the decisive forces of the South African revolution.

The banning of the BCM organisations in 1977 had the effect of temporarily strengthening the belief that black consciousness ideas show the way forward under the leadership of the youth.

In fact the bannings revealed more blatantly the repressive character of the state which is determined by the explosive depth of the social contradictions between the rulers and the workers.

This is not to say that the struggles of the black youth were not in themselves intolerable to the rulers, revealing the unstable, narrow and severely contradictory social basis of its rule. But it is the realisation by the rulers that it is the black workers who can transform this threat of the

youth into a massive movement against state power and capital that led to the bannings. To the rulers, any movement or tendency that will have the effect of propelling the workers into strikes and especially political action, must be crushed if it cannot be tamed.

However the rapidly unfolding strike action since late 1979, and the emergence of the black workers' movement as an independent force, began to challenge existing illusions in the leadership of BCM.

Increasingly the black youth are drawing the most important political conclusions from the tremendous struggles that have been waged on hundreds of issues—that the black working class alone has the power, rallying all the oppressed, to end the apartheid-capitalist system.

It is this which has caused them to review the developments since the inception of the BCM. As a result many youth have moved over to support for the Freedom Charter, and also for the workers' movement. The further integration of the youth movement into the general working class movement will afford the best prospect for the unfolding

revolution in SA.

Criticism of black consciousness in earlier years was not sufficient for the movement to see its weaknesses and change course. Only under the sheer impact of events, with the workers moving strongly forward, are sections of BC realising the most fundamental truth of all the struggles in SA—the fate of SA and even Southern Africa will be determined by the outcome of the class conflict between capital and labour, especially black labour.

This is not in the least to belittle the militancy of the black consciousness youth and the devastating effect of the national oppression and racism directed against black people, especially the workers. But the fact remains that the virulent racism and national oppression faced by black people cannot be overthrown without the destruction of its foundation, capitalism, and the conquest of state power.

As the youth learn this they will take their place in the forefront of the struggle for the workers' revolution.

Farouk Dawood

Bloodbath in Lebanon

On 4 June the Israeli army launched its massive invasion into Lebanon. The alleged reason given for this 'Operation Peace for Galilee' was to put Northern Israeli towns beyond the range of rocket and artillery fire from the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

But it has become clear that the Israeli government hopes to decisively destroy the PLO in Lebanon. By not just attacking military targets, but savagely bombing Lebanese and Palestinian civilian areas, including hospitals, schools and the refugee camps, the Israeli government hopes to terrorise the Palestinians out of Lebanon—in this way 'solving' the Palestinian question.

In fact, with an estimated 10 000 people killed so far and 600 000 made homeless, the biggest victims of the Israeli aggression have been the Lebanese civilian population. Slaughter on this scale, unprecedented even for the Israeli military machine, shows up SA's staunch ally in the Middle East for what it is.

Imperialism

Since the establishment in 1948 of the Jewish state of Israel in what used to be Palestine, the Palestinians have been driven into exile as refugees or made into second-class citizens. This led to hostilities between Israel and the Arab states, resulting in four major wars—in 1948-9, 1956, 1967, and 1973.

The formation of Israel was backed by imperialism from the beginning, especially the US. After the war of 1973 the USA gave Israel \$2 billion a year—half of it in the form

by Elma Louw

of military aid. Israel was seen as a fortress against the Arab revolution, which would threaten the material interests of imperialism—especially oil.

Strengthen determination

Far from ending the Palestinian struggle, however, the murderous bombings of civilian areas and refugee camps will only strengthen the determination of the three million Palestinians in the Middle East to fight for their national and social emancipation.

Imperialism is realising that the Palestinians cannot be bombed out of existence. Furthermore, another major war in the Middle East, could well trigger off revolutions in the already very unstable region. In Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt as well as Israel, class contradictions have been sharpening over a long period.

For these reasons the Arab states want to avoid becoming involved in another war with Israel, which would put enormous pressures on their already weak economies.

The repressive capitalist and feudal regimes in the Arab countries, unable to provide homes, jobs and a decent living to the working people in their own countries, will not give consistent support to the Palestinians' struggle.

The national liberation of the Palestinian people cannot be separated from the struggle of



The Lebanese people have been the biggest victims of Israel's merciless bombing attacks.

Fight the bosses, not the socialists!

workers and poor peasants throughout the Middle East to end capitalism and establish workers' rule.

This struggle is in the interest, too, of Israeli workers, who will find no security while the Palestinian question remains unresolved, and who are also suffering the bitter effects of capitalist crisis.

Inflation in Israel is running at well over 100% and the war costs are loading huge new burdens on the people—estimated at present at more than R3500 million. There has been a sharp drop in production and exports because workers have been called up for military service.

Socialist federation

Opposition to the war is growing in Israel. Anti-war demonstrations in Tel Aviv have attracted tens of thousands of people. Also Israeli soldiers have organised to coordinate further protests. More and more can see that this war is not about defending Israel, but destroying the Palestinians and their organisations, regardless of the cost in lives.

Cooperation among the peoples of the Middle East, whose futures are inseparably bound together, in a socialist federation, would provide the basis to begin to develop the rich resources of the region to the benefit of all. Within such a federation both the Palestinians and the Israelis, and other national groups, could if they wished exercise a right to a state of their own.

Marxists must seek to build a basis among workers in the Middle East for a programme of common struggle towards this.

The bubble of nationalist euphoria blown up by the right-wing media over the victory of British imperialism in the South Atlantic war is bursting, leaving working people again with the cold reality of life in capitalist Britain.

Thatcher's guns are still trained on the living standards of the working class. Four million are unemployed. For the youth, the future is one of poverty and squalor. Two out of three school leavers this year will not find jobs.

Train drivers and health workers have been in the front line of the workers' counter-offensive. The train drivers' strike, which the bosses could not break, was ended only by the betrayal of the right-wing leaders of the Trade Union Congress.

It is against this background that socialist policies to defeat the big-business government are gaining a wider hearing. The capitalist press and its 'shadows' in the labour movement, principally the Parliamentary Labour leaders, fear Karl Marx's saying becoming a reality: "Ideas become a material force when they grip the minds of the masses".

That is why the capitalists and the right wing of the Labour Party have launched an "investigation" of *Militant*, the Marxist tendency of the Party. The resulting report—in reality a plan to exclude *Militant* supporters from Party membership—has since been accepted by the National Executive Committee after a fierce debate.

Behind a smokescreen of charges of breaking the Party's rules, the right wing are trying to hide their own political nakedness. They have failed to build the Party or, despite 17 years of post-war Labour govern-

ment, to implement the socialist clause of the Constitution, which calls for nationalisation of the economy under workers' control and management.

The attack on *Militant* is only the beginning of a last concerted effort by the pro-capitalist right wing to smash the growing radicalisation of labour's ranks.

But already their witch-hunt is facing problems as rank-and-file members rally to defend the movement's democratic traditions of open debate. A group of Welsh workers expressed this mood, saying: "If they try to expel you, we are joining the Labour Party to defend you". Literally hundreds of Party and trade union branches have flooded Labour's headquarters with resolutions opposing any witch-hunt.

The British Communist Party, on the other hand, opposes an attack on the "left as a whole"—but apparently not on *Militant* supporters! Its paper, the *Morning Star*, spells out this scandalous position:

"If there is evidence that the Militant Tendency is in breach of the rules (of the Labour Party), let that evidence be made public ... If it is then thought necessary, the Labour Party's rules are adequate enough to deal with Militant without a register which opens up the spectre of witch-hunts..." (2 July).

However, all those who try by bureaucratic means to separate Marxism from the workers' movement will find that it is impossible. The rising tide of the workers' struggle will create conditions where the ideas of Marxism and the socialist revolution will become an unstoppable force.

By a Militant supporter

JOE MAVI

— a militant and courageous union leader



In July 1980 10 000 municipal workers came out on a strike which left refuse uncollected, pavements uncleaned and buses idle. Their leader was Joseph Mavi, a former bus driver in the Johannesburg Municipality. On June 8th this year, Joseph Mavi was sadly killed in a car accident while travelling from Port Elizabeth with three other unionists who sustained minor injuries.

Joseph Mavi is remembered by the workers as a militant and courageous leader but as a law-breaker by the bosses because of the 1980 Municipal strike.

Mavi started organising the Johannesburg municipal workers into the Black Municipality Workers Union (BMWU) into which thousands of workers flocked, shunning the bosses' union, the Union of Johannesburg Municipality Workers (UJMW).

The Johannesburg Management Committee refused to recognise the BMWU saying the Union did not represent the majority of the workers. But they got the surprise of their lives when within a week 10 000 workers went on strike—one of the biggest in a single industry in the history of South Africa.

The bosses declared the strike illegal and ordered their police to restore 'law and order' but the workers still did not go to work. The

bosses decided to drag the workers out of the compounds at gunpoint and into buses to dump them in the 'homelands'; many were forced to leave their personal belongings behind.

In the Bantustans magistrates were ordered to arrange for fresh workers among the many unorganised and unemployed to replace the dismissed municipal employees. In this way the bosses were able to break the strike.

Mavi was arrested during the strike and charged with 'sabotage' but later acquitted. Afterwards he suffered detention without trial and many other hardships in the course of his work as a trade union leader. From then on up to the time of his death he was involved in organising workers and creating links with other trade unions.

Trade unionists who paid tribute to Joseph Mavi described him as a talented and committed trade unionist, whose death was not only a loss to the municipal workers in Johannesburg but to the working class movement as a whole. They pledged that they would continue with the struggle for a South Africa, "where there shall be work, security and comfort for all."

On 13th June when about 250 trade unionists and friends were attending a memorial service in Dube, Soweto for Mavi and two ANC

members who were killed in Swaziland, the ruthless police showed their utmost callousness by arresting all the people and packing them all in five vans like sardines. They were then taken to security police headquarters at Protea for questioning. As usual the police did not give reasons for the arrests and even admitted that there were no incidents of unrest that sparked them off.

Even the church leaders were not helpful in any way. The spirit of the mass movement so haunts the Catholic bureaucrats that they were afraid to have Mavi's dead body in their church. It took a long time before they were persuaded by the workers to allow the use of the hall.

The municipal workers have lost one of their leaders and comrades but, as was said at his funeral, "they must take heart in spite of the great loss and look to the future."

The working class must continue to organise themselves and create their own leaders who will be committed to their struggles against the bosses. Those at the head of the union must continue where Mavi left off—organising more workers and establishing more branches all over the country and struggling for trade union unity.

CHILE 1970-73

By P. Qubulashé
and R. Monroe



The Revolution Aborted

In September 1970 Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile at the head of the Popular Unity (UP) coalition. The installation of a UP government dominated by the traditional workers' parties of Chile—the Socialist Party and Communist Party—showed the burning aspirations of the Chilean workers and peasants for the transformation of society.

Almost exactly three years later, on 11 September 1973, a military coup organised by General Pinochet overthrew the democratically-elected UP government. Allende himself was killed in the defence of the Presidential palace; at least 50 000 workers, peasants and youth died in resistance, or were rounded up to be tortured and executed en masse in cold blood.

The trade union and political organisations of the workers and peasants were outlawed, strikes declared illegal, and working hours increased under the jackboot of the military.

What were the conditions which gave rise to the UP government? And why was it overthrown by the bloodiest coup in the coup-prone

history of Latin America?

In Chile at the end of the 1960s, the yoke of landlordism and capitalism inflicted on the masses conditions of poverty, hunger, landlessness, illiteracy, endemic sickness, slum and squatter housing, and alcoholism.

In 1970 nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the people earned less than the minimum wage, while the top 2% of salary-earning households got 12.5% of total income. Banking and industry was controlled by the wealthy few. In 1965 less than 2% of landowners controlled 73% of the land (a situation scarcely altered by agrarian reform between 1965 and 1970).

Capitalism in Chile arrived too late to develop the economy in an all-round way.

In 1970 nearly half the top companies were foreign-controlled, draining profits to US big business. Copper mining, accounting for 70% of

exports, was half-owned by the government, yet the US Anaconda Copper company was still in 1969 drawing 80% of its world profits from the labour of Chilean workers.

Economic growth was held back by the small domestic market and the high cost of manufactured imports. Borrowing money to stimulate production made Chile a pawn of the US banks—with an external debt in 1970 of \$300 per head, then one of the highest in the world.

Against the background of these conditions, the UP government was elected on a radical programme which awakened the hopes of the masses that it would solve the problems of society. Under its banner many gains were made.

Radical reforms

The copper industry was finally expropriated (effectively without compensation) from US imperialism. Large sectors of industry, from coal to textiles and fishing, were nationalised in whole or part. About 9 million acres of the biggest landed estates passed into the hands of poor peasants. In the first year of UP, in-

dustrial production rose by 23%.

Living standards of even the poorest rose by a fifth. Children, for the first time in history, got free milk and meals at school. Great strides forward were taken in the field of pensions, welfare services, health, housing and schooling.

But these attempts to turn the capitalist profit system to serve the needs of the people were all drowned in the blood of the counter-revolution—in the space of only three years.

Under Pinochet the people were again brutally re-enslaved. Factories and lands were restored to their old owners. The US experts rushed in to recover the economy for decaying imperialism.

The coup coincided with the end of the post-war boom in the advanced capitalist countries. Under the generals, the weak and dependent Chilean economy went into a devastating slump, worsened by the use of monetarist policies. Industrial production fell (by 25% in 1975 alone) and unemployment soared—to over 50% in some sectors in 1975. Living standards fell sharply.

Nine years later the Chilean people, nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ living in towns, still struggle under the grim whips of military dictatorship, unemployment, and economic crisis. The Chilean working class, the decisive force in society with a proud and militant tradition, is still fighting to regroup and overcome the effects of the catastrophic defeat of 1973.

The working class of the industrialised as well as the colonial world looked in 1970 to the “Chilean experiment” of the UP government as a test of a strategy to transform society. We must learn the lessons of that defeat.

Class collaboration

In different ways, the workers’ leaders in the UP government—who claimed to stand in the tradition of Marx and Lenin—argued that the aims of the working class and the oppressed masses could be achieved by cooperation with a so-called “democratic” section of the capitalist class, its political and military representatives, and their supporters. The resulting policies of class col-

“Chile has chosen to carry out a revolution within a bourgeois democracy and will continue to do so, even though it is difficult” — Allende

laboration were the fundamental cause of the defeat.

The leaders of the Chilean CP argued that the UP reforms attacked “only” the interests of US imperialism and “feudal” Chilean landowners—that a “national democratic revolution” could win the support of “progressive” local capitalists, politicians and generals.

Indeed, under the pressure of the organised movement of workers and peasants, the Chilean oligarchy was divided. Politically, it was split between the right-wing National Party and the “progressive” Christian Democrats.

But the UP reforms, pushed on by the pressure of the working people, went far beyond what Chilean capitalism could afford: they necessarily represented not just an attack on particular capitalists, but on the intertwined interests of imperialism, landowners and local capitalists—on the system of private property itself.

As Trotsky had explained before the Russian Revolution of 1917, social and democratic reform in a backward country could be carried through only by the working class taking power and abolishing the system of profit and private property. The UP reform programme confirmed this in practice, basing itself necessarily on nationalisation, redistribution, takeover of industry and land—the assertion of workers’ and peasants’ power and workers’ control.

The leaders of Popular Unity promised the masses they would “strengthen democracy” and ultimately, in Allende’s words, “install a new system in which the working class and the people are the ones who really exercise power.” But, added this “Marxist”, “Chile has chosen to carry out a revolution within a bourgeois democracy and will continue to do so, even though it is difficult.”

In words which now read with a gruesome irony, Allende maintained

that this “Chilean road...carries with it the fewest risks in human terms.”

Why was this “democratic revolution” difficult? In capitalist society, as Lenin had long before explained, “There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes...in its constitution, guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of despatching troops against the workers...in a case of a ‘violation of public order’ and actually in case the exploited class ‘violates’ its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner.”

Within its history, the Chilean working class had experienced countless massacres at the hands of the troops of the ruling class—the worst of them the slaughter of 3 000 nitrate miners, their wives and children, in the schoolhouse of Santa Maria de Iquique in 1907.

In September 1973, to suppress the non-slavish behaviour of the Chilean masses, the generals had no scruples about dissolving parliament, murdering the president, tearing up the constitution, and burying democracy in the mass graves of the workers.

Printed on every Chilean Socialist Party card was a warning of this, distilled from its own history and that of the working class internationally: **“Evolutionary transformation by means of the democratic system is not possible because the ruling class has organised itself in armed civil bodies and has erected its own dictatorship to maintain the workers in poverty and ignorance and prevent their emancipation.”**

Marx and Engels had concluded from the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871—when the first workers’ government was bloodily defeated—that “the task of the revolution is no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and this is essential for every real people’s revolution.” **“The working class”, they insisted, “cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for**

its own purposes.”

“In order not to lose again its only just won supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery used against itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment.”

Between the UP victory in 1970 and the 1973 onslaught by the bosses' armed bodies of men, the Chilean masses had three years to carry out this task in practice—the task of establishing workers' democratic rule. Yet their “Marxist-Leninist” leaders completely failed to organise for achieving this.

Describing the masses' enthusiasm at Allende's victory, Luis Corvalan, Chilean CP leader, complacently concluded at the end of 1970 that “this atmosphere...plus the legitimacy of the election victory which no-one can challenge, and the powerful impact of world socialism, explain why US imperialism and Latin American reaction will find themselves compelled to accept the situation in Chile.”

Indeed, already divided, the Chilean capitalist class and their servants, the generals, were stunned by the UP victory. Their trusted protector, US imperialism, was bogged down in the war in Vietnam and unable to intervene militarily.

But so long as capitalism and its state remained in existence in Chile, the stalemate could only be temporary.

From the start the UP leaders were warned of this. Two days before parliament ratified Allende's election, the head of the army was assassinated for opposing plans for a coup. This coup was postponed (on the advice of the US) only because it was felt its leader, General Viaux, was “not adequately prepared, his timing is off.” Correspondence on this conspiracy was exposed publicly in 1971, from which it was also clear that “as part of the persuasion to delay, Viaux was given oral assurance that he would receive material assistance and support from the US and others for a later manœuvre.”

Assurances

Despite this, despite all the lessons of Marxism, despite the continued conspiracies of the officer caste, the “Marxist” leaders of UP—up to the time of the coup itself—continued to assure their supporters of the generals' “spirit of professionalism, their respect for the constitution and the law” (Corvalan, *World Marxist Review*, December 1970), of their “loyalty to the elected government” (*WMR*, November 1972). In June 1973 Allende warned against “classifying the armed forces as reactionary.”

To secure ratification of his election by parliament, Allende concluded a pact with the main capitalist party, the Christian Democrats, in which his bowing to “constitutionalism” in-

cluded promises to make “no changes in the strength of the Army, Navy, Air Force or national police...except by laws passed by Congress.” He promised not to appoint any officers who had not passed through the academies training the military elite.

In futile measures to maintain their “loyalty”, the UP government began by raising the salaries of the officers, and ended up by inviting them into the cabinet. The generals, scheming with the bosses, were only too willing to swear solemnly, to the moment of the coup, to give “invariable support to the constitutional order”.

The UP leaders justified their class collaboration out of the need to consolidate an “electoral majority”—especially among the middle classes.

Indeed, Allende won in 1970 on a minority vote (of 36%); at that time the UP did not have a clear majority in parliament. Also, the UP coalition itself included six tiny reformist parties, with middle-class support.

But these middle-class parties did not, and could not, serve the interests of the middle class. The Chilean middle class, squeezed by the monopolies, largely white-collar workers, many in the state sector, had no objective interest in the profit system. Politically, they would sway to the strongest force in the class struggle.

In the first period of the UP government, the middle class swung increasingly towards it. Copper nationalisation was supported by 93% in an opinion poll (even the Christian



Chilean workers demonstrate after the first abortive coup—marching by the hundreds of thousands, but armed only with sticks

Democrat leaders dare not oppose it openly). In the 1971 municipal elections UP candidates increased their vote, to 49.7%—with the SP doubling its support, while the vote of the Radical Party (on the right of the coalition) was halved. The reformist parties (including the Christian Democrats) went through convulsions and splits, with large sectors gravitating to the left.

With decisive mobilisation of the workers and poor peasants, and a clear programme for solving their daily problems through ending capitalism, the UP would have maintained and strengthened its middle-class support. But the policy of gradual reforms and constitutionalist illusions created conditions in which the vacillating middle class turned away from the government.

Hamstrung militarily, the capitalist class did what it could to undermine the Chilean economy. US imperialism organised the cut-off of investment, loans and credit, and tried to marshall a world-wide boycott of Chilean copper. The Chilean capitalists and their politicians used every device of the constitution to delay nationalisations, while they exported their wealth, ceased investing, and tried to sabotage production.

Inflamed anger

Each counter-measure by the oligarchy inflamed the anger of the working masses and spurred their determination. In land seizures and factory occupations, in the formation of workers' and peasants committees and assemblies, in beginning to assume control both of production and distribution of goods, the Chilean masses were forging the instruments of their own rule. **The movement which took place under the banner of 'people's power' represented the drive of the Chilean working class to establish its own democratic state, serving the interests of all the oppressed."**

But the leaders of UP, timid, bowing to capitalist pressure, argued that the Chilean masses were "not ready for socialism"—even while the socialist reorganisation of society was taking place under their noses! Preaching "responsibility" and "discipline", they condemned "illegal" factory occupations and land

seizures; and did not prevent the arrest and jailing of activists by the forces of the state.

With only 40% of production nationalised, the anarchy of the capitalist system still prevailed. Failing to bring production under the social control and management of the working class on the basis of economic planning, the UP government could finance its reforms and combat capitalist financial sabotage only by printing devalued paper money. Fuelled by inflationary pressures of world capitalism also, prices in Chile soared—to an annual official rate of 200% by September 1973.

This, more than anything, turned the middle class away from UP; and, undermining gains in living standards, drove the organised workers into struggle against the policies of their own leaders. Failing to break with capitalism, the UP government left open the gate for the middle class to fall in despair under the renewed sway of capitalist propaganda. Even the press was left in the hands of the bosses.

From the "March of the Pots" by middle-class housewives in 1971 protesting against food shortages up to the coup itself, the government was faced with a series of crippling reactionary strikes—by shop-keepers, lorry-owners, doctors, small farmers, bankworkers, lawyers, teachers, airline pilots and even the copper miners.

Out of the ranks of the despairing middle class and the unemployed, recruits were made for the small and ferocious gangs of fascist thugs—of "Fatherland and Freedom", etc—used by the capitalists and landlords with growing boldness to reclaim and defend their property.

But fascist gangs were not enough to topple the government or defeat the mass movement. In the atmosphere of growing economic and social chaos, the capitalists mustered their forces for a decisive counter-*blow*. In June 1973 the generals struck in a coup attempt, which was defeated only by the response of the workers who, in a matter of hours, came out in general strike, occupying factories and demonstrating in support of the UP.

On 4 September 1973, only days before the successful coup, 800 000 workers, many armed with staves,

marched through the streets of the capital; and there were similar demonstrations in every town and village.

The demonstration in the capital mobilised nearly 10% of the population—equivalent to 2 million in SA! "Strike hard, strike hard, we want tough measures" was the demand shouted by the masses to their leaders. They called for arms to enable the people to defend the Allende government. There was no lack of courage or will to fight.

Yet from 1970 to the coup the UP leaders actively opposed the formation of a workers' militia and the arming of the masses. Allende's pact with the Christian Democrats forbade the formation of "unconstitutional militias"—a paper pact which did not deter the fascists!

According to Corvalan, a people's militia "would be equivalent to a mark of defiance of the army". (*Morning Star*, 29 December 1970). Of course, arming the workers would have 'defied' the generals and the bosses. But these already felt 'defied' by the desire of the masses even without arms to take their destiny into their own hands.

The real task for the workers' leaders was to paralyse the generals by combining the arming of the workers with winning the revolutionary support of the army rank and file. There were thousands in the military, even up to NCOs and officers, who supported the government and were SP or CP members. Shortly before the coup there was an attempted uprising by left-wing sailors.

An organised appeal for forming revolutionary committees in the armed forces, linking up with and arming the workers' and peasants' committees, would have cut away the power at the disposal of the generals and left them suspended in mid-air.

Instead, after the June coup attempt, the UP leaders went further along the futile road of appeasement. They allowed the navy to purge its ranks of left-wingers. Pinochet, **who was to lead the September coup** was appointed head of the army as the "most constitutionally-minded general", and brought into the government.

In a speech made so soon before the coup that it was printed (in *World Marxist Review*) only after the coup

itself, Corvalan continued to insist on the "absolutely professional character of the armed institutions"! And, he continued, "if the reactionaries do unleash an armed struggle, they will be defeated. Of that there cannot be the slightest doubt, for the people will rise to a man to crush the enemy."

When this appeared in print Corvalan was in the military's jails, under sentence of death, along with thousands of his CP comrades.

Indeed the people would have risen to a man and woman to forestall a coup, to defend the gains achieved, and to establish workers' rule—if their leaders had supplemented this euphoric rhetoric with organised preparation.

Between 1970 and 1973 the class compromises and vacillation of the UP government had opened up huge splits in the SP and even the CP. In the SP, the right-wing had been ejected, and a strong left-wing developed, critical of the government, calling for "advance without compromise". As the counter-revolution loomed, the SP in the capital and the national SP youth called for forming a workers' militia, and assisted in getting arms into the factories.

No clear lead

But this came too late to alter events. The heroic resistance to the coup put up by scattered and isolated sections of the masses had no clear national lead. Even those sections of the SP that grasped what was needed waited for the masses to come to the same conclusions 'spontaneously', rather than setting an example of resistance and appealing for that example to be taken up nationally.

If a conscious Marxist cadre had been prepared in the ranks of the SP over the preceding years, it could have developed into a mass revolutionary tendency in the stormy events after 1970. The Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917, numbering 8 000 in February when the Tsar was overthrown, won overwhelming mass support by October, and led the working class to power.

In Chile, while the overwhelming majority of the workers looked for a way forward through transforming

"...instead of organising the working class at the head of all the oppressed to pull out the fangs of capitalist power, they put chains on the mass movement..."

their own parties (particularly the SP), and while sections of those parties drew revolutionary conclusions, handfuls of "revolutionaries" stood outside these parties, and followed sectarian and adventurist policies.

The most significant of these sects, the MIR, called for a boycott of the 1970 elections! While playing a tiny role in encouraging factory occupations and land seizures, it turned to the adventurism of creating "armed combat groups" separate from the mass organisations of the working class, impatiently and vainly seeking a shoot-out with the incomparably mightier firepower of the armed forces.

The Pinochet coup was the bloody revenge of the capitalists against the masses for 'daring' to take matters into their own hands. But this revenge was made possible only by the false policies pursued by the Popular Unity leaders. Instead of organising the working class at the head of all the oppressed to pull out the fangs of capitalist power once and for all, they put chains on the mass movement, drove the middle class to reactionary despair, and propped up the vicious state machine through which the capitalist class struck its deadly blow.

But the Pinochet regime is doomed also. Presiding over a decaying economy, it cannot maintain support even among the middle class or the capitalists themselves. It has not the means to shatter and atomise the working class as did the fascist regimes of Hitler in Germany or Franco in Spain in the 1930s. Also US imperialism is weakened.

Already the mass movement in Chile has begun to heal its wounds and revive; there will be new opportunities for a victorious social revolution in the next period.

Yet those SP and CP leaders who escaped into exile have learned nothing from the 1973 defeat. The coup, they say, was the unfortunate consequence of a US imperialist plot; and they bewail the fact that the

generals turned out to be "traitors".

Who expects to make a revolution except against the plot of US imperialism? Far from the generals being "traitors", they proved loyal to the class whose interests they represented. Only people steeped in class collaboration could be taken by surprise by this.

No ruling class in history has given up its privilege and power without a struggle to the finish. The task for the workers is to organise to win that struggle.

From 1917 to 1920 the Russian workers and poor peasants, because they had dismantled the capitalist state and established democratic workers' rule, were able to defeat not just economic sabotage and conspiracy by imperialism, but the direct military intervention of 21 imperialist armies! A democratic workers' state in Chile, organising resistance to imperialism and appealing to the international working class, would not only be able to paralyse the counter-revolution, but act as a revolutionary beacon for the masses throughout Latin America.

Yet the SP and CP leaders still continue today to put forward the need for an alliance with the "progressive national capitalists" and their representatives against the Pinochet dictatorship! Their policies and statements reveal their glaring absurdity when measured against the events of 1970-73. But, *inxeba lendoda alihlekwa: nguwe ngomso*.

Not only in Chile, the workers' movement needs to absorb and draw the practical conclusions from the failure of the "Chilean experiment". On the basis of these lessons, we can better build the ANC as an impregnable fortress of the working class, able to carry through the Freedom Charter and the abolition of capitalism through establishing a democratic workers' state.

This will require the smashing of the bosses' state machine through a mass armed insurrection led by the working class.

Support *INQABA YA BASEBENZI!*

Build a mass A.N.C. with a SOCIALIST PROGRAMME!

To overthrow white domination, to win the struggle for democracy — we will have to break down the entire state machinery created over generations by the bosses and their supporters to enslave us for exploitation.

Only the mass of the working people, when organised and armed, can carry through this revolution.

To eliminate poverty and hunger, to secure work and homes for all — we will have to end the capitalist system and take the factories, mines, banks and farms into common ownership, so that production and distribution can be democratically planned and controlled for the benefit of the people.

Only when equipped with a clear socialist programme and strategy for workers' power, can our movement carry through these tasks.

Seeking open political expression of their revolutionary aims, tens of thousands of workers and youth are turning to the banner of the A.N.C. as their rallying point.

For the A.N.C. to effectively unite and lead the liberation struggle of the working people to the conquest of power, it must be consciously built and transformed into a mass organisation with a socialist programme.

INQABA YA BASEBENZI ('Workers' Fortress') fights for this. The task of supporters of INQABA, in the course of every struggle, is to convince other comrades of the need for these policies.

WHERE TO START

1. FORM AN *INQABA* READERS' GROUP OF TRUSTED COMRADES.

Study and critically discuss the articles in the journal, as well as other publications of the movement. Study the theoretical supplements with every issue of *INQABA*. Also get hold of other writings especially of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky to discover the rich lessons and traditions of the international working class.

Plan together how to fight for socialist ideas in all the specific conditions in which you are involved — in building the trade unions and community and youth organisations; and above all, in building the A.N.C.

2. MAKE *INQABA* AN EFFECTIVE VOICE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Because of its experience, the working class is the instinctive bearer of socialist ideas — which Marxism clarifies and puts together scientifically. In the daily life of every worker is an armoury of facts and arguments to prove the need for socialist policies to overcome their problems. Bring them to the fore!

Use your initiative to the full. Collect facts, opinions, interviews, reports on struggles, criticisms of the journal and suggestions for improvements. Write about local, national and international issues. Send articles, letters, photographs, cartoons, reviews — whatever should be brought to the attention of comrades in the struggle all over the country.

Encourage workers to write about their own conditions. The best articles are those which are drawn directly from experience. Because the ruling class has systematically denied the working class access to education, many workers feel they lack the ability to contribute.

It is essential to overcome this hesitation. Even workers without literacy can speak about what they know and think, so that other comrades who have the ability can write down what they say.

Encourage also those activists who disagree with *INQABA*, but whose ideas have an

echo within the working class (or even a section of it) to write for the journal. By raising important questions for debate in this way, we can make the journal a more effective instrument in raising political consciousness in every area.

3. HELP TO CIRCULATE *INQABA*

The name "INQABA" is already fairly well known among activists in South Africa. But all too few are able to get hold of a copy; much less to receive it regularly. This is because of the big problems of clandestine distribution.

INQABA supporters need to give systematic and careful attention to this, using all possible facilities for copying the journal and then getting copies swiftly through reliable networks into the right hands.

Every individual reader should try to pass on a copy regularly to at least one other person, and if not already part of an INQABA readers' circle, work to form one.

In distributing INQABA, the main concentration should be on workers, especially in the large industrial and mining areas. For added effectiveness, translations of material from INQABA should be made into the different languages spoken by workers in all areas, and reproduced.

4. USE *INQABA* TO BUILD THE BASIS OF A MASS, SOCIALIST A.N.C.

It will not be enough for the A.N.C. to simply have the *support* of the working people. The working class needs to make the A.N.C. *its own* — by building it within South Africa, organising it, filling it with the power of the workers' movement and bringing it under the democratic control of its membership in struggle.

The most resolute fighters in all the various organisations of the working class — especially in the trade unions and the youth movement — are the backbone for the mass, socialist A.N.C. of the future. INQABA supporters among them must work steadily to group together those who share our ideas on the building of the A.N.C., to begin putting these ideas into practice.

The A.N.C. will take on flesh — will be able to develop structures embodying large numbers of workers in open organisation — as the strength of the mass movement drives back the state's powers of repression and enlarges the space for open revolutionary work.

INQABA supporters should themselves combine open with 'underground' work, proving themselves the most steadfast builders, not only of the A.N.C., but also of the trade unions and the youth and community organisations of action.

We must be able to show in our own work the correctness of the policies which we stand for. That is the only way to arm the movement with the ideas of Marxism and win the struggle for a socialist programme.

Apply the ideas and method of INQABA to every local struggle. Summarise the main arguments and conclusions from articles in the journal to use in agitational leaflets. Combine the general demands raised in INQABA with the detailed demands put forward in each particular struggle. Link the day-to-day struggles over wages, education, transport, housing, etc., to an understanding of the need for the socialist transformation of society.

Organise round the ideas of INQABA to build the A.N.C. Let every work place, college and locality where INQABA supporters are present become a fortress of this work — a firm foundation for the mass, socialist A.N.C. of the future.

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For security reasons, fictitious names have been used by writers of articles in this issue of INQABA YA BASEBENZI. In every case, however, care has been taken not to give a misleading impression of the background and experience of the comrade concerned. Details about writers are provided only when security considerations make this possible.